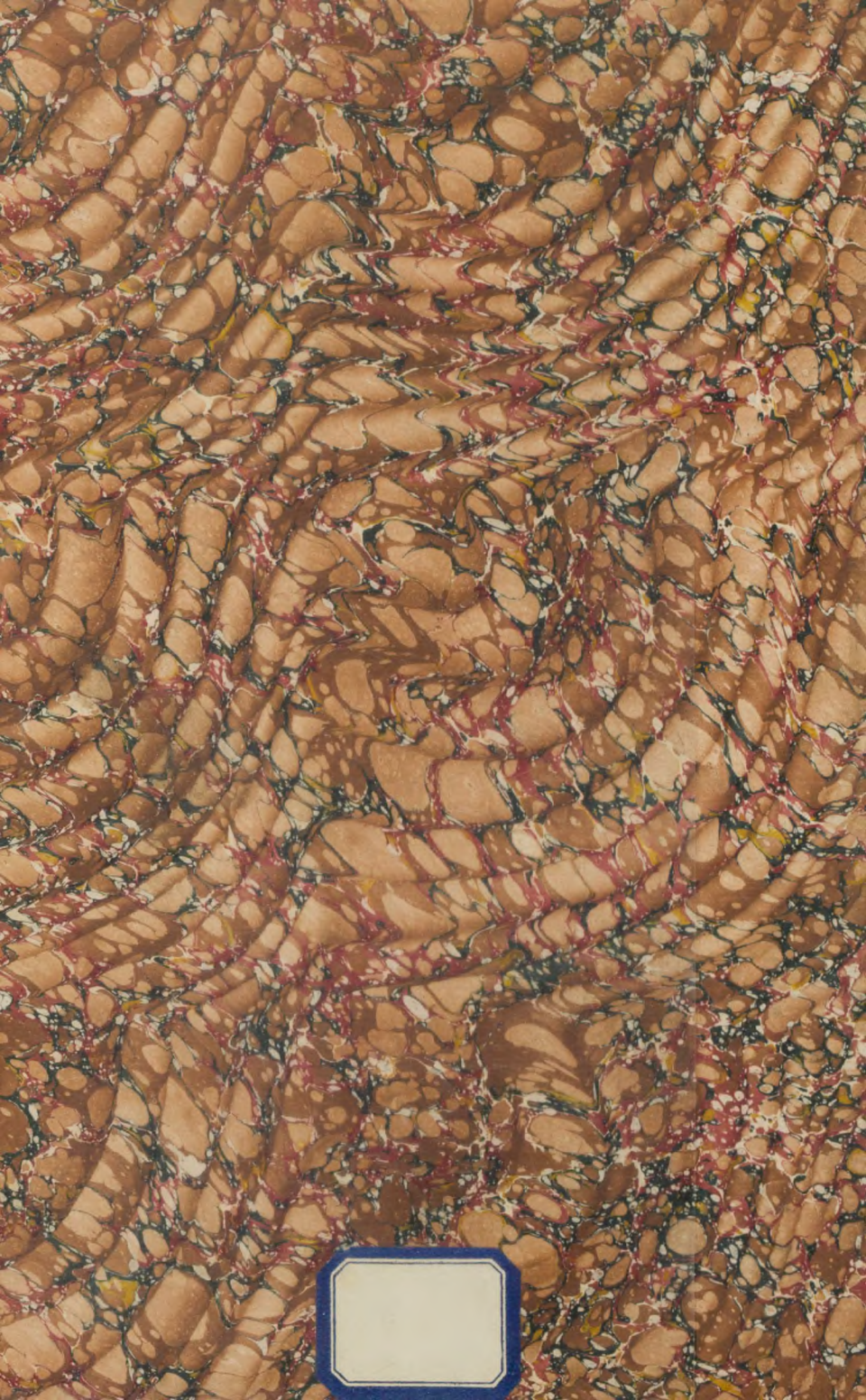
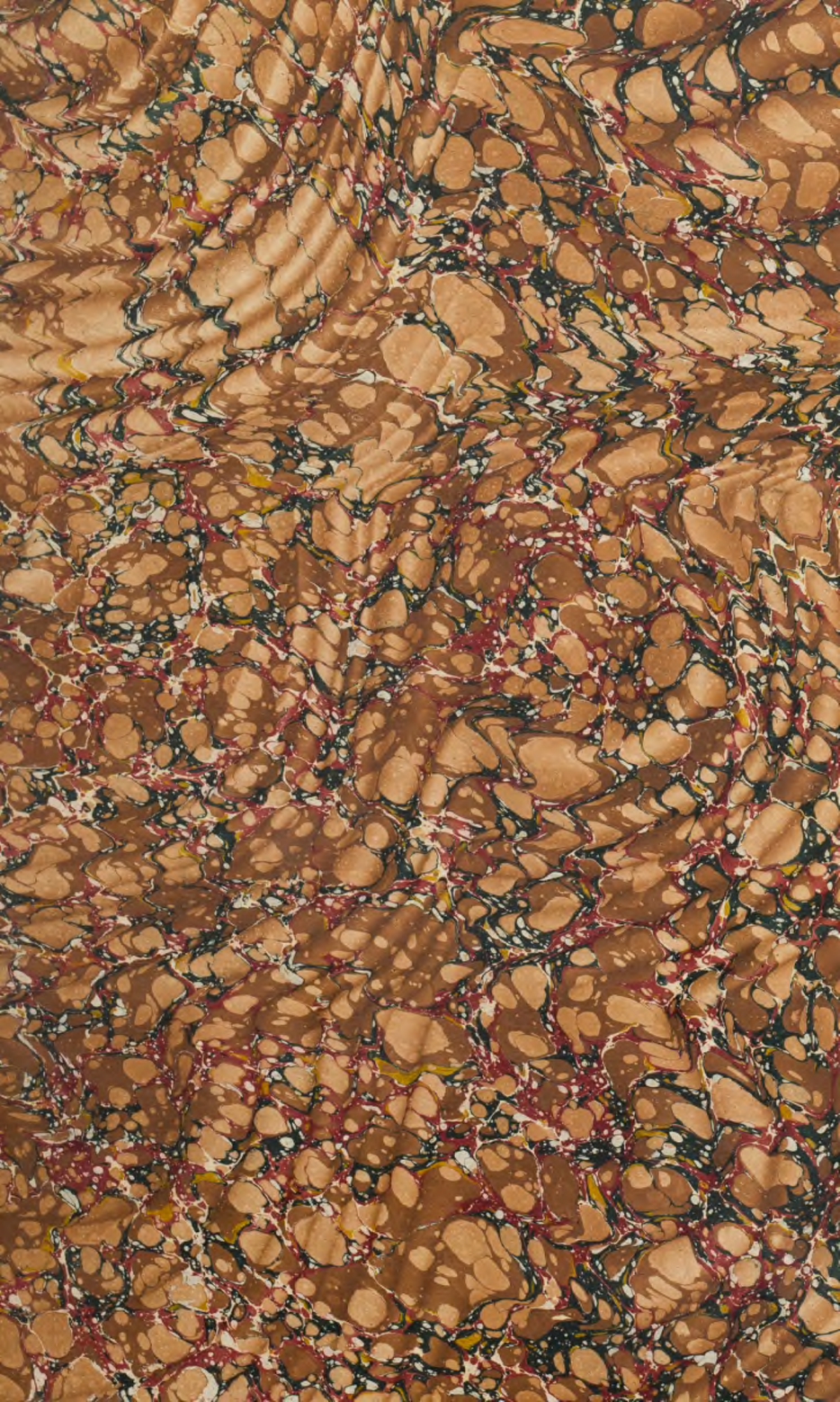
The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a traditional marbled paper pattern, featuring large, irregular, brownish-tan spots or 'stones' set against a background of fine, interwoven lines in shades of red, green, and yellow. A dark brown, textured spine is visible on the left side. A white rectangular label is affixed to the bottom left corner of the cover.

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Dr. Mitchell.

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, written in cursive script at the top of the page.

The Earl of Ripon

45

COLONIAL POLICY

OF

1840 AND 1841,



7

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

THE GOVERNOR'S DESPATCHES,

AND

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES.

BY MAJOR MACARTHUR.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

M.DCCC.XLI.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.—Some account of New South Wales—Discovery and occupation in that Colony—Australian Alps—Depasturing system—Resolutions of the Legislative Council, as to the condition of the Colony; its extreme deficiency of labourers; opening it presents for employment of the Poor of the United Kingdom; its growing importance to the mother country shown by statistical details pp. 3—16

COLONIAL POLICY.

Mistaken course of the Home Government in adopting the recommendations of Colonization Commissioners in London, without previously advising with the Local Government pp. 17—22

PETITION TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, praying for reconsideration of proposed partition of the Colony pp. 23—26

ANALYSIS OF DEBATES THEREON IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA.—Swayed by no personal considerations in moving the Council to address Her Majesty, 27—Persuaded “Royal Instructions,” if carried into effect, would inflict serious injury on the community, 28—Her Majesty having a right to dispose of lands as she might deem fit, must yet desire to exercise that right without injury to her subjects, 28—Object of the Petition not to frustrate but to modify “Royal Instructions,” 28—Uniformity of price of land impracticable; if attempted, would reduce the value of the better description, 29—Secretary of State’s Despatch founded on an erroneous idea of the state of the Colony, 30—South Australian system—as yet not adequately tried, 31—mainly dependent on rapid survey of land, 31—Impossibility of now effecting a sufficiently rapid survey in New South Wales, 32—Good land would be bought up by speculators, to loss of Government, and injury of *bonâ fide* occupiers, 33—Proposed plan of partition of the Colony would destroy the depasturing system on which its prosperity depends, 33—Occupants of lands, proposed to be cut off from the Colony, could not now be dispossessed, if prepared to bid at auction for such land, 33—By new system might be deprived without possibility of prevention, 34—Proposed measure evidently preliminary to partition of the Colony into separate Governments, 33—Other objections to plan—Equitable claim of the Colonists to a very different arrangement, 34—The Colony had been traduced, but no doubt Her Majesty would sympathize with it, 33—Resolution

proposed, to pray Her Majesty's gracious reconsideration of the limits proposed for the Colony by the "Royal Instructions," 39
pp. 27—39

MR. JONES seconded the Resolution, 39—The Colony governed at home, not by Her Majesty, nor the Government, but by a Board of Commissioners, who wished to make it a body without members, 40—Injustice of the proposed measure, 40—Three Governments and three Legislatures to be maintained, 40—Why introduce a new system without reference to the system by which the Colony had prospered, 41—How were new districts to provide money to pay Governorships, Judgeships, and other offices innumerable? 42—New system professed to benefit the immigrant—On the contrary, there would be more land-jobbing than ever, 42—Selling land at a fixed price only abetted by theoretical speculators, who wrote books about Colonies without ever having seen a Colony, 42
pp. 39—43

MR. BERRY.—Only apology for Lord John Russell was, that he had numerous dependants and retainers, for whom in time of peace it was difficult to provide—His despatch gave evidence of some knowledge of books about America, but none of this Colony—The Colony had been left to itself to work its way to prosperity, deserted and uncared-for—Why not let it alone? pp. 43, 44

MR. H. H. MACARTHUR thought Lord John Russell actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the Colony, but misled and grossly deceived—Parties resident in London could not purchase land in New South Wales, with any certainty, as land might be pre-occupied—Real property of the residents of this Colony in the distant locations, proposed to be cut off—Inconsistency of Government uniting the Canadas, yet proposing to dismember this Colony . pp. 44, 45

SIR JOHN JAMISON thought the only object of the Secretary of State was to ruin the Colony by dismembering it, and dividing it into petty districts p. 45

MR. JAMES MACARTHUR foresaw the fatal consequences of these Instructions—Lord John Russell would have ordered very differently, could he have judged for himself, but he was beset by theorists, whose plausible systems would be found unable to stand the test of experience, 46—Great cause of the success of this Colony the advantage of unbounded pasturage, at first aided by use of convict labour, 47—The uniform price would force into cultivation bad land, and cause the good lands to be kept back until they realized a price in reference to their prospective value, 48—Capitalists would buy up good lands to sell at an enormous advance, thus diverting large sums from public to private purposes, 48—Strenuous advocates in England for a uniform price, now deemed it a fallacy even in New Zealand, 48—Did not believe there existed any sinister intentions to injure

the Colony, but while these Instructions were under consideration, Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of the Colony, who was then in England, ought to have been consulted, 49—Proposed boundaries of Colony discussed—Advocates of theoretical plans of colonization finding their system retarded, believed the fault rested with New South Wales, without regarding the defects of their own theory, 50—South Australia would have to undergo more difficulties than this Colony had ever undergone, 49—Alienation of the affections of the Colonists, which the enforcement of the Instructions could not but occasion—Discoveries in the Colony made not at the expense of the Home Government, but of the Colonists, 50—In proposed partition of the Colony, no regard had been had to feelings of the Colonists, 51—At that moment there were present in the Council Chamber, persons whose nearest friends would be separated from the Colony by this partition—There was a lever to the feelings of all men, it was unwise to put that lever out of place, 51—But for New South Wales and the enterprise of its Colonists, neighbouring Colonies in Australia would not have been called into existence—Why were the natural advantages of New South Wales to be thrown into the scale of these other Colonies? 52—Various other objections to the proposed uniform price urged . . . pp. 45—53

MR. BLAXLAND trusted that while the Council was doing its duty to avert the threatened evil, the public out of doors would not be inactive p. 53

SIR GEORGE GIPPS.—Embarrassment of his position, 53—All changes in method of disposing of Crown lands always at first unpalatable to the Colonists—We ought not to condemn *in toto* without trial, 54—Her Majesty's Ministers intended only to benefit the Colony; so doubtless did the Commissioners; but he thought they would not have made such recommendations, had they known that country lands had averaged 2*l.* 5*s.* per acre, and town allotments 500*l.* per acre, 54—Aware of the responsibility incurred in not carrying Instructions under Her Majesty's sign manual into effect, 55—Had he done so, there would have been "a glorious scramble" for the land, and persons with 300*l.* or 400*l.* in the bank would readily have cleared 50,000*l.*, 56—Had ordered estimate to be made of loss to the public, had the Instruction been carried into effect; but without estimates, there were facts to show, that 153,000*l.* less would have been received into the treasury, than has been received, 56—South Australian system appeared a fallacy, 57—Lands are not purchased for the sole purpose of cultivation, but mainly for grazing—One of the objects of the Instruction to prevent dispersion; but "it would be as easy to confine the Arabs of the Desert within a circle, as to confine the herds of the Colony within the named limits"—"Not 100,000 soldiers could effect it," 23—Wealth of the Colony depended upon dispersion, 58—System of jobbing and of intrigue to

which the introduction of the South Australian system would lead—Change of system at present existing in New South Wales of no advantage to the immigrant—"Thought there was vice enough in the Colony, without introducing gambling, and that, too, under the sanction of public authority," 59—As to that part of the Instruction dividing the Colony into separate governments, not much alarmed about it; had always acceded to all the wishes of Mr. La-trobe, "the Resident of Port Phillip," 60—Boundaries proposed for the Colony would render it "very short-coated," 61—Squatting would not at once be put a stop to by proposed measures—Approved of existing system of depasturing Crown lands under license—"Squatting" in New South Wales unlike squatting in America—"The magnificent squatters in New South Wales occupied 10,000 acres in one place," 62—Men of the first families in England so living, in bark huts, beyond the boundaries, 62—South Australia could never have prospered, but for the colonists of New South Wales, who first drove their flocks and herds thither, 62—New South Wales an immense hive, whence herds upon herds, and flocks after flocks, were driven forth to make neighbouring Colonies prosperous, 62—He felt with other members of the Council, that proposed partition of the Colony would endanger the revenue, 62—But it was to be remembered, that in partitioning the Colony, the severed districts would not be handed over to hostile powers—Could not but agree with the honourable member, that it was somewhat curious that Her Majesty's Government should be dividing this territory into separate governments, at the same time that they were uniting others under one pp. 53—63

Mr. LITHGOW objected to dismemberment of Colony, and wished Resolution to be amended on that point p. 64

BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA wished only for a modification of the Instruction p. 64

Motion for Petition carried, and Committee named to draw it up, p. 64

Petition brought up, adopted, and received by the Governor, pp. 64—70

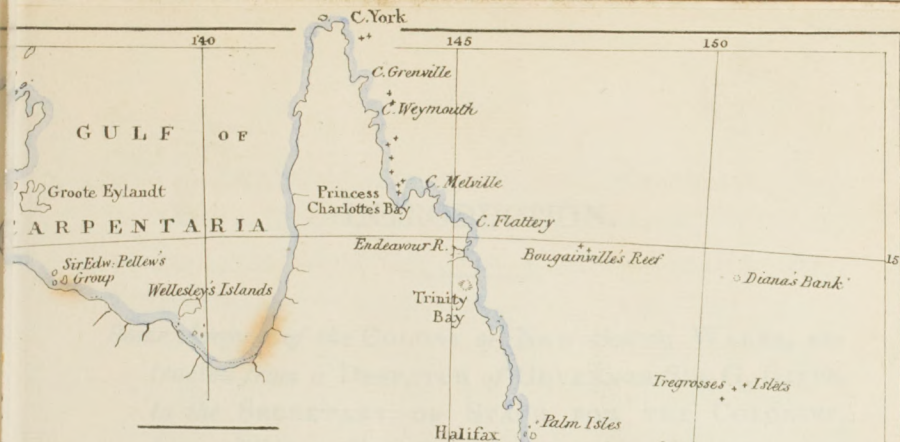
POSTSCRIPT.

