

THE  
HISTORY OF QUEENSLAND:  
ITS PEOPLE AND INDUSTRIES

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VOL. III.

PREMIERS OF QUEENSLAND



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THE  
HISTORY OF QUEENSLAND:

ITS PEOPLE AND INDUSTRIES

(ILLUSTRATED)



IN THREE VOLUMES

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VOL. III.

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AN HISTORICAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW  
AN EPITOME OF PROGRESS

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DESCRIPTIVE AND BIOGRAPHICAL FACTS  
FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

COMPILED BY  
MATT. J. FOX, F.S.S.

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## Editorial Note.

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*Mr. G. G. Swann, who has edited this volume, desires to thank the many Government Departments and Officials, particularly the Staff of the Public Library, for their assistance in placing at his disposal numerous works of reference; the Department of Mines and the Editor of the "Mining Journal" for the use of old records and mining pictures; the Department of Agriculture and Stock and the Photographic Section for supplying many of the splendid photographs used to illustrate this work; Major J. W. Wood, V.D., for the loan of his interesting and unique collection of 1893 Flood Pictures; and Mr. Thomas Mathewson for various early Brisbane views. Further, he wishes to acknowledge indebtedness to the Secretaries of the United Graziers' Association and the Australian Sugar Producers' Association for their valuable assistance in dealing with the industries which they represent.*

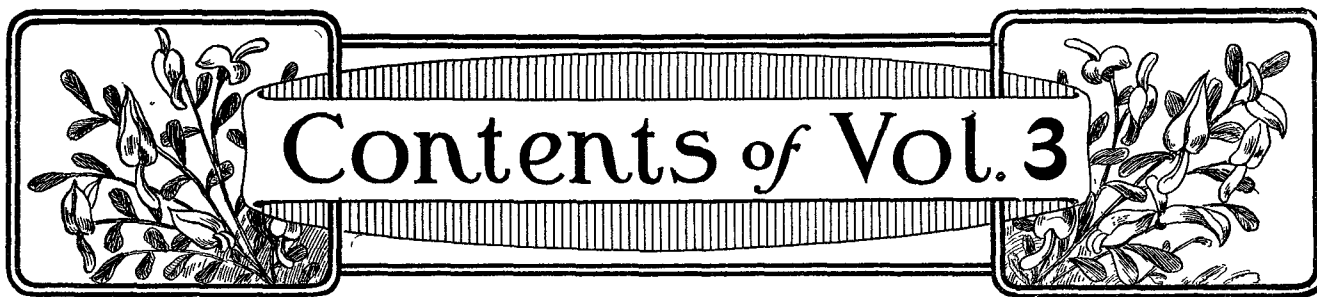
*Thanks are also due to the vast number of Subscribers who have made possible the completion of this work, and by whose co-operation an historical record, that will suitably perpetuate the wonderful achievements of the men and women who pioneered this great State through its earliest days, has been faithfully chronicled. Within the pages of the three volumes comprising the work is contained much that with the course of time would otherwise have been lost to posterity, but is now preserved, and will serve as an example to future generations.*

*Of the State's advancement we have reason to be justly proud, and with the steady influx of population her progression will continue on a sound and solid basis, making for increased prosperity and stronger unity.*

## Errata, Vol. II.

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- Page 21. Col. 1, line 43, H. Jones should read R. Jones.*
- 226. Gorge Herbert Leopold Tate should read George Herbert Leopold Tate.*
- 288. Col. 1, lower portrait title should read Lieut. William Joseph Kelly.  
Col. 3, top portrait title should read Mr. Edward Gracemere Kelly.*
- 382. Col. 1, portrait title should read Mr. Thomas Carmody.  
Col. 3, portrait title should read Mr. William Henry Joseph Kirby.*
- 940. Col. 2, Wall, T. W. A., should be 386.*



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### Errata, Vol. III.

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*Page 8. Col. 1, line 26, for store read stone.*

*88. Col. 1, line 36, W. T. Rawlings should read W. H. Rawlings.*

*105. Col. 2, line 8, should be line 6.*

*161. Title of block should read, Tree marked by Duncan MacIntyre.*

*550. Col. 1, line 38, "Oakley" should read "Ashley."*



In the publication of these volumes  
I have sacrificed much to keep  
faith and claim consideration,  
where I have been unable to reach  
that perfection I would attain.

Math J. Fox

Brisbane - 1923.

# The History of Queensland: Its People and Industries.

## The History of Queensland

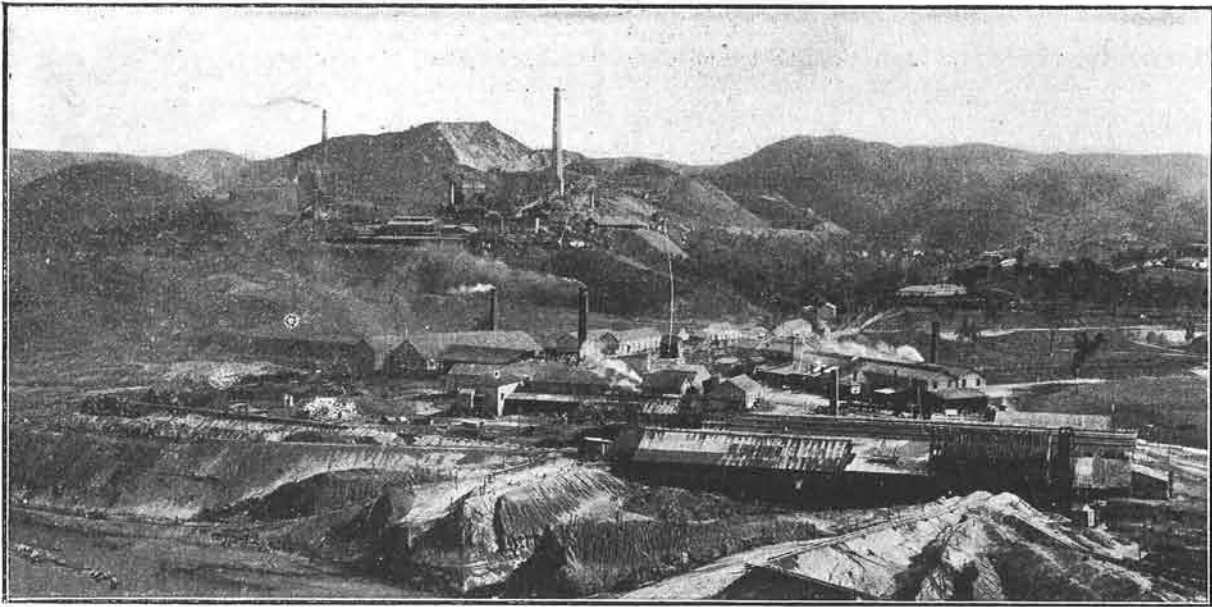
(Continued from Vol. II., Page 89)

### CHAPTER XXIII.

#### A GALAXY OF STAR MINES.

**D**URING nearly two decades after the discovery of Gympie, the prospector was the triumphant pioneer of wealth in Queensland in the South-West, the Central districts, the North, and the far North-West. There was probably nowhere else so many "star" mines discovered in a similar period and nowhere

means of industrial wealth, the effect on the Colony as a whole was unexampled, in attracting settlers and wealth for investment, and beyond all that in focussing the eyes of the world upon the new land. And there came during the period of which we speak another factor in making known a country to the world, for in 1872 cable



THE WORLD-FAMOUS GOLD MINE AT MOUNT MORGAN.

else such vast stores of mineral wealth unearthed. In some cases the prosperity of the mining industry was not lasting, and the stimulus ceasing to act, more than one township became numbered among the decadents, or perchance, as was the case with Gympie, received a second impetus which caused renewed interest in the fields. It is not difficult to cause a smouldering fire to blaze up brightly again. No matter, however, whether the lease of prosperity was long or short, no matter whether the mining community was forced to take thought for other

communication was established between the United Kingdom and Australia.

Meanwhile, in the year 1868, the mining activity which prevailed in the Rockhampton district had been successful, and the quest for gold found response at Mount Wheeler, some 17 miles distant from the rising town on the banks of the Fitzroy. These mines were working in that spirit of hope without which the digger could have done nothing, and there, in a claim near the top of a spur at Mount Wheeler, a little lad was playing

with his father's pick. He struck it into the ground, but could not draw it forth. Stronger muscles being called to the task, the boy's father found that the pick had penetrated an oblong lump of pure gold weighing 247 oz., and valued at £1,000. A rush of miners to the field followed. It is stated that a peculiarity of the Mount Wheeler deposits was a "mullocky leader," as it was termed, being indeed a decomposed lode, which the miners treated as if they were mining for alluvial gold. As a result of the large number of diggers who made their way to the new find Cawarral was prospected, and extensive mining took place.

In the same year that called the attention of the mining world to the field in the Central district, the North made claim to place among auriferous countries, and Townsville, which had been developing quietly, was given the first hint of its wealth-yielding hinterland. The reward for the discovery of the Ravenswood field was won by a party of miners, including Messrs. Jessop and Buchanan, and thereafter from Middle Camp prospectors radiated in all directions, the favourite spot being Top Camp, where subsequently the town of Ravenswood sprang up. Creek after creek was tested, and mines were developed in many directions, a large quantity of gold being won. More than that, and very important, there were signs of reefs. Elphinstone Creek, a year after the field was opened, gave good results to the alluvial miner, but reefing ere long attracted attention, although for a time it looked as though the difficulty of obtaining a battery might arrest development. Fortunately, one who knew the field came to the rescue, and it was to W. O. Hodgkinson the miners of Ravenswood owed the facilities for reefing. Mr. Hodgkinson, who began life in the Royal Navy, found himself after many adventures interested in the Ravenswood mines. He went to Sydney, the result being that ere long a battery of five stamps was on the field. The stone from the Lady Mary mine yielded very satisfactory results, 450 tons of stone being crushed for 1,983 oz. of gold. Other crushing plants were found necessary, and this time there was no difficulty in obtaining the batteries. So the mining town took form, and a large population poured in. Later, in 1872, the pendulum swung the other way, the riches of Charters Towers perhaps acting adversely on the older field. Whether that was so or not, there was a lull in mining, and the road to Charters Towers, where it diverged from that to Ravenswood, was far more often trodden in 1872. Genius had not then solved the problem of treating tailings, yet there was a wondrous vitality in the field, for silver and copper were discovered, and later tin, the value of the silver taken from the field up to 1887 totalling £150,000, and the amount of tin £9,000. The presence of different metals in the ore

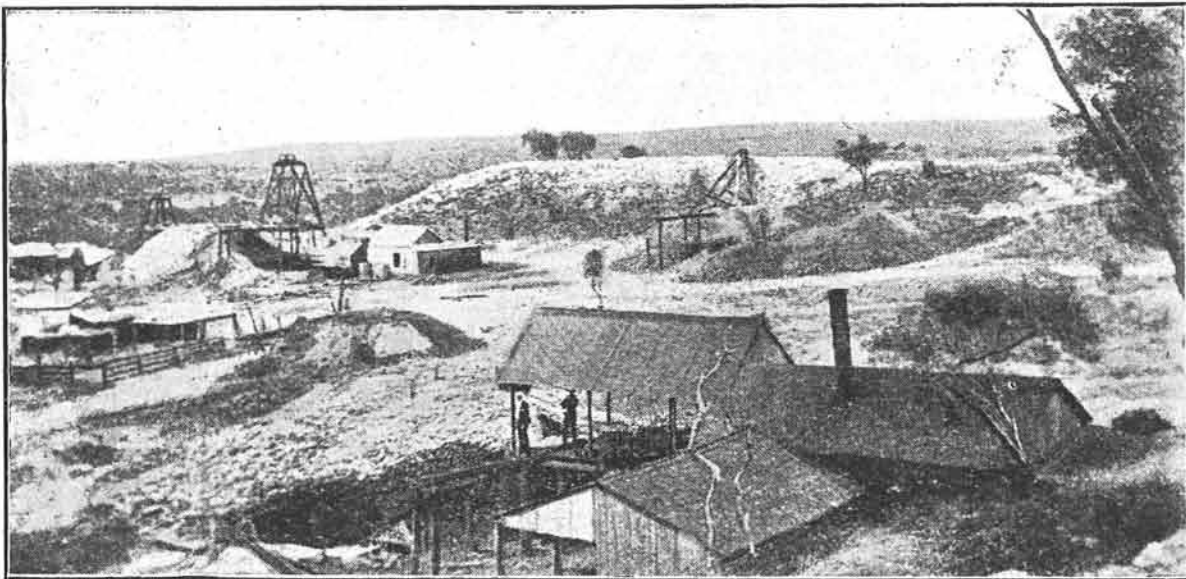
really represented the difficulty, as the stone was found in many instances impossible to work. A return of gold won from the field up to the year 1898 shows that nearly half a million ounces of gold had been mined. As it was with Ravenswood, so was it also with the Etheridge and the Woolgar fields and the Hodgkinson. Yet in speaking of the last-named mine in the nineties, Mr. Jack, one-time Government Geologist, attributed the failure of the field to make good the expectations entertained of it in the early days, to causes quite other and apart from the value of the gold-bearing stone. The disabilities of lack of carriage, cost of labour, expense of crushing, absence of railway communication must affect miners without capital, but they hardly give reason, as Mr. Jack pointed out, for the desertion of a field because the gold yield had fallen from 4 oz. per ton of stone to 1½ oz. Yet failure in no other part of the world could be written against fields like the Etheridge and Woolgar, which yielded up to the close of the century 601,034 oz. of gold, while the total won from the Hodgkinson up to that date from the time of its discovery was 224,073 oz. The fields had a past; they may have a future.

Not alone in the Far North, or in the districts around Rockhampton, was the miner at work, for away to the south, almost within cry of the New South Wales border, the early seventies found another mineral unearthed. Tin was discovered, and Stanthorpe was born. The mining prospector lives in the region of the unlikely and improbable. His bold matter of fact narrations dwarf into insignificance the wildest efforts of the writer of fiction, and the finding of tin was no exception, for it is stated that for fifteen years an old man named Joe Green knew that stanniferous deposits existed, but he could not persuade anyone to hearken to him. The find of Joe Green was on "Nundubbermore" Run, but to another was given the honour of bringing into Warwick specimens of stream tin. Belief in the discovery does not seem to have done much for the discoverer, A. Ross, of Paddock Swamp, who could not obtain the land he sought to mine. Then Joe Green, quick to seize the advantages corroboration of his story gave him, went with other men to "Nundubbermore," and returning with samples of stream tin, two of the prospectors, Jones and Greenup, succeeded in having an area of 640 acres allotted to them. That occurred in 1872, and it was not long before the whole Colony had heard of the find. A rush took place, and Stanthorpe sprang up on the "Folkestone" Run at Quartpot Creek. A drinking vessel was lost there years previously, and there tin was found. It is not difficult to picture the scenes on the roads to the mines, for many of those who betook themselves thither were too poor to travel by rail. The field seemed a boon to those out of luck, on whom Fortune had been frowning, and they were as eager to

take it as those who through energy and enterprise had learned to claim success. Many returned from Stanthorpe wiser men and as poor as when they went, but the field, with its dwellings of tents and shelters of branches, prospered. Hucksters ministered to the wants of the miners, and canvas stores sprang up in all directions. Before many days a bi-weekly coach service was established, Cobb & Co., as always in new country, being to the fore. In the meantime the Government had officially recognized the field by appointing Mr. F. T. Gregory mineral commissioner, and his conclusions as to the extent of the stanniferous deposits were proved by subsequent experience to have been correct. The tin-bearing country comprised, in the commissioner's estimation, 540 square miles, but of that only half was rich enough to pay for working. Not quite like the northern mining fields was Stanthorpe, the climatic

few mining ventures save that of the collier afford. The beauty of the environs, the magnificent salubrity of the district, the advantages the hill country presents to the orchardist—all these are founding a prosperity and making full amends for the slump in mining.

Away back in the seventies, while Maryborough like a coquette divided her attentions between Gympie and the sugar industry, and Bundaberg had just begun to be, Mount Perry and its reported riches startled the residents of Wide Bay and Burnett, whence the tidings spread throughout the Colony and Australia, and just as quickly were flashed along the newly-laid cable, providing another factor in the favour which Queensland had won with the masters of finance in London. For the time copper was king, the price per ton ranging from £60 to £70. Speedily there were



THE TRUE BLUE CAMP, CROYDON.

conditions perhaps making for more camaraderie among the diggers, as, after digging for the day had ceased, it was the wont of the men to gather round the fire to discuss their bad luck, impart their hopes, or voice their grievances. There was not much difficulty in securing tin, if luck were in, for it was discovered in most cases just below the surface of the ground. In three years, up to May, 1875, 14,164 tons of tin, valued at £715,330, were won from the field, while an estimate of the yield during the subsequent five years places it at 16,000 tons, of the value of £800,000. Thereafter the decrease in the finds became marked, only some 6,496 tons, valued at £314,245, being found up to 1887. The impetus of tin-mining passed with the old romance of life on the diggings, but the district still prospers, finding in fruit-growing and farming that stability which

some 6,000 people on the field, and all the citizens of the townships in the districts watered by the Mary and the Burnett were either buying or selling shares in companies, many of which had but a short lease of life. Smelting works were erected with feverish haste, for very rich copper lodes had been discovered. A token of the good times enjoyed by the new town was found in the fact that £16,000 was paid in wages monthly. The citizens of the Mount found business all that they could desire, for money was plentiful, and things went so well that in due course railway communication with Bundaberg was mooted, and later became an accomplished fact. Then the price of copper fell. It had gone up to £90 per ton; it sank to £30. The boom days were over, and men departed from the place just as hastily as they had rushed into it. The smelting works were deserted, and in truth Mount Perry had

fallen on evil days. There were, however, many who retained confidence in the field, and through their efforts and energy things subsequently brightened. Although the prosperity has gone no one would be so rash as to hazard the opinion that the field may not come again. Indeed, there are grounds for believing that rich deposits and capable development may yet justify early hopes.

Charters Towers, which holds high place among the gold mines of Queensland, was discovered in 1872 by three miners, Mossman, Clarke, and Fraser, who were digging for alluvial gold at a place 70 miles from Ravenswood, and so named "The Seventy Mile." Always hoping for something better, Mossman and his mates determined to prospect the country around some peaks jutting out of the distance. A ride of 17 miles brought them to the tors, or peaks, and an exploration of the base of the highest of these showed that their hopes had been well-founded, for there was quartz thickly veined with gold. The amount of gold discovered justified the reward claims which followed the reporting of the find to Warden Charters, who was officially in charge of an adjacent goldfield, and who after examination realized the importance of the discovery. The goldfield was named after the warden, "Towers" being probably a corruption of tors, or in itself a definition of the appearance of the hills. In twenty-five years, subsequent to the day when the three miners rode over to the peaks, £15,000,000 sterling represented the value of the gold won from the field. Success fluctuated, but the field has never failed at any time, and the total amount of gold produced up to the end of 1921 was 6,663,024 oz., amounting with other minerals to the value of nearly £28,500,000. Charters Towers in the beginning was worked for alluvial gold, but reefing soon asserted its pre-eminent importance, and in that regard mining presented no great difficulties, for the stone found at the higher levels was easily dealt with.

Within a year of the discovery a telegram appeared in the papers of the Southern Colonies announcing a sudden and very great development in the output of gold, there being rumours that the gold escort had brought down some 20,000 oz. A steamer was at once put on the berth at Sydney for Townsville, and reinforced by many diggers from the Victorian fields, made her way north, laden with 600 miners, dreaming golden dreams, and incidentally suffering every discomfiture through lack of accommodation. Arriving at Townsville, or rather off it, for in those days steamers anchored well out to sea, the expectant miners made their way on foot to the Towers, a distance of some 80 to 90 miles by road. The new arrivals suffered much cooling of their ardour even before they left the one long street behind, for Townsville was then in the main a one-street town,

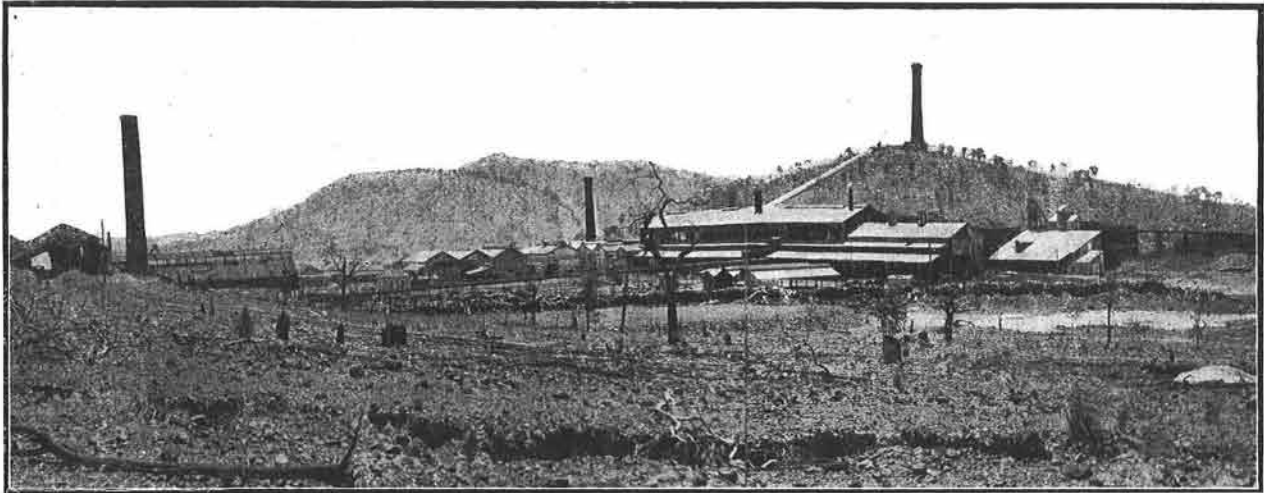
with the exception of the pretty sea front opposite Magnetic Island. A weary tramp for most of the gold-seekers, along a dusty track, ill-defined, and as ill-provided with water, brought them to the Towers, where most of the residents seemed to be unaware that anything very extraordinary in the way of gold-finding had occurred. The business men doubtless benefited by the large influx of men, as did the keepers of boarding-houses, who were for the most part Chinese. It was alleged at the time that the telegram which was responsible for the "wild goose chase" was instigated by someone in business on the field, and who, finding times dull, took a villainous method of securing more custom. Be that as it might, the usual result followed. Those among the new arrivals who had the means to do so returned whence they had come, reaching Townsville on the return trip a fortnight after they had left the sea coast. A few found work at the mills, but a very large number were stranded, and made trouble, proceeding to extremities in their determination to wreck the establishment of a butcher. A revolver shot was fired, a man being wounded, and altogether things must have been wild and lawless for a time.

