

THE
NEW BRITISH PROVINCE
OF
SOUTH AUSTRALIA;

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, ILLUSTRATED BY
CHARTS AND VIEWS; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE
PRINCIPLES, OBJECTS, PLAN, AND PRO-
SPECTS OF THE COLONY.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Object of the work—South Australian Land Company of 1831—South Australian Association—Theory of Colonization—Practice of Colonization, like the transplanting of a full-grown tree—Attention to details all-important—Details of the plan the subject of this work—Subject divided, p. 1

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL FEATURES OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Advantage of introductory remarks—Natural features of extra-tropical Australia—Difference of temperature between the northern and southern hemispheres—Sterility of the sea-coast—The richest land not preferred in Australia—The management of water totally neglected—Vulgar error as to the unfitness of Australia for agricultural purposes—Means of water-communication in the new colony—Description of the south coast of Australia—Opinions on that subject, p.9

CHAPTER II.

RELATIVE POSITION OF THE COLONY.

For the purposes of foreign trade—For obtaining live-stock and cheap food—Table of Sailing Distances to and from Port

"A colony so founded would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged to, he would find it's relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country.

There would then be little more in Van Dieman's Land, or in Canada, revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant, than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire - little more than a change of natural scenery." —
Archbishop Whately.

"Colonization, as hitherto considered, may be likened to the building of a bridge; a work no part of which is complete until the whole be completed. According to the method here proposed, colonization would be like the making of a tunnel; a work in the progress of which each step must be complete before another step can be taken." —
England and America.

Lincoln—Table of the prices of provisions and live stock in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land—Advantage of the new colony to the British inhabitants of India—Exportable commodities produceable in South Australia, p. 67

CHAPTER III.

MODE OF COLONIZATION.

The proper disposal of waste land, the first object in colonization—Purpose of the Government in disposing of wasteland—Evils of profusion in granting land—Effects of profusion at Swan River—Causes of the failure of the Swan River settlement—Best mode of dealing with waste land—Method of proceeding for the new colony—Disposal of the purchase-money of waste land—Selection of poor emigrants—Anticipation of the emigration fund, p. 86

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATION.

To capitalists—To labourers—To men of small fortune and large family—To young men of good fortune—To younger branches of the nobility, - - p. 113

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY.

Provisional legislation by the King in Council—Appointment of officers by the Crown—Present security for good government—Favourable promise as to the future, during the provisional state—Provision for local self-government when

the population of the colony shall amount to 50,000 souls—The transportation system never to be inflicted on this colony—Apology for speaking evil of other colonies, p. 130

CONCLUSION.

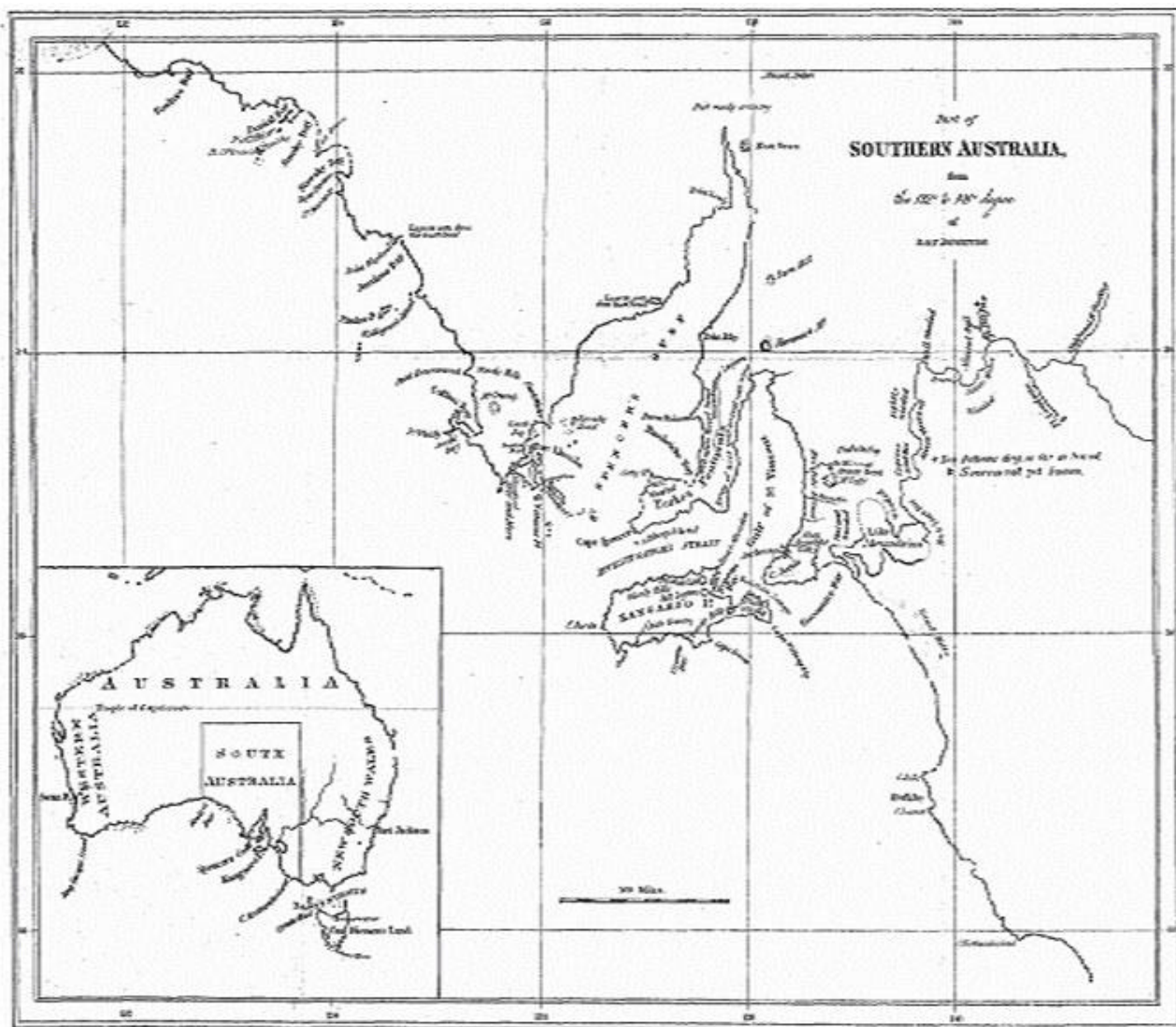
No expedition of settlers ought to take place until a large one be ready—The emigrants a distinct society before their departure—Means of concert and co-operation—Preparatory measures for religious instruction, education, a well-planned town, and written laws—Colonial Newspaper, p. 138

APPENDIX.

	Page
I, Prospectus of South Australian Church Society -	143
II. Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall, on Monday, June 30, 1834 - -	149
List of Works relating to Australia -	221

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Chart of the South Coast of Australia, (beginning of Vol.) View of Port Lincoln, (to face Title)	
Chart of Port Lincoln	28
Chart of Kangaroo Island - - - - -	36
View of Kangaroo Island - - - - -	38
Chart of the World - - - - -	66



INTRODUCTION.

Object of the work—South Australian Land Company of 1831—South Australian Association—Theory of Colonization—Practice of Colonization, like the transplanting of a full-grown tree—Attention to details all-important—Details of the plan the subject of this work—Subject divided.

THE new colony, of whose Principles, Objects, Plan, and Prospects, it is our intention to give the fullest account that the space will admit, was originally projected in the summer of 1831; when the gentlemen whose names follow formed themselves into a Committee for establishing a chartered company to carry the measure into effect.

W. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, Esq., M.P., Chairman.

George Fife Angus, Esq.	W. A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P.
Dominic Browne, Esq., M.P.	J. A. S. Mackenzie, Esq., M.P.
H. Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P.	Samuel Mills, Esq.
W. F. Campbell, Esq., M.P.	Sir R. Musgrave, Bart., M.P.
Henry Drummond, Esq.	Richard Norman, Esq.
Capt. Gowan.	J. E. Strickland, Esq.
Richard Heathfield, Esq.	Colonel Torrens, M.P.
Samuel Hoare, Esq.	George Traill, Esq., M.P.
William Hutt, Esq., M.P.	R. Throckmorton, Esq., M.P.
C. Shaw Lefevre, Esq., M.P.	Sir H. Williamson, Bt. M.P.
Lord Lumley, M.P.	

Under the auspices of this Committee a large body of persons was collected, with the intention of settling in the intended colony; but the Committee having failed, after a long negotiation with his Majesty's government, to obtain the desired charter, those persons were dispersed, and the project was necessarily abandoned for a time.

At the beginning of the present year, another Society was formed, with the same objects, under the name of the *South Australian Association*; and measures having been taken to bring the subject more fully under the notice of his Majesty's government, it has been determined, that the colony shall be founded, not, indeed, as was formerly proposed, by means of a royal charter, but by act of Parliament. It will be seen presently that this mode of proceeding is, in some respects, preferable to that of a chartered company.

But, at all events, the *South Australian Association*, which it was proposed should be incorporated, with extensive powers, by means of a charter from the Crown, will continue their existence as a private but temporary Society, desirous to promote the happy establishment and future prosperity of the colony. Here follows a list of their acting committee:—

COMMITTEE

OF THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION.

W. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, Esq., M.P., Chairman.
 A. W. Beanclerk, Esq., M.P. Samuel Mills, Esq.
 Abraham Borradaile, Esq. S. W. Molesworth, Bart. M.P.,
 Charles Buller, Esq., M.P. Jacob Montafiore, Esq.
 H. L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P. George Warde Norman, Esq.
 J. W. Childers, Esq., M.P. Richard Norman, Esq.
 William Clay, Esq., M.P. G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.
 Raikes Currie, Esq. Dr. Southwood Smith.
 William Gowan, Esq. Edward Strutt, Esq., M.P.
 George Grote, Esq., M.P. Colonel Torrens, M.P.
 Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P. Daniel Wakefield, jun., Esq.
 J. H. Hawkins, Esq., M.P. Henry Warburton, Esq. M.P.
 Rowland Hill, Esq. Henry G. Ward, Esq., M.P.
 Matthew D. Hill, Esq., M.P. John Wilks, Esq., M.P.
 William Hutt, Esq., M.P. Joseph Wilson, Esq.
 John Melville, Esq. John Ashton Yates, Esq.

Treasurer, GEORGE GROTE, Esq. M.P.

Solicitor, JOSEPH PARKES, Esq.

Honorary Secretary, ROBERT GOUGER, Esq.

The leading provisions of the Act of Parliament for erecting South Australia into a British Province, and for establishing therein a peculiar system of colonization, will be fully noticed hereafter. Meanwhile, we have to offer some remarks by way of introduction to the subject of these pages.

Of the general principles, or what may be termed the theory of Colonization, we shall here say very

little. The subject has been treated at great length in two volumes recently published, under the title of *'England and America.'* To that work we must refer the reader who is desirous to ascertain the objects of an old state in planting or extending colonies, the errors hitherto committed by colonizing governments, and the best means of rendering colonization highly advantageous to a country situated like England. These are questions which interest all classes at home. But in the discussion of these questions, the writer arrives at a conclusion which deeply concerns those whom we now address; viz., persons who may contemplate settling in the new colony of South Australia. The conclusion is, that, whatever the objects of an old state in promoting colonization, the attainment of those objects depends upon attention to details in the plantation of colonies.

This point may properly be noticed more at length.

Sir Joseph Banks, wishing to ornament a bare piece of ground in front of his house near Hounslow, transplanted into it some full-grown trees. Those trees were torn from the beds in which they had grown to maturity. *In* order to save trouble in moving them, all their smaller roots and branches were cut off: the trunks, thus mutilated, were stuck into the ground; and there, wanting the nourishment which they had before received through innumerable leaves and fibres, they soon died and rotted. A way,

however, has lately been discovered of transplanting full-grown trees so that they shall flourish as if they had not been removed. The art, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to Sir Henry Steuart, consists in removing *the whole of the tree uninjured;* the stem, all the limbs, every branch and twig, every root and fibre; and in placing the several parts of this whole in the *same relative situation as they occupied before;* so that each part shall continue to perform its proper office, the trunk to be nourished by its proper number of mouths above and below; and a due proportion or balance be preserved between the weight of the branches and the strength of the roots, between the action of the roots as well as branches on opposite sides, between the functions of each part and the functions of all the other parts, respectively and together. The work of colonizing a desert bears a curious resemblance to that of transplanting full-grown trees. In neither case is it the ultimate object merely to remove; in both cases it is to establish; and as, in the former case, the immediate object is to remove, not a mere trunk, but an entire tree, so, in the latter case, the immediate object is to remove, not people merely, but society. In both cases equally, success depends upon attention to details. The planters of modern colonies have generally gone to work without much attention to details; as if society might be established in a desert without

regard to the numerous and minute circumstances on which society depends. Many a modern colony has perished through the inattention of its founders to little matters which, it was supposed, would take care of themselves. Of those modern colonies which have not perished, many suffered in the beginning the greatest privations and hardships; while, in the least unfavourable cases, it has been as if a full-grown oak, carelessly removed and soon dead, had dropped acorns to become in time full-grown trees. But in the present case, the greatest attention will be paid to details. The present measure of colonization may be likened to the careful removal of full-grown trees from a spot in which they were injured by want of room, to one where they should have ample space to expand and flourish. The details of the measure form the subject of this explanation.

In order to render so brief an explanation as clear as possible, the subject may be divided into several parts, all of which, however, it will be seen presently, are closely related with each other. The whole measure consists of three parts: *first*, precautions for the removal, not of people merely, but of society; that is, of all the different classes of people who, by means of combining their powers and dividing their employments, obtain every advantage that a society enjoys over savage life: *secondly*, precautions for preventing that social colony from degenerating into an unsocial

state; for preserving, that is, in the colony the attributes of society and civilization : *thirdly*, the natural circumstances of the country about to be colonized.

Since, however, the attractiveness of the colony to persons of all classes, by which alone persons of all classes would be induced to settle there, must depend upon measures for preserving in the colony the attributes of society and civilization, and these again must in part, depend upon the fitness of the country for the purposes of colonization, it has been thought best, in considering separately the three parts of the subject, to reverse the order in which they have been stated above; beginning with the natural features of the country, proceeding to the mode of colonizing that waste region, and concluding with the inducements to the removal of persons of all classes. Besides these three divisions of the subject, there will be a chapter on the position of the colony with relation to other parts of the world, one on the government of the new Province, and some concluding remarks and suggestions of a practical nature.

CHAPTER I.
NATURAL FEATURES OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Advantage of introductory remarks—Natural features of extra-tropical Australia—Difference of temperature between the northern and southern hemispheres—Sterility of the sea-coast—The richest land not preferred in Australia—The management of water totally neglected—Vulgar error as to the unfitness of Australia for agricultural purposes—Means of water-communication in the new colony—Description of the south coast of Australia—Opinions on that subject.

THE information obtained upon this subject consists of the evidence of a number of persons who have visited the country. For two reasons, it requires some introductory remarks: first, because it is composed, for the most part, of naked statements of fact, from which no very satisfactory conclusion could be drawn without the aid of some guiding principles in the examination of them; secondly, because in order to prevent the English enquirer from applying some of those facts to wrong conclusions, it is necessary to lay before him other facts which may assist his judgment by means of analogy and comparison. A few mere hints, however, is all that can be offered in this little work.

1. Every known part of extra-tropical Australia presents some features which are peculiar to that part of the world; such as evergreen forests, animals never

seen elsewhere, and the total want of animals which are numerous in other countries. But the most striking, perhaps, of Australian peculiarities is the sameness of those natural features on every part, that has yet been visited, of a line of coast some thousand miles in extent. In North America, and still more in Europe, a difference of latitude, or even of longitude, is generally attended with remarkable differences of soil, climate, and natural productions: whereas throughout Australia, south of the tropic, the climate, allowing for differences of mere temperature in different latitudes, appears to be every where the same; and the soil presents every where the same peculiar features, supporting every where the same peculiar vegetation and the same peculiar animals; from Moreton Bay near the tropic on the East, through Port Jackson, Port Philip, the Tamar, Nepean Bay, Port Lincoln, King George's Sound, and the Swan River, to Shark's Bay near the tropic on the West. From the extent to which this peculiarity of sameness is known, we may infer that it will be more fully established. In other words, from the perfect sameness of all the known parts of this vast region, we may conclude that such sameness extends to the parts which are still unknown. The discovery of a part of the coast differing materially in its natural circumstances from the other parts, would astonish those who are acquainted with all that is known at present. Such persons will take for granted that South Australia enjoys the great natural fertilizing power which arises from rainy and dry seasons, because they know that New South Wales does. Without multiplying such examples it will be seen, that in forming conjectural

opinions concerning natural circumstances, this is the country, beyond all others, in which we may trust to the guide of analogy. Amongst the most useful means of forming a correct judgment as to South Australia, are the published accounts of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; and indeed it may be said that he who is not familiarly acquainted with the general features of Australia, is hardly qualified to form a confident opinion, one way or the other, as to the natural circumstances of the southern coast*.

2. In the southern hemisphere, owing to the large proportion which sea bears to land, the temperature does not agree with that of corresponding latitudes in the northern hemisphere, but is generally found to be cooler by two or three degrees. Thus the temperature of Port Lincoln in 35°, South, may be expected to agree with that of places on the sea-coast between 37° and 38° of North latitude.

3. Except where the land is gaining on the sea by the deposits of great rivers, land close to the sea is generally less fertile than land some way removed from it. This is peculiarly the case in every known part of extra-tropical Australia. Here, it seems, the sea is almost universally separated from land of superior fertility by a stripe of very poor land, commonly of sand, bearing only stunted brushwood, and varying in breadth from two or three, to twenty or thirty miles. Very fine land close to the sea, where the sea is not touched by a range of high land, is a rare exception to the general rule of sameness already noticed. Hence we are never to presume from the known ste-

* For a List of Publications relating to Australia, see the end of the volume.

rility of a spot close to the sea, that the unknown land beyond it is otherwise than fertile. On the contrary, if any conclusion may be drawn from the sterility of some part of the coast line, it is that, probably, as in so many known cases, there is land of a superior quality not far off; and more especially if there be any range of high land in the neighbourhood.

4. In thickly-peopled countries, deep alluvial land on the banks of rivers, which when in a state of nature was liable to floods, is considered the most fertile. But in the settled parts of Australia, such land, unless in a most favourable position with respect to markets, is not highly esteemed. In many cases it is despised, and is entirely neglected for land of far less natural fertility. For this there are two reasons. First, in the present scattered state of the population, no measures can be taken to confine a river within its ordinary channel; so that, during floods, nearly all rich alluvial land becomes morass, as happened in the time of Alfred with tens of thousands of acres on the banks of the Thames, which are now eminently productive. Secondly, flooded land, being for the most part heavily timbered, or covered with strong reeds, requires before it can be used for production a quantity of labour such as no settler in New South Wales can readily command. Most of the deep alluvial soils, which are neglected in the Australian settlements, would be highly prized in Europe. We may say, therefore, that, up to a certain point, the soil of Australia will become more fit to support a dense population as her population shall become more dense.

5. This conclusion from the present impossibility,

of guarding against the ravages of water, is confirmed by observing the effects and causes of a total neglect by the Australian settlers of the means by which, in corresponding latitudes of Europe, Asia, and Africa, water is made to exert a fertilizing power. Though during the course of a year more rain, it is believed, falls in New South Wales than in England, the Australian settlers suffer terribly from long periods without rain—from what they call "Australian droughts;" and vast tracts of land in that colony, which would be thought excellent if constantly supplied with water, are but little esteemed, because deficient in that natural quality. But this would be the case in some of the most fertile and populous districts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, if their inhabitants should, like the Australians, depend wholly upon nature for a supply of water. The extraordinary fertility of the left bank of the Po, from the source almost of that river to its mouths, depends upon skill in the management of its tributary streams—upon artificial irrigation. The Nile, if its waters were not skilfully guided by man, would only devastate, instead of fertilizing. When the north-west of Africa supported many populous nations, it must have been by means of the greatest skill in preserving water that fell from the clouds, and in raising water from the bowels of the earth. Many fertile parts of Spain, the South of Italy, Greece, and Turkey, would become barren if it were not for wells, pumps, reservoirs, and aqueducts. In the countries round about the Caspian Sea, where a very dense population once existed, there are mixed with the ruins of cities, the ruins of all sorts of contrivances for the management of water; and in order to restore the

cities, it would be necessary to begin by restoring the wells, tanks, and aqueducts. Without such contrivances, a great part of the dense population of Southern China must inevitably perish. Where, indeed, in latitudes corresponding with extra-tropical Australia, has a dense population ever been maintained without such contrivances? No where: there is no exception to the rule. In New South Wales, as in similar latitudes of the northern hemisphere, more rain falls during the year than in England; but in England, some rain falls almost every week; while at Naples and Sydney months pass without a cloud. Why, then, one is led to ask, have the settlers in Australia never, to any extent whatever, employed those contrivances for the management of water, to which the inhabitants of other countries are so largely indebted? The answer is full of instruction to future settlers in Australia. Because, in the first place, Australia has been settled by Englishmen, in whose native country, water, falling every week, is often an incumbrance; where fertility depends rather on the art of draining, than on that of collecting and preserving water; Englishmen, whose ignorance of the latter art was not likely to be cured by a sense of its value. Because, secondly, even if the settlers in Australia had seen the value of that art, still, being scattered as they are over a wide expanse of country, they could not have formed dams, embankments, water-courses, tanks, reservoirs, and wells. For to conduct such works, combination is required; combination of two sorts : first that combination of purpose which takes place amongst the landowners of a valley in Europe which is artificially irrigated—a kind

of agreement for co-operation, under which all behave as if they were directed by a single will; secondly, that combination of labour in particular works, that helping of each other by many, without which no work can be performed which requires, like the formation of embankments, reservoirs, and water-courses, the constant employment of many hands in the same work, at the same time, and for a long period of consecutive time. If Australia had consisted only of the banks of the Hawkesbury, her inhabitants would probably, ere now, have obtained complete control over that river and its tributary streams, confining them within their beds during the rainy seasons, and during the dry seasons conveying their waters, which had been artificially pent up in favourable spots, over a great tract of country, that is now despised as being liable to suffer either from flood or from drought, Considering also what, in this case, the Australians, being a society, and having therefore such classes as tank-makers and well-diggers, would have done to preserve rain water, and to draw water out of the earth,—from all these considerations it appears again, that when the population of Australia shall become more dense, her soil will be more fit to support a dense population.

6. There is a vague but common impression that Australia is not fit to become an agricultural country; that it is fit only to be a pastoral country. This impression may be correct; but it is not at present a reasonable conclusion. The conclusion is drawn from an English estimate of the soil and climate of Australia, and from the fact that hitherto in Australia it has been far more easy to produce sheep and cattle,

than to raise corn and other products of agriculture. But settlers coming from a corresponding latitude of Europe, would have formed a different estimate of the soil and climate of Australia, and, probably, a more correct one. Moreover, the colonists of Australia have been so planted, so widely dispersed and separated from each other, that they could not have been an agricultural people, even though their soil and climate had resembled those of the plains of Lombardy or the Low Countries. For in order to raise the agricultural products of Flanders and the north of Italy, such as corn, rice, wine, tobacco, and silk, it is necessary to employ considerable masses of labour, and of capital as well, in constant combination; and this skilful application of capital and labour could not take place amongst a few scattered shepherds. But those people, it maybe said, were so dispersed, and became shepherds, because the soil of their new country was unfit for agriculture; and this argument has been used to show the inexpediency of measures for preventing such dispersion. To this argument the reply is short and conclusive. Settlers on the very rich plains of the Ohio and the Mississippi, have been scattered quite as much as the Australians, if not more. In all modern colonies, whatever the nature of the soil, the settlers have been scattered as if the object had been to prevent them from becoming an agricultural people. It may be, therefore, that the pastoral habits of the Australians are owing rather to the mode in which the country has been colonized, than to the nature of its soil. And this view of the subject is confirmed by observing, that in colonies of which the soil was equally fit for

agriculture and pasturage (the deep and rich, but clear and grassy plains of Buenos Ayres are a striking example), the settlers, being widely dispersed, and not having slaves whose labour might be used in combination, have invariably adopted the pastoral life. In fact, when a colony is planted so that the labour of each settler is separated from that of all the other settlers, and still further weakened by being divided amongst a great number of different occupations, the easiest, not the most productive, kind of industry must be adopted; the easiest, that is, under the circumstance of dispersion. Now, under the circumstance of dispersion, the easiest kind of industry, in countries that happen to be clear by nature, is the pastoral life; while, in countries covered with wood, it is the exhaustion, by over-cropping, of the natural richness of virgin land. Thus the colonist of Buenos Ayres or Australia depends, even for his support, on the grasses supplied by nature, while the settler in the forests of Canada depends on the great but perishable fertility of rotten leaves. In either case, the skill of man contributes but little to production : nearly the whole work is left to nature. But we cannot say that the former case establishes the unfitness of Australia and Buenos Ayres for agricultural production; any more than that the latter case proves the soil of North America to be unfit for the support of sheep and cattle. Both cases, on the contrary, show, that in judging of the productive capacity of land about to be colonized, the intended mode of colonization is a circumstance of equal importance, at least, with the natural features of the country. It were idle

to ascertain, what indeed is well known, that much land in New South Wales is fit for producing wine, oil, rice, tobacco, and silk; but in the instance of this new colony, when it is proposed to transplant, not people merely, but society, and to maintain in the new place the means of employing capital in the most skilful way, for whatever purpose ; in this case, the probable state of the colonial society should always be borne in mind by those who would draw just conclusions from what has been ascertained respecting natural circumstances.

7. After questions of soil and climate, the most important circumstance in a region about to be colonized, is the natural means of communication. This is a consideration of great moment to those, at least, who, intending to settle in a new place, propose to establish there the desires and powers of society. To a few persons scattered over a wide district, whose labour was divided, not only into separate fractions, but also amongst many occupations, between whom, consequently, there could be but little exchange, and who could not raise commodities exchangeable in distant markets, the best natural means of communication would be of but little value. Of what great use, for instance, is the excellent harbour of King George's Sound to the few scattered, or rather isolated Englishmen, who are wandering about in that neighbourhood ? What reason have settlers that remain at the Swan River, not yet raising food enough for their own subsistence, and quite incapable of producing commodities for exchange in distant markets, to regret that Gage's Roads are not a good

harbour? * Means of communication are required for the purposes of exchange. But there can be no exchange without surplus produce; that is, produce over and above what is consumed by the producers. In order to raise a great surplus produce, or in other words a great produce in proportion to the amount of capital and the number of hands employed, it is necessary that capital and labour should be skilfully employed; and the skilful employment of capital and labour in a new colony depends, not on the existence of natural means of communication, but on the mode of colonization adopted. For the present case, in which it is hoped to maintain in the colony the same skilful application of capital and labour as takes place in England, good natural means of communication are most desirable. The attention of the reader is, therefore, particularly directed to the form of the southern coast of Australia. Between the limits of the colony, which in a straight line comprise a distance of 500 miles, the extent of coast, including the coasts of Kangaroo Island and the shores of Lake Alexandrina, amounts to about 2,150 miles; and between

* For fear that these remarks should be attributed to a disposition, which is common, amongst colonists, to praise their own settlement at the expense of other settlements, this opportunity is taken to express an opinion, that Western Australia is, as respects soil and climate, one of the finest countries in the world, and one of the most fit for supporting a prosperous colony. That the colony there settled is not prosperous, is, we believe, owing, not at all to any defects of climate or soil, but entirely to a bad system of colonization which may be reformed ; or, rather, to the want of a good system, which may be supplied. For a particular account of the causes of the failure of the Swan River Settlement, the reader is referred to 'England and America.'

the Eastern extremity of Lake Alexandrina and Cape Wiles, the distance in a straight line being about 220 miles, the extent of land washed by the waters either of the ocean or of the lake, amounts to about 1,400 miles. Here, then, are ample means of transport, for exchange among the settlers themselves, and for conveying to Nepean Bay and Port Lincoln produce fit for exchange in distant markets; while those fine harbours will be most serviceable for the landing of emigrants, stock, and goods, and for the future management of trade with the neighbouring colonies, and with distant countries. Considering the probable security of Coffin's Bay; the long line of coast, West of that harbour, whereon Captain Flinders observed the indications of several rivers; and the facility of making a road between Coffin's Bay and Port Lincoln, the latter harbour, which for extent, security, and facility of access, is surpassed by none in the world, seems formed by nature to become the central mart of South Australia.

The following description of the Southern part of Australia was compiled by Mr. Gouger, who has paid much attention to the subject; and it will, we imagine, be found, with the aid of the accompanying maps, sufficiently full and clear to enable every one who shall examine it to judge of the eligibility of that part of the world for the purposes of colonization.

Introduction.—This account of the natural circumstances of that part of Australia, between the 132° and 141° of East longitude, which is intended to form the site of the new colony, is compiled from the reports of various persons who have visited the locality. The honour of the discovery of this country is due to Captain Flinders

and his party, who, in the year 1802, in His Majesty's Ship Investigator, and employed by his Majesty's Government, explored the whole southern coast. From the expensive work published by Captain Flinders, entitled 'A Voyage to Terra Australis,' in two vols. quarto, much of this report is taken.

Mr. Westall, the artist who accompanied the expedition, has kindly furnished such facts as he recollects which are likely to be interesting, and which are not embodied in Captain Flinders's narrative. This gentleman possesses still some sketches which he made at the time, from which a very accurate opinion may be formed of the kind of country. It is to be regretted that these sketches have not been published—those of Port Lincoln, Sleaford Mere, and Memory Cove, with a sight of which we have been favoured by Mr. Westall, are most interesting.

Next in order to Captain Flinders, as well in time as in merit, is the expedition under Captains Baudin and Freycinet, having on board a naturalist of considerable note, M. Peron. This party fell in with Flinders at Encounter Bay, and thus, by a few days only, the discovery of those magnificent inlets, Spencer's and St. Vincent's Gulfs was anticipated by the British voyagers. Some long extracts have been made from the history of their voyage written by M. Peron. In the year 1815, Captain Dillon, the well-known discoverer of the remains of La Perouse, visited this part of the Southern Coast; his object was commercial, and he remained in the neighbourhood three months. He has been good enough to favour us with some account of his voyage; and of this use has been made in the narrative which follows.

Captain Sutherland, late commander of the Ship 'Lang,' who has been for many years employed in the trade between England and New Holland, and who, from being a proprietor of land in Van Diemen's Land, has resided there for a length of time, visited this part,

of Australia, on a sealing voyage, in 1819. He remained at Kangaroo Island seven months, and has given a full report of his residence there, which is very valuable as being the observation of a practical *Australian* agriculturist, as well as the work of an experienced navigator. His report is copied at length, and it is well to state, that he submitted to a long examination on the subject before a Committee appointed to investigate the natural circumstances of the locality. The verbal evidence he then gave tended completely to corroborate his written statement.

Richard Wootton and Frederick Hamborg, the one a steward, and the other a mate, of Sealing Vessels, remained on this coast a short time, and have given some account of their voyage. The evidence of the first of these is not very important; but Hamborg states that he entered Spalding Cove, and there found two streams of water. His evidence also corroborates the account of the French navigators, as to the eligibility of Port Lincoln for the reception of a European Colony.

Captain Goold, late Master of his Majesty's Ship *Dryad*, and Commander of several Merchantmen, a most intelligent man, performed two voyages from Sydney to this coast in 1827 and 1828. The object of the voyage was the seal fishery. His report of the country, generally, is very important, and its value is enhanced by the fact of his having lived some time in Australia, and thus being enabled to compare the different places he visited. Ample use has been made, in the paper which follows, of his statement.

Last in order of time, but perhaps first in importance, is the account of Captain Sturt. This enterprising gentleman traced a river through an unknown country, and amidst great danger and privations, to its joining the sea at Encounter Bay. The account of his voyage, recently published by Smith and Elder, will be found most interesting, and to this we must refer all those who

wish to estimate fully the advantages of his discoveries. Such extracts only have been made here, as are necessary to throw light on the tract of country immediately under investigation.

Account of Soil, &c.—From the 132° of East long. to *Coffin's Bay* situated in 135° 15', nothing very important is known of the character of the shore or land. Some large inlets called *Fowler's Bay*, *Denial Bay*, *Smoky Bay*, and *Streaky Bay*, and a large lagoon seen by Captain Flinders from the mast-head near *Point Weyland*, are the only indications of valuable roadsteads or rivers. These inlets have never been thoroughly examined, though Captain Flinders remarks he found in one part "much refuse from the shore, as well as sea-weed floating about, by which some hope of finding a river was entertained;" and subsequently, "besides quantities of grass and branches of trees or bushes floating in the water, there was a number of long gauze-winged insects topping about the surface, such as frequent fresh-water lakes and swamps." He also saw smokes rising in various places. In proof of the insufficiency of his survey, Captain Flinders says, "my examination was tolerably minute to be done wholly in a ship, but much still remained which boats would best accomplish, to make the surveys complete, especially in the bays of the main land."

The only account given of *Coffin's Bay* is by Captain Flinders; we cannot therefore do better than quote the entire passage from his work, vol. i. p. 127.

"*Coffin's Bay* extends four or five leagues to the south-eastward from *Point Sir Isaac*; but I do not think that any stream more considerable than perhaps a small rill from the back land falls into it, since sandy cliffs and beach were seen nearly all round. On the east side of the entrance, the shore rises quickly from the beach to hills of considerable height, well covered with wood. The highest of these hills I called *Mount*

Greenly. its elevation is between six and eight hundred feet, and it stands very near the water-side.

"Many smokes were seen round *Coffin's Bay*, and also two parties of natives, one on each side; these shores were therefore better inhabited than the more western parts of the South Coast: indeed, it has usually been found in this country, that the borders of shallow bays and lagoons, and at the entrance of rivers, are by far the most numerously peopled."

The basis of the Point he reports to be granitic, with an upper stratum of calcareous rock.

Thistle's Island appears, on the whole, to be uninhabited, although Mr. Westall, who landed there and went a mile and a half inland, states that "the trees were high and the grass luxuriant." Flinders also remarks that the "size of the kangaroos found there was superior to those found upon the western islands, though much inferior to the forest kangaroos of the Continent." Captain Dillon again states that when he was there in December, 1815, he anchored to the north-west of the island, and remained on shore three days. Grass was then very abundant, as also was underwood. He killed several kangaroos of the kind called the "Wal-laba." Here it may be well to remark that, the number, size, and fatness of the kangaroos found on any spot may lead to a tolerably correct judgment as to the fertility of the soil. The kangaroo resembles in its habits the deer of England more than any other European animal, and feeds upon the same kind of herbage. It will therefore be fair to suppose that the more plentiful and luxuriant the herbage, the greater will be the number and size, and the better the condition of the animals feeding thereon. This argument may be extended to the human race, especially to those tribes who depend entirely for their subsistence upon success in hunting. The more plentiful the food, the greater will be the population; and that population will be more active and

better formed. As the size of the kangaroos and general appearance of the natives on the site of the intended Colony has been ascertained, and can therefore be compared with the size and appearance of the animals on the other parts of Australia, these considerations should be kept in view in forming an estimate of the locality. The substratum at *Memory Cove* is granite, mostly covered with calcareous rock, sometimes lying in loose pieces. The best evidence relative to this spot is that of Mr. Westall, who landed there and went three miles inland. He represents the land as being very good, the grass luxuriant, and the trees of a good size. From reference to sketches which he made at the time, he is of opinion that the land between Port Lincoln and Memory Cove is well wooded, and that the trees are of a good size. *Sleaford Mere*, a piece of water to the West of Memory Cove, is wooded down to the water's edge. Mr. Westall further states that water was found at *Memory Cove*, and that it was good, but in small quantities. Flinders however remarks, that "all his researches could not discover water there, though it must exist in the neighbourhood, as traces of natives were found, and of so recent a date, that they must have been there not longer than a day before."

A seine was hauled upon the beach, and with such success that every man had two meals of fish, and some to spare for salting.

There appears to be much discrepancy in the accounts of the persons who have visited *Port Lincoln* and its immediate neighbourhood, relative to its distinguishing features. The account of Captain Flinders is decidedly unfavourable to the capabilities of that part of Australia for the establishment of a Colony; while that of the French navigators, Baudin and Freycinet, is quite the reverse; and this latter opinion is corroborated by Captain Goold and others who have since visited the spot. This discrepancy may have arisen from two causes, both

operating on the mind of Captain Flinders, and tending greatly to indispose him from viewing with a careful eye the peculiarities of the locality. When there, he lost Mr. Thistle and a boat's crew in some tide rippings, at a point which he therefore called *Cape Catastrophe*; and he was in no slight apprehension of being seriously inconvenienced by a want of fresh water. These occurrences produced in him the oppressed state of mind which is evident by the want of spirit in the style in which that part of his book is written. Another cause of the discrepancy may be the fact of the whole of the large inlet between *Cape Donnington* and *Point Boston* being called *Port Lincoln*, nearly half of which Captain Flinders did not minutely examine. The account of M. Peron may refer, and that of Captain Goold does refer to *Boston Bay*, into which Flinders did not sail. *Spalding Cove* also was not examined by Captain Flinders, which is much to be regretted, since subsequent statements render it probable that he would have found there what he so much required, viz., fresh water; and in that case his survey of *Port Lincoln* and its neighbourhood might have been more complete.