The Manufacturing Interest in the United Kingdom must in future depend upon the effects of emigration to British Colonies, not upon Foreign states, for adequate increase of exports p. 71

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EXPORTS, illustrative of the importance of the British Colonies to the parent State p. 75

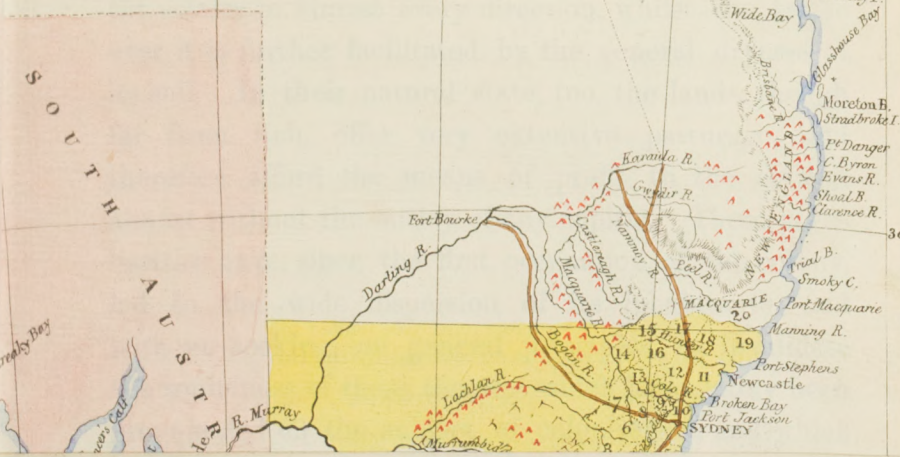
Description of British and Irish manufactures and produce exported to the Australian Colonies p. 76

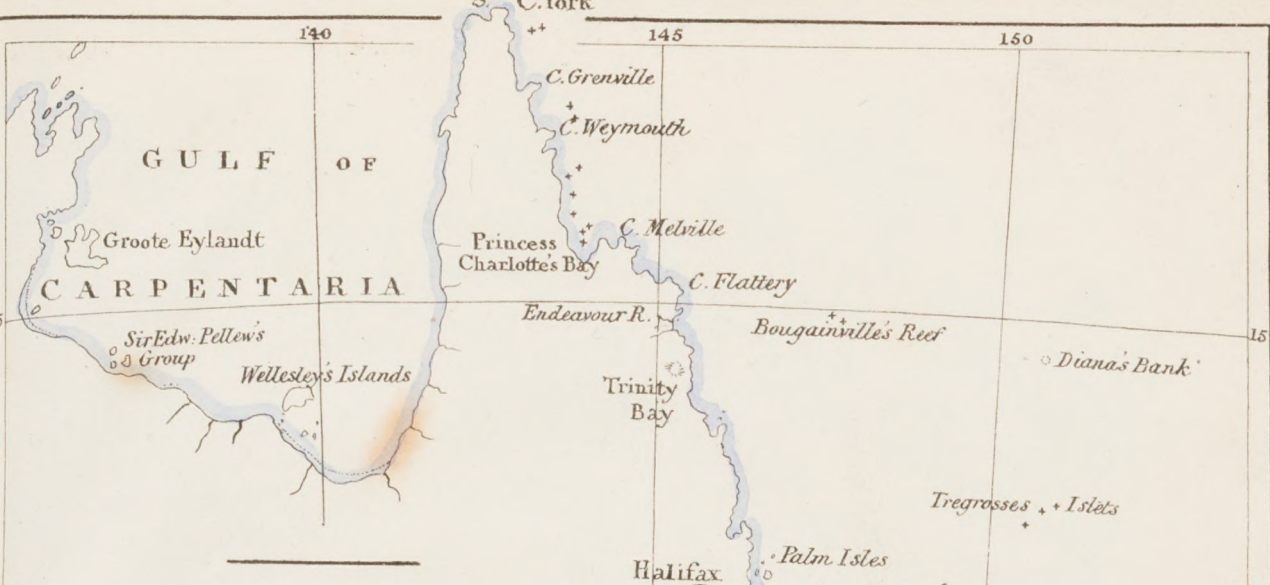
EMIGRATION—Its advantages to all classes in the United Kingdom p. 77



EASTERN AUSTRALIA
OR
TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

territory to which the Colony might have been reduced
Bill of last Session. (page 21.) Colored Yellow
Within this area, County Lands or Boundaries of Location
as explained at page 4, are marked from 1 to 19.
Deposits or Cattle Stations held under License. (page 5) ^^^^^ ^
NB. Upon Proclamation of such lands coming under
the County System, occupants could become
Possessors by publicly competing for them. (page 33.)
System of Roads projected by Sir Tho. Mitchell.





EASTERN AUSTRALIA

OR

TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Territory to which the Colony might have been reduced by Bill of last Session. (page 21.) Colored Yellow

Within this area County Lands or Boundaries of Location as explained at page 4, are numbered from 1 to 19.

Sheep or Cattle Stations held under License. (page 5) AAAAAA

NB. Upon Proclamation of such lands coming under the County System, occupants could become Possessors by publicly competing for them. (page 33.)

System of Roads projected by Sir Tho. Mitchell.



- Reference to Counties.
1. ST VINCENT.
 2. MURRAY.
 3. KING.
 4. ARGYLE.
 5. CAMDEN.
 6. GEORGIANA.
 7. BAUBURST.
 8. WESTMORELAND.
 9. COOK.
 10. CUMBERLAND.
 11. NORTHERNBERG.
 12. HUNTER.
 13. ROXBURGH.
 14. WELLINGTON.
 15. BLIGH.
 16. PELLIP.
 17. BRISBANE.
 18. DURHAM.
 19. GLOUCESTER.

"Instructions to Sir G. Gipps, 1840."

"And we do further declare our will and pleasure to be, that the before mentioned boundary shall be the southern boundary of the County of St. Vincent, & the southern & south-western boundary of the County of Murray, as far as the river Murrumbidgee, and from thence to the said river Murrumbidgee, and the river Murray, until the same reaches the eastern boundary of our province of South Australia."

INTRODUCTION.

Some Account of the COLONY of NEW SOUTH WALES, extracted from a DESPATCH of GOVERNOR SIR G. GIPPS, to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, transmitting a REPORT of progressive Discovery and Occupation in that Colony during the period of his Administration of its Government.

It is well known that Australia presents a surface to the settler very different from that of any other country into which colonization by Europeans has been introduced; that in consequence of the absence of dense forests or extensive swamps, it is pervious to the settler in almost every direction, whilst the traffic over it is further facilitated by the general dryness of its soil. In their natural state, too, the lands, though far from rich, offer very extensive pasturage, and therefore afford the means of profit to the settler, almost without the outlay of any capital. These peculiarities have, since the first occupation of the colony, led to the wide dispersion of its inhabitants; and without seeking, on general principles, to invalidate the soundness of those theories which have lately been propounded on the subject of colonization, and which assume as their basis the necessity of concentrating population, I think I may venture to say that they are altogether inapplicable to a country like New South Wales. Let the evils of dispersion therefore be what they may, they must here be borne with. Our flocks

and herds already stray over a country 900 miles long by 300 wide; and I hesitate not to say, that any attempt to bring them within the limits even of our twenty contiguous counties, would end in failure, if not in the ruin of the colony.

Excessive droughts occasionally (perhaps periodically) occur in the country; but, instead of repining under these temporary afflictions, the inhabitants ought to bear in mind, that but for their occurrence, the country would not offer to the settler the advantages which it so peculiarly does. It is to the general dryness of the climate and the soil that the settlers are indebted for their chief prosperity, and they might yet have been confined to a narrow circuit around Sydney, had the character of the country been different from what it is.

Prior to my assumption of the government, twenty counties had been laid out, pursuant to the general instructions given to my predecessors, under the sign manual; but these counties serve no other purpose than that of indicating certain tracts of country, as they are not conterminous with any jurisdiction either civil or ecclesiastical. It is, however, a long-established regulation of the government, that no land can be sold beyond their limits. The extreme boundaries of county lands have come, therefore, to be called the boundaries of location; and accordingly as lands lie within or beyond those boundaries, a different system is followed in the management and civil government of them.

Within the boundaries the whole country is di-

vided into police districts, each having a bench of petty sessions, and generally a stipendiary magistrate; and of these districts, which are of very unequal size, there are at present thirty.

Beyond the boundaries the country is also roughly divided into districts, in each of which there is a Commissioner of Crown Lands, who is the chief magistrate of it, and has under his command a small force of mounted constables. who, in order that they may be distinguished from the more regular mounted police of the colony, are called by the name of the Border Police.

Within the limits of location, land is either sold or let on lease: beyond the limits, it is neither sold nor let, but licenses are granted, at the discretion of the Crown Commissioner, for the occupation of such portions of land as may be desired by proprietors of stock, on each of which licenses a fee of 10*l.* is payable annually, and an assessment under a local ordinance is levied on the stock depastured there. Each allotment of land, for which a license is thus given, is called a station, and the stations may vary in extent from 5000 to 30,000 acres.

The quantity of stock on which assessment was paid for the half-year ending the 31st December, 1839, was 7088 horses; 371,699 horned cattle; 1,334,593 sheep; and the number of licensed stations was 694. The real quantity of stock, however, in all probability, exceeded the quantity returned.

The rapidity with which stations are pushed into the interior is very great, and they are frequently

formed without the permission or even the knowledge of the Commissioner.

Towards the north, stations already extend to the country behind Moreton Bay, 300 miles beyond the limits of location; to the south and west, they extend beyond Port Phillip, to the boundaries of South Australia. The persons who form these stations are the real discoverers of the country, and they may be said to be in Australia (what the back-woodsmen are in America) the pioneers of civilization. Wherever they find good pasturage they fix themselves, and do not become known, even to the Commissioner, until some accidental occurrence (perhaps an unfortunate collision with the aborigines) brings them under his notice, and ultimately under that of the government.

The exposure to the hostility of the aborigines is one of the greatest drawbacks to the advantages which the Australian settler enjoys in the facility of forming such stations; but of this, or the dreadful consequences which follow from it, it is not now my purpose to speak.

Another drawback is the great distance to which they are led from Sydney, and the consequent difficulty in getting the supplies of which they stand in need, and also in sending their produce, and specially their wool, to market.

The necessity of opening a shorter communication with the sea leads to the formation of new roads; and in this way roads, or rather routes, are now being opened to the sea, from the pastoral districts which I have spoken of as lying to the north of Sydney, and

behind Port Macquarie, the Clarence River, and Moreton Bay, or between the 32nd and 25th degrees of south latitude. The first and last of these places have long been known, each originally having been a penal station, or place of second transportation for convicts from Sydney; but the Clarence River was only discovered about two years ago, by persons engaged in the cutting of cedar, which is usually found in the rivers on the eastern coast of Australia.

* * * * *

It being desirable to form a town or settlement at the head of the navigation of this river, I have now a surveying party there; and a Commissioner of Crown Lands, with his party of border police, is also there to preserve order among the cedar cutters and cattle owners, who are also beginning to form stations there.

The Clarence River falls into the sea in about latitude $29^{\circ} 20'$ south; its mouth is therefore about 340 miles to the north of Sydney, and 90 miles to the south of Moreton Bay.

* * * * *

Your Lordship may observe on any map of Australia, and particularly Arrowsmith's, published in 1838, a ridge of mountains extending parallel to the sea-coast, between the latitudes of 26° and 32° . From the eastern side of this ridge various streams (of which the Clarence is the largest yet discovered) run by a short course to the Pacific; whilst from the western side of the same ridge the waters take a very circuitous course to the Darling and Murray rivers, and ultimately through a portion of South Australia to the Southern

Ocean. On the summit of these mountains a considerable extent of comparatively flat or table land has obtained the name of New England, and it is one of the best grazing districts in the colony, there being on it sixty-six stations.

The descent from the table land to the Pacific is steep and difficult; had it been easier, the three routes which I have mentioned to Port Macquarie, the Clarence and Moreton Bay, would in all probability have been opened some years ago.

To the south of Sydney the same or a similar ridge presents itself, running through the counties of Cumberland, Camden and St. Vincent, though nearer to the sea. This ridge has hitherto cut off the western parts of these counties, as well as the counties of Murray, King, Georgiana, and Argyle, from any communication with the sea, except by the way of Sydney; but I am happy to say, that a route has been discovered, which may be made practicable with little trouble or expense, from a place called Narriga, on the western side of the ridge, in the county of St. Vincent, to Jarvis Bay, which is a commodious harbour, in latitude 35° . A similar route may, it is hoped, be opened to Bate-man's Bay, which lies fifty miles further south; and another, perhaps, still further south, to Twofold Bay.

* * * * *

Further south, and veering to the west, there is a ridge of hills, marked on most recent maps as the Australian Alps, and called sometimes, in the colony, the Snowy Mountains.

Although a cattle station had been pushed beyond

these mountains by a gentleman of the name of Mac Alister, the country between them and the sea was altogether unknown until the month of March last, when the Count Strelski, a political exile, who, since the latter misfortunes of Poland, has devoted himself to the pursuits of science, attempted and achieved the exploration of it. I have the satisfaction herewith to forward to your Lordship a copy of the account furnished to me of his journey by the Count; and I cannot do so without making your Lordship aware of the feelings of respect and esteem which have been excited towards him amongst the people of this colony.

* * * * *

The map which I transmit will show the quantity of land surveyed, and also the quantity sold at Port Phillip: the number of acres sold up to the present time is 159,494; and the net amount realized, 312,700*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, being at the average rate of 1*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* per acre. The net amount of other revenues collected at Melbourne was, in the year 1837, 2538*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*; 1838, 2819*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*; 1839, 14,703*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, and in the first six months of 1840, 11,747*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*

* * * * *

Having now spoken of the whole of the line of sea-coast, and of the country bordering on it, from Moreton Bay to the confines of South Australia, it remains for me to speak only of the interior.

Wheresoever a river presents itself running to the westward, the course of it is marked by stations; and this is particularly the case on the Namoi, the Mac-

quarie, and the Lachlan, on the borders of each of which they extend, perhaps, to a distance of from 200 to 300 miles beyond the limits of location; but as every step in this direction leads the settler farther from the sea, as well as from Sydney, the limit seems, in the opinion of some people, to be attained; beyond which the feeding of sheep will cease to be a profitable employment, the wool not bearing the expense of transport from a more distant country. Horses and horned cattle may, however, still be reared to advantage at more remote stations, as they may of course be driven, when of a proper age, to a market, however distant.

