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No. 6

*Royal Empire Society*  
**JOURNAL**

Session 1905-1906

OF THE

# ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

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(EDITED BY THE SECRETARY)



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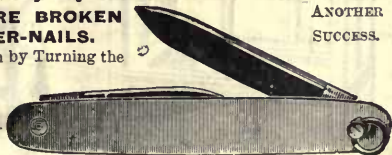
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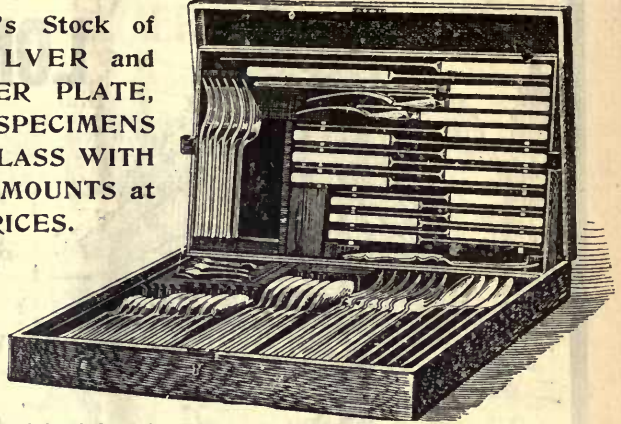
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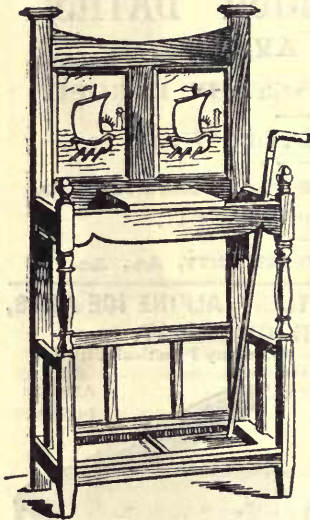


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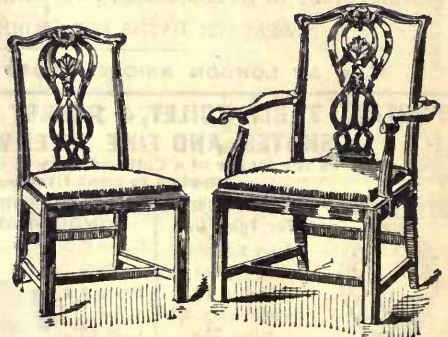
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

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No. 6. SESSION 1905-1906

MAY 1906

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*All communications to be addressed to the Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute,  
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### PROCEEDINGS.

#### SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, April 10, 1906, when a paper on "Australian Immigration" was read by Mr. Walter James, K.C. (Agent-General for Western Australia.)

The Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

Amongst those present were the following:—

MRS. R. L. AND MISS ALLPORT, MESSRS. W. R. ARBUTHNOT, A. ARMITAGE, PERCY ARNOLD, JOHN ARTHUR, MRS. ASPINWALL, MR. J. B. BAILEY, MISS BEALES, MESSRS. R. V. B. BEST, C. BETHELL, MISS BOSS, MR. AND MRS. T. R. BRIDGWATER, MISS MYRA BROWN, MR. AND MRS. J. BUCKLAND, SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, BART., G.C.M.G., MR. BUXTON, MR. AND MRS. J. R. CHALMERS, MESSRS. T. A. COGHLAN, I.S.O. (AGENT-GENERAL FOR NEW SOUTH WALES), J. G. COLMER, C.M.G., B. F. CONIGRAVE, MISS CORMAC, MR. AND MRS. E. P. COTTON, MISS COUPER, MESSRS. W. S. CUFF, W. F. COURTHOPE, E. DARBYSHIRE, MR. AND MRS. F. DAVIS, MR. F. H. M. HUMPHREY DAVY, BARON PIERRE DE ROUVILLE, MISS A. DE V. VISMES, MR. C. W. AND MISS DIXON, MR. D. J. DOHERTY, MRS. DRAGE, MR. CECIL DUDLEY, MISS DWYER, MR. H. W. ELY, MRS. ELVEN, MISSES FAIRFAX, MR. AND MRS. D. FINLAYSON, RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN FORREST, G.C.M.G., LADY FORREST, MESSRS. J. W. GORDON, J. GUNDRY, E. HAGGARD, W. L. HANDCOCK, R. C. HARE, W. HARRISON, G. S. HART, J. F. HOGAN, H. S. HUGHES, MRS. JAMES, MR. D. HOPE JOHNSTON, MISS KEELING, MRS. A. LANDALE, MESSRS. LANDALE, N. H. LEANDER, MISS A. LEWIS, MR. F. G. LLOYD, DR. T. M. AND MISS MAGUIRE, MISS D. MAGUIRE, MISS S. McEWEN, MR. A. MOOR-RADFORD, MISS MOORE, MESSRS. H. B. MONTEFIORE, L. MÜLLER, MISS S. MURPHY, MESSRS. W. MURRAY, W. J. NAPIER, MR. AND MRS. S. NEWLAND, MESSRS. J. NIVISON, R. NIVISON, MRS. O'HALLORAN, MESSRS. P. T. J. PARFITT, H. F. PARKER, M. PATTERSON, W. F.

PIPER, MISS POWELL, MR. W. B. ROADHOUSE, CAPT. W. P. ROCHE, MR. AND MRS. T. J. RUSSELL, MR. E. T. SCAMMELL, MISS SHARP, MESSRS. H. F. SHIPSTER, H. W. SINCLAIR, C. SOMERSET, MISS STEVENSON, MESSRS. G. G. TAYLOR, G. THOMSON, MISS E. TIERNEY, MR. O. J. AND MISS TRINDER, MRS. TYRELL, MISS E. WEBSTER, MISS LAURA WHITE, MISS ST. JOHN WILEMAN, MR. J. P. G. WILLIAMSON, HON. B. R. WISE, MISS ADA M. YOUNG, SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN, C.M.G. (Secretary).

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 16 Fellows had been elected, viz. 3 Resident, 13 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

*Major Wm. Anstruther-Gray, M.P., Alfred H. Houlder, Augustus F. Houlder.*

Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Thomas H. M. Bonell, B.Sc., M.I. Mech. E. (Southern Nigeria), William F. Caulfield (Cape Colony), George Churton Collins (Natal), W. Bowen Evans (New Zealand), Henry Green (New Zealand), John Growder (Canada), Major Joseph J. T. Hobbs (Western Australia), Alexander Johnston (British North Borneo), Frederick A. McDougall (Southern Nigeria), Thomas Moore (Transvaal), Randolph Rust (Trinidad), Alan L. C. Stuart, LL.D. (Cyprus), Fred. E. Wienholt (Rhodesia).*

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, etc., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Walter James, K.C., to read a Paper on

### AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION.

It would be rash to assert that Australia and things Australian are fully understood in the Mother Country. Until Australia is relatively more important, it would be unreasonable to hope for such an understanding except from those whose tastes or interests give their thoughts a special bent towards the Commonwealth. From public opinion as a whole we cannot expect an accurate knowledge; we do, however, ask that our actions be regarded sympathetically and have placed upon them that favourable construction which can alone guarantee harmonious relations.

The immediate past has not been a pleasant one to the Australian anxious to have his country standing high in public estimation. Though sanguine enough to believe that Australia is rapidly "coming into its own," the misrepresentations of the last few

years—a time of great strain in the Commonwealth and when a kindly sympathy was the more needed—will need thorough eradication.

There are still people in England who think that “eternal cold” exists in Canada and “everlasting drought” in Australia. But there are signs that the general body of English public opinion is gradually being formed on less inaccurate knowledge. We are grateful for the evidences of such a change and satisfied that with fuller knowledge will come truer appreciation. But whatever efforts be made to disseminate the truth Australians must be prepared to accept without resentment the continuance of some degree of misunderstanding between the peoples of the Mother Country and the Commonwealth. The fact that they are (geographically) the wide world apart, and that the environment of one differs so markedly from that of the other, must produce points of apparent conflict notwithstanding the similarity of national characteristics. The Australian is isolated; the Englishman is insular. The self-reliance of the former leads him to over-estimate the relative importance of Australia; the self-contentment of the latter to under-estimate it. The Briton almost unconsciously assumes that he is the sole repository of racial wisdom and experience: the Australian disputes the assumption. The Englishman, whose fathers made the Empire, thinks he can best manage the whole of it: the Australian, who has actually made the Commonwealth and in his nation-building has prospered in proportion to his measure of self-dependence and self-government, has no doubt whatever that he can best manage his own part of the Empire. Both, however, share the racial trait of self-sufficiency, and because of that very quality, which makes for faith in one’s own ideals, pride in one’s own achievements, and devotion to one’s own country, it has been possible for Australians in Australia to lay the broad and solid foundations of that “New Britannia in another world.” It is that racial quality which has made the white parts of our Empire—and kept them white!

British colonisation has been successful because the colonist lived in and loved his new home, and turned his face from the old. To make his new life a success and his children’s paths smooth were his main objects. He left home and gave to his new country the same attachment that his brothers retained for the old one. Each identified himself with his own home and, as time passed and memories faded, each regarded the other by the light of his own conditions. To the second generation of Australians, England is

the heart of the Empire, but Australia is his home; to Englishmen of every generation England is both home and Empire. The Australian is not indifferent to English opinion and English standards, but prefers to form and make his own; the Englishman habitually wants to set the standard for "his" Empire. To him, only the English are English. This the Australian resents, at least passively. He claims to be English, too—in the Imperial sense. He objects to the silent but pervading conviction that the racial purity of Australian opinion must be tested by standards laid down by the present-day Englishman; and he denies the claim of one son to be the only true descendant and the sole repository of the genius, the traditions and the instincts of a common racial inheritance. It would simplify matters if in England you would realise how close we are to you—how closely analogous to yours are our home life, our public life, and the principles that underlie our National institutions—and that difference in methods due to the presence of smaller populations in larger territories, and the modifications inevitable in the development of an old-world civilisation transplanted to a new land, do not necessarily mean differences in essentials.

This unconscious habit of the Englishman to regard England and Empire as interchangeable terms accounts for some misconception in this country, as to the motives and the reasons that prompted Australia's voluntary and whole-hearted participation in the Boer War. The Englishman regarded it as a personal tribute to *his* statesmanship, *his* cause, *his* military and administrative methods and *his* Imperial leadership. Such an interpretation was not unnatural, while it certainly was personally gratifying—to him. As, however, it was not accurate, it led to disappointment when Australia resumed her old attitude, and in subsequent acts showed the continuing force of Colonial nationalism and the existent vitality of that "insularity" which is called "narrowness" in the Australian and "patriotism" in the Englishman, but which the foreign observer notes as the real secret of the colonising power of our race.

The Boer War appealed to the Australian as involving the Empire and therefore the race. It excited the racial loyalty of the Southern Hemisphere, and became our quarrel just as much as yours. It is to the Empire as representing the race that our attachment clings, and so long as England maintains that leadership and defends race interests, we shall march side by side with her and all other portions of the Empire. It is important to bear

in mind this characteristic of Colonial development under British rule, because it will explain much that is otherwise difficult to the stay-at-home Englishman—and how few, even in the Parliament of Empire, are the members to whom this description does not apply—to understand.

#### A RETROSPECT.

In this address, I desire to say something of land legislation in relation to past immigration—an aspect of development which might puzzle the Englishman who has experienced in his own country an increase of population coincidently with the passing of land out of cultivation. That is exactly the reverse of what has happened with us. In Australia the Immigration question is and practically always has been a land question—that is, with increased facilities for land settlement, there has been an increase of permanent immigration. The freer the land, the fuller the flow of immigration. To make this clear, let me glance for a few minutes, first at Australia under the years of Imperial rule, when the land was locked up by Imperial regulations and development was retarded almost to the point of cessation, and then pass on to watch developments under the successive stages of responsible Government in the various States up to the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Although Captain Cook visited both Australia and New Zealand in 1770–1777, the British Government singled out Australia alone as a transportation depôt. The settlement of Botany Bay began in 1788, and it remained for several years an almost isolated spot on the fringe of 3,000,000 square miles which no Imperial effort was made to colonise. If one eliminates the expenditure in connection with prison establishments—an expenditure which had to be incurred in the United Kingdom or in Australia—it can be truthfully stated that the Old Country has expended nothing on the colonisation of Australia nor upon its conquest.

In three particulars Australia is unique; no other part of the Empire has cost England so little, no other part has yielded England so comparatively much, and no other part is more essentially and racially British.

Commencing in 1788, with a population of 1,030 souls, the Australian Settlements had, in 1831, increased to 80,000 only after nearly forty-five years of settlement. Between 1831–1841 a special effort was made to attract population by means of State aid—but at the sole expense of the local government—and as a result the

year 1841 found a population of 206,000, which represented the work of half a century of colonisation under direct Imperial control.

Between 1841-1851 the population increased to 400,000, and as gold wrought in the latter year a far-reaching and striking change that year represents (for the Eastern States at least) a termination of that quiet pastoral Australia which was alone possible under the conditions prevailing prior to the gold discoveries.

In 1851, and indeed long after that date, the production of wool—which under earlier methods of sheep-raising required very large and extensive areas of land—was the only profitable export available. The principal exports were pastoral productions mainly—wool, tallow, skins and salt beef. Of the total export of Australia at this date, valued at £3,339,738, wool alone accounted for £2,000,000.

In dealing with the population figures of Australia it must be constantly borne in mind that she is situated 13,000 miles away from the countries which must be the sources of her population and the main markets for her products. With all the present advantages of steam it takes the subsidised mail-steamers six weeks to travel from Sydney to Tilbury; it takes an average cargo-steamer seven to eight weeks. This handicap of distance was crushing under the old conditions of sea transit; it remained an almost insuperable obstacle to full agricultural development until the discovery of the freezing and cooling apparatus—a development in which Australia and New Zealand led the way in the early eighties—and it stands out to-day as the most important factor to be regarded by those who think too exclusively of our land area and too little of our distance from the markets we have to supply.

In a country so entirely dependent as Australia then appeared to be upon a purely pastoral future, the growth of population was necessarily slow. Agriculture had no local market because wanting in a consuming population; no export market because wanting in an available and commercial means of sea transport. There were moreover other conditions of a local and special nature which stood in the way of early agricultural development and still confront us as each decade adds to the area of new land being cultivated.