The progress of Charters Towers from the inception has been satisfactory, nor have days of depression waited on future fortune, as has been the case in some other of the goldfields of the Colony. With the coming of the cyanide process and the treatment of tailings, mining was at once given a much wider scope, while, as in the case of Gympie, deep sinking represented a largely increased return of gold. The area of the Charters Towers goldfield was at first proclaimed at 1,700 square miles, but this was subsequently reduced to 600 square miles, as much of the surrounding country did not prove to be auriferous.

Turning to another goldfield, we touch not only the far northern fringe of settlement, but also romance and dangers only to be equalled by the adventures of the argonauts of the Pacific Slope, the Forty-niners of California, whose epic Bret Harte penned so vividly. Away far north, well within the tropics, adventurous miners in 1873 lighted on gold at the Palmer, and from the find Cooktown sprang into being. There, on the banks of the Endeavour River, beside the tree to which Captain Cook moored his ship, a town was born. Settlement went on rapidly, shipload after shipload of miners landed at the historic spot, and camped on the grassy slopes of the southern bank of the estuary, while they made preparation for the journey to the diggings, then full of dangers, for the blacks were fierce and strong, resenting the inroad of the white man on their territory. Many a story is told of parties of diggers being cut off by the savage tribesmen, and, in truth, the trip to the Palmer exacted a heavy toll from those who pressed on to the winning of the golden

harvest. Strongly-armed and well-equipped parties could alone hope to reach the field, and pitched battles with the natives were not unknown. Living was exorbitantly expensive, and the cost of all necessary equipment for the journey and the fields proportionately high. Cooktown very speedily assumed all the importance of a busy town, a post office being established, while hotels sprang up as though by magic. Indeed, the Cooktown of to-day excites the surprise of visitors at the very great number of public-houses, which seem for the most part to exist on the memory of a prosperity which has passed, although there is every reason to believe that when the great potentialities of the district in regard to agriculture are realized the town will advance to a more stable and lasting prosperity than that it shared with the Palmer. Meanwhile we deal with that which was. The Palmer field had an area of no less than 23,000 square miles. What it was in its

very richness of the alluvial deposits proved a hindrance to reefing, but though some would not go as far as to assert that, it cannot be doubted that the expense of carrying on reefing operations must have militated against full development of the field. If the railway system in the State should ever include the linking up of Maytown with the present terminus of the district line at Laura, another test may be made. Probably Mr. Jack was right when he said in a report on the field:—"The reefs proved rich at the surface, but want of capital for pumping and winding machinery forced the original holders to abandon their claims. When water became too heavy to be coped with by windlass and bucket the mines were thrown up." What expenses entailed by living and mining on the Palmer were in the early days may be gauged by the fact, vouched for by the old residents of the district, that flour sold at 2s. 6d. per pound, while horseshoe nails were valued at



GENERAL VIEW CHILLAGOE STATE SMELTERS.

days of highest hope may be estimated from the return in 1875 when the gold won was 250,400 oz., of which all but 400 oz. represented alluvial mining. Huge quantities of gold were unearthed and despatched from Maytown, the township on the field. Later, reefing was embarked on, and how successful the mining industry was we can gather from the fact that gold to the value of £5,250,000 sterling was won from the field during some twenty years. That amount, however, should practically be confined to a much shorter period, previous to the days when Chinamen were left to exploit the field, through the exodus of the white diggers. And yet authorities on mining who visited the field in the days of its decadence have not hesitated to affirm the belief that deep sinking at the Palmer, as in the case of some auriferous districts elsewhere, would result in new finds of gold. Perchance the

their weight in gold. We have said that the cost of living in Cooktown was very high, but what must it have been on the Palmer when carriage from the port to Maytown was £40 per ton? Timber was very expensive, and of an inferior quality when obtained. Now and then within the last decade or two efforts have been made to interest Southern capitalists in the field, but nothing of consequence has resulted. Yet the Chinese seem to find reason for their stay on the field and their work, just as they find reason for their stay and work at Cooktown. And to the visitor the one action is as little justified as the other.

In concluding this brief reference to mining in the Cook district it is necessary to note that tin production at the Annan River at one time bulked largely. All who have visited the far northern town with its organ-fluted cliffs guarding the mouth of the estuary, and

have looked from the highest point at Grassy Hill away seaward to the Barrier Reef, against which the Pacific beats in never-ending white-crested tumult; all who know the great promise the district gives of success in tropical agriculture will wish it well, for no one can sojourn there without feeling full of sympathy for a prosperity that seemed to have been arrested without a cause, while the aspiration that the old times may return again cannot but win warm assent.

Men have dreamt of a mountain of gold, and romancers have pictured it, but it remained for Queensland to prove that such things might be. Mount Morgan was literally golden. All that has been written in fiction pales into insignificance before the simply-told story of the discovery of the treasures of Mount Morgan as given by Mr. Edwin Morgan. The thread which leads right up to all that Mount Morgan has been and is to-day, began to unwind at a pastoral holding taken up by a Scotchman named Donald Gordon, and which afterwards became "The Mount Morgan Company's Freehold." It was situated in "Calliungal" Station. Reverses caused Gordon to abandon his selection, but meanwhile his brother, Sandy Gordon, who was working for the Morgan brothers at the gold-field of Mount Wheeler, seems to have had thoughts concerning signs in the neighbourhood pointing to a silver lode. His suggestion that there should be a quest found approval, and on July 13, 1882, the prospecting trip, big with results, began. Edwin and Thomas Morgan, taking Sandy Gordon with them, left Rockhampton on that day. Next day they reached the scene of the proposed silver lode at Nine-mile Creek, some 20 miles from Mount Morgan. No silver was seen, but specks of gold were discovered. Then on the 15th came a deluge of rain; Edwin Morgan said "it might almost be described as a waterspout." Rain everywhere, with the ground sodden, caused the Morgans to consider the advisableness of returning home, but the weather, if it discouraged the quest in one way, aided it in another, for the creeks were running bankers, and rendered outlet difficult. A watercourse was crossed by swimming the horses, it being then the afternoon of Sunday, July 16. Two miles beyond the hut of a Chinaman, Edwin Morgan and Sandy crossed the range in an easterly direction, and there Morgan saw a number of black boulders, and knocked pieces from them for future test, which, indeed, was made not long afterwards, when they reached a creek. *There was more gold than stone*, and indeed, that is proved by Sandy Gordon's belief that the find was native copper. Thomas Morgan, who had remained at the camp, not feeling well, probably as the result of the waterspout deluge, was sceptical yet excited. On Monday and Tuesday the quest was continued on the Mount, the prospectors, in the words of Edwin Morgan, "finding any amount of

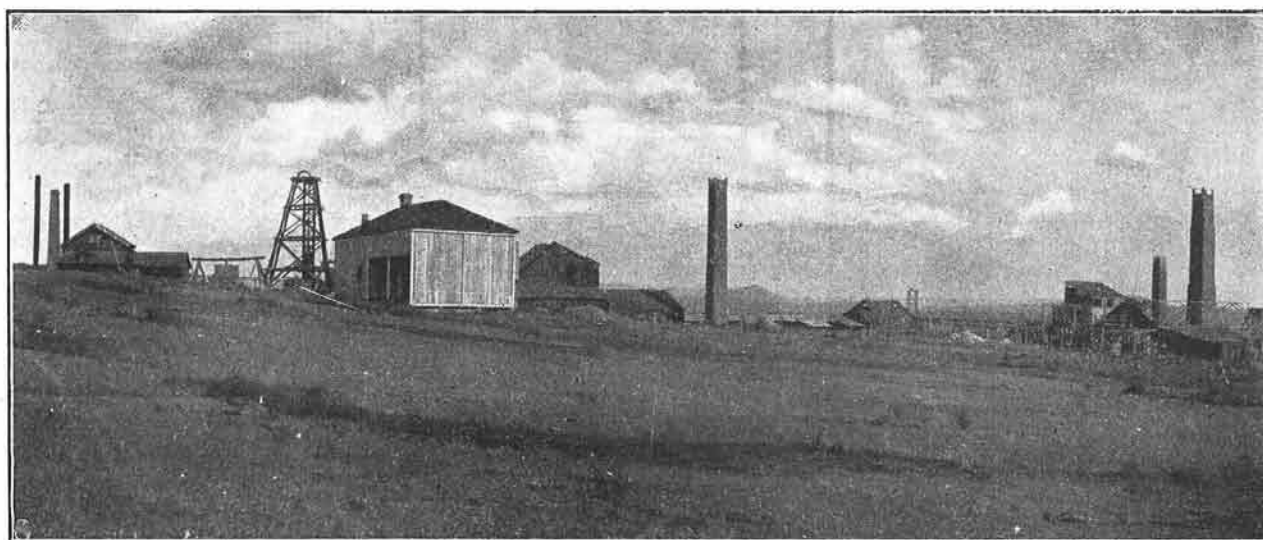
good stone." Wednesday, the 19th, saw them again prospecting, and the following day Sandy Gordon was despatched to Mount Wheeler with specimens to be tested by Frederick Morgan. Sandy never got there, the attractions of a wayside public-house proved too much for him. The 21st day of the month found them again at Rockhampton, with as many samples of stone as they could carry. The testing astounded them. "Just as formerly, we discovered that each sample was literally charged with gold." So ran the words of one of the discoverers of the secret of the Mount. Thereafter the further stages in utilizing the find to the best advantage went on rapidly, keen acumen being displayed in the choice of advisers and partners. As much of the ground as was possible had in the meantime been taken up, and Mr. T. S. Hall (manager of the Q.N. Bank at Rockhampton), Mr. W. K. D'Arcy, and Mr. W. Pattison, became partners with the three Morgan brothers and their nephew in the great adventure. The sample of stone sent to Gympie returned 3,700 oz. of gold to the ton.

Thereafter the history of the mine became that of many a similar undertaking. Machinery was obtained and men engaged. The Morgans on the one side, and Messrs. Hall, D'Arcy, and Pattison on the other, held the mine between them. The Morgans divided their interest into five shares, one of which Mr. Hall purchased, while Mr. Fred. Morgan bought the share of his brother, Mr. Edwin Morgan—one-fifth of half of the mine—for £10,000, thus securing with his own interest three-tenths of the whole of the mine, which he sold to the three holders of the second half of the mine, receiving for the three-tenths £60,000. Messrs. Hall, D'Arcy, and Pattison sold on the same day a one-tenth share in the whole mine to Mr. John Ferguson for the sum of £26,000. The latter interest was disposed of in various portions, varying in price from £500 to £1,000. Subsequently Mr. Thomas Morgan's interest in the mine was bought by Messrs. Hall, D'Arcy, and Pattison for £30,000. Thereafter the holders of the interests, as they were then, formed a limited liability company, with a capital of £1,000,000, in shares of £1, and registered in October, 1886. In all, the ground held by the company totalled 730 acres, and comprised the freehold, leasehold, and the consolidated claim, the lastnamed representing thirty men's ground. Mount Morgan gold was valued at £4 4s. per oz. Efforts were made by the capable manager, Mr. Wesley Hall, to win as large a percentage of gold as was possible, the ordinary process not being satisfactory. Through those efforts came the chlorination process, by which 97 per cent. of the gold was won. Then followed developments, and mill power, capable of treating 240 tons of ore daily, was introduced, with the result that £1 shares steadily increased in value until as high as £17 was paid in 1888.



Facts are very clear concerning the good fortune which attended the Morgan brothers in their discovery of the mine, and it is in that direction that the eye naturally turns as one notes how chance in the beginning seemed to favour the prospectors, making them veritable wards of fortune. It is well, however, to remember that other factors entered into the enterprise, which cannot be justly viewed as a whole, unless we remember the energy and the absolute secrecy which, in the preliminary stages, after they had convinced themselves of the treasure they had lighted upon, ruled all the operations in development. So successful were the Morgans in keeping secret the wealth of the mine that even the men who worked for them never suspected the value of the ore, or of the resulting amalgam, and the owners of the mine were many times dubbed fools, indeed, as Mr. J. J. Knight, when writing on the

experience of mining on the Etheridge field, the country owed the discovery of Croydon. To them the reward of £1,000 was paid, and from one of them (Mr. Brown) came a very graphic narrative of the discovery and the stages of hope blossoming into knowledge which crowned success. How much Mr. Brown's thought that the country looked as though it were gold-bearing moved him in taking it up for cattle, which he had purchased in 1882, no one can say, but that he was subconsciously affected, by the signs of quartz he saw, subsequent events seemed to show, all the more as he did not appear to have changed his opinion when an old Etheridge miner who was with him, settled the subject to his own satisfaction by pointing out "that all the country in the neighbourhood had been prospected years ago by Etheridge miners." Later two men who had been diggers, when employed in sinking a well at the station,



SILVERSPUR MINE AT TEXAS.

subject, says: "Even when they were getting gold by the bucketful, men who were regarded as experts would visit them, stay for days, examine the stone they were putting through, and being told that they were working to get to a copper lode, went away firmly convinced that the three Morgans were not in their right senses." Later, the search for copper became a reality. Meantime it may be mentioned that during eighteen years, subsequent to the formation of the company in 1886, the gold won represented a value of £11,120,860 sterling, while the dividends amounted to £6,379,166.

In October, 1885, just at the time the secret of Mount Morgan was being given to the world, gold was reported to Warden Samwell as having been discovered at Croydon, then a pastoral station in the Gulf country. To Mr. William Chalmers Brown, the owner of the station, and the Aldridge brothers, who had gained

found the colour of gold. Nothing resulted, but the find brought to memory the fact that Mr. Brown had seen quartz reefs innumerable in the ranges, but had never lighted on gold, though he had often broken the stone. Then came James and Walter Aldridge in 1883, who discovered a leader of quartz-bearing gold while they were engaged in ring-barking trees in the horse paddock. Meanwhile miners moving about, according to their wont, had been walking or riding over the reef destined to be known as the "Golden Gate" of Croydon, which then was visible on a sandy flat surface for a distance of 300 yards. At this time James and Walter Aldridge, having made a good cheque, went south for a trip, and the latter, returning in 1885, was accompanied by his brother Dick, an old fossicker on Copperfield. The belief of Mr. Brown that Croydon was gold-bearing had been strengthened by a visit he paid to Cloncurry, the

resemblance of that country to his station making him resolve that he would "have a try to find gold." That resolve he carried into practice, despite the laughter of his Normanton friends, to whom he made known his intentions, laughter as ill-justified as the arguments of the miner who based conviction that there was no gold in the locality because "it had been tried." The determination to engage the Aldridge brothers wholly in prospecting work was coincidental with the discovery by them of gold-bearing quartz at the point where James and Walter Aldridge had previously found a leader, and thereafter events moved rapidly, prospecting work by Brown and the Aldridges being carried on when all the others on the station were engaged in mustering, and the prospecting resulted in the finding of no fewer than twenty payable lines of reef. So the work went on, until the risk of discovery compelled the reporting of the new field. Croydon did not follow the course experience shows to be that usually attendant on the development of a goldfield, for during the first year after the proclamation of the field only 2,145 oz. of gold were obtained. There were other mining localities where facilities for extracting the precious metal were abundant, and thus enterprise was handicapped by the absence of mills, necessitating recourse on the one hand to dollying, or on the other to the despatch of the stone to Georgetown, distant 100 miles, where the quartz could be crushed. Again, the place was inaccessible, entailing a long and expensive coastal voyage. Yet the stone obtained on the surface or near it was very rich, the average yield being 4 oz. 12 dwt. 8 grs. of gold to the ton. The first claim worked was the Lady Mary Award, on the reef of that name, which with the Iguana and True Blue were the first gold-bearing reefs discovered. In December, 1886, crushing machinery arrived on the field, and the batteries of the Pioneer and Croydon Quartz Companies began to work. A year later, in 1887, there were 55 head of stampers on the field, and those had increased in number to 239 stampers eleven years subsequently. Population flowed in as though in response to the summoning clang of the batteries, and in 1887 totalled 6,000. The opening of the railway to Croydon in 1891 gave a great impetus to mining on the field, as was evidenced by the establishment of four cyanide works to treat the tailings from the batteries, and the number increased later. Croydon, like other fields, experienced its lean years, times of depression, but the total amount of gold won up to December, 1898, was 760,690 oz., and proved how just was the belief of its chief discoverer, Mr. Brown, in the auriferous wealth of the country over which he had mustered his cattle.

It may be averred without fear of contradiction that the brief outline we have given of some of the

mines in Queensland bears witness to a mineral wealth and development, equalled, perchance, in extent, but never elsewhere exceeded in the sustained yield and the general effect on the industrial advancement of a Colony. And it must be remembered that mining was but one of the many factors in progress and national betterment, for while we have seen how one field after another yielded a golden harvest, it must be remembered that in other phases there was great development. Sugar-growing was proving that even the threatened taboo on kanaka labour could not stifle tropical agriculture on the rich coast-lands, while the coming of the meat works was changing the outlook of the pastoralist and giving him a market other than Australia, so stable and so sure that it was destined to affect the price of meat throughout the Island Continent, making the days when beef sold at 1d. and 2d. per lb. distant and unreal. The selector had come into his own during the period we have traversed dealing with mining. Manufacturing industries, if they were expanding slowly, were feeling the impetus of the movement onward of all phases of national life. The relation of mining as we have had it in Queensland to evolutionary progress is not far to seek, and may at once be realized by considering the outcome of enterprise in the various districts touched by the pick and shovel, the washing-dish and the cradle of the digger. Mining converted a station on the borders of New South Wales into a health resort and sanatorium; it created a prosperous town and made known the capabilities of the district for farming and fruit-growing. It gave an impetus in turn to other parts of the country far remote from the scene of the southern discovery, and it stimulated production and expanded trade in all directions. To ask what the mining industry has done for the Central district is to court the rejoinder that it caused Rockhampton to exist, and in a real sense promoted the district from purely pastoral relations to a higher plane of agriculture and manufacture. Mining made a port of the Fitzroy. It brought into being the prosperous towns of Mount Morgan and Clermont, and it gave a reason for railway extension not to be denied, thereby promoting settlement in the best, most wealth-producing, and permanent form. Further north, as our thoughts travel up the coast, it is not difficult to see that the mines made Townsville, and we have only to compare Bowen, with all its natural advantages as a port, and its picturesque surroundings, yet in the days of which we write, possessing only one industry, stockraising, to see that it was Charters Towers which made the city on the bank of Ross Creek, gave it a railway and linked it with its hinterland far more speedily than would otherwise have been possible. Indeed, it is questionable whether the

agricultural prosperity which has given wings to progress at the Burdekin Delta and founded in Ayr a centre of population all its own would have taken place had not mining touched Townsville with its magic wand. As it was with Charters Towers and its port, a transfusion of wealth and trade flowing from one to the other, so was it with the Palmer and Cooktown. The port was the handmaiden of the goldfield. To gold-digging away back in the seventies Cooktown owes its railway system, its fisheries in the sunlit waters laving the Barrier Reef, its quest for pearl-shell, or that luxury of the Celestial, *bêche-de-mer*. The Annan tin mines, which were and may be again, all owe their existence to the Palmer field. Croydon, as we think of it as it was before the hand of the miner touched

with the coming of gold there was a stupendous change. Nothing else in the world could have made a town at Croydon save gold, but with the stripping of the covering under which Nature hides her treasure, hands were stretched out on either side, to Normanton in the north and to Townsville in the south-east. So was it with Cloncurry, and later with Herberton.

If it be true that railways always follow settlement, what can we say of mining save that it compels railway communication. The map of Queensland and the blank spaces that have been filled through the personal efforts of the miner during the first forty years of its life as a Colony, are answer. The railways that have been built because of mining and its needs, the trade that has followed mining and has been fostered by it, speak with an



RAVENSWOOD IN 1873.

it, tells the same tale. Far away on the confines of beyond it gave no token save the tale of musterings, punctuated, it may be, by dry season or wet. And then

eloquence that silences all argument. Queensland is fortunate indeed in having so many eggs in her industrial basket, thrice lucky is she in that one of them is golden.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### DAWN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Following the Macalister Administration in 1876 the Thorn Ministry entered into office; nobody in those days seemed quite to know why, for the Administration of which Mr. George Thorn was Premier proved neither capable nor strong, and by most students of Queensland Parliamentary history it was the very minor comedy preceding the great political drama to which it gave place. Yet the same Ministry is worthy of note, if not for what it did, still for that

which rose from it, for by the turning of the sandglass the Douglas Administration took form, and in it was found Mr. S. W. Griffith, while Mr. Thomas McIlwraith was leader of the Opposition, and thenceforth during nearly twenty years the two great party leaders were to be pitted against each other. One's thoughts irresistibly turn to political Titans in a field greater, with a struggle more intense, where Gladstone and Disraeli were matched one against the other, while,

strange to say, there was the same uncertainty in the case of the Parliamentary combatants at Brisbane as at Westminster as to the party each would espouse. The Ministry led by Mr. John Douglas, if overshadowed by subsequent events of masterful interest, can by no means be bracketed with the Government of which it was an offshoot. Unlike the Thorn Government, it was strong, and is noteworthy as the first Administration in the Colony to apprehend the great fact that if there were to be progress there must be attention to the main issues. Political issues in Queensland were rising out of the parochial.