The most recent account of *Spalding Cove* is given by a person of the name of Hamborg, who visited it in May, 1832. He states that he anchored on the eastern side of the Cove, in blue clay, in seven fathoms water, and that the position is safe from all winds, being nearly land-locked. He went about a mile and a half inland, and found two streams of fine water, as clear as crystal, running into *Spalding Cove* from the southward. This person has travelled much in Van Diemen's Land, and Australia generally, and is of opinion that the appearance of the country resembles Port Augusta rather than any other part he has seen. Amongst the trees he saw were cedar (which would cut into two-foot plank;) beef-wood, tulip-wood, stringy bark (very large), huon pine and iron bark. He saw plenty of wood which would

serve for ship and boat building, and for spars. The grass was about knee-deep and in great quantity; it was quite green, and numbers of kangaroos and other animals were feeding on it; the kangaroos were large and as fat as any he had seen elsewhere.

The object of his visit to *Port Lincoln* was to convey thither a party of thirty persons, with five boats and the necessary implements for catching whales. The persons whom he left had been there three previous seasons for the same purpose, and had been successful. The black whales are very commonly met with close in-shore; the sperm whales not frequently, being farther to the southward. Seals are very numerous. He also found other fish in great numbers and variety—amongst them were grey mullet from 7lbs. to 8lbs. in weight, red mullet from 2lbs. to 3lbs.; soles, mackerel, herrings, snappers, jew-fish, salmon, trumpeters, parrot-fish, sting-ray, mussels, oysters, cockles, rock cod, turtle, &c.

The natives he saw were numerous and peaceful. They assisted him in carrying water to the ship, and in other matters. For a little tobacco, and with kind treatment, he is convinced they would work well. These natives, as well as the whalers and sealers, depend for their supply of water on the two streams running into *Spalding Cove* before mentioned.

Pursuing the line of coast, the next place of importance is *Port Lincoln*, properly so called, by which is meant that inlet south of *Grantham Island*, and in which Captain Flinders anchored with the Investigator. What is known of the neighbourhood of this place is from the accounts of Captain Flinders, Mr. Westall, Captain Dillon, and the Captains Baudin and Freycinet, who visited *Port Lincoln* twice.

The account given of this port by Flinders differs from that of every other person who has visited it; and unless what has been before urged relative to his state of mind be admitted as an explanation, it will be difficult to re-

found of use to ships; and for the establishment of a colony, which the excellence of the port might seem to invite, the little fertility of the soil offers no inducement. The wood consists principally of the *eucalyptus* and the *casuarina*.

"Of the climate we had no reason to speak but in praise; nor were we incommoded by noxious insects. The range of the thermometer on board the ship was from 66° to 78°. On shore the average height of the thermometer at noon was 76°."

Mr. Westall corroborates this account of Captain Hinders in one respect only, which is in relation to the comparative sterility of the land immediately west of *Port Lincoln*; but he further says he is of opinion that the land at *Port Lincoln* is much better than that at *King George's Sound*; and this is found by recent experiment to be very good land, and applicable to all the purposes of agriculture.

Captain Dillon was at *Port Lincoln* in 1815. He landed at the head of the Port and remained there two days. The timber he saw was very large and in great plenty. The hills were covered with trees, and he considers the land to be very fertile and productive,

The accounts of *Port Lincoln* given by MM. Baudin, Freycinet, and Peron are of a very encouraging character. After describing minutely the geographical position of the port, the following account is given, as translated by Pinkerton:—

"On the western side of the gulf, and near its entrance is Champagne Port (*Port Lincoln*), one of the finest and most secure in New Holland; in every part of it is an excellent bottom; the depth of water, even close in with the land, is from ten to twelve fathoms (French), and such is the capacity of this magnificent Port, that it is competent to receive the most numerous fleets. In front of this port is Lagrange Island (*Boston Island*), four or five leagues in circumference, and which, placed

exactly in the middle of the mouth of the port, leaves on each side a passage from two to three miles broad, in both which passages a vessel can work with ease and security. Finally, as if nature were inclined, in favour of Champagne Port (*Port Lincoln*), to change the character of monotony and barrenness stamped on the neighbouring lands, she has formed its shores of gently-rising slopes, and clothed them with umbrageous forests. We did not find any fresh water at this spot; but the vigour and liveliness of vegetation, and the height of the country, to us were certain indices of the existence of some rivulets, or at least of some copious springs. On this the most favoured part of 'Napoleon Land' (*South Australia*), there are certainly numerous tribes of inhabitants, for the whole country seemed in flames. So many exclusive advantages insure special importance to Port Champagne (*Port Lincoln*), and I may fearlessly affirm that, of all the points of this land, this is the best adapted for the establishment of an European colony."

The second visit of the same party was made a few weeks later, when the impression in favour of this spot appears to have been heightened. The subjoined statement was then given of the harbour:—

"This harbour consists of three basins, in each of which there is not less than ten to twelve fathoms (French) water, with a bottom of muddy sand, and which, from their extent, would be capable of receiving the navies of all Europe. *Boston Island* is at the mouth of this admirable port, and it forms, with the continent, two passages, in each of which the largest ships of war might work with safety. The northern passage is the narrowest, and opens into *Boston Bay*; the southern is larger, and opens on one side into the western basin, and on the other into *Spalding Cove*. Between the island and the main land is the channel Degerando, which establishes a direct communication between the three basins, and which at the same time offers excellent moorings for the

most numerous fleets. Two small islands, placed at the mouth of the southern basin, likewise afford good shelter. The same may be said of *Grantham Island*, with regard to the western basin. Shall I repeat here what I have already said as to the fertility of the soil? Shall I speak of the valleys, which would seem to denote corresponding springs or brooks of fresh water? Is it necessary for me to insist upon those numerous fires which our companions, on approaching the port, observed on all the neighbouring declivities, and which would seem to attest the existence at this spot of a population much more numerous than on the other points of the south-west coast? Worthy to rival Port Jackson, *Port Lincoln* is, under every point of view, one of the finest harbours in the world; and of all those discovered by us, whether on the south, the west, or the north of New Holland, it appears, I repeat it, to be the best adapted to receive an European colony."

The only account of *Boston Bay* which has been received is that by Captain Goold, unless the above report by the French travellers is intended, as there is some reason to believe it is, rather as a description of *Boston Bay* than of *Port Lincoln* itself.

Captain Goold anchored in *Boston Bay* between the island and the main land, and resided there in all three weeks. He went about three miles inland, and found the country was open forest land, with the trees about forty or fifty yards apart. They were large and well grown. Amongst them were the blue gum, cedar saplings, and one very large rose-wood tree. In digging for water, he found the soil to the depth of three feet to be of a moist, heavy nature; it was a black mould, and under it was a bed of yellow clay. He did not go deep enough for water, in consequence of one of the crew having found a spring which amply supplied his wants. This was just westward of *Point Boston*, below the high-water mark. There was plenty of grass,

although much dried up in consequence of the season being advanced. He spent Christmas-day (1827) at *Boston Bay*. In the August following, he returned thither, and found water at the spring which had before supplied him. The water was hard, but very palatable. The anchorage was good, being in five fathoms, close in shore. While at anchor in *Boston Bay* a typhoon arose which lasted four hours—it blew from the southward and westward; but the ship was not injured in the least. Typhoons are common about the time of the south and west monsoons; they are peculiar to the southern seas.

Captain Goold's experience of Australia has been very considerable; he has been all round the island; but with Swan River, King George's Sound, Port Jackson, and Hunter's River, he is more particularly acquainted. Comparing *Boston Bay* with the places just named, he says that the land of none of them can be compared with *Boston Bay*, excepting Hunter's River. It is far superior to all the rest, and about equal to the last*.

Nothing which he is aware of can render the establishment of a colony at *Port Lincoln* undesirable:—on the contrary, Captain Goold declares that the harbour, soil, climate, position for commerce, and vicinity to excellent fishing grounds, render the formation of a colony there, in his opinion, highly desirable.

Mr. Westall remarks that he does not recollect that any of Captain Flinders' party landed at *Boston Bay*.

A lagoon about half way up the gulf was visible from the mast-head of the Investigator over the beach, and

* For an account of Hunter's River, see Wentworth's *Australasia*, vol. i. p. 71, and Dawson's *Australia*, p. 377. "The district of the Hunter's River is by far the richest and the most important in the Colony: it may truly be said to be the garden, as well as the granary, of New South Wales."

a small inlet, apparently connected with it, was also perceived. A few miles short of this, the ridge of hills turns suddenly from the shore, and sweeps round at the back of the lagoon, into which the waters running off the ridge appear to be received.

Flinders, p. 159.—"The view from the top of *Mount Brown* (at the head of Spencer's Gulf) was very extensive, its elevation being not less than three thousand feet; but neither rivers nor lakes could be perceived. In almost every direction the eye traversed over an uninterruptedly flat woody country; the sole exceptions being the ridge of mountains extending north and south, and the water of the gulf to the south-westward."

Mir. Westall also ascended *Mount Brown*, and reports that the land was flat, and well wooded, as far as the eye could reach.

Wherever Captain Flinders landed on the western shore of the head of the gulf traces of natives were seen. Mr. Brown, the naturalist, who accompanied Captain Flinders' expedition, found them even to a considerable height up the side of the mountain; and as Flinders remarks, "it would therefore seem that the country here is as well inhabited as most parts of Terra Australis."

The only persons from whom information relative to *Yorke's Peninsula* has been obtained are Captains Goold and Sutherland; the last of whom was Captain of the brig "Governor Macquarrie," and resided in the immediate neighbourhood for several months.

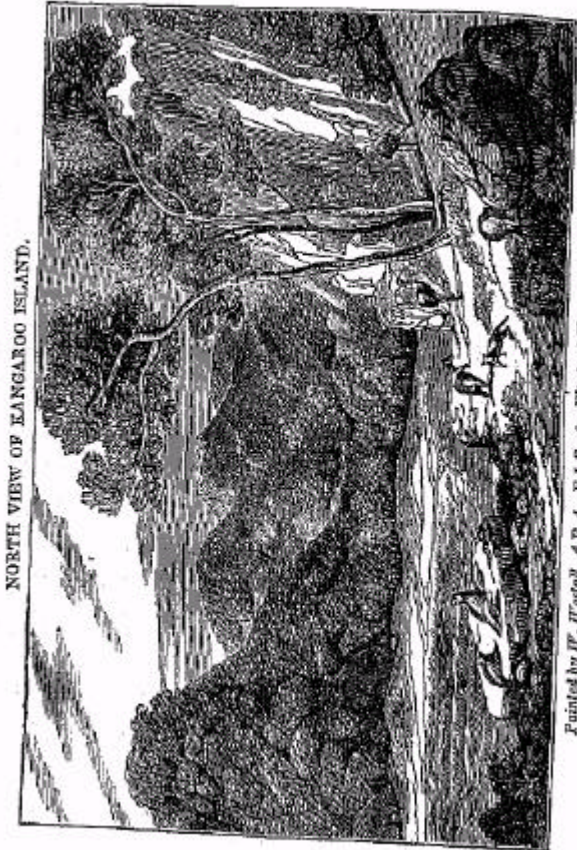
Captain Goold landed about 20 miles south of *Point Riley* to shoot kangaroos, while his boat was ordered to drop down along-shore. He saw two kangaroos and some emus, but did not succeed in taking any. Here he went about five miles inland through an open forest country, much of the same character as that of *Boston Bay*, but the timber not being quite so large. Wild

celery was plentiful, and the grass appeared much as that of Hunter's River in the same season. The soil was a light sandy loam, of about two feet deep, upon a bed of oyster-shells and gravel. This was ascertained by the bank where he landed being bare and about five feet higher than the beach. Thus he could see the depth and nature of the soil. During his walk he fell in with a lagoon about two miles from the shore, and endeavoured to wade it, but finding it too deep, he returned and attempted to round it; in this, however, he was disappointed, for after walking about another mile, he fell in with a river running south towards *Hardwicke Bay*. The river was very clear with good water, about fifty yards wide, eight feet deep, and running a strong current. Captain Goold did not trace the river; but finding he could not get round the lagoon, he returned to his boat.

While on shore he caught two turtles of the hawk-bill kind, and the celery assisted in making soup.

Captain Sutherland landed once on *Yorke's Peninsula*, in the bight near *Corny Point*. The soil there was thickly covered with timber and brushwood. Some of his men, however, landed on several parts of the Peninsula, and were sometimes absent three weeks at a time in search of seals. On these occasions they carried with them bread, and some salt meat; but having a musket and a dog with them, they always obtained fresh meat (kangaroos) when on the main as well as on some of the islands. On these expeditions they never took fresh water with them. They often spoke of the places they had seen as being very pleasant.

Captain Flinders remarks, that "between *Corny Point* and *Point Pearce*, twenty-eight miles to the north-north-east, is a large bay, well sheltered from all southern winds, and none others seem to blow with much strength here. The land bends eastward about seven leagues from *Corny Point* to the head of the bay,



Painted by W. Hoistall, A.R.S., F.L.S., for Flinders' Voyage to Terra Australis.

but what the depth of water may be there, or whether any fresh stream falls into it, I am unable to state; the land, however, was better wooded, and had a more fertile appearance, than any before seen in the neighbourhood. I called this place *Hardwicke Bay*."

Kangaroo Island has been more thoroughly examined than any other part of the site of the intended colony. The best evidence is that of Captain Sutherland, who has given the following written report of his residence on the island during seven months.

"REPORT

Of a Voyage from Sydney to *Kangaroo Island*, and of Observations made, during a stay of seven months on and near the island, by Captain SUTHERLAND, who in the year 1819 was employed by some merchants of Sydney to command a vessel of 140 tons, expressly fitted out for the purpose of obtaining a cargo of salt and seal skins from *Kangaroo Island*. Captain Sutherland has been engaged for many years in the trade between England and New Holland, and lately commanded the ship *Lang*.

London, October 4th, 1831.

On the 8th of January, 1819, we arrived at *Kangaroo Island* from Sydney, after a pleasant passage of fourteen days, during which nothing particular occurred to attract our attention. We anchored in *Lagoon Bay*, in about four fathoms water (sand and mud) close in-shore : our first object being to procure salt to ballast the ship and to cure skins. To facilitate this object two boats were despatched, with five men in each, to discover the salt lagoon, and ascertain where seals resorted to round the island. While these two boats were thus engaged, our other boat and three men were employed in searching for water, and examining the various bays and anchorages. During our ramble on this occasion we dis-

covered a well with a small supply of water, near which we observed a flat stone with some writing on the surface. This appears to be the place where the French navigator watered: the ship and captain's names, with the particular dates, were cut on this stone; but being in French, we paid little or no attention to it, not at the time imagining it would be of consequence at any future period. Close to *Point Marsden* in *Nepean Bay*, about twenty yards from the sea at high water, behind the bank washed up by the sea, we dug a hole about four feet deep; it immediately filled with fresh water. We put a cask into it, which was always filled as fast as two hands could bale it out. The water was excellent, as clear as crystal, and I never tasted better. This hole supplied us whilst we were in *Nepean Bay*, and so plentifully, that we had no occasion to look farther for fresh water thereabouts. When on the south and west coasts of the island, we had no occasion to dig for water, having always found plenty in lagoons close to the beach. The water of the lagoons, though not bad, is not so good as that of the springs: the people settled on the island (mentioned hereafter) had not dug for water till I arrived there, but depended entirely on the lagoons: they however followed my example, and I was told had no difficulty in obtaining excellent water by digging in various parts of the island. On the return of the boats, in three or four days, we weighed and stood farther into the bay, in a much more safe anchorage, being sheltered from all winds. We moored ship, and each individual took part in pursuing the objects of the voyage: my own lot, with another person, was to stay by the ship, during which time I had many opportunities of examining the bays, harbours, sands, and different anchorages, with many other occurrences and incidents which I could not now relate from lapse of time.

From a point five miles south of *Point Marsden* a sand spit runs out at least six miles in a south-easterly

direction, which is not mentioned in any of the English charts I have corrected this in my own, and called it *Sutherland's Shoal*. I made a regular sketch of the island as near as I could, having due regard to all the bays with the best anchorages, and all the probable dangers I could discover. Having sailed twice round the island, I have placed several small reefs and rocks on the chart as I discovered them, and drawn the south side of the island, and shown the direction of the land. Near the *Bay of Shoals* I planted cabbages, having brought the seed from Sydney; they proved very good and useful. While here we had abundance of fish of several kinds; the best we found was the snapper, some weighing about seven pounds; they are excellent eating, and preferable to some of our English fish; oysters, and every other species of shell-fish, were abundant. These, with our daily supply of kangaroos, enabled us to live in great plenty. Indeed, I never was on a voyage which pleased me better, or on which we were better supplied.

HARBOURS AND ROADSTEADS.

Twenty ships could moor within 100 yards of the shore, and the same number anchor in safety farther off, the water being always smooth, sheltered by the land from the north-west, and from the southward by *Kangaroo Head*, and from the north-east by *Sutherland's Shoal*, extending from the point below *Point Marsden* about six miles, always dry at half ebb for nearly the whole distance. The shore is thickly lined with wood and shrubs, interspersed with several high hills protecting the anchorage: the opposite coast on the main is *Cape Jervis*, which I should judge to be about fourteen or fifteen miles from the first anchorage, but nearer to *Kangaroo Head* by three or four miles. The main land here is very high, and at the head of the bay wears every appearance of an inlet or river.

THE SOIL.

I had an opportunity of seeing much of the interior of the island, having crossed the country in company with two sealers, who had been residents on the island for several years. The land wears every appearance of being fertile; a deep loam with coarse grass, abounding with kangaroos and emus: where these animals feed, the grass is much better for pasture: occasional ponds of rain water are seen, and a plentiful supply of pure spring water is always attainable by digging for it. The land here is as good as any I have seen in Van Diemen's Land. In the neighbourhood of Sydney I have not observed any equal to it. Trees are scattered everywhere over the plains—the Swamp Oak or Beef wood, and the Wattle (both of which indicate good land) are growing in abundance here. Close on the shore, within from a quarter to half a mile from the sea, the wood is very thick; but when this belt of wood is passed, you come on to an open country, covered with grass, where there are often hundreds of acres without a tree; I calculated, by comparison with New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, there might be on this plain, on the average, three or four trees to an acre. I once crossed the Island, a distance of about sixty miles in two days. Once past the belt of wood which surrounds the Island, we walked straight on and over the plains, found plenty of water in ponds, saw abundance of kangaroos and emus, and met with no difficulty or trouble. As we crossed the Island I looked to the right and left, and saw every where the same open plains, now and then changed in appearance by close timber of great height, on high points and ridges of land. In some places we found the grass very high and coarse in patches, but where the greatest number of kangaroos and emus were found, the grass was short and close. In the other places, close short grass was found between the coarse high patches.

While crossing the Island we saw plenty of parrots and wild pigeons, and black swans on the lagoons.

PRODUCTIONS.

With the exception of salt, the timber appears the principal production we have observed of this place. The trees are the same as at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; some run exceedingly high and large in circumference, and may be converted into every domestic purpose as well as maritime; as; many may be found and selected for ship's spars and other purposes of ship-building. Twenty years ago an American ship was cast away on the coast, and the crew built a schooner in *Lagoon Bay*, which enabled them to get away, after a residence of several months on the Island. Salt is produced here in abundance; I should say between two and three hundred tons could be collected from the lagoon with a little attention; the distance to the beach is about three-quarters of a mile, and from the beach to where ships anchor about four miles. This lagoon is a perfect circle of about three miles in circumference. The prospect about this lagoon is very pleasant. Close to the salt-water lake is another of fresh, but considerably smaller. It was at this spot our people erected their tents while collecting the salt. Pigeons and kangaroos make their appearance here regularly morning and evening for water, so that we were well supplied with fresh provisions for very little trouble.

My attention was next directed to the lime-stone of the Island,—in several places I found it plentiful, but not general over the country. Free-stone and granite are also in large quantities, so that people emigrating to this country would find every necessary as in Europe and both the other Colonies. I make no doubt but some more valuable productions might be found on examination and enquiry—my time and attention were of course more particularly devoted to the object of my voyage.

THE CLIMATE

appeared to me very temperate, and not subject to oppressive heat, nor do the rains fall in torrents as at Sydney; the dews are heavy, but not injurious to health, which we had ample opportunity of proving, owing to the frequent exposure of our men, many of whom have slept under trees and bushes for several nights together, and though almost wet through, never experienced any ill effects. I had fifteen men under my command, and though they were a class of people who take no care of themselves, not one of them was ill during our stay, nor did my own health suffer at all, though I was exposed to all weathers both night and day.

January, when I reached the Island, is the middle of the summer; and the autumn and winter elapsed during our stay. In the winter it appeared to me much less cold than in Van Diemen's Land, and I observed generally that the changes of temperature are less sudden and frequent than in New South Wales.

The winds there are regular land and sea breezes, with occasional calms; during the winter months strong south westerly winds prevail, but are not of any duration, and cannot throw any sea into the anchorages to injure the shipping, they being completely landlocked;—a vessel, on making for the Island, must be careful in not standing too close to the shore, until they ascertain their true position, as several dangers are still unexplored on the southern part of the Island: this I would leave entirely to the judgment of the navigator, who always ought to be guided by circumstances.

There are no harbours on the south side of the Island, but in fine weather a ship may anchor for a few hours in any place along the coast, but must be always ready to slip in case of the appearance of bad weather. It was the case with me at the south-west side of the Island. There are no natives on the Island; several

Europeans assembled there; some who have run from ships that traded for salt; others from Sydney and Van Diemen's Land, who were prisoners of the Crown. These gangs joined after a lapse of time, and became the terror of ships going to the Island for salt, &c. being little better than pirates. They are complete savages, living in bark huts like the natives, not cultivating any thing, but living entirely on kangaroos, emus, and small porcupines, and getting spirits and tobacco in barter for the skins which they lay up during the sealing season. They dress in kangaroo skins without linen, and wear sandals made of seal skins. They smell like foxes. They have carried their daring acts to an extreme, venturing on the main land in their boats, and seizing on the natives, particularly the women, and keeping them in a state of slavery, cruelly beating them on every trifling occasion; and when at last some of these marauders were taken off the Island by an expedition from New South Wales, these women were landed on the main with their children and dogs, to procure a subsistence, not knowing how their own people might treat them after a long absence. There are a few even still on the Island, whom it would be desirable to have removed, if a permanent settlement were established in the neighbourhood.

The period during which I stayed on and near the Island, was from the 8th of January to the 12th of August. I myself landed only once on the main, in the bight between *Point Riley* and *Corny Point*. The soil was thickly covered with timber and brushwood. Some of my men landed at several different places on the main, being sometimes absent three weeks at a time in search of seals. On these occasions they carried with them bread and some salt meat; but having a musket and a dog with them, they always obtained fresh meat (kangaroo), when on the main as well as on some of the islands. *On these expeditions they never took fresh*

water with them. They often spoke of the places they had seen as being very pleasant.

I never saw or heard of any native dogs on the *Island of Kangaroo*; and from the very great number of kangaroos, do not believe there are any. Some of the kangaroos which I killed on the Island weighed 120lbs. Our men used to go to hunt them at sunrise, when they leave the woods to feed on the grassy plains. I have known as many as fifteen taken by my men in one morning. We never touched any part but the hind quarters.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND,
Commander of the Brig *Governor Macquarrie*
of Sydney, in 1819."

In a course of interrogatories put to Captain Sutherland by a Committee appointed to examine into the evidence as to the soil, &c., he further stated that the kangaroos were larger and fatter than any he had seen on the main land; and that during his stay on the Island, he and his men killed 1500 of them. From having cultivated land in Van Diemen's Land, he was able to form a tolerable judgment as to the character of the soil, and he thought the land of *Kangaroo Island* superior to that of Van Diemen's Land; the soil of the Island is a deep loam on a bed of blue clay. The climate is better also; it is milder, and the rains are more regular. There was no ice during his stay there, which included the whole winter.

The prevailing winds in winter are westerly. *Kangaroo Island* is five or six days' sail from Circular Head, the establishment of the Van Diemen's Land Company; and a vessel calling at the Island from England would not be delayed more than five or six days. The wind would be fair if she kept along the coast. *Nepean Bay* can be entered at all times, and the

anchorage is safe all the year round. The rise of the tide in the *Bay of Shoals* is ten or eleven feet.

Snakes are numerous, but Captain Sutherland was not annoyed by them; nor did he see any venomous ones. There are many guanas as large as a small alligator, but they are quite harmless. Captain Sutherland declared his intention of settling at Kangaroo Island, if the colony were founded; and he proposed to follow the whale fishery, for which the locality is, in his opinion, admirably adapted.

Captain Dillon states that in the *Bay of Shoals* he found good anchorage for ships under 300 tons, and safe from all winds. The climate he found very good, and the soil of the western coast bore as fertile an appearance as the shores of Van Diemen's Land. He went but a mile inland at any part, but wherever he landed (and this was on several parts of the Island) timber was plentiful. In the neighbourhood of the salt lagoon, it was open forest land, but the trees there were not so large as on the western coast. He saw a great many kangaroos; they were the forest kangaroos of the continent, and were larger and fatter than those of Van Diemen's Land.

He took 7 tons of salt on board, and would have taken 40 tons more, had he not allowed it to remain on the bed of the lagoon after having collected it, where it was dissolved by a fall of rain. He also took 500 seals on the Island.

The account given by Richard Wootton, Steward of the brig *Guardian*, is much to the same effect as the preceding statement. He landed about twelve miles west of *Point Marsden* with some shipmates and dogs, to shoot kangaroos, walking towards *Nepean Bay*, where his ship was to anchor. They succeeded in killing a dozen kangaroos of a larger sort than the *Wallaba* species. Where they landed the shore was barren; but it continued improving till they arrived at *Nepean*

Bay. Near the water's edge on the north side of the Island the land was barren; but about three or four miles' from the shore they saw large trees. They dug a pit about five feet deep, and so found plenty of very good water; they dug through sand first, and then light earth till they got to the clay, where they found water. He remained on the Island three weeks, and the weather was very fine the whole time.

The report of the Island by M.M. Baudin and Freycinet is not inviting, and shows that they were not disposed uniformly to praise. It is worthy of remark that although they describe the soil as sterile, they corroborate fully the account of the vast number and large size of the kangaroos found there; and if their picture were strictly correct, it would be difficult to imagine how these animals could be supported.

"From Cape Bedout to the Ravine des Casoars, the country exhibits a range of hills exactly like those of the south, but higher; and although destitute of wood of any kind, one may perceive here and there some traces of verdure. The Ravine des Casoars cutting through this chain exhibits to us in the interior other hills, some parts of which are wooded. The northern coast is arid and naked like the southward, and exhibits throughout an analogous appearance. The shores of *Nepean Bay* consist of hills of small elevation; but the verdure by which they are covered, and the forests, the tops of which are seen at different points, give to this part of the Island a more smiling and agreeable aspect. The picture which I have just traced, though strictly correct as regards the coast of this Island, would doubtless have been more interesting and more varied, had we had an opportunity of penetrating into the interior of the country. Destitute of mountains, and devoid of that active vegetation which a humid soil supports, *Kangaroo Island* appeared to us to be almost without fresh water. It is true that it was then the hottest sea-

son of the year, and we, nevertheless, upon digging a few holes in the little *Anse des Sources* (*Freshwater Bay*) were enabled to procure a sufficient quantity of water for our daily consumption. It is not only the coasts of the Island which, at the period I speak of, were destitute of fresh water. There is a remarkable fact in the history of the animals inhabiting it, which seems to lead to the inference that this deficiency prevailed at that time, if not absolutely, at least generally, throughout the interior of the country. In fact, as soon as the heat of the day began to abate, we observed large herds of kangaroos and emus repairing from the depths of the woods to demand of the ocean that beverage which the earth doubtless denied them. This scarcity of water, the little elevation of the ground, and the general feebleness of the vegetation, must all concur in increasing the heat of the atmosphere upon these coasts; and it is therefore very surprising that the mean of our thermometrical observations at noon should have been 18⁰.*"

"At the bottom of the great bay (*Nepean Bay*) we are now upon, are found forests which appear to extend a considerable distance into the interior of the country, and which consist, like all others in these remote regions, of different species of eucalyptus, *Banksia*, *phœbalium*, *mimosa*, *casuarina*, *metrasideros*, *leptosperma*, *stiphelia*, *conchicum*, *diosma*, *Hakea*, *embothreum*," &c. &c.

Page 131.—"No traces of the abode of man are to be observed here, and we saw but three species of the *mammalia*; one of these belongs to the handsome genus *dasyurus*; the other two are new species, and appear to be the largest of the kangaroo tribe. Many of these animals are here of the height of a man, and more; when sitting on their hind legs and tail, they hold their body erect. From the favourable circumstance of the

* Réaumur.

absence of every enemy, these large quadrupeds have multiplied very considerably in this Island; they associate there in large herds. In some spots which they are in the habit of frequenting regularly, the earth is so trodden that not a blade of herbage remains. Large pathways, opening into the heart of the woods, abut upon the sea-shore from every part of the interior: these paths, which cross in every direction, are throughout firmly beaten; one might be led to suppose, at first sight, that the vicinity must be inhabited by a numerous and active population.

"This abundance of kangaroos rendering the chase as easy as productive, we were enabled to procure twenty-seven which we carried on board our ship alive, independent of those which were killed and eaten by the crew. This valuable acquisition cost us neither ammunition nor labour; one single dog was our purveyor; trained by the English fishermen to this description of chase, he pursued the kangaroos, and having overtaken them, he immediately killed them by tearing the carotid arteries."

Page 139.—"Towards the bottom of the bay is a kind of marsh covered with sea-weed, in which live, buried in the mud and sand, millions of *pinna marinæ*, or mussels. These shells furnish a silk, equal, in all respects, to that obtained from similar animals along the coasts of Calabria and Sicily; but the European mussels dwell at a depth of 30 or 40 feet, and the fishery is attended with great difficulty, whilst those of *Kangaroo Island* are covered with scarcely 25 to 30 inches of water, and thousands might with ease be collected in a few hours*."

Captain Flinders gives an account of his adventures on *Kangaroo Island* much more in accordance with

* In Italy, the silk of the *pinna marinæ* is of great value. It is convertible into a fine and durable stuff, and being scarce, fetches a high price.

what the statement of Captain Sutherland would lead one to anticipate.

"Next morning, however, going towards the shore, a number of dark brown kangaroos were seen feeding upon a grass plat by the side of the wood, and our landing gave them no disturbance*. I had with me a double-barrelled gun fitted with a bayonet, and the gentlemen my companions had muskets. It would be difficult to guess how many kangaroos were seen; but I killed ten, and the rest of my party made up the number to thirty-one taken on board in the course of the day; the least of them weighing sixty nine, and the largest one hundred and twenty-five pounds. These kangaroos had much resemblance to the large species found in the forest lands of New South Wales; except that their colour is darker, and they were not wholly destitute of fat,

"After this butchery, for the poor animals suffered themselves to be shot in the eyes with small shot, and in some cases to be knocked on the head with sticks, I scrambled with difficulty through the brush-wood and over fallen trees, to reach the higher land with the surveying instruments; but the thickness and height of the wood prevented any thing else being distinguished. There was little doubt, however, that this extensive piece of land was separated from the continent; for the extraordinary tameness of the kangaroos and the presence of the seals upon the shore, concurred with the absence of all traces of men to show that it was not inhabited.

"The whole ship's company was employed this afternoon in skinning and cleaning the kangaroos, and a delightful regale they afforded, after four months' privation from almost any fresh provisions." "In gratitude for so seasonable a supply, I named this southern land KANGAROO ISLAND."

* This was before the runaway sailors and convicts had settled there.

Page 170.—"The scientific gentlemen landed again to examine the natural productions of the Island, and in the evening eleven more kangaroos were brought on board ; but most of these were smaller and seemed to be of a different species to those of the preceding day. Some of the party saw several large running birds which, according to their description, seemed to be the emu or cassowary.

"All the cliffs of *Kangaroo Island* seen to the west of the anchorage had the appearance of being calcareous, and the loose stones scattered over the surface of *Kangaroo Head* and the vicinity were of that substance ; but the basis in this part seemed to be a brown slate, lying in strata nearly horizontal, and laminae of quartz were sometimes seen in the interstices. In some places the slate was split into pieces of a foot long, or more, like iron bars, and had a shining ore-like appearance; and the strata were there farther from the horizontal line than I observed them to be elsewhere.

"A thick wood covered almost all that part of the Island visible from the ship; but the trees in a vegetating state were not equal in size to the generality of those lying on the ground, nor to the dead trees standing upright. Those on the ground were so abundant, that, in ascending the higher land, a considerable part of the walk was made upon them. They lay in all directions, and were nearly of the same size, and in the same progress towards decay; whence it would seem that they had not fallen from age, nor yet been thrown down in a gale of wind. Some general conflagration, and there were marks apparently of fire on many of them, is perhaps the sole cause which can be reasonably assigned." "They were a species of *eucalyptus*, and being less than the fallen trees, had most probably not arrived at maturity ; but the wood is hard and solid, and may thence be supposed to grow slowly."

Page 172.—" The soil of that part of *Kangaroo Island*

examined by us was judged to be much superior to any before seen, either upon the south coast of the continent; or upon the islands near it; with the exception of some portions behind the harbours of King George's Sound. The depth of the soil was not particularly ascertained; but from the thickness of the wood it cannot be very shallow. Some sand is mixed with the vegetable earth, but not in any great proportion; and I thought the soil superior to some of the land cultivated at Port Jackson, and to much of that in our stony counties in England."

Page 183.—" The entrance of a piece of water at the head of *Nepean Bay* is less than half a mile in width and mostly shallow ; but there is a channel sufficiently deep for all boats near the western shore. After turning two low islets near the east point, the water opens out, becomes deeper, and divides into two branches, each of two or three miles long. Boats can go to the head of the southern branch only at high water ; the east branch appeared to be accessible at all times; but as a lead and line were neglected to be put into the boat, I had no opportunity of sounding. There are four small islands in the eastern branch; one of them is moderately high and woody, the others are grassy and lower, and upon two of these we found many young pelicans unable to fly. Flocks of the old birds were sitting upon the beaches of the lagoon, and it appeared that the islands were their breeding places; not only so, but from the number of skeletons and bones there scattered, it should seem that they had for ages been selected for the closing scene of their existence."

Page 184.—"I named this piece of water *Pelican Lagoon*. It is also frequented by flocks of the pied shag, and by some ducks and gulls, and the shoals supplied us with a few oysters. The surrounding country is almost everywhere thickly covered with brushwood; and the soil appeared to be generally of a good quality, though not

deep. Not being able to return on board the same night, we slept near the entrance of the lagoon."

Mr. Westall corroborates the reports of Captains Sutherland and Flinders. He says that the land of *Kangaroo Island* is decidedly fertile; the trees are large, but a number of them had been thrown down by some inexplicable cause. Young ones were growing up between the fallen trunks, and the grass was thick and short. A number of very large kangaroos were found there. The appearance of the land there, says Mr. Westall, was decidedly better than that at *Port Lincoln*, and that again is better than the soil at King George's Sound.

Of the western shore of *Yorke's Peninsula* nothing is known, but we are now approaching a spot which has been explored, though not so completely as could be wished, by Captain Sturt, (a most enterprising traveller now in England,) who was employed by the Government of New South Wales to conduct an expedition of discovery into the interior. The following extract from the official report of that expedition relates to the country visited by Captain Sturt, after he had got within the limits of the new Colony.

Extracts from "Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831; with Observations on the soil, climate, and general resources of the Colony of New South Wales," by Captain Charles Sturt, 39th Regiment, &c.