Australia has problems of its own to solve. There is no analogy between settlement conditions in Canada and the United States of America and those prevailing in the Commonwealth. The Emi-



grant has a great deal to learn and much to unlearn, not only as to soils and climate, but more particularly as to seasons and rainfall. He comes from a land of perpetual green herbage and deciduous trees to a country of "green winters and brown summers" and perennial foliage. Many of the early comers made bitter mistakes in the best parts of the country, because they applied English knowledge to strange and even topsy-turvey conditions. Many gave up the richest valley flats and went into timbered country on the assumption that land growing the best timber must possess the best soil. Experience has since taught its invaluable lessons both as to natural conditions and most suitable methods, and Australian agriculture is to-day conducted on its own lines, adapted to varying local conditions, which almost yearly disclose the need for still more progressive advance. That the farmers still learn from and profit by experience is shown by the increasing advance of agricultural production. This knowledge was as a sealed book prior to the gold discoveries; it has since opened page after page of its useful lessons, but only after years of persistent effort. This experience was impossible of attainment prior to 1851, because the absence of a cereal market (available on profitable terms) made agriculture, however conducted, an unattractive because unprofitable industry. Pastoral pursuits were the foundation and mainstay of Australia's agronomic production until the late seventies. Agriculture is relatively new.

Australia possesses no old farms; there may be old patches, but no large areas which have been farmed for two generations. On the other hand "runs" which have carried sheep for upwards of fifty years are to be found in almost every State. These, however, decrease in numbers as agriculture advances upon and absorbs the old "squats" in good and rich areas.

In only isolated places have the Australian settlers to hew their way through forests to establish farms, but they have always had to establish themselves in circumstances quite as difficult in bringing their work into accord with new climatic and geological conditions. Immigrants never did—except for gold—come in hordes, because the country itself does not invite huge numbers of people ignorant of her peculiar humours and way. Even to those who came in the earlier years the work of settlement would have been more difficult, and more heart-breaking, had it not been for the convicts who preceded them. The legion that led the way in Australia was "listed," but though some of the convicts were brutal and brutalising, there were many who amply redeemed themselves and made

to the Mother Country which branded them as felons for some petty offence against the Game Laws, a return which she scarcely deserved. Transportation ceased in 1840, and at the census of 1841 only 46,374 convicts and ex-convicts remained. They did their main work in the vanguard of settlement, and have left behind no moral taint to counterbalance their material achievements in the pioneering paths of Australian colonisation.

In the years up to 1851 the story of Australian settlement is the usual one of English people setting to work to make another England in a new land. There was a slow influx of people intending to settle on pastoral or agricultural land. Agriculture languished, but the value of the country for sheep-growing was very early ascertained, and the States were settling down to a future development under pastoral conditions. The grazing profits governed other industries and it is doubtful whether the assisted immigration policy which had obtained between 1831-41 could have been continued in a country so entirely committed, as then appeared, to a purely pastoral expansion. Small though the assisted immigration had been, the years 1841-1842 witnessed a financial crisis due to excessive land speculation following upon that immigration. This in itself compelled and accounts for the cessation of that assistance, and the gold discoveries of the early fifties avoided all need for considering whether the then restored finances should be again drawn upon to further add to the population. The knowledge of the country points, however, to the conclusion that, apart from these discoveries, it is questionable whether the system of assisted immigration would have been renewed, having regard to the agricultural outlook. A reference to the writings of the time shows a most extraordinary view as to the capabilities of the country. Scientific experts—a dangerous class at all times and in all countries—excluded all the present wheat-growing areas from land which would be likely to grow wheat. The area of Victoria was made smaller by the extraordinary dictum which declared that nothing but sheep could be grown north of the dividing range—a chain of ranges some sixty miles from the coast. In New South Wales the vast western plains beyond the Blue Mountains were never recognised at their full value; Western Australia was unknown; South Australia but little known, and such a thing as using the rich downs of Queensland for agricultural products of the temperate zone was laughed at. The knowledge of Australia has widened since those days. The study of the broadening of agriculture year by year in Australia adds to our knowledge of its

enormously increased potentialities, and each year's experience adds to the accumulating data and removes misapprehension; it inspires us with the belief that even as to-day we marvel at the dogmatic ignorance of fifty years ago so shall we be laughed at by those who come after us enriched by the store of our experiences.

The year 1851 divides the industrial history of Australia into two periods. The earlier was a purely pastoral one; the latter was and is mineral, agricultural and pastoral. In the future a manufacturing expansion will add to these three great industries, which show no sign of languishing, but on the contrary are attracting the population which the manufacturer needs.

The pastoral era terminating in 1851 left us, after sixty three years of colonisation, as follows:—

|                              |            |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Population . . . . .         | 403,889    |
| Gold Production . . . . .    | Nil        |
| Sheep . . . . .              | 17,515,798 |
| Cattle . . . . .             | 1,924,482  |
| Acres under Crop . . . . .   | 491,364    |
| Exports (domestic) . . . . . | £3,339,733 |

#### THE GOLD RUSH.

The gold discoveries in 1851 changed the whole face of Australia, and laid the foundations of many of the burning political questions now troubling the country. The settlement policy of the earlier period based upon the contemplation of a purely pastoral future had locked up what should have been immediately accessible lands in large areas, and the system of selling land to obtain revenue—initiated whilst, and continued during all the time that Australia was directly under the control of the Imperial Government, and when no representation whatever was allowed to non-official residents—had alienated in fee simple a large part of these lands. Though to-day there still remain 1,040,774,165 acres of unalienated Crown lands, the great bulk of it comprises the interior areas, whilst hardly any part of it (except special reserves for forest, mining or other purposes) is accessible without increased railway communication. The new era of gold was in Australia as elsewhere in direct conflict with the old. The discovery of gold made it possible for new people to come in hordes—and they came. The immigrant who arrived in 1849 found employment limited and uncertain. His agricultural products had no market; to follow pastoral pursuits involved substantial capital, and his openings were accordingly restricted. The immigrant of 1852 was independent of the world, for the earlier

goldfields were poor men's propositions. Capital had then no necessary part, nor was machinery a factor. So long as the miner could work and live, he could reach gold. The vast tide which poured into the country in the early fifties was wholly concerned in getting to the goldfields. In the years 1851-1858 the export of gold was £80,640,402, and so huge an output, won by individual and personal efforts, readily accounts for the growth of population from 408,889 in 1851, to 821,452 in 1858. This flood-tide of immigration was of its own kind, and different from that which has since poured into the United States of America. It was formed mostly of young men who came to Australia without ties to seek their fortunes, that they might the sooner return to the Mother Country. Amongst the thousands who crowded the "diggings" were but few grey beards. The experience of but few counted into years, and the rawest new chum had just as much chance in the gamble as the oldest miner. Few dreamed of subduing the new country and of making permanent homes. They were nomads, who came for gold and cared nothing for settlement. The news of a new find would clear off ten thousand miners in one night, and once on a new "rush" every man pegged out his own "claim," which was only a few feet square, and held from the Crown by virtue of a Miner's Right. It was then entirely a question of digging; and the struggle became one of endurance, in which brawn counted for more than brain.

Such a condition of affairs, where capital and machinery were minor factors, could not last long, and as the industry settled down to normal conditions the country had to face the problem of absorbing in other industries the tens of thousands whom gold had attracted but could no longer sustain.

The years 1859-1861 may be regarded as a transition period, when the country was recovering from the days of excitement and the dreams of chance. During each of these three years £10,000,000 worth of gold was produced, but the conditions were changing; capital became essential, and the life of the individual was drifting into a prosaic period of sterner effort and slower and more arduous advance.

In 1861 the position was :—

|                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Population . . . . .              | 1,153,973   |
| Annual Gold Production . . . . .  | £9,113,346  |
| Sheep . . . . .                   | 22,806,746  |
| Cattle . . . . .                  | 4,212,652   |
| Acres under Crop . . . . .        | 1,362,203   |
| Exports, including Gold . . . . . | £23,166,607 |

The ten years 1851-1861 added to the population of Australia some 750,000 people, the great bulk of whom were male adults of young and vigorous ages, and of a superior stamp. So great an increase was bound to exercise a far-reaching influence over the future destinies of the country, and the Commonwealth to-day feels throughout its length and breadth the spirit of fearlessness and energy which actuated those pioneers of the fifties. It has been said that the gold discoveries "precipitated Australia into nationhood." The phrase is no poetic imagination; it is actual fact.

#### UNLOCK THE LANDS.

It was the shock of the giving-out of the shallow leads of alluvial gold, the working of which needed no capital, that gives us the first view of the Australian Labour-problem—the abundance of suitable agricultural land surrounding a population in need of land but imprisoned by large holdings altogether unimproved or carrying a few sheep or cattle. The land question was thrust to the forefront and, strange as it may appear in a country so astonishingly full of Parliamentary activity as Australia, that same question is still perplexing political parties and demanding a solution. Its demands become most pressing in sympathy with recurrent pressures of population; its more or less successful temporary solution from time to time relieves that pressure and stimulates immigration. Up to 1851 the immigration question was a Land question and it has remained so ever since, notwithstanding the dislocation caused by that "rush" and by the extravagant expenditure of moneys during 1883-1893. These occasional periods during which the urgency of the Land question has been obscured, have each terminated in conditions which still more loudly emphasised the lesson first taught in 1841.

Throughout the period of the pouring in of population attracted by the gold discoveries the Land laws remained unchanged. The conditions which tended to encourage the acquisition of large estates continued unchecked, and as population increased the more far-sighted, who realised the enormous value which this population would give to land, continued the acquisition of large areas during the "Gold Rush" years. When the conditions of the mining industry changed and the possession of capital became an essential qualification to success, the thousands of miners who did not possess this capital and had too readily assumed that the earlier and easier phases of alluvial mining would continue, found work

scarce in a country which, though full of agricultural promise, was mapped out in vast pastoral runs growing sheep and cattle only and employing but little labour. Men who had come to Australia intending to return to the Mother Country as soon as possible, had settled down to stay and desired to find employment or means of livelihood in their new home. There at once arose the anomalous position of a pressure of population eager for land in a new country, possessing large areas of unoccupied lands tied up in large holdings and therefore quite beyond the reach of the would-be settler.

In 1862 Australia possessed about 23,000,000 sheep and 4,000,000 cattle, but only 368 miles of railway had been constructed. The Commonwealth has few navigable rivers opening up her agricultural lands; the chief means of transit are the various railway systems. In the year 1862 these systems covered so limited a range of country that within their reach hardly any unalienated land remained available for agricultural settlement, whilst the holders of the large estates preferred the cultivation of sheep and the prospective enjoyment of a rapidly increasing unearned increment, to the sub-division of their holdings and their sale to the would-be farmers.

The conditions which existed soon gave rise to a demand for land and to the cry "What shall we do with our sons?" To that cry two answers were given by two different bodies of public opinion. One raised the cry "Unlock the Lands"; the other demanded "Protection to Native Industries." The champions of both policies agreed that settled conditions of national life should be provided. The former policy would have been the simpler and the easier to realise but for the fact that the best and only accessible farming lands had been alienated and could be unlocked only by means of taxation and state repurchase. The urgency of the question was moreover staved off from time to time by railway construction into newer and more distant areas towards which settlement was attracted. Looking back over these forty years one is inclined to think that, had such legislative action then been taken, we should have secured better and more permanent advance. Such measures, however, were not acceptable and it has taken upwards of 30 years of constant agitation to witness the adoption—although in a somewhat modified form—of these methods of stimulating closer settlement.

That the conditions existing in the sixties demanded exceptional and practical steps to enable people to settle on the land is clear from the extent to which all accessible lands were then held in

large and unimproved areas, and from the fact that this condition of affairs pressed so seriously upon the country that for the decennial period 1861-1871 the excess of immigration over emigration amounted to 188,518 only as against 520,713 during the previous ten years. The difficulty in absorbing immigrants was almost entirely a "Land" one, and though legislative effort of more recent years has largely reduced these difficulties the question remains to-day a practical and urgent one in all the States. The land exists in millions of acres capable of great agricultural development: the problem is to make the good land which has been opened and is served by the railway systems fully and freely available to the would-be settler. The movement of Land legislation has been slow; has been full of disappointment and disclosed difficulty after difficulty as experience has manifested the almost incurable—and certainly the insatiable—desire to acquire large estates even though success required acts and evasions which, even when not illegal, were grossly immoral. It is the constant succession of fruitless efforts to restrict the accumulation of large estates, side by side with liberal provisions to encourage the smaller holdings, that is driving Australian public opinion to face Land taxation as the most effective instrument by which to secure the end that for 40 years has been the object of every Parliament in the Commonwealth.

In the sixties the known territory was locked up in big sheep-runs; the unknown territory was not available. The progress of opening new lands was slow and from 1861 to 1871 the railway extensions amounted to some 800 miles only; even of this a considerable bulk of the mileage was through the older and alienated portions of the country surrounding the capitals and ports from which the railway systems radiated. Moreover, the policy of large loan expenditures was not then in vogue. It most probably would never have been adopted had its inception not been forced upon the country by the imperative need of opening unalienated lands. Of the evils of locking up lands every State has had a bitter experience; from those evils every State has been for forty years, and still continues to be, a sufferer.

In 1826 the British Government granted 1,000,000 acres of good agricultural country in New South Wales to an English company. A sub-company was formed and still holds back the development of one of the richest agricultural parts of that State. Tasmania has had the same experience, so also has Western Australia. In all these cases large areas of land granted with the intention of encouraging settlement have been held locked up and undeveloped,

controlled by absentees, who take no direct personal interest in the country and are more concerned to wait for the State to create values than to actively exploit their concessions and turn their values to account. The conditions thus created might have been improved by a Land tax adopted in those early years. That step was avoided. Other action was taken and millions and millions of money have been expended on railway construction to open up more distant areas. That expenditure has increased beyond measure the value of these old holdings though the owners have but slightly contributed to the cost. It has indeed too often been their sole pleasure to criticise at this end an expenditure for which they were largely responsible; towards which they contributed so little, but from which they have derived an ever-increasing profit. The resident landowner holding large areas has not been so thorough or so selfish a monopolist. In Victoria, for instance, a vast tract of the richest agricultural country in the Western district was until recent years laid down in sheep runs; to-day it is subdivided and cultivated and is producing the bulk of the butter supply of Victoria, which last year exported that article to the value of £1,144,167.

The agricultural advance since 1861 has clearly shown that when the attractiveness of gold ceased Australia had (as she still has) all the natural conditions for diverting the immigration movement from the goldfields where wages could be earned to the agricultural lands where sustenance was certain and competence probable, but the agrarian position was a bar to immigration and people did not come. The Land legislation proved to be the real Immigration Restriction Act.