In the Douglas Ministry, for the first time, an effort was made to take a comprehensive view of railway extension, for we find a programme entailing an expenditure of £720,000 was tabled, that sum to be expended on the following railway lines:—Warwick to Stanthorpe, £150,000; Maryborough to Gympie, £150,000; Bundaberg towards Mount Perry, £100,000; Comet River (Central Railway) to Emerald Downs, £100,000; Townsville (Northern Railway) to Charters Towers, £100,000; bridge across the Burdekin River for foregoing line, £100,000; extension surveys, £20,000. And the principle of a just allotment of the responsibility for railway construction loans was recognized, thus paving the way for a realization of the theory that the benefited area should bear the weight of the liability. In order to facilitate the application of the system a reserve of land was provided in each railway district, and all moneys from the sale of areas of land in the reserves were by the Bill to be devoted to payment of the railway loan as far as it had relation to each district line. There was further provision that the land sales should be so ordered as to derive benefit from the increased value of real estate brought about by the building of the lines. So far, it will be seen that the members of the Ministry were undoubtedly men of affairs. The scheme was coherent and practical. That the new system might have a fair trial and to provide funds necessary before the railways could reach a payable point, or the railway lands provide funds in repayment of the principal, the railway loan was increased beyond the sum of £720,000, the cost of building the various lines, to £1,322,000. What was hinted at in the railway measure was emphasized boldly in the Financial Districts Bill, which was a practical contribution to decentralization of Government, and went indeed further, giving reason for the cry for separation of the northern portion of the Colony from Southern Queensland, or, rather, for the formation of three autonomous territories. To the principle of the Bill there could be no objection, for it aimed at the expenditure of public money in each division or district in proportion to the revenue contributed severally, after deductions had been made towards the expense of the Central

Government. In the measure there was also amplification of the principle of local responsibility set forth in the railway policy, for it was proposed to allot in proper proportion a share of the weight of the public debt of the Colony, which the last railway loan had increased to some £9,000,000. The districts were satisfied with the proposals for financial decentralization, and there appeared to be good hope that the measure would pass through the House, when five or six malcontents on the Ministerial benches raised the altogether irrelevant point that Customs and excise, which had been defined as local revenue, could not be so classified. The sufficient answer of those who supported the Bill was that in order to ascertain with accuracy the revenue of the thinly-populated and newly-instituted districts in the north, it was necessary to deal with Customs and excise as though the revenue from these sources was local, for it was the chief factor in the public income there, and would be for some time. Further, in defence of the measure it was said, one must allow with great truth, that the system would prove a guide in framing the Estimates and also in the granting of Supply. Again, there was cogency in the argument of the supporters of the measure that it would serve a good purpose in dispelling the impression that existed concerning an unjust disbursement of public money among the several districts, an impression that resulted oftentimes in a general scramble on the part of the constituencies and their representatives alike. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that reasoning, eminently sound and practical, should be defeated by an argument wholly fallacious, for obviously the whole force of the contention that Customs and excise could not be deemed local revenue was based on those terms in one relation, while the plea that it was necessary to class them as local revenue found its force in a wholly different relation. Did the Opposition from its own side of the House sap the energy of the Ministry in proceeding with the good work? It is difficult indeed to say. We can only judge by results and form our own conclusions on the failure of the Government to re-introduce the thought-child of a bygone Ministry, which lay to the hand of the Premier, for it provided for the carrying out of public works by a local and elective governing authority.

The political scene was changed; the Opposition came into power under the leadership of Mr. Thomas McIlwraith, while Mr. Griffith led the forces against the Government. Undoubtedly during the year 1880 and 1881 more political history was made than at any other time during the life of the Colony. To very many of the present citizens of Queensland the words, steel-rails contract, convey no meaning; but for those whose memories include the eighties in their retrospect the phrase records a political excitement never previously equalled, even when separation from New South Wales

was the question at issue. For in truth the people of the Colony were divided into two camps. Other questions of great moment were dealt with by Parliament in the years referred to, for there came up for the keenest discussion the mail contract with the British India Steam Navigation Company, and the Railway Companies Preliminary Bill, better known as the great transcontinental railway scheme.

Meanwhile, on July 6, 1880, when Parliament met, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Griffith, presented a petition from Mr. Hemmant, a well-known citizen and respected business man of Brisbane, who was then in London. The purport of the petition was the allegation that the Premier, Mr. McIlwraith, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Arthur Palmer, had carried out the contract for steel rails with Messrs. McIlwraith, McEachern, & Co. under circumstances disadvantageous to the Colony. As a result of the

London, had signed the contract with the British India Company conditionally on the subsequent ratification of the agreement by Parliament. The reasons he had in desiring the contract, set forth by Mr. McIlwraith when moving that the arrangement should be confirmed, were that emigrants would be brought to Queensland for £16, and that the new service would counteract the loss of direct trade to Queensland then being suffered, while it would assist a frozen-meat trade to the immense advantage of the whole Colony, and create an important coal-mining industry in West Moreton. In referring to the subsidy—£55,000 per annum, with the remission of light dues—the Premier acknowledged it would be costly, but held it would be preferable to renewing the branch service *via* Torres Strait at £30,000 yearly, a sum too large for a mere branch line. The motion of the Premier was met by an amendment moved by Mr. Douglas, providing that the contract with the British



GOLD ESCORT LEAVING GEORGETOWN.

petition, and in the course of the subsequent dispute on the subject, Mr. Griffith moved that a Royal Commission should be appointed by the House, with power to take evidence in the Colony and in England. Mr. Macrossan, who was then Minister for Works, moved as an amendment that a Special Committee be constituted, composed of four members of the Ministry and three of the Opposition. The amendment was carried, the voting being 25 to 20. Matters touching another phase of the attitude of the leaders of the Administration to contracts were also moving rapidly, for at that juncture Mr. Miles challenged the legality of the Premier and the Colonial Secretary, Messrs. McIlwraith and Palmer, sitting in Parliament while they were registered shareholders in vessels under contract to the Australian Government for the conveyance of cargo, the penalty for a proven breach of this law being £500 per day. It transpired that Mr. McIlwraith, when in

India Company should not be ratified by the House until provision, through a Bill, had been made to give effect to the contract by the appropriation of sums covenanted to be paid and dues covenanted to be remitted. Mr. Douglas' amendment was defeated by 25 votes to 14, and the House adjourned to permit consideration of amendments in the contract by the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition. Outside of the House the contract was very unpopular, and resolutions in condemnation of it were adopted at a largely attended public meeting held in the Town Hall, Brisbane; like antagonism was voiced at an open-air meeting of the citizens of the capital, at which 4,000 people were present.

Opposition members in the Assembly reflected the tenor of public opinion, and the mail contract was vigorously opposed, there being persistent recourse to "stone-walling," despite the fact that certain suggestions

made by Mr. Griffith were believed to give promise of a future understanding. Thereafter there was a speeding-up of the subject in a statement which appeared in the newspapers of Rockhampton to the effect that the Government had ratified the contract with the British India Company, depending on the written promise of thirty-one members that they would vote for it, to hold them scathless. The announcement was probably inspired, preparing the country for a statement made by the Premier in the House a few days subsequently, on September 7. Mr. McIlwraith intimated that the British India Company had been informed by telegram that the Government would accept the contract under certain modifications, the chief being that it would be ratified, unless it were disapproved by a resolution of the Legislative Assembly, before October 6, 1880.

Then came a pause in the action of Parliament on the subject, for the House adjourned in order to enable members to be present at the opening of the railway to Roma. In the meantime, however, things were moving rapidly in another direction, for Mr. Miles had taken legal action in support of his contention that Messrs. McIlwraith and Palmer could not legally sit in Parliament by reason of the fact that they were shareholders in a company under contract to the Government for the conveyance of cargo. The Supreme Court, where the issue on the point of law was brought for trial, was called upon to decide whether the heavy penalty of £500 was to be imposed against Mr. McIlwraith, who was chosen as the defendant in the action, for every day he had sat in Parliament since the contract with the British India Company had been arranged. During the absence of the Ministry at the inauguration of the Roma railway extension the Court gave its decision, the points at issue being dealt with in three questions: (1) Does a contractor with a Government who is only such, as a trustee, come within the meaning of the 6th and 7th sections of the Constitution Act of 1867? (2) Is the avoidance by the Assembly a condition precedent to the liability of the penalty? (3) Ought the plaintiff to have charged the defendant with knowledge of the contract at the time he sat and voted as a member; has he done so? The finding of the Court was in the affirmative in regard to the first point, in the negative concerning the second, while in reply to the third the decision of the Judges, all of whom were on the Bench, was that the plaintiff, Mr. Miles, did charge the defendant with knowledge. In the course of his judgment the Chief Justice found that the fact that a member, who was a contractor, thereby was disqualified from serving in Parliament, the avoidance of the seat by the Assembly forming no part of the disqualification which was formal. The point raised by the defence,

that the plaintiff did not authorize, but expressly forbade the making of the contract, was found not to be affected by the demurrer, and was a question of evidence to be decided by a jury, did the case proceed further. It was held by the Court that a condition of liability for the penalty on the part of a member was that he must be a contractor knowingly, and Mr. Justice Harding found "that should it turn out that the authority of the agent, under whom the contract was entered into, was general, and not special, as charged, and that the defendant did not know the contract had been entered into at the time he sat and voted, he would not have rendered himself liable to the penalty."

Meanwhile the much-vexed question of Mr. Hemmant's petition regarding the steel rails contract had been under the consideration of the Select Committee appointed. The members of the Committee differed in their conclusions, Messrs. Griffith, Dickson and McLean taking exception to the finding of the other four members. The report was as follows: "That in the opinion of your Committee there are many matters in connection with the enquiry, so far as the rail and freight contracts are concerned, which have not been satisfactorily explained, and they recommend your honourable House to take steps for further investigating these matters as may to them seem best." In regard to contracts for railway material, it was recommended that in future no contracts should be made, subject to ratification in England, save in the case where the ratification was by telegram. A debate ensued, the outcome being the appointment of Mr. George King as the representative of Queensland on the Royal Commission appointed to take evidence in England. Both the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition went to England in connection with the enquiry, and those who have a recollection of events in the eighties will remember how clearly cut and decided was opinion on the engrossing subject, termed "a scandal" or "a persecution," as feelings seethed on one side or the other. Neither Mr. McIlwraith nor Mr. Griffith had cause to feel disappointed at the lack of approval their conduct evoked, for on their return to the Colony both were greeted with great enthusiasm. Then came the consideration of the House on the finding of the Royal Commission, widespread publicity being assured for the report through the Clerk of the House reading it *in extenso*, and thus providing for its appearance in "Hansard," whence it found its way to the Press.

As a result of his views on the report, the Leader of the Opposition moved an amendment on the Address-in-reply, for the question had come up during the first days of a new session in July, 1881. The amendment was as follows: "That in making these contracts the

interests of the Colony had been subordinated to the interests of private persons." Mr. Griffith did not deny the integrity of the Commission, but its competency, and somewhat significantly, in view of all the facts, expressed the hope that "the matter should, by the decision the House would come to, whatever it might be, end the matter once and for all." What were considered at the time to be effective replies to the Leader of the Opposition were made by Messrs. Macrossan, Dickson, and Pope Cooper, the first named being then Minister for Works, while the last was Attorney-General. Later Mr. A. Archer moved an amendment which countered that of Mr. Griffith, and was to the following effect: "That whilst deeming it inadvisable to express opinion upon the working of the London Office, pending further enquiry now being held by the Commission in London, we are able to congratulate your Excellency on the fact that the charges brought against the Premier have been proved completely unfounded." On going to a division Mr. Archer's amendment was carried by 27 votes to 20.

Among the measures passed in 1880 had been Railway Bills for the completion of the second section of the line from Bundaberg to Mount Perry, the extension of the central railway to Clermont, together with a line linking Sandgate with Brisbane, including a branch to the racecourse.

The beginning of a movement destined to gain strength every year until it accomplished its purpose in the affirmation of the principle of a "White Australia," found expression in a measure relating to indentured Polynesian labourers, and circumscribing the work in which they could be employed. When South Sea Islanders were first brought to the Colony there was no restriction as to their service, for they were employed in the mills, where the engineer and sugar boiler were often the only white men engaged, while kanakas were very frequently placed in charge of horses and drays conveying cane to the rollers. Gradually the Polynesians were cut out of all such work, and were restricted wholly to work in the fields.

Yet another Bill fated to divide the Colony politically, as did the steel rails question, was introduced in September, 1880. The title of the measure, The Railway Companies Preliminary Bill, gives little indication of the reason for the determined opposition it aroused. In truth, it was the first step in the trans-continental railway scheme formulated by the Premier and always associated with his political career. The object of the land-grant system of railway construction was to relieve the taxpayers and avert the necessity for increasing the loan indebtedness of the Colony. The system, as it was contemplated in the measure introduced by the McIlwraith Government, provided that



SIR CHARLES COWPER.

grants of land might be made to railway contractors, who should be either companies or individuals, that the amount so given should not exceed 8,000 acres per mile of railway built, the land to be in alternate blocks, with the object of raising the value of the intervening areas which would be held by the Government, the argument being that the increased price at which that land would be purchased would more than recoup the State for the grants for railway construction. The areas granted were to be on each side of the line and adjoining or adjacent to it. There was in the Bill a provision that the Governor-in-Council could, at any time after the expiration of five years, purchase the railway, rolling-stock, etc., at a fair and reasonable

valuation. The arguments in furtherance of the proposal were based, as we have said, on the practical benefits the system would confer on the Colony, and the Premier in introducing the measure pointed out that the public debt was very large in proportion to the population, while further in support of the land-grant system it was stated that the Crown lands of Queensland in area were very greatly in excess of any of the other Colonies. Mr. McIlwraith went on to explain that when in England he had found that a railway from Roma to the Gulf of Carpentaria could be built under the system proposed if the Bill passed through Parliament. The measure passed the Lower House, but when

it was dealt with by the Legislative Council an objection was raised to the clause restricting the use of Asiatic or African labour by the contractors to a distance of 200 miles from the Gulf. On being returned to the Lower House the latter insisted on the retention of the clause, and the Council re-inserted the provision. Another clause which was of great importance gave the concession to the contractors of importing all railway material free of Customs dues.

Not least by any means among the factors of opposition to land grants, and contributing also largely to the growing unpopularity of the Government, was the provision for the partial use of cheap coloured labour in the building of the line. There was at this time no room for illusion on the attitude of the electors in the southern centres of population in regard to alien labour: in fact, there was determined opposition to coloured labour in all the towns, northern and central as well as southern. The workers had begun to feel their power, and were saying that it was their duty to care for their own interests. Opposition to the indentation of Polynesians was strengthening, and thus the hostile cry that "coolies were coming" aroused the stern determination that at all costs they should not come. The "White Australia" flag had been hoisted.

On the other side, which opponents declined to consider, or even look at, there was the argument that elsewhere the land-grant system of railway construction had been adopted and nothing very dreadful had resulted. The Canadian Pacific railway was a case in point; and the Queensland measure was to a great extent based on the system adopted in the Dominion for linking the Atlantic with the Pacific provinces. The success which attended the transcontinental railway in Canada, indeed, should move us to consider whether our own Colony was altogether wise in having nothing to do with the land-grant system, which in other forms and other spheres had been widely tested and approved. Beyond that there was always the power to amend objectionable details. And it must not be forgotten, in justice to the promoters of the line, that we are now, forty years after the transcontinental railway was vetoed, working for a railway system very similar to that it would have given us, although built by the State, for we do not only aim at the extension of the coastal railway to the extreme north, but also seek the junction of southern, central, and northern railways in the west by a line which when completed will not be an imperfect imitation of the historical transcontinental line. It is true that our railways are owned by the State, but it is no less true that a land subsidy measure for railway building was agreed to in 1892. Facts seem to point strongly to the belief that it was persons not principles who were so strongly opposed in the eighties, and yet it is as easy to see that great statesmanship animated

the inauguration of the proposal if increased population, expanded settlement, and a large addition to the natural wealth are the main objects of colonial statecraft.

The Leader of the Government, who, in November, 1882, had been created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, an honour conferred previously on his brother in political arms, who as Sir Arthur Palmer became President of the Legislative Council, found other outlets for his energy, for Sir Thomas McIlwraith, with a vision that saw further into the future than many of his compeers, had taken the bold step of annexing Papua. Acting under the instruction of the Premier, Mr. Chester, who was Police Magistrate at Thursday Island, hoisted the Union Jack in New Guinea. Technically the action of the colonial Premier in enlarging on his own initiative the bounds of the Empire was unwarranted presumption, without a shred of precedent to condone it, but practically it was the wisest and most patriotic step that could have been taken. Subsequent events have fully justified the action of Sir Thomas McIlwraith, *ultra vires* though it was. But Lord Derby, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, had not the prescience of the Queensland statesman, and disallowed the annexation, thereby entering into the political history of Australia as a Minister with far less breadth of view than one of the colonial Premiers, whose actions it was in his power to veto and annul. It was not long, indeed, before the wisdom of Sir Thomas McIlwraith and the fact that the Colonial Office had blundered were both proved conclusively, for Germany, who had even then entered on the preparation for the Great War, and was already looking with longing eyes to the Pacific and Australia, seized the opportunity given by the offended dignity of the Imperial Government, or rather of a member of it, for hardly had the flag which Mr. Chester hoisted been pulled down, than a German warship raised the Kaiser's eagle standard in Papua. It is needless to deal with the outcome of the German policy in the Pacific as evidenced by annexations north of Australia, or in the securing of Samoa: that is history which is graven on the soul of every citizen of the Commonwealth.

It is, however, of vital moment to remember that had Sir Thomas McIlwraith not been foiled, and his truly Imperial policy brought to naught, it would not have been necessary for an Australian Imperial Force to annex German New Guinea and hold it. The Australian expedition to Rabaul justified the act of the Queensland Premier. And in connection with subsequent events it is very interesting to remember that the annexation of Papua was very unpopular at the time among a large section of the people of Queensland, being considered a flamboyant attempt to secure prestige.

"The King is dead; long live the King," is a phrase



far more applicable to the political leader than a monarch on a throne, for the electors are as fickle as their passing moods. Things had moved rapidly since the vote was taken on the steel-rails question, which was decided, as we have said, on a purely party vote, from which, however, Mr. A. Meston, member for Rosewood, must be excepted, for that gentleman, although Whip for the Opposition, had the courage of his opinions, and voted with the Government. The Administration had indeed either outlived its popularity or offended the political sensibilities of the majority of the electors, who were led to believe that there was a deeply-laid plot against their freedom and prosperity. No matter, however, what was the cause of the change, the result was clear, for a political party, like an individual, without any apparent cause, may fall on evil days. And so it came to be with the first McIlwraith Ministry. In the election which took place in 1883 the Liberals, under the leadership of Mr. Griffith, proved that the strength of the Ministry was only a shadow. The Opposition became the Government.

Mr. Griffith became Premier, Colonial Secretary, and Minister for Public Instruction, while the other members of the Ministry were:—Mr. W. Miles, Minister for Works and Mines; Mr. C. B. Dutton, Minister for Lands; Mr. J. F. Garrick, Postmaster-General, Treasurer, and Leader of the Government in the Upper House; Mr. A. Rutledge, Attorney-General. The Minister without portfolio was Mr. R. B. Sheridan, who had on retiring from the Sub-Collectorship of Customs in Maryborough sought and received Parliamentary honours. Later Mr. J. R. Dickson, on his return from a visit to England, succeeded Mr. Garrick in the Treasury.

The first years of the Griffith Administration are noteworthy for the initiation of movements, at the first glance antagonistic, but in reality operative from different causes and on a different plane, for just as the Australian Colonies, as a whole, found it would be necessary to seek some centre of administration for

interests and business common to all, so did the citizens of North Queensland begin to ask why they should be governed from a point in the extreme south of the Colony. The first step towards Federation was taken as the year 1883 was passing away, for in December of that year a convention met in Sydney to consider the inauguration of federal relations. The outcome of the deliberations of delegates from the various Colonies, among whom, perhaps, Mr. Griffith exerted most influence, was the Federal Councils Bill. To us who look back it must be a cause of wonder why the results of the convention should be embodied in a Bill, for, after all, those who drew up that measure and passed it were no more than a body advisory to the Imperial

Government and Parliament. In truth the old-time system of acting through a petition to the Throne, if too much indulged in by previous generations in the Colonies, seemed more appropriate for attaining the object than was a Bill. The convention attained its desires, after more than one conference on the subject, in 1885, when the Imperial Statute constituting the Federal Council was passed by the House of Commons and House of Lords. A point of interest to Australians today is found in the fact that the Federal Council Act had a scope much wider even than the Commonwealth, subsequently constituted, for it contemplated federal relations not only among Australian Colonies, but also New Zealand and Fiji, and, indeed, representa-



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tives of New Zealand were present at a conference held in Sydney, and attended by delegates from the Australian Colonies, one of the objects of the convention being to make joint representation on the subject of the annexation of Papua, to which we have alluded. While the Federal Council was assuredly the forerunner of Federation, the Commonwealth did not and could not evolve from the Council. Another series of conventions took place later which gave Australia the federal relations under which Australians live. There are those of the wider vision who look forward to a confederation of the Australian Commonwealth and the New Zealand Dominion, together with

all the island groups in the Western Pacific over which flies the British flag, and what was contemplated by the framers of the Federal Council in the eighties we may yet consider possible.