Vol. II. p. 180.—"The valley of the *Murray*, at its entrance, cannot be less than four miles in breadth. The river does not occupy the centre, but inclines to either side, according to its windings, and thus the flats are of greater or less extent, according to the distance of the river from the base of the hills. It is to be remarked, that the bottom of the valley is extremely level, and extensively covered with reeds. From the latter circumstance, one would be led to infer that these flats are

subject to overflow, and no doubt can exist as to the fact of their being, at least partially, if not wholly, under water at times. A country in a state of nature is, however, so different from one in a state of cultivation, that it is hazardous to give an opinion as to its practical *availableness*, if I may use such a term. I should undoubtedly say the marshes of the Macquarrie were frequently covered with water, and that they were wholly unfit for any one purpose whatever. It is evident from the marks of the reeds upon the banks, that the flood covers them occasionally to the depth of three feet, and the reeds are so densely embodied, and so close to the river side, that the natives cannot walk along it. The reeds are the broad flag-reed (*arundo phragenatis*), and grow on a stiff earthy loam, without any accompanying vegetation; indeed they form so solid a mass that the sun cannot penetrate to the ground to nourish vegetation. On the other hand, the valley of the *Murray*, though covered with reeds in most places, is not so in all. There is no mark upon the reeds by which to judge of the height of inundation; neither are they of the same kind as those which cover the marshes of the Macquarrie. They are the species of round reed of which the South Sea Islanders make their arrows, and stand sufficiently open, not only to allow of a passage through, but for the abundant growth of grass among them. Still I have no doubt that parts of the valley are subject to flood; but, as I have already remarked, I do not know whether these parts are either deeply or frequently covered. Rain must fall simultaneously in the S.E. angle of the island in the intertropical regions, and at the heads of all the tributaries of the main stream, ere its effects can be felt in the lower parts of the *Murray*. If the valley of the *Murray* is not subject to flood, it has only recently gained a height above the influence of the river, and still retains all the character of flooded land. In either case, however, it contains land that is of the very richest kind

—soil that is the pure accumulation of vegetable matter, and is as black as ebony. If its hundreds of thousands of acres were practically available, I should not hesitate to pronounce it one of the richest spots of equal extent on earth, and highly favoured in other respects. How far it is available* remains to be proved; and an opinion upon either side would be hazardous, although that of its liability to flood would, most probably, be nearest the truth. It is, however, certain, that any part of the valley would require much labour before it could be brought under cultivation, and that even its most available spots would require almost as much trouble to clear them as the forest tract, for nothing is more difficult to destroy than reeds. Breaking the sod would naturally raise the level of the ground, and lateral drains would most probably carry off all floods; but then the latter at least is the operation of an advanced stage of husbandry only. I would, however, observe, that there are many parts of the valley decidedly above the reach of floods, I have, in the above observations, been more particularly alluding to the lowest and broadest portions of it. I trust I shall be understood as not wishing to overrate this discovery on the one hand, or, on the other, to include its whole extent in one sweeping clause of condemnation."

Page 229.—"We were borne over its ruffled and agitated surface (*Lake Alexandrina*) with such rapidity, that I had scarcely time to view it as we passed; but cursory as my glance was, I could not but think I was leaving behind me the fullest reward of our toil, in a country that would ultimately render our discoveries valuable, and benefit the colony for whose interests we

* "Available" means here, available under the circumstance of dispersed and divided labour. In the time of Alfred, a surveyor might have doubted whether the rich garden grounds near Fulham, or the marsh of the Isle of Dogs, was "available." Captain Sturt had lived in a colony where pains have been taken to disperse and divide the settlers.

were engaged. Hurried, I would repeat, as my view was, my eye never fell on a country of more promising aspect, or of more favourable position, than that which occupies the space between the lake and the ranges of *St. Vincent's Gulf*, and continuing northerly from *Mount Barker*, stretches away without any visible boundary.

"It appeared to me that, unless Nature had deviated from her usual laws, this tract of country could not but be fertile, situated as it was to receive the mountain deposits on the one hand, and those of the lake upon the other."

Page 233.—"They (Captain Barker's party) crossed the bar, (between the sea and the lake,) and ascertained that it was a narrow inlet of four miles in length, that terminated at the foot of the ranges. The party were quite delighted with the aspect of the country on either side of the inlet, and with the bold and romantic scenery behind them. The former bore the appearance of natural meadows lightly timbered, and covered with a variety of grasses. The soil was observed to be a rich, flat, chocolate-coloured earth, probably the decomposition of the deep blue limestone, that showed itself along the coast hereabouts. On the other hand, a rocky glen made a cleft in the ranges at the head of the inlet; and they were supplied with abundance of fresh water, which remained in the deeper pools that had been filled by the torrents during late rains. The whole neighbourhood was so inviting that the party slept at the head of the inlet.

"In the morning, Captain Barker proceeded to ascend *Mount Lofty*, accompanied by Mr. Kent and his servant, leaving the two soldiers at the bivouac, at which he directed them to remain until his return. Mr. Kent says, they kept the ridge all the way, and rose above the sea by a gradual ascent. The rock formation of the lower range appeared to be an argillaceous schist; the sides and summits of the ranges were covered with ver-

ture, and the trees upon them were of more than ordinary size. The view to the eastward was shut out by other ranges, parallel to those on which they were: below them, to the westward, the same pleasing kind of country that flanked the inlet still continued. "In the course of the day they passed round the head of a deep ravine, whose smooth and grassy sides presented a beautiful appearance."

Page 236.—"Immediately behind *Cape Jervis* there is a small bay, in which, according to the information of the sealers who frequent *Kangaroo Island*, there is good and safe anchorage for seven months in the year; that is to say, during the prevalence of the east and north-east winds."

Page 237.—"Between this inlet (on the east coast of *Gulf St. Vincent*) and the one formerly mentioned, a small and clear stream was discovered, to which Captain Barker kindly gave my name. On landing, the party, which consisted of the same persons as the former one, found themselves in a valley, which opened direct upon the bay. It was confined to the north from the chief range by a lateral ridge that gradually declined towards, and terminated at, the rocky point on which they had landed. The other side of the valley was formed of a continuation of the main range, which also gradually declined to the south, and appeared to be connected with the hills at the extremity of the cape. The valley was from nine to ten miles in length, and from three to four in breadth. In crossing it, they ascertained that the lagoon from which the schooner had obtained a supply of water was filled by a watercourse that came down its centre. The soil in the valley was rich, but stony in some parts. There was an abundance of pasture over the whole, from amongst which they started numerous kangaroos. The scenery towards the ranges was beautiful and romantic, and the general appearance of the country such as to delight the whole party.

"Pursuing a due east course, Captain Barker passed over the opposite range of hills, and descended almost immediately into a second valley that continued to the southward.

"Its soil was poor and stony, and it was covered with low scrub. Crossing it, they ascended the opposite range, from the summit of which they had a view of *Encounter Bay*. An extensive flat stretched from beneath them to the eastward, and was backed in the distance by sand hummocks and low wooded hills. The extreme right of the flat rested upon the coast, at a rocky point, near which there were two or three islands. From the left, a beautiful valley opened upon it. A strong and clear rivulet from this valley traversed the flat obliquely, and fell into the sea at the rocky point, or a little to the southward of it."

Page 244.—"It yet remains for me to state, that when Mr. Kent returned to the schooner after this irreparable loss (the death of Captain Barker), he kept to the south of the place at which he had crossed the first range with Captain Barker, and travelled through a valley right across the promontory. He thus discovered that there was a division in the ranges, through which there was a direct and level road from the *Little Bay* on the north extremity, at which they had last landed in *St. Vincent's Gulf*, to the rocky point of *Encounter Bay*. The importance of this fact will be better estimated, when it is known that good anchorage is secured to small vessels inside the island that lies off the part of *Encounter Bay*, which is rendered still safer by a horseshoe reef that forms, as it were, a thick wall to break the swell of the sea. But this anchorage is not safe for more than five months in the year. Independently of these points, however, Mr. Kent remarks, that a spit a little to the north of *Mount Lofly* would afford good shelter to minor vessels under its lee. When the nature of the country is taken into consideration, and the facility of

entering that which lies between the ranges and the *Lake Alexandrina*, from the south, and of a direct communication with the lake itself, the want of an extensive harbour will, in some measure, be compensated for, more especially when it is known that within four leagues of *Cape Jervis*, a port little inferior to Port Jackson, with a safe and broad entrance, exists at *Kangaroo Island*. The sealers have given this spot the name of *American Harbour*. In it, I am informed, vessels are completely land-locked and secure from every wind. *Kangaroo Island* is not, however, fertile* by any means. It abounds in shallow lakes filled with salt water during high tide, and which by evaporation yield a vast quantity of salt.

"I gathered from the sealers, that neither the promontory separating *St. Vincent* from *Spencer's Gulf*, nor the neighbourhood of *Port Lincoln*, are other than barren and sandy wastes. They all agree in describing *Port Lincoln* itself as a magnificent roadstead, but equally agree as to the sterility of its shores. It appears, therefore, that the promontory of *Cape Jervis* owes its superiority to its natural features ; in fact, to the mountains that occupy its centre, to the debris that has been washed from them, and to the decomposition of the better description of its rocks. Such is the case at Illawarra, where the mountains approach the sea; such indeed is the case every where, at a certain distance from mountain ranges.

"From the above account, it would appear that a spot has at length been found upon the south coast of New Holland, to which the colonist might venture with every

* It is to be observed that Captain Sturt never was at *Kangaroo Island*; and as he says his information is derived from others, his remarks do not invalidate the testimony of Captains Flinders and Sutherland. The same may be said of his impressions relative to *Port Lincoln* and *Yorke's Peninsula*.

prospect of success, and in whose valleys the exile might hope to build for himself and for his family a peaceful and prosperous home. All who have ever landed upon the eastern shore of *St. Vincent's Gulf* agree as to the richness of its soil, and the abundance of its pasture. Indeed, if we cast our eyes upon the chart, and examine the natural features of the country behind *Cape Jervis*, we shall no longer wonder at its differing in soil and fertility from the low and sandy tracts that generally prevail along the shores of Australia. Without entering largely into the consideration of the more remote advantages that would, in all human probability, result from the establishment of a colony, rather than a penal settlement, at *St. Vincent's Gulf*, it will be expedient to glance hastily over the preceding narrative, and, disengaging it from all extraneous matter, to condense, as much as possible, the information it contains respecting the country itself; for I have been unable to introduce any passing remark, lest I should break the thread of an interesting detail.

"The country immediately behind *Cape Jervis* may, strictly speaking, be termed a promontory, bounded on the west by *St. Vincent's Gulf*, and to the east by the *Lake Alexandrina*, and the sandy tract separating that basin from the sea. Supposing a line to be drawn from the parallel of $34^{\circ} 40'$ to the eastward, it will strike the *Murray River* about 25 miles above the head of the lake, and will clear the ranges, of which *Mount Lofty* and *Mount Barker* are the respective terminations. This line will cut off a space whose greatest breadth will be 55 miles, whose length from north to south will be 75, and whose surface exceeds seven millions of acres* ; from which, if we deduct two millions for the unavailable hills, we shall have five millions of acres of land of rich soil upon which no scrub exists, and whose most

* There is an obvious error in this calculation.

distant points are accessible, through a level country on the one hand, and by water on the other. The southern extremity of the ranges can be turned by that valley through which Mr. Kent returned to the schooner after Captain Barker's death. It is certain, therefore, that this valley not only secures so grand a point, but also presents a level line of communication from the small bay immediately to the north of the Cape, to the rocky point of *Encounter Bay*, at both of which places there is safe anchorage at different periods of the year.

"The only objection that can be raised to the occupation of this spot is the want of an available harbour. Yet it admits of great doubt whether the contiguity of *Kangaroo Island* to *Cape Jervis* (serving as it does to break the force of the prevailing winds, as also of the heavy swell that would otherwise roll direct into the bay); and the fact of its possessing a safe and commodious harbour, certainly at an available distance, does not in a great measure remove the objection. Certain it is that no port, with the exception of that on the shores of which the capital of Australia is situated, offers half the convenience of this, although it be detached between three and four leagues from the main."

Captain Sturt's report is corroborated by Mr. Kent, who with Captain Barker surveyed the land about *Cape Jervis*; and Captain Sutherland states that he saw great numbers of natives along that part of the coast. They are larger and better-looking than those in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and he would think they were better fed.

After the death of Mr. Thistle (the Master of Captain Flinders' ship the *Investigator*) and on the arrival of that vessel at Sydney, Mr. Aken joined the party as Master. Subsequently he was imprisoned with Captain Flinders at the Isle of France, where they remained for some years. Here Mr. Aken collated all the documents relative to Captain Flinders' discoveries, and assisted

him in completing those maps which were afterwards published in England. The opportunities thus afforded Mr. Aken of learning Captain Flinders' opinion relative to the establishment of a colony on certain parts of the coast were not lost; but he states that he has a vivid recollection of Captain Flinders' opinion being "decidedly in favour of establishing a colony in the neighbourhood of *Port Lincoln*, although not exactly at the Port itself. He had used to talk of *Fowler's Bay* and *Kangaroo Island* as desirable places for settlement - in consequence of the fertility of the land." Mr. Aken also says, that this opinion was general amongst the majority of the officers who accompanied Captain Flinders, and this report is corroborated by Captain Fowler, the first Lieutenant of the *Investigator*, who states* that he has often regretted it had not been thought of before in preference to Swan River; as *Spencer's Gulf* and that part of the coast was far more interesting than any other part of the voyage, and it was always considered the most desirable for colonization.

From the foregoing evidence concerning the natural features of the south coast of Australia, every one must be left to draw conclusions for himself, as to the fitness of the place for the purposes of colonization. We should not shrink from expressing a decided opinion on the subject; and we abstain from doing so, only because our opinion would not deserve more weight than that of any reader who, with a knowledge of the natural circumstances of Australia generally, and with an eye to corresponding latitudes in the

* In a letter recently addressed to Mr. George Vardon, who, proposing to settle in South Australia, had asked Captain Fowler for information respecting the country.

northern hemisphere, has carefully examined the reports here given. No one, of course, would assert that the survey of the country has been as complete as is desirable; nor, we imagine, will it be denied, that the evidence in this case is more full than that which on most other occasions of planting a desert country was held to be satisfactory. A perfect survey would have been better; but if we are always to wait for a perfect survey before we colonize, we must wait for a government disposed to make surveys of unknown countries with a view to colonization. Besides, no mere survey would prove absolutely that a wilderness was fit to be colonized. In order to prove so much, you must actually colonize; and if you colonize by dribblets, beginning with a small "experimental farm*," the chances are that so wretched a mode of colonizing will bestow a wretched character on the soil, however fertile it may be by nature. What has happened at the Swan River proves nothing against the soil of that settlement: the very same, or rather much greater distress occurred in every one of our American colonies (except that of William Penn, who colonized on a large scale at the outset), where the land was by nature eminently fertile. Not nature, but the colonists, have generally been to blame for the unproductiveness of infant settlements. Half-measures, bit-by-bit proceedings, are no where more dangerous than in colonization. Further on, we shall have to dwell upon this point: it is mentioned here with a view to show, that an experiment on the soil of any wide waste must, to be worth much, be also an

* As lately recommended by an ingenious writer in the *Spectator*.

ample experiment in colonization. For making such an experiment, that spot has been chosen concerning whose *natural* fertility there is better evidence than touching any other wilderness open to British enterprise. The wisest can only do as well as is possible. Is there a country more suitable for the object in view, recollecting the greatness of that object, and the necessity of keeping away from colonies whose bad state of political economy would interfere with the best-laid plan if it were tried in their immediate neighbourhood? The reader must answer that question for himself. Neither the Government nor the Association are half so well qualified to decide the question, as those who, contemplating emigration, have the deepest interest in deciding it correctly.

CHAPTER II.

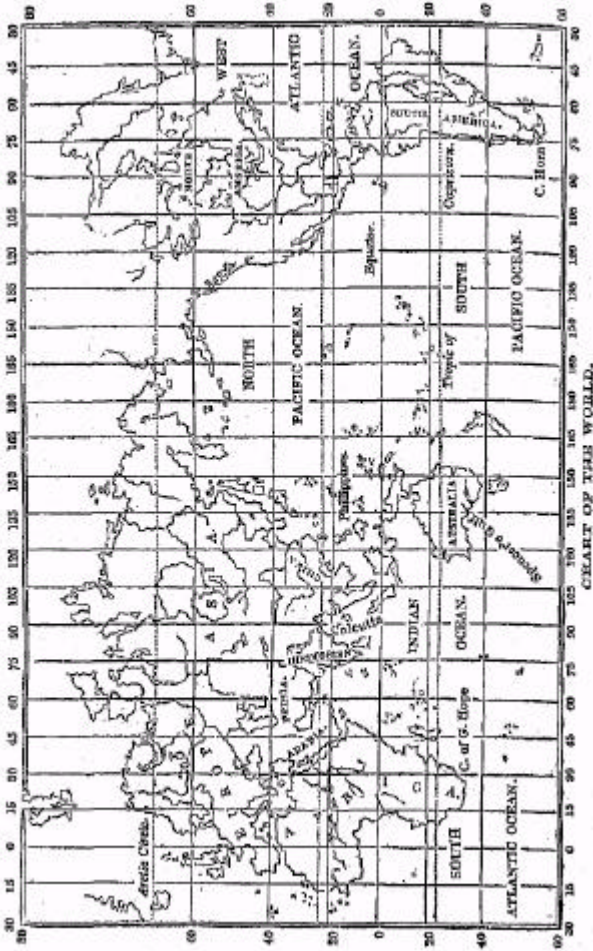
RELATIVE POSITION OF THE COLONY.

For the purposes of foreign trade—For obtaining live-stock and cheap food—Table of Sailing Distances to and from Port Lincoln—Table of the prices of provisions and live-stock in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land—Advantage of the new colony to the British inhabitants of India—Exportable commodities produceable in South Australia.

THE position of Australia with relation to other parts of the world, is explained in the following extract from a little work on the state and prospects of New South Wales*.

"Just before I embarked at Plymouth, I visited my grandmother, in order to take leave of her for ever. Poor old soul! she was already dead to the concerns of this life: my departure could make but little difference in the time of our separation; and it was of no importance to her which of us should quit the other. My resolution, however, revived for a day all her woman's feelings: she shed abundance of tears, and then became extremely curious to know every particular about the place to which I was going. I rubbed her spectacles whilst she wiped her eyes, and, having placed before her a common English chart of the world, pointed out the situation of New Holland. She shook her head. 'What

* *A Letter from Sydney; the principal Town of Australasia.* Edited by Robert Gouger. J. Cross, Holborn. 1829.



displeases you, my dear Madam?' said I. 'Why,' she answered, 'it is terribly out of the way; down in the very right-hand corner of the world.' The chart being mine, I cut it in two through the meridian of Iceland, transposed the parts laterally, and turned them upside down, 'Now,' asked I, 'where is England?' 'Ah, boy,' she replied, 'you may do what you like with the map; but you can't twist the world about in that manner, though they *are* making sad changes in it.'

"Enough of my grandmother. But, notwithstanding the great increase of knowledge which she deplored, English people generally do consider New Holland 'terribly out of the way.' Out of the way of what? Of England? Yes; but is every part of the world a pleasant or hateful residence, only according to its facilities of communication with England? Any people, no doubt, must be the better for communication with the most civilized people in the world; but the degree of intercourse between nations is not entirely regulated by distance. Indeed, distance has very little to do with it; as appears by comparing the case of France and Spain, with that of England and India. Perhaps, if there were no restrictions on trade, the greatest difference of temperature, which involves considerable distance, would cause the greatest degree of intercourse, by means of the greatest difference of production, and the greatest motive for exchange. But, however this may be, I suspect that those who despise New Holland on account of its being out of the way of England, would, if they could be forced to think on the subject, acknowledge that they do not mean exactly what they say. Comparing the inhabitants of Pest, for example, with those of Calcutta, they would see that wealth and civilization are not measured by the longitude from Greenwich; and a glance at Loo-Choo might convince them, if Captain Hall was not deceived, that happiness does not depend on geographical position with respect to England. But without inquiry, a mo-

ment's reflection would lead them to use other words. They do not mean, though they say so, out of the way with respect to England, but positively out of the way; that is, isolated and distant from the rest of the world; 'down in the corner,' as my grandmother said.

"This old woman's notion appears to arise from confusion of ideas. Because New Holland is more distant from England than some well-known distant places, the vulgar suppose that it must also be more distant from those places. Whereas the very contrary is the fact; the distance of those places from England placing them near to New Holland. There is a great difference, in short, between looking *to* a place and looking *from* it; and my grandmother thought there was no difference. Now the situation of a country is of importance to those who live in it, rather than to those who do not; and the former also will, looking from the country, make the truest estimate of what good or evil may belong to its position with respect to other countries. Fancy yourself here, therefore. And, for fear of my grandmother's 'down in the corner,' look at a globe; or divide a chart of the world, transposing the parts laterally, but without turning them upside down.

"Where is England? Up in the left-hand corner. And New Holland? Let an English writer answer:—'In order to obtain a connected view of the loftiest and most extensive system of mountains upon the globe, we must suppose ourselves placed in New Holland, with our face turned towards the north. America will then be on the right; Asia and Africa on the left. From Cape Horn to Behring's Strait, along the western coast of America, there is almost an uninterrupted range of the highest mountains: from Behring's Strait again, succeeds an enormous line, passing in a south-westerly direction through Asia, leaving China and Hindostan to the south, somewhat interrupted as it approaches Africa, but still to be looked upon as continuing its course in the moun-

tains of Persia and Arabia Felix. From Cape Gardafui in Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, there appears to be a chain which completes the view. The series of mountains which we have thus followed, is in the form of an *immense irregular curve*, which comprises within it the Pacific and Indian Oceans, with their innumerable islands, besides a portion of Asia, including China, the Burman dominions, and the Indian peninsula*.'

"The situation of New Holland with respect to this 'immense irregular curve,' is like that of the frog of a horse's foot to the outline of the shoe; the most favourable position imaginable, for intercourse with all that the curve contains. Remark also, that Australia has a territorial line of above eight thousand miles, immediately connected by water with those numerous countries, of which, again, nearly all the rivers flow towards a common centre, which is New Holland. Add to this, that those countries comprise, not only every degree of latitude, north and south, as far as land extends, but the most fertile, and, above all, the most populous regions of the earth. Thus it becomes evident, that Australasia, instead of being positively 'out of the way,' offers all at once better means and greater motives, for a more frequent intercourse with a greater variety of nations, and a larger number of people, than any other country without exception."

Many new colonies have suffered in the beginning from want of food. In every case, of course, some time must elapse before food is produced in an infant settlement; and especially animal food. In most cases, the colony, until it obtained a domestic supply, was dependent upon importation *from a great distance*. It was difficult, therefore, to regulate the

* Physical Geography. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

supply by the demand, and nearly all the animal food imported, consisted necessarily of salt provisions. The whole supply of food obtained, was often insufficient, always dear, and never of a good quality. In the present case, no such evil is to be apprehended. As respects food and live-stock, the province of South Australia will be, not a new colony, but a new settlement in an old colony which produces plenty of whatever is required for human subsistence. The following tables of Sailing Distances, and of the Cost of Provisions and the Prices of Stock in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, will show, that the new colony may easily obtain from those settlements an ample and cheap supply of food, seeds, and all kinds of live-stock. There is nothing perhaps (except more, and more constant, labour wherewith to raise commodities for distant markets) that the capitalists of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land require so much, as new markets in which to dispose of those things which they raise in abundance, notwithstanding deficiency of labour. They made large shipments of such things to the Swan River; and their enterprising character leaves no doubt, that, if sufficient notice be given, the first settlers in South Australia will, on landing, or very soon afterwards, find a cheap market established, in which to supply themselves with potatoes, flour, seeds of all sorts, sheep, cattle, and horses. "Still," says the writer of *A Letter from Sydney*, "are not these settlements" (New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land) "parted by the ocean? No; they are united by a strait. Water is every where the best of roads for bringing together distant places. Without the great civiliza-

tion of England, London would be nearer to Ham-
burgh than to Birmingham. Here, where canals are
out of the question, and where the few roads of which
I have boasted, are due entirely to a forced cheap-
ness" (constancy and combination) "of labour, now
coming to its end, the operation of water in contract-
ing absolute space, is far more evident than in any
part of Europe. The inhabitants of Hobart's Town
and Sydney are nearer neighbours, than two families
in the district of Bathurst, who may be separated by
only fifty miles of unreclaimed land. A farmer of
Van Diemen's Land sells corn in the market of Syd-
ney, whilst many a New South Wales fanner grows
no more corn than will supply his family, because he
would be unable to remove a surplus quantity from
his own barn. The shopkeeper of Launceston, again,
can sell Chinese goods obtained from Sydney, for less
than the shopkeeper of Bathurst, who, on the map,
appears nearer to Sydney by some hundred miles.
In a word, ships, and water to float them on, are to
the inhabitants of new countries, what waggons, car-
riages, inns, and Macadam's roads, are to you. Be-
lieve, then, that New South Wales and Van Diemen's
Land are connected, not separated, by Bass's Strait."
It is the same with respect to Van Diemen's Land"
and the shores of Spencer's Gulph. The first town
of South Australia, whether formed at Nepean Bay,
on Cape Jervis, or at Port Lincoln, will be more
easily provisioned, and stocked with what a new
settlement requires, than a fresh settlement within
New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, which was
planted at a distance of fifty miles from the nearest
cultivated district. As respects a new market for the

producers of Van Diemen's Land, as well as cheap
food, and an ample supply of cheap stock from the
very beginning, the plantation in South Australia will
be the same as a new settlement on Van Diemen's
Land, if not better: it will be better, unless the sup-
posed new settlement in the old colony were connected
by the means of water-carriage with some district
super-abounding in food and stock. It seems need-
less to dwell further on this most important and satis-
factory consideration.

SAILING DISTANCES FROM AND TO PORT LINCOLN.

Place.	Distance in Miles	Winds.	Time, Days	Proper Seasons.
From Port Lincoln to :				
Timor	2700	Fav. at all Seasons	20	All times of the year
Java	2650	Ditto	18	Ditto
Madras	4700	Ditto	33	Ditto
Ceylon	4500	Ditto	32	Ditto
Isle of France	4400	Ditto	29	Ditto
C. of G.Hope	6000	Ditto	40	Ditto
England	11500	Variable	105	Ditto
Van D.Land	800	Favourable	6	Ditto
Sidney	1200	Favourable in general	12	Ditto
To Port Lincoln from :				
Timor	2700	Favourable at all times	23	At all Times
Java	2650	Favourable	18	Ditto
Madras	4700	Ditto by proper route	36	Ditto
Ceylon	4500	Ditto	34	Ditto
Isle of France	4400	Variable, gen. Favourable	29	Ditto
C. of G.Hope	6000	Strong and Favourable	34	Ditto
England	11500	Ditto	100	Ditto
Launceston	700	Always easy	6	Ditto
Sidney	1200	12	Ditto

The average passage from England to Port Lincoln will occupy rather more than 100 days, and with little variation, since the voyage is, for its length, peculiarly safe and favourable. Moreover, the emigrant should bear in mind, that, going to a *new* settlement on the sea-shore, he will disembark from the ship in which he shall leave England, on the very spot of his future home. This will appear extremely advantageous to those who know how much time is lost, and how much cost and trouble are incurred, in conveying a family or goods from the sea-coast to the interior of any of our established colonies.

PRICES OF PROVISIONS, LIVE-STOCK, &c.

In New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*.

	NEW SOUTH WALES-		VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Ale, English, per hogshead	6 0 0	5 5 0	6 0 0	5 5 0
Ditto dozen	11 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	10 0 0
Colonial, per hogshead	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Ditto dozen	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0
Beer, English, per hogshead	5 0 0	5 3 0	5 0 0	5 3 0
Ditto dozen	11 0 0	13 0 0	11 0 0	13 0 0
Colonial, per hogshead	2 5 0	2 15 0	2 5 0	2 15 0
Ditto per gallon	8 0 0	8 0 0	8 0 0	8 0 0
Biscuit, per cwt.	11 6 0	1 1 0	1 0 0	1 5 6
Blankets, col. per pair	16 0 0	1 10 0	16 0 0	1 10 0
Flax, per lb.	1 6 0	2 0 0	1 6 0	2 0 0
Butter, fresh	10 0 0	1 0 0	1 6 0	1 8 0
salt	10 0 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 4 0
Bread, 2 lb. loaf	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Candles, moulds, per lb.	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
dips	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
CATTLE—Bullocks, each	2 15 0	3 5 0	2 15 0	3 5 0
Working ditto	4 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
Cows	1 10 0	2 10 0	1 10 0	2 10 0
Ditto in milk	1 10 0	2 10 0	1 10 0	2 10 0

* This table has been made from the Price Currents in the last Newspapers received from the Australian colonies.

	NEW SOUTH WALES.		VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
CATTLE—Calves	6 0 0	8 0 0	12 0 0	14 0 0
Sheep	6 0 0	8 0 0	8 0 0	9 6 0
Pigs	7 0 0	10 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Ditto masting	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Cheese, English, lb.	2 3 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
Colonial	1 8 0	2 0 0	1 8 0	2 0 0
Cloth, Paramatta, per yard	3 4 0	4 0 0	3 4 0	4 0 0
Ditto broad	2 0 0	2 3 0	2 3 0	2 6 0
Coffee, ground per lb.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 0
Figgs per dozen	9 0 0	10 0 0	9 0 0	10 0 0
Flax, New Zealand, per ton	11 0 0	12 0 0	11 0 0	12 0 0
Ditto per 100 lbs., fine	11 0 0	12 0 0	11 0 0	12 0 0
Ditto seconds	9 9 0	10 0 0	9 9 0	10 0 0
Fruit (not in season)				
Apples per dozen	1 6 0	2 0 0	1 6 0	2 0 0
Oranges, ditto	1 0 0	1 6 0	1 0 0	1 6 0
Peaches, ditto	6 0 0	8 0 0	6 0 0	8 0 0
Lemons	4 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
GRAIN, Wheat, per Bushel	3 0 0	3 8 0	3 0 0	3 6 0
Maize	2 3 0	2 6 0	2 3 0	2 6 0
Barley	3 6 0	4 0 0	3 6 0	4 0 0
Oats	3 0 0	3 3 0	3 0 0	3 3 0
Rye	2 0 0	2 3 0	2 0 0	2 3 0
Hay, English Seed, per ton	8 10 0	10 0 0	8 10 0	10 0 0
Colonial	6 0 0	8 0 0	6 0 0	8 0 0
Hides, per lb.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Horns, per 100	8 0 0	10 0 0	8 0 0	10 0 0
Leather sole, per lb.	6 0 0	10 0 0	6 0 0	10 0 0
Dressed shoes, per lb.	3 6 0	10 0 0	3 6 0	10 0 0
Basils, per dozen	6 0 0	12 0 0	6 0 0	12 0 0
MEATS—Beef, quarter, per lb.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Joint	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Salted	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Mutton, carcass	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Joint	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Salted	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Pork carcass	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Joint	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0
Salted	4 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
Bacon	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0
Ham	8 0 0	10 0 0	8 0 0	10 0 0
Veal per quarter	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Joint	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0
Milk per quart	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
OIL, Spermaceti, per gallon	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Black, ditto	1 9 0	2 2 0	1 9 0	2 2 0
Nests-foot	4 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
Poultry—Geese, each	2 6 0	3 0 0	2 6 0	3 0 0
Turkeys	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0
Ducks	2 6 0	3 0 0	2 6 0	3 0 0
Rice, per lb.	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0

NEW SOUTH WALES.		VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.			
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Salt, Colonial, cwt.	4 6	to 5 0	5 0	to 6 0	
Sperm caudles, lb.		2 0		2 0	
Spermaceæ,		2 0		2 0	
SPIRITS—Rum, gallon.	9 0	10 0	10 0	12 0	
Brandy	12 6	14 0	14 6	16 0	
Gin	12 6	14 0	12 6	15 0	
Colonial	7 6		8 0		
Soap, lb.	4	4½	3½	4	
Starch	9	1 3	6		
Straw, oat, load	1 0 0	1 5 0	16 0	19 0	
Barley	1 0 0	1 5 0	16 0	19 0	
Sugar, loaf, lb.		10	8	10	
Moist		4	4		
Tallow, per cwt.	1 8 0	1 17 4	1 0 0	1 2 0	
Rough fat	1 3 4		18 8	1 1 4	
TEA, hyson.	4 6	5 0	3 0	4 6	
Young hyson.	5 6	7 0	5 0	6 0	
Souchong	4 0	4 6	2 6	4 0	
Pekoe	5 0	6 0	5 0	6 0	
Gunpowder	7 0	8 0	7 0	8 0	
TOBACCO—Brazil, lb.	2 0	2 8			
Colonial, leaf	6		4	6	
Fig	1 3	1 9	1 0	1 9	
Stalks	4		2	4	
Negro-head	4 6	5 0	3 2	4 0	
Cigar, col., box	7 0	10 0	3 6	9 0	
Havannah	15 0	18 0	15 0	18 0	
Chinsurah	10 0	12 0	11 0	12 0	
Manilla	2 15 0	3 0 0	2 15 0	3 0 0	
Snuff, col. per lb.	6 0	7 0	6 0	7 0	
VEGETABLES—Potatoes, cwt.	6 0	8 0	14 0	16 0	
Cabbages, each	1½	2	1	2	
Turnips, bunch	2	4	3		
Carrots, ditto	3½	4	2	3	
Radishes, ditto	1	1½	1	1½	
Onions, lb.	2½	3			
Peas				1 3	
Cucumbers	2	3			
Vinegar, Col. gal.	2 6	3 0	2 6	3 0	
Woods, Cedar board, ft.	4	5	4	5	
plank	1½	2½	1½	2½	
Blue Gum plank	1½	2	1½	2	
log	1 0	1 1	1 0	1 1	
Firewood, load	4 0	5 0	4 0	5 0	
Trenails, 100	4 0	5 0	4 6	5 0	
WINE, Port, per dozen	1 15 0	2 0 0	1 5 0	2 0 0	
Madeira	1 15 0	2 0 0	1 15 0	2 0 0	
Sherry	1 15 0	2 0 0	1 15 0	2 0 0	
Claret	2 10 0	3 0 0	10 0	3 0 0	
Cape per gal.	3 6	4 0	3 6	4 0	
Elder		5 5		5 6	
Wool, lb.	1 0	2 0	6½	2 0	

If the peculiar mode of colonization adopted, should accomplish the end with which it has been devised, rendering South Australia different from all modern colonies, and far superior to any with respect to wealth, refinement, and the state of society, the existence of this colony will prove highly advantageous to the British inhabitants of India. As the European constitution suffers from the climate of Hindostan, it is the practice with British residents in that country to remove their children at an early age (and generally accompanied by their mother) to be educated in a more healthy spot. The nearest country in which, under a healthy climate, good education can be obtained, is England! It follows that parent and child, as well as, in many cases, husband and wife, are separated by an immense distance, for a great number of years, and not unusually for life. In the next place, change of climate is the general prescription of Indian physicians to Indian invalids. But in order that the resident of Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta, should reach a cooler climate, he must either travel by land to a temperate northern latitude, or sail across the line (through the fire, as it were) into the temperate regions of the southern hemisphere. This course being infinitely more convenient to persons in bad health, is much preferred by those who can afford to pursue it; and thus, Cape-Town, Hobartown, and Sydney (the only towns in the South where an invalid can remain to recruit his health) are commonly visited by Indian invalids. But in none of these towns does the Anglo-Indian gentleman meet with a state of society that is otherwise than disagreeable to him, or even with the physical comforts, much less with the

luxuries which long habit has taught him to consider as necessities. He obtains coolness for the body, but wants every thing else that would be of service to him,—a comfortable house, the company of his wife and children, pleasant society, and entertainment for the mind. Yet what is there to prevent the formation in one of the southern colonies, of a sort of pleasure town, like one of our watering-places, where, within five or six weeks' sail of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, the children of Anglo-Indians might under the eye of their mother, obtain as good an education as at Brighton, and whither the Indian invalid might resort with the certainty of finding all that he could desire ? There is nothing to prevent it, but the state of all the southern colonies,—the poverty and wildness of South Africa and Western Australia, and the horrid convict system of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales.* The establishment of such a town at the Swan-river was recommended to some of the founders of that miserable settlement; and though the project appear ridiculous now, when after five years the settlers do not raise enough food for themselves, still it is a project well deserving the attention of the founders of South Australia, whose aim it is to establish something widely different from any modern colony. The project, considering the

* For a recent picture of the demoralizing, or rather most corrupting influence of transportation on the whole population of New South Wales, see a history of that colony by Dr. Lang, Principal of the Australian College at Sydney. See also Two Letters to Earl Grey by Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin. The first of Dr. Whately's Letters contains some admirable remarks and suggestions on the art of colonization.

facts on which it is based, must inevitably succeed, if the numerous precautions taken for rendering South Australia a civilized colony from the beginning, should prove successful. Even the partial success of the project at first, would tend to promote its complete success ultimately; for there can be no doubt, that every Anglo-Indian gentleman who should be induced to visit the colony, would, by doing so, help to promote the wealth and civilization of the colonists. It seems more than probable, also, that many who should establish their families in the colony, and visit them from time to time, would afterwards invest their savings in the purchase of public land, and settle permanently on their property. To those who know how much retired Indians suffer from the clamp and changeable climate of England, and how disagreeable English society with its purely English tastes, its coldness towards strangers, and its insolent assumption of superiority towards the first generation of new-rich, is to the greater part of Anglo-Indians, this last speculation will appear by no means extravagant. But all depends on the merits of the novel system of colonization.

In case the merits of that system should, as is expected, lead families, of an order superior to the common run of emigrants, to join the first body of settlers in this colony; heads of families, that is, who would not fail to provide for the good education of their own children, then the colony will immediately offer to Anglo-Indians the two grand desiderata of their situation; pleasant society and good schools, in a fine climate, and not far off. And in that case, as soon as there shall be evidence of the fact, an edition

of this book, containing all the evidence, will be printed for circulation in the three British presidencies of India.