Along the whole of the road from Sydney to Port Phillip, villages have been laid out and police stations formed by the government; this road is therefore now as safe and as easily traversed as any other in the colony; indeed it may be mentioned as a proof of the open and accessible character of the country generally, that this road, or at least the portion of it which lies between Yass and Melbourne, about 380 miles in extent, has been opened at no cost whatsoever to the government, and very little to individuals; and that it is not only practicable but easy throughout its whole length for carriages of any description.

*Government House, Sydney,
28th September, 1840.*

RESOLUTIONS of the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, on the subject
of IMMIGRATION to NEW SOUTH WALES, 23 October,
1840, transmitted in a subsequent Despatch.

1. Resolved, That this Council having had under consideration the Report presented on the 2nd ultimo by the Committee appointed to inquire into, and report on the subject of Immigration, concurs in, and adopts the opinions therein expressed.

2. Resolved, That this Council especially concurs in the statement of the Committee, that there exists throughout the colony an urgent and increasing want of working hands, in every branch of industry; that there is ample employment for emigrants, at highly remunerating wages, without the interruption in this mild climate, experienced in colder countries during the winter months; and that even during the worst period of the past severe drought, no persons, able and willing to work, found any difficulty in procuring advantageous employment.

3. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, the high prices of provisions during the seasons of drought occasionally experienced, are felt rather by the employers of labour than by the servants themselves, it being the practice in this colony for masters to supply their servants and their families with provisions on a liberal scale, in addition to their wages.

4. Resolved, That this Council equally concurs with

their Committee, that every department of industry is cramped, and that no undertaking, public or private, can be prosecuted except at great disadvantage, in consequence of the exorbitant rate of wages and the difficulty of procuring mechanics, workmen, or servants, especially shepherds, upon any terms whatsoever; and this Council cannot but view with apprehension the check which must be given to the advancing prosperity of the colony, unless the urgent demand for labour which exists in every part of the colony be promptly and effectually supplied.

5. Resolved, That this Council recommends the insertion as a condition in each promise of bounty, that a return be made quarterly, to the Land and Emigration Board in London, of the number and description of persons sent out under it, in order that, in the event of the aggregate number proving less than required, ships may be chartered by Government, or other means adopted, to provide for such deficiency.

6. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, it is highly desirable that all ships in which emigrants may be brought to this colony, whether by the government or under the bounty system, should be conducted on temperance principles.

7. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, there can be no more advantageous field for the employment of industry than is presented in New South Wales; experience proving that able-bodied, sober, industrious, and careful emigrants, may, within a few years after their arrival, rise from the condition of labourers to be themselves employers of labour; by

which process, and by the progressive increase of the flocks and herds of the colony, a constant demand for additional labourers is created, sufficient to remove all apprehension of a dearth of employment for as many as may arrive.

8. Resolved, That this Council would particularly instance the large and increasing sums at the credit of the working classes in the Savings' Bank of New South Wales, as affording gratifying evidence of their prosperous condition, the deposits having increased from 24,469*l.*, the amount on 31st December, 1835, to 127,000*l.*, on 31st August, 1840.

9. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, the unfavourable representations of the moral condition of this colony so extensively and industriously circulated in the mother country, with a view to deter persons from emigrating hither, are altogether unfounded as respects the emigrant and native born inhabitants, and greatly exaggerated as regards circumstances attributable to the penal character of the colony alone, the causes of immorality and inducements to crime being infinitely less amongst a population chiefly engaged in pastoral pursuits and widely dispersed, than amidst the dense population of older countries.

10. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, many important interests of the mother country are involved in the maintenance and augmentation of the resources of this colony; that fine wool may with a comparatively small amount of labour be produced in this colony to any extent required, the export from hence having increased progressively from 245 lbs., the

weight exported in 1807, to 6,597,981 lbs., in 1839; and the natural pastures of the colony affording the means entirely to relieve Great Britain from her dependence upon foreign states for the supply of this most important raw material.

11. Resolved, That great additional advantage must accrue to the mother country from the large consumption in this colony of British produce and manufactures, the declared value of which, from 1826 to 1839, according to the official returns for that period, amounted to more than eight millions sterling, having progressively increased from 280,000*l.*, the amount in 1826, to 1,251,969*l.*, in 1839; whilst the exports from the colony, including the produce of the fisheries, increased from 106,600*l.*, in the former year, to 948,776*l.* in the latter—the total amount being 6,187,530*l.* for the whole period.

12. Resolved, That the trade between the mother country and this colony, together with the whale fisheries in the adjoining seas, also affords a valuable nursery for seamen, important in this respect in proportion to the distance from Great Britain, and calculated to strengthen and secure her maritime power, and that this field for the employment of British shipping must increase with the growing prosperity of the colony; considerations which appear to this Council to constitute a strong additional claim, on the part of the colony, to the fostering care of the British Government.

13. Resolved, That the wide extent of unoccupied fertile lands in the colony, embracing every variety of

soil and climate, affords a most advantageous outlet for the superabundant population and capital of the mother country, and is capable, under careful management, and a judicious application of the proceeds, of greatly assisting to provide that supply of labour, upon which essentially depends the progressive and complete developement of the dormant resources of the colony.

14. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council, the system of sale by public auction of the Crown lands in this colony, combined as far as practicable with continuous surveys, as adopted in the district of Port Phillip, is the best mode of obtaining the real value, at the same time that it exercises a beneficial influence upon the welfare of this community, by enabling the *boná fide* settler, occupying lands for pastoral purposes, to ascertain when they are for sale, and gradually to purchase such portion of them as may be essential to his permanent establishment in the colony.

15. Resolved, That as, in the opinion of this Council, the continued influx of eligible emigrants will, in proportion to their number, increase the demand for land, enhance its value, and replenish the fund applicable to the encouragement of emigration, no temporary deficiency in its amount (the reverse of which is happily the case at present) should be allowed to interrupt the requisite supply of labour; and this Council would therefore express an earnest hope, that Her Majesty's Government will at all times be ready to assist this important dependency of the crown, in a matter so materially affecting its interests, under a full assurance of the certain and speedy reimbursement

of any advance which may be made for promoting so vital an object.

16. Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be respectfully requested to communicate a copy of these Resolutions to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(Signed) WILLIAM MACPHERSON,
(A true copy.) *Clerk of Councils.*

[** The Australian colonist, it should be borne in mind, is debarred by a British Act of Parliament from availing himself of his proximity to India, and drawing thence a cheap and plentiful supply of labourers. He is therefore limited by statute in the choice of his market, and becomes of necessity dependent on immigration from the United Kingdom.

In considering the social condition of Australia, it should also be remembered, that not only are there clergy and teachers to pay, but churches and schools to build; not only roads and bridges to construct, but whatever distinguishes the life of civilized man from the uncertain existence of the wandering savage is to be provided for, and all by the colonists themselves.

If it be intended to give permanency to society, to render the colonists something more than mere depasturers of the waste, Great Britain should consider them as *colonists*, and not as individuals permitted to exist solely for the benefit of the mother country.—E. M.]

COLONIAL POLICY.

The impulse given to the Australian colonies by the tide of spontaneous immigration, was leading to the gradual extension of settlements in various parts of New Holland, and particularly along the east coast, so graphically described in the preceding pages, when in 1840, a commission was appointed, which, according to the rumour of the day, was to be the commencement of a new era in colonization. The Commissioners were Mr. Elliot, the Hon. E. Villiers, and Colonel Torrens.

The general introduction of labourers into the Australian settlements, a measure essential to their prosperity, had been long known to be the special and most urgent want of the colony of New South Wales. It would, therefore, have been a great and worthy object, well deserving the undivided attention of a commission, to have devised measures by which the largest possible portion of the money raised within its territory by the sale of land, might be applied towards promoting the immigration thither of the poor of the United Kingdom.

Upon this point, however, it does not appear that the opinion of the Commissioners was even required. It was not to the ultimate application of the funds, but to the management of the sales of land, that their attention was directed. In conformity therewith, the Commissioners not only recommended the adoption of the South Australian plan of selling land at a uni-

form price, but there followed upon their recommendation a proposition to parcel out the long recognized and established territory of New South Wales into three sections, described under the names of a northern, a middle, and a southern district. The middle was to be the Sydney district, and in this section the sale of land by auction was to continue in force—a mode of sale which has been found to work with such effect, that during a period of ten years, up to 1840 inclusive, upwards of 1,000,000*l.* sterling has been invested in the purchase of lands in various parts of the colony, by a population not numbering more than 120,000 souls.

But although the system of sale was to continue unchanged in the so called central district, this division of the country would have been left, by the new arrangement, almost without lands to sell, for those which were of any value had been, in great part, previously allocated.

Much of the land beyond the proposed confines was held by the colonists under license from the local government, to depasture them with their flocks and herds; and five out of eight rural districts, into which these lands were divided, were, according to this project, to have formed no part of the central district, including three actually proclaimed counties. So far as the superficial area of this triple division is concerned, it might appear that a greater portion would be left to,—than cut off from,—the Sydney district; but it so happened, by some untoward chance, that the parts which were severed were the most valuable, while, on the other hand, a large portion of that which was left was useless.

The limits to which, as respects the coast line, it was thus designed to restrict the colonists, had always been deemed by them mere county borders, for purposes of local regulation and arrangement; but if frontier boundaries had been desirable, especially on the south, to separate the Sydney and Port Phillip districts, such limits would have been found in those mountains which, until recent years, have proved a barrier to the flocks and herds of the colonists of New South Wales, now depasturing every valley accessible from the inner, or northern side. A part of this mountain range projects into the sea near Cape Howe, latitude $37^{\circ}40'$, and was the first headland seen by Captain Cook when he discovered the coast of New South Wales in 1770. He named it the Ram's Head, an appellation almost prophetic of the golden fleece, by means of which a then unproductive region was in a few years to become a valuable possession to the crown*. This remarkable headland is viewed by the settlers as a well defined landmark, placed there by nature, to point out the commencement of the territory which Providence would seem to have assigned to this colony.

Independently of these considerations, the inhabitants derive their supplies from towns connected with the port of Sydney, and, so far from having any kind of relation with Port Phillip on the south, about 500 miles distant, they are not only more remote, but are also separated from it by lofty masses of mountains, extremely difficult to traverse, excepting by a circuitous route leading round their western extremity.

* See 10th Resolution of the Legislative Council, page 13.

These individuals, therefore, deem it a very serious grievance, that their long established connexion with the seat of Government at Sydney should be so far disturbed, that for every purpose connected with the purchase of lands now occupied by them, under license or otherwise, they should be compelled to repair to Port Phillip, where it is directed, "that all charts of lands shall be kept for public inspection, and that no person in New South Wales shall be entitled to purchase land within the Port Phillip district, except by payment made to the treasurer at the town of Melbourne."

The natural course previous to the adoption and promulgation of a measure, which it might have been foreseen would unsettle all pre-existing arrangements in the colony, would have been to advise with the authorities on the spot. And if the Home Government and Sir George Gipps did not take the same view of the matter, the question might afterwards be determined by reference to some person with delegated powers to decide it. No sudden emergency had arisen, no hasty decision was required. Instead, however, of pursuing the wise course which a sound policy would have suggested, instructions for the dismemberment of a long established colony were transmitted to the governor "in the most authoritative manner in which instructions could be sent to a servant of the crown*." They were fraught, however, with so much danger both to the colony and to the best interests of the public, that his Excellency, influenced by duty to his sovereign, has suspended their execution, and

* See Sir George Gipps' declaration in Council, p. 55, 58, and 59.

referred the matter for the more deliberate consideration of Her Majesty's ministers.

This rash and ill-advised procedure of the Home Government appears to have fallen on the colony like a thunderbolt*. And as if to convince the colonists that ultimately even more disastrous consequences awaited them, intelligence was received from England, that at the end of the last session of parliament an attempt had been made to surprise the legislature into conceding to the ministry full powers† for the dis-

* See pages 39 and 46.

† In July, 1840, the following provision was introduced into a continuance bill to renew an expiring Act of Parliament :

“Be it therefore Enacted, That, any thing hereinbefore contained to the contrary notwithstanding, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by Letters Patent to be from time to time issued under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to define, as to Her Majesty shall seem meet, the limits of the colony of New South Wales, and to erect into a separate colony or colonies any territories which now are, or which hereafter may be comprised within the said colony of New South Wales: Provided always, That no part of the territories comprised within the nineteen existing counties of Argyle, Bathurst, Bligh, Brisbane, Camden, Cook, Cumberland, Durham, Georgiana, Gloucester, Hunter, King, Murray, Northumberland, Phillip, Roxburgh, Sain Vincent, Wellington, and Westmoreland, in the said colony of New South Wales, shall by any such Letters Patent as aforesaid be detached from the said colony, but that each of the said nineteen counties shall form part of the said colony of New South Wales.”

The Bill was proceeding to a late stage in the House of Commons, when Sir Robert Peel protested against any enactment at so advanced a period of the session, authorizing a partition of the continental part of the colony. The objectionable clause was, in consequence, struck out, and another inserted, limiting in terms the power of separation to any islands which may be comprised within and be dependencies of the said colony of New South Wales. Had authority for a separation of jurisdiction in New Zealand from that of New South Wales been alone required, where was the necessity for the above enumeration of counties in New South Wales?

memberment of the colony, by the trisection of its territory, according to the ill-digested plan before referred to, in the instructions forwarded to the Governor, and which Her Majesty had been advised to enforce by her sign manual.

The colonists felt that there was no longer any security for them, when endeavours could thus be made to consign them to the fallible decision *nominally* of one responsible adviser of the crown, but virtually to subject not only their present, but also their future prospects, to the theoretical, albeit well intended, experiments suggested by Commissioners, the recommendations of whom, although not one of them had ever been in any part of Australia, the colonial minister declared, "it would be better to embody in an Act of Parliament, than to proceed rashly upon any notion he might borrow from others, or any imperfect theory he might work out for himself."

Upon receipt of information of these proceedings a general panic appears to have taken possession of the colonists. A melancholy foreboding pervaded the public mind, that reason and prudence had been banished from the Councils of the parent state, and that a colony, which in truth deserves and still requires her fostering care, was hereafter to be treated without consideration or concern for the welfare of its people.

This last act was felt the more severely, because it was one of a series of ill-advised, harsh measures, inflicted at a period when the colony had suffered from an unusually long course of unpropitious seasons. The original source, moreover, whence labour had been derived—namely, the transportation of convicts—was

at the same time suddenly stopped, without its having been ascertained whether the colony possessed or could command a sufficiency of labour to enable it to sustain, without injury, the effect of a too hasty and sudden transition, by which it was made hereafter to depend exclusively on the system of voluntary immigration.

Their territory thus threatened with curtailment on every side—their colony burthened, according to the estimate for 1841, with a charge of 347,837*l.*, to be levied by imposts, direct or indirect, on a population that, in the event of this projected partition, would barely number 100,000 souls, of every age and class—with lands remaining neither adequate in extent nor available in the market, either to provide labour or to assist in paying a portion of this heavy burthen: their resources thus diminished, their energies repressed, their prospects blighted by the almost simultaneous occurrence of so many discouraging events, the whole body of respectable colonists were bowed down by feelings of the deepest despondency.

It fortunately happened, that at this crisis, the Legislative Council was sitting, when the Bishop of Australia, having no temporal interest to serve, but swayed by the suggestions of a well-regulated mind, submitted the following petition to her Majesty, for the consideration of that Assembly, by whom it was unanimously adopted.

“TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“May it please your Majesty—We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council of New South Wales in Council assembled, in approach-

ing your Majesty on this occasion, desire to express our entire confidence in the disposition of your Majesty to promote to the fullest extent the interests of this colony, and of your subjects resident therein.

“The purport of the instructions which your Majesty was graciously pleased to issue under your royal signet and sign manual, on the 22nd May, 1840 having been publicly notified so far as relates to fixing the boundaries of the middle district of this colony, we entreat permission humbly to represent to your Majesty our apprehension that its interests would be effected by the proposed measures, in a manner which we are fully persuaded was not within your Majesty’s contemplation.