In Western Australia, where different conditions have produced different results, this contention has been verified. The gold discovery in 1887 at Yilgarn found the population of the State 42,488. The early rushes of gold seekers subsided in 1897, since which date the industry has become an ordered and settled one. But State lands were available at low prices, and as a consequence the tide of immigration towards the Western State has never ceased. Land is maintaining the flow which gold first attracted, and the population to-day is 260,000.

The efforts made throughout Australia after 1861 to open lands beyond the limit of the alienated areas required the construction of new railways. The Land laws were much liberalised, and every effort aimed at aiding the acquisition of small estates by resident and cultivating settlers whilst checking the growth of additional large holdings. The old and already acquired large estates were



left untaxed and undeveloped ; new areas were opened by means of new railways.

During the years 1861-71 New South Wales disposed of some 4 million acres ; Victoria of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and South Australia of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions of the land thus opened with the sole desire and object of encouraging cultivation. But returns soon disclosed the fact that only about one-thirtieth part was cultivated in New South Wales, about one-seventh in Victoria, and about one-fourth in South Australia. In 1871 New South Wales had 417,801 acres under crop ; Victoria 937,220 acres, and South Australia 1,044,656 acres.

The policy of Land settlement which sprang from the conditions of the early sixties continued until the eighties. The lands dealt with were new State areas opened by means of railway extensions and the laws were passed—and time after time amended—with the object of encouraging the small farmer and discouraging the aggregation of large estates. The Legislatures were generous in their concessions and encouragement to the bona-fide farmer, but found time after time that, often by illegal actions but mostly by dishonourable evasions of the law, legislation intended to promote bona-fide settlement was extensively used to secure large estates. As the evils manifested themselves new laws were passed and new railways built to open up lands which should be free from these evils. It was this constant effort to get ahead of the land monopolist and “ dummy selector ” which urged on the Australian Works Loan policy ; it is only since some 30 years of constant effort and vast expenditure that public opinion has begun to think of more practical and effective methods.

This period extended from the sixties to the early nineties. Up to the early eighties it was a bona-fide effort to encourage settlement ; during the latter eighties and up to 1893 it became more particularly a policy of loan expenditure.

In 1871 the population was 1,668,377. In 1881 the population was 2,252,617. In the latter year the land under cultivation was 4,489,607 acres, showing an increase of almost a hundredfold on the figures of 1871, and the exports amounted to £27,528,583. The increase of population by immigration over emigration during 1872-1881 was 223,326, showing a better result by some 45,000 over the period 1862-1871, and indicating therefore the direct influence upon the flow of immigration exercised by the new lands opened up by means of railway extensions directly the result of that policy could assert itself.

## THE LOAN EXPENDITURES.

The period 1881-1893 saw a continuation of the policy of the earlier years, but the heavy expenditure of loan money created in the late eighties an artificial state of affairs, which largely accounted for the fact that during this period the population increased to 3,183,237, of whom 374,097 were immigrants: a number only some 146,000 less than were attracted to us during the Gold Rush.

In 1881 the loan indebtedness of Australia was £66,306,471 and the mileage of railways open was 4,192. Of this length of line 800 miles had been constructed between 1861-1871 and 3,000 miles during 1871-81.

During the eighties, however, loan expenditure in all the States—in pursuance of a policy initiated and enforced by the need to open lands and which was in almost every instance justified by responsible Ministers on the same ground—rose very considerably. In New South Wales between 1881 and 1891 it amounted to 36 millions; in Victoria it amounted to 21 millions: in Queensland it averaged between one and two millions per annum and in South Australia it was never less than a million a year.

In 1881-1891 the loan indebtedness of Australia was increased by £89,000,000 and 6,000 additional miles of railway were opened, but though our population increased most satisfactorily our land settlement did not.

The loan expenditures of the period 1881-1893 soon lost sight of their justification. The opening up of new lands to meet the pressure of public demands became entirely subordinated to the belief that these expenditures were in themselves sufficient to secure population. The inrush of immigrants encouraged this idea and was constantly pointed to: the paramount need to absorb and retain the new-comers was forgotten midst the glamour of the artificial prosperity, which the inflated loan expenditures created and could alone maintain.

The population increased by nearly 375,000 immigrants, but notwithstanding a total increase to our population of some 930,000 the land under cultivation increased only to the extent of 876,000 acres as against an increase of 2,150,000 acres during 1871-1881.

Our acreage under crop which, as compared with the population, increased 100·6 per cent. in 1861-1871 and 107·2 per cent. in 1871-1881, fell during 1881-1891 to 22·1 per cent.

Again, experience taught that the power to absorb additional

population depends upon the availability of land for settlement. The wealth of Australia is so largely based upon primary productions—in which productions she has the highest output per head in the world—that her permanent attractiveness to the immigrant must be measured by her power to make him a producer in those industries. The manufacturing development of Australia is a matter for the near future and will exercise its influence in due course; but looking at the lessons of experience and the position to-day it is wrong to test the absorptive capacity of the Commonwealth by a standard which her present industries make inapplicable.

Long before we had a Labour Party in Australia experience had taught that the Land question was inextricably mixed up with that of immigration and it was the Land policy and not the Labour Party which acted as a bar to the incoming and settlement of population. When the land is made available no party can or will check the flow of immigration which will ensue. To the extent to which the Labour Party urge the adoption of greater activity in land settlement—a policy of which they are not originators nor by any means the sole or most persistent advocates—they are moving along the most effective lines to secure additional population. Their occasional efforts in minor matters regarding Labour questions do not affect the main issue, or justify a charge against them of actually blocking immigration, which all our experience shows to have been almost entirely controlled by and due to the Land question.

#### THE RE-ACTION.

Up to the year 1893 the flow of population to Australia since 1840 was satisfactory, much greater than the flow to any other portion of the Empire. When regard is paid to our distance from Europe the increase was striking.

The record since 1893 is distinctly unsatisfactory but easily capable of explanation.

There came a halt to the policy of opening new lands by means of new railways. The aggregation of large estates had not been effectively checked and the new areas soon after being opened were found practically "locked up" where the land was best suited for agriculture. Moreover, in many cases young farmers, lured on by the speculative fever of the eighties and a series of exceptionally good seasons, found themselves in possession of land needing new

methods of cultivation and incapable under old methods of meeting the strain of bad seasons and falling prices. These had to retreat until a more gradual advance could be made by means of a greater knowledge and experience of local requirements. At the same time some 40,000 people who had been accustomed to find employment and been attracted by the works constructed out of public loans, found themselves out of work. The shrinkage of the expenditure of private capital affected another large number and with the displacement of these large bodies there followed the many more thousands who, directly or indirectly, were dependent upon them.

In the Eastern States the year 1892 showed a restricted loan expenditure; the total of the five States, which in 1889 had been about ten millions, fell to three millions per annum, a shrinkage of £7,000,000. Between 1870 and 1892 the amount of private capital sent to New South Wales in excess of withdrawals was about nineteen millions, and those going to the country took over twenty-three millions. Of these totals the bulk came and was expended in 1883-1890. Between these latter years the private capital introduced into Victoria, or withdrawn from investments outside that State, amounted to £31,500,000.

Conditions almost as inflated applied to South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania.

The collapse of 1893 threw upon the Commonwealth a greater strain than has faced any other country, and it is a magnificent testimony to the richness and resources of that Continent that she retained all her natural increase, and by 1901 had absorbed a few thousand immigrants.

The stress of 1893 fell most heavily upon the older States, and during the next ten years these States threw upon the Commonwealth the obligation of finding work for upwards of 170,000 people, who were directly or indirectly sufferers and rendered workless by the crisis of 1893.

During this period of trouble came some years of low prices for articles of local production, and the great pastoral industry suffered from an exceptional drought.

The problem that faced us in 1893 was to find employment for those who had been attracted and fed by an enormous expenditure of public and private capital, and those who were indirectly in whole or in part dependent on these people. To deal with that problem, attention was at once directed to the primary industries. The heavy fall in agricultural prices handicapped land settlement;

the long drought was so severe that it caused an enormous shrinkage, and added to rather than relieved the pressure. But the main solution of the problem was found in increasing attention to land, and to the increased mineral development in all the three gold-producing States. It was obvious that railway extension could not be indefinitely continued; public opinion grew in opposition to a further continuance of that policy. The increased development of lands already served by railways remained the only alternative. It was at once recognised that settlers must not only have land made available but must be granted direct or indirect aid in the work of improvement. From the year 1893 began the real adoption of a policy of bona-fide settlement as distinct from mere questions of reforming the Land laws, which in Australia means the law relating to the Crown lands. Bonuses, State and Agricultural Banks, Creameries, Repurchase of Estates, Village Settlements and other practical reforms were instituted, and all of them aimed at giving aid and encouragement to the man on the land. As a consequence the agricultural advance of 1893-1903 is the greatest relative progress made by the Commonwealth. The agricultural production of 1891 was less than £1,000,000 in excess of that of 1881; that of 1903 was £10,000,000 over that of 1891. Land under cultivation increased by 4,000,000 acres during 1891-1903 as against an increase of 876,000 acres during 1881-1891.

In 1891 the wheat crop was 25,641,486 bushels, showing an increase of 4,250,000 bushels on 1881: for 1903 the crop was 74,000,000 bushels, being nearly three times the crop of 1891. In 1891 the dairying export (butter) was 4,000,000 lbs., valued at £170,000, whilst in 1904 its export value alone was nearly £2,580,000.

When one has a knowledge of the grave problems which faced Australia in 1893, it is not surprising that during the next ten years she barely held her own in population. The marvel is that a country with so small a population as 3,000,000 (3,183,237 souls in 1891) could have retained her natural increase and avoided a loss when called upon to face so grave a problem as was then presented, accentuated as it was by low prices for agricultural products and a drought which reduced the sheep by 50,000,000 and the cattle by 4,000,000. When called upon to absorb the suddenly dislocated body of labour and find a compensation for the enormous shrinkage in public and private expenditure, Australia had to repeat her earlier experiences and find salvation in increased land cultivation. She proved again that her absorptive power was measured

by her land settlement, and that, when the land was made available and direct inducements to settle given, she could find homes for those who had been deprived of settled occupations by the crash of 1893. The land responded to the call, but it has only done so after legislative activity has run in different channels from those which characterised the earlier and futile efforts of scientific land reformers.

Australia now realises also that to make her railways pay more fully she must settle the lands which are capable of agricultural development and lie within easy reach of existing lines, and that it is an unwise expenditure to be constantly extending lines to open new areas and at the same time repeating the evils which these lines were built to outstrip. She is learning the lesson, too, that agricultural advance must be from the coast inwards, and that the future conquest of the interior lands will be simpler as the nearer lands are settled and the experience gained in one advance utilised to assure the next step forward.

She must and will insist upon the settlement of these coastal areas, and in that effort will extend her Repurchase of Estates system and apply more discriminately and thoroughly a system of equitable land taxation. The existing system of land taxation by the State dates from subsequently to 1893, when the evils of locked land became apparent to those who had to face the problems pressing for solution. Even to-day two States impose no such tax, whilst, in the four which do, the legislation is imposed from a Revenue standpoint and does not aim—as it should—at those large estates which are capable of closer settlement but held to-day practically as land speculations.

#### THE PRESENT.

The year 1904 found us safely over the crisis and enjoying conditions of renewed prosperity. But it will take some time yet to remove from the public mind the depressing effect of these long and trying years. The boom of the late eighties re-acted almost too strongly and spread abroad a spirit of undue caution as opposed to the resolute optimism which formerly prevailed and will soon re-appear. Immigration results must not be looked for until this prevailing opinion has reverted to the old sound tendency and impressed upon all the striking richness of Australia's resources and productions.

A few figures of 1904 may be not uninteresting :—

TRADE.

|   | £          |
|---|------------|
| In 1901, excess of exports over imports (foreign only) . . . . .                      | 7,262,361  |
| In 1904, excess of exports over imports (foreign only) . . . . .                      | 20,468,374 |
| Estimated value of agricultural, pastoral and mineral production<br>in 1901 . . . . . | 82,731,923 |
| Estimated value of agricultural, pastoral and mineral production<br>in 1904 . . . . . | 84,521,589 |
| Increase in 1904 . . . . .  | 1,789,666  |

BANK DEPOSITS.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| As to the accumulation of wealth in Australia, the amount de-<br>posited in Banks of issue was in 1901 . . . . . | 89,590,722 |
| On June 30, 1905, it was . . . . .   | 98,143,388 |
| An increase of . . . . .   | 8,552,666  |
| Cash and bullion held by them in 1901 . . . . .  | 19,737,572 |
| Cash and bullion held by them on June 30, 1905 . . . . .   | 21,490,355 |
| The number of depositors in Savings Banks in 1901 was . . . . .  | 950,079    |
| The number on June 30, 1905, was . . . . .   | 1,117,709  |
| Out of a population of 4,014,000 an increase of . . . . .  | 167,630    |
| The amount deposited in 1901 was . . . . .   | 30,869,596 |
| The amount deposited on June 30, 1905, was . . . . .   | 35,844,839 |
| An increase of . . . . .   | 4,975,248  |

SHIPPING.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Shipping inwards and outwards was, in 1901, vessels . . . . .    | 18,639     |
| Tonnage . . . . .  | 26,198,899 |
| In 1904 it was, vessels . . . . .                                | 17,691     |
| In 1904 it was, tonnage . . . . .                                | 29,150,962 |
| Thus there was a reduction in the number of vessels of . . . . . | 948        |
| But an increase in tonnage of . . . . .                          | 2,952,073  |

WEALTH AND PROPERTY.

The private wealth of Australia is estimated, necessarily approximately, as £250 per inhabitant, or £1,015,000,000 for all Australia. This amount per inhabitant is the greatest by far of any country in the world except Great Britain, for which the amount is £302 per inhabitant.

The capital value of rateable property in Australia certainly exceeds £700,000,000.

Sir John Madden, the Chief Justice of Victoria, referring to these figures at a recent meeting of the Australian Chamber of Commerce, said :—

“Economists and historians never tire of pointing to the recovery of France from the disasters of the Franco-Prussian war with the help of

some 38,000,000 people. If they could but understand what the blight of the culminating drought of 1902 and 1903 meant to Australia's herds and flocks and crops; if they could conceive what was the strain to defy and defeat it, they would indeed appreciate the meaning of the facts which I have shown, and realise what Australian land and energy and Australian resolution really are, Australia's creditors would know they have no other such security in their deed boxes. If the machinery of our politics, being yet new, has not quite settled down to the bearing of smooth and useful working, let us remember that politics never yet made the prosperity of a nation. Indeed it may be well doubted if they ever yet very seriously impeded it. Hard work, honest, persistent, resolute industry of the people, guided by sound brains not easily disturbed, is the only recipe for national success, and that recipe has been working pretty fairly in our country."