Nearly connected with this division of our subject is a consideration of great importance; viz. the capacity of the new settlement for producing commodities that would be exchangeable in distant markets. Without goods to be exchanged in foreign commerce, the best commercial position is of little value; it is of no value, except as it may lead to the production of such goods. Whether such goods will be produced in South Australia, must depend upon two points; first, the productiveness of labour, or the cost of production, supposing soil and climate to be favourable which must be determined in great measure, as we shall endeavour to show presently, by the mode of colonization adopted; secondly, the fitness of soil and climate for producing things which are required in distant places. On the latter of these points, the statement which follows will be found instructive: it is taken from a publication of the South Australian Land Company, who so long ago as 1831 projected the formation of a settlement at or near Port Lincoln.*

* Plan of a Company to be established for the purpose of founding a Colony in Southern Australia, purchasing Land therein, and preparing the Land so purchased for the reception of Emigrants. Ridgway and Sons. 1831.

"EXPORTABLE COMMODITIES, *which the Soil and Climate of the new Colony are capable of producing.*

"The productions from which the colonists of the new settlement may be expected to derive the means of repaying the importer for the manufactures of the mother-country, may be divided into three classes :—

"*First.* The spontaneous productions of its land and waters;

"*Second.* Those productions which now form the exports of the Australian colonies ; and,

"*Third.* Many of the articles which those colonies now import, but which they might grow and export, were the colonial capitalist able to avail himself of a constant and ample supply of labour.

"Under the first head of *Spontaneous Productions*, are the following:

"SLATE, which is imported into the Isle of France from England ; no other roofing being found to answer, in consequence of the violent hurricanes which visit that island. On Kangaroo Island are slate-quarries, which may thus be at once turned to profitable account.

"COAL has been found in every part of Australia where the attempt has been made; but the colonists have benefited little by the discovery, in consequence of the want of labour to work it. Markets for this commodity may be found in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Java, Canton, Singapore, and the Isle of France ; to most of which places coal has been sent from England.

"WOOD of various kinds, some admirably adapted for cabinet use, and others for ship-building, are found all over Australia, of which that of the gum-tree is already known in the London market. The former, in plank and veneer, would find a ready market in India and China, and, perhaps, even in the mother-country.

"The BARKS of several of the indigenous trees, espe-

cially that of the Mimosa, contain the tanning principle in a highly concentrated degree, for extracting which a process has been adopted which causes a great saving of freight.

" GUMS of various species and qualities, particularly Gum Arabic and Manna, are obtainable in great abundance ; many of the indigenous trees yielding them in large quantities,

" SALT of an excellent quality is found on Kangaroo Island, to which place ships are in the habit of going from the neighbouring colonies for this article. The salt of New South Wales contains a portion of magnesia, which is very prejudicial to its quality as an antiputrescent; and even the salt imported into the colonies from this country, is inferior in this respect to that obtained from Kangaroo Island. In 1819, the salt obtained by Captain Sutherland from Kangaroo Island, sold for 10*l.* per ton, while that imported from England was selling for only 7*l.* 10*s.*; the latter not answering equally well for curing skins. New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, therefore, are markets for this commodity; while its possession will enable the colonists to carry on a trade in

" SALT FISH, and other salted provisions, with China and India, besides supplying vessels which may touch at their port.

" SEALS, of the kind from which the fur is obtained, are very plentiful on all the adjacent islands, and on the coast. The seal-fishery will open two sources of wealth to the colonist; the first being a trade in skins, and the second, in seal-oil.

" The SPERM AND BLACK WHALE fishery will afford articles of profitable export, and will also tend to make the settlement important for the refitting and victualling of vessels engaged in that trade.

" The use made of these natural productions of the sea and land by the Australian colonists, has hitherto

been very limited, from the impossibility they have experienced of obtaining a sufficient supply of labour to work much in combination. One of the essentials of the plan upon which the new colony is to be founded, being such a concentration of people as will ensure a combination of labour, every profitable employment will be followed, for which the amount of capital at the disposal of the colonists shall suffice.

" Under the second head— *Those Productions which now form the articles of export from Australia,* are the following:—

" WHEAT and FLOUR, which will at all times find a ready market in the Isle of France; and as Van Diemen's Land now supplies Sydney with large quantities of this commodity, it is reasonable to hope that this trade may also be followed by the new colony, as from the facility of production it will derive from an ample supply of labour, the cost of producing wheat may be expected to be lower there than at Van Diemen's Land.

" FINE WOOL will also be an article of export to the mother-country, as from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land at the present moment. And here it should be remarked, that, although land is uniformly to be sold, instead of being given away, such arrangement is not meant to prevent the occupation of land for breeding purposes without purchase, only on the distinct understanding that it shall not be cultivated or used in any other way. As to this article, therefore, the inducements offered to the Sydney capitalists apply also to capitalists settling in the proposed Colony; with the advantage on the part of the latter of a greater facility of obtaining shepherds, wool-dressers, &c., than is at present possessed either in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land. This consideration is of great importance, since a want of shepherds, by preventing a proper division of flocks, is, in those countries, a cause of great mortality among the sheep.

"HIDES, TALLOW, and HORNS, after a few years, may be expected to add to the list of colonial exports. Tobacco, although not an article of export from Australia, still, as its cultivation is encouraged in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, may be mentioned here. That it cannot for a considerable time be an article of extensive export from the colonies already established in Australia, is evident from the fact that 200,000lbs. of tobacco were imported into New South Wales in 1829, at a duty of 2s. per lb. The cultivation of this plant requires a constant and plentiful supply of labour, which it is clear cannot be enjoyed in a colony where the dispersion of the inhabitants is very great. It may, however, be regarded as one of the first articles to which the attention of capitalists in the new colony will be directed.

"Under the third head—*Articles at present imported into the Australian Colonies, but which might be cultivated there advantageously with a combination of labour*, are comprised, all, or nearly, all commodities, the produce of similar latitudes in the northern hemisphere. The most important of these is

"WINE. It has been ascertained that the soil and climate of New South Wales are very favourable to the cultivation of the grape ; but in this, as in many other instances, the want of combination of labour has prevented the production of this article for exportation. A vineyard must have existed some years before a generous grape can be produced ; and if the supply of labour should not equal the demand for the purposes of the vineyard in anyone year of the series, the vineyard is destroyed, and the capital invested is lost*.

* "How," says Mr. Blaxland, a great land-proprietor of New South Wales, "how should our settlers undertake to plant vineyards, when years must pass before any wine could be got ?—years during which much labour must be employed

"FLAX and HEMP, if not indigenous as in New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land, can be introduced with a certainty of success, and will afford to females an opportunity of working in-doors at a time which can be spared from domestic arrangements. The flax of New Zealand is of admirable quality; and a small trade is already carried on in it by the colonists of New South Wales.

"COTTON would form another article of export. Specimens sent home are of the best quality ; but a sufficiently extensive trial has not been made, to ascertain what would be the cost of production, if followed with spirit and perseverance. ALMONDS, ANISEED, BEES' WAX and HONEY, BARILLA, CHEESE for India and China, CARRAWAY, COCHINEAL, CORIANDER, DRIED FRUITS, such as *figs, currants, raisins, and prunes*; HOPS, VEGETABLE OILS, OLIVES, CITRONS, ORANGES, &c. &c., may all be produced ; to which may be added the very important article SILK."

in tending the vines; when, for gathering the grapes and turning them into wine, much more labour would be required; and when the supply of labour is always, not only small, but uncertain."—*England and America*.

As a most useful article for exportation to South Australia in the first instance, we should recommend books relating to the agriculture of Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey; a subject little understood by Englishmen, and respecting which it has not hitherto been worth the while of settlers in Australia to acquire much knowledge.

CHAPTER III.

MODE OF COLONIZATION.

The proper disposal of waste land, the first object in colonization—Purpose of the Government in disposing of waste land—Evils of profusion in granting land—Effects of profusion at Swan River—Causes of the failure of the Swan River settlement—Best mode of dealing with waste land—Method of proceeding for the new colony—Disposal of the purchase-money of waste land—Selection of poor emigrants—Anticipation of the emigration fund.

IT is scarcely necessary to say, that, in planting a colony, one of the chief elements with which we have to deal, is the unoccupied land of the new country. All this land is held by the government in trust for the public, and the mode in which the government disposes of public land to individuals, inevitably exerts the most important influence on the state of the colony. This subject is so very important to all who may think of settling in the new colony, that we shall endeavour, with the aid of a recent work wherein the whole subject is carefully examined, to give a full explanation of the peculiar mode of disposing of waste land, which is to be pursued in South Australia.

"All these cases pretty well establish, that in no modern colony has the best way, or indeed any one way of treating waste land been pursued systematically: to these cases, it would be easy to add *several hundreds* of

different and often *contradictory* modes, in which the governments of modern Europe have disposed of the chief element of colonization.

"What is the best mode in which to dispose of waste land with a view to colonization? In order to ascertain this, we must first determine what is, or ought to be, the immediate object of a colonizing government in exerting its power over waste land.

"Why should any government exert power over waste land, either by giving or withholding? Why not let individuals judge for themselves, as to the extent and situation of new land that each individual should like to call his own? This course has been recommended by some English economists; on the ground that individuals are the best judges of what is for their own interest, and that all unnecessary interference of government with the affairs of individuals, is sure to do more harm than good. But, in this case, the government must necessarily interfere to some extent; that is, it must establish or confirm a title to the land of which individuals had taken possession. Or, perhaps, those English economists who deprecate the interference of government in the disposal of waste land, would have each settler on new land to be a 'squatter,' a settler without a title, liable to be ousted by any other man who was stronger, and who, being the best judge of his own interest, should think it worth while to oust the first occupier. Passing by so absurd a conclusion from the principle of non-interference, let us now suppose the case in which a colonizing government should confine its interference to securing a property in that land of which individuals had taken possession. In this case, all the land to which it was possible that government should afterwards give a title, would immediately be taken possession of by a few individuals; good judges of their own interest, consulting their own advantage. But what, in this case, would become of all the other individuals, who, in pursuit of

their own advantage, might be desirous to obtain some wasteland? This question settles the point. For the good of all, the interference of government is not less necessary, to prevent a few individuals from seizing all the waste land of the colony, than it is necessary to prevent robberies. As it is for the good of all that no one should be allowed to take any other one's property, so it is for the good of all that no individual should be allowed to injure other individuals by taking more than the right quantity of wasteland. In the former case, government enforces a compact amongst all the members of society; an agreement that any one who takes the property of another, shall be punished : so, in the latter case, the interference of government with respect to waste land, is nothing but the enforcement of a compact amongst all who are interested in the disposal of waste land; an agreement that no one shall be allowed to injure the others, that the greatest good of all shall be consulted.

"This point settled, what, for the greatest good of all, is the immediate object of a colonizing government in exerting its power over waste land ? Its ultimate object being the greatest progress of colonization, its immediate object is, that there should exist in the colony those circumstances which are best calculated to attract capital and labour, but especially labour, from an old country. The advantage of the emigrants, though one of the ends, is also an essential means of colonization. For the greatest advantage of immigrants to a colony, it is necessary that the colonial profits of capital, and wages of labour, should be as high as possible. High profits, then, and especially high wages, are the immediate object of a colonizing government in exerting its power over waste land.

"In order to create and maintain a very high rate of wages in the colony, it is necessary, first, that the colonists should have an ample field of production; ample,

that is, in proportion to capital and labour; such an extent of land as to render unnecessary the cultivation of inferior soils, and to permit a large proportion of the people to be engaged in agriculture; a field, large from the beginning, and continually enlarged with the increase of capital and people. But, in the second place, it is quite as necessary, that the field of production should never be too large; should never be so large as to encourage hurtful dispersion, as to promote that cutting up of capital and labour into small fractions, which, in the greater number of modern colonies, has led to poverty and barbarism, or speedy ruin. For securing the first condition of high profits and wages, the power of the government over waste land must be exerted actively, in bestowing upon individuals titles to the possession of land : for the second object, that power must be exerted negatively, in refusing titles to waste land. The action of the two exertions of power together, may be compared to that of an elastic belt, which, though always tight, will always yield to pressure from within.

"It is easy to grant land, and easy to refuse applications for grants: the difficulty is, to draw a line between the active and negative exertions of power, so as to render the proportion which land bears to people, neither too small nor too great for the highest profits and wages." (*England and America.*)

The evils of superabundance of land have been fully described in the chapters on Slavery, and on the Art of Colonization in *England and America*, and have been recently exhibited in practice at the Swan River settlement. The land of a colony having no natural limit, if the government do not place some artificial limit on the appropriation of it by individuals, every individual in the colony is tempted to become a land-owner and cultivator. Hence two

kinds of evil. If each individual, or any great number of individuals, take more land than each can cultivate, the people are dispersed over a wide extent of country, and are separated from each other by intervening deserts. If each person appropriate no more land than he is able to cultivate, still, *all* being independent proprietors, both capital and labour are divided into fractions as numerous as the cultivators. In either case, society is almost dissolved. The people, whether separated by distance, or, however near they may be to each other, by each one becoming an independent land-owner, are all of one class : there is no class of capitalists, no class of labourers; nor indeed any classification, all being the same. But all being alike, each one is independent of all the others; and, in this state of things, (we must not say, *society*) it is impossible that large masses of capital and many hands should be employed in the same work, at the same time, and for a long period. And yet, without constancy and combination in the employment of capital and labour, the produce obtained never was, and never can be, large in proportion to the capital and labour. Unless the produce be large in proportion to the capital and labour employed in raising it, it cannot be cheap enough for exchange in distant markets; and thus a people, whose capital and labour were divided as in the supposed case, would necessarily be without foreign commerce. When, too, all are of the same class, or rather, there are no classes, all raise the same kind of produce; and there is no motive for exchange amongst the cultivators themselves. The labour, moreover, of each cultivator who does everything for himself, is necessarily divided amongst

so many occupations, that only a small portion of it can be bestowed on the work of production; and thus, even if the settlers should have a motive for dealing with each other, no two of them would have any surplus produce to exchange. The result is, that civilized men fall into a state of but half-civilization; preserving, indeed, the knowledge and tools of their former condition, and, by applying these to very rich land, raising plenty of mere necessaries, but losing the powers which arise from mutual assistance, and the wants, tastes, and habits which belong to an advanced society.

In every colony of modern times, these evils have resulted, in a greater or less degree, from an excessive proportion of land, and, in most of such colonies, have been partially counteracted by the greater evil of negro slavery; as, for example, in the West Indies, North America, Brazil, and South Africa. For, whatever the proportion of land, even where it was so great that *every* freeman became a land-owner, still, with slavery, with human beings who could be prevented from obtaining land, there was constant and combined labour with which to employ large masses of capital in raising a produce cheap enough for distant markets. In the prosperous settlements of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, convicts have, to some extent, supplied the want of slaves. But those colonies, without any exception, in which there has been superabundance of land without any kind of slavery, have been eminently poor and barbarous;* and the last

* The states of the North American Union in which slavery is forbidden, are only parts of a society, whose slaves amount to 2,000,000, and are worth, to sell at market,

colony founded by Englishmen affords a striking example of the evils resulting from excess of land.

"The last colony founded by Englishmen, has severely felt the want of slavery. On the west coast of New Holland, there is abundance of good land, and of land, too, cleared and drained by nature. Those who have left England to settle there, carried out, amongst them, more than enough capital to employ such of them as were of the labouring class. The capital taken out, in seeds, implements, cattle, sheep, and horses, cannot have been less in money value than 200,000*l.*; and the labourers must have amounted to 1000 at the very lowest. What is become of all that capital, and all those labourers? The greater part of the capital has perished; some few of the labourers have died of hunger; some, falling into extreme want, have been glad to escape to Van Diemen's Land, where there are slaves; and the remainder are independent land-owners, isolated, not well supplied with even the necessaries of life, and as wild as Englishmen could become in so short a time. This colony may prosper in the course of years; but for the present it must be considered, when compared with the expectations of those who founded it, a decided failure. Why this failure with all the elements of success; plenty of good land, plenty of capital, and enough labour? The explanation is easy. In this colony, there never has been a class of labourers. Those who went out as labourers, no sooner reached the colony than they were tempted, by the superabundance of good land, to become land-owners. One of the founders of the colony, Mr. Peel, who, it is said, took but a capital of 50,000*l.* and 300 persons of the labouring class,—men, women, and children,—has been left without a servant to make his

£120,000,000. In what way slavery has tended to counteract the evils of superabundance of land in the non-slave-holding states, is explained at length in *England and America*.

bed, or fetch him water from the river. The writer of the first book concerning this colony states, that, landing in Cockburn Sound with goods taken from England, he did, with some difficulty, obtain workmen to place his goods under a tent, but that there, for want of workmen to remove them, they remained till they were spoiled, as the tent became rotten. In such a state of things, it was impossible to preserve capital. While Mr. Peel was without servants, his capital perished; but as soon as his capital had perished for want of servants, those who had been his servants insisted on his giving them employment. Having tried a life of complete independence, and felt the pains of hunger, they insisted on his giving them employment. At one time, Mr. Peel was to be seen imploring his servants to remain with him; at another, escaping from their fury at his not being able to give them work. The same thing happened in many cases. In each case, it was owing to the facility with which people, labourers when they reached the colony, became independent land-owners. Some of those independent land-owners died of hunger; and at a time, too, when, as it happened, a large supply of food had just reached the colony from Van Diemen's Land. Why were they starved? because where they had settled was not known to the governor, or even to themselves; for though they could say 'We are here,' they could not tell where any one else was: such was the dispersion of these colonists in consequence of superabundance of good land. Many of them, both capitalists and labourers,—capitalists without capital, and labourers without work,—have removed to Van Diemen's Land; the cost of passage for the latter having been defrayed by settlers in that slave-holding, prosperous island. Some have wandered from the original place of settlement towards King George's Sound; in search, say they, of better land. Others, men of unusual courage and energy, remain on the

banks of the Swan River; knowing well that the partial ruin of this colony is not owing to want of good land. These, one of whose chief inducements to settling in this colony was an undertaking from the English Government that no convicts should be sent thither, are now begging for a supply of convict labour. They want slaves; they want labour which shall be constant, and liable to combination in particular works. Having this, they would raise a net produce, and have division of employments. Not having convict labour, they will long for African slaves, and would obtain them, too, if public opinion in England did not forbid it. Without either convicts or slaves, they may have herds of wild cattle, which supply food almost without labour; but they cannot have much more. Considering the superabundance of capital and labourers in England, the disposition of capitalists and labourers to emigrate in search of new fields of employment, the great natural advantages of this colony, and the false accounts of its prosperity now and then received in England, we should wonder that emigration to the Swan River had almost ceased, if that very fact did not show that by settling in this colony no well-informed man can expect to better his condition. But the failure of this last experiment in colonization will have one good effect, if it help to teach the English and Americans that the original and permanent cause of slavery in America is superabundance of good land."—*England and America*.

The failure of the Swan River colony has thrown so great a damp upon all projects of colonization, that its causes cannot be too fully explained on this occasion. We therefore subjoin another description of the causes of that failure, which is extracted from an article in the *Literary Gazette*, (of November 29, 1831,) on the objects of the South Australian Land

Company, who laid the foundation of the present undertaking.

"So soon after the all but total failure of those extravagant hopes of success which attended the formation of the Swan River settlement, the projectors of a new colony in Australia must put forth some very strong recommendation of their scheme, in order to obtain for it even a moderate degree of support: nay, more—they must show distinctly, that, whatever were the causes of failure at the Swan River, those causes cannot operate in their project.

"The original cause of failure at the Swan River appears to have been the inattention of government to that irrational desire to obtain large tracts of wilderness, which belongs to most emigrants from an old to a new country. The inhabitants of an old country, in which competition for land, arising from density of population, renders land highly valuable, imbibe a belief, that land by itself is riches, and that to possess a large territory any where is to possess wealth. The truth, however, is, that land, so long as it is without population, is absolutely without value; and that the value of land depends altogether upon competition, which is strictly regulated by the proportion between people and land. This truth, like many other plain truths in political economy, never strikes the vulgar observer of what takes place in an old country. Such a one, seeing that land exchanges for wealth, is contented to believe that land *is* wealth; and, if he emigrates to a new country, he concludes that, in order to become rich, he has only to procure an extensive grant of ground. Hence his ardent desire to obtain a province of wilderness, without the least regard to those circumstances which alone could give value to his property.

"To the delusive notion that land is valuable in proportion merely to its extent, the government, in founding the Swan River settlement, lent the greatest encourage-

ment, by bestowing the first grant, to the extent of 500,000 acres, upon the cousin of a cabinet-minister. It was supposed by others, that what the government considered good for Sir Robert Peel's cousin, would be good for them; and others, therefore, applied for large tracts of waste. But it was impossible to give the first grant, in the best situation, to more than one person : hence arose a charge of favouritism and jobbing against the givers. In order to meet this charge, regulations were framed, by which all were allowed to appropriate an unlimited quantity of land on the condition to which Mr. Peel had subscribed. That condition was, an investment of capital on the land at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre. Thus the longing for a vast territorial possession was easily gratified. It was indulged in the most reckless manner.

"Many persons, possessing from 1000*l.* to 10,000*l.*, either emigrated or sent agents to the colony, and obtained as much land as their capitals would enable them to claim. During the first year of the settlement, the extent assigned was at least five times that of all the land granted in New South Wales during a period of forty years. Land became, or rather was allowed to continue, a mere drug, of no more value than the atmosphere above it. The capitals taken out could fructify—could be preserved, indeed—only by being used on the land in conjunction with labour; but the labourers taken out, finding this, and holding the same wild notions as their masters concerning the value of the mere soil, refused to work for those who had defrayed the cost of their passage. The indentures by which they were bound to work for a given term at a fixed rate of wages, were cancelled *de facto* by the state of the colony; in which no police regulations, nor even any laws, had yet taken root, and in which the most painful and least profitable of tasks would have been to punish or pursue refractory bond servants. If these people worked at all

for hire, it was only till they had saved the very small capital which would enable them to set up as landowners and cultivators on their own account. Consequently, the possessors of large capitals and large grants were soon left without labourers. As other capitalists arrived with labourers, those whose capital was perishing for want of labour wherewith to employ it, offered extravagant wages to the new-comers of the class of labourers, and thus seduced them from the service of those who had brought them to the colony. But these extravagant wages, again, speedily enabled those new-comers to set up as cultivators on their own account. At length, nearly all the labourers who were taken out cost-free, had deserted their masters; and almost all the capitalists were reduced to the necessity of working in the same manner as their late servants. No one who laboured for and by himself alone, can manage any but a very small capital: the large capitals, therefore, perished. The banks of the Swan River were strewn with implements of husbandry, and the ruder manufactures, because there was no one to use them: seeds rotted in casks on the beach, because no one had prepared the ground for their reception: sheep, cattle, and horses, wandered, because there was no one to tend them, and either died of hunger, or were destroyed by hungry settlers whose stock of imported food was exhausted. This miserable state of things lasted for some time, and finally resulted in one still more fatal to the prosperity of the colony.

"Though some of the labourers taken out were parish-paupers, a portion of them had been faithful servants in this country, and remarkable for honesty, sobriety, and industry. The violent change which took place in the condition of all classes,—the sudden revolution which converted labourers for hire into landowners, and reduced their masters to the condition of labourers,—exerted a most baneful influence on every one. Capitalists who

yet possessed piano-fortes, fine linen, and other luxuries,—not to mention their immense estates !—were reduced, in some cases to want, and in nearly all to despair. Labourers, whatever had been their habits in England, who set up for themselves as landowners, vied with each other in improvidence. When the little capitals which they had saved by a few months or weeks of labour for hire, were exhausted, so also had the greater capitals perished; and thus the labourers found themselves without the means of subsistence either as settlers or as hired servants. Many of them then returned to the masters whom they had deserted and ruined, insisting upon being employed according to the engagements which they themselves had been the first to break. It is a curious circumstance, that Mr. Peel, who took out a great number of labourers, was at one time without hands to cultivate a portion of his immense grant, and, at another time, as we have been informed, was obliged to take refuge in an island from the violence of the deserters, who, when they had nothing left, expected to be maintained by him, who had little or nothing left. The confusion and misery that ensued, may be easily imagined. It ended in a second emigration of great numbers, both capitalists and labourers, to Van Diemen's Land, where capital obtains high profits, and labour high wages: and at present the only settlers at the Swan River are a few persons—few in comparison with the number who emigrated from England—persons of undaunted mind and very prudent habits, who are still struggling with the difficulties created by the unguarded profusion of the government in its disposal of waste land. These persons have lately addressed a petition to the parent government, praying that they may be supplied with convict labourers; although one of the circumstances originally urged in favour of the Swan River project, was that the settlement was not to be demoralized by the immigration of convicts. Why are convicts

now urgently demanded? Because convicts cannot immediately obtain land, but must labour for a time as servants. Why can none other than convict servants be retained? Because of the unwise regulations of the government for the disposal of waste land. Herein lies the secret of the failure, so far, of the Swan River project. By all accounts, the soil and climate of the colony are as fine as they were ever represented to be. TO THE WANT OF LABOUR, and to that alone, may be traced all the evils that have afflicted this infant colony*."

For further proofs of the necessity, with a view to successful colonization, of placing some limit on the appropriation of new land by individuals, we must again refer to *England and America*, where, also, it is shown by an ample collection of facts, that every means hitherto adopted in colonies for preserving a due proportion between land and people, has failed of its object. All of those means, except one, have been in the shape of conditions attached to grants of land; such conditions, for instance, as the due cultivation of the land granted, or the payment of a quit-rent. But the conditions being in the nature of a promise,—of something to be done by the grantee *after* the land was obtained,—they did not prevent the appropriation of too much land; and then the excess of land, by separating capital into small fractions, and labour into single pairs of hands, rendered the performance of the conditions impossible. The one exception just alluded

*They may be traced, not to a want of labour absolutely; for plenty of workmen were taken to the colony by the first emigrant capitalists; but to the want of arrangements for preserving constancy and combination of labour

to, is the system first adopted by the United States; that of selling all new land for ready money. By this plan the grant is made conditional on an act to be performed by the grantee *before* he obtains the land. The British government have lately adopted this system in Canada, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Western Australia. Supposing the liberty of appropriation to be complete, subject to the payment of a fixed price, here is a perfect rule for determining the *rate* at which new land shall be supplied to a society increasing in wealth and numbers. The land having no natural limit, the quantity supplied will be limited by the price that may be required. With too low a price, the quantity will be too much; with an excessive price, too little. But the state of the colony,—the rates of colonial profits and colonial wages,—will always show, if it should be so, that the price is too low or too high. In the United States, the great dispersion of the people, the separation of free labour employed in agriculture, the general practice of destroying by over-cropping the natural fertility of new land, the great value of slaves, and the rapid *progress* of slavery; all these facts would seem to establish, that the price required by the American government (*viz.* 5s. 71/2*d.* per acre) is a great deal too low. In Canada and the Australian settlements, the profusion of past governments in granting land, renders the imposition of a price nearly inoperative for the present; so that the short trial of the system in those countries furnishes no adequate guide for ascertaining the best price. Besides, in no British settlement has the system either been uniformly adopted, or rendered permanent by law, or accompanied by

complete liberty of appropriation, subject to the price, which is quite as important a feature of the system as the exaction of a price for all new land without exception. What is the proper price for any colony must depend, in some measure, on the peculiar circumstances of the country, such as the quality of the soil and the nature of the cultivation for which it is adapted; but, after making allowance for the peculiar circumstances of each case, there must be some one price better than any other, and equally suitable to all cases; some general rate, in other words, at which it is most desirable to increase the territory of a people who are increasing in wealth and numbers. What this price, or rate, maybe, is one of the most interesting problems in political economy*. In founding a

* "The time," says Mr. Poulett Scrope, in his *Principles of Political Economy*," cannot be far distant when the noble scheme of a systematic emigration from all the over-peopled parts of the earth to the under-peopled, preserving health to the mother-countries by moderate depletion, and invigorating infant colonies by the infusion of full-grown labour, will be recognized as the true political wisdom of all advanced states, and generally adopted by them; when an increase of population, instead of being deplored and discouraged by short-sighted statesmen and philosophers, will be hailed with delight as the means of adding to the sum of human happiness, and extending the empire of civilization over the globe."

Referring to Mr. Poulett Scrope's work for a complete anti-Malthusian argument in favour of the *expediency* of extensive colonization, we have to regret the more, that he has not yet fully examined a question of equal importance; *viz.*, the *practicability* of what he so ably recommends. This latter question must be taken up from a colonial position. In order that colonies should be planted and extended on a great scale, means must be found to render them highly attractive to all classes; that is, social, wealthy, and civilized. Those means will, we trust, be found in the solution of the

colony for the purpose, one may almost say, of solving that problem, it has been thought expedient to begin with a very low price, and to raise it by degrees according to the dictates of experience.

We may now proceed to some of the leading provisions of the Act of Parliament by which the colony is to be established.

I. *All that part of Australia which lies between the 132nd and the 141st degrees of East longitude, and between the Southern Ocean and the Tropic of Capricorn, together with the islands adjacent thereto, is erected into a British Province, by the name of South Australia, and declared, with respect to government, independent of every other Colony.*

II. *All the lands within the above limits are declared to be Public Lands, and are placed under the management of a Board of Commissioners sitting in London.*

III. *There is but one way in which every individual may obtain a private property in any of the said lands ; namely, by paying for the same in ready money.*

IV. *Subject to the above condition, and to the necessity of previous surveys, every one shall be free to acquire a private property in the said lands, and without limit as to quantity or situation.*

V. *The lowest price at which public land shall ever be sold in this Colony, is Twelve Shillings per acre.*

problem : What is the rate at which fresh land ought to be supplied, where the quantity of land is not limited by nature, so as to maintain the best proportion amongst the three elements of production ?

VI. *Subject to the above provision, Commissioners are authorised to raise or lower the price of public land, always giving public notice of any intended change in the price, and of the period during which the higher or lower price is to be required.*

VII. *All sales to be conducted in public.*

VIII. *The foregoing provisions declared to be fundamental articles of the Constitution of South Australia, and not to be changed without the authority of Parliament.*

We have said before that, in some respects, this mode of establishing the colony appears preferable to that of a chartered corporation. There is this important difference between the two modes of proceeding ; that if the colonization of the province had been intrusted to a chartered corporation, the disposal of waste land would have taken the character of a mere colonial object; whereas an act of the legislature for placing the disposal of waste land under an uniform and permanent system of management, shows that the disposal of waste land with a view to the greatest progress of colonization, is treated, not as a colonial work merely, but as a department of government which concerns the mother-country quite as much as it does the colony. The functions of the Commissioners of Public Lands will be the same as those of the Land Board, which, sitting at Washington, manages the disposal of waste land on the distant frontier of the United States, and thereby obtains, for the use of the federal government, nearly 700,000*l.* a year. As in that case, so in this of course, the work of surveying and selling must be performed by agents under the authority of the Board of Commissioners.

Those who are at all acquainted with the evils that have resulted, in many of our colonies, from a total want of system in the disposal of waste land, and from the partiality with which the power of withholding, as well as the power of granting, has been exercised, will, though examining the subject with a colonial view merely, perceive the great advantages of a system, which is *uniform*, which is *permanent*, which provides for *complete impartiality*, and under which, the *liberty of appropriation will be perfect*, subject to only one condition.

Whether or not that one condition will prove, along with perfect liberty of appropriation, (that is, without any of the restrictions on appropriation which occur in, other colonies, through the exercise by the government of its power to refuse grants of land,) a sufficient check upon the misappropriation of land, depends altogether upon the price per acre that may be required. It may be doubtful whether the price inserted in the Act of Parliament, that is, the price of twelve shillings per acre, *below which land is never to be sold*, would prove sufficient for the object in view; whether it would so limit the quantity of private land as to hinder the settlers from immediately becoming, all of them, owners of land, and cutting up their capital and labour into small and unproductive fractions. But, on the other hand, the Public Lands' Board will be able to fix periods during which the price of land shall be higher than twelve shillings per acre; and we may conclude that they will use their power in a manner to save the colony from becoming a second Swan River. And now, another most important circumstance must be

taken into the account. What ought to be done with the purchase-money of public land? In this case, the whole of it is to be employed in conveying poor labourers to the colony. The number of people, therefore, will be much greater than if that fund were employed in any other way. It follows, that, with a view to the due proportion between people and land, the price of new land ought to be less than if the purchase-money were not so employed. At the price of twelve shillings per acre, and reckoning the cost of passage for each person at 15*l*, every sale would add to the colonial population at the rate of four persons for one hundred acres. Is this rate high enough? The Commission will decide; and here we see the advantage of having a Commission specially charged with a decision of such vast importance to the colony. Supposing the Commission to fix such a price from time to time as will prevent the labourers taken out with the purchase-money of new land, from becoming landowners until others shall have arrived to take their place in the market of hired labour, then for every acre appropriated there will be a supply of labour wherewith to cultivate it; and throughout the progress of the colony, the supply of labour will be measured by the quantity of employment; deficiency and excess being at all times equally prevented. It is therefore provided:—

IX. *That the whole of the money obtained by the sale of public land shall form an Emigration Fund, and shall be employed by the Commissioners in conveying poor labourers to the colony.* "We have seen already, that it would be greatly for the advantage of a colony to put one price upon all new

land without exception, if merely with a view to the increase of the first element of wealth, land, in due proportion to the increase of the other elements, capital and labour; that by requiring this price, as a rule for the supply of new land, the colonists, being sufficiently kept together, would raise more produce, would get higher profits and wages, would have more physical enjoyments, to say nothing of their escape from the moral evils of great dispersion; and that consequently it would be well to put the best price upon all new land, even though the money raised should not be employed in any useful way. Under the supposition of the money being wasted, the buyer would pay for justice and uniformity in the disposal of land, and for a free choice as to the extent and situation of his grant; he would pay also for the assurance that no other could obtain land by favour, without payment; for the certainty of not being undersold by landowners who had obtained their property for nothing: he would pay for all the advantages of that *system* of which his individual payment was a part. But if the money were not wasted, he would pay besides, though paying no more, for whatever useful purpose the money might serve. If the money were spent in procuring labour, he would pay, not merely for his title to the land bought, but also for justice and uniformity in the disposal of new land, for a free choice, for the value conferred upon all land by a due concentration of the people, for a system which must hinder, ruinous fluctuations in the value of land; and, further, he would pay for labour wherewith to cultivate the land, for markets in which to sell the produce of that labour, for population which must render the whole of the land subject to one or other of those higher kinds of competition which lead to the payment of rent. Nominally, he would receive for his money, land, or the title to hold and sell land: in reality, he would obtain the land for nothing; paying for a great number of other things.

without any of which his land must be worthless; along with all of which, it must, no sooner than it was bought, be worth more than he had paid for it*." (*England: and America.*)

X. *All the poor persons taken to the colony by means of the Emigration Fund, shall be, as far as it is possible to make the selection, young adult persons, of both sexes in an equal proportion.*

The effects of such a selection on the population and progress of the colony, and its great moral advantages, are pointed out as follows in *England and America.*

"Supposing all the people brought to the colony with the purchase-money of waste land, to be young men and women in equal numbers, let us see what the effect would be on the colonial population. At the end of twenty years after the foundation of Virginia, the number of colonists was about 1800; though, during the twenty years, near 20,000 persons had reached the settlement. This rapid decrease of population was, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, owing chiefly to the misery of the colonists; but it was partly owing also to this, that of the 20,000 immigrants a very small proportion only consisted of females. So that, even if the colony had prospered from the beginning, the number of colonists would probably have been less, at the end of twenty years, than the number of immigrants during that period. The settlement of New South Wales has so far prospered from the beginning, that no one has ever found it difficult to maintain a family: yet the

* For a large collection of facts relating to the value of land in colonies, and showing with what rapidity waste land increases in value in every new settlement that prospers at all, the reader is referred to *England and America*, Appendix, No. 2.

population of the colony is nothing like as great as the number of immigrants. But why? simply because, of these persons, by far the greater number were men and that, of the women who composed the smaller number, many were past the age of child-bearing. Had those persons consisted of men and women in equal proportions, but of a middle age, the population of the colony might not have been much greater than it is; but if they had consisted entirely of young couples who had just reached the age of puberty, the population of the colony would have advanced with surprising rapidity. Reckoning the number of immigrants in each year at 2000, there seem to be grounds for believing, that if all these had been young couples just arrived at the age of puberty, the population of the colony would by this time have amounted to nearly 500,000, instead of its actual amount, less than 50,000; that the progress of population, and we may add, of colonization, would have been ten times as great as it has been, with the same outlay for bringing people to the colony. At present, too, the proportion of young people in New South Wales is rather under than over the usual rate; whereas, in the supposed case, the proportion of young people would have been very much greater than it ever has been in any human society; and according, of course, to this great proportion of young people, would have been the prospect of future increase. * * * * *

In any colony, the immediate effect of selecting young couples for emigration would be to diminish very much the ordinary cost of adding to the population of the colony. The passage of young couples would not cost more than that of any other class, or of all classes mixed; but, along with the young couples, the colony would obtain the greatest possible germ of future increase. The settlers of New South Wales, who, in the course of a few years, have made that colony to swarm with sheep, did not import lambs or old sheep: still less did they im-

port a large proportion of rams. They have imported altogether a very small number of sheep, compared with the vast number now in the colony. Their object was the production in the colony of the greatest number of sheep by the importation of the least number, or, in other words, at the least cost; and this object they accomplished by selecting for importation those animals which, on account of their sex and age, were fit to produce the greatest number of young in the shortest time. If a like selection were made of the persons to be brought to a colony with the purchase-money of waste land, the land bought, it is evident, would become as valuable as it could ever become, much more quickly than if the immigrants should be a mixture of persons of all ages. In the former case, not only would the immigrants be, all of them, of the most valuable class as labourers, but they would be of a class fit to produce the most rapid increase of people in the colony; to create as soon as possible, in places now desert, a demand for food, for the raw materials of manufactures, for accommodation land, and for building-ground. The buyer of new land, therefore, would have his purchase-money laid out for him in the way best of all calculated to be of service to him. * * * By bringing none but young grown-up persons, the maximum of value would be obtained for any given outlay. But this is not all. The greatest quantity of labour would be obtained more easily than a less quantity. The natural time of marriage is a time of change, when two persons, just united for life, must, nearly always, seek a new home. The natural time of marriage, too, is one when the mind is most disposed to hope, to ambition, to undertakings which require decision and energy of purpose. Marriage produces great anxiety for the future, and a very strong desire to be better off in the world for the sake of expected offspring. Of what class are composed those numerous streams of emigrants, which flow continually from the eastern to the outside of the

western states of America, by channels longer and rougher than the voyage from England to the eastern states? Not of single men, nor of old people, nor of middle-aged parents dragging children along with them, but, for the most part, of young couples, just married, seeking a new home, fondly assisting and encouraging each other, strong in health and spirits; not driven from their birth-place by fear of want, but attracted to a new place by the love of independence, by a sentiment of ambition, and, most of all perhaps, by anxiety for the welfare of children to come. This, then, is the class of people that would be most easily attracted to a colony by high wages and still better prospects. Others would be willing to come, if, the old country co-operating with the colony, all in the old country were well informed of the advantages of emigration: but these would be most willing; these would be not merely willing, but anxious, to come. * * * * By the proposed selection of emigrants. Moreover, as the greatest quantity of relief from excessive numbers would be comprised in the removal of the least number of people, the maximum of good from emigration would be obtained, not only with the minimum of cost, but, what is far more important, with the minimum of painful feelings. All that old people, and young children, suffer more than other people from a long voyage, would be avoided. Those only would remove who were already on the move to a new home ; those only, to whom, on account of their youth and animal spirits, separation from birth-place would be the least painful; those only, who had just formed the dearest connexion, and one not to be severed, but to be made happy by their removal. And this, the least degree of painful feeling, would be suffered by the smallest possible number of people. * * * * Each female would have a special protector from the moment of her departure from home. No man would have any excuse for dissolute habits. All the evils which have so

often sprang from a disproportion between the sexes, would be avoided. Every pair of immigrants would have the strongest motives for industry, steadiness, and thrift. In a colony thus peopled, there would scarcely ever be any single men or single women: nearly the whole population would consist of married men and women, boys and girls, and children. For many years, the proportion of children to grown-up people would be greater than was ever known since Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were surrounded by their little ones. The colony would be an immense nursery, and, all being at ease without being scattered, would offer the finest opportunity that ever occurred, to see what may be done for society by universal education. That must be a narrow breast, in which the last consideration does not raise some generous emotion."