“We desire with great submission to solicit the attention of your Majesty to the contracted extent of sea-coast, comprised within the proposed boundaries, to which this portion of the colony of New South Wales would henceforth be restricted: and also to the circumstance (in our opinion of momentous import to its interests) that the present instructions of your Majesty may lead to the separation from the central division of this colony, of several extensive and important districts, the retention of which, we are persuaded, is essential to its prosperity and future greatness.

“We feel assured that your Majesty’s official advisers will be made so well acquainted with the grounds upon which this our unanimous persuasion rests, as to render it unnecessary that we should here state them to your Majesty. But we trust that we may be permitted to observe that, in addition to those objections of a public nature, which we believe to exist, any pro-

posal to detach from the existing Government those districts which we have already noticed, and to place them under a totally different system of management, could not be carried into effect without seriously disturbing the establishments and deteriorating the properties of a numerous class of your Majesty's subjects, our fellow colonists, who are in the permissive occupancy of the lands in question under licenses, the granting of which has been regulated and sanctioned by Acts of the Governor and Council.

“We profess, with the utmost sincerity, that we neither entertain any dissatisfaction with the presumed intention of your Majesty to establish other colonies on the shore of Australia, nor should we regard their erection with any feelings of jealousy. On the contrary, we thankfully acknowledge the wisdom of that measure in itself, and are sensible of its tendency to promote the welfare of this portion of the colony in particular, by affording a more extended vent for its produce. Our sole anxiety is, that at the same time that these advantages are held out to view, this central district of the colony may not be dispossessed of the ability effectually to avail itself of them; and the object of our humble petition to your Majesty is, that the establishment of the contemplated settlements may be so conducted as not to encroach upon those boundaries to which it is our unanimous opinion the inhabitants of this part of the colony can advance a natural claim, and which, with a view to their benefit, no less than that of the empire in general, we are persuaded it will be desirable permanently to establish.

“The prayer of your Majesty's loyal and dutiful

subjects therefore is, that your Majesty will be pleased to take under your gracious reconsideration, the instructions therein referred to by us, with a view to their partial modification in the particulars above expressed. We entreat your Majesty's goodness to appoint that the southern boundary of the central colony of New South Wales may be a line drawn from near Cape Howe to the source of the River Hume or Murray; and thenceforth to the course of that river, until it reaches the 141st degree of east longitude; and that the northern boundary may be the 28th parallel of south latitude from the sea coast to the same 141st degree of east longitude.

“In appealing to your Majesty for the attainment of a boon so important, we desire, at the same time, to assure your Majesty of the existence in this colony of a universal feeling of loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government, and to express, on our own behalf, the deep anxiety which we entertain that the prosperity of this and of all other parts of the British empire may be secured under the dominion of your Majesty.

“Sydney, December, 1840.”

Two Debates took place in the Council on the occasion of the consideration of the above petition, which, on account of the intrinsic interest they possess, as well as the general light they throw on the affairs of New South Wales, have been extracted from the *Sydney Colonist* of December, 1840.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10.

Present,—The Governor, the Chief Justice, the Bishop, the Commander of the Forces, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Collector of Customs, the Auditor-General, Mr. Berry, Mr. Jones, Mr. Blaxland, Mr. H. H. Macarthur, Sir John Jamison, and Mr. James Macarthur.

NEW LAND REGULATIONS.

The BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA introduced the motion of which he had given notice, by apologizing to his Excellency for having introduced a motion of such importance without having first submitted it to him, or acquainted him with the purport of it; but there were numerous circumstances which, in his opinion, justified him in using that reserve. His Excellency had received those instructions under the Sign Manual of Her Majesty, which he was of opinion, it was his Excellency's duty, rather than a matter for the exercise of his discretion, to carry into effect, and he trusted that, in acting as he had done, it would not be considered as a want of respect or confidence in his Excellency, for he had acted solely from an anxiety that his Excellency should act upon his own judgment, and that, if circumstances rendered it necessary, he might be able to say, that he had nothing whatever to do with the resolution; that he was not even aware that it was to be moved until it was brought before him in open Council. He would next explain why he moved the resolution himself. He did so solely because no other member on so short a notice appeared prepared to do so; and, to give a more substantial reason, because he thought that the instructions, if carried into effect, as originally contemplated, would have the effect of inflicting a deep and serious wound on this colony—that they would interfere with the prosperity of that community with which he was most

intimately connected. He did not mean his personal friends, or the persons with whom he was on terms of intercourse, but the welfare of the inhabitants of the colony in general—a welfare in which he could not but take a deep and sincere interest; he would be ashamed of himself if he did not take a deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of so many families, nor could he think that in doing so he was at all acting foreign to his vocation.

It so happened that neither he, nor any person connected with him, was possessed of any property in the colony of a nature likely to be affected by the proposed changes, therefore he approached the question as impartially and with as little interest as any one, and altogether on public grounds. Before proceeding to the consideration of the question, he wished to guard himself against being supposed in the slightest degree to question the right of Her Majesty to dispose of the lands adjacent to the colony in any manner that she might see fit, and the only point to which he should speak would be, to request Her Majesty to do that which it must be her desire to do, to exercise that right in a manner that would inflict as little injury and be as little to the prejudice of her subjects in this colony as possible. Another point on which he wished to guard himself, was against being supposed to impute any sinister motives to the Secretary of State or those who had advised Her Majesty to adopt the course which she had thought proper to pursue. He could not conceive the Secretary of State to be actuated by any other motive than what he considered the general interests of the empire, and he could never have contemplated any injury to that portion of the empire which we constitute.

He would, with these explanatory remarks, proceed to show upon what grounds he thought the Council could legitimately address the Queen, soliciting her to reconsider and modify the instructions that had been issued. The resolution which he should propose was not intended to frustrate, but simply to modify those instructions and to protect the best interests of the colony. The question naturally divided itself into two parts; the first related to the division of the terri-

tory, and the second to the new regulations respecting the sale of lands, and he would allude to the latter first. The first consequence of the general introduction of the proposed system would be to reduce the value of all lands of the better description throughout the colony. Let it be considered for a moment what would be the effect in England of a proclamation declaring that all lands north of the Trent should be sold at the uniform price of 5*l.* per acre; would it not have a tendency to unsettle property all over the kingdom? would it not diminish the value of it? A person having property to the south would argue that he had better dispose of his land, which was worth 40*l.* per acre, and go to the north, where he could get land equally good at 5*l.* per acre, and this would be reasonable; but could he accomplish it? A few might probably in the first instance, but as soon as the stream began to set in that direction, the price would no longer be attainable; as intending settlers increased, willing buyers would decrease.

In this colony the first place where the consequences of this new plan will be felt would be at Port Phillip, where the high price of land must come down, as soon as land in the vicinity could be had at 1*l.* per acre; it was in the nature of things that the price must be depressed, and that depression, which would be felt in the first instance there, would gradually spread until it lowered the price of land throughout the colony. He did not mean that there would be an uniform price because the Government land was sold at 1*l.* an acre, but so long as it was notorious that a person could get a section of land for 640*l.*, the price would be lowered all over the country; yet there would be as great a variety in price, as there would in the quality of the land. It appeared to him as wild a scheme to attempt to fix the price of land as to fix the price of the produce of the land; and what would be thought of an attempt to fix the price of a sheep or an ox at an uniform price, whatever its weight or quality; or to fix a uniform price for wheat, hops, or oranges? If the Government had extensive orange groves, and sold their oranges at one penny each, would that fix the price of oranges at one

penny? No ; one being four times as good as another would fetch four times that price.

Although the Government should fix the price at 1*l.* an acre, there would always be as many variations in the price of land as there were in the soil and situation. His Excellency was aware that he (the Bishop) was unwilling that the despatch of the Secretary of State should be laid before the Council, for he could not satisfy himself as to the validity of the arguments which it contained. They were founded upon an erroneous idea of the state of the colony, and as abstract propositions he could not agree with them. It appeared to him to be unnatural to adopt a system of selling lands below their acknowledged value, and calculated to lead to perplexity ; and the evils that it was proposed to prevent, he felt confident would exist if the plan was carried into execution. He would admit that there was a distinction between land and any other commodity, but the distinction was not so material as to authorize an abandonment of all general rules, and proceeding in an arbitrary method, founded on mere will and pleasure.

The first argument made use of by Lord John Russell was derived from the example of South Australia, where it was said the system had been tried and found to be so good, that it deserved to be extended. He was not prepared to say that the system pursued at South Australia had failed, but he thought it was rather early to assert that it has succeeded. In the case of South Australia, a number of people left England together, with an understanding that they were each to have a certain quantity of land at a fixed price ; they had no superabundance of capital, and were not likely to purchase more land than they intended to occupy. There was no motive at that time to induce external competition, but if the capitalists of this colony had thought it worth their while to go to South Australia and purchase land on speculation, the scheme must have failed from the very outset. The system might answer with a small band proceeding to an unoccupied country, and each taking possession of a small quantity for his own use, but as soon as there was

a superabundance of capital, and persons began to purchase land they did not occupy, the good land would be purchased, and the uniform price would not prevent the increase of capital from destroying the balance.

At Port Phillip the land varied greatly in value, as the records of the Government offices would show; and he could not think that by an uniform price the Government could put the poor newly arrived immigrant in the position of the wealthy settler. If it could be done, it would be desirable, as it would enable the man of moderate means to take possession of land and commence operations at once, but he feared it was not possible. He would find plenty of land open for selection at the land office, but it would be the refuse, after all the good land had been selected. If he happened to arrive at the fortunate moment when a newly surveyed portion was thrown open for selection, could he stand in competition with those acquainted with the localities? He feared not, and that his chance of obtaining what he wanted would be small indeed; there would be a hundred hawks' eyes looking out for the best portions of land, and a hundred old hands ready to grasp them.

The Secretary of State said that it would enable the intending settler to know exactly how much land he would enter upon, before he left England, but he differed from the noble Lord in that opinion, unless indeed the immigrant was totally indifferent as to the quality of his land, for if upon his arrival he would have his section at once, he must take that which the Government had to give him, and generally speaking he would find it more advantageous to purchase land from a person here for which he would have to give his 640*l.* order, and something additional, or if he had nothing additional then he would have to take a less number of acres. The great hope of defence against this plan, according to the Secretary of State, depended upon a rapid survey, and having a large quantity of land always open to selection. With respect to the rapid survey, the Council had evidence last session of the difficulty of effecting it. If Generals Roy and Mudge, and all the staff that

assisted them in the trigonometrical survey of England, were sent to this colony they could not keep up the survey of the land, if sold for less than its value; the demand would always exceed the supply; there would always be a stock of second and third rate land on hand, but as to the good land, to use the language of trade, it would always be impossible to keep a stock on hand.

The effect of this system would be that there would always be two buyers; those who would purchase from Government at less than the land was worth, and the other that would purchase from those parties at its true value, and to the gain of those parties, which would be so much lost to the Government for not selling by auction. This argument related only to the sale of land in which at present we had not a direct interest, but the other question, that of the division of the colony, concerned us more nearly and directly; and he would proceed to state what he considered to be the evils that would probably arise if it were carried into effect, according to the instructions from the Secretary of State. The first evil that he feared would be the consequence, would be the entire destruction of the system of depasturing under license. It was of course within the knowledge of the Council, that by the instructions, five out of eight districts into which the country beyond the boundary was divided, would be cut off from the colony. When the instructions appointing the Land and Emigration Commissioners were laid before the Emigration Committee, he felt something more than an apprehension that some measure like that now proposed would be attempted, and he accordingly introduced into the report those arguments which he would not repeat to the Council, but which would be found in pages four and five of the report, and those arguments he must say he did not think had been met by any documents that had been received.

Before proceeding further, he would state what in his opinion, would be some of the results of cutting off these districts from this colony. These districts comprised seventeen thousand square miles, of which six thousand five

hundred and seventy-six miles, or upwards of four millions of acres, were to be cut off. Now so far as comparison of extent went, it would appear that a greater portion would be left than cut off, *but it so happened that by some ill-natured chance, that part which was cut off was the most valuable, and a large portion of that which was left was useless.* The number of stations beyond the boundaries was six hundred and seventy-three, of which we were to lose four hundred and eighty-nine: there were upwards of six thousand acres under cultivation, of which four thousand were to be cut off, and of the free inhabitants beyond the boundaries, two thousand seven hundred were to be declared as belonging to other colonies, and the number of sheep and cattle were in the same proportion. It must be evident, therefore, that the utter destruction of the depasturing system would be effected. This system it must be remembered rested upon two pillars, the first of which was occupation; and he must say that he thought the country was much indebted to the Judges for the firmness with which they had put a stop to the intrusion upon the stations of any one beyond the boundary, and thus protected the occupant. The second was, that every person who possesses a station knows that the land so occupied could not be sold without due notice, and that then the occupant might come in competition with any person, and if he pleased bid enough to purchase it.

He might be asked how these pillars were to be affected by the measure to be introduced. While the districts remained under the government of his Excellency the Governor, the squatters might be sure that the land would not be surveyed in any way prejudicial to their interests. under another Government the survey might be directed to the Murrumbidgee and Murray, which would expel most of the squatters in that district, and where, he would ask, was the security against a rapid survey of this nature? As had been observed by his Excellency, it was evident that the measures proposed were only preliminary to the separation of the present Government into separate colonies. The main feature in the proposed system was to survey as

rapidly as possible, and it might be mere matter of duty with those who should have the management of the other colonies to have these districts surveyed at once, and as soon as they were surveyed and set out in charts, the lands might be applied for by any person.

Under these circumstances no man could carry on the system of depasturing on lands beyond the boundaries, which was now considered next to actual ownership. The land might be suddenly put up for selection at Melbourne or Moreton Bay, and a party would be obliged suddenly to move off, and forsake all the improvements he had made, or, at however ruinous a sacrifice, must provide funds and purchase the land himself. The evidence before the Immigration Committee showed that a person might occupy land, to purchase which 9600*l.* would be necessary, for 20*l.* a-year, and this system would be entirely put an end to. A man's being turned out of his station might depend upon half minutes; upon the mere shutting of a door, or the untying of a shoestring, which might allow a person to get to the Treasury before him, and buy his station over his head.

The next great apprehension which he felt was, that the Immigration Fund would be annihilated. The Council would bear in mind that the proceeds of the sales of lands, in five out of the eight districts annexed to the colony, were to be placed not in the Treasury in Sydney, but in the Local Treasuries, and the only resource for the colony would be the land included in the nineteen counties named in the proclamation of 1829; and any person acquainted with those nineteen counties must know that during the last forty years that the system of grants was in force, and the last few years that there had been sale by auction, they had been ransacked over and over again, and it could not be expected that there could be any but a trifling revenue, and that in a few years it must fail altogether. In the train of evils arising from the cessation of the Immigration fund, he foresaw the decay of commerce in this port; he did not assume that it would vanish at once, but he thought that it would be hopeless to look for any augmentation. There had been a large productio of wool called into existence,

and a large commercial body : a revenue that was very large, he might say marvellous, and the expenditure of which had enabled the settlers to transform the wilderness of yesterday into the scene of improvement and order that was now to be seen ; and besides this enabled them to buy land, the produce of which had landed thousands of industrious families on our shores, who were changing the face of the country ; and if the division proposed was carried into effect, all these sources of prosperity would be cut off.

It might be said, if there were labourers at Melbourne, or at Moreton Bay, they would come to Sydney if they were paid, but then the question would arise, if we should have money to pay them. The revenue arising from five districts of the colony, it must be remembered, would go into other treasuries, and the emigrants would be landed at other ports ; and where the emigrants arrived, there would be the great demand for produce of all descriptions ; there stores would be built and merchants would congregate ; where ships arrived, there would the wool be carried for shipment ; and there would the supplies be purchased for the stations, and there would the money circulate.