It is difficult for us who live under Federal Government to understand the excitement which attended the movement for separation in the eighties. More than that, it is not easy for anyone who has only lived in the Southern districts of Queensland to realize how strong was the feeling aroused in the North. So violently indeed were the forces on either side arrayed one against the other that on occasions there was rioting. It must be confessed that the Separationists had much on which to base their claims, for the scheme was no novel one. Statesmen, in the days when Queensland as a whole had made good her right to self-government, had looked to the formation of another Colony in north-eastern Australia, and indeed that was the argument used by Mr. John Macrossan in a motion which he tabled in the Legislative Assembly, that the time had arrived when the separation contemplated by the Duke of Newcastle in 1859 should take place. Ten members of the northern constituencies were pledged to do all that lay in their power to bring about the creation of a new Colony, north of a line drawn from Cape Palmerston, south of Mackay and opposite the Percy Islands, westward to the South Australian border. On the surface, the arguments were cogent and not easy to dispute. For it was asserted that Northern Queensland had a population of 60,000 and a revenue of £600,000, being thus in a far more advanced position than Moreton Bay Settlement when it obtained autonomous government. That argument was difficult to combat, for it simply stated a fact, as did also the appeal to the expressed foresight of a former Secretary of State for the Colonies. When, however, the Separationists avowed their determination not to be governed by interests and influences centred in a town in the extreme south-eastern portion of the Colony, they at once stepped on contentious ground, for it was asserted that in addition to the championing of the separation cause by the sugar men, as they were termed, there was also very strong support given to the movement by those who were interested in the advancement of Townsville, and desirous to see that growing city and seaport the capital of the proposed Colony. So conscious were the advocates of separation that Townsville simply reproduced the evils complained of in regard to Brisbane, for it would be at one end of the new Colony, just as was Brisbane in regard to the whole territory, that it was averred that a capital in some central spot was to be created. Facts, and human nature, seem to give reason for the belief that Townsville's enthusiasm in the movement had a practical business aspect. There may have been sound reason underlying the further argument that the North had

always been treated unjustly in the disbursement of the public expenditure, and more than that, in the insufficient representation in Parliament which it had been given as compared with the Southern districts. During three weeks the question was debated in Parliament, Mr. Hume Black, member for Mackay, being one of the most forceful advocates of separation. The question, however, had another aspect, and it was on that phase probably that the adverse vote was given which diminished, though it did not extinguish, the hopes of the Separationists. For in truth it was the outlook on the sugar industry which was really in question. Right away to the far north sugar was king on the coast, and even beyond Cairns and Port Douglas, to a point but little south of Cooktown, which in turn was a thousand miles north of Brisbane, sugar-growing was being carried on with profit by means of kanaka labour. Every man engaged in the industry could at the time see the writing on the wall, traced in clear terms by the great majority of electors in the south, and the writing was that "the kanakas must go." Under the circumstances it did not require supernatural astuteness to suspect that a northern Colony, desired mainly in the interests of the sugar-growers, would have as one of its main institutions coloured labour. Of course all this was strenuously denied, and Mr. Hume Black asserted that those interested in the sugar industry only sought fairplay, which they could never hope for so long as their destiny was controlled by the south.

Meanwhile the supporters of the separation movement made a brave fight for their object, and defeated in the colonial Parliament, despatched delegates to London to impress their views on the Colonial Office. It cannot be averred that Messrs. I. Lissner and H. Black, who were the missionaries of the separation cult, met with great success, for Sir Henry Holland, who was at that time in charge of colonial affairs, told the delegates with suave sarcasm that their arguments for separation "were not strong enough." And with that reply the delegates returned to Queensland.

Among the members of the Ministry was Mr. C. B. Dutton, who represented Leichhardt in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Dutton was a pastoralist, popular with his fellows in the industry, and indeed deservedly held in high estimation on all sides. As Minister for Lands he atoned for lack of experience in Parliamentary life by his enthusiasm for the new views on the subject promulgated by the American thinker, Henry George, whose volume, "Progress and Poverty" was the book of the day. The Secretary for Lands was not content to read and approve the theory that land was no subject for private possession, that it could no more be claimed as individual property than the air we breathe. Mr. Dutton was not satisfied with arguing on

the advantage given through the utilization by a State of the increasing value of the land of a country in minimizing taxation, promoting progress and eliminating poverty. He sought to transform into practice Henry George's theories concerning the benefit which the community as a whole would derive from that which he termed the unearned increment in the value of land, enjoyed by private ownership without being earned. The conclusions at which Mr. George arrived were certainly pleasing, but the results in the practical application were not so satisfactory, for as a revenue-producer the Dutton Land Act of 1884 was not a success.

The whole question of leasehold *versus* freehold had tendrils too deeply rooted in the minds of men on the land to be settled out of hand by even so persuasive a theorist as Henry George. That the Act did not give the revenue anticipated cannot be denied, and it is no defence of the new legislation to assert that the seasons were against it. The point, however, remains that there must have been strong belief in the practical benefit derived from subdividing runs and in the justice with which the rights of pastoral lessees were safeguarded. That the squatters were treated well is proved by the fact that they favoured the measure. It cannot be doubted that there was something attractive in the proposal to increase the revenue from land through subdividing pastoral leases and raising the rent of the grazing farms constituted from the resumed portions of the runs, but in practice things did not work out in the manner desired, and the Colony stood to face a large burden for loan interest, for which there was not an adequate revenue. Quite an interesting and important episode in the introduction of advanced land legislation was afforded by the attitude of Mr. Dixon in regard to the leasing of land. Mr. Dixon, as an eminently successful business man, one whose knowledge of land values was second to none, was in no wise disposed to allow theory to take the bit in its teeth and run away with him. As a common-sense method of extricating

the Colony from financial difficulty Mr. Dixon suggested there should be recourse to sales of land. He was opposed in this by the Premier as well as by Mr. Dutton, and as a result Mr. Dixon resigned his portfolio. In that act, and in the pressing need for money which some years later led to the enactment of a legislative measure entitled the Special Sales of Land Act, we have the strongest commentary and criticism of the Dutton measure and the system underlying it. And yet, having said all this, it is impossible either to condemn the reasoning on which the Act was based, or to assert that any but the highest motives animated the authors of the measure. Evolution works slowly, and those who anticipate it invariably pay the penalty.

That portion of the Act which has most interest for us in these days is undoubtedly Part IV., which inaugurated the system of grazing and agricultural farms, for a new method of dealing with Crown land was introduced, and has, indeed, been accepted as the basis of all evolution in land legislation in regard to grazing farms. It was provided that survey before selecting should be the rule, although there was room left for the suspension of that provision by the Governor-in-Council under recommendation of the Land Board. There were also provisions made for temporary survey. In the case of agricultural farms there was provision for selection after proclamation.

In the case of land in an agricultural area the maximum area that could be selected was 1,280 acres, while in other areas the maximum was 20,000 acres and the minimum 2,560 acres. The rent charged varied from not less than 3d. per acre in an agricultural area to not less than ½d. per acre in other cases. There was provision, in the case of agricultural land, for the lessee to purchase in fee simple at a price to be fixed by a proclamation, but not less than 15s. per acre. Holders of grazing farms had as a condition of their lease the enclosing of their land with a good and substantial fence. In subsequent years the inroads of rabbits caused the framing of a provision compelling the erection



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of a rabbit-proof fence in certain parts of the country. It was within the province of the Board to permit holders of farms adjoining each other, and when these did not exceed four in number, to combine and fence for protection against rabbits on the external boundaries only. The Board was subsequently given discretion in granting concessions as to time in regard to rabbit-proof fencing, an extension up to two years being provided for in cases where the lessee could give a sufficient reason for his inability to comply with the provision. The term of lease under which an agricultural farm could be held was fifty years, but owing to subsequent legislation in the Agricultural Lands Purchase Act of 1894 that tenure of lease was reduced to

twenty years in places where land had been proclaimed open to conditional selection. It is very interesting to note that a step which was obviously made in obedience to the expression of public opinion and the necessity of providing for settlement—and revenue—was quite out of touch with the leasing principle. The tenure under which a grazing farm could be held was limited to thirty years, save in the case where rabbit-proof fencing had been erected, and where an Extension Act, introduced later, provided for the lease being extended to a further period of five years. In regard to the rental of grazing farms the amount payable during the first ten years was fixed by proclamation, the Board assessing the subsequent periods, which were each of five years.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### CIVIC, SOCIAL, AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Turning from the most important political epoch in the history of the Colony to its advancement in things civic, social, and industrial subsequent to the discovery of gold at Gympie, it will be of interest to take a retrospect of life in Queensland in various aspects in order that we may see the Colony in different stages. We have already shown the vast impetus which self-government gave to the Colony, yet for the purposes of comparison it will be well to note that as the result of the first census taken in the Colony in 1861 the population was found to be 30,059. Seven years later, in March, 1868, another census was taken, and the population was then estimated to be 99,312; while two years later it had increased by 10,000 persons. The six most densely populated districts at the end of 1870 were as follows:—East Moreton, 13,912, of whom 7,486 were males and 6,426 females. The district of North Brisbane had in its bounds 9,172 souls, 4,526 being males and 4,646 females. In West Moreton the total number was 7,684, 4,090 being males and 3,594 females. Wide Bay followed closely on the heels of West Moreton with 7,351 persons, of whom 6,199 were males and 1,152 females. The population of the Rockhampton district was 6,086, 3,236 being males and 2,850 females. In the district of Drayton and Toowoomba the population was 6,032, of whom 3,056 were males and 2,976 females.

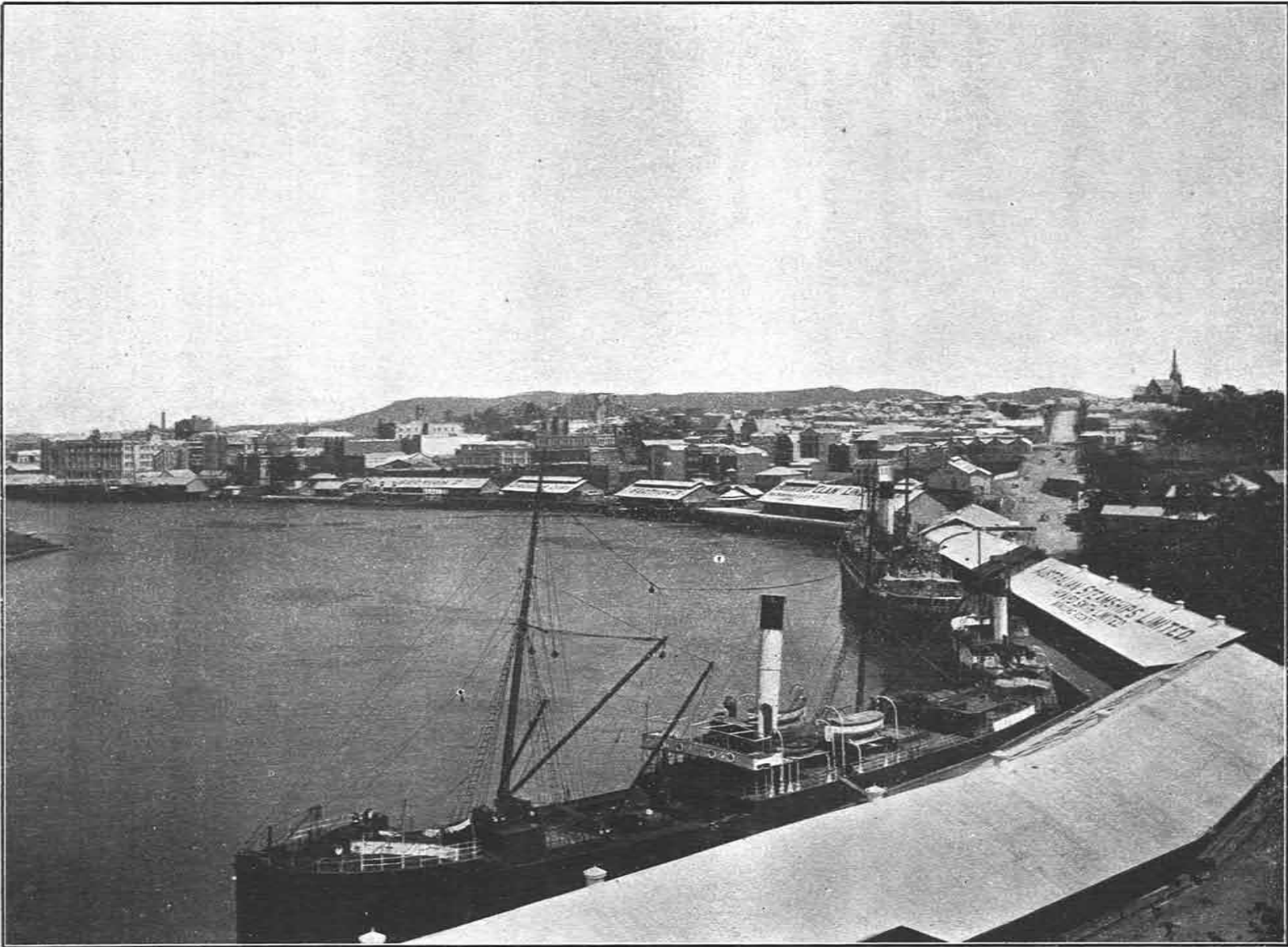
Brisbane, as was fitting, took the lead in civic life, the municipality, which comprised the three electorates of North Brisbane, South Brisbane, and Fortitude Valley, having been constituted just before separation. There were in 1870 six wards, each returning two aldermen. They were East, West, North, and South Wards, the Valley and Kangaroo Point. There was a population of 14,265 within the bounds of the municipality, the estimated area of which was 2,183 acres, while the

dwellings numbered 2,950. The roads and streets represented a total of forty-seven miles. The number of ratepayers seems to have been small compared with the population, being at the time only 3,975. The rateable property was valued at £852,090, the annual value being £85,209. It is interesting to note that the general rate of Brisbane, and all the other municipalities in the Colony save one, was 1s. in the pound, being the maximum levy permitted by the Act. The exception was Gayndah, where the rate was 8d. in the pound. The total revenue of the Brisbane Town Council was £10,568 12s. 7d. from all sources, and the expenditure was £9,100 15s. 2d. It is stated that rather unsuccessful bridge-making and the erection of the Town Hall were responsible for the large debt-burden the municipality had to bear.

Ipswich, as was meet, followed the capital closely in the winning of municipal honours, for the town was incorporated in 1860. The civic population totalled 5,021, and there were 1,182 dwellings within the municipal bounds. The mileage of roads and streets was 33, while the ratepayers numbered 491. The value in all of rateable property was estimated at £338,478, the annual value being £24,177. The total annual revenue was £1,478 14s. 8d., the expenditure being £1,415 6s. 9d.

Toowoomba became a municipality in 1860, and was divided into three wards, each being represented by three aldermen. The population totalled 3,020, with 718 dwellings. The roads and streets represented a total length of forty-five miles, while the number of ratepayers on the roll was 943. The rateable property in 1869 was valued at £160,078, while the annual value was £24,632. The revenue was £1,933 4s. 5d., while the expenditure was £2,196 10s.

The municipal bounds of Rockhampton, which



BRISBANE FROM BOWEN TERRACE, SHOWING CIRCULAR QUAY.

acquired local government in 1861, were wide, comprising 15,000 acres, the population totalled 5,000, while the total number of dwellings was 1,000. In all the mileage of the roads and streets was 75. There were 1,392 ratepayers on the register, while the total value of rateable property was £557,000, and the annual value £44,578. The revenue was £6,360 and the expenditure £7,917. It will be seen that Rockhampton ranked only second to Brisbane in municipal importance, while on the other hand, the one-time clamorous voice of Ipswich for place and power as the metropolis must have ceased for lack of material argument.

Maryborough was constituted a municipality in 1861, and the city fathers in those days must have possessed a vaulting ambition concerning its future, for the area within the civic bounds was 25,000 acres. The population was 3,500, and the number of dwellings 650. The total mileage of the roads and streets was 74. There were 1,000 ratepayers on the roll, while the estimated value of rateable property was £250,000, and the annual value £23,840. The revenue amounted to £2,977, while the expenditure was £3,482.

In 1861 Warwick graduated in things civic with a population of 2,000, and the number of ratepayers 524. There were in all 405 dwellings and 46 miles of roads and streets within the municipal bounds. The rateable property was valued at £170,590, the annual value being given at £17,059, while the revenue was £969, and the expenditure £1,628.

There were ten municipalities in addition to the foregoing centres of local government, but in each the population numbered less than 2,000. They were Drayton, Gladstone, Bowen, Dalby, Townsville, Gayndah, Clermont and Copperfield (proclaimed a joint municipality), Roma (the most westerly municipality in the Colony), Allora, and Mackay. All the latter towns are shown in the order in which they came of age in civic rights, the last to be proclaimed being Mackay, constituted a municipality in 1869. A realistic touch is given in regard to Clermont in the annals of those bygone days, for it is stated that during the preceding month of February all the books and records of the Town Council were swept away by a flood, and no statistics were available.

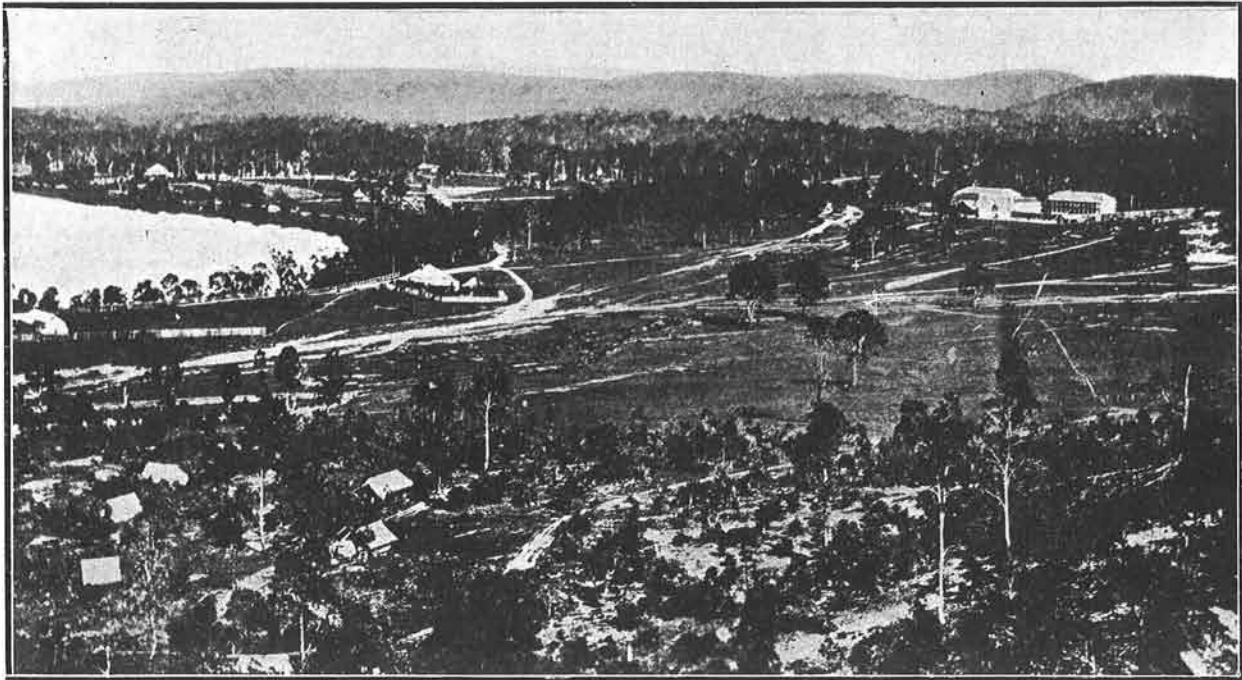
Turning to the question of immigration during the years of which we are now writing, we find that the increase in population bears witness to a well-founded belief in the specially favourable opportunities the Colony offered for settlement. It has been seen that prior to the financial crisis of 1866 a lack of wisdom had been displayed in hurrying out settlers from the Homeland before there had been due preparation for their coming or the question solved of what was to be done with them when they came. The immigration returns

of 1869 show that during that year there was a very sound belief in the Colony as a home for strong, well-centred men, their wives, and their families, and the proof comes to us in the fact that while immigration from the United Kingdom represented 1,921, the inflow of settlers from the other Australian Colonies totalled 4,443. It is true that departures from Queensland to the other Colonies represented 6,715, but there is good reason to believe that number does not imply that those who came to Queensland were dissatisfied with their lot, but rather that people coming out to New South Wales, Victoria, or the other Colonies found that it paid them to take their passage to Brisbane, the deceit entering into the business through their masquerade as intending settlers in the Colony did not seem to trouble them. Advantage was taken of the liberality of the Queensland Government in regard to shipping facilities to Brisbane and the other ports. The fact remains that the number of departures to other Colonies amounted to some 351 persons more than all the immigrants from the British Isles. There was, it is true, during the year an excess of departures as compared with arrivals, but when allowance is made for the awakening from the golden dream, under whose lure so many came to the Colony at that time, the excess is not over much. The fact, however, that 4,443 people came to Queensland from the sister Colonies is perhaps the strongest evidence we can have that it was recognized that the foundations of a stable and excellent prosperity had been laid, for those nearest to us are always our most just critics, because they know, and as it is with individuals so it is with communities. When we recall how real a factor inter-colonial jealousy was in Australian life in pre-Federation days we can attach full value to the favourable consideration the northern Colony received from residents in other parts of Australia when the grave question of how they could improve their condition came up for decision. And we can see that even then Queensland was justifying her claim to first place among the Colonies, for not altogether was the attraction due to the gold-fields. It is interesting to learn that among the arrivals during the year were 327 South Sea Islanders, being 213 in excess of departures for Polynesia, and that, indeed, may be taken as a fair indication that the labour traffic was being vigorously carried on.