But until land shall have been sold, there can be no Emigration Fund derived from the sale of land. Capitalists, therefore, going to the colony and buying land, would have to wait for about six months until labourers could be brought to them with the money that they had paid for land. During those six months, the colony would perish for want of labour. To meet this difficulty; in order to provide emigrating capitalists with an ample supply of labour from the outset:

XI. The Commission of Public Lands and Emigration is empowered to anticipate the sales of land, by receiving purchase-money on account from emigrants intending to buy land, and, if necessary, by raising a loan or loans, to be secured on the whole Public land of the Colony; and to employ such loan or loans in conveying selected labourers to the colony.

The object of the Commissioners will, of course, be to furnish a sufficient supply of labour to the first emigrating capitalists; and it may be taken for granted, that they will provide a passage for such labourers (being young adults, of both sexes in an equal proportion) as any capitalist may wish to hire in England. This brings us to the practical working of the measure, and shows the inducements to emigration that are held out by this peculiar mode of colonizing a waste country.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATION.

To capitalists—To labourers—To men of small fortune and large family—To young men of good fortune—To younger branches of the nobility.

EVERY capitalist going to the colony will know that his want of labour is sure to be supplied. Nay, having satisfied the Commissioners that he will employ any given number of labourers, or domestic servants, he may take that number along with him, free of cost to himself. What is far more important, he will be able to retain their services until others shall arrive to take their place. In Canada, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Africa, and Western Australia, servants taken out by capitalists under engagement to work for high wages during a fixed period, invariably quit their masters.

"Reflecting on the urgent want of labour that occurs in all colonies which prosper, we may be sure that great pains have been taken by people in colonies, to devise some means of obtaining a supply of labour from old countries. The supplies of labour obtained by kidnapping in the old English colonies of America, by the late immigration of poor Germans into the United States; poor Germans, who, ignorant of the laws and language of America, were liable to be held in a state of

bondage; and by the transportation system in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; all these supplies of labour depended on a kind of slavery. Every scheme of the sort that did not establish a kind of slavery, has failed the moment it was tried. On the principle of the *redemptor* system; that of payment by a capitalist for the poor immigrant's passage, repayment being obtained by the immigrant's labour; many schemes have been tried, and have failed, in Canada, New South Wales, arid South Africa, not to mention the Swan River. And yet nothing, can be more plain than that the capitalist of a colony, and the labourers of an old country, would find it to their mutual advantage to act on this principle. About the advance by the capitalist, there is no sort of difficulty; so much greater would be to him the value of the poor immigrant's labour for a few years, even at high wages, than the cost of the immigrant's passage. Nor is there any difficulty in finding poor labourers willing, nay eager, to engage with colonial capitalists for a certain term of service in the colony. The difficulty lies in this; that without some kind of slavery, the capitalist has no security for repayment of his outlay; that the labourer, as soon as he reaches the colony, laughs at his engagement; that, what the capitalist brings to the colony in the shape of labour, ceases to be labour the moment it reaches the colony, or at all events, is never labour over which he who paid for it, has any control. During the last fifteen years, some thousands of poor labourers, to speak within compass, have been conveyed from England to English colonies, and under engagement to work for those who had paid for their passage. 'There is no instance on record,' says Mr. M'Arthur, the greatest capitalist of New South Wales, 'where settlers have been able to prevent their *indented servants*, hired in England, from becoming dissatisfied, and then leaving them after their arrival.' At the Swan River,

the first settlers had hardly landed, before the governor was required to punish *indented labourers* for refusing to work for those who had brought them from England. In Canada universally, labouring servants, taken from England and Ireland by capitalists under engagement to repay with labour the cost of their passage, have quitted those to whom they were bound, to work for others who, not having laid out money in that way, could afford to pay higher wages than those who had. If it had been possible to enforce such contracts, what Canadian would have written: 'Place us on an equal footing with New South Wales, by giving us a share of those benefits which must, more or less, result from convict labour'?* In vain have severe laws been passed to enforce the observance of such contracts by the labourer, and to prevent such immigrants from being employed except by those who had paid for their passage. It has been all so thoroughly in vain, that the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of conducting immigration in this way seems to be established.—*England and America.*

But why have all such schemes failed ? Because, in all the colonies mentioned, every one could obtain land of his own for a mere trifle. In South Australia there will be two important novelties. The price of land will take out the labourers free of cost to their employer, and will enable him to retain their services. This will be the first colony combining plenty of labour with plenty of land. Here, then, is a stronger inducement than was ever held out by any colony to the emigration of capitalists.

* *Suggestions on the Propriety of re-introducing British Convict Labour into British North America. By a Canadian. 1824.*

Yet it may appear at first sight, that if the price of land be sufficient to provide the colonial capitalist with constant and combinable labour, there will be no strong inducement to the emigration of labourers; and this, indeed, would be the case if the labour of the colony were always composed of the same persons; since the poor man's chief motive for emigrating is the hope of becoming a landowner. But, though hired labour will be constant, the persons composing it will be frequently changed. The young men taken out with the Emigration Fund, will soon buy land with savings from their wages; but the amount of labour in the colony will not be less, because every purchase of land will provide the means of bringing more labourers. If the price be sufficiently high, poor labourers taken to the colony will have the prospect of becoming, not merely landowners, but masters; a prospect far more gratifying to that class, than the hope of obtaining land without any assistance in cultivating it, which is the best prospect of the poor man who emigrates to Canada. If this plan of colonization should be well administered, there can be no doubt, that every one who emigrates as a servant, will do so with the fairest prospect of having servants of his own, who in their turn, if they should be industrious and prudent, would become the masters of other servants. Plenty of mere animal enjoyments is all that the poor emigrant to Canada can obtain : over and above this, the poor emigrant to South Australia may look forward to a high gratification of that pride which is the greatest incentive to human exertion. We could not, indeed, explain this prospect to an uneducated

man; but hereafter a practical explanation of it will be given to the labouring class at home, by letters from poor emigrants who will not fail to boast of having exchanged the condition of a servant for that of a master. Meanwhile, there are ample inducements to the emigration of labourers. The poor workman who wishes to emigrate to Canada, cannot generally find the means to pay for his own passage, and for that of his wife if he have one; and if he go without a wife, he may remain single for years in consequence of the small proportion of females in that colony. But to South Australia the young workman may emigrate cost free; and he will obtain a free passage the more readily if he have a young wife.

"Suppose that a young single man should apply for a passage; he would be told, that for the passage of a single man there was no fund, but that there was a fund for the passage of a married man and his wife; and that whenever he should please to return with a young wife, they might both go to the colony cost free. Can it be doubtful, that he would soon return with a young wife? The experiment has been thus far tried, that when last year (1832) the South Australian Land Company received applications for a passage to New Holland, from young single men out of work, and answered,—'Yes, if you get married, and for your wife also,' the common reply was,—'So much the better;' with a snap of the fingers, a laugh, or swimming eyes, that told more than the words."—*England and America*.

A like answer would be given to young single women who should apply. "Not for one, but for two,

if you come again with a young husband." In a word, if this colony should prosper, it will be rendered, by the mode of colonization adopted, extremely attractive to persons of the labouring class.

"Two objections to this system remain to be noticed. 1. It has been said: if the price of new land were high enough to prevent any one from legally acquiring more land than, for the good of the whole society, he ought to acquire, people would use land without a title; the beneficial compact amongst the colonists implied by an uniform and fixed rule for the disposal of new land, would not be observed by all the people; some would become *squatters*, that is, settlers on new land without a title. The answer to this objection places the merits of the system in a strong point of view.

"It is a remarkable fact, that in the history of American colonization, there is but one instance of a person having settled *totally* out of the reach of markets; the case of the celebrated Daniel Boone, who is known for what? for his eccentricity. Invariably, then, it may be said, when people use land without a title, they keep within the reach of some market in which to obtain, by the sale of what their own labour produces, something which their own labour will not produce. They do not intend to cut themselves off from all social intercourse: they use land so near to the settled districts that it is liable to be taken from them as colonization advances. In many cases *squatting* has been encouraged by a regulation which awarded to the holder of land without a title, when the land should be taken from him, compensation for the improvements which he had made upon the land. But, in every case, the *squatter* expects that his land will be taken from him: nay, in most cases, he intends to abandon it as soon as he has exhausted its natural fertility. The object of the squatter, then, is

merely to get a few crops from a virgin soil, and then to remove for the purpose of exhausting another spot of virgin soil. But this, Americans know, and Mr. Stuart informs the English, is a general practice in America, not only with *squatters*, but with those who have paid for land. Why this practice? Because, as I have explained before, of the minute division of labour in America; because labour so minutely divided, would not, perhaps, even support the isolated labourer, unless the unproductiveness of his labour were counteracted by the great productiveness of a virgin soil. It is the extreme cheapness of new land which causes this minute division of labour. At all events, calculates the *squatter*, I must work by myself: if I must work by myself, I must, in order to live, use and exhaust a virgin soil: and where's the use of paying for land, when one's only object is to destroy its fertility? Here is the squatter's motive for using land without a title. If the price of land were such as to keep the people together, so that they might combine their labour, it would be for the interest of every one to remain where he could be assisted; and give assistance: the motive of the *squatter* would entirely cease. As it is no one goes beyond the reach of markets: in that case, we have a right to presume, no one would go out of the way of all the great advantages which belong to combination of labour. It appears, therefore, that, by putting a sufficient price upon new land, *squatting*, instead of being encouraged, would be prevented. This will be still more clear, when, we shall see with what great rapidity colonization would advance; how very soon a *squatter*, if there were one, not going out of the reach of markets, would be overtaken by society, provided the purchase-money of all new land were employed in accelerating the progress of colonization.

" 2. The second objection is, that into a colony where new land was not obtainable except by purchase,

neither capitalist nor labourers would be disposed to immigrate ; but that, on the contrary, from such a colony, both classes would be disposed to emigrate to other colonies, not far off, where new land was obtainable for nothing.

"We cannot decide this point by reference to facts ; because, in no colony, has that price ever been required for new land, which, together with perfect liberty of appropriation, would insure the greatest productiveness of industry, or, in other words, the highest profits and wages. But there are some facts which tend to show, that the attractive power of a colony would be increased by putting a sufficient price upon all new land. Why have so many English and Irish labourers, who had emigrated to Canada, removed from Canada to the United States ;—from a colony where land was cheaper, to one where it was dearer? The only rational answer is, because employment was more regular, with higher wages, where the people were in some degree kept together, than where they, were carefully dispersed. Why is not the Swan River colony, where, under a fine climate, land is so very cheap;—why is not this a favourite colony with English emigrants, both capitalists and labourers? Why have so many people, both labourers and capitalists, emigrated from the Swan River to colonies, where land was dearer? Why does it happen, when a large tract of new land is bought by an American company, and resold by them in lots with great profit, that to this spot people flock, both capitalists and labourers, and here congregate for the advantages which come from mutual assistance? In this last case, as to a great tract of country, the company take the place of government, and will not part with any land except at a higher price than that which they have paid to the government. In all these cases, people are attracted from a worse to a better proportion between land and people. That it should be so, is consistent with the

principles of human nature and political economy. True it is, that people now and then go from a better to a worse proportion between land and people; as when, citizens of the United States emigrate to Canada: but these are exceptions from the general rule ; just as those who ruin their fortunes and destroy their health by excessive debauchery, do that which is contrary to their own interest, and therefore contrary to a law of political economy and human nature. The case of those capitalists who emigrate from an old country, led on by the hope of acquiring wealth by obtaining for little or nothing immense tracts of wilderness, arises from profound ignorance. If this case support the objection under review, then, when a child is poisoned by mistaking nightshade berries for red currants, it goes to prove that children have no sentiment of self-preservation. These men act like the colonial minister of England, who sent butts for holding fresh water, to ships that were floating on a fresh-water sea. Judging of a desert country by what they see in one thickly peopled, they dream of domains and millions till they awake, having lost their all. But the people of a colony in which there existed the advantages of a proper degree of concentration, could not be ignorant of those advantages; and the existence, for the first time, of these great advantages would surely become known, both in other colonies and in the mother-country. Such a colony, then, would be highly attractive. How much more attractive, both to capitalists and labourers, than colonies have ever been, will be seen in the following section of this treatise ; where it is explained, that, if all the purchase-money of waste land were properly disposed of, capitalists in the colony would always be supplied with labour, and every labourer reaching the colony might surely become, not only a landowner, but, something more grateful to one of his class, a master of other labourers. The first colony in which labour was

plentiful, though dear, and in which labourers might be sure to become masters as well as landowners; the first colony in which there was the good without the evil of an old society, would probably attract people, both capitalists and labourers, from colonies in which, along with the good, there was all the evil of a new society."—*England and America*.

But capitalists and labourers, meaning those who would cultivate land, are not the only classes to whom this colony, if it should be an extension of the old society without its evils, will prove highly attractive. The productiveness of industry arising from a due proportion amongst the elements of wealth; or, in other words, the large produce of industry divided in the shape of high profits and high wages, will not only make living cheap, but will cause the interest of money to be high, and will thus enable persons owning money, to obtain, without engaging in any work of production, much larger and more effective incomes than their property yields in England: it must also furnish a demand for the services of all kinds of people who are not called either capitalists or labourers; such as surveyors, architects, engineers, clerks, teachers, lawyers, and clergymen. Once assume that industry will be very productive, and that the colony will raise commodities for distant exchange, when it follows, that there will be room and employment for all those numerous classes who, besides persons engaged in the work of production, help to form a rich and civilized community.

There are two orders of men in England, to whom a civilized colony, if there were one, would be full of attractions.

First; the man of small fortune and large family, who, wanting a knowledge of business, is unable to increase his means here, where the rate of interest is so low; who, possessing other kinds of knowledge, a good deal of refinement, and no little ambition for his children, revolts at the thought of becoming a backwoodsman in Canada, a convict driver in New South Wales, or a bush-man at the Swan River; and who is led, by the disproportion between his fortune and his pride, to vegetate for the sake of cheapness in some obscure town of England or France, whence his sons go forth to struggle with a crowd of hungry competitors, and where his daughters remain to make his heart ache every day at the hopelessness of their prospects.* In a civilized colony, where the interest of money was high, and where society was continually expanding without any deterioration, an emigrant of this class would find present ease without any shock to his habits,—a career for all his sons whatever the number,—husbands for all his daughters, however large the brood,—and for himself, if he had superior or even common talents, a field of profitable exertion and honourable ambition. Such a man would change for the better by taking his family to Canada, or any other colony in which no attempt was ever made to preserve the attributes of wealth and civilization; but, in that case, he would only fly from a greater to a lesser evil: he would emigrate more on account of the intolerable uneasiness of his condition here, than with a prospect of much enjoyment in the new place. But in going to South Australia, the prospect of such an

* For a particular description of this class, see *England and America*. Chap. "The Uneasiness of the Middle Class."

emigrant would be one of unmixed good. Let us suppose him to have resolved on changing his abode; he may now look back without regret, because he may look forward with entire satisfaction. He is going to a new, but not to a barbarous country; and if, in the new place, he may indulge the social habits and refined tastes which are become his second nature, then the newness of the country is a most favourable circumstance. "Without losing the enjoyments of civilization, he will take part in laying the foundation of an empire; and none but those who have been occupied in converting the desert into fields, gardens, and towns, can tell with what pleasurable feelings the colonist regards the creation, as it were, of his own hands. Of all that he sees now, nothing existed lately except the bare wilderness. He looks upon the whole as if it were his own, and prefers the new country to that which he has left; in the same manner as he who has built a house from the ground, planned it, and watched its progress to completion, is prouder of his own work than he would have been of a finer house which he had inherited or purchased. Invention is said to be the prerogative of genius; but the work of creating is agreeable to every order of mind. The story of Robinson Crusoe is so interesting to all, because it describes, not a number of improvements, but a number of creations. In colonizing, everything but the land is created; and every part of the work bears that character of originality which strikes most forcibly on the imagination of mankind. To improve is good and pleasant; but it is better and more pleasant to call into existence that to which every improvement shall be applicable.'

Nor is the enthusiasm which has distinguished most founders of colonies, incompatible with a sober judgment. Columbus was an enthusiast; and Raleigh, who may be said to have laid the foundation of the United States; and Lord Baltimore, who founded Maryland; and William Penn, whose plan of the town of Philadelphia is not yet filled up. Penn's was a sober mind, excited, inflamed if you will, but not divested of its prudence, by his engaging in the very stimulating pursuit of creating all where there was nothing but the ground to stand upon. Or, rather, perhaps, with so cautious a temper, he would not have engaged in that pursuit unless he had also possessed an excitable imagination. But, be that as it may, the leaders in planting a colony, not only have generally possessed, but always ought to possess, imagination to conceive, as well as judgment to execute.

We have appealed to the imagination of our readers: we now address their judgment. Let no one decide rashly on going to this colony. Those only will be qualified to be of much use in carrying the plan into effect, who shall have made themselves thoroughly acquainted with it. All who shall think of emigrating, and more especially that class who, from their property and station, would necessarily be influential in the colony, are invited to inquire, to examine, to sift the whole scheme, to see what is likely to be the effect of every legislative provision. Having done this, and found the plan a good one, then may they without imprudence lean upon the judgment of others; reflecting that the project has not been formed in a hurry, but has occupied many

persons during several years, and is deliberately recommended to the public by men of the highest character for sagacity and prudence.

The other order of Englishmen who might, with great advantage to themselves, take part in establishing a civilized colony, consists of young men of good fortune, and what is called mean birth, who, because they are rich, aspire to live on equal terms with the highest ranks, and yet who, not because they are upstarts or new-rich, but because they want impudence and tact, are repelled and insulted by the newest, the most upstart of aristocracies. Such men, if possessed of a good disposition and ordinary pride, lead a life of unceasing constraint and mortification. There are not many vices, nor is there any meanness, to which they will not resort, though against their inclination and judgment, for the sake of associating with persons of rank. But as estimable persons of rank do not care for their money, and as the vilest persons of rank care for nothing else, they take up with noble *roués* and demireps, and in return for the money which they yield to play and begging, receive, what? they receive, at best, when their purse no longer overflows, or their good nature is exhausted, flagrant but wholesome affronts; or, at worst, so long as they will lose or lend, a mere sham of friendship before their faces, and, behind their backs, contemptuous abuse which seldom fails to come round. Not a few are ruined in the race of aristocratic dissipation and extravagance. Some, if very rich, have the misfortune to obtain a lady wife, who, with her family, never allows them to forget that they belong to an inferior order. Some

become as mean and heartless as their fine acquaintance, and sink into contented parasites of title. Some (and it is these whom we address, for the others are past help), after one or two years of suffering, have pride and courage to break away from the disgraceful thralldom, and to become independent, if not happy. With large means for bestowing happiness on others, they are not happy, only because the same love of distinction which had led them amongst the dregs of "high society" wants a field wherein to be gratified with benefit to themselves and others. Retiring from "that world which consists of four thousand people who sleep in the day-time," they commonly acquire habits of monotonous inaction, or, when driven to some occupation by the force of ennui, engage in the most frivolous pursuits. The founding of a well-planned colony is a great as well as an original work. Taking part in such a work, this capable, but useless and dissatisfied class of men would kill time by action worthy of a man; displaying good qualities hardly known to themselves; indulging in the strongest, though most harmless excitement; gratified by the possession of present consequence and authority; creating an honourable ancestry for their children, and for themselves a higher distinction than mere birth ever bestowed.

A writer in the *Quarterly Review** suggests that there is another class who would do well to engage in colonization. "In the colonies," he says, "a large proportion of the children or grand-

* No. lxxviii, Art. 8.

children of the highest families in this land must be contented to fix their abode, unless they resolve to drag on a life of dependence and indigence here. It is unfortunate that these establishments should so long have been regarded as fit only for the residence of convicts, labourers, mechanics, and desperate or needy men." It is unfortunate, but not surprising. For, in the first place, the mode of treating waste land in modern colonies, has rendered every one of them a place unfit for the residence of persons accustomed to the enjoyments of civilization; and, secondly, in modern times, "the children and grandchildren of the highest families in this land" have been taught to be content with "dragging on a life" not of "indigence," but of comfortable "dependence" on the public purse.

In the days of Elizabeth and her immediate successors, when the aristocracy of England seem to have been moved by a lofty and romantic spirit, persons of the highest rank used to engage in the planting of colonies, and with the same earnestness that noblemen now bring to the fox-hunt and the race-course. In the charters under which the thirteen English colonies of North America were founded, we find the names of a great number of the most distinguished men of those times, who appear to have been proud to figure in the business of colonization as Adventurers, Trustees, Counsellors, and Patrons. But, of late years, whenever men of noble birth have taken any interest in colonies, it has been only for the sake of the public money to be obtained by holding a colonial office. If this be the kind of emigration that the *Quarterly Review* recommends to the younger branches

of our nobility, the advice was unnecessary; and if, on the other hand, it is proposed that such persons should colonize like the great men of ancient Greece, and of our country long ago; that is, for the sake of the gratification to be obtained by the performance of great actions; then comes a question as to the greatness of mind which includes the requisite ambition and capacity. "Adequate encouragement," says the same writer, "ought to be held out to enterprising young men of rank and connexions." But what sort of encouragement? Not a place, nor an immense grant of land, by favour, to the injury of other people. Besides, where are the young men? or, rather, where is the enterprise? We pretend not to explain the fact; but surely it would be hard to find half-a-dozen "young men of rank and connexions" sufficiently enterprising to be capable, without "encouragement," of exchanging "a life of dependence and indigence here" for the sort of life that he enjoys who engages, to use the words of Lord Bacon, in, "the heroic work" of planting a colony.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY.

Provisional legislation by the King in Council—Appointment of Officers by the Crown—Present security for good government—Favourable promise as to the future, during, the provisional state—Provision for local self-government when the population of the colony shall amount to 50,000 souls. The transportation system never to be inflicted on this colony—Apology for speaking evil of other colonies.

IT was originally; proposed to his Majesty's government, that the South Australian Association should be incorporated as a body politic, with powers for governing the colony until its population amounted to 50,000 souls; and that then the powers of the Association should be transferred to the colonists. Such a delegation of authority would have been in strict accordance with the leading principle of the British constitution, which may be said to govern by means of a vast number of subordinate governments exercising delegated authority for special or local purposes: and this course would have been agreeable to the nearly uniform practice of the British government in the foundation of colonies. This course, however, is desirable, only on the assumption that the supreme authority, and the chief executive authority, that is, parliament and the ministers, are too much occupied with the important affairs of the mother country to bestow much voluntary attention on the affairs of an infant and distant colony; and, further, on the obvious truth that such great rulers are not liable to any

penalty for neglecting subjects so insignificant and so far beyond the reach of observation. On no other ground is delegation of authority for the special purpose of governing a colony, the preferable mode of proceeding. As the legislative and executive authorities of England must necessarily be wholly irresponsible; to a small and distant settlement in nowise represented at home; the question is, whether, of their own accord, those irresponsible powers will consult the well-being of the colony. This is a matter, not of fact, but of opinion; and one, on which opinions will widely differ. Most people, it seems probable, would have concluded, if the provisional government of South Australia had been intrusted to a chartered corporation that the colony was not an object of much interest to our great men at home; and from, the fact that his Majesty's government have undertaken the troublesome task of framing laws suitable to a new colony, and the anxious one of appointing officers qualified to administer such laws, it will be inferred by many, that the success of this experiment in colonization is an object dear to the chief executive authority. If it should prove so, then the intended mode of provisional government is infinitely preferable to that of an incorporated society; for there can be no doubt that the public: in England will think better of the colony for its being placed under the immediate control of the King in Council. As this point is settled, and as the question whether or not the King in Council (which means his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the colonies,) can find time and inclination for giving sufficient attention to the affairs of the colony, will soon be determined

by experience, we need not express our own opinion on the subject. First remarking, however, that in the course of the last four years, four different persons have filled the office of colonial minister, and the Australian branch of the Colonial Office has been managed by four different under-secretaries,—we may add a sincere declaration of our belief, that the character of the present colonial minister, Mr. Spring Rice, and the affection which his under-secretary, Mr. John Lefevre, cannot but entertain towards a society which will owe its existence to his good offices, furnish a sort of guarantee that *for the present* this Crown Colony will prove, in respect to the making of laws and the appointment of officers, an exception from the general rule of neglect and mismanagement. As for the future, even while the government of the colony shall be in a provisional state, there is one circumstance of highly favourable promise. The expense of governing the colony is to be defrayed, not by taxes levied in the mother country, but by means of a loan or loans to be raised in the shape of a colonial debt, and to be secured on the whole revenue of the colony. Thus the colonists are to be charged with the cost of their own government; which will give them a strong claim to the attention of any future minister, or of the British legislature in case of need; while the holders of colonial government securities will constitute a body in the mother country greatly interested in the prosperity of the colony. The power of raising such a loan or loans is very properly vested in the Board of Commissioners for managing the disposal of public lands and of the fund for Emigration.

But all arrangements as to government, revenue, and taxation, (excepting the fundamental laws as to the mode of colonization) are entirely of a provisional character. When the colonial population shall amount to 50,000 souls, and when the colony shall undertake to pay off the debt charged on its revenue, and to defray the whole cost of its local government in future, then his Majesty's subjects in the province of South Australia are to receive a constitution of local government; and a legislative pledge to this effect will be expressly given in the act of parliament for establishing the colony. What may be the nature of that constitution, it is impossible to conjecture with precision; but we may presume that, in form, it will resemble the British constitution; and that, in substance, it will enable the colonists to legislate for themselves on all questions of a local description. Here then is a provision for local self-government, as soon as the colony shall be in a state fit to enjoy that inestimable advantage. When the advantage shall be obtained is not fixed, but is judiciously made to depend upon the progress of the colony in numbers and wealth; or, in other words, upon the number of persons who shall emigrate in the first instance, and upon their succeeding in the endeavour to render this colony highly attractive, which would prove that they were qualified to act as the legislators and statesmen of their adopted country.

The act of parliament will provide that no convicts shall ever be transported to this settlement. A promise to the same effect was made to the first settlers

in Western Australia; and until that colony was undone by the want of constant and combinable labour, the assurance that it would never suffer the infliction of being turned into a jail, was one of its highest recommendations. Until the banks of the Swan River were opened for settlement, the great natural advantages of Australia had been counteracted by the moral evils of the convict system. For fear of the degrading and corrupting influence of transportation, the emigrant who was possessed of a decent pride, and of some regard for the morals of his children, preferred the dense forests and long winters of Canada,—the arduous labour of "clearing" before the plough can be used,—ague in summer, and frost during half the year,—to the fine climate and grassy plains of Australia: but when the Swan River was planted —

Now, said the government of that day, and its organ the *Quarterly Review*, the advantages of an open country and beautiful climate, all the great natural advantages of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, may be enjoyed without any countervailing evil. And the prophecy was not fulfilled, only because other evils than those of the convict system were created by an erroneous mode of dealing with waste land. In so much as Van Diemen's Land or New South Wales is more attractive to the emigrant than Western Australia, that latest English colony would be benefited by the introduction of the convict system; but why? because here there has been no system, or rather the worst possible system, of treating the chief element of colonization. In that respect, the Swan-River Settlement has been very useful for the present case "as an example to deter." The

founders of South Australia may venture to boast that their colony, besides never suffering the infliction, will never feel the want of convict labour.

We take this opportunity to apologize for having spoken of existing colonies in terms of disparagement. It was impossible to avoid such a course. If existing colonies had been very prosperous and attractive, there might have been no sufficient motive for forming another settlement. The existing colonies are not very prosperous and attractive, only by reason of certain great defects of which the causes may be discovered by any diligent inquirer. The object of the founders of South Australia has been to discover all those hurtful causes, and to prevent the operation of them in their undertaking. The merits of their plan rest upon the errors of other plans, and become obvious only when contrasted with those errors. All things are relative; and what is right, is so, only with reference to wrong: who can explain the nature of a virtue without noticing its correspondent vice? It follows that we could not have described the present undertaking without frequent mention of the disadvantages of other colonies. In mentioning those disadvantages, we have not been moved by any feeling of jealousy or of rivalry; for we have no greater interest in the prosperity of this colony, than in that of any other settlement. On the contrary, it is our earnest wish, that through the success of this experiment in colonization (which has been prepared with a careful regard to the evils of existing colonies,) the Canadas, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, and South Africa, may obtain such

a reform of their colonizing economy, as shall render each of them a mere extension of the mother country without the evils arising from want of room; so that in none of them, to use the language of Archbishop Whately, shall there "be little more revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire,—little more than a change of natural scenery." Nay, we hope and trust, along with the eminent persons by whose exertions this scheme has been brought to maturity, that its early and complete success will lead to the foundation of other colonies in various parts of the world, if not strictly according to the plan here developed, upon some such plan, with improvements that may be suggested by the working of this, the first attempt since the time of the ancient Greeks to Colonize systematically*.

* As an example of that spirit of colonial rivalry or jealousy which we have disclaimed, we are tempted to give the following literal extract from a letter recently addressed by a Tasmanian landlord and author to a member of the South Australian Association; premising that every owner of land in Van Diemen's Land has a deep personal interest in preventing the formation of a 'rival establishment,' which, until the penal system shall be abolished in Australia, will probably induce many of its richer inhabitants to emigrate once more, and must at all events divert the stream of Anglo-Australian emigration away from the degraded and corrupted penal colonies.

Judging from the sentiments I have heard from you, I believe the South Australian Association aims at benefiting the miserable portion of our population," (The letter was written in England.) "I also incline to think that they have taken up an excellent *theory*. Nevertheless, I believe

they are going to commit an act of *insanity*, and to prove a memorable scourge to those people who, justly relying upon their good intentions, but most unwisely giving up their several judgments to their collective wisdom, shall have the misfortune first to emigrate under their auspices. Some knowledge of the probable nature of the undertaking *can* be had, but I find it has been despised. Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat."

The "knowledge" alluded to, was conveyed along with the letter, in the shape of some strictures on the plan of the Association; and as nothing but good can come from discussion, it will, we hope, be printed in the *South Australian Gazette*; a newspaper for the new colony, of which some of the first numbers are to be published in England for the use of the colonists before their departure.

CONCLUSION.

No expedition of settlers ought to take place until a large one be ready—The emigrants a distinct society before their departure—Means of concert and co-operation—Preparatory measures for religious instruction, education, a well-planned town, and written laws—Colonial Newspaper.

CONSIDERING that the new settlement, though distant from England, will be close to settlements abounding in food and stock, there is only one way in which the distance between South Australia and England may prove unfavourable to the early prosperity of the colony. To so distant a place, a sufficiently large and wealthy body of colonists may not be disposed to emigrate in the first instance. Many who will approve of the plan of the colony, and who will have made up their minds to emigrate upon hearing a favourable report of the working of that plan, yet may not be disposed to join the first expedition. But if those who form the first expedition should be too few for the immediate establishment of a complete society, there would be some risk, at least, of the first report from the colony being unfavourable. As the terms co-operation and social order are wholly inapplicable to a single person, so are they not fully applicable to less than such a number as comprises all ranks and conditions, and a sufficient number of each class, for that concert or combination on which

depends the division of employments. In a moral point of view, further, it is evident, a large body of colonists from the very beginning is indispensable, to sustain the spirits of all, to inspire confidence and good honour, to prevent the hesitation and despondency which are apt to infect a small number of settlers in a wide wilderness. In colonization, as in war, it is always wise, when it is possible, to operate with masses. Timidity, taking the air of caution, is often the worst imprudence. This is one of those cases in which valour is the better part of discretion; boldness, the highest prudence. By a series of petty expeditions, with a considerable interval between the arrival of each, the social force of the colony would be divided, and its means of taking vigorous root would be frittered away. All the precautions that have been devised to insure the greatness of this colony may prove fruitless, unless there be at the outset such a number of people as was always in the contemplation of those who devised the precautions. Even as respects that point on which, viewed in one light, a series of small expeditions might be recommended, viz., a full market of provisions and live-stock to be supplied from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, it is plain that the motives of the Australian merchants to establish such a market, will be in proportion to the number of buyers of whose coming they shall have had notice. It might not be worth their while to provide regularly and amply for a small settlement; but they would have the strongest inducements to make provision for a considerable colony. Upon the whole, therefore, we trust that no expedition of settlers will take place until a large one shall be ready.

An expedition of mere surveyors to fix on the best spot for the first town, to measure some land there; to give notice in Van Diemen's Land of the place fixed upon, and to meet the first expedition of settlers at such a central place of rendezvous as Nepean Bay; this would be a most proper measure. The foregoing remarks apply only to the first expedition of *settlers*, and are intended to point out one of the most important subjects that can occupy the body of colonists assembled under the auspices of the South Australian Association.

A body of men assembled with the intention of emigrating to an unoccupied country, are a colony before their departure from the mother country. Already has every one of them an interest, though not opposed to, still distinct from, the interests of those amongst whom he yet abides; each of them thinks continually of the new place, and is occupied in making arrangements for his departure and settlement. If they all know each other, meet frequently, and consult together for the good of all, they are a new public, separate from the old, one, with public wants, objects, and interests, different from those of the old state. If before their departure they procure to be made, so as to carry along with them, the laws which they will have to obey, they constitute a temporary *imperium in imperio*, a small nation on the move, and run no risk of losing those habits of concert and subordination which give peace and power to long-established societies. Such, it is to be hoped; will be the body of Englishmen who are about to become a nation in Australia. One object in forming the South Australian Association, was to provide

for concert before their departure amongst the first emigrants to this colony. All who propose to emigrate are invited to meet continually at the office of the Association; so that by an interchange of knowledge and opinion, by an intimate acquaintance amongst each other, by an useful suggestion here, and the correction of an error there, by inquiry, forethought, agreement, and co-operation, all those arrangements may be made beforehand, which would tend to the well-doing of the colony. If it should be so, what a contrast will appear between the behaviour of the founders of South Australia, and the careless, slovenly, scrambling proceedings of those who founded the Swan-River settlement!