He hoped he was not an alarmist, but considering what effect the alterations were likely to have, and having stated these facts, he must leave it to the Council and the public to consider whether he had formed his opinion without reason. Then came the question of how were these difficulties to be met ? The lowering of the price of land would affect the interests of the colony ; but if land were cheap it would enable persons to settle more easily, and therefore he looked upon that as the slightest evil ; but the other evil would be heavy, and the effect ruinous ; and he must ask how they could be averted ? and he thought that no better way could be hit upon than the resolution he was about to move, that a petition to Her Majesty should be drawn up, praying that there might be such a modification of the limits of the colony as would include Port Macquarie, Liverpool Plains, Maneroo Plains, and the Murrumbidgee, by which the system of depasturage would not be interfered with, and the

land in those districts could be brought to sale as required, and thus the introduction of labouring immigrants could be continued, who would be gradually rising to independence, and purchasing land by which other immigrants might be brought out.

He would now proceed to describe to the Council the limits which he thought the Council should request Her Majesty graciously to be pleased to assign to this colony. Nothing could be more feasible than that, in the disposal of these districts, the interests of the colony should be consulted, as they were covered by the flocks and herds belonging to the colonists. He did not say it boastfully, but he would ask Her Majesty's Government what would Port Philip or South Australia have been at this moment but for this colony? It might be that those colonies could now stand alone, and he rejoiced at it, but it must not be forgotten that from the abundance of this colony they had drawn their sustenance.

He would call attention to the quantity of sea-coast assigned to this colony and to Port Philip. This colony was to be confined to the coast from the Manning River to the County St. Vincent, while Port Philip was to have from St. Vincent to the boundary of South Australia, more than double the amount of this colony including the harbour of Twofold Bay, which would never have been of the slightest importance, but for the shipment at it of the stock and produce of this colony. He was of opinion that the coast of this colony should extend to Cape Howe, or rather the Ram Head near Cape Howe, from which a line could easily be drawn to the source of the Hume or Murray; to the northward he thought the boundary should be the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth parallel of latitude, from the sea, to the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude. The Ram Head was the first point seen by Captain Cook, which he fixed the exact position of, and, therefore, it might naturally be considered the commencement of the colony to which he gave the name of New South Wales.

He would ask, to whom should the Hume and Murray

belong but to the inhabitants of New South Wales? It was first crossed by Mr. Hume and Hovell; afterwards traced by Captain Sturt, and subsequently explored to a considerable extent by Sir T. Mitchell; the former under the orders of Sir R. Darling, and the latter under those of Sir R. Bourke, and at the expense of the people of this colony. The land deservedly given to Captain Sturt, as a reward for his discoveries, was within the boundaries of the western colonies, and it would be anomalous were the reward for the discovery to be in this colony and the result to be given to another. The boundary to the northward would combine the rivers in that direction, particularly the Darling, the source of which was traced by Sir Thomas Mitchell; and he would take this opportunity of bearing tribute to the zeal with which that officer, after whose name that river was usually called, always entered into the subject of Australian discovery: his instructions upon the point were eminently judicious, and their success was corresponding; there was another officer to whom he would also bear tribute, the late Mr. Allan Cunningham, who explored the country in the neighbourhood of Port Macquarie. These gentlemen, it must be remembered, were in the service, and receiving the wages of New South Wales.

He would take the liberty of mentioning how desirable it was that the discoveries should be pursued, and that the Hume should be traced from the point where it was quitted by Sir Thomas Mitchell. This was an opening in the field of science which he would suggest to His Excellency might be filled by him with honour to his government, and advantage to the interests of science. Upon the grounds that he had adduced, he would request the concurrence and support of the Council in drawing up a petition to Her Majesty, that we might retain the sources of the rivers which our own energies have traced and discovered, and that we might retain possession of those districts which were covered with the property of the residents in this colony. All that he (the Bishop) would contend for, the five districts that were to be taken from the colony were in an intermediate state,

neither settled nor unsettled, but in all their features they had a greater resemblance to New South Wales than to South Australia, and they should be placed on the same principle as that colony to which they had the greatest resemblance.

Two systems might be introduced, and he thought that that system should be preferred which would lead to the least interference with interests already created. There was nothing so sacred in the principle of a fixed price that it must be carried into effect at all hazards, without reference to the private feelings that might be wounded, or interests that might be laid prostrate in its course; his views on the matter were as much directed to the future as the present. He was anxious to retain what he would call such a scantling that we might in time become a first-rate nation, and he thought that Her Majesty's ministers should recommend Her Majesty to give us such a portion of territory and coast as will enable New South Wales to take a leading part in the affairs of this hemisphere, and maintain at the antipodes the dignity of the English empire.

He had made these remarks with no jealous feelings, for there would be plenty of room for other colonies after suitable provision had been made for us. The Council was aware how much had undeservedly been said against this colony, and he trusted the Council would show how undeservedly, by the stand they should take upon this question; by showing that they were capable of discussing this question, not in a contracted view, but with the feelings which ought to actuate the subjects of a great nation like England. He had no doubt himself that when the question was brought under the consideration of the Queen, Her Majesty would enter into the feelings of her subjects, and thus give increased stability to her throne, by securing the lasting affections of the people of this colony. With these remarks, he would move the adoption of the resolution of which he had given notice:—

“That this Council, under a serious apprehension of the injury likely to be sustained by the colony of New South

Wales, in regard to its staple produce, and the important interests of revenue, commerce, and population, through the dismemberment of so large a portion of the territory now annexed to it, as would be occasioned by the adoption of the limits assigned by the Royal Instructions of the 22nd May, 1840; do present a humble and dutiful Address to Her Majesty, soliciting Her Majesty's gracious reconsideration of the same, and praying that Her Majesty will be pleased to appoint such other limits to the colony as may secure to it the course of the principal rivers within the territory, which have been discovered and explored by the enterprise, and at the expense of the settlers; and in addition to the nineteen counties, of which it is proposed that the colony should consist, may preserve the union of one government of these districts beyond the present limits of location which have not only been peopled from the colony, and occupied by stock, the property of residents within it, but must always continue united with it by the closest ties of common origin and interest."

Mr. JONES rose to second the motion which had been brought forward, and so ably supported by his Lordship. *These new regulations had indeed come upon the colony like a thunderbolt, and if their effects could not be averted, none could tell the mischief that would ensue.* His lordship had stated that he had been induced to take the matter in hand by gentlemen connected with the landed interests of the colony; he was himself one of the number who had directed his lordship's attention to the matter. It was a great misfortune for this colony, as he had often before had occasion to say, that we had no person at home to represent us as we should be represented, and we therefore became the victims of every misrepresentation, of every calumny that was heaped upon us. Rumour came often with her thousand tongues to dishearten and dismay, but seldom indeed was rumour so speedily followed by the infliction of a mortal wound as in this instance. When the rumour of these intentions of the Home Government spread amongst us, he doubted,—not now that this despatch which had been laid

before them was already in the hands of His Excellency; unwilling, however, to cause pain with unnecessary haste, His Excellency had kept it back as long as his duty would permit him, but now we were in full possession of the matter. We were governed at home, not by Her Majesty, nor by her Government, *but by a Board of Commissioners, who could not be favourable to the interests of the colony.* Indeed, if they were not enemies to the colony they would not thus attempt dividing it into petty Governments, to ruin it for ever.

New South Wales had stood on its own legs for fifty years; it had increased in wealth and prosperity, and was still progressing; and not only had it been able to support itself, but out of its abundance to assist and to establish its sister colonies. If Her Majesty and her Ministers should not take notice of the representations, which he doubted not this Council would unanimously agree to, then indeed New South Wales would henceforth be a body without members, without any sources of support. The rivers which we had discovered, and which had been explored at our expense, would be taken from us. The Home Government must ere this be well aware of the nature of the system of licensing to depasture on Crown lands, and its advantages; yet if these regulations were carried into effect that system would be utterly destroyed. It would amount to a destruction and a subversion of the properties of those individuals who had been most active in improving and extending the colony.

By these regulations New South Wales was to consist of nineteen counties; the other districts might spread far and wide—to the east and the west, and the south, and have nine hundred counties if they chose. Then again, there would be three governments and three legislatures! what would be law in one colony would not be law in another, and each district would have its own local ordinances; and a debtor by crossing a river, and thus placing himself within the boundaries of another government, might defy all his creditors on the opposite bank. This was one of the minor evils which must result from such a division as that pro-

posed. The principal evil however was, as he had before said, the destruction of that system of depasturing on Crown lands by license, which had proved of such immense advantages to the colony.

It was very singular, too, how the Home Government could have come to the determination to effect such an important change as that proposed, without any communication with the local government, and those who were best acquainted with the wants and circumstances of the colony. How little attention could have been paid to the course adopted for the extension of the colony from the time of Governor Macquarie down to and under the administration of Sir George Gipps. Surely if that system had been bad some difference of opinion would have arisen, and it would have been altered. It was not so; and why should that system not be continued, rather than endanger the prosperity of the colony by the introduction of an entirely new system? Our maritime interests too were aimed at; instead of the numerous sea-ports which New South Wales formerly boasted as her own, she would now have but one poor miserable solitary port pertaining to her on the south, and that was Jarvis Bay. The system of selling lands by auction, which was so much recommended in the resolutions adopted some few weeks ago by the Council, was also broken in upon. From this however, he did not apprehend so much evil; land sharks and schemers might come out from England in the hope of obtaining choice portions, but he thought they would be disappointed; they would find that the old colonists had been beforehand with them, and that the best land was already gone. But even admitting all this; why, he would ask, should we be burthened with any new system at all? Why should not lands still be put up to auction in the public market, and the profits, which else must go to the private speculator, be put into the public treasury? None could doubt that this colony was entitled to its fair proportion of the funds derived from the sale of all lands throughout the whole territory hitherto known as New South Wales.

We should remember, too, that there was to be an extensive surveying staff sent to Melbourne; there would be new governorships and new judgeships, and other offices innumerable; where was the money to come from? We had already had to pay for Port Phillip; we were now supporting New Zealand, and by and bye, if these regulations were enforced, we should probably be called upon to provide for the establishment of the future kingdom of Moreton Bay! Our own expenditure under any circumstances must be retrenched, and this brought him to another important point in the matter. Want of labour was the universal cry; and but a short time ago His Excellency had himself expressed his opinion that 10,000 emigrants per annum would not be too many for our wants; but while we were pluming ourselves on having a full treasury enabling us to meet these wants, this fatal blow was pending, which was to deprive us of our land fund, and steal away every means we had of procuring that labour which was necessary to cultivate our lands. It was pretended that this system was intended to benefit the newly arrived emigrant, to prevent land-sharking, but he had no hesitation in saying, that, if the regulations were carried into effect, there would be more land-sharking in one year, than there had been since New South Wales became a British colony. Some time ago, when the South Australian Commissioners asked the Secretary of State for a salary, he took occasion to bow them out, and then he appointed the board whence these regulations had emanated.

Mr. Elliot was the Agent-General for Emigration, and Colonel Torrens another member of the board, who was avowedly the worst enemy New South Wales ever had, was transferred from the South Australian Commission to a seat in this board. The effect of these proceedings would be, that, unless the Council and the colonists came forward energetically and at once to rebut these new regulations, this colony must be ruined for ever. This new-fangled system of selling at a fixed price was abetted only by theoretical speculators, men who sat down and wrote books about colonies without having ever seen a colony. By and bye,

too, we should have a Governor-General to maintain at some 10,000*l.* a-year with all dependencies. The honourable member concluded by saying, that in his opinion His Excellency had been most shabbily treated in the matter; no such regulations ought ever to have been issued without at least consulting him; and if it were not a direct insult, he could not look upon it otherwise than a slight designedly put upon His Excellency; and while he was on this subject, he was happy to give his testimony and to record his opinion that no colony was ever favoured with a more honourable or more efficient set of officers than now constituted the Government of New South Wales.

The GOVERNOR was about to put the question on the motion of his Lordship the Bishop seconded by Mr. Jones, when Mr. BERRY rose to address the Council.

The honourable member said, that animadversions had been made, both by his Lordship and his friend Mr. Jones, on the conduct of the Secretary of State with regard to this colony. He had been busying himself to find some apology for his Lordship and his measures, and although he could find none for these regulations, yet he thought some excuse might be tendered for the Secretary of State himself. It was well known that Lord John Russell must have numerous dependents and retainers, and in time of peace it was very difficult indeed to provide for such persons. The creation of numerous offices, as now proposed, was the only method of getting rid of them. This was the apology he had to offer for Lord John Russell: at the same time he thought it would have been much better to have converted these dependents into a body of invulnerables to run their heads against the Emperor of China than to make places for them at the expense of this colony. It was evident from Lord John Russell's despatch that he had read some few books on America; from them he had taken his views, and he wanted to apply them here: 80 and 160 acres were spoken of,—he should like to know how many sheep could be fed upon 80 acres or upon 160 acres of land. This colony had been left to itself to work its way to prosperity;

at the end of the world, deserted and uncared for. It was not until ship-loads of our wool found their way into the English market, and the cupidity of these commissioners was aroused, that we were noticed at all. Why could they not let us alone? Port Phillip and South Australia had prospered through our means, and even now we were expected to provide supplies for the China fleet. With reference to the system of depasturing on license, he had been referring to the returns of the number of sheep depasturing without the limits of the colony, and he found that they were more in number than there were in all the other British colonies put together; and if those regulations were carried into effect that system would be destroyed, and our prosperity would be at an end. If these regulations were carried into effect, the divisions proposed under them would at once sow the seeds of rebellion, which would go on rankling in the breasts of the colonists, and which the British empire would rue when Lord John Russell and the South Australian Commissioners were mouldering to dust.

Mr. H. H. MACARTHUR said he had come unprepared to grapple with a question of so great magnitude, of such vital importance. His honourable friend Mr. Jones, had said that these regulations had come upon us like a thunderbolt, but they resembled more an earthquake threatening to involve the colonists of New South Wales in one universal ruin; and when he said New South Wales, he did not mean that portion which according to these regulations was henceforth to be called by that name, but also Melbourne and the other dependencies. From the general tenor of the Despatch he had come to the conclusion that Lord John Russell was actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the colony, but it was equally apparent that he had been misled and grossly deceived by some parties entertaining deep ill-feeling and most sinister intentions towards this colony.

It was proposed that parties should be allowed to purchase lands in this colony in London; how could it be done with any certainty? What security could be given to an emigrant that when he came here he would not find the land

he imagined his own, pre-occupied by a purchaser who had bought it on the spot? He could not admit of any distinction between Port Phillip and the other parts of this colony. Every one here must be well aware that a great portion of the real property of the residents in this colony was in the distant locations, and he could see nothing in the proposed divisions but one utter ruin, which would involve the whole of the colonists. He was, in fact, at a loss to express himself, but he could not help remarking on the evident inconsistency which marked the proceedings of the Home Government. While they were uniting the Canadas under one Government because they had not prospered separately, they were about to dismember this colony, which had arisen under one Government to a prosperity unequalled in the annals of colonization, and utterly to destroy that prosperity, by dividing it into petty districts and governments.

SIR JOHN JAMISON was sorry that he must concur in the opinions just expressed by his friend, Mr. Macarthur, and like him, although unprepared, he was unwilling to give a silent vote on this occasion. To him it appeared, however, that the grand and only object of the Secretary of State and the Ministers at home, was to ruin this colony by dismembering it, and dividing it into petty districts, so as to destroy our resources, and annihilate our power. Lord John Russell appeared determined to render us so poor, that we should no longer be able to resist the encroachments of enemies, and in fact to do everything he could to discourage us. He perfectly agreed in the necessity of addressing Her Majesty on the subject.

Mr. JAMES MACARTHUR next addressed the Council. He could not, he said, for one moment entertain any apprehension that Lord John Russell, or any Secretary of State, or any branch of Her Majesty's Government would attempt deliberately to crush or to injure any country forming a part of Her Majesty's dominions, however distant it might be. With regard to these new regulations, however, he trembled when he thought of the consequences which must ensue if they were carried into effect; and if Lord John Russell could

be amongst us for a few months, and see things as they really were, so as to form a deliberate and dispassionate opinion, he was sure from the high character which his lordship had attained as a statesman, that things would be very differently ordered.