#### THE FUTURE.

To the extended operation and increasing application of the principles and methods which have so much aided land settlement of recent years, the near future should add a new factor in attracting population by the creation of an Australian manufacturing industry protected within the whole Commonwealth by effective fiscal tariffs. Victoria turned towards this manufacturing development in 1867, but until the Commonwealth tariff of 1901 her manufacturers were restricted to the markets of that one state. The Mother State of New South Wales remained true to Free Trade largely owing to her great pastoral industry, her terminal ports, her coalfields, her large unalienated areas and the lessened pressure of population affecting her at the end of the Gold Rush (1858).

It was the position of Victoria in 1860—with land locked up on all sides and no outlet for the growing population—which turned the men who left England fierce in their resentment of the Corn Laws and enthusiastic supporters of Cobden into staunch Protectionists. Economic questions weighed lightly with these pioneers, the pressure of population much. The bedrock principle was to find work for the children. To widen the openings and increase the opportunities for employment. That force is still operative and influences the opinion of 75 per cent. of the population. It is the main power behind the Protectionist movement and strong enough to enforce its views as soon as the direct issue is put to it.

#### THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Commonwealth Government of Australia, unlike the Dominion Government of Canada, has no lands of its own and



therefore has not as yet taken any part in the solution of the Land problems. But the Commonwealth Parliament has done something, and may do still more in the early future, in relation to immigration, and therefore some reference to the Commonwealth is called for in this paper if only in this connection.

The Commonwealth of Australia came into existence in 1901, and its consummation appealed most strongly to Englishmen as a practical step towards that greater cohesiveness which all parties within the Empire alike desired.

It was natural that the Commonwealth Parliament should attract a far wider attention than did the various State Parliaments. People at this end might find time to follow one Commonwealth Parliament, but could not be blamed if they failed or declined to endeavour to keep in touch with the legislative activities of six State Parliaments.

Such a change was desirable in every way. It inspired in us the hope of obtaining a more accurate body of English opinion, whilst on the other hand it offered to Englishmen an opportunity of following the main trend of Australian political forces.

The initiation of this new system—this new informative and educating agency—needed tact and care in view of its external influence.

In Australia Federal action is judged by a knowledge of currents of public opinion which found expression in the various State Parliaments before Federation was accomplished. The Englishman has but little if any knowledge of these currents, and views Federal action as if new and quite unconnected with a past. Viewed in such a light Commonwealth legislation must appear as if embodying novel and untested theories springing from a desire to be experimental rather than—as the fact is—an earnest effort to secure the united expression of a common opinion. This apparent want of continuity was a difficulty which, during the earlier years of the Commonwealth, was bound to cause misapprehensions in the minds of men who follow Federal action but possess but little if any knowledge of earlier State activity. The difficulty was emphasised by the misconceptions to which the Boer War gave rise at this end, and also by the want of tact which characterised some acts of Commonwealth administration.

The Immigration Restriction Act was passed in 1901 and was intended to protect the policy of a white Australia. To that policy we almost unanimously agreed; it was conceived and enforced long before the Labour party came into existence and it stands to-day too

strongly entrenched to be affected by the opposition or advocacy of that or any other party. So far as it aims at preventing the settlement in the Commonwealth of Asiatics and other coloured races no serious objection will ever be raised to it. Legislative modifications which preserve the main principles whilst removing needlessly objectionable details will be fairly and openly considered, but in its broad sense the policy of a "White Australia" represents the one question upon which the Commonwealth is inflexibly and earnestly united.

The Immigration Restriction Act—a most unfortunate short title—has done much to injure Australia. No statute of the Commonwealth has been so largely moulded by Imperial considerations; yet strangely enough no statute has received more English condemnation. The Mother Country condemns us because, anxious to save the feelings of other portions of the Empire, we have listened to and respected the expressed wishes of the Mother Country. The result has not been encouraging, and subsequent appeals to the need for respecting Imperial considerations in Commonwealth legislation are not likely to be more favourably considered, when we remember the attacks made upon us by Imperial organs and so many classes of Englishmen professing Imperial sympathies on account of the "Language Test" embodied in that Act—a device entirely and wholly of London origin, conceived in Downing Street and brought forth in Natal and Australia at the urgent request of the Colonial Office.

This Act and the administration of it have, however, given rise to very widespread misapprehensions as to Australian immigration as a whole; a question which remains unaffected by this Act except to the extent to which the misconceptions to which the Act has given rise have retarded the flow towards Australia. Only a few weeks ago Sir William Lyne, the Federal Minister of Customs, pointed out that "the British Customs authorities, acting under the Aliens Restriction Act, did exactly what was done in the Commonwealth in the case of the six batters, the wrecked crew of the 'Petriana,' and the foreigner Stelling at Newcastle. Take" (said Sir William Lyne in illustration of this contention) "the case of the American barque 'Edward C. Mayberry.' Her shipwrecked crew was brought to London in another vessel. The British authorities refused to allow the men to land until the American Consul undertook to have them sent back to the United States." Take again the experiences of Mr. Richard Jebb, the "Morning Post's" special correspondent in the Colonies. Mr. Jebb, who

went to Australia from the United States and Canada, says he cannot endorse the notion that strangers landing on Australian shores are subjected to harassing investigations. In passing through the United States from Canada, he obtained—at the cost of much valuable time, irritating examination, and two dollars in cash—a certificate to the effect that he was “an alien in transit.” But when he got to Sydney from America he, with a crowd of other passengers, left the wharf at Sydney, baggage and all, “with less trouble of any kind” (he says) “than I have ever experienced in any other part of the world. . . . Here in Australia I am a white fellow-citizen, welcomed as such without fine or hindrance.”

The Language Test provided by the Immigration Restriction Act has never been applied to any European. It was never intended that it should be; it was openly stated that it would not be. Directly the Act was passed the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth gave specific and written instructions on this point, and in no instance have these been departed from.

The Act in itself affords no ground for the statement that it has discouraged or was intended to discourage immigrants. Its Contract Clause—so indefensible as applied to British workers that it has now been amended and not capable of very strong defence in relation to any white artisan—may have prevented the introduction of a few dozen immigrants, but such a number is too small to affect the broad question and certainly much too few to justify the somewhat gross attacks to which the Commonwealth Parliament has been subjected. But that Act does, however, deal—as earlier legislation in every separate state had dealt—with Chinese and other Asiatics. This legislation was in its inception aimed at Chinese, with whom alone the Australian was then acquainted and of whose “ways” he still has the greatest experience. The question is an interesting one to this country, and I will conclude with a few words in reference to the policy it involves.

#### ASIATICS.

There are only 30,542 Chinese in Australia now. They came freely in the early diggings but were the jackals of the Whites. The white man never troubled about the yellow until the mine owners thought fit to use the yellow man as a threat to bring down the price of labour. A very few attempts to do this laid the foundations of the bitter hostility of Australians to Chinese. The most dramatic incident in connection with this happened at Clunes in Victoria, the scene of one of the first gold discoveries.

Because of a strike at Clunes the mine owners sought to bring a large body of Chinamen to the field from Ballarat, and did succeed in getting them within sight of the mines. At that point the road was barred by a determined-looking body of Cornish women, who were so patently ready to deal with the aliens that John Chinaman dropped off the coaches as one man and scurried back. It was the menace of cheap Chinese labour more than the fact which laid the foundations of Australian exclusion laws. The foundations were laid and even the pinnacles capped by the first immigrants—the men who had not had time to forget the songs of the English birds or the scent of the Scottish heather—not by their children who rule Australia to-day and who only know the England of song and story. The menace these men legislated against was at the time no greater than the first cloud that Elijah saw “like a man’s hand.” Their senses told them that a flood of immigration that might follow would be as sudden and as heavy as the rain that splashed Ahab’s chariot.

The exclusion laws, having their root in the labour question gained a powerful support from the social side. Whatever may be said for the Chinaman individually, taking him in the mass he is, judging wholly from Australian experiences, most undesirable. It stands as a broadly admitted fact that every Chinese camp in Australia has been a festering sore in the heart of the community into which all that was foul and low in human character drifted. It did not matter that a whole countryside of healthful surroundings was open to the Chinamen : they made of every camp an evil smelling reproduction of Cantonese purlieus. A few steps would carry one from a bright, sweet atmosphere of cleanly English home-life, where white miners reared their families in decency and in comfortable homes surrounded with flower gardens, into an Asiatic hell where bark huts and tumbling down shanties held each other up, where the sunlight was excluded, where a moral leprosy flaunted at the doors and a physical leprosy hid in the corners. It is true that the moral lepers were not all yellow. Even some degraded whites drifted to the camps. But the odour of the Chinese camps ate into the very hearts of the whites so deeply that a white girl not of the demi-monde, would consider an alliance with a prince of the Manchu blood a shame that would cut her off from her own colour. These things raised the ban of the Chinese in all the mining districts ; but the legislation which was passed was in no sense the work of the Labour Party as we now have it.

The Chinaman to-day in Australia is a decreasing force. He is a

furniture maker, a laundry-man, a market gardener (he has a perfect genius for growing vegetables), and a fruit grower in tropical Queensland. "The Camps" are disappearing in the old mining centres, and in the cities he is becoming quite European in his dress and growing more European in his tastes and mode of living. But the sense of him as a menace to the labourer, and as a menace to the moral and physical health of the nation, is so deeply burnt into the heart of the Australians, that there are no two parties on the question of the Exclusion Laws.

When we turn from the yellow to the black exclusion some of the same circumstances are met with. There are only twenty thousand coloured aliens in Australia, not counting Chinese and Japanese. Except in Northern Queensland, there is no Black Labour question in Australia. Even in Northern Queensland on the sugar plantations it is more the menace to than the actual displacement of white labour which has caused the resistance of the working classes to the Kanakas. White labour has shown no inclination to exploit the sugar plantations and such as go to them are the unskilled floating class of labourers. With the bulk of the Australians the question has not been whether the plantations wanted black labour, nor whether the Kanakas were fairly treated on them, but whether the conditions of the recruiting traffic could be tolerated. In its very nature it appeared a wrong to the Islanders. The criticisms that are levelled at the Commonwealth, based upon the selfishness of keeping the Kanakas from entering Queensland to labour, are wide of the mark. The Kanaka Exclusion Act was aimed at the traffic. The influence of the Labour Leagues dealing with it as a Labour question was the smallest part of the sentiment which made the Commonwealth Parliament practically refuse to discuss the question. It was treated as a matter with only one side. There was the subsidiary question of the purity of the race, both with the blacks and with the Chinese. The white woman who goes out to either goes out for ever from her kind. The alien races bring very few of their women with them and intermarriage with a white man is almost unknown. A white woman demoralises herself so completely by mating with black or yellow that, while purity of race has its part in the great question, it is not the most potent factor under the conditions we have known.

As to the brown-skinned low-caste men from India, the answer is simple. Those who have so far come from India are of no use in Australia. They are still Hindoos or Mohammedans and keep apart from the national life. They hawk through the country districts

cheap fancy-goods, mostly rubbish. The merest handful have taken to productive work. The bulk wander through the country scaring lonely women and from any point of view are valueless to a new country. Australia needs population, but is not in any way yearning for immigrants, black or white, to hawk cheap cotton-goods through the back blocks, and as a class that is all the Indians do.

Long before a Parliamentary Labour Party existed was laid the firm foundations of all the legislation which has excluded Asiatics. More than that is not and never was intended by the Federal legislation. It is not the fault of the Australian Parliament that the Act is so drawn as to make it *possible* to exclude Europeans. An amendment to confine the act to Asiatics only was moved by Mr. Watson (the Labour Leader), and successfully resisted by the Barton Government, because of the urgent representations of the Imperial Authorities that the direct exclusion would disturb the Imperial relations in Asia.

The future of tropical Australia still remains to be dealt with by Australians. They appreciate the difficulties and the gravity of the problem, but believe that white labour can people this country and have strong grounds on which to base that belief.

It has been represented by many English critics of Australia's "All White" policy—and by many Australian critics too—that it is a dog-in-the-manger policy—that it is keeping out of occupation tropical and sub-tropical districts in which the white man cannot live, and in which he will not let the coloured man live. This assumption that the white man cannot live and work there equally as well as the black or the yellow is perfectly gratuitous. It is true the whites do not now occupy that part of Australia in considerable numbers, but that is because the temperate latitudes of the continent have superior attractions. Let there be but another Coolgardie gold discovery in the northern territories of Queensland, South Australia, or Western Australia, and there will be set down there another Kalgoorlie or Gympie or Charters Towers, built and peopled and governed and industrially manned by white men.

Dr. Elkington, the Health Officer of Tasmania, who has had considerable experience of tropical climates, expressed the conviction in a paper recently read before the Royal Society of Tasmania, that the impossibility of employing white labour in the Australian Tropics was a "fetish." More recently Professor J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., D.Sc., of the University of Glasgow, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society of England, declared that "there

is nothing in the heat of the tropics to prevent white men working there."

Speaking of the anti-Asiatic legislation of Australia, Professor Gregory said in the paper I have just referred to :

"The north-west ports of Australia are only four days' steam from that overcrowded corner of Asia where dwells about half of the human race. . . . Australia has only to remove the artificial barriers she has erected to let in an Asiatic deluge. The coloured immigrants would keep clear of the deserts of the interior. The cities and the pleasant coastal districts would be good enough for them. The difficult interior would still have to be opened up by the white man. But the figures of the Australian population would be easily multiplied. . . . There seems to be no adequate reason why Australia should not in time all be occupied by white races."

The future will decide, but until driven by an experience which admits of no possible doubt and teaches beyond question the incapacity of the White to do what can be accomplished by the Brown, Black or Yellow, the Australians will run no risks. They are determined to keep Australia "White" if possible; nothing but the clearest proof of a physical impossibility of otherwise developing the continent will make them reconsider the question.

On this question the Australian temper found expression so far back as 1888. In the Parliament of New South Wales a Chinese Restriction Bill was introduced by Sir Henry Parkes, G.C.M.G.—himself a native-born Englishman—to deal with Chinese immigrants then on their way to Sydney. There had been communications passing between the Home and Colonial Governments in contemplation of this restrictive legislation, but the Imperial replies indicated a preference for Manchester cottons in China rather than for racial interests in Australia. Sir Henry decided to pass the Bill and exclude the Chinese—he had indeed promised they should not land even before the Bill was introduced, and in moving its second reading said :

"In this crisis of the Chinese question, and it is a crisis, we have acted calmly, with a desire to see clearly the way before us; but at the same time we have acted with decision, and we do not mean to turn back. Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of the Chinese on these shores for ever, except under the restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount, and which are intended to amount, to practical prohibition. . . . I care nothing about your cobweb of technical

law ; I am obeying a law far superior to any law which issued these permits, namely, the law of the preservation of society in New South Wales. So far as I have means, against every power that can be brought against me, I will carry out my pledge given on that night in writing to the free people of this country, and not allow these men to land."