That it will be so, we have little doubt. Many of those who have already determined to form part of the first expedition, are perfectly aware of the importance of concert and careful preparation. They feel, too, the great expediency of rendering the colony as like as possible to England from the very beginning of its career." With such views, they are engaged in making timely provision for religious instruction*; for general education; for the purchase by a number of them, with a joint capital, of the site of the first town, so that that town may be planned with due regard to appearance and public convenience;

* Part of the fund raised for the purposes of government will, no doubt, be employed in the maintenance of clergymen, and, as in Canada, without distinction of sects. The prospectus, however, which is given in an Appendix, of the SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CHURCH SOCIETY, will show that the colonists are bent on making a more ample provision for religious objects.

and for procuring written laws for their future government. Finally, they contemplate the publication in England of the first numbers of a colonial newspaper. If they should not be prevented by the stamp-act, this last measure, by showing that the colonists want a newspaper before their departure will show better than words, that a colony ought to be made, even before its departure, a distinct and well-regulated society. Such a society will remove with order, and can hardly fail to be established in peace and prosperity.

APPENDIX, No. I.

"SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CHURCH SOCIETY.

(OFFICE, No. 7, *John-Street, Adelphi.*)

AMONGST those who, with their families, propose to settle in the new Colony of South Australia, are some dissenters from the Church of England; and they are engaged in raising funds for the purpose of establishing their mode of worship. The emigrating members of the Church of England also, are most anxious that the faith and discipline to which they subscribe, should be planted from the very beginning and preserved for their children, by means of a sufficient religious establishment. With this view, they are prepared to contribute towards a fund, to be vested in Trustees, for the purposes of building churches and clergymen's houses, and supporting clergymen in the colony.

Several members of the Church of England who do not intend to emigrate, desirous to promote the objects of their emigrating brethren, are also prepared to contribute towards the fund in question; and these two classes have formed themselves into a society for the purpose of collecting other subscriptions in aid of their object, and for making arrangements for the best investment and most beneficial application of the money subscribed.

The rules and regulations of the Society will not be finally settled until time shall have been allowed for

consulting the heads of the church, and for obtaining advice and co-operation from such of the clergy and lay members of the church, as may be willing to promote this interesting work. Meanwhile a Provisional Committee has been formed, and the following Bankers have undertaken to receive subscriptions:—Messrs. Curries and Co., Cornhill; and Messrs. Prescotts and Co., Threadneedle-street.

It would have ill become the Committee, in thus appealing to their religious brethren, to dwell on the merits of their common faith. By themselves, and by those whose assistance they require, the truth of the doctrines of the Church of England, and the efficacy of belief in those doctrines, both as a means to salvation and as a moral guide, are deeply felt. An address of this kind is not the fit place in which to descant on so holy a theme; nor could the lay members of the Society join with propriety in this passing notice of it, except for the purpose of introducing the following observations which are not open to controversy.

Whatever the consolations and other advantages of religion, it is difficult to conceive a situation which requires them more, than that in which men place themselves who become the first inhabitants of a wilderness, distant from the abode of society. In the planting of a colony, the chief elements of success are fortitude, patience, and brotherly affection. "We," said the founders of the prosperous State of Massachusetts, "are *knit together* in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; and it is not with us, as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." They were distinguished from other men by very strong religious feelings, and by what they considered a sacred obligation to help each other. Amongst

all the bodies of men who planted colonies in America, none but these, and the companions of William Penn, who also were bound together by a strong religious tie, greatly prospered from the very beginning. When a new colony is planted on the western frontier of the United States, one of the first objects of the settlers is to provide for public worship and religious instruction; and the advantages of such a course, in a mere worldly point of view, are always conspicuous. Nay, so well are they understood, that it is common for speculating land-companies to build a church or meeting-house on their property, for the express purpose of attracting settlers, and inducing them to remain within the settlement. The church or meeting-house is a central point of attraction; it prevents the settlers from removing to a great distance from each other; and the residence among them of a religious teacher, generally their superior in knowledge and refinement, tends to prevent or heal disagreements, and to keep up the habits of civilized life. On grounds then, besides those which are of a religious nature, it is most desirable that the new Colony should have a religious establishment from the outset of its career.

In the greater number of modern colonies, a religious establishment, though formed in name and appearance, has been of but little real service. In a report by the Bishop of Jamaica laid before Parliament, it was stated, that out of a population of 370,000 souls, only 15,000 persons had a church to assemble in, and that "some parishes of the interior were actually without the semblance of the forms of religious worship." In Upper Canada, again, great pains have been taken to support the doctrines of the Church of England; and yet, by a *Sketch of the State of Religion* in that colony, recently published by the Rev. T. Radcliff, of Dublin, it appears "that unless prompt and energetic arrangements be made to meet the wants and desires of the

increasing colonists, there will be, with the absence of sound religious principles, a proportional accession of sects, a total indifference to, or ignorance of, any religion; that many districts are in a deplorable state in this respect, and what is the worst feature, some of the settlers themselves seem careless about it." Such a state of things has occurred before; and it is just what might have been expected. It is only amongst the scattered inhabitants of the interior of Jamaica that even "the semblance of religious worship is unknown;" and in Upper Canada, the colonists are so widely dispersed, that it is impossible they should often meet for public worship; while, as respects religious instruction, instead of the scholars coming in a body to the teacher, the teacher must necessarily travel about amongst his separated scholars; and thus, in order that all should be properly instructed, an establishment of teachers would be required almost as numerous as the colonists. In consequence of the great dispersion of the settlers in Upper Canada, religious instruction is commonly given by itinerant preachers, and public worship is obtained by means of camp-meetings. But in South Australia, precautions will be taken, though for the first time in the history of modern colonization, to prevent the dispersion of the colonists. The object of the South Australian Association is not to place a scattered and half barbarous colony on the coast of New Holland, but to establish there, and gradually to extend, a wealthy, civilized society. This then is a case, in which a colonial religious establishment would be eminently useful. In a colony to which, not men and women merely, but *society* shall be transplanted, there will religion, which is an attribute of society, take immediate root, and exert all its happy social influence. Many attempts to establish religion in a barbarous country have been attended with disappointment; such an attempt, if made at the Swan River, would at best

be most difficult of execution, through the great dispersion and poverty of the colonists:—in the present case, on the contrary, when the object is to maintain religion amongst a civilized society, the efforts which may be made for that great object, will, it is confidently hoped, be amply rewarded by success; no exertion which may be afforded to the Society will be labour in vain; nor is there reason to doubt that every contribution for this purpose will, with God's help, fructify to His glory, and to the eternal happiness of His creatures.

On two other grounds in particular, the Society recommend their undertaking to the religious public.

First. It is intended that, in this colony, no waste or public land shall be *given* to settlers, but that all such land shall be *sold in public*—and that *all* the purchase money of waste or public land shall be employed in conveying to the colony young men and women, in equal proportions. "The moral advantages," it has been well observed, "of such a selection of emigrants would not be few. Each female would have a special protector from the moment of her departure from home. No man would have any excuse for dissolute habits. All the evils which have so often sprung from a disproportion between the sexes would be avoided. Every pair of immigrants would have the strongest motives for industry, steadiness, and thrift. In a colony thus peopled, there would scarcely ever be any single men or single women; nearly the whole population would consist of married men and women, boys and girls, and children. For many years the proportion of children to grown-up people would be greater than was ever known since Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were surrounded by their little ones. The colony would be an immense nursery; and all being at ease, without being scattered, would offer the finest opportunity that ever occurred to see what may be done for society by universal education. That must be a narrow breast in which the last consi-

deration does not raise some generous emotion."—*England and America*, vol. ii. p. 215. And in every religious breast this last consideration will raise an anxious, one might say a tender wish, that in so great a nursery there should be ample means of *Christian* education.

Second. In order to maintain between the colony and its mother-country the most intimate union and affection, not one of the many precautions for that object which are contemplated by the South Australian Association, will be more effective than the proposed Church Society. For this Society will be composed of Englishmen and Colonists, mixed together, and engaged in one pursuit; it will sustain in the colony the doctrine and discipline of that church which is established in the mother-country; and by preserving between the mother-church and the colonial church the closest relations, it will tend to make the colonists, in the words of Dr. Adam Smith, "instead of turbulent and factious subjects of the mother-county, her most faithful and affectionate allies; with the same parental affection on the one side, and the same filial respect on the other, as used to subsist between the colonies of ancient Greece, and the mother city from which they descended."

Communications to be addressed to No. 7, John-street, Adelphi."

APPENDIX, No. II.

REPORT OF A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT EXETER HALL, ON MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1834.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of July 1, 1834.)

NEW COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

A PUBLIC meeting of the promoters and friends of the projected colony in South Australia was held yesterday, pursuant to public advertisement, in the large room at Exeter Hall. The meeting was highly respectable and numerous, there being not less than two thousand five hundred people present. Many elegantly-dressed ladies graced the platform and the front seats. We observed amongst a great number of eminent and influential individuals, the following gentlemen:—Mr. Abraham Borradaile, Mr. J. W. Childers, M.P.; Mr. Clay, M.P.; Captain Gowan, Mr. Grote, M.P.; Mr. Hawkins, M.P.; Mr. M. D. Hill, M.P.; Mr. Rowland Hill, Mr. Hutt, M.P.; Mr. John Melville, Sir William Molesworth, M.P.; Mr. Jacob Montefiore, Mr. P. Scrope, M.P.; Mr. Strutt, M.P.; Colonel Torrens, M.P.; Mr. Daniel Wakefield, jun.; Mr. Wilks, M.P.; Mr. Joseph Parkes, Mr. Gouger, Mr. Soholefield, M.P.; Colonel Walker, C.B.; Mr. Quest, M.P.; Sir Charles Lemon, M.P.; and the Hon. Mr. Mullins, M.P.

At twelve, on the motion of Mr. Grote, one of the

members for the City of London, Mr. W. Wolryche Whitmore, member for the Borough of Wolverhampton, was called to the chair.

Mr. WHITMORE rose amidst cheering, and opened the business of the day in the following words :—Ladies and Gentlemen, the object for which we have assembled on the present occasion, is to consider the propriety of founding a New Colony on the southern coast of Australia. It is my duty, holding the situation which your Suffrages have placed me in, to state—which I will do very shortly—our plans and intentions; and if I do not go very fully into them, it is not from any lack of anxiety on my part that you should be thoroughly acquainted with our object, inasmuch as the outline I shall give, will be followed up by friends equally ardent with me in the cause, and more able to enter into details than I can ever pretend to be. The question which we ought first to consider is, whether a necessity actually does exist for a more extended system of colonization than that which is now acted on. I think that those persons who have ever made inquiries into the subject will admit that, in all countries which have arrived at a certain stage, a system of colonization, if practicable, has ever been found beneficial in its results. We find in ancient history that all the great nations—great for their wealth, and great for their extent of empire—have adopted such a system: and we know that modern nations, equally distinguished for wealth and empire, have also acted upon the example (hear, hear!). But we need not seek for these authorities in illustration of the benefits which nations have derived from such a course. The fact is obvious; its wisdom has been oft-times testified, as well by the colonization of America, as by that of other and various parts of the globe; and that the necessity for acting upon this system exists at the present moment in England, is clear from the large stream of emigration now flowing from this country, seeking employment in various parts of

those fertile colonies which belong to us (cheers). This can be best illustrated by the simple fact, that fifty thousand persons have emigrated from their mother country in one year, and that in the same number of months, some little time back, no less than one hundred thousand persons left our shores to seek employment in distant lands. If it is true—and the fact is undeniable—that a necessity has existed in other times and in other countries for a greater extension of territory, over which the people of other nations might diffuse themselves, it must be conceded that such necessity also exists in this. But need I appeal to statistical details? May I not ask each individual now present, whether, looking at this country with a comprehensive eye—looking at it in all its various relations—with its vast accumulation of wealth—its great increase of trade—whether, with all those immense advantages, and all that prosperity which in a general and national point of view it can undoubtedly boast, there is not at the present moment a pressure on our energies of a most undesirable and injurious character (cheers)—a pressure not confined, I say, to one class alone, but which is felt by the highest and the humblest in the land?—and whether, such being the case, it is not wise and prudent to lay the foundation of those measures which may produce greater employment for all classes of the community, by which vast benefits will accrue to those who colonize, and a sensible relief be experienced by those who remain? (cheers). These points, I say, I may justly assume as proved. There are other points which will naturally suggest themselves to many minds, but these I shall not attempt to enter on, because they are in some degree foreign to our present object—because they are subjects rather for the deliberations of political economists, than the discussions of a general meeting like this. If, then, I may assume as proved the desirableness of encouraging a greater extent of colonization, I will proceed shortly to bring before you the leading

principles on which our endeavours will be founded, and which we think best calculated for the safe and early consummation of our object. It appears to me, Ladies and Gentlemen, that considerable defects exist in the principle which at present regulates emigration from this country. It appears to me much better to establish our future proceedings on some principle which shall have been seriously weighed and considered by us, and which may tend at once to lead to the greatest results. The first striking defect in the present system of emigration appears to me to be this—that it does not provide for an admixture of all classes of the community (hear, hear!). Large numbers of people go out, and in some instances individuals of large fortune, but without those appliances by which their capital may be made profitable to themselves and useful to others. The lower class of emigrants have their labour only for their capital, and are helpless, from the want of money to put their industry in motion; the richer class have money, but want skill and labour. Now our plan is to have a judicious admixture of both classes—that one may serve and assist the other—that capital may be usefully employed and industry at once put in motion (cheers). The want of such a provision is the striking defect of the existing system. Now the question, arises, have we any means by which this drawback on the beneficial effects of emigration may be remedied? It appears to me that we have—that it is practicable to remedy this evil—and that we shall be in a condition to accomplish great good, untainted by the alloy I have alluded to. The system we propose to go upon is this—that all waste lands which it may be our intention to colonize shall be sold at a given price, or such price as the fair competition in the market may command, and the money which from time to time will thus come into our hands is to be expended in sending over young persons of the humbler classes—labourers and others—so that there may be a

constant and gradual supply of industry to be employed on the lands thus purchased. That I take to be the main principle of our association; and if it be carried into effect fully and fairly, I am inclined to believe that all those evils which now exist will be done away with, and that, in transplanting portions of the community into this new country—taking, as we shall do, all the various grades of society—we shall be fulfilling a high duty by at once extending civilization abroad, and relieving embarrassment at home (cheers). In this way, as appears to me, we shall benefit those who leave, and those who remain on our shores. Having stated thus the general principle, I shall leave the task of further illustrating it to those gentlemen who will follow me, and who are much more competent to its performance; and I will endeavour, though very briefly, to prove to your satisfaction that there exists a country where this great principle can be tried—a country where thousands and tens of thousands of our people maybe transplanted—assured of advancing rapidly to those ultimate results which this Society contemplates. I have stated that this land is situated in the southern hemisphere. It is of immense magnitude, sufficient for every purpose that the human mind can contemplate, being two thousand miles at its extremest length, and seventeen hundred at its extremest breadth with a climate of the most salubrious character—with a soil fruitful to an extreme—abounding in the best harbours, and possessing every qualification that may be necessary to form a great country and a prosperous people (cheers). All that is wanting is a population, intelligent, active, and industrious (hear, hear!). If such is the case - if such means of improvement are alone wanting, and we can boast a superabundance of those means - why should we not supply them, and make that a smiling and a happy land, which is now almost a desert—where hardly an occupant is to be seen, or if seen, in no way advanced in civilization—

almost indeed in a savage state ? Such is the end which I and the other proposers, of this measure have in view - such is the hope we indulge in—that this portion of the earth may take its station amongst the great nations of the world—that there we may lay the foundations of another mighty empire, emanating from this great country, and second only to her in all those things which constitute the real happiness and glory of states (cheers). I have long looked with great anxiety at the real state of this country, and cherished an ardent desire that some means should be devised whereby we could relieve the pressure under which the labourers suffer; and I have thought that, in giving such relief, we might be able to infuse a fresh vigour into her system by diffusing a real empire over the vast extent of country which we possess in other climes (hear, hear!); and I do believe, after our principle has been once put into active operation, that we shall be able to effectuate this object. I believe that the stream may be made to flow in that direction which shall relieve the pressure at home, and increase human happiness abroad. I may be mistaken—for it is impossible in human affairs to calculate events positively—but mature reflection has induced this opinion, and everything which is daily occurring tends to strengthen and confirm it. I do believe that if the experiment be tried on a scale sufficiently large—commensurate with, and suited to the great objects we have in view, we shall not only do honour to our native land, and promote the welfare of distant regions, but that we shall be adopting the surest way of perpetuating and promoting our own welfare, in extending a hundred fold the channels for our manufactures through the multiplied ramifications that will be thus created (hear, hear!). There is only one point to which I will now advert, and which I think it right to touch upon, as it is not included in any of the resolutions to be proposed. Indeed it could not well be introduced into them. I refer to a

provision for the moral and religious education of the colonists (cheering). Now, though nothing is said in the present stage of our proceedings in reference to this subject, I think you will all agree with me, that it is one of no slight importance (cheers). I most sincerely believe that whatever elements a country may possess by which to work out its own prosperity and glory, that it cannot expect to make any steady advances in the path of civilization—that it never can become great, happy, or powerful—without having a moral and a religious people (great cheering). It is clear, therefore, that if we succeed in founding our colony, this question must command from us the most serious consideration ; and that, in the direction of our plans, this duty must never for one moment be neglected or lost sight of (hear, hear!). It is obvious in a country like this, in which the principle of an Established Church has long been recognised—however stringent the reasons may be for continuing it, and here I give no opinion whatever—I say it is obvious that the principle cannot be applicable to a country to be newly formed (great cheering). We do not, then, contemplate anything that can partake of such a character, convinced that what is called the voluntary principle will amply supply a sufficiency of means to give to every one in our colony proper moral and religious instruction (cheers). This point, however, I repeat will be anxiously taken care of; for we all feel satisfied that no country can flourish, or ought to flourish, without a provision of this kind being made (hear, hear!). I have now only to say a few words more. In forming this association, I am actuated—and here I know I express the feelings of all those who are connected with it—solely by a desire honestly to perform what I consider to be a great public duty. We expect not, we seek not, we desire not, either pecuniary benefit, or any advantage in the shape of patronage (cheers). We repudiate any such intention. We believe that in what we are doing we are laying the seed of great benefit to our

country find our species, and therefore do we labour in this cause. We are satisfied that if our plans are put into operation, we shall have performed a great good to the community, and honourably discharged that trust which portions of our countrymen have reposed in many of us (hear, hear!). Having stated thus much, I have only to thank you for your indulgence, and to call upon those gentlemen to whom the resolutions have been confided, to propose them for your adoption, and to explain more fully—I am sure they will do it more ably—the objects of our association (cheers).

Mr. GROTE : The first resolution, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been placed in my hands, and, as you will naturally suppose, relates to colonization in general. It is a principle not novel and untried, but true and important in the highest degree, and one which has been approved by time and experience. Though the resolution which I have the honour to propose does not embody any of the peculiar features of the present scheme, I trust you will consider that it forms a fit and proper basis to the subject which we are about to bring under your consideration. It says this: "That the wealth and prosperity of this country have been greatly promoted by the establishment of British colonies in various parts of the world; and that colonization, when conducted systematically, and upon sound principles, offers the means of extending indefinitely the commercial empire of the United Kingdom, and the field of employment for British capital and labour." I think I need not labour much to impress upon your minds the truth of thy general principle which is asserted in this resolution. We need only refer to history, to awaken the recollections of by-gone days, to determine at once whether it does not coincide with reason and with fact. There never yet was any society enjoying the benefits of compactness and organization, which has not at some period or other of its existence found out the convenience—almost the necessity—of detaching portions of its population and sending them

to other climes, not with a view of severing the ties of brotherhood, but in the contemplation of future benefits, and in the hope of laying the foundation of future intercourse, and pushing it to a greater extent than it was before capable of (hear, hear!). Within the last two centuries we have acquired or founded colonies from one end of the world to the other—in every degree of latitude and longitude—in the hottest and the coldest climates. English enterprise knows no bounds—it has penetrated into every region—imparting taste and creating a demand for our manufactures to an unexampled extent. I will lay some facts before you which I know cannot be contradicted, and which will prove the immense advantages that will result from the establishment of this colony if it be only properly regulated, and the great inconveniences which always attend a too great accumulation in a state. I know, indeed, that in many cases of colonization serious mistakes have been committed. I know that narrow-minded politicians have sometimes sought to turn colonies into nests of jobbing and sinecurism (hear!). I know that erroneous economists have made them an excuse on particular occasions, for imposing vexatious restraints on the industry and productiveness both of the mother country and the colonies (hear!). I need not say that the experience of subsequent ages has demonstrated that fatal mistake; but I venture to say, that if for the future these mistakes be avoided, we may most assuredly expect that the benefits which will hereafter arise from well-arranged colonization, will be tenfold greater than any of which experience has hitherto afforded us any knowledge! If ever there was a country calculated to prosecute colonization on an extended scale, and with general benefit to the world, it is England. We possess an enterprising and industrious population, a population unrivalled for steady energy and persevering industry, a population well calculated to surmount all temporary inconveniences consequent upon change of habitation;

and, above all, a population trained up in habits of obedience to law and order, and of attention to regulation and discipline, the want of which would totally ruin a new settlement (hear!). England has, also, a superabundant capital, seeking almost in vain for employment. We have, therefore, the means of enduring the temporary outlay necessary for the purpose of combating the difficulties of a new colony ; and, further, to enable the cultivators of an untried soil to apply their energy and industry to the best advantage. Further, and it is the only remaining requisite to a systematic plan of colonization, England possesses an immense stretch of fertile and uncultivated land. With all these advantages, then, it would be an abuse of the bounties of Providence if England were not foremost in the glorious and beneficial race of colonization. But, Gentlemen, though England by her wealth, her energy, and her industry, is, above all other countries that which is most calculated to found prosperous colonies; yet there is, at the same time, no country in the world to which such colonies are more necessary, or to which greater benefits would accrue from an appropriate system of colonization. It is well known to every gentleman that the bulk of our population is engaged in manufacturing employments, and, consequently, depends for remuneration and success on a steady and extensive foreign demand. In vain would the industrious artisan toil at Manchester and Birmingham, unless a vent were provided for the consumption of his manufactures abroad. In vain will his industry be exerted, unless other countries be found to which his products may be sent, and from which that raw produce, which alone is denied to England, may in exchange be supplied to him with equal abundance and benefit. But how can England so effectually secure an extended foreign market for her commodities, as by planting, in all the inviting and attractive spots of this fair earth, colonies of industrious Englishmen, carrying with them the tastes and habits of their countrymen, renowned as

Englishmen are, in every quarter of the globe, for industry and energy, and thus creating a great and continuous demand for the surplus labour and capital of this country ? (hear, hear!) With such advantages and such prospects, I trust you will go along with me in saying, that from colonization, and colonization alone, we can anticipate relief from that pressure which has been so properly alluded to by my Honourable Friend, the Chairman, and which, in spite of all evidence of prosperity and increase of capital, is both undeniable and severe. But there is another consideration, in my mind, of still more importance—that it affords the means of providing for the industrious and operative classes a lot better and more promising in every respect than that which awaits them here. We live in a crowded and thick state of society, in which competition of the most intense kind pervades every department of industry, in which every vacant situation provokes innumerable applicants, and in which distress and loss of employment are, I regret to say, but too likely to happen even to the virtuous and industrious man, and but too difficult to retrieve when they do happen (cheers). I know, indeed, that the energies of Englishmen will surmount obstacles which, to other nations, would be found unconquerable; but I know also that there is a limit beyond which they cannot go ; and it would be beneficial in the highest degree, if a portion of that competition which now overflows and chokes up all the channels of employment, could be diverted to another soil, where the reward of labour is rich and sure, and where the exertions of the transplanted artisan, instead of impeding those left behind, will, by their mutual intercourse, materially aid and assist each other. If this were the only benefit arising from the project—if we could show no gain to the capitalist; if we could show no gain to the country, still I would maintain that to improve the lot of thousands

of honest and industrious artisans, by affording them an opportunity of employing their labour with a certainty, not only of obtaining an honest independence, but with assured prospects of rising in the world, is alone quite a sufficient motive to determine the tide of public sympathy and legislative sanction in favour of what I am now advocating. Indeed, the amelioration of the condition of the general body of artisans and labourers is, in my view, as well as in that of my Honourable Friends, one of our paramount objects, and that which, above all others, entitles us to claim the approbation at once of the public and of the legislature (cheers).

I have already alluded to the many serious mistakes made on former occasions in reference to the establishment of new settlements. These mistakes it has been our careful study to examine, in order that the same or similar defects may, as far as possible, be avoided. I shall not enter further into the peculiar recommendations of the present undertaking, which I shall leave to those gentlemen whose business it will be to enlarge on them specifically ; but this I venture to state, that no gentleman can consider the published prospectus which I now hold in my hand—and one of the provisions of which is that the land of the colony, of which there is abundance, will be made to serve as the purchase-money for that labour which is so overabundant in this country (hear, hear!)—without being convinced that the success of such a colony is certain. Let gentlemen ponder well the numerous and important consequences to the colonies and the mother country likely to result from this one provision—a provision pregnant with more important consequences than any provision of any other new settlement of this country. My honourable friends and myself abhor the thought of holding out extravagant and visionary hopes to induce persons to emigrate. We are far from representing the settlement as an *El Dorado*—as a place where gold can be picked up on the sea-shore,

or as the ancient Spanish colonists figured to their imaginations, with nothing to do but to scratch the surface of the earth to find all the precious metals in endless abundance. But what I do say is, that the land is both rich and fertile, and in an inexhaustible quantity, and that it holds out a certain and assured hope to the honest and industrious cultivator of the soil, not merely of a reward for his labour in the shape of maintenance, which is all he could hope for here, but a certainty, if he be steady and industrious, of a rise in the world, and that confident and encouraging hope, which, above all others, excites a man to industry, that at his death he will leave to his children a lot and station in society superior to that which he possessed himself (cheers). To the honest and industrious man, this colony offers the greatest and the most certain attractions—without industry it promises nothing (hear!). But of this I need say no more; for I am sure that industry and willingness to labour are amongst the most common of all qualities in this exalted country. I trust that the meeting will go along with me in approving these resolutions, and that the sentiments of sympathy, which I hope will be manifested, will prove an auspicious commencement for the undertaking now to be ushered in, and a bright promise that the colony will, in time, expand into a useful province of, and a filial support to, the country which gave it birth (loud applause).

Mr. CLAY, M.P.: Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise with very great pleasure to second the resolution which has been introduced to your notice by my honourable friend Mr. Grote. The ability with which he has handled it renders it unnecessary for me to trespass at great length upon your indulgence; but this is a subject which I have had for years much at heart. The resolution which has been proposed comprehends, as was well stated by my Honourable Friend, the principle on which this, or any other plan of colonization must be built; and I therefore

feel that I should not satisfy myself if I did not make some few observations in illustration and corroboration of the great truths and important principles involved in the resolution which has been submitted to you. England at this moment, presents an extraordinary social phenomenon—the existence at the same moment of a redundancy of population and of capital; the extraordinary anomaly that capital and labour should be in excess at the same moment; that capital, which alone can give employment to labour, is in excess also. For the proof of this proposition, it is not necessary, as was well observed by my Honourable Friend in the chair, to go into any abstruse calculations derived from statistical information; it is sufficient to refer to the common sense, and to the observation of every man who knows me. Every trade and profession is overcharged with candidates for success. In trade, the merchant finds that the commodities which he imports from foreign countries pay him but a low rate of profit, in consequence of the great number of competitors whom the existence of a demand induces to import the same articles. The manufacturer finds, that no sooner is a new market opened or discovered, than it is instantly glutted with our manufactures. The ship-owner—that no sooner is a new country opened to his enterprise, than its harbours are, almost without a metaphor, choked with our commercial marine—and the shopkeeper, to descend lower in the scale of commercial men, finds his profits diminishing year by year, because some great capitalist, in his immediate neighbourhood, by the circumstance of his dealing on a much greater scale, can afford to sell his goods at a profit so small, as to render men of smaller capital unable to carry on their business (loud cries of "Hear!"). All these circumstances, and many of them are within the knowledge of us all, prove the extent of capital which is ready to be embarked in every department of commercial enterprise. Only look to the various great

works that are from time to time undertaken by capitalists. Is a canal to be dug, or a rail-road to be constructed—is the undertaking likely to be profitable, and can any man doubt sufficient capital would be obtained in a very short time ? There is a recent instance, in which two parties applied to Parliament during the present session, to petition the Legislature to construct a rail-road almost over the same identical line with each other, and each party having a sufficient capital subscribed for the purpose. This is different in other countries; even in America, one of the most prosperous states in the world, it is different. A loan has recently been negotiated in this country, to enable her to carry into effect a similar undertaking to that to which we have just alluded. When shall we see the day when it will be necessary to apply to foreign countries for the capital to form a canal or a rail-road in England ? And how is it with labourers ? To begin with the highest class, the intellectual labourers—for, after all, they are labourers—to begin with those well-dressed gentlemen who walk backwards and forwards in wigs and gowns in Westminster Hall, without the slightest fear that their wholesome exercise will be broken in upon by any trial in which they are engaged, or that the leisure of their chambers will be disturbed by the arrival of a brief (a laugh)—not forgetting the worthy disciple of medicine, the young physician, who may accept an invitation to dinner with perfect security that the enjoyment of the evening will not be broken in upon; nor the surgeon, who, though competent to the amputation of the largest limb, is not now in expectation of cutting off a little finger (laughter). From the highest class of labourers to those wailing at the gates of our dock-yards, in anxious, but too often in vain, expectation of getting even half a day's labour, there is not one single place in the social circle which is not overcharged with candidates for success (hear!). Now, Gentlemen, how does it arise that

the wonderful industry of Englishmen—that feature in the English character so well alluded to by my Honourable Friend, that well attempered energy, at once active and enduring, which has hitherto, as history faithfully records, rendered us triumphant in almost every contest, either of arts or arms in which this country has engaged? how is it that this industry, backed by this capital, this redundant capital, to which I have alluded—how is it that all these circumstances combined have not banished even the name of distress from our shores (hear!)? The word ought not to be heard amongst a people distinguished by industry, of so high a moral character, and possessed of sufficient capital to bring that industry into productive and efficient exercise. There is but one answer,—that we want room. The gigantic energies of England want space for their exertion (hear, hear!). How is this to be cured, since we cannot expect from the bounties of Providence that a miracle shall be wrought in our favour, and that millions of fertile acres shall rise and fill up St. George's Channel and the Irish Sea? How are we to remedy it? There are two remedies which appear obvious. The first is an abrogation of those laws which at present interfere to prevent the free exchange of food grown in other countries in return for the manufacturing produce of our own population (reiterated cheers). By the abrogation of these laws, we should, in effect, add the fertile plains on the banks of the Vistula and Mississippi to our own shores, and English capital would as certainly in them direct the plough, as though an Essex farmer directed the husbandry of their fields, and a British ploughman went forth from his roof to guide the team by which it was drawn (cheers). I need not enlarge on this topic, and I only allude to it to show that it is the great means by which the existing distress might be to a great extent removed. The other remedy, and that which constitutes the immediate business of the day, is colonization, if

carried on to a considerable extent, and which is even a better remedy than the other. It would as effectually add millions of fertile acres to our shores, as if the miracle to which I have alluded, indeed took place, and the Irish Sea was filled up with fertile land. If that miracle took place, is it not clear that all distress would, immediately cease, and that the employment which the addition of so many fertile acres would afford, must give a new stimulus to the prosperity of the country? Is it not clear that the miserable competition for potato-gardens in Ireland, would cease, and that the difficulties flowing from an unemployed population would cease? Does any man doubt that it would be well worth the while of our capitalists to take such land, at from 10s. to 20s. an acre (hear!)? Yet this plan is in effect the same as if the land were added to our own island, because, if this plan of colonization be adopted, a transplantation of a sufficiency of labourers, now wanting employment, from this country, for its culture, will take place, which is equivalent to the transportation of the land to the labourer. In point of fact, the ocean joins these distant lands, instead of separating them (hear!). I have no hesitation in saying, that it is much easier for a man to transport himself by sea to Australia, than for a native of the eastern states of America to transport himself and his family to the back woods on the shores of the Mississippi. The resolution states, "That the wealth and prosperity of this country have been greatly promoted by the establishment of British colonies in various parts of the world: and that colonization, when conducted systematically and upon sound principles, offers the means of extending indefinitely the commercial empire of the United Kingdom, and the field of employment for British capital and labour." It is undeniably true that no kind of commerce is so beneficial as that between an old and a new country. There can be no doubt but that a wiser commercial code, and the removal of restrictions on la-

bour, would greatly facilitate, extend, and increase the commercial intercourse between the old nations of the world; but in no case would the increase be in proportion to that which might be calculated on, as the consequence of a connexion with newly-formed countries in other climates.

In such communities some persons direct their attention to manufactures, occasionally, owing to the conduct of faulty Governments, earlier than they ought; but these countries must tend to become our manufacturing rivals. As regards the establishment of colonies, it is virtually an extension of the mother country. Their interest for years, perhaps for ages, is evidently the same with our own; the population of the new country is composed of those who have selected it on account of the fertility of its soil, that they may there employ their energies to raise the fruits of the earth, When the colonies are established in climates differing from that of the mother country, of course the products vary, and thus is laid the foundation for a most beneficial intercourse. In illustration of this view I will refer, with permission of the meeting, to an account of the exports of our manufactures to continental Europe on the one hand, and to the United States, with which I will include the West Indies, on the other. It is stated that, in continental Europe the population amounts to 160,000,000; I believe it is more, but I will take that to be the number. Now the amount of the exports of manufactures in 1829, according to the official value, which is not quite accurate, but it serves as a standard of comparison, was 25,200,000*l*. The population of the United States and of the West Indies combined amounted only to 14,000,000 in 1829; but the official value of the exports to those countries in the same year was 12,200,000*l*. In referring to the United States, I consider them, for the purpose of illustration, in the same light as colonies, such being the nature of their relation to the older countries of Europe. Taking, then, the proportion that the exports bear to the popula-

tion, it will be found that the former are six times greater to the United States than to the more densely populated countries of Europe (hear, hear!). I cannot think that it will be considered necessary for me to add another word to point out the advantages to be derived from colonization, if it be founded on a system free from the abuses and evils which are not inevitably connected with such a matter, - abuses and evils which I hope and believe the present plan will avoid. If this system offers advantages only to the mother country, that, it must be admitted, would not be sufficient to recommend it to those who may determine to seek their fortune in another hemisphere (hear, hear!). But the fact is not so; on the contrary, it will be found to offer to the capitalist—I mean, of course, the small capitalist—a prospect that amounts almost to a certainty of bettering his condition; of rapidly increasing his capital, and improving the situation of himself and those who are dear to him (applause). The labourer, I should say, may be quite sure that by industry, sobriety and perseverance—by the practice of these virtues, which, I believe, form an essential part of the English character, he would soon be able to quit labour himself; he would become a capitalist, and his place would be occupied by other labourers from the mother country, who, in their turn, would realise capital, and transfer their labour to the new comers, ready to pursue the same honourable and useful career. The sentiment is not peculiar to myself—it is felt by most people—that nothing is more gratifying than the prospect of being able to benefit mankind. His is a noble destiny who becomes one of the founders of an empire—who reveals the energies of a new country, which will one day take its rank amongst the great nations of the earth. Envious is his fate whose destiny it is to plant in another country those free institutions under which we live. Though at the present moment they may be somewhat blighted, yet I trust that they will eventually flourish in every country under heaven, and with their wholesome

fruit overshadow all nations (applause). For myself, and for my humble share in these proceedings, I may repeat what has been told you by my Honourable Friend, your chairman. I am in no way privately mixed up with this project—I am in no way interested in it as a pecuniary or commercial speculation. At the solicitation of some friends, I have joined the gentlemen who compose the committee, and most willingly have I given whatever little sanction my name may be supposed capable of affording, with whatever services my labours could contribute, to force on his Majesty's Government a sense of the importance of the, advantages that would result from commencing a sound system of colonization. Most glad am I that our labours have been successful. Already, with the concurrence of his Majesty's Government, that bill is before Parliament which is to be the foundation of a new colony. I shall consider myself amply rewarded for the little part I have taken in associating myself with others on this occasion, if it should happily prove that the course we have pursued is conducive to an increase of the power, prosperity, and happiness of my own country (cheers).

An INDIVIDUAL from the lower end of the room here rose, and addressing the chairman, put some question to him, which did not reach us.

The CHAIRMAN : It appears to me that, the object of this meeting is to explain fully the principles on which this colony is to be founded; and as several gentlemen have yet to offer explanations, would it not be better that any questions which are to be asked should be reserved till the close? (hear, hear!) The explanations having been given, any question which maybe suggested can then be put fairly before the meeting, and all who wish to take part in the discussion will be allowed an opportunity of doing so (applause).