The circumstances as they were in regard to shipping in those days give one an excellent idea of the enormous strides Queensland has made in fifty years. In 1869 there were practically no steamers in the port of Brisbane other than intercolonial vessels, and although the propeller had begun to jostle the paddle-steamer into the side eddies of marine trade and work, the coastal traffic, as far as Queensland was

concerned, was largely maintained by the old-fashioned side-wheelers. And they were not leviathans by any means, for the "Queensland" and the "Lady Bowen" did not register more than 300 or 400 tons in burden. Very safe and comfortable boats they were and well known to travellers, for they were the only means of communication between Rockhampton, Maryborough, Brisbane, and Sydney, although Cobb's far-famed coaches linked up Gympie on the one side with Brisbane, and on the other with Maryborough. Brisbane, being the port for the most thickly-populated districts to the west and south, was without a rival in any sense. It was true that beyond Brisbane there was Ipswich, linked not only with the capital by coach, but also by steamer. Very leisurely, indeed, was the navigation to the up-river port in the last year of the sixties, yet pleasurable for all

much worry and bustle, for all unloading operations were carried on in the bay, and if it were desired to bring the ship up the river—it was always a sailing vessel from overseas that was in question—the reaches could only be navigated after the vessel was unloaded by lighters. The ports of Rockhampton and Maryborough came next in importance to Brisbane, the former with 95 vessels inward and 77 outwards, and the latter with 59 vessels inward, while the clearances represented 70. Nothing perhaps could indicate the small size of the coastal steamers more clearly than the proposal mooted in those days, that the Narrows between Port Curtis and Keppel Bay should be deepened, and it was asserted this could be done at a comparatively small cost, in order that the voyage between Gladstone and Rockhampton might be



SHOWING OLD GAOL, PETRIE TERRACE AND SITE OF PRESENT ROMA STREET STATION AND YARDS IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

that. One cast loose from the Brisbane wharf at 9 a.m., and after many a halt *en route* at wayside wharfs to leave parcels and embark or disembark passengers, Ipswich was reached after lunch, about 2 o'clock. An interesting trip it was, for in those days the river banks were thickly populated with farmers, and not a few sugar plantations were to be seen on the trip. In the coastal traffic a system pertained differing wholly from that in use now, for then the steamers were made to fit the rivers, not the rivers deepened to suit the steamers. In all 250 vessels, of a total burden of 74,309 tons, entered the port during the year, and clearances outward represented 227 ships, with a total of 72,195 tons. In those days the arrival of what was deemed a large vessel—1,500 or 2,000 tons—meant

shortened. This is an enlightening suggestion, in view of the fact that many years later, when the northern railway had been built as far as Gladstone, and the last section of the line to Rockhampton was in course of construction, it was found necessary to build a steamer of specially shallow draught in order to convey passengers through the Narrows to Rockhampton. Townsville, it is noteworthy, in 1869 stood side by side with Bowen in regard to its coastal trade, the vessels entering at Cleveland Bay in 1869 being 28, while the clearances were 30. At Port Denison 29 vessels entered and 28 cleared. In both cases ships of large size were compelled to unload in the roadsteads, and that despite the fact that Bowen had been dowered with a jetty 2,000 ft. in length, due, it was said, to the

kindly consideration of Sir Arthur Palmer for the northern town, for vessels drawing more than 9 ft. could not in those days berth at Bowen. The latter town was the outlet of what was then known as a magnificent pastoral district, while Townsville, for which the gods had future gifts in the discovery of Charters Towers gold, drew its importance at the time of which we speak from the goldfields at the Cape and Gilbert Rivers. Yet other points of assistance in tracing the picture of the Colony as it was at the end of the sixties are to be found in the fact that Broadsound was then the port for the Peak Downs Copper Mine, and was noted for the rapidity with which the tides rose and fell, and also the extent of the rise, which varied from 20 to 36 feet. Again Baffle Creek, south of Gladstone, was described as a port frequented by coasters, while Cardwell, of which many things were expected, was noted as the most northerly point at which a Custom house had been established. In 1869 the overland telegraph line to the Gulf branched off at Cardwell, and a year later steamship communication was established with Brisbane. In the brief survey of the coastal traffic it is of interest to note that trade in the Gulf of Carpentaria was causing Normanton to rise into prominence, an important factor in the centring of business there being the convenience the port represented in regard to traffic with the gold and copper fields at Cloncurry. The most northerly point of settlement was Albany, near Cape York, which was then a free port.

It is questionable whether those who know Brisbane as it is to-day would meet much that is familiar to them were time to wheel back and give them a glimpse of the city as it was in 1869 or 1870. There were no palatial buildings, no embankment linking Queen Street with the height which looks down into the Valley, the chief means of communication being Wickham Street. There was no imposing Custom House and its somewhat outre architecture to attract attention, and up and down Queen Street plodded now and then a heavily-laden bullock-dray. Jolting and noisy omnibuses were the very imperfect forerunners of the efficient tramway system, which twelve or thirteen years later began its evolution from horse-traction to electricity as a motive power. The horse represented the sole mode of speedy communication for the business man, while a moderately comfortable vehicle termed a Melbourne car, and the more commodious hansom, were the ancestors of the motor-cars of to-day. There was a town hall, but it was not over-highly estimated, though it had cost much money. The post office as it is to-day did not exist, a small building in George Street serving the purpose of the citizens and the country. Queen Street had many a gap in it. Those who saw it in those days had they the gift of prophecy might have said that the child city had not cut its teeth. And yet the shops

were excellent, and catered well for the wants of their customers. Among those which come to the memory of any who knew Queen Street as it was then were the establishments of E. F. Edwards, Finney, Isles, & Co., Grimes & Petty, and John Forsyth & Co. Not yet was the railway extended to Brisbane, and there was no station at Roma Street, though a year later excavation work at the site of the old terminus gave token of what was to be. Communication between the northern and the southern sections of the city was still by ferry-boat and punt. If Queen Street had many gaps in those days Stanley Street, South Brisbane, had still more, while from a point not far from where River Terrace now stands there was a pretty view obtained from a bridle track, one of the means of communication with Kangaroo Point, where was the ferry whence the coach from Ipswich wheeled into town. Fortitude Valley was a busy place, and along the Hamilton Road was as pleasant a ride as could be desired. Ipswich was within riding distance in one direction, as was the pretty sea-front at Sandgate in another. Government House as it was, with the sentry, rifle in hand, at the lodge-gate, is only a memory now. The rooms devoted to social functions are now dedicated to the uses of the University professors.

In six years much may happen in a young Colony, and the advancement experienced in Queensland in the period between 1869 and 1875 was no exception to the rule, but rather proved it emphatically. In 1874 Brisbane had greatly advanced, and Queen Street was beginning to assume a metropolitan air, although it cannot be said that all the spaces were filled. In that year a fine bridge across the river, linking the northern portion of the city with South Brisbane, was completed, being formally opened by the Marquis of Normanby, who was then Governor of the Colony. In the vice-regal *régime* of Sir George Bowen there had been a great effort made at bridge-building, and a wooden and temporary structure, intended as an aid in erecting a permanent bridge, was made available for traffic. It was whispered that the antagonism of Ipswich, as much as the flood-waters which swept down from that ambitious town, caused the failure of the project. One thing is certain, that Ipswich had influence sufficient to save her dignity as a port through the provision made in early bridge structures for opening, in order to permit of the passage of shipping up stream. Probably the fact that there never was any call for the opening of the bridge caused that system to be laid aside in later structures. In justice, however, to the citizens of the up-river port, it must be stated that the hard time of financial depression in the mid-sixties probably had much to do with the failure to proceed with the building of the projected iron structure. No matter where the reason lay, a flood



having partially demolished the temporary bridge, the beginnings of that which was to be the first permanent structure lifted their broken heads above the stream in the first years of the seventies, as if in protest. And it is not for us who live in later days to smile at foiled hopes, for a flood has more than once demolished structures subsequently erected. The bridge made available for traffic in 1874 was, however, the pledge that never again, save temporarily, would Brisbane be without speedy means of communication between her communities of the north and south. At this time also the railway connection of the Southern and Western districts with Brisbane was completed. On October 5 the first section of the line from Ipswich to the capital was finished and opened for traffic as far as Sherwood, a distance of some seventeen miles. In February, 1875, the line was completed as far as Oxley Point, while on

1861 there were but 4,480 acres under cultivation, in 1869 the area had increased to 47,034 acres, whilst in 1873 the acreage stood at 64,218. All through the early years maize had been the leading crop, but just as sugar-growing had overtaken and passed cotton cultivation in the favour with which it was held, so was sugar destined to take the place of Indian corn as the most important primary production of the Colony. In 1869 the land under sugar was 5,165 acres, and four years later the area was 14,495 acres. In order to form a just estimation of what that meant to Queensland we must remember that in 1864 there were only 93 acres devoted to sugar-growing. The sugar manufactured in 1873 was 7,987½ tons, and there were also other products 164,413 proof gallons of rum, and 442,253 gallons of molasses. The return of sugar does not give any information concerning the average amount of sugar



ROMA STREET LOOKING ACROSS THE RIVER TO SOUTH BRISBANE IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

June 14 there was no missing link in the southern railway system, for on that day the extension to Brisbane was opened in its entirety, and the station at Roma Street, where the erection of suitable buildings had been going on for some years, became the terminus of the southern and western railways.

In yet another phase of Brisbane's life there was advancement marked in the opening of the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic diocese of Brisbane, which at that time was under the administration of Bishop Quinn. The Cathedral was a fine building of architectural excellence, and had been eight years in course of erection. The inaugural ceremonies and dedication took place on May 17, 1874.

If we turn to agriculture we see how bright and promising the picture becomes as the years pass. In

per acre, which was at that time stated to be one and a half tons. Later, with the increased crushing power of large central mills and more efficient methods of treating the juice in boiling, the return of the early days was greatly exceeded. In comparing the acreage with the sugar extracted it must always be remembered that not all of the cane on a farm is cut every year. In those days, although it was anticipated that eventually the wants of Queensland would be wholly supplied by her own plantations, that time had not yet arrived, and refined sugar was imported. Different grades of sugar were produced, according to the machinery available and the skill of the sugar-boiler, the variety bringing the highest price being brewers' crystals, which sold at £40 per ton, while at the lower end of the market was ration sugar, which brought from £28 to £30 per ton.

In all there were sixty-six sugar-mills and ten distilleries in 1873. The maximum and minimum prices for sugar seem to have been widely apart, but were caused by the great difference in the machinery used, which varied from efficient steam-roller power with vacuum pan-boiling to horse-power mills and the "open battery" of the old West India days. In 1873 Mackay had made good its claim of being a sugar centre with 4,548 acres under cane cultivation. It is interesting to note the large amount of rum that was distilled in those days. And yet we find the complaint was voiced that there was a considerable leakage of profit owing to the waste of skimmings and inferior grades of molasses, due to the regulation that at no mill rum was permitted to be made when the capacity of the mill was not equal to manufacturing one and a half tons of sugar per diem. It is a little difficult to understand how the authorities arrived at the decision that it was inexpedient for any mill below a given capacity to possess a still, except on the reasoning that the owner of the smaller mills could not afford to pay for the necessary supervision and the services of an excise officer.

It is not improbable that if denatured alcohol be proved economically preferable to petrol a use may be found for by-products in sugar manufacture that would increase still further the importance of the sugar industry and also enable China cane and sorghum to be cultivated on the southern seaboard of the State for the production of liquid fuel. As sugar rose in favour so did cotton fall, the larger returns from the former product tempting farmers to abandon a crop the value of which was ruled by conditions wholly beyond control in Australia. The Southern States of the American Union and India as centres of production had lowered the price, with the result that while we find 14,426 acres were devoted to cotton in 1869, the area had diminished to 9,663 acres four years later. The value of the cotton exported in 1873 was £48,673, as against £51,217 in the former period. In regard to wheat-growing, it is of interest to note that the Toowoomba district increased its production very considerably between 1869 and 1873, for the area during the former period was 776 acres, and in the latter year had risen to 1,828 acres. Of the total area under wheat in Queensland—3,554 acres, in 1873—all save 61 acres was situated in the Toowoomba or Warwick districts, Allora being included, as far as the statistics were concerned, in Warwick. Coal-mining was an industry that developed late, and we find that the value of coal mined during 1869 was £5,907, representing a total quantity of 4,120 tons. The value of coal and coke exported from the Colony in 1873 was £1,248. The hope was then expressed that, in the future, railway facilities might enable the deposits of coal known to exist to be developed profitably. The miners' rights

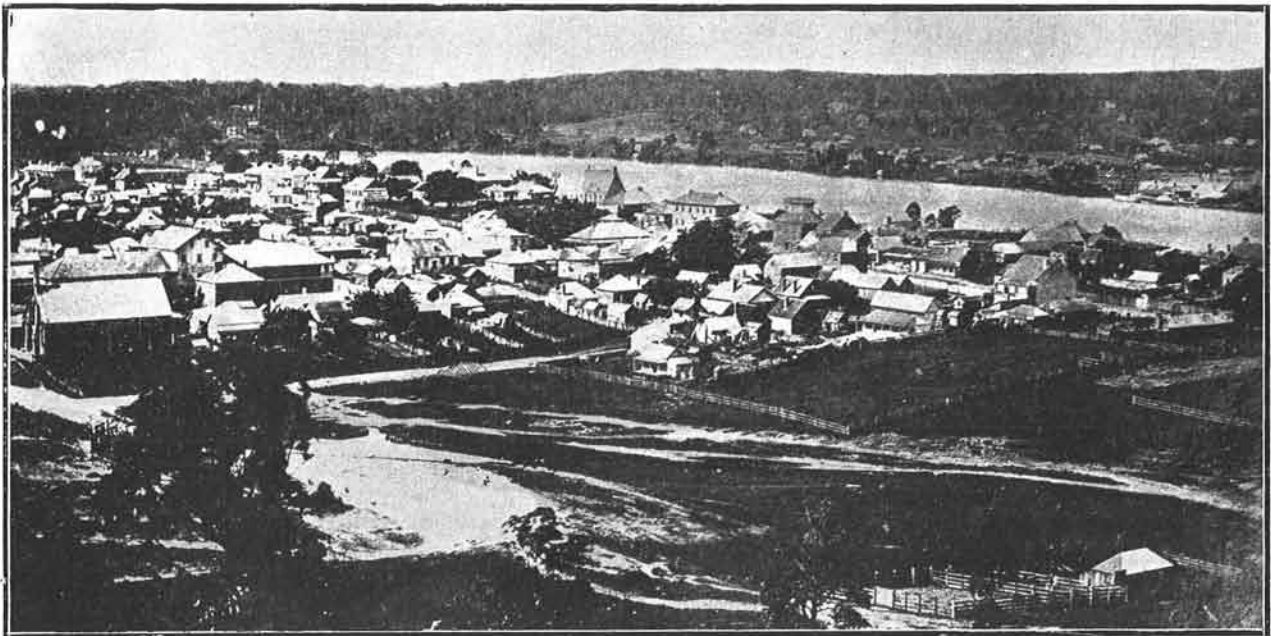
issued at various goldfields form an interesting evidence of the value attached to the different diggings by miners, and it is instructive to note that in 1869 Gympie stood first with the issue of 2,524 rights, the two fields next in favour being Crocodile Creek and Cape River. Four years later the fields in the lead with the issue of miners' rights were the Cape River, Broughton, and Charters Towers, the grouped statistics of which showed that 2,418 rights had been issued, Gympie standing second with 1,168. A glance at the returns of gold-mining enables us to see perhaps more fully than anything else how swiftly Queensland was evolving towards great prosperity. If we cast our thoughts back to the year 1860 we find that 4,127 oz. of gold of a value of £14,576 was won. Nine years later the return became 130,944 oz. valued at £451,352, while in 1873 the gold mined represented 194,895 oz. of a value of £717,540. Statistics in regard to other minerals help us in gauging the Colony's advancement, and more than that, also aid us in realizing some of the factors in the prosperity attained. In 1869 the copper mined totalled 6,310 tons of a value of £76,230, while four years later the value of copper and copper ore had risen to £200,699. The tin mined was still more valuable, being returned at £397,291.

When Queensland started out on the great adventure of self-government the actual revenue of the first complete year as a Colony, 1860, was £178,589, and the expenditure £180,103. Nine years subsequently the revenue was £772,858, and the expenditure £770,796, the revenue being inclusive of land orders to the amount of £34,639. Four years later, in 1873, the revenue had increased to £1,124,107 (including land orders to the amount of £4,072), the expenditure being £930,864. From 1860 to 1866 imports and exports rose rapidly, bearing witness to the advance of the Colony, but in no year until 1867 did the exports exceed the imports, giving sure proof that the days of wealth-yielding production had come. In that year the value of imports was £1,731,164, and of exports £2,160,240, an excess of £429,076 in exports over imports. In 1873 the imports had risen to £2,739,933, but the exports continued to maintain the lead, for in that year they represented a total of £3,155,799. That Brisbane during all the years had made good its claim to be the chief port of Queensland, despite all criticism concerning the difficulties the river presented to shipping, is proved from the fact that more than two-thirds of the imports, or £2,011,263, and more than one-half of the exports, £1,660,543, represented the shipping trade of the capital. Turning to a very important product of the Colony which bulked largely in the export trade, it is of great interest to note that even in 1860 the wool shipped from the Colony totalled 5,007,167 lb., of a value of £444,188. In 1869

the shipments of wool had risen to 22,386,650 lb., valued at £1,098,149, while four years later the value of this export totalled £1,374,526,

One obtains an insight in regard to the increasing prosperity of the country by noting that there was an advance in the payment of some phases of labour in 1874 as compared with 1870. Artisans who had been paid 8s. to 9s. per diem received 10s. to 14s., while farm labourers who had been paid £25 to £30 per annum received £35 to £50. The pay of shepherds as to the minimum wages per annum rose £10, the maximum rate being unchanged. There was a rise of £20 in the maximum yearly wages payable to married couples, the rate in 1870 being £35 to £40, while four years later it was £35 to £60. The Wages Act of 1870 deserves a word in passing. From the opinion expressed at the

as some of us are prone to believe. Away in the Far North and out upon the western plains, where the masters of flocks and herds led the van, life was rough, but in the main there was sound reason for satisfaction in more than one respect. As the result of intercolonial conferences the telegraph system of the country was worthily deemed subject for praise, and there was room for great content in regard to the Torres Strait mail service, which aroused in every patriotic Queenslander an additional reason for championing it, for it was the Colony's own. There was good ground for satisfaction in the thought that mails from Europe arrived every ten days, the homeward-bound service being as expeditiously carried on. We who see the result of care in the nursing of a young industry may devote a passing thought to the fact that the greatly



SHOWING ADELAIDE STREET, SITE OF NEW TOWN HALL AND OLD POUND YARDS IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

time it is clear that advantage must have been taken of the law as it stood previously, and by which a mortgagee who took possession of a property was not liable for the wages which might be owing by the mortgagor. The latter law changed all that, making the mortgagee under the circumstances stated responsible for wages due to employes up to a period of six months. It is noteworthy that there should have been a very marked tendency in the early seventies towards going on the land with the object, not of leasing it, but of owning it. In view of the legislation which was subsequently introduced, and which has been dealt with in connection with land legislation, the point is important.

The citizens of those days did not worry through life the victims of hard times and untoward circumstances,

important oyster fisheries in Moreton Bay and elsewhere on the Queensland coast were during 1874 safeguarded by wise legislation. There was a time when the high reputation Moreton Bay oysters enjoyed in the South was endangering the very existence of the industry. The steps taken in precaution against oyster piracy were sufficient and successful. Of that the fishery to-day is witness.

With reference to the water police, it is of interest to know that the force was in the main appointed because, in the old days of sailing ships, seamen held Queensland so high in favour that it was a matter of great difficulty for shipmasters to keep their crews from making off "up country," and desertion seems to have been as common when the ships anchored

in the bay as when they were brought with much labour up the river. Punishment in gaol, necessitating the sailing of his ship without him, was just what "Jack" of the old "mainsail haul" days sought, but the hulk anchored at the mouth of the river, and in charge of the water-police, provided the corrective gaol did not supply. This method of dealing with refractory seamen was indeed found very effective, the main ingredient in the remedial measure being that there was durance vile for the sailor, and yet no loss of a topsail hand for the ship's captain.

From the hulk it may not be deemed an over-sudden change to turn to St. Helena. Instituted in 1867, we do not know that the penal establishment on a pretty green islet in Moreton Bay merited the appreciative praise it received from some people in the old days, for really the fact that excellent sugar was grown by means of convict labour did not make the place anything but what it was—like the hulk for seamen—a necessary evil. Thirty acres of land was under cane at St. Helena in the seventies, and very good sugar and molasses were manufactured. In addition to cane cultivation an excellent system indeed was adopted, that of training prisoners in various avocations likely to be of service to them in bread-winning when they returned to the mainland.

Turning to an important index of national character and strength we find very satisfactory progress was made in the period under review in regard to the subject of education. In 1869 the number of schools, under the national system and otherwise, represented a total of 192, the scholars numbering 13,472. In 1874 there were 226 schools in the Colony, the number of pupils being 26,117. In the former year there were eleven schools of arts, the volumes in the libraries totalling 15,964. Five years later there were sixteen or more institutions and free libraries, the total number of volumes having increased to 24,000.

A very pleasing trait of national life in Queensland is demonstrated in the kindly and generous assistance given to those bending under the pressure of sickness or adversity. In 1869 the number of hospitals had increased to thirteen, Brisbane still holding first place, for the metropolitan institution always was considered in those days the base hospital for the whole Colony. Roma was then the most westerly town in which a hospital was found, while Townsville was the point farthest north to which the system had extended. In all there were more than 2,000 indoor patients treated as medical and surgical cases during the year, while a much larger number of patients received outdoor treatment. There is perhaps no phase of national duty in which better results have been experienced from the generous co-operation of the Legislature with the public in voluntary donations and subscriptions than is

exemplified in the system of hospital administration with local control, as we have had it in Queensland. Yet another institution calls for mention and also for warm approval. For among the kindly works of the community none stands before Dunwich Benevolent Asylum, where the old pioneers, whose labours for the general weal were never chronicled, find a pleasant home. Those who chose Stradbroke Island as the site where the old folk might be cared for deserved well of their fellows, for it would be difficult to find anywhere a more healthful home or one with more picturesque surroundings. It is to be hoped that no purely utilitarian question of expense will ever have power to remove the benevolent asylum to the mainland, where the circumstances of the case and the necessity would infer the substitution of a barrack system which could never be so healthful, and certainly never so free and untrammelled as the pretty little settlement nestling on the slopes of Stradbroke. Well arranged and well administered, the home for the old people has expanded with the growth of the country. It is wholly supported by the State, and is a credit to Queensland. In 1869 there were in all 129 inmates, among whom were men whose experiences in all phases of colonial life, but especially in pioneering work, were of the keenest interest to the student of history and the observer of mankind.