Sir Henry kept his word ; and since that object-lesson the Home Authorities have not attempted to arrest the development of the "White Australia" policy.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN FORREST, G.C.M.G., Treasurer of the Commonwealth : I am sure we have all listened with much attention to the interesting and able address which my old friend Mr. James has delivered to us. He speaks with a directness that is not, perhaps, too common in this country, but when one has anything to say it is a very good thing to say it so that everyone should clearly understand it. In the matters he has dealt with, I think, generally, Mr. James's views represent a large section of the opinion of the people of Australia. Of some of his observations at the beginning perhaps another view might be taken. It must be remembered that to the people of this country Australia is a far-off place, an offshoot of the Empire, and has not always possessed the importance and the wealth which it has to-day. It is not surprising, therefore, that the people of this country should have viewed the people of Australia as the head of a family sometimes views its young members ; he does not consider them to have all the wisdom he himself possesses, and it is very often difficult for him to understand their passing away from the time of youth and becoming full-grown men. No doubt that natural feeling has influenced public opinion in this country in regard to this outlying portion of the Empire. There is another reason why the people of these Islands, perhaps, think somewhat more of themselves than of those who are far away. It is that they have the responsibility cast upon them not only of defending themselves but other parts of the Empire. As we all know, the man who pays the piper generally has the right to call the tune ; so here the people who to a very large extent provide the Army and Navy for the protection of the Empire (I am not referring for the moment to internal defence, which most of the Colonies provide) not unreasonably think perhaps that as long as that state of affairs exists the Colonies are hardly in the partnership



which many look forward to as some day likely to exist. There are those in this country and all over the Empire who do look forward to that time—perhaps a far-off time. It is difficult even for those who have studied the question most to see how it is to be brought about. Still we do look forward to the day when this great Empire of ours shall have representation from every part of it, and when the defence of the Empire shall fall upon us all and not be cast upon one particular portion alone. That, as I say, may not come about in our day, but you may depend upon it that as the dominions beyond the seas increase in strength and population, and become greater perhaps in population than the Mother Country, the state of affairs that now exists will not be thought suitable, and some other means will have to be devised by which not only shall those living beyond the seas have rights and representation and privileges, but shall have to pay too, because, as I have said, unless you are willing to pay you should not have too much to say. My friend Mr. James underrated a little the extent of manufactures in Australia. These are growing very quickly and we look forward to the establishment of manufactures as the only means by which we shall be able to support a large population. I do not myself believe that you will be able to fill up Australia with only primary producers from the soil. It is a very nice idea but not likely to be realised. We hope to help to fill up our country with them, but we also hope to have our tens of thousands of artisans and others engaged in manufacture. I notice already, showing that we are moving in the right direction, that while there are £90,000,000 a year produced from the soil there are £30,000,000 a year produced by manufacture, or £120,000,000 a year in all. Mr. James also gave us a retrospect, which was interesting. We have to work out our destiny as we go along, and that has been the case in Australia, as in every other country. It is easy to be wise after the event. All the things my friend speaks of as being unwise did not appear unwise at the time. The people then were just as alive to their interests as they are to-day, though when we look backward we do see that if other influences had prevailed better results might perhaps have been attained. My own idea is that in British communities the people are generally able to look after themselves for the time being. In regard to the population question, I would impress upon you that Australia never was so flourishing as it is to-day. We are doing very well, and anyone who is dissatisfied with the present condition of things must be very hard to please. Everything is very flourishing, and therefore when we speak of want of population it

is not that we want individually to profit by it or get richer by that means, but that we believe it is necessary in the interests of the Empire that Australia should be filled up with citizens of the right stamp, because so long as we are empty we are not so powerful for defence. I hope we have some idea also that we desire to be a greater power in the world than at present, and to see the people of our own race turn their attention to their own land rather than go elsewhere. It is in the interest then of the Empire and of the race that we desire increased population, and in order that we may grow in importance and be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. No doubt the burden of defence is a terrible one. It has doubled, I think, within the last few years, and sometimes people think that the outlying portions of the Empire, Australia, Canada, and the rest, are not doing enough, seeing that the Empire belongs to all of them, and that we are all equally interested in its stability. As to that, I will just make this observation, that, after all, up to the present at any rate—I do not say we must go on using the argument for ever—we are doing perhaps a greater work than in contributing to Imperial defence by building up as we have done almost unaided another Britain in the Southern Hemisphere. We must never forget, however, that in doing this great work we have been greatly assisted by the fact that we have always had the strong arm of the Mother Country ready, willing, and able to defend us, and which has given us continued peace and security.

Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G., referred to that part of the Paper that dealt with the original cost of the settlement of Australia, and held that a much greater burden had fallen on the Mother Country than was usually admitted in Australia. He urged that this should be considered when arrangements were made for admission of immigrants, and that some help might be given to the Mother Country in the matters of those who are maintained by the Queen's Fund—so that the broad plains of Australia might be available for their support—assuming that the Mother Country is to continue to bear the greater part of the cost of defence. He hoped that the Colonies would consider the views and interests of tax-payers at home, and be more friendly and courteous towards British subjects from India and Hongkong, and towards foreigners from Japan and China, than has been the case in the past. The policy of exclusion is annoying, and has been defended on grounds far from complimentary to them. He hoped that a more conciliatory policy would be adopted, because if difficulties should

arise the defence of Australia would entirely depend on the forces of the King.

Mr. SIMPSON NEWLAND (South Australia) : I wish to draw attention to an erroneous impression which Mr. James has, quite inadvertently no doubt, produced in the minds of some of you. He has mentioned that Australia has practically no navigable rivers. That is certainly not correct, for Australia has one of the very finest rivers in the world, the Murray, which is navigable for over 3,000 miles, and is capable of being made navigable for an even greater distance. No doubt when canals are made, as they will be in the future, the navigable capacity of the rivers will be largely increased. It is generally accepted that Australia is a dry country. Dry the interior undoubtedly is ; still it has that magnificent river system which, as time goes on, will be more fully developed. I noticed what one speaker said about immigration. He endorsed what the President of the United States said when some time ago, in a pregnant phrase, he advised us to open our gates or fill our cradles. It would have added weight to his expression of opinion if he had said do both. I think Australia is on the right track in opening her gates. I will only add that, though I cannot entirely agree with Mr. James in the absolute accuracy of his retrospect, I deeply appreciate and heartily compliment him upon his Paper.

Mr. W. J. NAPIER : I wish to thank Mr. James for his able and well-reasoned paper. Speaking as a New Zealander and one who, until lately, was a member of the New Zealand Parliament, and who is still identified with its public life, I would wish to say that the problems we have had to encounter in New Zealand are to some extent similar to those Mr. James has referred to. We have not had the unfortunate experience of Australia during the last ten or twelve years, for we have had fifteen years of uninterrupted prosperity, but notwithstanding, or perhaps because of that prosperity, our crying want to-day is population. We have no Act of Parliament which in any way whatever would prohibit a white British subject entering our portals. We extend open arms to any resident of the British Islands who comes to us, and I may say that the test to which Sir Fowell Buxton referred, with some asperity, I must say, was one which within the last few days I myself was subjected to in the United States, for when I landed at San Francisco I had to make an affidavit that I was worth a hundred dollars, but for which I should have been excluded from the Republic. Thus Australia is not peculiar in providing that at least temporary means of subsistence should be possessed by those who seek to come within

its gates. In looking through the newspapers since my arrival in London I noticed a proposal of some English nobleman to form a regiment or regiments of younger sons of good families, with the object of providing them with some means of occupation. It occurred to me that, as, through the wise diplomacy of your statesmen, we are going to have a sort of universal *entente cordiale*, we shall have no nations left to fight, and I would suggest that these younger sons should go to New Zealand, where they would become worthy settlers and sturdy pioneers of a great race. New Zealand gives leases of land for 999 years, and advances money at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to enable the holders to stock, fence, and improve it. I may say that there is no country within the British Empire which offers such excellent inducements to younger sons of good families or to any others who are not afraid to work as New Zealand offers to-day. The lecturer very wisely observed that had Australia adopted the policy of breaking up large estates in the sixties many evils would have been averted. I quite agree, and our experience has demonstrated the accuracy of that contention. Sir John Forrest, who rather criticised Mr. James for censuring statesmen of a former generation, will see by referring to the results of a contrary policy in New Zealand that we actually adopted the right solution in breaking up these big estates. Of course full compensation in money was paid for the estates resumed. The result of this policy was an enormous extension of settlement, with resulting prosperity.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. : Perhaps I may be allowed to add one word with regard to the interesting suggestion which has fallen from the last speaker on the subject of land settlement, because, as many of you know, I happen to be one of those who was associated with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who did the very thing he proposes in the case of New Zealand in 1839-51. I personally assisted its great founder in carrying out his plans of colonisation in connection with that country. I am glad to think that there is some indication the policy then initiated by him under the terms of the Wakefield system is likely to be revived in some form. The idea Mr. Napier suggests was the very idea with which we started ; the Molesworths, the Petres, the Cliffords, and others whom I personally knew went out to New Zealand under it, and the result has given pride and satisfaction to every one who had anything, however small, to do with the Colony of New Zealand. I wish as much as any to do all I can to promote a large system of emigration to Australia, as well as the other Colonies, for I maintain that by a system of carefully selected emigration

a large number of suitable people might be planted in our Colonies who are admirably qualified to fulfil all the requirements of successful colonists, and who would consequently benefit themselves, the Mother Country, and the Colonies to which they were induced to go.

The Hon. B. R. WISE : I rejoice that after a long interval there has come an Australian to London to speak in London the sentiments of Australians, and to speak them in a way which will command recognition on account of their good sense and moderation. Our problems are quite different from yours, and our solutions must often jar on the preconceived notions of those who are not accustomed to look at problems from new standpoints. But I believe Mr. James is absolutely right in pointing to the land question as the most crucial of all political problems in a new continent. I may be pardoned if I remind you that a distinguished Italian economist, in discussing the fiscal policies of different countries, pointed out that the predominant object of getting revenue, whether through the Custom House or by direct taxes, always depends on the fertility of the land and its profits, and he showed how in all countries, when the fertility of the land came to be exhausted and the population began to increase beyond the means of sustenance from the land, the necessity arose for finding some means of employment, and that generally led to the development of manufactures. Mr. James has shown that this general law has been proved to be true in the State of Victoria, where lands were first exhausted. It is now becoming true all through the Commonwealth. I am afraid the solution of the difficulty will not always commend itself to English investors who have invested in land with the object of getting the unearned increment. If they look at the matter fairly I think they will see that, though they may not get dividends in the same way in the future, they must allow us to develop our country along lines that science indicates as correct and practical experience proves to be correct, and though they may lose in one direction they will gain in another. Think what this continent was a little more than a century ago, when Captain Cook or Governor Phillip first visited it. I suppose the whole place was not worth 20s., while now you cannot calculate its value except in figures which baffle the imagination. Why should not that value belong to the people who made it? In Australia we see, not in one generation but in twelve months sometimes, lands that are valueless increasing ten-, twenty-, or even a hundredfold, not through the energy of the people who own them,

but through the expenditure of public money or the discovery of some latent natural resource, and we ask ourselves why some portion of that State-earned increment should not go back to the State. When we are told this is Socialism, and that we ought to encourage thrift, we may reply by reminding you of what happened in New South Wales, where a man who was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for a very bad crime found, when he came out of jail, that an estate he had inherited near Sydney, and which was half bush when he went into jail, was worth £20,000. He was afterwards held up to the community at a ripe old age as an example of virtue and thrift. Mr. James is perfectly right when he says that you cannot have any steady flow of immigrants in any new country unless you have the land to offer, and I am glad to find that quite recently an Immigration League has been founded in my own State (N.S.Wales), which is asking for the assistance of charitable and emigration agencies in Great Britain, particularly in London. What response we are to give to that request, and how we can most satisfactorily carry out the wishes of the League, is a question not easy to answer, but the request has come from a thoroughly responsible body in N.S.Wales that all Australians in London and all interested should do something to divert the stream of emigration towards Australia. They inform us that a committee of business men has been established, with plenty of funds, who will see that any immigrant obtains a billet which he is fit to occupy without any delay, whether he is an artisan or a labourer. It seems to me it is not of much use to form a committee here if it involves having offices and advertising and merely parading ourselves, but I think organisations already in existence might be approached by those interested and asked to give the information which is at the disposal of the Agents-General and others. I would just like to say this, further, especially with regard to a cable which has appeared in the papers to-day, that if the Commonwealth revenue from Customs is decreased there is only one source from which they can get revenue, and that is from the land—not from the persons who are working the land, but those who are holding with a view to reap profit in the future from the growth of the population. If a federal land tax, which is referred to in the papers as a possible feature of the new programme, should be introduced, I believe it will be the forerunner of as large a stream of immigration as fertilised Australia even in the goldfields time or in the eighties. There is one other matter to which I must allude. If Australia is to have a proper stream of immigrants she must be represented in

Great Britain by a responsible official able to speak the voice of the Commonwealth, and I can speak of this in the presence of Sir John Forrest the more freely because my name has been mentioned in connection with this office almost as freely as his, and with just as little justification. Australia has suffered from the lack of some one who can voice the opinions, not of this State or of that, but who can speak for Australia as a whole, as the High Commissioner for Canada speaks for the Dominion. It is all the more important that appointment should be made when we recollect that two or three years ago an Order in Council was passed providing that the High Commissioners of Canada and of Australia when appointed should be members of a sub-committee of the Cabinet of Great Britain to advise on matters of commercial and Imperial importance—a committee which perhaps may constitute the germ of an Imperial Council which in the future would bind together the whole Empire. Every month's delay in the appointment to that great office of State is a disadvantage to Australia, and holds her back in that fair and legitimate competition for immigrants of British race in which she is engaged with all the other branches of the Empire.

Mr. E. T. SCAMMELL: Being interested more especially in Western Australia, I would like to state, with reference to the observations of Mr. Napier, that we also, and Australia generally, can offer to young men similar advantages to those which he has mentioned in regard to New Zealand. I was glad to hear what Mr. Wise said about the proposal of the Immigration League. It is an excellent idea that useful settlers should be helped on their arrival in Australia. If a committee can be formed here to assist this plan so much the better. I am glad Mr. James has presented so well the historical account of Australian immigration, but we want not only the historical aspect; we want, as Sir John Forrest says, to "look forward," and in the debate to-night we have had the opportunity of anticipating what Australian immigration may become in the future.