Another INDIVIDUAL now presented himself. He said : I wish to ask a question (cries of "No, no!" and uproar).

The CHAIRMAN: What is the gentleman's name?

The STRANGER replied: I am Thomas Goode, of Kettering, Northamptonshire; and I repeat that I have a question to ask (renewed uproar).

The CHAIRMAN: I am in the hands of the meeting. It is for you to determine what would be the more convenient course.

Mr. GOODE, after abiding another storm of disapprobation, resumed his seat (applause).

Mr. R. OWEN (of Lanark): I beg to ask whether this is to be considered a public meeting, or a meeting of the friends of the system? If it be a public meeting, perhaps the more regular mode would be for those who have observations to make on the resolutions to make them now, that the public at large may have a fair opportunity of deciding between the arguments in favour of the resolutions and those arguments which may be urged against, them (hear, hear, hear, hear). I do not say this with the least intention of retarding the business of the day.

The CHAIRMAN: Unquestionably this is a public meeting. And I may add, that it is the object of all who are interested in this undertaking to make the proceedings partake as much of a public character as possible, it being only by publicity that the public can judge of its merits. But then, in order that a fair opinion may be formed, will it, not be better for the subject to be fully before the meeting prior to any gentleman entering into a discussion of its merits? (hear! and applause) If you will only hear the statement that is to be made, we will reserve the resolutions till the close (hear, hear, hear!).

Mr. R. OWEN: There can be no objection to that arrangement (hear, hear!)

Colonel TORRENS : My Honourable Friends who have moved and seconded the first resolution, have so amply and with so much ability explained the general benefits of colonization, that into that branch of the subject it is not necessary for me to enter. My course is more limited,

and I will endeavour, as briefly and as clearly as possible, to explain to you the principle on which this our new colony is about to be founded. The resolution I hold in my hand is this : "That in establishing colonies great care ought to be taken to combine labour and capital with land in such proportions as are best calculated to ensure the prosperity of all classes of society, and that in establishing modern colonies this important consideration has been too generally overlooked." The resolution which I have just had the honour of reading to you appears to state something like a truism. It seems almost unnecessary to assert, that in order to promote the greatest prosperity of all classes, land, labour, and capital, ought to be combined in proper proportions. Yet, obvious as is this principle, it is one which, in the formation of most modern colonies, has been greatly neglected. If you will do me the favour to fly round the world with me, we shall see that, wherever this principle has been adopted, there colonization has flourished : but wherever it has been neglected, distress, destitution, and even perishment have taken place. The first English colony established was in the days of Elizabeth ; it was founded in that province of America which, taking her name, was called Virginia. To that most fertile portion of the world a number of English settlers went out, having with them capital, tools, clothing, provisions,—in short, they were provided with everything, that was calculated to make them flourish. They did not flourish—they perished. In two years after, another set went out; they also perished. Two years more having elapsed, a third embarkation took place of persons who established themselves in Virginia: but this third body shared the fate of their predecessors—they perished. It was only just before, however, that Spain had established, in the island of Hispaniola, a colony which flourished to a degree that excited the wonder and energy of all Europe (hear, hear!). Now why did the English colonists perish, and

why did the Spanish colony flourish? Even then the English character was as much superior to the Spanish character as it is at present. At that time the English destroyed the Spanish armies and fleets wherever they met in conflict—it is well known to you, that it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the Spanish Armada was destroyed. Yet the Spanish colony flourished under the comparatively feeble population of Spain, while ours perished, though those who peopled it were men of superior energy and power. Let us endeavour to trace the cause. The English went over to a beautiful country, possessing abundance of capital to work with. What did they when they arrived there ? Why they spread themselves over that country. They took immense grants of land, and made the proportion between land and labour such as made production nearly impossible (hear, hear), To produce everything with effect, there must be a combination of labour (hear). But here each family sat in a wilderness—alone—without communication—they could not make roads, they could not form a market. Therefore, from want of a combination of labour and the means of communication, this people, with all their energy, with all their capital, speedily failed to reproduce that capital, and eventually all perished. In Hispaniola what was done? The King of Spain not only gave them land, but a portion of the natives of the island, and the settlers made slaves of them. Therefore, just in proportion to the labour and capital was the production. Thus by this abomination of slavery they did that which, by legitimate and Christian means, I hope we are now about to do. It is curious to observe how the system adopted in Hispaniola worked. The Spaniards overworked to such an extent the Indian population, that they began to decay; and then the proportion between the land and the labour ceasing to be what was proper, the prosperity of the settlers soon declined. Prosperity was restored, however, by their going to the other islands and getting

slaves from them, which they did to such an extent, that the islands in question were almost depopulated.

This system lasted till there arose a Las Casas, the Wilberforce of Spain, who obtained from the King of Spain an edict forbidding its continuance. What was substituted?—only African slavery. The island continued to flourish with the aid of that horrible slavery; but horrible as it was, it enabled Hispaniola to produce, and that state of things stills goes on. When did Virginia begin to flourish? Not till the proportion between capital, labour, and land was adjusted. A Dutch vessel, full of slaves, happened to be wrecked on the shore; the people of Virginia kept them and employed them as slaves, thus procuring the proportion between labour and the land, and then they began to raise tobacco, cotton, and those other things which brought the extraordinary degree of prosperity that they continue to enjoy (hear, hear). If we look to other countries we shall find the same principle still in force. The Dutch have been noted for their industry and power to accumulate wealth. They established two colonies—one at the Cape of Good Hope, and one in New York, which was originally a Dutch colony. In New York the inhabitants were peculiarly dense. The warlike nature of the Indians compelled them to combine; they were afraid to separate: dreading the incursions of the Indians, they kept together in order that they might be ready to co-operate against the common danger. The people of New York flourished; but the Dutch colony did not flourish. Why? They adopted the absurd principle of giving away land; the settler took large grants; they could not produce without combination; they could not find employment; and the Dutch colonies degenerated, the people becoming perfect savages. The Dutch boors of the Cape of Good Hope are even now the rudest and most barbarous individuals upon the face of the globe. I will next revert to our own Australian

colonies, and endeavour to ascertain how far the principle of adjusting land, labour, and capital, in their proper proportions, has been followed by prosperity where it has been adopted, and by ruin where abandoned. In the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the convict labour sent but there, and given to the occupiers of the soil, enables them to obtain for each of their farms a sufficient number to cultivate it effectually; therefore, the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have flourished considerably. What has been the fate of the Swan River colony? We have seen that the combination of labour in the Australian colonies, in Sidney and Van Diemen's Land, caused them to flourish; but there were no convicts sent out to the Swan River (hear,) and the principle of combining labour was there abandoned. Numerous grants were made. A single individual had 50,000 acres—one person, I believe, had 500,000. These immense tracts separated the people, so that they could not communicate at all. They were so severed that, instead of being able to assist each other, though they were famishing, they could not pass through the unreclaimed lands to tell their state of destitution. Capital was sent there, but it was unproductive; labourers were sent there; some of whom died for want, and the others went to Van Diemen's Land (hear, hear, hear!). Out of four thousand persons, only fifteen hundred remain. They are in a miserable state, and must remain so till the principle of justly combining and apportioning the land, labour, and capital, is there acted on. I will now endeavour to explain to you how it is proposed, in the new colony which it is our object to found, to make the apportionment of the land so as to avoid the risk of failures such as I have stated to you, and to ensure the advancement in prosperity of this great new province. It is, in the first place, determined that the whole of the land in the colony shall be declared to be public pro-

perty (hear, hear!). No individual can by any means, or through any interest, acquire any portion of the land by gift (hear, hear!). Not a single acre will, under any circumstances, be given away to individuals. There will be no place for patronage or jobbing in the land (hear, hear!). All will be set up at a fixed minimum price, or as much above that price as the competition of public auction will determine. I beg you will observe what the effect of this principle will be: the effect of it will be, that every capitalist will buy just as much, and no more land than he wants and can employ (hear, hear!). An emigrant would take any quantity; he would take two millions of acres if it were given to him for nothing, though he could never employ but a fraction of it; but it is not likely that a man will be such a fool as to buy more than he can actually cultivate, according to the amount of his capital. This will ensure one great advantage which is contemplated under the system on which this colony will be founded. It will ensure the keeping of the people together, and thereby enable them to form a combination of labour; for it is only by combination that wealth can be produced. By this simple preventive that dispersion of the settlers will be prevented, which has been the bane of all the colonies hitherto settled by this country - a dispersion, which has, in many instances, proved most disastrous and even fatal to the unfortunate settlers themselves. Another excellent effect of this regulation will ensue in regard to the labourers themselves. Hitherto labourers going out to the colonies went with a mistaken idea, from the circumstance of the country which they left being densely populated, and land therefore valuable — that land itself was wealth, and that as soon as they arrived in their settlement they were to cease to be labourers, and were to sit down as little landholders. This mistake has led many emigrants to refuse to work as labourers at

all, and they set up at once as landlords. The effect of this mistake has been, that many of the emigrants themselves have perished from starvation, while those who sent them out lost the capital expended on them. But according to the principles on which this colony is to be founded, emigrants must labour, and they cannot sit down as squatters or backwoodsmen do in America (hear, hear!). In new colonies labour is scarce, and the wages are therefore high. The consequence will be, that in three years a labourer may save sufficient to take a farm to himself. When he does take a farm, he pays for it with the capital which he has earned. And What is to be done with the price which he pays for his land? It is, according to the plan proposed in this colony, to be employed in bringing out fresh labourers, to replace him who has thus withdrawn his labour from the market (hear, hear!); thus keeping up the just proportion which should always exist between land, labour, and capital.

The principle that all land shall be sold, and the money employed to take out fresh labourers, will always ensure a fair proportion of labour to the quantity of land settled, thus realising the principle of a just proportion between land, labour, and capital. It will prevent the people from unduly spreading—which should be always avoided, for if they spread, it necessarily follows that they cannot have the proper degree of combination. I am borne out in this opinion by a saying which contains a valuable principle—and perhaps the oldest in the world—that "it is not good for man to be alone" (hear, hear!). I am aware that there exists in many parts of this country, but I believe not among the most intelligent portions of the community, a prejudice against, and reluctance to support emigration. They say, why should a man emigrate, for every person has a right to be supported on the soil which gave him birth (hear, hear!)? I do not deny that principle; nay, I assert it. I say that every Englishman

has a right to support from the soil on which he is born. But that support has a limit. He has a right to support if the soil produces sufficient for his support, but he surely has no right to more than the country produces (hear, hear, hear!). The people of a country have a right, to all; but if the country be too populous, and the land be insufficient for their support, they can only have a right to so much as the soil produces. It is, therefore, important that the population of densely populated countries should have the opportunity of leaving their homes when the land is insufficient for their support, and of planting themselves in countries which will produce three, four, or five times as much as the soil on which they were born (hear!). This opportunity is now given to them by the present scheme, and I hope it will be taken advantage of. I have now endeavoured to show you, by reference to the examples of colonies in all parts of the world, that, when those colonies were properly adjusted as regarded land, labour, and capital, they were prosperous in proportion as that proportion was correct; but that, on the contrary, where these three great principles were not properly adjusted, decay, extreme poverty, even death by starvation, and a return to a state of barbarism was the consequence. I have shown how this applies as regards our colonies in Australia as well as in America, and I have further endeavoured to show, in what manner the plan now suggested is likely to avoid these shoals, by the just apportionment of land, labour, and capital, as well as by the exclusion of slavery; and I have no doubt that, acting on these principles, you will raise the colony to the highest degree of production that it is possible to raise any country to. I therefore anticipate the favourable results which have been so ably stated by the gentlemen who preceded me, and I shall not weaken their arguments by repeating them or adding anything of my own. I hope the public will give its sanction and support to this association, which I have no doubt will be of the

greatest benefit not only to this country itself, but to the persons who may be induced to emigrate. If we succeed in this we shall be extending the greatest of blessings. We shall assist to replenish the earth, to extend Christianity and civilization to the remote portions of the earth, and, in all humbleness, we may enjoy the happiness and patriarchal joy said to belong to God in seeing a happy world (cheers).

Mr. GUEST : After the able manner in which the resolutions have been brought forward by the gentlemen who have preceded me, coinciding as I do with them in opinion, and recollecting that there are many more to follow me, I shall only now say that the plan of this colony has my decided support (hear!). I shall only add, that having all my life been engaged with, and interested in, the labouring classes of the community, I hail with pleasure a proposal which holds out the prospect of taking away a portion of those classes, and of opening to them a new market for their labour (hear, hear!). I therefore most cordially support this resolution.

Mr. HUTT: I come forward to submit a suggestion which, if it had been adopted by England in the different colonies which she has founded, would have been productive of the best effects. The resolution which I shall have the honour of moving is—"That in order to promote the greatest prosperity of a new colony, it is expedient that all waste land, without any exception, should be declared public land, and be disposed of to individuals by sale only, and according to an uniform, impartial, and permanent system." Among the facts to be observed in regard to the present position of England, there is none more remarkable than her colonial possessions. They are so vast, that they occupy a large proportion of the entire world. They are so immense that, compared with them, the renowned nations of antiquity were as nothing (hear, hear!), and the dominions of the Spanish monarch, who exclaimed that the sun never set in his dominions, were

but a trifle. Let us look to their extent. To say nothing of the great archipelago of India, which has been lately opened to colonization from this country, you have in the eastern hemisphere Australia and Van Diemen's Land, while in the western hemisphere your territories extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Lake Ontario to the Pole; in Africa you have all that is not disputed with you by the desert on the one side and by the ocean on the other. But mighty as these colonies are, of so little advantage have they been to the mother country, that many experienced and prudent men have said that they should be abandoned (hear, hear!). There are not wanting people who say that the advantages derived from them do not compensate for the jobbing with which they are governed, for the wars into which they lead the mother country, and for the great expense at which they are maintained. Even those who are more favourable to the system of colonization, have admitted that the value of our colonies is not commensurate with the space which they occupy, and that in progress they do not keep pace with the rest of the world. But although this is the opinion of some able men, it is not the general opinion. Many have been found to advocate a different view of the subject. Among them I find that the celebrated Adam Smith has, with his usual clearness and perspicuity, pointed out the rapid progress made by the colonies of ancient Greece and Rome, and the remains of Ephesus, of Agrigentum, and of Syracuse, which still attract attention from their magnitude, warrant the supposition that, although they were founded long posterior, they still rivalled, in magnificence and extent, the great cities of the mother countries.

But I may be told that the arguments in favour of colonization, which I derive from ancient nations, are not to be depended on; that colonization is among the *artes perditae*, and it is therefore unnecessary to contrast the colonies of antiquity with the Canada or Australia

of modern times. Allow me, therefore, to speak of a more modern colony, which has made great advancement—I mean Mexico. Humboldt speaks with astonishment of the wealth and civilization which he met with there, and the account given by him is corroborated by a late traveller, the Honourable Member for St. Alban's, who states, that "the capital was as splendid, and the buildings were as handsome, as any in Europe; and that the country was in every respect worthy of the principal city." He states, too, that after paying all the expenses of the local government, that colony remitted to the mother country upwards of two millions of dollars. That the arts, sciences, and philosophy were cultivated with as much care and success as in this country, and that capital and wealth were abundant. How does this statement tally with the state of our colonies (hear, hear!)? We know that all our colonies are so poor that they are unable to support themselves, and I verily believe that the arts, sciences, and philosophy are more cultivated in the seaport which I have the honour to represent than in the whole of the colonies dependent on the British crown (hear! and a laugh). I say then that it is matter for consideration from what cause this contrast arises. It will be found that one of the principal reasons is, that Spain gave no envious protection to agriculture (hear, hear!). Humboldt mentions, that while he was in Mexico, the Spanish government ordered all the vines in that country to be rooted up, merely because the vine-growers of Cadiz were jealous of the progress made in the Spanish colonies. What was the consequence? The consequence was, that the colonists became discontented, and at last declared themselves independent of Spain. Even at the present moment, the system followed by the United States is of itself a condemnation of the system pursued by our government. What was the observation of every traveller who saw the state of our colonies in Canada, and that part of the

United States which borders on them? The climate in both is the same, their advantages and facilities are equal, and both countries were planted about the same time - yet in every respect is the advance made by the country under the government of the United States greater than that made by the Canadas (hear, hear!). The reason for this must be sought in the difference of system (hear, hear!). And the fact is, that the United States have effected what it is the object of this association to effect. They have all their waste lands, sold by public auction, and, according to a uniform system laid down, to the highest bidder. This is the plan which we desire to establish—a plan from which we expect similar results; for it is by it alone that society can be kept together in these remote and extensive regions. The territory will, under this system, be enlarged according to the demands of the people, and the population will not be permitted unduly to spread, and thereby to waste itself. Population, in this view, has some of the properties of steam. Allow it to escape, and it becomes powerless and of no value, but compress it, and its powers become incalculable, and, its value immense (hear hear!). I venture to say, and history will bear me out in it, that no people scattered widely over a fruitful country ever obtained a high degree of civilization. The contrary will be found to be as little in accordance with the principles of economical science as with common sense. What combination of labour can take place where society is scattered over a large country? In order that a country should flourish, there must be a free intercourse and easy communication between its inhabitants (hear, hear!). In attempting, then, to found the proposed colony on those principles, we are taking that step which is most likely to ensure success. We may be weak ourselves, but with our upright intentions, and the blessing of Providence, we may expect to see our efforts triumphant. We have seen the cause of the

prosperity of Mexico and the United States, and that it depended on how the land was disposed of. We have seen that our colonies are unsuccessful, because a different system, or, more properly speaking, no system at all, is followed. The waste lands in our colonies were disposed of to persons in power in this country (hear, hear!)—to the hangers-on at the Colonial Office (hear, hear!)—to the friends of the existing government—to political clergymen (hear, hear, hear!)—and even to the Crown itself in the shape of Crown reserves. And in the colonies themselves, land to any extent was freely given to all those who had a little interest with those in power, and were willing to settle at a certain distance from the seat of government. Is it likely that colonies can flourish where such a system is followed? Could they do otherwise than languish where every man is forced to do every thing for himself, and where combination of labour cannot in any degree have place? If it is wished that our colonies should flourish, a reverse system must be followed with respect to dispersion. You must attempt condensation, and you may then succeed in raising mightier states and fairer cities than those which Greece could boast: you may plant colonies as rich as the Spanish Indies, and extend civilization till stopped by the boundless deserts and the depths of the ocean (cheers).

Captain GOWAN having read the resolution over again, proceeded as follows:—The great groundwork of this resolution, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the prevention of favouritism, and partiality, and jobbing—is to oppose, at the outset, any attempt to sow the seeds of those abuses which flourish to such an extent in many of our colonial possessions—to reject that species of despotism which has blighted many of our fairest possessions—and to keep out of the reach of those who are ever ready to take them, the fruits of the labour, prudence, and skill, of the individuals whose future lot

may be cast on the southern coast of Australia. But though I can add nothing to what has been so very ably said by the last Honourable Speaker on this part of the resolution, I will bespeak your indulgence for a short period, while I explain to you the reasons which have induced me for many years to be the steady and sincere advocate of emigration. I am well aware that skill and industry very frequently are denied in this country, from the force of circumstances, their due reward. I know that there are three great qualities—skill, industry, and honesty—of which in this country we can count a great abundance; that of the two first we have, in fact, a superabundance; and I know that of these very things the colonies of this country are greatly in want (hear, hear!). I have evidence of the most indisputable character, that skill and industry, which may be pining here, would prosper abroad. I have observed, in the many opportunities which my course of life has afforded me, that in our colonies thousands who are now working for what is barely a living, might there live in happiness, prosperity, comfort, and peace. How much better, then, that they would thrive on a more grateful soil—where their energies may expand, their industry find a market—than be exposed, as they now are, to the pangs of want and the temptations of idleness and vice! (cheers.) In the new world, these very men will be sure to find anything rather than an ungrateful return for their labour: their energies will not be vitiated, nor their exertions thrown away. Now, I speak confidently on these matters, for I speak from personal experience. I have been abroad for fifteen years, and I have seen English industry and perseverance triumph in spite of every obstacle—poverty, striving under a burning sun, raise itself, by its own independent exertions, to honour and prosperity(hear!).

Though the profession which I followed was attended with many dangers and privations, I never regretted

belonging to it. I rejoice that I spent fifteen years of my life abroad; for to the opportunities which I then had do I owe the knowledge which I possess of mankind, and the sympathies that bind me to my fellow-men. In this country, I am sorry to say, the working man seldom meets anything but chagrin and disappointment; and though he may work, as thousands of them do, sixteen, aye, eighteen hours a day, what return does he get? A poor return, indeed—little for the present, and nothing for the future. There, he soon raises himself and his children from poverty and difficulty. I am aware it is urged, in opposition to plans for the encouragement of emigration, that it is folly to let our population leave us—that we should not allow our artizan to go abroad—on the ground, forsooth, that on any great occasion we shall be unable to raise a mob when we wish to do so. I am well aware of the motives which influence the party that raises this cry—I know they have no affection, but, on the contrary, a deep hatred to the working classes; and I therefore leave you to judge who are their true friends (hear, hear, hear!), I am glad to find that at length we have obtained the sanction and co-operation of the Colonial Office. This plan was submitted to the late Secretary to the Colonies (Mr. Stanley), who declined to aid it, on the ground that it was too romantic to suppose that any gentlemen would form such an association, or undertake the trouble and anxiety inseparable from it, save and except for direct pecuniary advantage. (Mr. Grote, Colonel Torrens, and others, said, "No, no !") The gallant Colonel says I am mistaken; but some one, at all events, connected with the Colonial Office asserted what I have just stated to you. The fact is, we have no such intention as that which this gentleman of the Colonial Office attributes to us. We have not sought, and we do not seek, personal advantage: we shall strive all in our power to erect this society on a broad and deep foundation, without any

view of lucre or gain. Our object is to promote the good of our country—to afford an outlet to those who cannot get a decent livelihood here—to let industry have a fair chance of obtaining its due reward—to make a market where there shall be a full and fair competition for all (cheers). We have no sinister motives to influence us, nor do we expect any return, save that which ever waits on a comfortable conscience (hear, hear!) Therefore, I cannot but congratulate the association on the compliment paid to us by the Colonial Office ; for compliment it is, inasmuch as the principle of all other emigration plans is, if not immediate, at all events ultimate personal advantage. There is no harm in this, certainly, if it be done honourably, and before the world; but still it shows the great difference between our own and other schemes. During my abode in India, I met with a great number of my fellow-countrymen who had been in Australia, and who spoke in the highest terms of the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil. They declared to me they never wished to come back again; so balmy was the air, so sweet the country, so opposite to those chilling blasts of this country, from which they had so long been estranged; for, let me tell you, that England has been made what she is by artificial means—that formerly the soil was forbidding and the climate harsh. England originally was not formerly blessed by nature - India was made by nature, but England by art. To that do we owe our great pre-eminence. But the fact is, as stated by the Gallant Officer, that we are over-populated—there are too many of us—we are three or four in a bed (laughter, and cries of "No, no!")—the road is not broad enough for us—we jostle one another—and instead of having abundance for all, we can only eke out just enough to stuff the belly with. What man will remain in a state of existence like this, if he have the chance of improving his condition by the mere exercise of his own industry and ingenuity? The man of right

feeling and proper independence, sooner than grovel on in a state like this, will naturally wish to go abroad, and thus extend the boundary of civilization, enlarge the empire of commerce, and benefit himself; aye, and speedily too.

What advantages will he not have in comparison with the blessings, which I am told await him in the workhouse? He may by this plan have in view years of future comfort—instead of the cheerless prospect which now appals him (hear, hear!). I knew a milliner who went out from this country and settled in Sydney; where she saved no less a sum than eight thousand pounds (cheers). Why, here she might have worked for half a century before she saved a quarter of such a sum. I am not one of your sentimental gentlemen who sing the blessings which they enjoy in this their native land, at the very moment they can see thousands of ragged, over-worked, and under-paid artizans crowding the streets (cheers). No, Sir, let us look at the real evil, and let us correct it, by giving a broad foundation to the society we are about to establish, so that those who go out under its auspices may look forward with hope, and hereafter look back with pleasure (cheers). What commerce should we have had formerly but for America—where should we have found an outlet? Are the Americans to be despised? Is the land of Washington and of Franklin to be thought nothing of? (great cheers). Sir, I am sick even to nausea when I hear persons advise our suffering artizans not to leave this boasted land of liberty and prosperity. When I hear them say, "Oh! leave not your native country—stay here and stink in poverty—stay here and shroud yourself in rags—but do not go abroad!" Not go abroad!—not go, in fact, to comfort and independence—to the just reward of labour, and patience, and skill! (cheers). When I recollect the regions that exist in another hemisphere—the beauties they display—the capabilities they afford—so calculated to give to man all that the heart can yearn after, I can-

not but say to myself, that the All-wise Creator of the universe did destine them to be the refuge of the population of the old world - where those have been driven to want by the introduction of machinery, and cannot all at once turn their hands to a new calling, might find a refuge and a home (cheers). I do not believe that these lands were destined always to be the haunt of savage beasts and noxious reptiles; but rather to be subservient to the wants of man, and to be subject to his dominion. These lands are susceptible of cultivation ; they are well calculated for the spread of civilization, for the extension of the arts, for the encouragement of commerce; and, I believe, they were intended for the support of the redundant population of the old world, and as a refuge for the unfortunate and the distressed.

Mr. POULETT SCROPE: The resolution I have been requested to move refers to one of the most important, perhaps the most important and peculiar feature in the plan of colonization we are met this day to consider. The obstacle to the rapid growth of a colony, founded in a country possessing great natural advantages, has hitherto been the deficiency of labour. This it is that is at present felt so strongly in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Land which would produce the richest crops of corn is there left barren and unproductive to its owners, because labour cannot be procured at any price. So fruitful is the soil, that you have but to scratch its surface and throw in the seed. When this has been accomplished, the crop not unfrequently rots upon the ground from the impossibility of procuring hands to harvest it. The cry of all the settlers in these colonies is, "Give us a supply of labourers!—even if you cannot give us freemen, give us convicts; give us slaves. We want but labour; and the more you send us the more we shall want! Of capital we should soon create enough here, if we could only obtain sufficient labour to develop the inexhaustible productiveness of our land."

Well, then, I repeat, it is the peculiar advantage of the plan we propose for founding the colony of South Australia, that it provides, from the first, an adequate supply of labour to meet the demands of the colonists. It does this, as the resolution I move will explain, by the simple method of devoting the entire proceeds realized by the sale of land in the colony, to carrying out labourers from this country to cultivate it. It proposes, too, to take them out in the very best form, by selection of young adult persons of both sexes, such as will be most valuable in the colony in both capacities—namely, as labourers, and as breeders of a future generation of labourers. It has been proved by fair calculations, that the benefits of such selection, both to the colony, which is in want of labourers, and to the mother country, which wants to be relieved of them, will be ten times as great as if they were taken without selection, and promiscuously, at all ages. This leads me to consider and call the attention of the meeting to the vast advantages which must be derived by the mother country from such a scheme of colonization as we are now proposing—advantages not merely of a commercial and political nature, but as tending to raise the condition of the entire labouring class of the three kingdoms—that is, of the mass of the people. Let any one cast his eye on the figure which this little island cuts in the map of the globe. He will see that it is but a mere speck on the surface of the earth. Yet, small as it is, its population is considerable. Centuries of tranquillity passed under the fostering care of a Government which, with all its faults (and they are not few) has ever been one of the freest and mildest in the world—have swelled the number of its inhabitants from the two or three millions, which was their full amount in the times of the Plantagenets, to the sixteen millions, which they number at present. The increase is advancing with great rapidity. The improvement of medical science has greatly lengthened the average duration of life. For every five

persons that die every day, there are six born: and the actual increase of the population of the two islands is more than one thousand per day. It is quite clear that this little island, if it be not so already, will shortly become too small for us. There will certainly be standing-room for some time to come. There may be no risk yet of our elbowing each other off its margin into the sea. But, for comfort and convenience, it is somewhat too narrow already. There is an inconvenient pressure of competitors of all classes upon one another. We want room for the development of our bodily and mental faculties, and for the full expansion of the prodigious means we possess in skill, science, capital, and labour, for the production of all the comforts and luxuries of life. What then is to be done? This is the great problem of the day; and, till lately, there has been but one answer given to it. For a generation past, a certain sect of philosophers has been actively and successfully engaged in proclaiming the evils that result from the too rapid increase of population, and in declaring that there exists but one remedy for it—but one means of averting such an over-crowded state of the population as must produce unmeasured want and woe, crime and misery—and that this remedy, this one sole preventive, is to check the rate of increase—to put a stop to the growth of population, by what they call "prudential restraint," that is, a wise abstinence from marriage, altogether if possible—at all events, until a late period of life. And this abstinence these philosophers, both male and female, have consequently for years been preaching up as the first duty we owe to ourselves and to society. This doctrine has obtained a wonderful currency. Every body assented to it, many preached it—somehow or other very few have practised it. Somehow or other, human nature (and the temptation with which nature has endowed the fair sex for the subjugation of intending Benedicts) has proved too

strong for Mr. Malthus and all his disciples; and the number of marriages, and the increase of population, have gone on just as fast, or even faster, since he published his book than before. Stop the increase of population, indeed! Why, if you could succeed in stopping it, would you not do much more harm than good? I will not speak of the extent of vice and profligacy that is likely to result from any artificial restriction on marriage; but I maintain, that we can convert every increase of population into a proportionate increase of human happiness by a very little exertion of prudential foresight. Here population may create poverty; but there are countries where population is wealth. It is true, that if people multiply in this little island faster than they can conveniently maintain themselves on the resources which this little island affords, they may press injuriously against one another; and, unless some step is taken to relieve the redundancy, suffering must be the consequence. But what is to prevent their spreading beyond the limits of this little island? What is to prevent their sending off detachments (swarming like the bees which set them so useful an example, in more ways than one) as fast as they increase inconveniently here, to some of the innumerable spots yet uncultivated on the surface of the globe, where there is "ample room, and verge enough" for them and their descendants to multiply as fast as they can, or choose to do, for ages yet to come; and whose soils are fertile enough to supply them with an abundance of all the necessaries, and most of the comforts and luxuries of life, in return for their moderate and healthy labour? And if this can be easily accomplished by a little forethought and contrivance, where is the harm of any increase of population? Or rather, would it not be a crime against society—an unnecessary destruction of a large amount of possible human happiness, to interfere to check the natural rate of its increase? It is quite clear that those

philosophers who have been frightened out of their little wits, and have contrived to frighten so many others by the pure chimera of a population rapidly outrunning the possible means of its subsistence, have acted like that silly young bird in the nursery tale, that never looked out of its own nest, and thought that little world a great deal too narrow for its expansive genius. They have confined their view to some narrow spot, some single island or country already fully peopled up to the extent of the productiveness of its home soils, and have overlooked the simple fact, that by merely spreading a little, by extending the field of their cultivation, by moving a few miles, or a few hundred miles if necessary, to the right or the left, from the spot of their birth, to some of those immeasurable tracts of fertile soil which are still unoccupied on the face of the earth, the whole possible excess of members might, with the greatest ease, provide for themselves any quantity of food they may require. If it be true that a few narrow countries are fully peopled, it is quite certain that nine-tenths of the habitable globe remain still in a state of waste, tenanted only by the beasts of the field and forest, but teeming with fertility, and fitted by its beneficent Creator to produce a rich abundance of food, and all the materials of comfort and luxury, for any number of persons who will only take the trouble of moving to occupy and cultivate it.

In America, North and South, in Africa, in Asia, in New South Wales, nay, even in Europe, there are millions upon millions of acres of the richest land still in a state of waste, but wanting only to be cultivated by man to produce corn, and wine and oil, to gladden his heart, and feed many hundred times the present numbers of mankind. Does any one believe that those tracts, so fitted for the residence of man, were intended by their Creator to remain always the dwelling of serpents and brutes alone, or of a few wandering savages, scarcely superior

to brutes? Can any one refuse to believe that it is the intention and will of that beneficent Creator, that man, his last and noblest work, should proceed to occupy, cultivate, and people these wastes, and develop their hitherto neglected productiveness? Has not he expressly commanded us to "increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it?" May we not venture to think that the Almighty himself must rejoice in the extension of the dominion of civilized man over the globe—in the spread of human happiness—in the exchange of the busy tumult of human industry for the roar of the brute or the silence of the desert? And would it not be to sin against the evident design of his beneficent Creator were man, instead of so spreading his species over the earth, multiplying his kind as he has been commanded, to shut himself up in selfish singleness, within some narrow nooks and corners of the globe, and bend all his energies to prevent the increase of his numbers, and keep them within the limits of the means of subsistence which these narrow nooks and corners afford? And yet this is the earnest recommendation of the Malthusian school of philosophy! But it may said, "Oh, we in this country are at such & distance from the rich wastes you speak of; and the poor labourers of this country, upon whom the redundancy of population presses most severely, are unable through their very poverty, to find the means of migrating to those places." True; but can we not make it worth the while of the rich to carry them there? If our merchants are willing, for a small profit, to carry bulky articles—wool, cotton, hemp, and flax,—from one side of the globe where they are cheap, to another where they are dear, why should it not be equally profitable to transport those living agents of production, whose labour is necessary to produce the wool, and flax, and hemp, and cotton? True, you cannot sell a freeman to pay his freight, as you might do with a bale of wool or cotton. But is it so

difficult to get at repayment in some other way, out of the large profit which he, or some one, at least, must make by his removal from a country where his labour is worth nothing, to one where it is of such high value? Surely a little ingenuity might easily contrive this. And here is a proposal to effect the object in the simplest possible manner. The land of a new colony is worthless only because there is no labour to cultivate it. Introduce the labour, and the land instantly obtains a value (hear!). Well, then, let the Government, which is the sole owner of the land, carry out the labourers with which to stock it, and they may immediately obtain repayment of their outlay by the sale of the land which these labourers will proceed to cultivate. And thus the more labour that is carried out, the more land will be sold; and the more land, there is sold, the more labour can be carried out. Here then is a process which may go on in a constantly accelerated ratio, peopling and cultivating the colony with a rapidity, the only check on which is the unwillingness of the mother country to part with her population,—that is to say, the slowness of its increase. And all this without a farthing of expense to the Government; but, on the contrary, with the vast advantages to this country of a profitable opening for the employment of her redundant labour and capital, a great reduction of her poor-rate, a great probable diminution of crime, the greater security of property, the rapid augmentation of her commerce, and of the wealth, strength, and prosperity of the empire at large, (cheers!) If this scheme were extended to our other colonies, a permanent vent might be at once opened for any possible excess of population. A free passage to our colonies, where labour is in great demand, where wages are high, and provisions cheap and plentiful, might be offered by Government to every labourer in this country who chose to accept of it. And what a solution should we thus obtain to all the most perplexing

of the economical problems of the day, which relate to wages, poor-laws, and the condition of the labouring portion of society. What a weight would be taken from the bosoms of those who now lament to view the unmerited sufferings of the deserving poor—to see the industrious labourer pining in unrequited toil or unwilling idleness (hear!).

With such a door constantly open for any one to go out at—with abridge (without toll) built to convey them to countries where wages are high and work plentiful, we should know that no able-bodied person willing to work could be in want! Industrious pauperism would disappear, and poverty be confined to cases of sickness, accident, or misconduct. Every one would be secure of obtaining a comfortable livelihood by honest industry! Nor would the working classes alone reap the benefit. The middle class would find in these colonies, rapidly augmenting, as they would be, in population and wealth, an equal demand for their services. The useful arts and liberal professions would share in the general prosperity; and every class of persons who in any way minister to the wants or gratification of civilized man, would find an amply remunerative field for its exertions (cheers). This is the prospect which I cannot but anticipate from establishing a great national system of colonization, on the simple principles upon which we are this day engaged in laying the foundation of the new colony of South Australia. By carrying these principles extensively into effect, it is scarcely doubtful that Britain may found and give birth, at no sacrifice—but, on the contrary, with infinite benefit—to more than one—to many great and new nations, off-sets from the same stock which has already, by a very inferior and imperfect mode of colonization, created that great transatlantic people of the United States—to nations composed of Britons in race, language, laws, arts, and manners—attached to Britain by all these ties, as well as by con-

stant intercourse and mutual interest—to nations, which as they in turn grow and spread themselves, and in turn send out their colonies, may extend the British name and character, and race, and language, and civilization, and refinement, wider and wider over the fair and fertile fields of the globe—till, in the fulness of time, the earth be possessed as it were by but one family, and the seed scattered from this little island, this speck in the ocean, have covered the globe with a rich harvest of human happiness (loud cheers). This is the prospect I anticipate from the full development of the scheme of colonization whose principles we are met this day to establish and explain. If I am right, this day will be a bright one in the annals of human nature; and even in our own time, we may many of us hope to look back upon its proceedings with a glow of satisfaction at the accomplishment of many of these grave and invaluable results. The Honourable Gentleman concluded, amidst reiterated cheers, by moving—

"That it is also desirable the whole of the purchase-money of public land, without any deduction, should be employed in providing a free passage from the mother country to the colony, of young adult persons of the labouring class who may be willing to emigrate, and in equal proportion of both sexes."