In 1869 there were yet other institutions careful of those who required aid, for there were two homes for children who, through the death of father or mother or both parents, or yet other sufficient reason, were in need of a helping hand at the age when aid is necessary. Of the two asylums for children one, the Diamantina Orphanage, under Protestant supervision, was in Brisbane; while the other, in Roman Catholic care, was at Nudgee, near Sandgate. Both asylums were subsidized by the State, the sum of £5,000 being placed for the purpose on the Estimates for 1871. In the Brisbane institution there were 273 inmates, while the children at Nudgee numbered 154. A year or two later yet another asylum was instituted at Rockhampton, Parliament having voted £1,000 towards its establishment.

Pictures of Queensland would be very incomplete were some effort not made to visualize for the reader the importance of the pastoral industry. In legislative references to the occupation of the country one often meets the phrase "settled and unsettled districts," and it may be well to point out that the Land Act of 1868 divided the Colony into seventeen principal districts, seven of which were termed "settled," while ten came under the category of "unsettled." The settled districts included all the country on the southern boundary of the Colony, extending from Point Danger on the seaboard to the South Australian border. Those districts

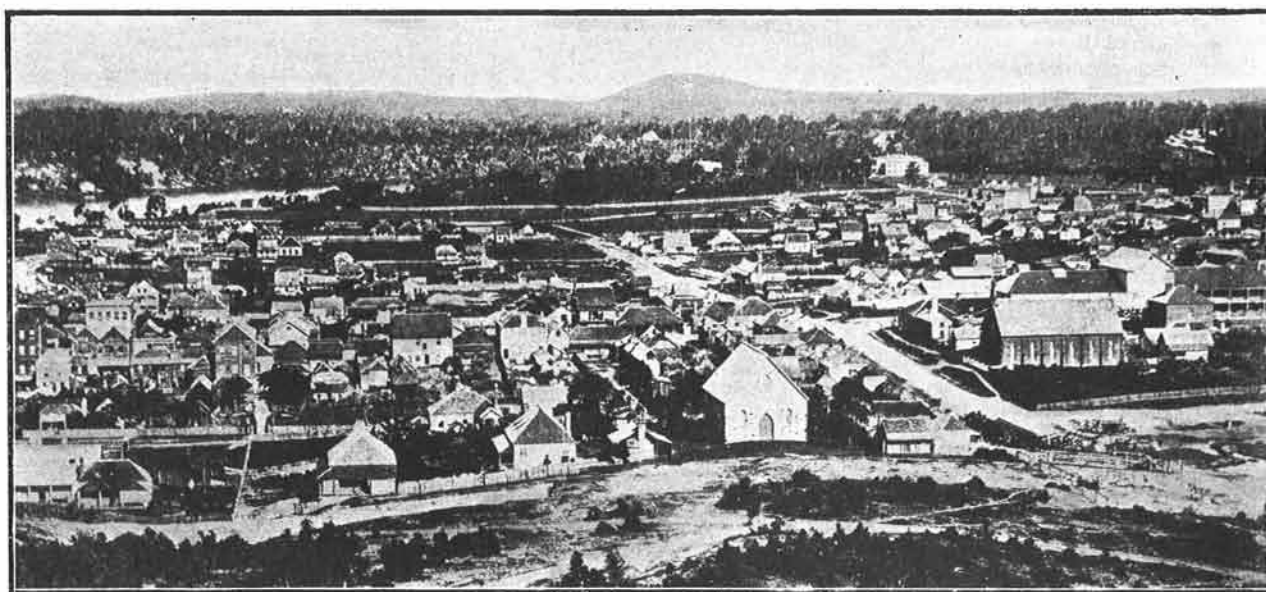
varied as to their western bounds according to the nature of the country, the fact that the dividing line followed the ranges bringing the westerly boundary of Port Curtis within twelve miles of the coast at one point, while the settled portion of Darling Downs was west of Dalby. The term "settled" inferred the possibility of agricultural settlement at the time the limitations of the districts were decided. On the other hand, "unsettled" conveyed the information that the districts so named were purely pastoral.

In the seven settled districts the aggregate number of station properties was 296. The Moreton district was subdivided into East and West Moreton. The former comprised the coastal counties, while the latter extended from the western bounds of the eastern subdivision to the main range, and included

Here there were some of the finest pastoral properties in the Colony, there being thirty-eight runs in the district.

Returning to the coastal country, we find that there were in the settled districts of Wide Bay and Burnett sixty-seven runs on which cattle were depastured. As in the case of Moreton, the runs were in the majority of cases not of a large size. The growing town of Maryborough was the centre of trade.

Northward of Wide Bay and Burnett settled districts lay Port Curtis, extending from the watershed—on one side of which was the Kolan River, and on the other Baffle Creek—away northwards to Cape Palmerston. It included the towns of Gladstone and Rockhampton, for it had within its bounds the electorates of the latter centre and Port Curtis. In all there were eighty-four station properties, for the most part depasturing cattle.



SHOWING ALBERT STREET, GARDENS AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

the Lockyer and Gatton country, as highly prized for pastoral purposes as it has since been valued for agricultural settlement. In Moreton as a whole there were in 1869 fifty runs, for the most part devoted to cattle-raising, and by reason of the fact that it was the most thickly populated district in the Colony, many of the stations were small in extent.

The settled district of Darling Downs lay to the west of Moreton, extending southward to the border, having on the west the unsettled Darling Downs district. Toowoomba and Aubigny, with the original settlement of Drayton on the east, and other townships marked the points around which prosperous agricultural settlement had sprung up and was extending rapidly, while to the west was Dalby, and southward lay other centres of agriculture at Warwick, Allora, and Leyburn.

Northward of Port Curtis settled district extended that of Kennedy, having within its bounds the important towns of Mackay, Bowen, and Townsville, while beyond, at Rockingham Bay, was Cardwell. In all there were forty-six runs in the district.

It is interesting to note that the most northerly settled district in the Colony, Cook and North Cook, had at that time no pastoral settlement, although it was destined ere many years to receive a strong stimulus in progress through its goldfields. Somerset, which afterwards gave place to Thursday Island, was at the time of which we write the only centre of population in all the Peninsular country, being really only a station of the water-police. It was maintained by the Government of the Colony, and by a touch of sardonic humour on the part of the authorities was constituted a free port.

Subsequently Mr. Frank Jardine, whose energy and success as an explorer will be long remembered in the North, established a cattle station at Cape Somerset.

To the westward, and still in the Gulf country, there was the settled district of Burke, which had for one boundary the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and extended to the Northern Territory border on the west. There were in all nine stations within this district.

Turning to the purely pastoral country—that in the unsettled district—we find the unsettled Darling Downs, which marched with the western boundary of the settled district of the same name until the border was reached. The south-westerly boundary was placed at the southern border, sixty miles westward of Goondiwindi. From that point the westerly boundary ran northward to a point fifty miles to the north of Condamine. From the township it followed the ranges until the Darling Downs settled district was reached, north-west of Dalby. There were 155 runs in the district.

Gayndah was an important town in the old days, being the centre of population and business for the unsettled district of Burnett, which lay between the settled district of Wide Bay and Burnett, which was to the east, and the unsettled districts of Darling Downs and Leichhardt. The runs in the district totalled 184.

Roma was the chief centre of the unsettled district of Maranoa, which had for its southern boundary the New South Wales border, while Darling Downs and Leichhardt formed the boundary on the east, north-east, and north, the Warrego district being on the west. In addition to Roma, the well-known centres of St. George and Surat were in this district, which stood only second to Leichhardt in the number of pastoral properties within its bounds, for there were 544 stations in all.

The unsettled district of Leichhardt held premier place in the Colony in regard to the number of stations it contained, there being no less than 585 runs, on which were depastured in all 1,500,000 sheep. In length from north to south the district extended 350 miles. It was bounded eastward by Port Curtis and Burnett, northward lay the Kennedy district, while to the west was Mitchell with the Darling Downs, while Maranoa formed the southern boundary. The chief towns were Clermont, Peak Downs, Taroom, Banana and Springsure.

The unsettled district of Mitchell had for its eastern boundary the Kennedy country, Warrego being to the south and Gregory to the west, while the district of Burke lay to the north. Tambo was the centre of business, which concerned the interests of no fewer than 117 runs. The Mitchell district was 250 miles in length by 200 miles in breadth.

Westward of Maranoa, and stretching southward to

the border, was the unsettled district of Warrego, which had for its northern boundary the Mitchell country, while the Gregory district marched with it on the west. The centre of district business life was Charleville, on the river, whence the district takes its name. In all the pastoral properties numbered 400, and it is of interest to learn that in those days the supplies of the stations were obtained from New South Wales.

Northward of Leichhardt lay the districts of North and South Kennedy, the settled district of that name being the eastern boundary, while Cook lay to the north, and Burke and Mitchell marched with the districts on the west. North Kennedy had seventy-one runs within its bounds and South Kennedy 111 stations.

The unsettled district of Cook comprised all the territory in the Cape York Peninsula not within the boundary of the Cook settled district. The station properties numbered in all nineteen.

As the Leichhardt district held pride of place in regard to the number of stations within its boundaries, so did the unsettled district of Burke claim premier place in regard to the area of its territory. All the country around the Gulf of Carpentaria, and not included in the settled district of Burke, was within the bounds of the unsettled district in which were situated the important gold and copper fields of Gilbert and Cloncurry, while sixty-one stations bore witness to the stock-bearing capabilities of the country. Burketown and Normanton, two important centres of trade and shipping, grew up in this district.

The last unsettled district on the list was that of Gregory. North to south the territory, in size a kingdom, stretched for a distance of 500 miles, while in breadth it was 300 miles. The district marched with the Mitchell and the Warrego on the east, while it was bounded by Burke on the north, and the New South Wales and South Australian borders on the south and west, respectively. It is of keen interest to learn that in the days of which we write (1869) the Gregory district was as yet unsettled to a great extent, for there was only a fringe of country, divided into twenty stations, taken up.

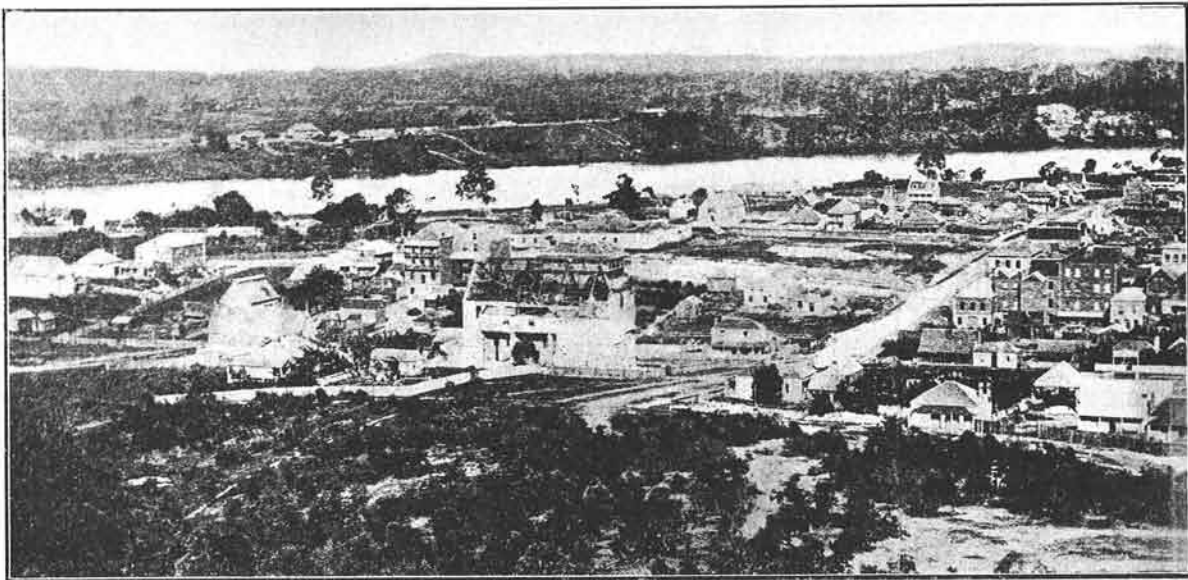
In the ten unsettled districts there were, as we have found, no less than 2,277 grazing runs, and if we add to those the 296 stations in settled districts, we get the imposing total of 2,573 pastoral properties, jointly and severally grand evidence of the enterprise and stalwart daring of the pioneering men of Queensland, the squatters of bygone days.

The year 1878 did not dawn very brightly. For, according to the wont of Australia, the good times in Queensland had been followed by lean years, and at the time of which we write the Colony was striving to rise after weakening trials of drought, three years of dry

seasons having tested the strength and recuperative power of Queensland to the utmost. The financial strain which resulted was rendered extreme by the upheaval brought about by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, the liabilities of which, totalling £10,000,000, spread ruin in widening circles, and did not leave Queensland unaffected. The Colony indeed had an experience of its own in financial wrong-doing, for frauds were discovered to have been perpetrated at the Real Property Office in Brisbane. Serious and criminal as the frauds were, and deserving of the punishment the guilty person received, they were not so extensive as to affect the Colony as a whole. Still we can find in the fact that they did injure the credit of Queensland a very strong proof that financial affairs were tremulous in response to repeated blows. So serious

The great drawback to oversea trade presented by the river made itself more and more felt in Brisbane, until, in 1888, earnest efforts were made to devise a scheme for systematically deepening the river channel, and under Mr. Nisbet work was started, which was in truth never intermitted until the object was attained. Another enterprise undertaken during the previous year was proving very successful. Not altogether satisfactory had been the efforts of Ipswich to lead the van in cotton cultivation, but in another direction that city was contributing materially to the expansion of the Colony's manufactures, for the woollen factory had proved a great success.

It is noteworthy that the National Association had won so great respect since its inception in 1875 that the success of the Exhibition in 1878 was



SHOWING ORIGINAL ST. STEPHEN'S CATHEDRAL, OLD GAOL, AND NORMAL SCHOOL IN COURSE OF ERECTION IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

was the criminal action deemed that a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into all the facts. With the passing of the drought seasons and the answering gleam of sunshine on the pastoral industry there came the problem always calling for solution in those days, the finding of a market for surplus stock. A step towards the solving of the difficulty was taken in August, 1878, when a meeting was held in the office of Messrs. B. D. Morehead & Co., of Brisbane, to consider action in regard to the exportation of frozen meat, and a provisional committee was appointed to make arrangements. That was the beginning of the export meat trade as we have it to-day. In one very important particular in national well-being, that of a market for surplus production, the point that always emerged with favouring seasons, there promised to be an outlet.

taken as an excellent reason for believing that the hard times of the drought years were not to have power to seriously injure or even retard the progress of the Colony. It is of interest to note that the takings at the gates of the Exhibition in the year with which we are dealing totalled during the four days £1,579, the receipts in all being £2,799. Rifle competitions were a feature of show week and there was a brass-band contest, which was won by the Toowoomba volunteers. It may be of interest to recall the fact that the Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, was President of the Association, the Vice-Presidents being Messrs. A. H. Palmer, J. P. Bell, J. R. Dickson, M. Miller, M.L.A., E. R. Drury, John Fenwick, D. McConnell, George Raff, C. S. Mein, M.L.C., Gresley Lukin, Alex. Raff, and Amos Radcliffe. The Council comprised Messrs.

H. L. Abbott, F. Beattie, Thomas Finney, C. H. Green, George Grimes, L. R. Gordon, John Hardgrave, S. Grimley, W. Kellett, M.L.A., John Little, James H. McConnell, Angus Mackay, M.L.A., John McLennan, W. E. Murphy, H. H. Payne, W. Pettigrew, M.L.C., J. Hamilton Scott, R. R. Smellie, J. H. Wheelwright, Thomas E. White, R. D. Neilson, C. F. Gerler, and H. Bramston. The Secretary was Mr. G. E. Layton.

Turning to the question of sport, we find that in 1878 the Queensland Cricket Association, which had been established two years previously, was pursuing a prosperous and successful career. In all there were six clubs represented, two being of Toowoomba and one of Warwick. The Commercial Rowing Club, which had been instituted the previous year, was becoming very popular.

As a finger-mark of progress, it is of interest to note the prices paid for the leasing of the various ferries in Brisbane for the ensuing year. The amounts received were as follow:—Edward Street, £410, compared with £260 in 1877; Kangaroo Point, £260, compared with £110 the previous year; Alice Street, £215, compared with £150 in 1877. As another index of business and commercial vigour it may be noted that the Queensland National Bank declared a dividend of 10 per cent., while the A.S.N. Company's dividend was at the rate of 8 per cent. Not unworthy of notice is the fact that during the year Ipswich was for the first time lighted with gas, while the Brisbane Gas Company increased its capital to £40,000. If one sought reason for believing that the Colony had reached in 1878 a stage of prosperity which no adverse circumstances could seriously affect, it could be found in the position of the Government Savings Bank in that year, for the aggregate deposits were £702,312, while the number of the depositors was 14,383, the population of the Colony being at the time 200,000. The average amount of the deposits was £50.

We have referred to the part the School of Arts, with its very excellent library, played in ministering to the literary and social needs of the community in the early days of the Colony. The old reading-room and library were splendidly appointed and deservedly appreciated, the former being very comfortable and well provided with papers and periodicals. For the visitors from the bush there was always an attraction in the cosy reading-room. Admirably chosen were the works in the library, and indeed so fully were the privileges of membership availed of that it was found necessary to seek enlarged premises. These were found in Ann Street and officially opened on May 27, 1878, the institution still flourishing there.

During 1878 Queen Street began to assume somewhat of the appearance with which citizens of these days

are familiar, and during the next decade many of the fine buildings, which would adorn any capital city, were either in place or in course of erection, among them being the Treasury building.

During the first nine months of the year immigration went on briskly, fifteen ships in all bringing out 4,502 adults. There was an impression in some quarters that the time had arrived when free immigration should cease, and a movement for the stoppage of that form of colonization began. It is significant that while public opinion seemed disposed to cry "Hold, enough," to immigration from Europe the influx of Polynesians continued. Not without protest, we may be assured, for the South Sea Islander had ere this become very unpopular indeed.

Let us paint another picture of the Colony a few years later. In 1883 drought had again fallen on the country, and it is perhaps of value that seasons other than those of exceptional prosperity should be chosen for examination, for if there be marked advancement under the whip of drought or flood, then we may rest assured that the good years provided for themselves. And, indeed, despite the severe losses squatters and agriculturists sustained in some parts of Queensland by the dry weather, which had been almost general, there was buoyant rebound of the national life against adversity. It is interesting to recall the influence exerted by the discovery of the vast stores of subterranean water supplies which Mother Nature, as sternly practical as generous, had provided, not as a sop to indolence, but as the reward of well-directed energy and labour. For the artesian bores, already successful beyond the most sanguine expectations as far as they had been sunk, under conditions which promised the finding of water, were looked to as the means—in combination with the conservation of water in suitable areas—whereby the fear of drought might be altogether eliminated. That hope, which found wide expression throughout Australia in the year of which we write, was not realized. It has not yet been realized, but none the less the efforts have been good and full of result, and looking around at the many irrigation schemes, which have materialized, and the manner in which deep-boring on a host of station properties has minimized the evil of drought, one cannot but feel that the pressing to the goal had been greatly beneficial. In the words of the old Scottish proverb, "Those who seek a golden gown will win a sleeve of it." The cereal crops were not over plentiful, neither were root crops, and yet the Colony prospered amazingly, for capital flowed in from the Southern Colonies, and also from the United Kingdom. The sugar crop was large, so much so that 16,435 tons were exported to the South. A strong hint of the instability of the kanaka recruiting traffic is afforded by the introduction of fifteen Cingalese



coolies for use at Mourilyan Sugar Plantation, in the North.

Among subjects of interest which occurred during the year was the sale of *The Observer*, which was then published as a semi-official organ, under the editorship of the late William Coote, and which had previously passed through a somewhat chequered career. The paper was purchased by the Brisbane Newspaper Company. Mr. Coote, as has been said in another portion of this work, did excellent service for the Colony in his "History of Queensland," the first volume of which was alone given to the public, death cutting short a painstaking and valuable record of Queensland's progress. Mr. Coote will also be remembered as a very enthusiastic supporter of the movement for the separation of Northern Queensland. A sign of progress in the onward march of Brisbane was given in the launching of the first steam ferry-boat that was used on the river, and no small

is proved by the fact on record that no less than three vessels of the British India Company's fleet were to be seen berthed at one time at the wharves, and a further very satisfactory sign of development was to be found in the complaint that the berthing accommodation was very inadequate. During that year the step forward in the placing of larger steamers on the coastal trade became very noticeable as far as Queensland was concerned, for the A.S.N. Company and the Howard Smith Proprietary were then building larger and better-equipped vessels than had previously been seen in Brisbane waters, while the Queensland Steamship Company, in the "Warrego" and "Maranoa," had coastal liners of which much was thought in those days. The rivalry, that of a consequence existed, benefited the public, and was more agreeable to passengers than it could have been to the steamship owners, for the result was a substantial reduction of fares. Ultimately the



SHOWING KANGAROO POINT IN THE EARLY SIXTIES. THE WHITE TWO-STORIED BUILDING ON EXTREME RIGHT OF PICTURE WAS THE HOME OF DR. HOBBS AND USED AS THE RESIDENCE FOR SIR CHARLES BOWEN, FIRST GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

excitement was aroused by the arrival of Sir Anthony Musgrave, the new Governor, who, with Lady Musgrave, made an official progress through the streets of the city on November 6. A month later the Colony was honoured by a visit from the late Earl of Rosebery, whose influence as a member of several Imperial Administrations and also as Prime Minister was great. Lord Rosebery was perhaps the first Imperial Statesman to recognize the advantage that must accrue from personal acquaintance with the conditions of life in Greater Britain and the benefit derived by those entrusted with the guidance of the Empire from having seen the Colonies and noting their requirements and aspirations.