The CHAIRMAN (the Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.): I have now to propose that we give a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. James. I think we are very much indebted to him, if only because he has given the opportunity for the discussion of a variety of subjects. In fact, almost every subject connected with Australia has been discussed except, perhaps, cricket. I quite agree that the question of the land laws must always, to a certain extent, affect those who may become immigrants. This question is also exceedingly

important to those who may have invested their money there. But I quite agree that every country must approach these subjects from its own point of view. As long as they are dealt with in an honest and honourable manner I do not think people need fear, and in Australia I feel confident that whatever measures may be undertaken will be undertaken with a full sense of the responsibility which must attach to any Government or Parliament which tries to settle them. I hope they will be dealt with in that spirit of consideration for the interests of all concerned which has hitherto distinguished British legislation. It seems to me the real question is, in what way Australia can best attract to its shores a good class of immigrants. I do not agree with Sir Fowell Buxton that there are many of those whom we have sometimes seen perambulating the streets close by here who are exactly those best suited to go to Australia. I should think, to begin with, that they would create a rather bad impression as to the bone and sinew of this country. What I think is wanted in Australia is an arrangement by which when people go out they can speedily find places on the land. It does not rest entirely with the Commonwealth Government. The Governments of each State must try—and I believe I am right in saying that they are trying—to make such arrangements as will attract settlers upon the land, and that is what will help to strengthen Australia generally. I see from the telegrams that at the conference of the Premiers this question of immigration has been discussed, and there seems to be a readiness on the part of the Premiers and the Prime Minister to work together in this direction. If they will all pull together I have no doubt there will be a good result. I am not quite certain what can be done in this country. Though if there happens to be a particularly good man I do not know that I am anxious to see him leave Great Britain, still I know there are good people who in the spirit of enterprise would be glad to go out; and it is no use telling them to go unless you tell them what to expect. I hope that Sir John Forrest will be able to take the feeling of this meeting when he goes back to Australia. I hope it will be understood in Australia that people will not go out merely on the chance. They must know something definite, and if that something definite can be told them in this country I think you will find plenty of people ready to go. It is a long and expensive journey, and therefore, perhaps, people are inclined to see if they cannot be helped to go out. It might perhaps be possible for the Government of the different States to arrange that the passage-money should not be quite so high as it is



now, for undoubtedly that must act as a deterrent to many people. I cannot say that I agree with everything that fell from Sir Fowell Buxton. I am entirely in favour of a white Australia. I do not for a moment think that the governing people in this country would wish for their entreaties to be of such a nature as would interfere with the due and right development of Australia. I do not think that pressure would ever be put on Australia by whatever Government might be in power in this country. There are many reasons into which I need not enter why Australia should protect itself against alien races, and though it may take a long time for the country to be thoroughly peopled, depend upon it it will be better for the future, to which all of us look forward as the destiny of Australia, that that future should be delayed, and that she should develop slowly, than that she should be filled up by the inrush of races alien to our own. Peopled by those who are born and bred there, and increased by those who will go there from this country Australia will have a great future, and will help the Empire in many ways. This is why I want Australia to remain a white Australia, and that inducements should be held out to people to go from this country to help forward her destiny, and at the same time to show that she is not looked upon askance in the Mother Country.

Mr. JAMES: I have to express my thanks for your vote and my gratitude for your patient attention. My object in this address has been to explain Australia's position in relation to immigration. On that point exist so many misconceptions that I was anxious to place before you the facts—to show that there was an exceptional flow of immigration until 1893, and that the practical cessation since is due to other than legislative causes. I do not refer to the policy of the future. That is for the Australians to decide, and must be discussed on the spot: it would be impertinent to discuss at this end a question upon which the Australian elector must give judgment, and in connection with which arguments should be addressed to them in Australia—not lectures aimed *at* them in London. In passing from this paper I desire to make one matter clear—namely, that, although the land question is the dominant factor affecting immigration, and will remain so whilst we are so largely primary producers, it is the pressure of population which has alone forced the solution or attempted solution of our land problems. As it has been in the past so will it be in the future. In Australia there is too great a readiness in some quarters to ignore this vital fact and to imagine that the land question can

be settled academically without the pressure of a practical and visible need for its solution. If Australian immigration is to wait until our land laws are perfect we shall never advance. Immigration, on the other hand, will soon improve those laws by forcing their shortcomings on the public view. We need both policies put into force, as neither can succeed without the other.

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### THE NEW AGRICULTURAL MOVEMENT IN CAPE COLONY.

AN AFTERNOON MEETING was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole on Wednesday, April 4, 1906, when a Paper was read by Mr. P. J. Hannon, Superintendent of Agricultural Organisation to the Cape Government, on "The New Agricultural Movement in Cape Colony." Dr. Alfred Hillier presided.

MR. HANNON said: The area of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is roughly about 276,000 square miles, and the population, including black and white races, about 2,409,804. The soil of the Colony is, generally speaking, of considerable fertility, and it is a common saying that it is capable of producing almost anything, provided that water can be artificially obtained as a substitute for the insufficient and irregular rainfall. One would naturally have supposed that a Colony at once so extensive and so naturally fertile would at least be capable of producing sufficient food for its own people. This, however, is far from being the case, and the total imports in 1905 of food stuffs and other articles which might be produced within the Colony itself amounted to £5,886,000.

This deplorable condition of Cape agriculture will be understood from an examination of certain peculiar economic conditions affecting not only Cape Colony, but South Africa generally, during many years. The opening up of valuable mines for gold and diamonds, and the consequent concentration of public thought upon the mining industry, attracted the mind of the country from the land, and the organisation of agriculture seems to have been entirely forgotten in the desire to facilitate the rapid development of great mining speculations. The absence of railway communication with the principal ports, and the great distances which divided the

larger centres of distribution from the smaller country towns, necessitated a vast amount of transport work, and in this large numbers of farmers systematically engaged themselves, in the unfortunate delusion that it was more profitable to be a carrier than a producer. With the extension of railways, however, and the more convenient organisation of the distribution of the articles of consumption, with the exception of a few localities, transport riding and trekking has become a thing of the past. Moreover, the rapid development of the ports of Delagoa Bay and Beira have had a severely adverse influence upon the volume of traffic of the Cape Government railways, which to a recent date provided an enormous revenue from the carrying trade to the northern colonies. The economic changes incidental to the causes just described naturally brought the mind of the Colonial back to the importance of more extensively developing and enlarging the enormous wealth-producing capacity of the land. Since the advent of Dr. Jameson's Ministry the Government have given serious consideration to the best means of encouraging agriculture in all its branches. In 1904 Dr. Jameson appointed a member of the Legislative Council at the Cape to make an investigation into various schemes of agricultural development in Europe, with special reference to the operations of the Co-operative Agricultural Movement, and the production, transit and distribution of agricultural products. Moreover, Dr. Jameson himself, during a visit to Great Britain in the same year, took counsel with many prominent practical agriculturists, and decided to apply systematic organisation to Cape agriculture. Practical effect was given to the Prime Minister's policy by the passing of a measure in the Parliamentary Session of 1905 authorising a loan of £150,000 to be raised for the purpose of making advances to co-operative associations of farmers. This measure, which was adopted unanimously on both sides of the House, may be regarded as the beginning of the new Agricultural Movement. In July 1905 the Government of Cape Colony applied to the Irish Department of Agriculture for the services of the reader of this Paper, who had previously been engaged for eleven years in the organisation of the agricultural industry in Ireland, and who happened to have had considerable experience of agricultural methods and policy in most European countries, in Canada, and in the United States. Thus it came about that it fell to the lot of an Irishman to take charge of the schemes propounded by the Cape Government for the improvement of the Cape farmer.

The Minister for Agriculture for the Colony, the Hon. A. J.

Fuller, took specially in hand the arrangements of the earlier propaganda, and at his instance a series of public meetings was arranged, extending over a period of more than three months and embracing practically every important centre in the whole country. These meetings were very largely attended by farmers, both Dutch and British, and as soon as the nature of the proposals submitted by the Government came to be understood the greatest enthusiasm was manifested everywhere by the farming population in favour of the application of the co-operative principle to every department of farm work. During the tour of Mr. Fuller and the officer appointed by the Government for the special purpose of dealing with the inculcation of the co-operative spirit, sixty-six public meetings took place. These were usually held in the morning, and were followed by conferences in the afternoons. At the morning meeting addresses were delivered, laying down the broad principles which govern every branch of co-operative enterprise, and explaining as fully as possible the means by which State aid could be judiciously applied in conjunction with a "self-help" movement on the part of the people for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the country. As far as possible, the special local peculiarities were always considered, and all suggestions made were framed so as to apply to the locality in which for the moment the apostles of the new movement were engaged. At the afternoon conference the fullest discussion took place on the matters brought before the farmers, and the special schemes decided upon were invariably framed after careful consultation with local representative men. The net result of the mission may be summed up by stating that in almost every centre in the Colony committees are now actively at work in the development of proposals calculated to materially assist the people who live upon the land.

It may be mentioned in passing that a number of lectures were also delivered in the principal public schools, and the minds of the younger generation directed to the important part they are expected to play in the future life of their country. These public school addresses directed special attention to the necessity of giving a more practical turn to primary and secondary education, by introducing, as far as possible, into the curriculum of these schools, subjects of instruction having especial bearing upon agricultural and industrial problems concerning the area in which the school operated.

The comprehensive character of the new movement may be

gathered from the great variety of rural industries to which schemes are now being applied. These, in the order of their importance, may be set out as follows:—

I. The wine farmers of the Western Province carried on the cultivation of grapes and the fermentation and maturing of wines in an old-fashioned and irregular way, with the natural result that it was difficult to produce wines of high character, and, of course, uniformity in the aggregate output was entirely wanting. Two co-operative wineries have just been completed, and commenced operations in the beginning of the month of March, one at Stellenbosch and one at Wellington. The opening ceremonies have been performed by His Excellency the Governor, whose wide knowledge and mature judgment have been invaluable to the organisers of all these Colonial projects. These new co-operative movements embrace a membership of about twenty farmers each. The grapes from the different farms will be brought to the winery, and under the supervision of a thoroughly competent expert will receive the most up-to-date treatment, and everything will be done to conform to the most approved practice of highly-organised European, Californian, and Australian wine-makers. Several other districts are engaged in the organisation of similar societies, and, with the extension of co-operation in wine production, every type of Cape wine will, as nearly as possible, conform to the highest standards.

II. In the table submitted it will be observed that the imports of dairy products amount to £600,000 per annum, and thus the necessity for the creation of Dairy Societies provided with up-to-date machinery on the most modern plan is obvious. This is now rapidly being done, and five co-operative creameries are already in operation on the model of those which have been found so successful in Denmark and Ireland; but with the important modification, that, inasmuch as the Danish, Irish and continental creameries generally receive milk, Cape creameries will deal largely with cream, owing to distances and transport difficulties. Besides creameries for butter making, the manufacture of cheese is being introduced, and co-operative depots for distribution in large centres of pure milk, either fresh or pasteurized, are under contemplation.

III. The wool industry of the Cape has been in a deplorable state. Grading and classification of wools were entirely absent, and owing to the presence of dirt and the absence of skirting, locking and piecing fleeces, the reputation of this article in the London markets had gone very low. As compared with Australian wools

during the season 1905, Cape prices per pound averaged  $4\frac{3}{4}d.$  less. This problem is now being solved through the establishment of a National Association of Wool and Mohair Growers, which was inaugurated at Port Elizabeth at a public congress of farmers and produce merchants on January 27. The Association will have branches in every fiscal district, and the strictest regulations have been laid down for the shearing, classification and baling of wools; and the members conforming to the obligations of this body will have their wools presented for sale under a national brand. The effect of the formation of this Association has already made itself apparent in England, where the wool brokers and produce buyers have warmly appreciated the effort that is being made.

IV. The same regulations and organisation which have been introduced in the case of wool apply also to mohair, which is one of the most important of Cape products.

V. Every assistance and encouragement is given for the improvement of various breeds of live stock, and where small groups of farmers join together for the purchase of expensive stud animals, and comply with certain conditions as to the repayment of loans, the Government is prepared to make advances for this laudable object.

VI. Cape Colony is perhaps one of the finest fruit-producing countries in the world, and the possibilities of fruit culture are practically unlimited. There were, however, very grave difficulties to be surmounted in the introduction of improved methods of fruit culture, but above all in reaching better markets with greater economy. Central depots for the collection of fruit and its proper grading, packing, &c., are being established. Expert advice will be provided in connection with these centres, and cold-storage facilities will be available through the medium of Government assistance. The Wellington Farmers' Co-operative Association has established in Cape Town itself a large depot for the sale of its fruit and other perishable farm produce, and this has resulted in profiting both producer and consumer by bringing them into closer contact. The splendid exhibition of fruit from the Cape which took place some days ago, under the auspices of the Royal Horticultural Society, is sufficient evidence of the far-reaching importance of this industry to the Cape farmer.

VII. Where five farmers and upwards unite together to carry out schemes for water-boring on their farms loans are provided by Government on certain conditions, repayable by instalments, for the

purpose of boring machinery, and the Government, moreover, give a subsidy of 8s. per foot for such boring, as well as providing the necessary technical advice in the purchase of the drills.

VIII. One of the most serious difficulties which beset sheep-farming in the Colony is the want of proper fencing to prevent the inroads of jackals, and the consequent necessity of kraaling sheep at night. Arrangements are now made whereby groups of farmers of five or upwards may obtain loans from the State for the purpose of erecting such fencing, and this is being largely taken up in many districts and is regarded as of the greatest value to sheep-farming.

IX. In the grain-producing localities combinations of farmers can procure loans for the erection of stores or granaries, in order to enable them to hold up oat, hay, and grain in the face of falling markets until prices improve.

X. In the same manner advances are made for irrigation schemes, for the erection of dams or weirs, where large quantities of river or surface water may be made available for irrigation purposes. One such scheme has already been completed, and its advantages to the farmers of the district may be realised by reference to the increased value of the land which came under the influence of the water supply; ground which previously would be sold at from £1 to £2 per morgen (a morgen being slightly in excess of two acres) is now valued at from £50 to £60 per morgen. But in order to encourage more extensive irrigation schemes a special measure is being introduced in the forthcoming Session of Parliament, providing special facilities for farmers to obtain large loans repayable, principal and interest, at 6 per cent. on the security of their holdings.

XI. With all these schemes is involved a great deal of practical experimental work to which the Government is giving large measures of support, and which are of much benefit in the adoption of more improved methods, the introduction of new seeds and crops, and the use of artificial fertilizers.