Unfortunately for us his lordship had but lately come into the office in which he now held, and was surrounded by difficulties. It was the more unfortunate too, that at the very time he should be beset by a party in the House of Commons, which, though small, was active and influential, and constantly intriguing on this subject. When he said this, he did not attribute any evil motives, or sinister intentions to these parties; they might be mistaken in their ideas, and they might think that the system that they were advocating was conducive to the highest advantages. He believed, in fact, that that party in the House of Commons, whom he would denominate Wakefieldians, and who supported the principles of that system on which these regulations were founded, did really consider that their system of colonization would lead to the highest results, and encourage emigration more than any other system.

He was willing to admit that the theory was plausible, that it read well; and it was said to have stood the test of experience. He had not had an opportunity of reading the whole of Colonel Torrens' works on the subject, but he believed he was a most able and zealous advocate and supporter of Mr. Wakefield's views. South Australia was constantly pointed at as a proof of the efficiency of the system; but what proof was there that South Australia had succeeded? But a few days ago the July number of *The Edinburgh Review* had been put into his hands, and in it there was an article on this subject; he regretted that he had it not with him, but he was not aware that this subject was to come under discussion, and he had laid the book on one side, intending to return to it at some future time. The writer of that article, in alluding to the system of selling lands at an uniform price, remarks that South Australia is constantly advanced, as a proof of the feasibility of the

scheme and its success, but where was the proof of this success? We had been told to look at the tone of society; but then the South Australians should be asked, where are your wool bales, or where are your crops of corn? and until these were produced, no society could be maintained.

He was the more anxious to revert to the opinions expressed in that article, because from the character of the review, and the spirit in which it was conducted, such expressions of opinion would have more influence than if they could be attributed to an interested colonist opposed to the South Australian system. Before proceeding any further with the subject, he would advert to that part of the speech delivered by his lordship, the Bishop, where he recommended the Council to consider this question, not narrowly, or as a colonial question merely, but as an Imperial question; not as one affecting only the nineteen counties of which New South Wales was intended to consist, but as effecting the whole territory or rather the whole island; as effecting a part of the British Empire, and connected with the highest interests of the empire itself. The interests of the British Empire were best promoted by those measures which were calculated to relieve it of its surplus population, and people its colonies in America as well as Australia, and it did, indeed, appear to him very rash to abandon a system which had answered well, for a plan, of the efficacy of which there was no proof, and which as far as he had heard or read of it was not a safe plan, at all events as regarded Australia. It must be obvious to every one that there were two great causes of the success of this colony; these were the advantages of unbounded pasturage, and the use of convict labour in the cultivation of those advantages.

By cultivation, however, it must be equally obvious that he meant a very different sort of cultivation to that thought of by Lord John Russell, and others, in whom these regulations had originated. They were not aware that it was impossible to carry out such a plan in this colony. As a native of this colony, if he had never visited other countries, he might readily be supposed to be ignorant of

the principles which would apply to them, but having passed his life in this country he could not be ignorant of the great advantages derived from the extent of natural pasturage. As to the effect of an uniform price, he should form quite a different conclusion to that which Lord John Russell appeared to have arrived at. The effect would be, in his opinion, to force into cultivation bad lands, while the good lands would be kept back until they realized a price, not their present, but their prospective value. The British capitalist, or the foreign capitalist, by means of British agents, would be able to buy up all good lands, and the *bonâ fide* colonist would be compelled to buy these good lands at an enormous advance, or to cultivate inferior lands.

He (Mr. Macarthur) was not aware until last night that this subject was to come under consideration, and had not, therefore, time to prepare himself for the discussion, and he trusted, therefore, that his Excellency and the Council would bear with him in the somewhat rambling and discursive manner in which he treated it. Those portions of the territory, however, which were to be taken from New South Wales were most valuable; there were large tracts of land on the Brisbane and Clarence Rivers as valuable as the lands on the Hawkesbury, and communication with Sydney was equally easy. Another strange principle was embodied in these regulations. There were no sites to be reserved for inland towns; but it appeared to him as essential that there should be sites reserved for inland towns as for any other town. It was not natural that the face of the country should always be covered with herds, and peopled only here and there by stockmen; towns were daily springing up in all directions, and why should those profits go into the pockets of private speculators and land-jobbers which ought legitimately to come into the public treasury for public purposes?

He was speaking some few days ago with some gentlemen who had left England for New Zealand, equally enamoured with Mr. Wakefield's system as its most strenuous

advocate at home ; they had observed the manner in which it worked, and they now deemed it a fallacy. He had already observed, that he could not for a moment believe that her Majesty's government entertained any sinister intentions towards this colony, but he could not help thinking that those in the Colonial Office had not consulted those persons in England who are best informed upon the subject, and best qualified to give an opinion. *Major Sir T. Mitchell must have been in London at the time these regulations were under consideration, and if he had been consulted on the subject he could not have done otherwise than offer decided objections to the proposed plan, and his well known talents and knowledge of the subject would have given that weight to his objections which they would have deserved.* In the second volume of Major Mitchell's New South Wales, which his Excellency now had before him, was a map drawn by him, in which were marked out the limits which he thought ought to be given to this colony. The northern boundary, it would be seen on reference to that plan to be fixed to fifty miles to the northward of Moreton Bay. The plan was originally suggested by himself (Mr. Macarthur), and submitted by him to the Colonial Office, and to various members of the House of Commons, in order that if a bill were introduced into the House for this colony such plan should be kept in view. Some members of the House regretted that such a plan had not been before them when they were considering the South Australian Bill, as the limits of that colony would not then probably have been allowed to include both banks of the river Murray as at present. Sir W. Molesworth, one of the three trustees appointed under the South Australian bill, assented to the justice of the plan laid down by Major Mitchell, and exerted his utmost influence to obtain the consent of the others to the alteration of the boundary.

The person who, he believed, most strenuously objected to the alteration, was now a member of that board where he feared these instructions had originated. It was a part of the Wakefieldian theory, that within a very short period,

from twenty to thirty years, by a fixed price for lands, a perfect state of society would be organized; it appeared highly improbable to him, however, for it was difficult in so short a period even to form an apple orchard. These were the splendid visions which the supporters of the South Australian system contemplated, and if the system did not succeed, they inferred, like all theorists who look at the evil without regarding the defects in their theory, that its failure was caused by some external cause, *and then they said that the fault rested with New South Wales and the system of selling lands by auction, and then set about getting up an universal fixed price system, which, he could not but fear, would end in universal ruin.*

South Australia had yet, in his opinion, to go through more than this colony had ever suffered in its worst days, and more than ever Swan River, which had been held up as an instance of the utter failure of the old system. The only means by which the colony could prosper, was by keeping up and cherishing those sentiments towards the mother country which were so frequently expressed in common conversation by use of the word Home when speaking of her; by cherishing those sentiments only could we hope to prosper, and become such a community that it may be some gratification to those who come after us, to look back on our sayings and to our doings, as a credit to them. If, however, these new regulations should be carried into effect, then indeed, as his honourable friend, Mr. Berry, had said, feelings would be engendered, and would rankle in the breasts of the colonists, which all concerned would some day or other ineffectually lament.

The resolution alluded to the discoveries which had been effected by the enterprise, and at the expense of the colonists; these discoveries had been made without even the encouragement of the Home Government. It was known that the Home Government had refused the sum of 5000*l.* which was asked for the purpose of exploring the colony. The present Governor of Van Dieman's Land, who had passed some years of his youth in this country as a mid-

shipman, was ready, and well calculated, for the enterprise, but the means were refused.

Captain King, to whom this colony was so much indebted, applied in vain to the Admiralty for a vessel to carry on the survey of Torres Straits and the sea-coast of the colony. He then applied to the Colonial Office, and was sent out to Governor Macquarie, who purchased one small vessel, and in this frail bark Captain King undertook the perilous adventure, and executed his design.

The conduct of the Home Government was however a reproach to a great empire like Britain. No notice, he believed, had been taken to this day of the discovery of the River Brisbane; it was, he believed, first discovered by a coasting vessel, and afterwards explored by Mr. Oxley, who was sent for that purpose by Sir Thomas Brisbane. Port Macquarie too, which was now to be separated from the colony, was discovered in 1818, by a party returning from a survey in the interior; soon after its discovery it was made a penal settlement, and afterwards thrown open for selection, and for many years had become an integral part of New South Wales, under the administration of his Excellency and his predecessors. Even in the Council chamber at that moment, there were persons whose nearest friends were at Port Macquarie, and if these regulations were carried into effect, if Port Macquarie was separated from New South Wales, what must be the feelings aroused by such a proceeding?

This might not be considered a statesman-like way of urging the question, but at least it was a natural way; there was a lever to the feelings of all men, and whatever nation put that lever out of place would one day rue it. Not only, however, were our feelings affected, but our interests also; the colonists of New South Wales had given a great additional value to those lands which were now to be torn from them; and great value was given to other lands surrounding them, by the presence of our flocks and our herds. Why should New South Wales be deprived of the fairest portion of her territory, in which all improvements had been effected by

the enterprise of her colonists, and all these advantages thrown into the scale of other colonies? If the principle of a uniform price were the only principle of the system, and Wakefield did not assert this, for he said that the proceeds should be applied to immigration; the instructions should take in the whole system, and not a part of it: the instructions, however, involved principles which he had never heard advocated, or attributed to the Wakefieldians. Why should the Treasury be deprived of this increased value, to put it into the pockets of a few speculators and land-sharks?

There was another consideration which had not yet been alluded to; if the colonists of these new colonies to be established on our outskirts were to profit by our past industry, why should they not pay for it? If a debtor and a creditor account could be struck, and if these districts were charged with the value which had been given to them by the industry of the colonists of New South Wales, they would be heavily indebted to us. If, as he had before said, they were to have all the advantages, they should pay something for them; at least the money which had been expended in surveys. Another portion of the despatch related to the number of acres into which land should be divided, and although he for one would not object to the land being sold in small portions, yet such a system would lead us to fear that the South Australian system of special surveys would be introduced, and parties would go all over the country to choose some 80 or 160 acres. If the proposed system was persisted in, the price of stock must rise, while land and every other species of property would be depreciated in value.

Millions, perhaps, of British capital would be introduced, and the price of stock and provisions of every description would be raised. This was a part of the subject which specially called for the consideration of the people of Sydney; to himself as a large stock-holder, and to others like him such a change might be advantageous, but he trusted that there were none amongst the colonists of New South Wales,

who would be guided by such selfish motives, but rather that all would be guided by the advice of his Lordship the Bishop, to which he had alluded in the commencement of his speech.

MR. BLAXLAND said he concurred entirely in what had fallen from his Lordship, and gave his fullest support to the resolution. At the same time, while the Council were doing all they could to avert the evil, he trusted that the public out of doors would not be inactive, but at once call a public meeting and adopt and send home the strongest possible representations against the proposed changes.

SIR GEORGE GIPPS, before putting the question on the motion, said that honourable members must be aware that the subject now under discussion was one in which it was scarcely proper for him to take any part, at all events a leading part. Indeed, it would perhaps be wiser were he to say nothing at all; he could not, however, put this question to the vote, for division he did not anticipate, without saying some few words. It would not be decorous in him to put the instructions of Her Majesty's Government under review for the purpose of cavilling at them, and, were he to attempt to defend them, he imagined that he should work but little effect on honourable members in the disposition they then were.

He would remind them, however, that every alteration in the method of disposing of Crown lands in this colony had been unpalatable when first introduced; when the system of free grants ceased, and the sale of lands by auction was introduced, the ruin of the colony was foretold; whether because it was thought that it was delivered over to the Philistines or not he did not know; he was not here at the time, and he could only speak of what he had heard; but to come to later times which came within his own experience; when the minimum price of Crown lands was raised from five to twelve shillings per acre, it was again prophesied that the colony would be ruined; whether those predictions arose from the morbid pleasure which some people appear to feel in the apprehension of total ruin he could not tell, but certain it was that the colony had not been ruined.

And although he did himself at first think that twelve shillings was too high, and had stated to some persons in private that he should prefer the price to be seven shillings and sixpence, yet he could now bear testimony to the wisdom of that measure; twelve shillings per acre was not too much, and to that increase he attributed mainly the prosperity of our land fund. The experience acquired in these two instances should make us pause before we condemned *in toto*, and without trial, any change that was proposed. He must, too, refute those opinions, which he was sorry had been expressed in the Council, that these regulations had been ordered by Her Majesty's Ministers with any other view than the most sincere desire that they might, and the most entire persuasion that they would, be beneficial to the colony.

He had to return thanks, therefore, to the two gentlemen at the bottom of the table, the Messrs. Macarthur, for the expressions of their opinion with regard to Lord John Russell. He would go farther, and perhaps farther than honourable gentlemen might think proper; but what the Messrs. Macarthur had admitted with regard to Lord John Russell, he was ready to admit with regard to the Commissioners; he could not doubt for one moment that they were persuaded that their system and these regulations would prove most advantageous to the colony. Of Colonel Torrens he knew but little; he had met him casually and conversed with him, but that was all; Mr. Elliot, however, he was always happy and proud to call his friend; honourable members were aware that he had been associated with that gentleman before he came out here; they had done many a hard day's work together, and the subject of land sales had often come under their consideration, and at that time, and when he last had the happiness of seeing Mr. Elliot, he was as warm an advocate for sales by auction as he (Sir George) was himself, and he was not aware that Mr. Elliot's views were at all changed.

It was a fact, too, that while we were complaining of Colonel Torrens being appointed a member of the Board, on

account of his predilection for the South Australian system, the South Australians were crying out, through their organs in the Press at home, against the appointment of Mr. Elliot, saying that he was engaged for New South Wales alone. Thus Mr. Elliot was the Philistine of the South Australians. As to Mr. Villiers, he could not say whether he was in favour of the one system or the other; but supposing that he stood between the two, Mr. Elliot was a match for Colonel Torrens, and no great mischief could ensue. For himself, (continued the Governor,) he was no advocate of the South Australian system; he had frequently said so in the Council; and he had stated his opinions on the subject much more strongly in his communications to the Secretary of State. He was glad, however, to find that even by these regulations, neither the special-survey system, nor the playing with dice for town allotments of South Australia, was to be introduced into this colony. The system of selling lands at a fixed price appeared to him to be fallacious even in theory; but if it were kept within proper limits, he did not think much harm could come of it. It must be remembered, too, that when 1*l.* per acre was fixed upon as the price of country lands, it was supposed by Her Majesty's Government that the country lands at Port Phillip had only averaged 16*s.* 3*d.* per acre, and town allotments were supposed to have averaged 130*l.* He could not say whether the Commissioners would have made such recommendations if they had known that the country lands had averaged 2*l.* 5*s.* per acre, and the town allotments 500*l.* per acre. He doubted much whether they would have done so; and on this account, with the advice of, and supported by, the Executive Council, he had deferred the carrying into effect of these instructions with respect to Port Phillip. *These instructions had come to him in the most authoritative manner in which instructions could be sent to a servant of the Crown.* They did not come merely in the despatch which had been read to the Council, but with an order under the sign manual of Her Majesty, instructing him to carry them immediately into effect. True it was that he incurred great responsibility in not carrying

them into effect, but he had felt himself justified in not doing so with regard to Port Phillip. Melbourne, it was true, was excepted from these instructions, but surrounding Melbourne there was a large portion of land yet unsold, worth from 10*l.* to 300*l.*, 400*l.*, and 500*l.* per acre; he did not know what quantity there was as yet, but a surveyor was now employed in making returns; and, when they were made, they would be referred to two officers of the Government who were most conversant with the sale and value of lands, in order to ascertain what they would have fetched at the uniform price, and to make an estimate of what they would bring at auction.