Mr. WILKS (M.P. for Boston) seconded the resolution. The advantages of colonies have been demonstrated by arguments so irresistible, and illustrated by eloquence of which your acclamations have evinced your high approbation, that it is perfectly needless for me to trespass upon your indulgence upon that subject. But should it be possible that any yet remain unconvinced, there is one great and splendid example in favour of colonies, which must silence the most bigoted opponent, and induce those who are desirous of lending their countenance to this benevolent and judicious experiment, no longer to hesitate in giving it their cordial support.

Need I remind this meeting that the vast and flourishing—I will not call it empire—but glorious Republic of America (loud cheers), rose entirely from colonies sent forth by this country? What Englishman reads the history of her progress—what Englishman can peruse the annual report of her President, without feeling an honest exultation thrilling through his bosom, and expanding his heart, when he recollects that the thirteen millions which constitute her prosperous, enlightened, and free population, sprung all from emigrants from his own country, and that his is the parent soil which gave them birth (hear, hear)? More I will not say to demonstrate the expediency and desirableness of colonization. I shall simply content myself with urging on your consideration the propriety of the concluding paragraph of the resolution, that we shall endeavour to combine with a free passage for virtuous and industrious labourers such regulations as shall ensure the emigration of, as nearly as possible, an equal number of both sexes. It is not a subject that needs any statistical demonstration; for I have seen in every female, and in every generous and manly-bosom, in every one who is attached to the domestic charities of life, a being as well prepared as myself to sympathize with this resolution. There is no happiness where there are not the winning charities of domestic life—no social felicity where there is no wife—no children to share the emigrant's cares, and enliven his path of toil. Without them, there are none of those noble motives to perseverance and animated exertion which conjugal felicity and parental love invariably afford (hear!). On this subject it is no longer needful to expatiate. But connected as I am known to be with the great principles to which, I am proud to say, I have endeavoured to devote my life, I felt it necessary to say that I have not forgotten their vindication in the present instance. When I was requested to join my Hon. Friends in this measure, what I first inquired was, what

was to be done for the education of the people? What is to be done in your new colony to ensure perfect religious liberty (cheers)? I adverted specifically to this subject, because I cannot but recollect that America was principally colonized by those honest men whose love of religious freedom and devotion to the principles which then consciences taught them to cherish, brought down upon them the persecution of inhospitable men and villainous oppressors; and I felt it my duty to ascertain that no such persecution should ever stain the Australian colony, and that nothing which could impede the social happiness, or interfere with the rights of conscience, should there be known. It is determined that if a tax be imposed for any thing, it shall be a tax for public education (applause); for public education—not of that wretched kind which has been too long and too inadequately existing in this country—but an education which consists (not merely in teaching the poor the elements of reading and writing) in all that belongs to education of the highest and most philosophical kind; education such as shall strengthen the intellect, enable men rightly to improve all the phenomena around them, and to apply scientifically, whether their pursuits be mechanical, commercial, or agricultural, all the improvements of the past or present age (hear!). If any tax whatever ought to be inflicted, this ought to be the tax—a tax for the purpose of imparting what will confer universal benefit, and, like the light of the sun-beams, diffuse cheerfulness and happiness all around. There also will be perfect religious liberty. I mean no offence; but do we not all know how much mankind are here oppressed? They may not complain of their burthens, but they are not, on that account, less onerous, nor are they less injurious to commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, universal prosperity. There, there will be no dominant party, no sectarian distinction. There all religions will be equal—all men brethren (hear!). There will be

no tithes nor church rates (loud cheers). There, there will be none of those extortions which even they who receive them must regret they are compelled to require. There, therefore, religion as well as education will exercise her cheering and benignant influence, affording to all who love their country, and to all who look forward—as who does not who deserves the name of a statesman and philanthropist?—the strongest guarantee for the perpetual progress of knowledge and of universal felicity. These were the considerations which induced your committee to begin and persevere in this undertaking—these are principles, to sanction which, you have been convened on the present occasion—these are the principles which have induced me to recommend this as a desirable object for universal adoption. On these grounds, I recommend this measure to the adoption of my friends amongst the Dissenters. They have ever been amongst the most active colonists. It was the Quakers who settled in New England, and other sects in various states of America. In this new colony they may, in their several societies and denominations, be united and happy. Families need not be dissevered—friends and brethren may still remain united together by old recollections, as well as by congenial sentiments. And I protest I believe that the sun, in his diurnal course, will not, after a few years shall have elapsed, rise on any region where there may be found more of felicity than in this new colony. I shall most assuredly give this plan my ardent support, and I conscientiously recommend it to yours, because I believe it is calculated, if widely acted upon, to diffuse throughout the world all that philanthropy can wish—all that patriotism can desire—all that religion can bestow (cheers).

Mr. HANSON : The resolutions which have been moved by those who have preceded me have referred entirely to the principles on which it is intended that the colony shall be founded. That which I am now about to pro-

pose to you recognises the fitness of the place selected for the purpose of colonization. The importance of this point will be at once perceived. If the colony be not founded on right principles, and with sufficient attention to its details and management, every advantage of geographical position and fertility of soil must prove unavailing. So, on the other hand, the most enlightened principles, and the best arrangement of details, will be equally unavailing to secure the prosperity of the colony, unless its soil be sufficiently fertile to reward the labours of the agriculturist, and unless it afford adequate facilities of commercial intercourse. This resolution recognises the qualifications of the new colony in this respect: but before I enter into particulars, it will be advisable to read the resolution:—

"That amongst the unoccupied portions of the earth which form part of the British dominions, the South coast of Australia appears to be a spot peculiarly suitable for founding a colony upon the principles embodied in the preceding resolutions."

The place in which it is proposed that the new colony of Southern Australia shall be founded, is one which has peculiar advantages over every other part of Australia, by the possession of that which has hitherto formed one of the chief impediments to the settlement of that country, viz,—facilities of communication amongst the settlers prior to the formation of roads (hear, hear, hear!). You are all aware that the rapid progress of the American colonies was greatly facilitated, and its prosperity increased, by the advantages derived in that country from easy water carriage. Advantages of a similar character, and not greatly inferior in degree, are to be found in the present location. Around the shores of the two gulfs which are included in the limits of the new colony, the settlers may locate themselves, and they will be enabled to convey by water all their produce to the central market of that colony, whither they can bring

home in return all those manufactures and conveniences and luxuries of life which they may be unable to produce at home. This is an advantage which was denied to previous Australian colonies. But it may be said that the possession of easy means of conveying his produce to market, though of great importance to the settler, is but of little consequence compared with the assurance that the soil which he is to cultivate is sufficiently fertile to reward his labours and remunerate him for his outlay of capital. Of the fact, there is the clearest proof. Even before the discovery, by Captain Sturt, of the river Murray, which, after a course of about one thousand miles, falls into the sea near Encounter Bay, within the limits of the colony, and of the immense tracts of fertile land which lie near its mouth—even before this was discovered, those who contemplated the colonization of this spot satisfied themselves that a sufficiency—indeed a superabundance—of fertile soil for the purposes of the colony existed. One of the most important pieces of evidence is that of an individual who resided for more than seven months on Kangaroo Island. He not only bears the strongest testimony to the fertility of the soil and the amenity of the climate, but is willing to give the best proof of his veracity by himself becoming one of our colonists, and settling himself on the place he has discovered (hear, hear!). And this he has been induced to do, although he possesses many acres in Van Diemen's Land, owing to the superior fertility of Southern Australia. Owing to the difficulty we experienced two years ago in getting Government to sanction the proposition, he was unable to wait, and has gone to Van Diemen's Land; but he pledged himself that he would join the colonists the first opportunity, thus furnishing the strongest possible proof of his sincerity and of his confidence in the fitness of the place for new settlers. Captain Sturt gives a most favourable character of the country. He represents that between the river and

Gulph St. Vincent there are millions of acres equal in fertility to any land to be found. The land is bounded by a range of mountains, the soil and other deposits of which are washed down, and thus it is kept in an uniform state of the greatest fertility. It is impossible that I can now go very fully into a description of the soil and climate of this place. There is sufficient evidence as to the fertility to satisfy any reasonable person (hear, hear!). As a proof of my sincerity, I may state that I have myself come to the resolution of forming one of the first body of settlers in the proposed colony (cheers). It will be believed that I have not formed this resolution without exercising the most mature deliberation (hear, hear!). It may be asked, why found a new colony when there are others to which the emigrant might direct himself? The answer to such a question is to be found in the resolutions that have been proposed to the meeting. This colony is to be recommended, not merely on account of its fertile soil and its salubrious climate—it is hoped that the principles on which it will be founded are of a nature to insure the permanent prosperity and happiness of the settlers (cheers).

Mr. R. OWEN (not the Mr. Owen of Lanark): At this late period of the day, I will not intrude myself on the meeting at any great length. The gentleman who moved the resolution which is now before the meeting, entered into some details as to the fertility of the soil, and the means of water communication in the proposed settlement. In addition to that statement, I have only to inform the meeting, that the coast is greatly frequented by whales, and that a fishery may be extended to a degree that will not only materially benefit the interests of the colony, but increase the quantity of oil in this country so as to enrich it materially with a small outlay of capital. This spot possesses advantages which even the Swan River cannot boast. It has two of the finest harbours in the world—one of them Port Lincoln, and

the other Nepean Bay. In conclusion, I beg to say that I also am willing, should this country be enabled to establish the colony, to join it with my family (applause).

Mr. M. D. HILL said the gentlemen of the Committee have entrusted to me the task of explaining to this meeting the great principles on which this undertaking is to be carried into effect. Notwithstanding my Honourable Friend, Mr. Clay's amusing reference to the gentlemen engaged in Westminster Hall in that profession of which I am an humble member, I fear we cannot do without some few laws even in this proposed colony. Very few will suffice, and we will endeavour to make up in quality, what we want in quantity. However admirable the general arrangements, I should say they will not be complete without the aid of a very—very few lawyers, and some little law (a laugh). By the bill brought into Parliament under the auspices of my Honourable Friend now in the Chair (cheers), it appears that the land to be open to colonization on this plan is equal in extent to the great countries of France, Spain, and Portugal; so there is little danger, for some time at least, of that elbowing in the streets so vividly described by my Gallant Friend who sits near me (hear! and a laugh). Another important fact is, that these extensive limits will have the effect of cutting off any inconvenient communication with other parts of Australia (hear!). It is provided that there shall be no convict labour here (hear, hear 1). This is not a penal settlement (hear, hear!), as the limits are so extensive, there will be so wide a space between the colony and the convict settlements, that every security will be obtained against an inundation of persons of vicious habits. That those who go out will receive great benefit from these regulations there can be no doubt. It requires but little knowledge of the history of New South Wales, or, indeed, of human nature itself, to see that a class of criminals mingling in society, however necessary in the

existing colonies to supply labour, is an evil, the extent of which is incalculable. If, for one moment, we reflect on the matter, we may form some idea of the pain a parent must feel in exposing his offspring to the evil association that such a state of things must bring with it. I have this morning had my attention called to a letter from a lady living in Van Diemen's Land. She keeps two men servants and one woman servant. One of her men-servants was sent abroad for committing a manslaughter nearly approaching in atrocity to murder; the other man had been convicted of an aggravated burglary. The woman was transported for the more mitigated offence of bigamy. In such a family what must be the feelings of a mother, not for the purity only, but for the very safety of her children? (hear!) I cannot believe that there is any mother present—and I trust I see many—who would not shudder at the bare thought of subjecting her offspring to such contamination. On the other hand, nothing can more decidedly show the necessity for a supply of labour, than the petitions that are forwarded by capitalists, praying for convicts to be sent, and inviting them into the very bosom of their families.

I will now call attention to the proposed means of supplying free labour in the intended colony. The proceeds of the sales of all the land are to be expended in carrying out labourers to cultivate that land. This is the great principle which has been kept in view, and the bill will appoint Commissioners, to whom it will be entrusted to carry that principle into execution. They will have the power to raise a fund, secured on the land, to be repaid by the future sales. This arrangement has been made in order that no time may be lost; but that after having obtained your approbation, and the sanction of Parliament, we may at once proceed in this great work. These Commissioners will appoint Sub-commissioners, resident in the colony, whose duty

it will be to see that the principles laid down are duly carried out. They will effectually prevent the growth of that noxious plant which we have heard so well described—a plant that has flourished in other colonies, and the fruit of which has been of a most unwholesome quality: I allude to the plant called a job (hear, hear!). No favouritism is to be shown. It will be the duty of the Sub-commissioners to direct the sales of land, and to render accounts to the Commissioners, who will themselves be watched by the Government. Every one employed will have a check over him to secure the performance of his duty. Land will be put up for sale by auction, and it will be sold to the highest bidder. It has been said that the taxation should be small—the less the better; but government cannot be carried on without some expense. The Commissioners will immediately raise a limited fund, to be secured on the revenues of the country, so that the business of the colony may be commenced without delay. There must be some provision to preserve social liberty. That must be preserved from the attacks, not only of bad governments but also of bad individuals. These, however, are only temporary matters.

I have said that the government is to be carried on by Commissioners. But such an arrangement never would have had my consent, nor, I believe I may say, would it have received the consent of the Honourable Friends around me, if it were not that it is to be a temporary measure, to be got rid of as soon as the people of the colony find themselves in sufficient numbers to take on themselves the burden of government (hear, hear, hear!). Therefore it is provided, that so soon as the inhabitants amount to 50,000, his Majesty will grant a constitution to this colony (cheers). I have said that I would have had nothing to do with this plan—a matter of small importance to the plan, but of great importance to my own feelings and character—if it had not

contained this provision. We have heard of the high qualities that Englishmen will carry out to these colonies; we have heard of their industry, of their energies, and of their obedience to the laws. Why are they industrious, but because they live under a free constitution, which preserves to every man the results of his industry? (applause). Why are they energetic, but because the principle of liberty which is infused with our institutions calls forth habits of exertion and self-reliance? (applause). Why are they obedient to the laws, but because the laws are worthy to be obeyed? (cheers, and a few hisses, drowned by increasing cheers). Let me not be misunderstood, I say again, we have laws worthy to be obeyed; but do I say that we have no abuses to remove?—no amendments to make? do I say that we have not suffered from bad laws and bad government? (great cheering). I should belie my whole life if I said so; I should belie every vote that I have given in another place (cheers). But we have enough of good to redeem all the bad. The good principle is strong enough to overcome the evil one (hear). Let it be our care that the evils we have suffered from the imperfections of the law are not visited on another people (cheers). I shall not detain you longer; I might go on occupying your time with a minute and lawyer-like examination of the bill; but you will feel satisfied with knowing, that if the principles of the bill are sound, you have every security that can be obtained that these principles will be carried into full effect (cheers). The Honourable and Learned Gentleman concluded with moving the next resolution.

Mr. D. WAKEFIELD said, I ought perhaps to apologise for addressing you at all, because I see around me so many individuals, who, from their station and character, are so much better entitled to occupy this situation than I am. There is, however, one circumstance which, I believe, will excuse me for offering myself. Belonging to the same profession as the Honourable and

Learned Gentleman who has just addressed you—to that idle profession, as it was described to be by the Honourable Gentleman, the Member for the Tower Hamlets, though it appears that the lawyers are not the only idlers, the merchants and traders of London not being sufficiently employed—belonging to that profession, it fell to my lot to put into legal form the bill which, when it is an Act of Parliament, will form the constitution and charter of this new nation. That task, which was the humble one of plodding through the details of the measure, has, perhaps, qualified me to address you as to some of its enactments. Many of them have, I know, been explained by gentlemen, who, for perspicacity and intelligence, have not their superiors within the walls of Parliament. Those points I shall endeavour to avoid, It ought not to be forgotten, that in proportion as the system turns out to be efficient, will the society in the new province be numerous and wealthy, and stand in need of enactments to preserve peace, order, and good government. If the principles on which we are acting should turn out to be sound, there can be no doubt that the result of the present undertaking will be the formation of a new society, surpassing in wealth and intelligence any that has existed, at so early a period after its formation as a new colony. When speaking on this subject, I must refer to an important point alluded to by my Honourable and Learned Friend, He said he would not have given the least assistance to this undertaking if he had not understood that the government by the Colonial Office was to be only temporary. I concurred with him altogether in that view; and in proof of our concurring, I ought to tell you, that when the Right Honourable Gentleman was in office who is now no longer Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, application was made to him in reference to this matter, and he was asked to found the colony according to a bill of a somewhat different form from that now submitted to you. It was proposed to make the colony independent,

locally from the first, of the mother country. This the Right Hon. Gentleman declined to do ; and the consequence was, that we were obliged to modify the plan to meet his views. Therefore it is that, the measure appears before you in its present shape; but it still has my cordial approbation and concurrence, because the government by the King in Council is to be only temporary, and after a time the local government of the new nation is to be confided to the inhabitants themselves (hear, hear!). There is in the sixteenth clause of the act a provision which of itself is a charter to the proposed colony. That clause provides that the authority of the King in Council shall continue in the colony only until it shall have attained to a certain population, and shall have discharged the colonial debt; and makes it imperative on his Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, and with the authority of Parliament, then to grant it a representative assembly (hear, hear!). This clause, therefore, according to the very act which constitutes the colony, secures to it the inestimable boon of local self-government, as soon as it has attained a population of 50,000 souls. This is one of the greatest checks on bad government at home towards our colonies abroad that could be devised (hear, hear!). There is another feature in the settlement of this colony, which is different from any of the other colonies, namely, that it is to cost nothing to the mother country, as all the expenses are to be defrayed by a charge on the colony itself. All persons contributing to the advancement of the proposed association, either by purse, or by their endeavours otherwise, will have a right, which I believe no Parliament will ever venture to deny, to see that the colony be properly governed; and I have myself no doubt that it will be so on every principle of justice, as well as from the desire of those who promote it that such should be the case. I have now only to offer my tribute of admiration and gratitude to the Right Honour-

able Gentleman, who has lately succeeded the late Secretary for the Colonies in that high office, I mean Mr. Spring Rice (hear, hear!). I cannot but express my own gratitude, and the gratitude of all the friends of this undertaking, for the statesman like, the enlightened, and the speedy manner in which he has done his best to forward this undertaking (cheers). I beg now to second the resolution.

Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH then rose and said: On me devolves the pleasing task of moving, "That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Spring Rice, for his prompt and enlightened conduct in promoting the objects of this association," and in doing so, I cannot help taking the opportunity of endeavouring to do away with the impression which the words made use of by the Learned Gentleman who preceded me must have left on your minds, in regard to the late Right Honourable Secretary of the Colonies. To the late Secretary this association was much indebted, and more especially, in regard to the attention which he paid to the details of the plan on which it was founded (hear, hear!)...And I have no doubt that we should have succeeded equally well in obtaining the sanction of the Government in favour of the plan if he had remained in office. I cannot, however, sufficiently laud the conduct of the Right Honourable Gentleman who now fills that office, and fortunately, after what has been said, that becomes unnecessary (hear, hear). The object of the meeting has been so fully argued by the gentlemen who preceded me, that there is little additional left for me to say, and at this late period of the day I shall not detain you by recapitulating what has been already said. I shall, therefore, simply move,—"That in the opinion of this Meeting, the thanks of the country are due to Mr. Secretary Spring Rice, for his prompt and enlightened conduct in promoting the beneficial public objects of the South Australian Association."

Mr. WALBANKE CHILDERS : After so many hours of attendance I am sure you will not be sorry to hear that I am the last speaker upon this occasion ; and after what has been said by the two gentlemen who preceded me, little remains for me to add. I may state, however, that leave has already been given to bring the bill for the settlement of the proposed colony before Parliament. It will in a few days be read a second time, and I have, no doubt after the display which has been made to-day, that the colony itself will very soon be founded (hear, hear); and, under the blessing of Providence, we may hope that in the course of time it may become one of the finest colonies in the British dominions (cheers). I have only to add, that I with pleasure second the resolution which you heard read by the Honourable Baronet. The CHAIRMAN then said, that in order that the resolutions might be brought fairly before the meeting, he would now put that they should be adopted. Mr. THOMAS GOODE, the person who formerly attempted to address the meeting, now came forward, and was met with loud cries of "Off, off, and "Owen," Owen." After the noise had in some degree subsided, he said, that he was one of the productive classes, who worked early in the morning and late at night for the rich (question, question!). He wished to congratulate the gentlemen who had formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of advancing this association, on their success, and he would say to them, in the language of Scripture, "Be not weary in well doing, for in time ye shall reap, if ye faint not" (hear, hear!). He believed their object to be good, and he should be sorry to oppose what was good in any way; and there were some circumstances in the plan of which he much approved. Colonel Torrens had said, that the gentlemen who sought the advancement of this colony worked not for their own benefit, but for that of others. If that was true, it was certainly a new feature in the plan

(hear, and a laugh); but however that might be, gentlemen could not execute the plan without the assistance of people who could mow, and plough, and harrow, and dig (cries of question, question!). He was glad to find that there was such a prospect of success in the colony, but in his opinion they ought to have kept the custody of their money to themselves, instead of giving it to the Government. For his part, such was his opinion of the present Government, that he would hardly trust them with a box of snuff, for he would be afraid they would take it all (hear! and laughter). He hoped that the success of this association would stir up the energies of the Government to make improvements at home (hear, hear!), for he contended that there was ground enough at home for all the people it had to support (hear, hear !), He would have no objection, however, to accompany the emigrants to the new colony (a laugh). He could show the Government many places in England, where they could do essential good, by putting to some useful purpose a great many thousand acres that were at present unemployed, though in the hands of great and wealthy persons. It was true, as had been stated, that there was a great deal of capital in this country ; but he was ready to contend that it was the abuse of that capital that destroyed the labourer in this country (hear, hear!). Capital did much evil, as well as great good. It did evil by the monopoly it created in the hands of the capitalist; in consequence of which, though the labourer produced wealth, the rich man put it in his pocket, and left the poor labourer himself to starve (hear, hear!). He had lived with the Duke of Buccleuch when the Inclosure Bill was brought in. Labourers then were told that that bill would increase their wages, and give them work; and so it did for a time; for they got two shillings and sixpence a day while they were working at the inclosure; and thus the labourers were employed to inclose their own fields; and the con-

sequence was that they left themselves beggars and destitute paupers (loud cries of question, question!". "Off, off!" and hisses). Why, gentlemen, I am ashamed of you; you put me in mind of the geese in my country (laughter).

A GENTLEMAN, from the body of the meeting, said that he would move the adjournment of the meeting if order was not restored (move, move!).

Mr GOODE then again attempted to address the meeting, but was interrupted with groans and hooting. Why are you so tenacious, gentlemen (a laugh)? I was merely endeavouring to show that when a farmer spent his money on his farm in this country, his rent was raised on him; but in the colony proposed to be founded by this association, no rise of rent could take place (hear, hear! and loud cries of "Off, off!").

The CHAIRMAN then said it was his wish, and the wish of all connected with the management of this association, that the freest scope should be given to every gentleman to express his opinion on the subject; and If the gentleman who was addressing the meeting would put his remarks within moderate limits, he was sure that he would be patiently attended to (hear, hear!).

Mr. GOODE proceeded: All he wished to say was, that the rent was raised on the poor farmers here if they made improvements in their lands, but that in the colonies there could be no rise of rent. Any increase of produce would all go into the pockets of the producer, and would be an encouragement to him to further industry (hear, hear!). I have myself laboured hard, (continued he), I have a large family (a laugh). We had twenty children (loud laughter), and if I go to Australia I shall take two of them with me. I know how to plough, and to mow, and to sow, and to reap, and all the other agricultural operations (laughter). Besides that, I can dig, and I understand well-digging and the feeding of pigs and poultry, and if the colony wants such a man as me, I am the man to go.

Mr. OWEN (of Lanark): I regret to rise at so late a period of the evening to address you. However, the subject is one which appears to me to be of the highest importance at the present moment, and I shall, therefore, beg that you will indulge me with your patience while I state to you my views upon it. The colonies are not a new subject to me; they have been under my contemplation for many years. The questions to be considered are few, and they are simple. The first question is, whether emigration is necessary at all or not? and the second is, if it be necessary, is this the best mode of carrying it into effect? I shall consider the latter of these questions in the first place, and then say a few words on the other. To me it appears that the public are deeply indebted to the gentlemen who form the committee for taking up the subject (hear, hear); and also for the manner in which they have conducted it (hear, hear). They are the first gentlemen in this country who have laboured hard solely for the benefit of the working classes generally. I am quite conscious that there are thousands and tens of thousands of destitute persons in this country who are anxious to relieve themselves by emigrating to the colonies. I am also conscious that when they are compelled to emigrate, they do so under every inconvenience and disadvantage (hear). I know many of the gentlemen who have brought forward this proposal; I know them to be good and disinterested men, who desire to do good; and I have no hesitation in saying that the plan proposed is greatly better than any other that has been presented for the acceptance of the British public (cheers). I therefore give them great praise for the labour they have bestowed upon the subject already, and for having brought their plan to the state of forwardness in which it now is (hear). But I have now to inquire into the question why emigration is at all necessary? We have heard many reasons assigned why it was necessary to have a regular drain for our supernumerary population. I can conceive one reason, and only one, why emigration

should be necessary; and that is, that the ignorance of the middling and higher classes does not allow productive employment to be given to the labouring classes within the islands of Great Britain and Ireland. I know that we have the means within this island of giving employment, not only to the number of industrious classes which now exist, but to four or five times their number; and I venture to say, that under a proper system, the greatest number mentioned would be in full security of greater advantages than can be enjoyed by the emigrants who go to those remote regions which they propose to colonize (cries of "question, question !"). This is the question. I know that the experiment has been tried by persons of great experience, and who were well calculated to judge of it. They tried the effect comparatively between the spade and plough system of husbandry, and it has been proved by the result of their experiment, that, under proper regulations, the spade system of husbandry might be introduced; and that it would not only give full employment to all the agricultural labourers now in this country, but to all that might be added to the population, for many hundred years, in Great Britain and Ireland. I am aware that the public mind is not ready to enter into this view of the subject as fully as it deserves (hear, hear!); and I know that, in the mean time, some system of emigration is necessary to save the starving population (hear, hear!). I am free to admit that I prefer this plan to any other which I have seen proposed; and I hope that, as the public mind is not prepared at present to take a more sound view of the subject, that there will be no opposition offered to the gentlemen who form the committee in going on fairly with their proceedings (hear, hear!). I shall, therefore, merely say, at present, that nothing but the ignorance which reigns in this country makes it necessary that one man should be forced to emigrate. But, as it is so, I regret that it should be, I heartily approve of the present plan, as it will, in the mean time, tend to

relieve the suffering people, and give time to the public-mind to get sounder views of the subject. I could enter into many arguments on the subject of emigration, and I think I could prove that emigration has never been of any advantage to this country: but, at this late period, of the day, I shall refrain from saying any more but merely that I give my hearty approbation to the association (hear)!

Captain MURRAY: I trust, Sir, that as I have paid a long and earnest attention to the subject under discussion, you will not think me intrusive if I venture to offer a few observations, more by the way of extracting information than any thing else. I have seen the flag of England floating in all parts of the world—feared in some of them—honoured in all; and to what do I attribute this but to the extraordinary energies of her people? (cheers). I lived nine years in the Isle of France, which is close to that colony which you now propose to found, and I know from the best testimony how excellent is the selection which you have made (hear, hear!) I have, seen settlers in Van Diemen's Land; I know that they were living, not in a state of mere competency, but in one of positive affluence (cheers). But I rose, Sir, chiefly for the purpose of putting one or two questions. One of them is, whether or not his Majesty's Ministers will follow up the object of this association; for if they do, I doubt not that the new colony will very soon outstrip in prosperity the settlement of Van Diemen's Land. Now we have been told that commissioners' are to be appointed to superintend the administration of the laws, and I wish to know whether these gentlemen are to be sent out by the Colonial Office, or to be selected from amongst the large capitalists resident in the country (hear, hear!). It appears to me that there is something very like Government jobbing in this regulation (hear, hear, hear!). We have been told that the money arising from the sale of land is to be expended in sending out emigrants of a poorer class. I

wish to know if Ministers are willing to give us the use of the many transports now lying useless, and apply those other means which are within their power, to facilitate the execution of our plans? (hear, hear!) Having put these questions, I shall conclude by asserting that which is within my own knowledge, that the harbour of this new settlement is one of the finest in the world—so capacious that all our immense shipping—the very wooden walls of Old England—may ride in safety within it (cheers).

Mr. M. D. HILL. The Gentleman who has just addressed you, has asked one or two most sensible and pertinent questions, I can assure him, that the Gentlemen who have assembled here to promote this undertaking have nothing but the interest of the public in view—nothing whatever to gain by its success. They, therefore, watch with great anxiety every thing that occurs in reference to it. I can assure the Gentleman who spoke last—and I do not regret, but rather rejoice at the opportunity of stating it publicly and positively—that no placeman or place-hunter whatever is, or will be, connected with this undertaking (cheers), but only those men who can encourage and advance it, from having already obtained the confidence of the public at large (cheers). As to the question about transports now lying useless—if such there be, of which I know nothing, either one way or the other—I say on the behalf of the association, and on behalf of the emigrants themselves, that we will not condescend to ask any favour of the Government, or to ask aught at its hands. (Great cheering.) We seek no favour of the Government, we will accept no charity at its hands, because we will not allow it the opportunity of imposing laws on us on the ground that the mother-country has exerted herself in our favour, or has any demand upon our gratitude. [Great cheering.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Bill which I have had the

honour of introducing into the House, authorizing us to form this colony, has decidedly the sanction and support of the British Government; and as a proof of it I will just mention the fact, that before that Bill could even be brought in it was necessary that his Majesty should formally signify his assent to its introduction, and that this was done by his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department in the usual manner. (Hear, hear.)

An individual in the body of the room here asked, if residents in this country would be allowed the power of purchasing and re-selling land in the proposed colony?

The CHAIRMAN said they would. The individual replied he was sorry to hear it.

Mr. LOVETT said, it had been stated that the object in view was the profitable investment of capital. Now, he wished to know, whether there was to be any fixed rate of interest for this, and whether they did not intend to grind the people down, when they got them to a distant country, to the lowest possible wages? Further, he wished to know what chance the poor emigrant would have of acquiring land by his own industry, when there was a prospect of the great capitalists buying up all the best and most productive portions? They said the emigrants were to be governed by laws enacted especially for this colony. Now, he wanted to know what power they would have in making or altering these laws, and whether the labourer would have an equal chance of political power, or whether the enacting of laws was, to be confined, as in this country, to one class? Further, he wished to know whether capitalists would have the power of sending out their sons and dependents, with the intent of making them governors, lieutenant-governors, legislators, bishops, rectors, parsons, excisemen, custom-house officers? (Great laughter.) If these things were to be permitted, then, in his opinion, it

Bill, which contains no clause whatever of such a character (cheers), but which expressly provides that all lands shall be put up for public and open purchase (cheers). As to the third question, referring to the powers to be given by the constitution, and the perpetuation of what the gentleman describes as the distinction of classes, it is impossible for me to give a direct reply, because the question cannot be determined until fifty thousand persons shall be settled in the colony. Then only can the powers of the constitution be decided on. As to the other questions relating to the expenses to be incurred in the government of the colony, the gentleman asked whether those expenses would not be so great as to permit the existence of all sorts of sinecure places, amongst which he enumerated bishops and excisemen (a laugh). All that I can say is, that the expenses of the government are limited for the first year to 5,000*l.* But considering there must be a considerable outlay in transporting emigrant labourers for the first few years, it is hardly probable that 5,000*l.* after a year or two, can pay the necessary expenses of the government. But it is utterly impossible to believe, that the government of a colony, which is to be carried on for so small a sum, can admit of any sinecure places, or any nest of corruption, in which people can fatten to the injury or discomfort of their neighbours (hear, hear!).

be deemed a colonial debt, and secured upon the entire revenue of the colony.

"The authority of the Commissioners to continue until the colony, having attained a certain population, shall, through the means of a representative assembly) to be called by his Majesty, undertake to discharge the colonial debt, and to defray the cost of the future government; when the colony is to receive such a constitution of local government as his Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, and with the authority of Parliament, may deem most desirable."

The next question was, whether it is not more expedient—as the gentlemen who addressed you to-day have admitted that there is in this country a considerable quantity of land which might be better cultivated, and some which is not cultivated at all—to devote the surplus capital and labour of Great Britain to the cultivation of lands at home. In answer to that question, I say that we have upon our own committee a gentleman who has taken the deepest interest in the views which the gentleman who put the question seems to advocate, and who thinks in the highest possible manner of the advantages resulting from home colonization. It is the opinion of that gentleman that, so far from the present scheme being inconsistent with the principles of home colonization, both schemes are calculated to confer great advantages on the labouring population of this country; and that so long as circumstances in this country, whether arising from unequal laws, or any other cause, shall not permit the uncultivated lands of this country to be tilled, so long will the advocates of home colonization promote their own cause by uniting with the advocates of foreign colonization, and endeavouring to combine mutual efforts for promoting their mutual object—the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes, and the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of their common country. (Applause.) --

Mr. TUPPERS said a few words, but the meeting expressing a little impatience at the lateness of the hour, he very considerably withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolutions, which were carried unanimously, and with much applause.

Mr. WILSON moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for the very able manner in which he had presided over the meeting.

Mr. MONTEFIORE seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall con-

tent myself with observing that I feel greatly indebted for the kindness with which you have received and adopted this motion, and with assuring you that my humble efforts shall never be wanting so long as they can promote the great cause, to which I shall ever be most happy to devote my time and attention (applause). I have only to add, that means have been adopted to take the names of all individuals who feel an interest in this question, and who are desirous to enrol their names in the list of emigrants. The meeting separated at a quarter to six o'clock.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO AUSTRALIA.

- Two Years in New South Wales, in a Series of Letters. By P. Cunningham.
- An Account of the State of Agriculture in New South Wales; with other Information for those about to emigrate to that Colony. By James Atkinson.
- A Letter from Sydney, the chief Town of Australasia; together with the Outline of a System of Colonization. Edited by Robert Gouger.
- Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land, illustrated by a Map of the Island; and an Account of the Van Diemen's Land Company. By James Bischoff, Esq.
- The present State of Australia, its prospects in reference to Emigration, and an Account of its aboriginal Inhabitants. By Robert Dawson.
- A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia, including the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; with an Enumeration as well with reference to each other as to the United States and the Canadas, and Directions and Advice to Emigrants. By W. C. Wentworth, Esq.
- An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D.
- Journey of Discovery to Port Philip, New South Wales, by Messrs. W. H. Hovell and Hamilton Hume, in 1824 and 1825.
- Authentic Information relative to New South Wales and New Zealand. By James Bayley, Esq. London: published by Joseph Cross, Lower Holborn.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO AUSTRALIA.

- An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, principally intended for the use of persons residing in India. Calcutta, 1830.
- The Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land, comprising a Description of that Colony during a Six Months' Residence. From original Letters selected by Mrs. Augustus Prinsep. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill.
- Extracts from the Letters and Journals of George Fletcher Moore, Esq., now filling a judicial office at the Swan River Settlement. Edited by Martin Doyle. Orr and Smith, Amen Corner.
- The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay, with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, London: printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.
- An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Disposition, Customs, Manners, &c., of the Native Inhabitants of that Country; to which are added some particulars of New Zealand. By David Collins, Esq. London: printed by Cadell and Davies.
- Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia, performed between the years 1818 and 1822 by Captain Philip P. King, R.N. John Murray, Albemarle-street.
- A Voyage for the Discovery of Southern Lands. By M. Peron. Translated from the French.
- Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia during the Years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831; with Observations on the Soil, Climate, and General Resources of New South Wales. By Captain Charles Sturt.
- A Picture of Australia.
- An Account of the Colony of Western Australia. By — Powell.
- Evans's Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land.
- An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, with Directions for Emigrants. By Edmund Curr.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO AUSTRALIA.

- Narrative of a Voyage to India; with some Account of a Residence at the Colony at Swan River. By Jane Roberts.
- Geographical Memoirs of New South Wales. By various Hands. Edited by Barron Field, F.L.S. John Murray, Albemarle-street.
- Journals of several Expeditions made in Western Australia during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832, London.
- Hints on Emigration to the new Settlement on the Swan and Canning Rivers, near the West Coast of Australia.
- Notes on the Present State and Prospects of Society in New South Wales; with an Historical, Statistical, and Topographical Account of Manilla and Singapore.
- An Account of the State of the Colony of New South Wales, in December, 1830. By G. S. Hall. London: Cross, Holborn.
- Hints on Emigration to the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.
- The History of New South Wales, including Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Parramatta, Sydney, and all its Dependencies; and an Account of the English Colony from its Foundation to the Present Time. By George Harrington. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones.
- A Voyage to Terra Australia, undertaken for the purpose of completing the Discovery of that vast Country, in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in his Majesty's ship the Investigator. By Matthew Flinders. G. and W. Nicoll, Pall-Mall.

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