XII. The various co-operative projects, owing to the concentration of considerable volumes of produce, have, of course, a great effect upon the cost of transit, but it should also be mentioned that the Railway Department is placing every facility at the disposal of the new associations for the cheaper and more efficient conveyance of all kinds of agricultural output.

Generally speaking, the scheme of organisation followed in Cape Colony is on similar lines to that which has been adopted with

conspicuous success in most European countries, and in many of our other Colonies. The farmers in any particular district being decided that a particular type of co-operative society would be advantageous in the industry with which they are specially concerned, the advice of an expert is secured for the purpose of estimating the probable amount of capital necessary to successfully carry on business. Farmers are invited to apply for shares in a proposed society, which in the present state of the law must be registered under the Companies Acts, and a condition is made that only in exceptional cases will any advance be made by Government for the purposes of any co-operative scheme until the nominal capital of the Association has been applied for in full by the farmers. The calls upon the shares are usually of small amount, from  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their nominal value, and everything being in order it is not likely that further calls need necessarily be made. Articles of Association provided by the Government are adopted, and the new society duly incorporated. The preliminary details of organisation having been legally effected, the society is then in a position to apply to the Treasury for a loan under the provisions of the Loans Act. The Government issues the loan in instalments as work progresses, and, moreover, assists by providing plans and specifications for buildings and plant, as well as making inspections and advising the committees from time to time.

In the Agricultural College at Elsenberg courses of instruction are now being provided for the training of farmers' sons in creamery management, poultry work and viticulture, with a view to having available properly trained managers for the new associations. The vigour with which schemes are being pressed forward will be apparent from the fact that the sums advanced from September 1 to December 31, 1905, amounted to about £40,000.

This is, in crude outline, a general survey of the new Agricultural Movement in Cape Colony, and it is not perhaps too much to hope that the 'self-help by mutual help' spirit displayed by our farmers, supported by the well-conceived financial assistance of the State, will awaken a wide interest in the future prosperity of this important sub-continent of the British Empire.

On behalf of my Government and of the farmers whose interests I am employed to serve, I have to tender to the Royal Colonial Institute my warmest gratitude for the opportunity afforded me this afternoon in placing before them thus hurriedly the nature of the practical constructive work upon which we are now engaged.

Mr. HANNON added that Mr. Chiappini, a well-known member of



the Opposition Party at the Cape, was present and would address the meeting, and the fact of his presence was, he thought, evidence that the Dutch and the British were working hand in hand with all the energy they possessed to make the Colony take its proper place among the Colonies of the Empire.

*The Paper was illustrated by a number of lantern views.*

### APPENDIX.

The imports for 1905 are set out in the following table:—

| Articles                                    | Half-year<br>ending June<br>30, 1905 | Half-year<br>ending Dec.<br>31, 1905 | Grand Total |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Food, Drink, &amp;c. :</i>               | £                                    | £                                    | £           |
| Ale and beer . . . . .                      | 44,598                               | 42,082                               | 86,680      |
| Butter, Margarine, &c. . . . .              | 165,638                              | 126,297                              | 291,935     |
| Cheese . . . . .                            | 44,932                               | 43,202                               | 88,134      |
| Chicory . . . . .                           | 4,959                                | 3,885                                | 8,844       |
| Confectionery, Jams, &c. . . . .            | 64,805                               | 62,559                               | 127,364     |
| Flour, wheaten . . . . .                    | 145,279                              | 44,565                               | 189,844     |
| Milk : preserved (1904) . . . . .           | 139,907                              | 139,907                              | 279,814     |
| Maize . . . . .                             | 51,450                               | 174,523                              | 225,973     |
| Oats . . . . .                              | 9,306                                | 5,845                                | 15,151      |
| Wheat . . . . .                             | 543,988                              | 449,816                              | 993,804     |
| Meat, frozen . . . . .                      | 217,141                              | 281,591                              | 498,732     |
| <i>Spirits</i> . . . . .                    | 111,056                              | 98,341                               | 209,397     |
| <i>Tobacco, unmanufactured</i> . . . . .    | 12,876                               | 12,468                               | 25,344      |
| Cigars . . . . .                            | 26,770                               | 28,983                               | 55,753      |
| Tobacco, manufactured . . . . .             | 91,386                               | 36,000                               | 202,058     |
| with Cigarettes, unstemmed, and Snuff       | —                                    | 74,672                               |             |
| <i>Wine</i> . . . . .                       | 26,132                               | 22,600                               | 48,732      |
| <i>Leather Goods :</i>                      |                                      |                                      |             |
| Leather and Manufactures (N.O.D.) . . . . . | 85,479                               | 86,401                               | 171,880     |
| Boots and Shoes . . . . .                   | 370,280                              | 395,551                              | 765,831     |
| Saddlery and Harness . . . . .              | 26,207                               | 27,941                               | 54,148      |
| <i>Candles</i> . . . . .                    | 43,052                               | 43,432                               | 86,484      |
| <i>Soap, common</i> . . . . .               | 83,608                               | 64,560                               | 148,168     |
| <i>Furniture</i> . . . . .                  | 222,329                              | 240,000                              | 462,329     |
| Total . . . . .                             | 2,531,178                            | 2,505,221                            | 5,036,399   |

### DISCUSSION.

Mr. C. DU PLESSIS CHIAPPINI, who spoke very good English, but apologised for not being perfectly conversant with the tongue, said that his countrymen, the Dutch, whom he did not wish in any way

to disclaim, were proud to be associated with the effort to make a success of a British Colony through the agency of co-operation. They had done everything in their power to further the movement. He held in his hand a pamphlet which he wrote in English and Dutch advocating this movement and calling for a truce to mere party politics. He had recently decided to leave such politics and devote his energies to practical matters of the kind they were now discussing. Every class in South Africa had given its adhesion to the principles he had laid down. He might say that in South Africa they did not find racial questions half so much discussed as they were in London. He was glad, of course, that Great Britain took such a tremendous interest in South Africa, but he would take the liberty of making a suggestion to his fellow-subjects, which was that they should purchase Cape products—that the best way, in fact, to bind the Empire together was through trade, or, as he might say, through the pocket. He was sent by Dr. Jameson's Government to this country, and perhaps he ought to say that, though he was one of the members of the Opposition that had given Dr. Jameson most trouble, yet Dr. Jameson sent him with full powers to negotiate and open trade relations between Great Britain and Cape Colony. He was doing everything in his power to promote the sale of Cape products. There was hardly a fruit shop or a tobacconist's shop in London into which he had not been for the purpose of trying to find out what they would give for the produce; in fact he might say he was absolutely "on the make" in London and doing everything in his power to improve his country in that way. He was very sorry, as he had said, to see so much discussion in Parliament and elsewhere about matters which would not put twopence into their pockets. It was the first time he had been to London. His friend Dr. Jameson was very anxious about his welfare. He might say he was rather bewildered when he saw such an enormous piece of veld covered with houses and people as he found in London, and that he rather preferred the veld covered with beautiful vines and orchards. He had recently visited Ireland. He found the people with whom he came in contact there awfully good fellows, and he might say that he received the greatest assistance from Sir Horace Plunkett and his staff.

The Hon. SYDNEY T. JONES (Grahamstown) stated that he was much struck with the kindly words that had fallen from the last speaker. It must have made them feel that if South Africa were left to itself that country would, with peace, have prosperity, and that their politics would be in a different and much more satisfac-

tory condition. Politics had, in fact, too often been disturbed there from this side of the world, and, in his view, the policy laid down by Mr. Hannon and Mr. Chiappini was much more likely to bind the Briton and Boer than much he had heard in England.

Mr. ARTHUR ROGERS (Intelligence Division, Board of Agriculture) who explained that he had been asked by Dr. Somerville, the head of the Division, to take his place, stated that he had heard with the greatest pleasure of the success of the co-operative movement in South Africa. The Board of Agriculture had always been strongly in favour of the movement in this country, and successive Presidents of the Board, including the present President, had spoken strongly in its favour. When he heard, however, two of the most important speakers that afternoon urge that everybody in this country should buy Colonial produce he was obliged to remember that he was there as a representative of the English farmer, who also sold agricultural produce. Indeed, he felt considerable alarm when he heard about these co-operative creameries and other enterprises for the purpose of bringing South African products into this country until slide after slide thrown on the screen showed one vineyard after another, yielding products which he was perfectly certain no power on earth could grow in England. In any case he felt that they must all join in wishing hearty success to the co-operative movement both in this country and in the Colonies.

Captain STEWART STEPHENS, who claimed to be a judge of wines, expressed his high appreciation of those produced at the Cape, and said that some of the vintages there were not to be beaten by those of Australia or any of the other Colonies.

The Hon. J. G. JENKINS (Agent-General for South Australia) remarked that, as representing one of the great British Colonies, he felt it his duty to gain what information he could in relation to other parts of the Empire. He did not contemplate the possibility of the produce of the Colonies having a detrimental effect in any way on the English producer. All he said was, "Give the Colonies or provinces of the Empire, whether Australia, Africa, Canada, or India, an opportunity of furnishing you with products you now buy from alien peoples." They did not propose to interfere with the English poultry farmer producing eggs for the Cambridge crew, or with the English fruit-grower supplying the market as far as he was able, but, seeing that there were millions of pounds' worth of produce coming from Continental countries and alien Powers, all that they asked was that the English people should encourage the use of Colonial instead of alien products. He was exceedingly pleased

with the paper, for, as representing one of the Australian States, he was glad to be able to say that they had practically adopted a good many of the principles laid down in the paper. However individualistic your inclinations, you must, to a certain extent, become socialistic in order to improve a dry and arid country. He believed, himself, that Africa and Australia were quite able to supply the world with wool, though Africa, he was bound to say, had a long way to go yet in order to bring its sheep up to the proper standard—to get a good quality of wool and a large clip. In Australia, forty years ago, the average clip was under 4 lbs. To-day the average of 75,000,000 sheep was about 7 lbs. per head. He saw no reason why, as he had said, that portion of the Southern Hemisphere belonging to the British Crown should not supply all the wool required, not only by England but by America. America, he believed, would never be a really good wool-growing country. He went to the Horticultural Society's Rooms the other day and was pleased to see what a good show of fruit South Africa was able to make. South Africa had one advantage over Australia, which was that she was nearer to the English market. That market was, he believed, large enough for both of them. He did not advocate the extension of one Colony's trade to the detriment of another.

Mr. P. CARMODY (Trinidad) stated that he was glad to know that so much good work was being done in Cape Colony in connection with the Co-operative movement. He had been much interested in the remarks of Mr. Chiappini, and agreed that if more attention were given to agriculture, and less to general politics, it would be better for the Empire as a whole. The things grown in his Colony could never be usually grown in England, and there need be no fear of shutting out the English farmer. He thought the Colonies had a right to expect that a preference should be given in England to Colonial products over those coming from alien countries. In Trinidad they produced cocoa very largely. It found its way largely to the American market. There was another product which did not now find its way to America, and that was sugar. It was surprising to those who knew the difference between cane and beet sugar to find that beet sugar grown in countries that were not British was often preferred to the purer and better cane sugar. He should have thought that a little sentiment ought to enter into matters of this kind and that the British people would do all in their power to encourage the trade of the Colonies.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., reminded the meeting that he travelled extensively in South Africa a few years ago, and said that

he warmly approved of the paper. It was true, as had been stated, that attention had hitherto been principally paid to mining, and therefore one was glad to learn that agriculture was now not being forgotten. It only wanted an energetic people who understood their business to make the soil grow almost everything on the face of the earth. The results already achieved in certain districts proved how much could be done if the matter were only taken in hand properly. He was exceedingly delighted with what was said by their Dutch friend, Mr. Chiappini, with regard to the desire on the part of both races to do all they could to develop the resources of this magnificent part of the Empire. A good deal of attention was paid to him by Dutch as well as by English when he visited the country a few years before the war, and at that time used every opportunity of saying how anxious he was that both races should unite in every possible way to develop in friendly co-operation the great resources of the Colony. He was therefore delighted to see how much had since been done in that direction.

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. Alfred Hillier) moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Hannon for his able and instructive paper. The subject, he said, was one in which he took a keen interest, because in years gone by he was himself a farmer in South Africa. This co-operative principle was undoubtedly one which, in many parts of Europe, had been of the greatest possible benefit to the farmers, and he instanced especially Denmark, a country which he visited some two years ago and where he was greatly interested by what he saw. He was convinced from his knowledge of the Colony that the system was particularly calculated to be of advantage to the farmers in South Africa, and particularly to his good friends the Boers—for he had many good friends amongst them—whose persistent individualism and independence had hitherto, he thought, rather militated against their success in farming. It would be quite feasible, he thought, to come to some arrangement whereby the Colonies should get some sort of preference for the produce sent to this country. He would remind the audience that already there were Colonies—notably Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa—which were extending a preference to British goods, and we had to consider whether we could not give some sort of return which would be practicable and acceptable to both Colonies and the Mother Country.

Mr. HANNON in reply said that nothing could be further from his intention than to exclude a reference to the splendid part the Dutch had played in this new agricultural movement. The

Chairman had referred to the natural individualism that was found not merely among the Boers but among all communities similarly circumstanced. There was only one type of rural inhabitant who took his place behind the Boer in that matter, and that was the English farmer. According to his experience, the Dutchman of the veld was quite as willing to learn the new economics of agriculture as any farmer in England. He was delighted with the spirit shown at the present meeting, which would give them hope in the work they had undertaken. That work could not be carried to a successful issue without the practical support of the Mother Country. The principle should be, not to fight one another as Colonists, but to ask the Mother Country to support them in excluding the alien producer from the market.

A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman for presiding.

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#### ANNUAL DINNER.

THE Annual Dinner of the Institute was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Wednesday, April 25, 1906. The Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided.

The following is a copy of the toast list: "His Majesty the King," proposed by the Chairman. "Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family," proposed by the Right Hon. Sir Albert H. Hime, K.C.M.G. "The Imperial Forces," proposed by Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., responded to by Admiral Sir William Kennedy, K.C.B., and Major-General Sir Edward T. H. Hutton, K.C.M.G., C.B. "Prosperity to the Royal Colonial Institute," proposed by the Chairman, responded to by Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. "The United Empire," proposed by the Right Hon. Sydney Buxton, M.P., responded to by the Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. "The Chairman," proposed by the Right Hon. Lord Strathcona, G.C.M.G.

A full report of the proceedings will appear in the next issue of the "Journal."

## REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS RELATING TO THE COLONIES AND INDIA.

(By JAMES R. BOOSÉ, Librarian R.C.I.)