There was also a reserve for the extension of the town; what its extent was he did not know, but he had been informed that it was worth 400*l.* per acre. If it had been put up at the uniform price of 1*l.* per acre, what a glorious scramble there would have been; Honourable Members he dared say would have been glad to be present; he should not himself have disliked it. He had asked a gentleman from Port Phillip, Mr. Dutton, what he thought would be the consequence if lands at Port Phillip were put up at 1*l.* per acre; and his answer was, that there would indeed be a glorious scramble: and Mr. Dutton added, that if he could get an early hint of the matter he could easily clear 50,000*l.*, some 300*l.* or 400*l.* in the bank would be sufficient for the speculation. *As he had before said, he could not state precisely the loss to the Treasury, but he had ordered an estimate to be made:* still this would only be an estimate. Fortunately, however, he had facts, indisputable and undeniable facts, to show that if we had gone on the South Australian system, from the time that Port Phillip was first opened for selection, selling orders at 1*l.* per acre, *and playing with dice for town allotments, we should have received at least 153,000*l.* less into the Treasury than we had received.*

It would, indeed, be too bad after this, if the Commissioners continued to say that we gave away our land for nothing, and that they were the true philosophers who had

found out the only way to sell it at a profit, and to create a revenue. It had been a part of the artifice of those who favoured the South Australian system, to make people believe that, unless the whole system was adopted, no portion of it could be, and that those who were opposed to it wished the system of free grants to be continued. He would, however, say it for himself and for the Council, that there was not one amongst the South Australian colonists who was more anxious to get money for land and apply it to immigration than they were. It must not, however, be thought these regulations were framed with a desire to injure the colony, or to create patronage. *It could not for one moment be supposed that a Secretary of State, or any one else in England, could sit down at home and concoct plans for the ruin of a country, for whose advancement, and for the furtherance of whose interests, their offices were specially created.*

He was not an advocate for the South Australian system, because it attempted to make that equal which Nature had made unequal. The theory of forcing lands into cultivation was applicable in England, and he knew a colony, in which he had passed many years of his life, to which it would be also applicable, he meant Demerara, where cultivation, and very expensive cultivation too, was carried on to a great extent; but it would be absurd to talk of forcing lands into cultivation in New South Wales, where lands are not purchased with a view to cultivation, but for the sole purpose of grazing. It was water that gave value to land here; every one endeavoured to obtain as much river frontage as possible, and that commanded what was called the back run, for nobody would buy land without water. But gentlemen at home would scarcely know the meaning of water frontage and back run. They did not even know the meaning of the word squatting as applicable to this colony.

One of the objects of these regulations, was to prevent the dispersion of the people; now every one in New South Wales must be well aware that it were as easy to confine the Arabs of the Desert within a circle drawn on their own sands as to confine the herds of New South Wales within

any given limits; and if it were possible so to confine them there, the herds must starve and perish as surely as the Arabs. *Not all the armies of England, not a hundred thousand soldiers scattered through the bush, could drive back our herds within the limits of these nineteen counties.* The riches of the country depended upon dispersion, and it would be preposterous to attempt to prevent people from dispersing; it would be absolutely nonsense. If there were evils in dispersion, then we must bear with them, for it was out of the power of the South Australian theorists to relieve us from them. He had before said, that if Port Phillip had been opened on the uniform fixed-price system the Treasury would have been minus 153,000*l.* at this moment; and now, he would ask, what would be the effect of the Special-Survey system, and dividing the land into lots of 160 or 80 acres? The first object of all purchasers was to get as much water frontage as possible; and in this colony, in order to obtain a mile of water frontage, a purchaser must buy a square mile of land: indeed, so early was the necessity of taking care of water frontage discovered, that early Governors of this colony, in their wisdom, ordered that the maximum grants of 2560 acres should have no more than a mile of water frontage.

Now, according to the South Australian system, a person might select a portion of land, and if he got a friendly surveyor to lay it out for him, he might get the same quantity of water frontage for 160*l.*, or, if even the surveyor were not friendly, for 320*l.*, buying at the rate of 1*l.* per acre, as could be obtained in New South Wales, at the minimum price of 12*s.* per acre, for 384*l.* No one would buy back runs in New South Wales, and he did not suppose there were many in South Australia who would, except in the neighbourhood of towns where land had altogether a different value. The square-mile system here was confined to grazing lands; but there where what were called cultivation allotments, varying in extent from twenty to three hundred and twenty acres, which realized various prices, and last year there was more land sold, and a larger revenue raised here than in South Australia.

There was another part of the system which was much more specious, and had had considerable effect in inducing people to emigrate to South Australia; it is equally fallacious with the rest, but it was believed until it was exposed. It was pretended that emigrants should have their land as soon as they arrived; this might sound very well at home, but let us follow the emigrant to the colony: first he had to select his land, unless he were satisfied with sandstone, of which there would always be an abundance to give him; but if he were more difficult, and wanted good land, there were only three ways in which he could get it. The first was, that the government might give him his portion, saying there are your 80 or your 160 acres, do the best you can with it. But would he be satisfied with this? Would he not say that you favoured one more than another, that it was tyrannical; in fact, that it was as bad as all the terms to be found in the vocabulary of abuse could represent it. The next way was to have a parish or district laid out into portions, and collect a number of emigrants together either in London or here, and let them play at dice for them as the South Australian gentlemen did for the town allotments. *For himself he thought we had vice enough amongst us already, without introducing gambling, and that, too, under the sanction of public authority.* It might have worked advantageously at home, as far as the object of advocates of the system went, inasmuch as the excitement of gambling was added to the other attractions that were displayed, in order to induce people to emigrate.

The third and last way was, to let people choose for themselves, and a pretty good lot they would have to choose from. Before the system of free grants was done away with, persons came out with orders from the Secretary of State to select so many acres, and even since then, officers in the army and navy had come out with orders for selection given to them, for the same delusive reasons; namely, that they should not be exposed to the delay of auction, or be liable to be outbid. Did these parties select their lands at once, or did they delay and shilly-shally hesitating where to choose?

It was well known that many of them wasted their time and their money, and very few who came out with these orders for selection, were now residing on the lands they selected. Thence originated the practice of selling orders for selection, and emigrants arriving here with them, could continue that practice. Some of them might sell them at a profit, and it was very natural to expect, that those who are acquainted with the best parts of the country by residence, would be anxious to buy and take advantage of them. Nothing could be easier than to evade any regulations which might be made to prevent imposition.

Men of straw might be set up; the capitalist would say, here is money, go and buy such and such land for me, and when the newly arrived immigrant had obtained the land, the capitalist would take possession of it. The scheme was to give to newly arrived immigrants all the advantages of an old settler; but this was utterly impossible; no arrangement, no artifice, could ever give him that experience which the old settler would have acquired by his residence in the country, and whatever ingenious gentlemen at home might think, they would find that there were sharks here who would be able to teach them still more than they had learnt. With respect to that part of the regulations which related to the separation of the colony into separate governments, he did not view it with so much apprehension as had been evinced by honourable members this day.

He had had experience of the difficulty of governing Port Phillip, at a distance of 600 miles, and it would be a subject of congratulation so far as he was personally concerned to be rid of it. Since his arrival he had spared neither pains nor trouble to do good to that colony, and he was exceedingly glad when Mr. La Trobe arrived to assist him. Since that period, the administration of the affairs of Port Phillip might truly be said to have been the administration of Mr. La Trobe. He, the Governor, had acceded to all his wishes as far as he could, and he had on no occasion found it necessary to interfere with or censure any of his proceedings, and he should be most happy to see Mr. La Trobe occupying the

station which he ought, that of Lieutenant-Governor; and although it might be urged that Port Phillip had risen and prospered by our means, yet he could not admit that such an argument could at all affect the prerogative of Her Majesty, or diminish her right to form a new province in her dominions. As to the boundaries which it was proposed to assign to the colony, it was a difficult matter; they would indeed render us very short coated, but even if they were persisted in, he did not see that the prosperity of the colony would therefore be at an end. Squatting would not at once be put a stop to, although it might perhaps end a little sooner than it would, if the matter had been left alone. He did not apprehend that it was intended by these regulations to throw open the whole of the Port Phillip district for selection, but only such portions as were surveyed; and as the surveys would be directed by the orders of Government, he did not, as he had before said, apprehend such serious evils as those described by some honourable members.

The South Australians might say, that we let people have our lands for nothing, or for next to it, but whether the system of allowing persons to depasture on Crown Lands was improvident as to revenue or not, and his experience did not lead him to believe that it was, it was a system he approved of. Squatting here, was not what squatting was in America; there the squatter was the unauthorized occupier of some twenty or thirty acres; people had no idea of our magnificent squatters, some of them occupying 10,000 acres in one place. *He was proud to say, that the sons of some of the richest men in the colony were living beyond the boundaries in bark huts as squatters; there were too, at this moment, young men of the first families in England, graduates of Oxford, and of Cambridge, who were also living in bark huts beyond the boundaries, and came under the general denomination of squatters.* The system of depasturing on Crown Lands was essential to the prosperity of this colony; it was that system which had enabled us to give a value to South Australian land, which it could never else have attained; never, with all its theories, and devices, and delusions, could

South Australia have prospered, had it not been for those of our colonists who first drove their herds thither.

The only reason why Swan River had not been prosperous was, that it was farther from New South Wales, but its prosperity would begin to dawn when the first herd of cattle should have been driven there from New South Wales. New South Wales was indeed like an immense hive, whence herds upon herds, and flocks after flocks were driven forth to make the neighbouring colonies prosperous. Where could these flocks and herds have been grown had it not been for squatting? The only other point was the danger likely to accrue to the revenue derived from the sale of lands, and, on this point, he could not but participate in those fears which honourable members had expressed. If we had still been left Liverpool Plains and Maneroo, &c., &c., we might still have been able to produce a respectable land fund, but if these were taken away, then indeed he feared we should no longer be able to support immigration to that extent which was necessary. At the same time, "where the carcasses are, there will the eagles be gathered together;" and so long as we are able to give the best wages, they would come to us, no matter where they were landed; the only doubt then was, whether we should be able to pay them.

There was still one other point which he had not yet alluded to; it was feared that parties would find their properties separated and under different governments; it would indeed be an evil if these districts were to be handed over to any hostile power, to France, to America, or to any other foreign nation; it would then indeed be a serious blow, and it would be easy to imagine that the colony would be ruined; but as these districts were merely to become another province of the British Empire, he did not see that there must of necessity arise so much ill-feeling and evil as was feared. In America people lived on the borders of the various states, possessing property indiscriminately in either. He had himself lived in that way between two colonies, Demerara and Berbice, and there also people had property indiscriminately on the borders; there were some evils, however, it would

appear, in such a state of things, for these two colonies had since been united, as have Upper Canada and Lower Canada; and he could not but agree with the honourable member who had said, that it was somewhat curious that Her Majesty's Government should be dividing this territory into separate governments at the same time that they were uniting others under one.

He had not, said His Excellency in conclusion, intended to say so much as he had said, and perhaps he had gone rather too far, but he would detain them no longer, and only repeat that he did not, even should all the regulations be persisted in, anticipate all the mischief and misfortunes which had been foretold that day in the Council.

SIR JOHN JAMISON wished to say a few words in explanation of what had fallen from him respecting Lord John Russell. He had strong reasons for believing that Lord John Russell did not entertain the most friendly feelings towards this colony. Lord John Russell had promised to introduce a bill, granting to this colony free institutions; that bill was introduced, and a day appointed for its second reading, when, to the astonishment of every one, Lord John Russell withdrew the bill, and a few days afterwards issued these regulations dismembering the colony. His Lordship had, at least in his opinion, been guilty of gross inconsistency.

Mr. LITHGOW was of opinion that the resolution did not go far enough; he perfectly agreed with it so far as it did go, but he thought that the petition should be against any dismemberment at all. Why should the population of this colony, consisting only of some 120,000 people, already distant enough from places whence assistance could be obtained in time of need, be divided in itself? Much as he wished prosperity to Sydney he would rather that his Excellency should at once be removed to Port Phillip and this made a dependency, than witness any dismemberment. Why separate places which were every day becoming nearer by means of steam? Port Phillip was now but three days' sail from us; and in case of drought our cattle had to be driven hundreds and hundreds of miles, and there would be diffi-

culties and impediments of all sorts thrown in our way. He perfectly agreed in the resolution so far as it went, but he hoped it would be amended so as to remonstrate against dismemberment altogether.

The BISHOP said, that if the honourable member's suggestion was acted upon, a different resolution altogether would be the result, and one which he could not support. He had stated that it was in no way his intention to interfere with Her Majesty's prerogative, or her right to create new provinces; all his object was to obtain Her Majesty's gracious reconsideration of the proposed boundaries, so as, if possible, to have them rendered more advantageous to New South Wales.

Mr. JAMES MACARTHUR said in reference to what had fallen from Sir John Jamison, that the honourable member by his censure of Lord John Russell had placed his Lordship in a most awkward position. Sir John blamed him for withdrawing the bill, which if passed, would have confined New South Wales within the present limits of location, and censured him also for issuing these regulations which contained the same principles.

The GOVERNOR put the question on the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The following Committee was appointed to prepare a petition to her Majesty, founded on the resolution:—the Bishop, the Attorney-General, the Auditor-General, Mr. Jones, Sir J. Jamison, and Mr. James Macarthur.

Council adjourned to Friday.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14th.

Present: the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Bishop, the Commander of the Forces, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Collector of Customs, the Auditor-General, Mr. Berry, Mr. Jones, Mr. H. Macarthur, Sir John Jamison, and Mr. J. Macarthur.

The GOVERNOR laid upon the table "A Bill for the

better Regulation of Prisons," as amended at the second reading. To be read a third time on Wednesday next.

The BISHOP of AUSTRALIA said, that although the petition for obvious reasons did not run in the name of the Governor and Council, he had to propose a resolution, requesting his Excellency *ex officio* to sign it and transmit it to the Secretary of State. In the present stage of the proceeding, he thought it might be some advantage to the Council to retrace its steps, in order to consider its own determination, that it might have the advantage of comparing the speeches of different members with each other, and to show that they had come to a wise and deliberate conclusion. He was happy to find that the petition had so far met the view of the Council, and he must say that he thought it was framed in a way that could not give umbrage to any person connected with her Majesty's Government, whose intentions, he felt convinced, were aimed at what they considered the best interests of the Colony; and he must say that he heard with regret some expressions made use of by honourable members, for he could not believe that the colony was delivered over to any one. The whole question was a matter of argument, and he for one was ready to meet it. In the last report of the Immigration Committee, he thought he might, without boasting, say, that the question was met in a way that must attract the attention of ministers when it reaches England; these arguments he was happy to know were supported by the despatches of his Excellency the Governor; they received additional validity from the resolutions passed by the Council in October; and the petition would confirm what had thus been begun.

What he thought was the only thing the Council had to dread was, that the Secretary of State should put too much confidence in a party who have a theory to support; he did not use the word party in an offensive term, but simply meant a number of men holding the same opinions. This party has all the rudiments that will enable them to carry their theory forward; they have a numerous class of adherents; they have members in both houses, who are their

advocates, and they have an earnest friend in the Colonial Office.

These elements, in fact, are all that are necessary for any measure; for what can even a ministry want but a strong party out of doors and in the houses, and the friendship of heads of departments? So far, therefore, the new board may be injurious to this colony, if they can prevail on the Secretary of State to carry out their theory on their own terms. It is natural that they should wish to extend their theory to the widest and most advantageous field; and as the system in this colony is adverse to their system, it is equally natural that they should wish to make as favourable a contrast as possible, and, in order to do so, throw this colony back as much as possible.

The gentlemen comprising that board are, doubtless, men of the most upright character, but their acts will not be the less injurious to this colony, if they persuade Lord John Russell to take five districts from this colony and give them to new colonies which it is intended to establish. With respect to the theory of selling at an uniform price, he must say, that he considered it the most visionary he had ever heard of; but that is not a matter in which we are immediately interested, and he should wish to see it have a fair trial, for it will be to the advantage of this colony to have both systems fairly and fully tried.

He must contend that the planting of colonies on the coast of Australia will be an act of wisdom, for it will extend the energies of this colony by finding a market for its produce: for if new colonies are founded in our neighbourhood, they must have cattle and sheep from this colony; and whether the principle upon which they obtain their land is wise or not is their business, and it must be remembered that there is an attraction in the South Australian scheme, and that it will draw many persons to this part of the world who would not come were it not in force.