That the effort to facilitate the passage of the larger steamships to the Town Reach was in a measure successful

unwonted generosity came to an end in the absorption of the Queensland Company in that of the larger proprietary, the name of which henceforth became the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company.

In those days Queensland, and indeed Australia as a whole, was deemed far outside the influences of war or its terrors, but through the prudent forethought of its rulers General Scratchley arrived in Brisbane for the purpose of advising the Colonial authorities concerning the defences of the city and the port. There was no consciousness among those of the Island Continent that a time would come when Australians would find themselves numbered among the best soldiers in the world, or that the fighting material of their land, with that of other dominions overseas, would do so much to federate the Empire by their deeds of valour.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## THE COLONY'S SILVER JUBILEE.

The Colony celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1884 by showing to the world what energy and enterprise, armed by daring and guided by prudence and wisdom, could accomplish, and did we seek a monument in honour of the pioneers, those who went out with flocks or herds, in the footsteps of the heroes of exploration, we could find it in no better form, nor would they desire any other, than in following the terse panegyric on Wren traced on the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, away at the heart of the Empire, for all around is the triumph of achievement. In the millions of stock depastured on runs, rivalling in size many a principality in the Old World; in the long stretches of land won by the plough for the uses of man; in the waving cane-fields, and the cities and towns, populous and prosperous; in a happy and satisfied people, enjoying a climate unsurpassed in the world; in railways linking vast distances; in an extended telegraphic system—what better monument could those wish who saw the beginnings of them all, and made them, than that on which the observer looked in 1884, and, thinking of all that had gone to the making of so great a prosperity, murmured, "Stout hearts and true." Queenslanders had done well indeed! There is no better aid in grasping how and why the flower of Australia—her patriotic soldiers—have won the admiration of the world in the battle zones of Europe, Africa, and Asia, in the navy, and in the air, than by realizing that, as the pioneer worthies were, so have their soldier sons been. When we think of what the Colony was when the painter was cut which towed the settlement behind New South Wales, and compare it with what a quarter of a century accomplished, that which had become fact, seems at first glance the wildest romance. There is, however, little savour of romance in statistics, and these speak in tone imperative that will not bear denial. All the more wonderful were the results on which Australia, with Queensland's sons and daughters, gazed, just because the path onward had often been interrupted and progress rendered difficult.

Statistics, indeed, spoke in the year of Silver Jubilee as they had been speaking all the time previously. We have stated in the preceding chapter that in 1869 the runs totalled 2,573, based on a calculation of the number in the various settled and unsettled districts, and in 1884 the number had increased to no less than 9,542, the total area of the stations being 316,113,760 acres, while the annual rentals aggregated £254,874. In all there were 253,116 horses, as compared with 99,245 in 1873, while the number of cattle, which was 1,343,093 in the latter period, had risen to

4,266,172 in eleven years. The returns in regard to sheep in 1884 placed the total number at 9,308,911, which was an increase of 2,039,965 as compared with the number in 1873, but far less than would have been the case but for the visitation of a severe drought. The number of pigs in 1884 showed an increase of 8,912 in eleven years, being at the end of that period 51,796.

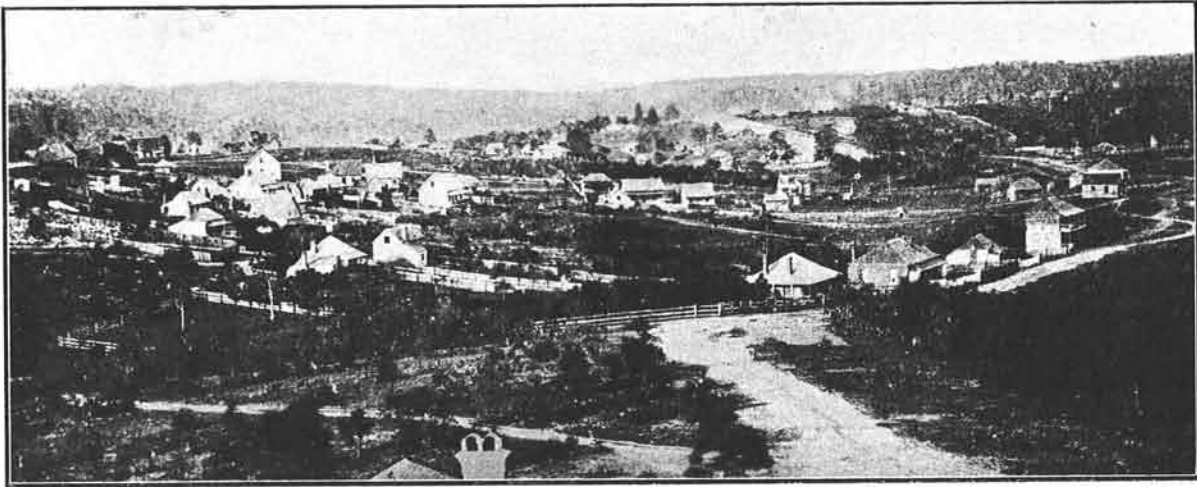
Success waited on sugar-growing, for in 1883-4 the manufactured products of 152 mills totalled 36,148 tons of sugar and 1,071,413 gallons of molasses, representing a value of nearly £1,000,000 sterling. A year later the acreage had increased from 25,792 to 29,951, while the number of mills in the Colony had risen to 170. In 1884 the number of distilleries in the Colony producing rum totalled eight, there being in all 1,337,683 gallons made. It is to be noted that the distilleries by no means kept pace with the rapidly increasing number of sugar works, that being probably due to the improvement in the machinery used for manufacturing sugar and the expanding demand for molasses, once almost a waste by-product of the mill. Both facts left less of the main factors in rum distillation, refuse and molasses.

A notable testimony to the potentialities of the Darling Downs in regard to wheat-growing was given by the fact that in 1884 there was an increase of 150,000 bushels. Compared with the preceding year, the crop represented 195,900 bushels, as against 42,000 bushels in 1883. Of the total amount, all except 29,827 bushels were grown in the Warwick and Allora districts. Maize, in all the districts, other than those in which sugar-cane ruled supreme, still held first place in the favour of the selector, and in 1884 more than 1,312,000 bushels were produced, while on the Darling Downs and Lockyer districts oaten and wheaten hay, together with lucerne, were produced in large quantities. The last-named crop was found to be specially suited to the remarkably rich land in the Laidley Valley, crop after crop during a year being taken off the farms. It may be stated that, owing to the fluctuation in prices due to times of drought, the profits from this fodder crop varied to an extent that almost introduced the element of gambling; but it was just there that the farmers of the Laidley Valley scored success, for, owing to the prevalence of very heavy dews in that district, the dry season, which pressed harshly on the growers of lucerne elsewhere, was the richest harvest for the Laidley farmer, very high returns, and many of them during the year, being experienced. An old resident of the district, now passed away (Mr. D. S. Cooper), attributed the great success and prosperity he had achieved to the fortuitous dews in the valley. And it is an undoubted fact that

oftentimes, when the farmers on the Downs were perturbed at the gloomy outlook of a "dry spell," the growers of agricultural produce in the Laidley Valley smiled genially on the world at large. Bananas, as one of the great fruit industries of Queensland, had not, at the coming of the Silver Jubilee, reached the stage of development the crops subsequently attained. The best fruit then, as now, came from Cairns; but the grower of bananas in the neighbourhood of Brisbane had advantages in access to market which were denied the man on the tropical seaboard. And many a modest fortune deservedly won by thrift and industry was due in the main to the growing of bananas in the Brisbane district, the farmer carrying out his own transport service, and so performing it efficiently. The market for bananas was then wholly local—confined to Queensland. Not yet had come the days when Melbourne and Sydney realized the value of this fruit. Not yet had come the

for the steamship proprietary, then the A.S.N. Company, to forbid the officers of the vessels from speculating in consignments of bananas on their own account. All this was in the days long before Federation became a fact, and we mention it to show that the trade, which should have given place to that with Queensland, was brisk and prosperous when the Moreton banana man brought a waggon load of fair fruit to the market.

A retrospect from the vantage ground of the twenty-fifth year of the Colony's life would be incomplete without a glance at the development of local government affairs. Following the granting of civic autonomy to the chief centres of population, of which there has been something said, it is of interest, as well as of importance, that some thought should be devoted to another phase of local government—that in the country districts. The divisional system was, indeed, the twin brother of municipal administration. Self-government



WICKHAM TERRACE IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

days when Federation would open the markets of the South to the banana planter; and not yet, it may be added, was the banana industry of Queensland threatened and dominated by interests in Fiji. Seemingly the principle of a White Australia, and the consequent preference for products not tainted with the touch of an alien coloured hand, did not apply to the Fiji banana trade. In the early days a bunch of bananas could be bought in Fiji for a shilling, the bunch being 6 ft. in length, and if the weather were propitious the price paid in Sydney for a dozen of bananas almost equalled that which the entire bunch cost the Fiji shipper. There was, of course, the element of risk, for in the event of stormy weather the hatches, kept off for the sake of the fruit, were battened down, and in that case the shipment failed. The element of speculation probably lent fascination to the venture, for it was stated that owing to the protests of growers in Fiji it was found necessary

for the man on the land as well as the citizen of the town had long been in the air in Australia, and following the lead given by the South, especially in Victoria, the McIlwraith Administration in 1879 introduced the Divisional Boards Act, which gave to the rural settlers a local parliament, and as a result quickened the interest taken in the various districts, of which there were seventy-three constituted. Under the system, work in connection with the construction of new roads and bridges, and the necessary repairs to those already in existence, went on apace, and altogether the great step in local government did perhaps more to promote settlement than any other factor with the exception of railway extension. Linked with the divisional system of local government there was the Local Works Loan Act, which made provision for the advance of money on loan for local works, the principle adopted being a very wise one, the term for repayment being

lengthened in proportion as the work was of a permanent character. Thus for the most durable works the term of repayment was forty years, interest being payable to the Treasury at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, with redemption at the rate of 16s. 8d. The principle of the latter Act was subsequently extended to the sugar industry, and formed the basis of the Sugar Works Guarantee Act, which enables mills to be erected in various districts under advances from the Treasury.

Turning to a subject—immigration—which was considered all-important in the days of which we write, we find that the movement to reduce the number of immigrants to 10,000 per annum could not have been successful in 1884, as the number of persons who arrived from overseas totalled 16,486. In comparing the arrivals with the departures in that year, we find that they were 36,883 and 18,263, respectively, the excess of arrivals over departures being 18,620. That represented the highest tide of inflow in settlers since the constitution of the Colony. During the year, as a result of the voyaging of thirty-one vessels among the island-groups of the Western Pacific, 1,910 kanakas in all were brought to Queensland for use on sugar plantations.

The extension of the railway system was proceeding at a rate commensurate with the general advancement of the Colony, and at the end of the year the lines opened for traffic represented in all 1,207 miles, while there were nearly 800 miles in course of construction. The mileage of railways in the three divisions was as follows:—Southern, 701; Central, 335; Northern, 171. While it is true in the main that railways must follow population, it can, without doubt be also affirmed with equal proof that settlement follows railways, and on that reasoning one might wonder that the mileage was so markedly greater in the Southern Division as compared with the Central and Northern Districts. To that criticism the rejoinder would probably have been made in those days, as it served four or five years later, when Mr. Mathieson assumed control of railway affairs as Commissioner, and eluded fervent appeals for branch lines by reminding the anxious inquirers that “railways must be run on business principles.” It may not be out of place to mention at this point that in the following year the Cooktown railway was opened for a distance of thirty miles, as was also the Mackay line to Hamilton with the branch to Eton.

Nothing bears stronger witness to the rapidly evolving prosperity of the Colony than the effective manner in which the mail service overseas was carried out, no less than six steamers per month leaving for Europe. Of the great bulk of mails, the Torres Strait service was the carrier, and undoubtedly the British India Steam Navigation Company, both in the conveyance of passengers and cargo, did much to advance the Colony and make its possibilities known to the world.

Apart altogether from the vexed relation of one particular contract to personal interests and personal aims, the system as a whole was an unmixed good, for the service was of and for Queensland.

The national school system of the Colony in the twenty-fifth year of its life had definitely assumed the form which it now bears, and which has certainly proved itself most efficient, for though there may be, and probably always will be, great differences of opinion on the subject of scholastic teaching which is secular as well as compulsory and free, it cannot be denied that in Queensland schools and the manner of their administration the system has worked splendidly. The old question of endowment, then as now, came up occasionally as a grievance, but the subject of dispute was practically solved as time went on through the institution of the Brisbane Sunday-school Union among Churches other than the Anglican and Roman communions; by the institution of denominational secondary schools by Churches; and also by clergymen taking advantage of the opportunity offered in the State school system to impart religious training to the youth of their congregations in hours preceding or following the regular school curriculum. In 1884 there were 263 State schools and 160 provisional schools in Queensland, the annual enrolment being 52,536, while the teachers on the staff totalled 1,152. The cost of education was £177,489 for the year, the primary schools absorbing £150,160 of that amount.

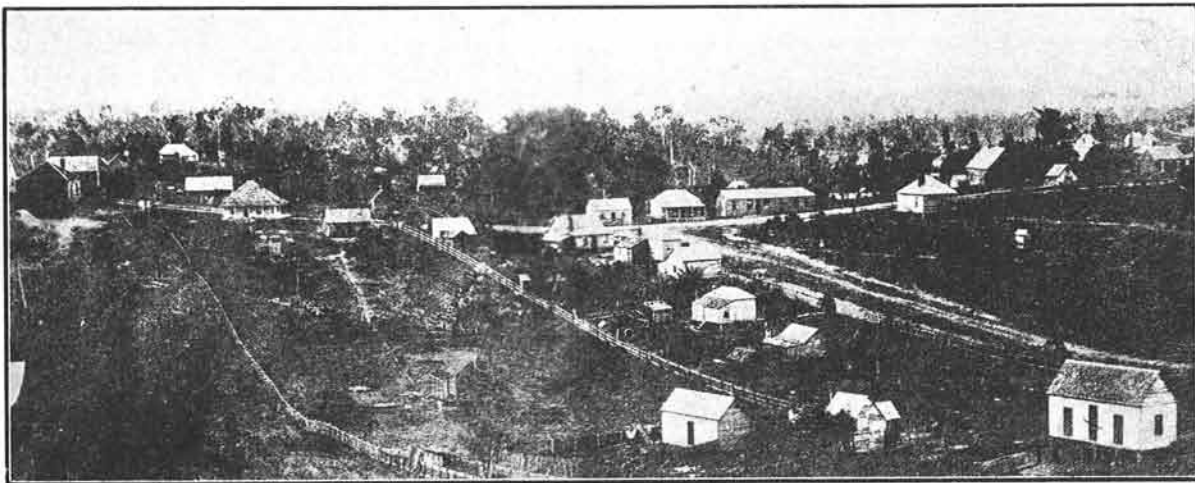
In all there were five grammar schools—at Brisbane, Ipswich, Toowoomba, Maryborough, and Rockhampton—the institution at Townsville not yet having taken form. These schools received State aid, and were largely availed of by many of the bright young people in the primary schools, for during the year fifty-two pupils of primary schools were successful in obtaining scholarships. In addition to the ordinary system of education, it is of interest to know that there were in those days six institutions to which was relegated the important duty of caring for neglected children, who were all under Government inspection. The State did excellent work in that direction, for the number of children so guided into the path leading to worthy womanhood and manhood was 1,136, there being at the time thirteen children who were placed under the care of the New South Wales Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution, the Queensland Government bearing the cost of their education, for the institution in Brisbane had not been initiated.

It is needless to state that, as it was with education, so it was with the Churches. No denomination was recognized as of the State, and yet a memory remained of what had been, away back in pre-separation days, for there were at the time of which we write two clergymen who continued to receive stipends from the State,

the arrangement being for life. The sole relation of the Government to the Churches was in the matter of marriages, and that really rested in the ultimate with the religious bodies themselves, for the ministers authorized to celebrate marriages were chosen by the denominations according to the systems under which they worked, the State accepting the recommendations of the Churches on the subject. Inclusive of Hebrews, there were in all 250 clergymen in the Colony at the time of which we write, or one to every 1,250 of the population. This, however, hardly gives a just idea of the number of teachers of religion in the Colony, as several of the Churches availed themselves largely of the aid of lay ministers, who were not authorized to celebrate marriages, and these were not included in the list from which we have quoted.

For many years there had been effort after effort to minister to the wants—religious, social, and educa-

During the year 1884 the imports showed an increase of £500,000 compared with the preceding annual period, being £6,381,976, which in turn was more than double the value of the imports in 1880, which were £2,841,645. The total value of the exports, which were in the main pastoral products—wool being the chief item—and included gold and sugar, amounted in all to £4,673,874, compared with £3,216,999 in 1880. In the year under review there were nine banks doing business in the Colony as compared with the four in operation when separation took place. The Royal Bank of Queensland had but lately been established, the capital, as the name indicated, being chiefly subscribed in the Colony. The total deposits were £6,322,025, as compared with £5,610,051 in 1882. The note circulation in 1884 was £633,083, compared with £525,726 two years previously. The liabilities of the Banks in 1884 totalled over £7,500,000, the assets being £9,750,000. During



LEICHHARDT STREET IN THE EARLY SIXTIES.

tional—of the aborigines, for generous minds had ever concerned themselves with the problems of a disappearance of savage races. The question aroused the deep interest of one of the most energetic champions Queensland ever had, for Dr. Lang, whose death at a very advanced age had taken place in 1878, had done much in furtherance of missions to the aborigines, yet the efforts were not successful—were indeed acknowledged in 1884 to have been akin to failure, one Church showing as poor results as another. Within the last decade or two, however, a change has taken place, and whether it be due to the adoption of different methods, there cannot be a doubt but that the care and education of the blacks, who should be really considered the wards of the State, has been attended by far more hopeful results, the proof of success being found in the inauguration of new mission stations and the training of young aborigines in self-help.

the year the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney declared a dividend of 25 per cent., while the New South Wales Bank declared one of 17 per cent. In the Savings Bank the number of depositors was 33,067, the total deposits being in value £1,220,614, an increase of £60,000 as compared with 1883. During the year the number of depositors had increased by no less than 4,000 persons. Turning to the goldfields, we find that the total amount of the precious metal mined, from the discovery of gold until the conclusion of the twenty-fifth year of the Colony's existence, was 4,529,280 oz., of a value of £15,852,480. There was an increase of 95,021 oz. compared with the yield in the preceding year. It is of interest to learn that in the following year the Government decided to assist deep-sinking by means of loans on the goldfields, and also that Schools of Mines should be established at Gympie, Charters Towers, and Herberton.

The mid-eighties saw the first pronounced and definitely official action by the German Government in pursuance of the plan for domination in the Pacific, of which Australasia was destined to hear so much in the Great War. On December 18 rumours of German action in annexation at New Guinea were heard at Cocktown, which was at that time the chief trading port with Papua. The news proved only too true, and six months later Kaiser Wilhelm granted a charter to a German Colonization Company in connection with the territories taken possession of, and of which Admiral Werner was appointed the Governor, in July, 1885. In February of that year Mr. A. R. H. Pietzcher was appointed Agent for the Queensland Government to promote German immigration to the Colony, and it is also of interest, in the light of later events and of German action that was being taken, to remember that on April 1, 1885, the German residents of Brisbane still retained so closely the ties binding them to their native country as to send their congratulations to Prince Bismarck on his attaining his seventieth birthday. The "man of blood and iron," as his countrymen were wont to call Bismarck, did not seem to appreciate the compliment very much, for we learn that later in the year he opposed emigration from Germany to Queensland, probably desiring that the tide should flow into the countries over which flew the Kaiser's flag. Germany, indeed, was in no wise content with the territory she had gained in New Guinea, for later in the year there came the tidings that the Kaiser's warships had seized the Caroline Islands, which lie east of the Phillipines and directly north of New Britain and New Ireland, which became part of German New Guinea. The Caroline group belonged to Spain, where great excitement was aroused by the action of Germany, who retained the purloined Colony, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Leo offered to mediate on the much-vexed question between the two countries, and as the result of his arbitration found that the Carolines rightfully belonged to Spain. Germany did not loosen her grip, and Spain ultimately lost the group. In other directions Germany was at the time widening her interests in the Pacific, working through trade with the various islands in the west, all of which, if necessary, could be converted into bases for attacking New Zealand and Australia. The heavily subsidised German trading company operating from Samoa, and the constitution of Hamburg as the centre of the copra trade of the world—permitted, it must be confessed, through the apathy of Britain—all were parts of the scheme for world domination, one of the main features in the programme being undoubtedly an attack on Australasia. We have stated that in those days the Queensland Government evinced a strong desire to direct German immigration to the Colony. It is to be hoped the subjects of the Kaiser did not act, as some prospective

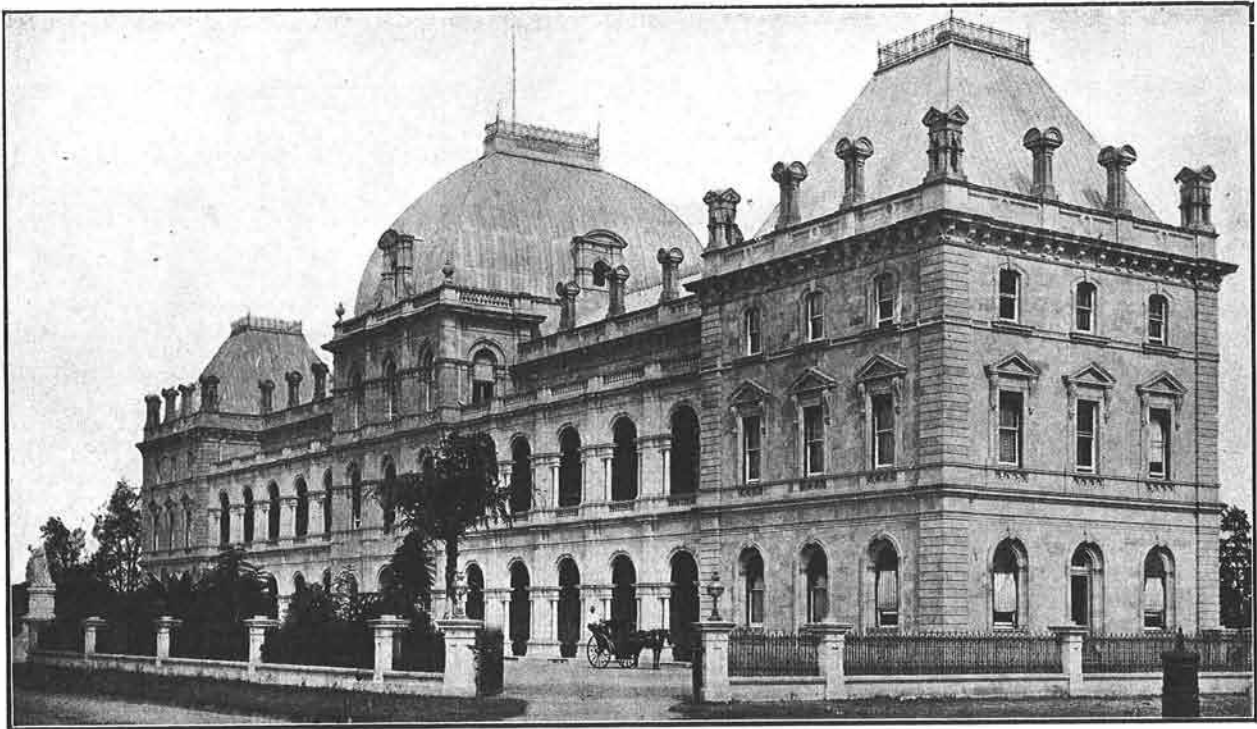
colonists from the United Kingdom did, when they used Queensland as a changing station on a journey to the Southern settlements. The immigration statistics seemed to show that there must have been a very considerable leakage, as, indeed, was proved by the necessity which had arisen to make it an offence punishable by law for an immigrant to leave the Colony until he had resided three months in Queensland. In the month of February, 1885, a new arrival was brought to trial for a contravention of the law in attempting to make his way south before the prescribed time. Where one was caught, however, very many escaped across the boundary line scot-free, despite the vigilance of the Border Patrol and the police on watch at the wharves.