**Crooke, William.**—*Things Indian, being discursive notes on various subjects connected with India.* 8vo. Pp. xi-546. London: John Murray. 1906. (Price 12s.)

"Things Indian" is a book which may be classed as one of the leading works of reference amongst a long list which set forth a great deal of valuable information compressed into a small compass. Already we have "Things Chinese," by Dr. J. Dyer-Ball, and "Things Japanese," by Professor B. H. Chamberlain, so that "Things Indian" is an interesting addition to the series, as well as a work of great value to those who desire to obtain information in a brief but succinct form as to the history, literature, religions, geography, botany, natural history, &c., of the Indian Empire. The Author, a retired Indian Civil Servant, states that it has been his object to search in the by-ways of Anglo-Indian literature and discuss some of the quaint and curious manners connected with the country which are not specially considered in the ordinary books of reference. In gathering together his notes Mr. Crooke has, in addition to setting forth the results of his own personal researches, drawn upon the most reliable and best available authorities upon the Indian Empire. The questions dealt with are arranged in alphabetical order, and are therefore placed before the reader in the most accessible form.

**Bartholomew, J. G. (F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., &c.).**—*Atlas of the World's Commerce; a new series of Maps with descriptive Text and Diagrams showing Products, Imports, Exports, Commercial Conditions and Economic Statistics of the Countries of the World.* Parts 1 and 2. London: George Newnes, Ltd. 1906. (Price 6d. each.)

The "Atlas of the World's Commerce" is a work of exceptional value and great utility in regard to the trade relations of all parts of the civilised world. It is published by Messrs. George Newnes, Limited, and is to be issued in twenty-two fortnightly parts at a price which should place it within reach of all classes of the community. In an Editorial note it is stated that the first object of the Atlas is to show where all the commodities of commerce come from—our food, drink, clothing, and all we use in our daily lives. It is to consist of 176 large pages of coloured plates containing upwards of one thousand maps and diagrams. The plates are accompanied by descriptive text, which is practically a dictionary

of the Commerce of the World. The maps and text together combine to illustrate the distribution of the various products, the imports and exports of the various countries, also their natural resources—developed and undeveloped—the means of communication and transport, and many other aspects of international commerce. The two parts already issued are full of useful details regarding the growth, production, and development of wheat, coffee, sugar, and cotton, each subject being illustrated by maps showing the districts throughout the world where cultivation is being carried on. Another useful feature is a description and geographical distribution of the principal commodities of commerce, arranged in alphabetical order and compiled by Mr. W. A. Taylor. The whole work is edited by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew and compiled from the latest official returns at the Edinburgh Geographical Institute.

**Wright, Herbert (A.R.C.S., F.L.S.).**—*Hevea Brasiliensis, or Para Rubber; its Botany, Cultivation, Chemistry, and Diseases.* 8vo. Pp. viii-106-xx. Colombo: A. M. & J. Ferguson. 1905. (Price 7s.)

The great prominence which has recently been given to the Rubber industry in various parts of the world, but more especially in the British East Indies, has stimulated the desire for information of a reliable character concerning the botany, cultivation, chemistry, and diseases of the india-rubber plant. Mr. Herbert Wright, who occupies the position of Controller at the Government Experimental Station, Peradeniya, Ceylon, has for some time past made a special study of the cultivation of this product, and in the work under notice deals with the subject in a thoroughly practical manner, setting forth the physical and chemical characters of the latex and prepared rubber, the composition of technically pure and mixed india rubber, and the various points regarding the purification, washing, and drying, which enables the producer in the tropics to obtain a sound basis on which to work. In addition to giving the results of his own researches and experiments Mr. Wright has embodied in his work a review of facts regarding the product gathered together from various previously published works. It is impossible in a short notice of the book to follow the writer through the various chapters into which it is divided, or to refer in detail to the many useful and valuable hints supplied by him. For full information the reader is referred to the book itself, which is published by Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson, of Colombo, and may be said to be the most complete of its kind that has yet been published, in addition to which it is brought thoroughly up to date.

**Robinson, Dr. Lilian Austin.**—*The Health of our Children in the Colonies: a Book for Mothers.* 12mo. Pp. xiii-182. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1906. (Price 2s. 6d.)

The author of this work has for several years past made a special study of infantile mortality in tropical and sub-tropical climates, more especially



in South Africa and India, with the result that a great deal of useful information regarding the rearing of children in various parts of the Empire is made available for parents resident therein. The subject has not been approached at any length by previous writers, and the work of Dr. Lilian Robinson should therefore supply a want which has doubtless been felt by those often far removed from medical aid.

**Randall-Maciver, David (M.A., D.Sc., F.R.G.S.).—*Mediæval Rhodesia*.** Sm. 4to. Pp. xv-106. London: Macmillan & Co. 1906. (Price 20s.)

This is a work of considerable interest and value to all archæological students, but more especially to those connected with South Africa. For several years past we have been led to believe that the Rhodesian ruins, or, as they are probably more generally known, the Zimbabwe ruins, are of immense antiquity and the work of an ancient people from the East. Various writers have attempted to prove this, and have brought forward from time to time various views and opinions regarding the original builders of the ruins. The latest authoritative enquiry is that of Dr. David Randall-Maciver, the Laycock student of Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford, whose investigations were undertaken during the spring and summer of last year, at the invitation and with the support of the British Association and the Rhodes Trustees. Though, as Dr. Randall-Maciver points out, the problems of the origin and date of the ruins in Rhodesia had been before the public for a whole generation—from the time in fact that Mauch rediscovered Zimbabwe—yet remarkably little progress had been made towards their solution. In part this was due to the difficulty of exploring a country that has only recently been opened up, in part to the concentration of attention upon one single group out of all the numerous ruins which are available for study, and in part to the want of system with which any excavations had been conducted. Up to the spring of 1905, Dr. Randall-Maciver asserts, nothing had been obtained from the ruins which an archæologist could recognise as more than a few centuries old, and that the objects, when not immediately recognisable as mediæval imports, were of characteristically African type. The main object of Dr. Randall-Maciver's investigations was to determine therefore whether older strata did not exist beneath this mass of mediæval and native African. In his researches to this end he was assisted by Mr. E. M. Andrews, who carried out investigations at Umtali prior to joining Dr. Randall-Maciver upon the sites which are so fully and ably described in this work. The conclusions arrived at by the Author are set forth in the various chapters in a clear and well reasoned manner. In recapitulating the main results arrived at he states that seven sites have been investigated, and from not one of them has any object been obtained which can be shown to be more ancient than the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. In the architecture, whether military or domestic,

there is not a trace of Oriental or European style of any period whatever, and that not a single inscription has ever been found in the country. Dr. Randall-Maciver further shows that imported articles of which the date is well known in the country of their origin are contemporary with the Rhodesian buildings in which they are found; that the character of the dwellings contained within the stone ruins and forming an integral part of them is unmistakably African, and that the arts and manufactures exemplified by objects found within these dwellings are typically African, except when the objects are imports of well-known mediæval or post-mediæval date. The relative antiquity of the several sites is dealt with at considerable length by Dr. Randall-Maciver, who has to a great extent destroyed a romance and, if his conclusions prove correct, dissipated the false halo which has been cast for many years past about the origin of these Rhodesian ruins. The work contains a large number of excellent photographs and plates.

**Gibbs, Philip.**—*The Romance of Empire.* 8vo. Pp. xi-478. London: Edward Arnold. 1906. (Price 6s.)

Throughout the pages of this book Mr. Gibbs deals with the making of the British Empire, an adventure in which the manhood of the race has proved its mettle through many centuries and in many lands. The subject is a fascinating study for young and old alike, and although it has engaged the attention of numerous writers from time to time there is yet so much material unexhausted that each succeeding volume contains fresh details and new particulars regarding those who have dared so many dangers and suffered every kind of hardship in the building up of the Empire. Mr. Gibbs opens his story with an account of the explorations of those sturdy mariners who were identified with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and continues it step by step through successive ages almost to the present time. He divides his work into various sections, setting forth the conquest of Canada, the loss of the American Colonies, the Empire in the East, the story of Australia, New Zealand and her people, and rival races in South Africa, with each of which he embodies the deeds of the leading actors in the matter of Empire-building in various parts of the world. The work is particularly free from errors and is based upon the most trustworthy authorities, with the result that, combined with Mr. Gibbs's attractive style of writing, "The Romance of Empire" is both instructive and entertaining.

**Mercer, W. H. (C.M.G.), and Collins, A. E.**—*The Colonial Office List for 1906.* Pp. xxviii-610. London: Waterlow & Sons. (Price 10s. 6d.)

Information regarding all parts of the British Empire, with the exception of India, is contained in this useful annual, which has been carefully revised and brought up to date in its various sections. Under distinct

headings are to be found the systems of Government, a brief historical record, an account of the various industries, communications, currency, banking, &c., and various statistical tables which show the present condition of all parts of the Empire from a commercial point of view. The editorial work has been ably performed by Mr. W. H. Mercer, one of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and Mr. A. E. Collins, of the Colonial Office. From the purely official point of view the work is indispensable, as it contains a mass of information unobtainable in any other work of a similar character. A large number of maps add to the value of the book, as they are absolutely necessary for reference purposes.

*Science in Public Affairs.*—Edited by the Rev. J. E. Hand. 12mo. Pp. xxiii-291. London: George Allen. 1906. (Price 5s.)

Quite recently the Rev. J. E. Hand edited a work entitled "Ideals of Science and Faith," in which he brought together the views of many thoughtful writers each representing some well-marked standpoint. The reception accorded to that work encouraged Mr. Hand to gather together from qualified writers and students a series of articles setting forth the great and growing place and influence of science throughout various departments of life. In his endeavour he has been singularly fortunate in the selection of those who have contributed their views regarding science in public affairs. Thus we find the Editor and Mr. C. H. Danyer dealing with science and physical development, Professor M. E. Sadler with science in national education, Mr. J. A. Hobson with science and industry, Mr. Victor Branford with science and citizenship. But the article that is of particular value from the point of view of this Journal deals with science and Colonial development. This is written by Mr. H. de R. Walker, M.P., who has for several years past made a special study of Colonial questions in various parts of the Empire, and in the work under notice points out how far scientific methods have been applied to the development of the British Colonies. In an able review of current events Mr. Walker takes a general survey of the whole Empire and the views and suggestions he submits deserve the special attention of students of Colonial Administration and Government. In the space of comparatively few pages he has in his rapid survey embodied much valuable information and the arguments submitted are clearly those of a well-qualified student of Colonial questions generally.

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## ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SESSION.

1906.  
 May 8. Ordinary Meeting at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, at 8 P.M., W. A. Sawtell, "India under British Rule" (with lantern illustrations). The Right Hon. Sir Albert H. Hime, K.C.M.G., will preside.  
 June 12. Ordinary Meeting at the Whitehall Rooms, at 8 P.M.  
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The Paper by Mr. Richard Jebb previously announced for June 12 has been unavoidably postponed to next Session.

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A crop of Sutton's Prizewinner Mangel at the Momohaki Experimental Station, New Zealand, 70 tons per acre. Reproduced from the Annual Report of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture by kind permission of the Agent-General and of the Chief of Division.

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| Reserve Liability of Proprietors | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £3,000,000 |

Head Office: **71 CORNHILL, LONDON, E.C.**

LETTERS OF CREDIT and BILLS are granted on the Bank's Branches throughout the Australian States and New Zealand.

TELEGRAPHIC REMITTANCES are also made.

BILLS are purchased or sent for collection.

DEPOSITS are received for fixed periods, on terms which may be ascertained on application.

# THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN BANK.

ESTABLISHED 1841.

|                                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |          |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| Authorised Capital                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £250,000 |
| (25,000 Shares of £10 each.)      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |          |
| Paid-up Capital                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 125,000  |
| (12,500 Shares of £10 each.)      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |          |
| Reserve Fund                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £325,000 |
| Reserved Profits                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 21,451   |
| Reserve Liability of Shareholders | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 125,000  |

Head Office—PERTH, W.A.

DRAFTS and LETTERS OF CREDIT issued, and TELEGRAPHIC REMITTANCES made. BILLS negotiated or collected, and all Banking and Exchange business connected with the Australasian Colonies transacted.

London Agency—THE BANK OF ADELAIDE, 11 LEADENHALL STREET, E.C.

# ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND AUSTRALIAN BANK, Limited.

Head Office: 38 LOMBARD STREET, E.C.

|                                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |                |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------|
| Subscribed Capital               | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £1,078,875 0 0 |
| Paid-up Capital                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 539,437 10 0   |
| Further Liability of Proprietors | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £539,437 10 0  |
| Reserve Fund                     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 121,900 0 0    |

LETTERS OF CREDIT and DRAFTS on the Branches and Agencies of the Bank in Australia can be obtained at the Head Office, or through the Agents of the Bank, in the chief provincial towns throughout the United Kingdom. REMITTANCES made by Telegraphic Transfer. BILLS NEGOTIATED or forwarded for Collection. BANKING and EXCHANGE BUSINESS of every description transacted with Australia.

DEPOSITS received for fixed periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

J. PATERSON, Secretary.

# WESTERN ASSURANCE COMPANY.

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT 1851.

|                           |     |     |     |     |     |     |           |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|
| Paid-up Capital           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £308,000  |
| Reserve Fund              | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 330,342   |
| Total Losses Paid to date | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,223,651 |

**FIRE.**

**MARINE.**

HEAD OFFICE: TORONTO.

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN OFFICES:**

**2 CHANGE ALLEY, LONDON, E.C.**

# THE LONDON BANK OF AUSTRALIA,

LIMITED,

2 OLD BROAD STREET, E.C.

|                                       |        |            |    |   |
|---------------------------------------|--------|------------|----|---|
| Subscribed Capital                    | ... .. | £1,276,747 | 10 | 0 |
| Paid Up                               | ... .. | 547,830    | 0  | 0 |
| Uncalled, including Reserve Liability | ... .. | 729,292    | 10 | 0 |

REMITTANCES made by CABLE to Australia.

DRAFTS, LETTERS OF CREDIT, and CIRCULAR NOTES issued upon Branches and Agents.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE on Australia negotiated or sent for Collection.

Interest allowed on Deposits for periods and at rates which may be ascertained on application.

All Banking Business of every description conducted with Australia.

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|------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| OMRAH (Twin-Screw) ... | 8,291 | ORONTES (Twin-Screw) ... | 9,023 | ORMUZ ... | 6,387 |
| OPHIR (Twin-Screw) ... | 6,910 | OROTAVA ...              | 5,857 | OROYA ... | 6,297 |
| ORIZABA ...            | 6,297 | ORTONA (Twin-Screw) ...  | 7,945 | ORUBA ... | 5,857 |

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