On the side of this colony there is undoubtedly a good argument, and what had been done in that room would doubtless have some effect in making it known: but what

is wanted is an active and efficient agent to be in communication with the Government at home. His Excellency said on Thursday, that whatever changes were made were looked upon as calculated to effect the ruin of the colony. This was in some degree true, but with respect to the change from granting to selling, it would not apply to him (the Bishop) although for the first three days after it was communicated he did look at it with alarm, but afterwards he thought it would be for the benefit of the colony.

Like misery, the alteration made people acquainted with strange bedfellows, for it brought together, to oppose the alteration, those who never thought alike before. This alteration was carried in the Executive Council by Governor Darling and himself (the Bishop) who formed the majority in the Executive Council, and to them therefore the colony is indebted for the introduction of the system of sale by auction.

It would have been easy for General Darling to have declined carrying the measure into effect, and have thrown himself into the arms of all persons who were opposed to it, and as he had then received notice of his recall, it could have done him no injury; but in opposition to the wishes and supposed interests of his friends, he carried the measure into effect because he considered it was his duty to do so.

With respect to the increase of price from five shillings to twelve shillings an acre, he must confess that he did not care much about it, for there was no principle involved. He thought, however, that if the measure under consideration were carried into effect, the colony would be on the verge of very serious difficulties, for the system of depasturing beyond the boundaries would be put an end to. That system, as he had before stated, rests upon two pillars—certainty of occupancy, and the opportunity of bidding for the station if it is put up for sale. This system was never carried out to its full extent until the judges gave to the occupants a certainty of being undisturbed, and in the face of any uncertainty on that point the system could not be carried on with spirit, and under the new system, the squatter will be in constant

apprehension of being removed, and the more valuable his station the greater will be his apprehension.

With respect to the decay of the land fund, that his Excellency had admitted must ensue; and with respect to the state of commercial affairs, he did not think he was exaggerating when he said that they must suffer materially. Although the port of Sydney has many great advantages, and the merchants may be enabled to sustain a severe shock, yet this is a port of recent growth; it is not an old port, and it is well known that we may light a fire in and play many tricks with an old oak, that would destroy a young sapling. He thought it was essential that the mercantile interests should seriously consider this matter, and do all that they can to support the petition of the Council. He had no doubt that there are many people in the Colony who like to create un-called alarm. In Goldsmith's comedy of the Good Natured Man there is a character called Croker, whose attributes may be gathered from his name, and he was borrowed from Sursirius in the Rambler, and he feared that the race of the Crokers is not extinct, although he hoped he was not one of them; but it must be remembered that there is a disposition exactly the reverse to this: there are those who will not see danger, who shut their eyes in order that they may avoid seeing it. Either of these dispositions does not become statesmen, who ought to view all circumstances candidly, openly, and dispassionately.

Under all circumstances, he thought it was more probable that the impulse of the Colonists will be to be a little blind; they will not prognosticate evils from a plan which there is reason to believe that a Secretary of State has approved of, lest they should meet with the fate of Gil Blas when he gave his opinion of the Archbishop's Homily. He was aware of the extent of trade carried on at the port of Sydney; but he could not help thinking of the following lines:

Should this full stream, the least inflected, point
 Its course another way, o'er other lands
 The various treasures would resistless pour,
 Ne'er to be won again; its ancient tracts
 Left a vile channel, dissolved and dead,
 With all around a miserable waste.

These lines had occurred to him during the day, and he wrote them down as descriptive of what he thought would be the result if the stream of commerce were once diverted from Sydney. With these remarks he would move that his Excellency the Governor be requested to sign the petition that had just been adopted, and transmit it to the Secretary of State to be presented to Her Majesty in the usual mode.

Mr. JONES in seconding the motion said that how so important a change could have been so hastily agreed upon he could not think. The first step should have been to refer the matter to the Governor of New South Wales, and if the Secretary of State and the Governor did not take the same view of the matter, no step would have been so proper as to send out a Commissioner to this Colony to inquire into the matter on the spot. He maintained that no man sitting in Downing Street, who had never been in New South Wales, and perhaps never in a colony at all, could properly trace out and settle the boundaries which ought to be fixed upon for this Colony. *So particular was the Secretary of State, that the orders to carry these alterations into effect were not sent out in the usual way in a despatch, but, lest the Governor should think it his duty not to carry them into effect, an order under the hand and seal of Her Majesty (and which of course no officer dare disobey) was sent out.* If the petition arrives before the alterations are finally made, and its prayer is agreed to, the Colony will have no great cause to complain,—there will be something like justice to the Colony; but if the determination to confine us to the nineteen counties is persisted in, and all the open country is taken away, the state of the Colony will be most lamentable. He maintained that the Colony has a vested interest in the districts beyond the boundary which have been explored by the Colonists and are covered by their property. *He did not believe the proposed changes will benefit Port Phillip, for if they have not the Sydney Treasury to draw upon, they will not be able to maintain the government out of their ordinary revenue; they cannot do it now, with their present small*

establishments, and what will they do with their Lieut.-Governor and all his staff? THEY MUST ENCROACH UPON THEIR LAND FUND.

Then again what will be the effect of the new Colony of Moreton Bay? *It will have no revenue at first, and its expenses must be borne out of the land fund.* He hoped that the Land Commissioners may read the speech of his Excellency the Governor upon the subject; that will open their eyes to the folly of supposing that a man arriving with his order for land in his pocket can be at once located. The unfortunate man will be at the mercy of the land sharks of the Colony, much more so than by the system of sale by auction.

Plenty of the lands in this Colony are worth 5l. per acre, and why should the land fund be robbed to benefit a parcel of land speculators? The surveying staff that is to come out will be followed by a horde of speculators; they will follow them like the ravens would a body, or the sutlers a large army; every surveyor will be followed by spies, and there will be parties continually sending word,—not to Sydney, for we shall have no land, but to Melbourne and Moreton Bay, to buy this section and that. Every word in his Excellency's speech was fact, and nothing but the fact. The Bishop said in his speech, that the Colony is not delivered over to its enemies. But Colonel Torrens, the Chairman of the South Australian Commissioners, is chairman of the New Land Board, and in a pamphlet which he wrote in the early part of this year, upon emigration to South Australia, he wound up with a most flagrant attack upon this Colony, showing that he is altogether unfit for the situation he holds. The Colony, he would again assert, is about to be sacrificed to a theory, and it is impossible to say what the treasury will lose.

The GOVERNOR, in putting the question on the resolution (which was carried), said he should have much pleasure in transmitting the petition.

POSTSCRIPT.

“Commerce is the offspring of amity and good-will.”

DIVIDED in opinion, and pressed by conflicting interests, as the country has long been with respect to the corn laws, when the subject has once taken full possession of the public mind, a period of ten, nay, even twenty years, may be insufficient for its final adjustment.

Had it been possible to maintain for our manufactures a continued demand for them in foreign markets, it is probable that this agitating question would never have arisen. But no negotiator, however sanguine, can now hope, by reviving those markets, to give, even in twenty years, such an extension to the demand for our manufactures as may raise their export from about fifty millions sterling—their present declared value—to an amount ranging from between ninety and one hundred millions. And yet, without a greatly increased demand for manufactured goods from without, the British manufacturer cannot long, it is alleged, continue to pay the price for bread now paid by him; while on the other hand, according to the firm persuasion of many, a greatly reduced price of that article would be the means of rendering it, to an inconvenient extent, a foreign instead of a domestic production; and

thus destroy the never-failing demand for manufactures which the home market provides.

Let us calmly inquire whether, amidst the many resources of this highly-favoured country, Providence may not have reserved some safe and not uncertain mode by which to relieve ourselves, and at no very remote period, from so many besetting difficulties. Why close our eyes to, and neglect the means of, safety within our reach, because, like the best gifts of fortune, diligence and patient industry are required to render them of real value?

The populous states of Europe, in ceasing to be consumers of our manufactures, may err, according to the theory of economists; but experience unhappily proves, that it is not by wisdom the affairs of mankind are always regulated. Instead, therefore, of repining at that which is irrevocable, let us hasten, while the season is yet propitious, to promote emigration to our colonies, and by means of the energies of our own subjects, create for ourselves better and more stable markets than foreign states have ever proved or will ever become.

Our North American and Australian settlements present ample fields of employment for those whose industry may at home be ill or insufficiently requited. Transfer to those colonies as rapidly as they can absorb them the thousands who would become the willing instruments in the developement of their resources. The net proceeds of land-sales in Australia would soon suffice to pay both interest and principal of such funds as it might be necessary to advance by way of loan for

the promotion of so great an object. Were the tide of emigration thus permitted fully and freely to flow, at a ratio proportioned always to the degree in which the Australian colonies perform the true functions* of vigorous offshoots of the parent stem, a vast accession would at no distant time be made to their population.

To the North American colonies there already proceeds a very considerable immigration, defrayed at the cost of the people themselves; and when, in addition to that tide, shall be added the increased immigration which Australia now requires, but which her present want of resources, and her vast distance from European population, prevent her effecting, a few years will suffice for the introduction of many millions of subjects into the distant provinces of the empire.

At the present moment, fully thirty thousand, perhaps even fifty thousand people, would find ample employment and comfortable subsistence in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. By judicious measures, all the Australian colonies together might, at no distant period, possess five millions of British subjects, whose demand for our manufactures would, according to the ratio of that demand in past years, amount to fifty million sterling. And in this estimate the North American colonies are not included.

* By the true functions of colonies is understood their raising a sufficiency of products, not only to provide for their inhabitants food, but to purchase clothing and the conveniences of life from the parent state, and to repay with interest the capital which they may have borrowed. That such is the position of the colony of New South Wales, is very clearly shown by the Resolutions of the Governor and Legislative Council in the preceding pages: particularly by the 11th and 15th Resolutions; see pages 14 and 15.

The total amount of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope, in ten years from 1831 to 1840, both years inclusive, was about one million of persons. But until the commencement of the system of emigration to the Australian colonies, under the regulations of the Earl of Ripon, in 1831, it had never been conducted upon any well-regulated plan.

London,
May, 1841.

EDWARD MACARTHUR.

NOTES TO OPPOSITE PAGE.

* Had the affections of the people of the United States not been alienated by their unfortunate difference with Great Britain, their imports from the United Kingdom would probably be thrice their present amount. The population of the United States is now 17,000,000.

† In 1840, the aggregate amount of exports from the United Kingdom to all parts of the world, was 51,406,430*l.*, including 11,527,062*l.* to Russia, Prussia, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. In 1839, the exportation to these countries amounted to 11,644,070*l.* being, notwithstanding their much greater population, only 2,442,822*l.* beyond the amount of exports to the British Colonies in the same year, and not sevenfold the amount of exports to Australia, although the whole of the Australian Colonies do not at present possess a population of two hundred thousand souls.

TABLE OF EXPORTS.

DECLARED VALUE of BRITISH and IRISH
PRODUCE and MANUFACTURES ex-
ported from the UNITED KINGDOM
in the year 1839 £53,233,580

Deduct Exports to Guernsey, Jersey,
Man, &c. 340,444

Amount of Exports to all other parts }
of the world } £52,893,136

Of the above Exports, there went to

FOREIGN STATES (in which the English lan-
guage is not spoken) £28,519,295

UNITED STATES *8,839,204

Garrisons, Conquests, or Concessions.

East India Company's terri-
tories and Ceylon £4,748,607

Mauritius 211,731

Ascension Island 333

St. Helena 12,668

Ionian Islands 64,010

Malta 125,338

Gibraltar 1,170,702

BRITISH
POSSESSIONS,

£6,333,389

15,534,637

British Colonies by birth or adoption.

British West Indies £3,986,598

British North America 3,047,671

Australia 1,679,390

New Zealand 23,459

Cape of Good Hope 464,130

£9,201,248

£52,893,136†

A STATEMENT showing the Description of BRITISH and IRISH PRODUCE and MANUFACTURES exported from the UNITED KINGDOM to the AUSTRALIAN COLONIES in the year 1838. (See Tables of Revenue, &c.)

Bacon and hams	£4,222
Beef and pork	27,279
Beer and ale	65,057
Butter and cheese	20,865
Fish	1,141
Salt	3,320
Sugar	21,719
Other articles, estimated at	12,008
	<hr/> £155,611
Manufactured goods, principally clothing.	
Apparel and haberdashery	£225,775
Cotton manufactures	167,269
Cotton hosiery	27,218
Cotton twist and yarn	749
Hats	13,484
Leather, wrought and unwrought	23,242
Linen manufactures	82,378
Thread, tape, &c.	616
Silk manufactures	53,459
Woollens	104,160
Other articles	83,806
	<hr/> £782,158
Other manufactured goods, &c.	
Arms and ammunition	£8,905
Brass and copper manufactures	8,886
Cordage	4,432
Earthenware	13,621
Glass	40,965
Hardwares, cutlery, &c.	44,722
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought	71,350
Lead and shot	8,609
Machinery and mill work	5,091
Painters' colours	9,498
Plate, &c.	23,411
Soap and candles	22,694
Saddlery and harness	14,992
Tin and tin wares	4,507
Coals, culm, and cinders	59
Other articles	83,807
	<hr/> £365,549
Books	14,278
Stationery of all sorts	19,066
	<hr/> £33,344
Total	<hr/> £1,336,662

THE ADVANTAGES OF EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.

THE vast advantages to our maritime, commercial, and manufacturing interests, of a combined system of emigration and colonization are too manifest to require illustration. As it becomes matured, and with the improvements that are taking place in navigation, the facilities of intercourse will every year be greater, until at length there will be established a "bridge of communication" between Great Britain and her Australian possessions, as accessible to the poor as to the rich.

With the spread of information, and the certainty that his condition will be benefited by removal, the poor man will entertain less reluctance to quit his home; an increasing family will cease to depress his energy, because he will feel that his and their habits of industry, the cheerful and ready labour they had been accustomed to supply, will have the effect of placing the remote but no longer unattainable resources of the state within his power; and that, in this respect, he was upon an equal footing with his wealthier neighbour.

If the rich and enlightened classes of society disperse their children, in quest of fortune, over the distant provinces of the empire, why should not those of humble degree participate, in their sphere, in the same advantage? Neither, in resolving to emigrate, need the poor man, more than the rich, consider that he quits for ever the home of his fathers, for such is

the demand for labour, the comparative cheapness of the necessaries of life, and the immediate return for capital in Australia, that, by honest exertion, and by investing his earnings judiciously, he may, in a few years, be in a condition to return, if, after weighing the advantages and disadvantages, he should be so inclined*.

With the progress of emigration and colonization all classes in this country will be benefited.

The landed proprietor in the United Kingdom may multiply cottages upon his estates, without dread of those estates being overrun by paupers, and of his income being frittered away in providing for their sustenance in the workhouse. The farmer will still find a supply of labour at hand equal to the demand for it; and, whenever that demand is checked by ordinary causes, or unforeseen vicissitudes, the surplus labour, instead of accumulating and deranging entire neighbourhoods, will find vent through the channels which emigration had opened. In place of men soured by penury, and bowed down by ill-requited toil, a cheerful peasantry will be found, happy amidst an abundance of all the necessaries of life.

The young men, when they have attained skill in their respective callings, may form the same ties which their fathers have formed before them, and seek that domestic comfort which every labouring man should be enabled to enjoy. No longer herding together, as lodgers, in wretched hovels, and spreading around a

* See the eighth resolution of the Legislative Council, page 13.

demoralizing influence, each would have a home, and direct interest in the maintenance of social order.

The ministers of religion would cease to deplore the condition of the rural population, and no longer hesitate to proclaim the Divine command, "Go forth and multiply, bring forth abundantly on earth, multiply therein."

Such are the cheering consequences which will probably ensue to the rural population of Great Britain, from a judicious, gradual, continuous, and well-matured system of emigration to the colonies. The merchant, the seaman, and the manufacturer, will equally participate in its advantages.



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