An event worthy of being chronicled occurred in the departure of Bishop Hale, who with his family left Queensland for the south in March *en route* for England. On reaching Sydney the aged prelate sent in his resignation to the Archbishop, thus terminating a long and arduous service of forty years' pastorate in Australia. The memory of old residents holds a warm place for the highly-respected Bishop, worthy indeed of the deep regard and esteem in which he was held not only by the members of the Anglican Church, but also by the community as a whole. Bishop Hale was succeeded by Bishop Webber, who arrived in the Colony eight months later, and during a long episcopate expanded the influence for the good of his Church, winning for himself the name of a most capable administrator as well as a devoted chief pastor.

Of very keen interest for us should be the threatening shadow of war which overhung the Empire in the year 1885. We, as Australians, should never forget that year, which heard the first outspoken assertion that as the Empire was one, so was it the duty of Australians to bear the sword abroad on behalf of the grand unity of which we are justly proud, and which had done and is doing so much for the freedom of the world. It has been asserted, and we doubt not with undeniable truth, that it was Britain's little wars that maintained the efficiency of the army and fostered that spirit of patriotism which is so different from autocratic militarism. Those little wars indeed provided training during the years of international peace for many of her military units in India and the Colonies. The war in the Soudan then waging, and the struggle in Egypt, fired the imagination of Australians and aroused that fervour of devotion of which so great evidence was given on two momentous occasions later. We may deem it was the day of small things in military service when New South Wales offered 500 men and two batteries of artillery for Imperial service, but the Motherland read rightly the spirit which prompted volunteers and Government alike, and the contingent was accepted, and left for Egypt in March. Emulous of the patriotism

displayed by the Mother Colony, Mr. W. P. Morgan gave a donation of £500 to the equipment of a Queensland contingent, but it was afterwards decided that volunteers from the northern Colony should serve with the New South Wales force, who carried themselves grandly in the desert warfare against the Arab tribesmen, their first skirmish taking place in April, when three of the volunteers were wounded. The first link of Imperial defence was forged by Australian soldiers in the Soudan. Meanwhile the danger-cloud in Europe had grown large, for Russian Imperialism, always striving to obey the mandate in the will of Peter the Great, was displaying a belligerent spirit on the northern bounds of Afghanistan, with India as the objective.

of the fact that the members of the force to a man volunteered for active service in defence of the Colony if necessary. In the same month it was decided to form a regiment of Scottish Rifles, while for some time a detachment of the Permanent Force was on special service at Lytton. Further evidence in necessary precautions against a possible enemy was afforded in the regulation that no steamer was allowed to go up the river until it had been examined by an officer of a naval ship, and it may be noted in passing that the Queensland gunboat "Paluma" arrived from the United Kingdom in April. The war cloud was dissipated, as we said, by diplomacy, and in August the members of the Soudan contingent arrived in Australia from Egypt, and were



FIRST COMPLETED PORTION OF PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

The situation was grave, and although war was averted by diplomacy, it was necessary for Britain to inform the Russian Government that any attack on the Ameer's territory would be deemed an act of war. That all the Empire was moved by the possibility of hostilities may be realized by noting that Queensland was arming; more than that, the New South Wales contingent, when in Egypt and after their first baptism of fire, volunteered for further military service in India. Fortunately their services were not required, but the interesting point for the historian is that the offer was made.

In the month of May the Queensland Police Force, always a fine body of men, was reviewed in the Government Domain, and all Queenslanders should be proud

accorded the enthusiastic reception they deserved, the citizens of Sydney presenting the soldiers with medals.

In January, 1885, a very important work took place closely linked with the progress of the city, for in that month the laying of tramways began, and on September 12 of the same year the trams started to run. Two days previously, the trials being wholly successful, an opportunity was taken to give citizens gratuitous rides. It must, however, be confessed that the tramway system of those days, though a great advance on the old-fashioned omnibuses, up to that time the chief mode of locomotion, was hardly equal to the well-equipped service to which the citizens of Brisbane are now accustomed. For then, and indeed during more than a

decade subsequently, the means of traction was horses, an additional horse being attached to the tram-car at steep points of the route, such as that part of Stanley Street opposite the Dry Dock.

During the year the increasing business with Gympie, stimulated by the construction of the railway between Maryborough and the goldfield in 1881, resulted in a bi-weekly coach service between Brisbane and Gympie being initiated. The successful tenderer was Mr. McCallum, the amount being £1,400 per annum. The final railway link between Brisbane and Gympie—the last section, between Cooran and Gympie—was finished in 1889. The advancing prosperity of Townsville was demonstrated by the payment of a dividend of 10 per cent. by the Gas Company there, while the progress of that part of Brisbane on the southern side of the river was marked by the institution of the South Brisbane Gas Company.

In Brisbane the transactions in landed property showed the rapidity with which the capital was forging ahead, and what took place there was an excellent index of expanding business in other centres. In 1885 Mr. L. Cusack bought three acres, the property of the Brisbane Gas Company, for £100,000, while the Presbyterian Church sold to the Queensland National Bank Company the property of the Creek Street Church for £18,750. Two allotments in Queen Street which were placed on the market realized £43,000, while lots in the Milton Estate, numbering in all 169, brought £33,512.

An offer to purchase the Town Hall for £10,000 was refused. Dealing with other developments in the city, it will be of interest to know that at the end of the preceding year the tender of Messrs. Petrie & Sons for the erection of the Australian Mutual Provident Society's building at the intersection of Queen and Edward Streets was accepted, the contract price being £37,500, and building operations went on in 1885. Another notable architectural feature of Queen Street was also begun during the year, when work was commenced in connection with the new Opera House, subsequently named His Majesty's Theatre, the cost of the building being £18,350. As the year was drawing to its close great impetus was given to oversea trade by the arrival of the steamer "Rajpootana," the vessel which inaugurated the direct service between Indian ports and Brisbane established by the British India Steamship Company, and which did much to benefit horse-breeding in Queensland.

It is of importance in our glance at the industrial conditions of the Colony in the mid-eighties to refer to the fisheries, the possibilities of which are far greater than in other parts of the Australian coast, save perhaps the North-west, for in Queensland the great harvest

of the sea should go far beyond the ordinary meaning of that phrase, including, as it does, pearling, the beche-de-mer and dugong fisheries, and turtling. The fisheries might be termed the earliest of all Queensland industries, for probably they alone were pursued by the aborigines long before the advent of the white man.

We have referred to the oyster fisheries of the Colony, and the satisfactory position the industry occupied through the favour expressed in the South for the mollusc of Moreton, Wide Bay, and Port Curtis. It is not improbable that the blow this industry received in the ravages of the boring worm, which reduced the exports very seriously indeed, was a blessing in disguise, for in the efforts to extirpate the pest the fishery was systematized, and probably became stronger and more prosperous than if it had met no adverse conditions. Supervision on the one hand, and the best methods of utilizing the oyster-beds while preserving them, met with deserved success. Of the dugong fishery we can only hope that, as it might have been, so it will yet be, for though there may not be "herds" on the Queensland coast to the extent that aroused the wonder of earlier days, there were and are great numbers of the sea mammals on the Papuan littoral. Away to the North were found the fisheries purely tropical, such as quest for turtles, beche-de-mer, and pearl shell, all three being for the most part confined to Cooktown and Thursday Island. As far as the edible turtle was concerned, the catches, like those of the dugong, were for the most part accidental, the nearest coastal settlement taking the foods the gods provided, and that being the end of the matter. In regard to turtling in the tortoise-shell phase of the industry, Thursday Island waters were the scene of most of the operations. The Queensland variety of the hawk-bill turtle yielded shell which was sold at from 20s. to 30s. per lb., and had, as we may suppose, encouraging potentialities. The days of which we write were probably the palmy period of both the beche-de-mer fishery and pearling, though in truth the latter term is a misnomer, as the industry concerned pearl shell in the main, and not pearls. The beche-de-mer fishery, both at Cooktown and Thursday Island, was a very important factor in the industries of the Far North. The gathering of the sea slug on the reefs was extremely profitable, for no less than £240 per ton was paid in China for this dainty, the excellence of which as a savoury seems to depend, like turtle soup, more upon the skill with which other ingredients are introduced than on any special charms the foundation materials have in regard to tooth-someness.

Like the quest for the less valuable if more edible mollusc, the search for the oyster of the pearl-shell beds has undergone an evolution, and more than that, many



vicissitudes, owing to fluctuation of prices in the English markets. It was probably at the height of its prosperity in the early years of the eighties. It is perhaps interesting to know that away back in the seventies, when the water police at Somerset were on guard in the Torres Strait, the equipment for pearl-shell finding might be on a most modest scale, and yet share the chances of success, for at points on the coast near the settlement it was possible to induce the aborigines to dive by presents of gaudy trinkets and hoop-iron knives, while the supplies of the white employer were summed

if any, for the most part reached the owners on the store ship. As the industry went on in prosperity—and it prospered amazingly for many years, being always on a larger scale at “the island,” as Port Kennedy was termed, than at Cooktown—the diving-dress was called into requisition, and diminished the value of the almost fish-like kanaka. As one pearl-shell bed after another became exhausted the pearl-shell seeker was forced into deeper water, and just as the water deepened did his difficulties increase. It may be that the invention of the chemist, creator of new substances,



THE TREASURY BUILDINGS, BRISBANE.

up in the pioneer's *piece de resistance*, a bag of flour. Things did not long remain accommodatingly primitive; the lugger replaced the blackfellow's canoe, and oftentimes the Polynesian took the place of the aborigine. Then came the need for going further to sea, and with that necessity there appeared the man of money, for there were veritable fleet-masters in those days with a mother schooner for the luggers, sixteen or seventeen in number. All supplies came from the schooner, and the winnings of the sea quest were taken there, while pearls,

together with the coming of vegetable ivory into the markets of the world, had dealt pearl-shelling a mortal blow, or that the difficulties of deep-sea pearling could not be overcome, or that by a combination of the two factors the pearl-seeker could not face the lowered price of the shells; but no matter what effect those disabling influences had, there is no doubt that the White Australia policy made applicable to pearl-shelling was well-nigh the point of breaking with prosperity.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## THE MAKING OF FLOCKS AND HERDS.

Looking back from the high vantage ground which the Colony had reached in twenty-five years, we can see the road onward filled with flocks and herds, and may hear in fancy the pistol-like crack of the stockwhip and see the watchful bustling of the sheep dog as he steadies his charges in the ascent. The story of the making of flocks and herds in Australia touches one with all the magic of a romance, for we must turn to the first days of colonization to picture the pastoral wealth of Australia, and with it that of Queensland. Amid the confusion after the landing of the first fleet, when Governor Phillip was ordering his strangely assorted settlement, there stood seven horses, seven cattle, and twenty-nine sheep, with a few pigs and rabbits and poultry. That is the earliest picture. It was the beginning, and it has an overpowering attraction for everyone gifted with imagination, and looking at the advance Queensland had made in the mid-eighties, or the further marvellous progress of which her pastoral wealth to-day speaks.

Only a year after Governor Phillip had pitched his camp on the grassy slope leading down to the lapping waves of Port Jackson a man turned his thoughts to the big problem. That man was Captain Macarthur, and the problem was the feeding of the settlement, which he had imagination enough to see expanding and growing. Had the young officer not occupied himself with such thoughts, merely being content to give his leisure hours to such rude pleasures as the infant Colony afforded, what might have chanced it is difficult to say and vain to speculate. There was far more than the desire for personal gain or the gratification of personal ambition in the problem Captain Macarthur set himself to solve, and which he did solve.

No swift passage of a luxurious steamer was the voyage to Australia in those days. Usually it meant weary buffeting with the waves for five, or even seven or eight months. And ships with supplies often failed to arrive. All that entered into the problem the young officer was trying to solve. The sheep imported from India, and the change and improvement noticeable in the wool under Australian skies, were important factors in the deductions he made. Captain Macarthur acquired three rams, gift of the King of Spain to the Dutch Government, and his success in that step is matter for wonder, when we remember how jealously the Netherlands Government opposed the advancement of colonial enterprise other than their own. Again, in 1803, a further stage was reached by Macarthur, then on a visit to England, for King George III., in his desire

to stimulate the production of fine wool, decided to sell a portion of his stud of Nigretti sheep, a gift from the King of Spain. Captain Macarthur saw his opportunity, and seized it, purchasing seven rams and one ewe. It is presumed that the royal flockmaster had no desire to render the object he aimed at more difficult of attainment, for it is stated that the highest price the Australian settler paid for a sheep was £30. That is the story, and when one ponders it in all its bearings it surely rivals romance in the manner in which the puzzle-pieces of success fitted one with the other.

As we follow the pages of Imperial administration of the infant settlement we see how much depended on the personal idiosyncrasies of a Secretary of State, for it was upon action by Lord Camden, who was then in charge of the Colonial Office, that the pendulum swinging to success or failure hinged. Fortunately for Australia, the Minister had the gift of intuition above many of his fellows, before or since, and so it came that the Governor of New South Wales was instructed to give Macarthur enough of land to produce food supplies for the Colony, as well as to produce on an increasing scale that finer wool, which it may be mentioned had already attracted the attention of manufacturers in England, for the pioneer flockmaster had displayed great forethought in taking with him on his visit a specimen of his wool clip. So came Captain Macarthur's "Camden" Estate, named in grateful remembrance of the man who had prescience to see as he saw. In 1807 a bale of wool from the Macarthur flock was sold in London, realizing 10s. 6d. per lb.

The great adventure had begun in earnest six years later, when Wentworth and other pioneers made their way inland, crossing the Blue Mountains, with the result that as they left the coastal regions with their flocks so did they find the quality of the wool improve until in 1824 it could be said with proof that practically a new variety of wool had been evolved in the Mudgee country. Meanwhile another Australian Colony had become the centre of fine-wool production, for in Tasmania sheep-grazing and wool-growing had gone on so extensively and successfully that the supply soon overran local demands, and thus we find that in the settlement of Port Phillip in the late thirties Tasmanian flockmasters played a very important part, and great estates like "Ercildoune," acquired by the Livingstone-Learmonth in the Ballarat district, took form. The flocks there, and also those in Tasmania, together with those of New South Wales, among which Captain Macarthur's

held first place, became increasingly valuable, until as a result forty years later wool so excellent was produced in the Ercildoune flocks that it was sold in the London market for 4s. 6d. per lb.

The pioneer of the great industry, Captain Macarthur, died in 1834, but, as we have seen, his work lived after him. His widow, however, with a rare devotion to her husband's object in life, continued to follow the course he had marked out for himself, and when in 1856 the flock of stud ewes, 1,000 in number, was sold they enriched still further the best sheep stations of Victoria and New South Wales. In Tasmania the flocks were for the most part pure, but an effort was made to raise crossbreds.

Nothing, perhaps, could demonstrate the necessity for firm adherence to the object desired more than the manner in which Captain Macarthur withstood all temptation, and avoided all pitfalls in the work he had set himself to accomplish, for temptation there was to turn aside from the growing of wool to the raising of fat stock for market, and this is amply shown by the fact that fat wethers were then selling at £5 per head. Other squatters in New South Wales, among them the Rev. S. Marsden, did splendid work in regard to sheep-raising, but the high price of mutton caused them to diverge from the direct line of wool-growing. Macarthur, alone of all the early masters of flocks, made the production of wool of the best possible quality the one object of all his endeavours.

Turning from the beginnings of the Australian wool industry, which has such close relations to the advancement of Queensland, we find that in the early days there were two doors to the pastoral industry in the Moreton Bay Settlement. While the convict system continued one door, that on the coast, was locked. The other was inland, not only over the main range, but away to the south, in the Mother Colony, for the passage to free settlement began at the Hunter River, in New South Wales. A long and arduous journey was entailed, blacks were numerous, and often dogged the track of the adventurous squatters. Thus, while there were

practically no developments in the Moreton country until the year 1842, when the stock belonging to the Government was sold, there was always a filtering through of settlement from New South Wales. And without doubt the very dangers of the route gave assurance that none but the best settlers were winning homes for themselves west of the main range. Among the adventurous spirits in the Mother Colony who pushed outward and northward was Allan Cunningham, who not only discovered the Darling Downs, but rode thither from the coast. It has caused wonder that there should be so long a time between Cunningham's exploration and the settlement of Patrick Leslie in the country that is now near Warwick, but the penal station was

only administered for one object, the detention of convicts, and officials engaged in that work were ever prone to frown on those who came near to what they had begun to consider their own domains.

Settlement in the free days at Moreton Bay developed as circumstances compelled; in other words, the principle of "the survival of the fittest" operated in regard to flocks and herds.

It may safely be said that, no matter whether the pioneer squatter started out on his adventure with sheep or cattle, the question rectified itself, and in the end the condition of the herbage dictated what species of stock should be grazed. For this reason we find that all the stations on the eastern side of the main range

depastured cattle, while on the Downs the grasses were more suitable for sheep, and sheep were the stock placed there. Yet away in the extreme west the breeding of cattle was pursued with great success, for although sheep thrive well there, and the country was not exclusively suitable for cattle, like the coastal belt and the Gulf lands, yet for reasons of expense it was found preferable to raise cattle. Here the question of carriage came in and gave a verdict in favour of cattle. Sometimes wonder is expressed why settlement did not make progress more swiftly, for the journeys of Sir Thomas Mitchell in the west, and Kennedy's discovery of the Barcoo country, had shown that the lands



JOHN MACARTHUR OF CAMDEN.

they explored were admirably adapted to pastoral occupation. The answer to the question is given fully and sufficiently in one word, "carriage," supplemented by another word, "labour." Picture the anxieties of the squatters when we think that the supplies for the stations took from six to nine months to reach their destination, the long toilsome trip of the bullock-dray exceeding the voyage of a sailing ship from England to Australia. The carriage in those days cost more than the value of the goods. Can we wonder, therefore, that the lands remained unoccupied for long, or should it create any astonishment that the squatters as a class used all the influence they possessed in furtherance of trunk railway lines which would in part at least shorten the long journey of the bullock-dray? As we think of the difficulties the pioneers met and overcame, we see the vital relation of railways to pastoral settlement to an extent perhaps never before realized. And naturally the squatters had for their desire simply the bringing of the lines nearer to their own doors. Every mile of new railway constructed towards their stations made the conditions easier, and by so doing greatly benefited Queensland. It is thus seen that the point of view of the squatter with regard to railways was not that of the citizen of the town. The citizen and the agriculturist desired closer settlement and prosperity, but the squatter sought to reduce those expenses which not only excluded all the profits, but more than that, endangered his ultimate freedom by necessitating recourse to financial aid when the bad season came, as come it inevitably did sooner or later. As to employés, that difficulty simply resolved itself into the common-sense question of whether men and women who could obtain work in or near town would be content to go "out-back."

In some cases, doubtless the love of adventure attracted men to the western country, but for the greater number the position was summed up in the query, "Why should we go?" If the lone land had disadvantages which forbade settlement to a certain class, it invited it from another, and for the young adventurous spirit who had a little capital the Far West seemed the place where he should go. And go he did, not always succeeding, for droughts and floods had to be reckoned with, and yet were beyond reckoning.

During the sixties settlement went on rapidly, and it may be said that wherever facilities for water could be found the country was taken up. Then came a modification of the manner of carrying on pastoral business. Stations were divided into large paddocks and fenced, attendants were replaced by boundary riders, the the old-time picturesque figure of the Australian bush, the shepherd, passed away. It seems absurd to us who live in these days to find that the same fear which

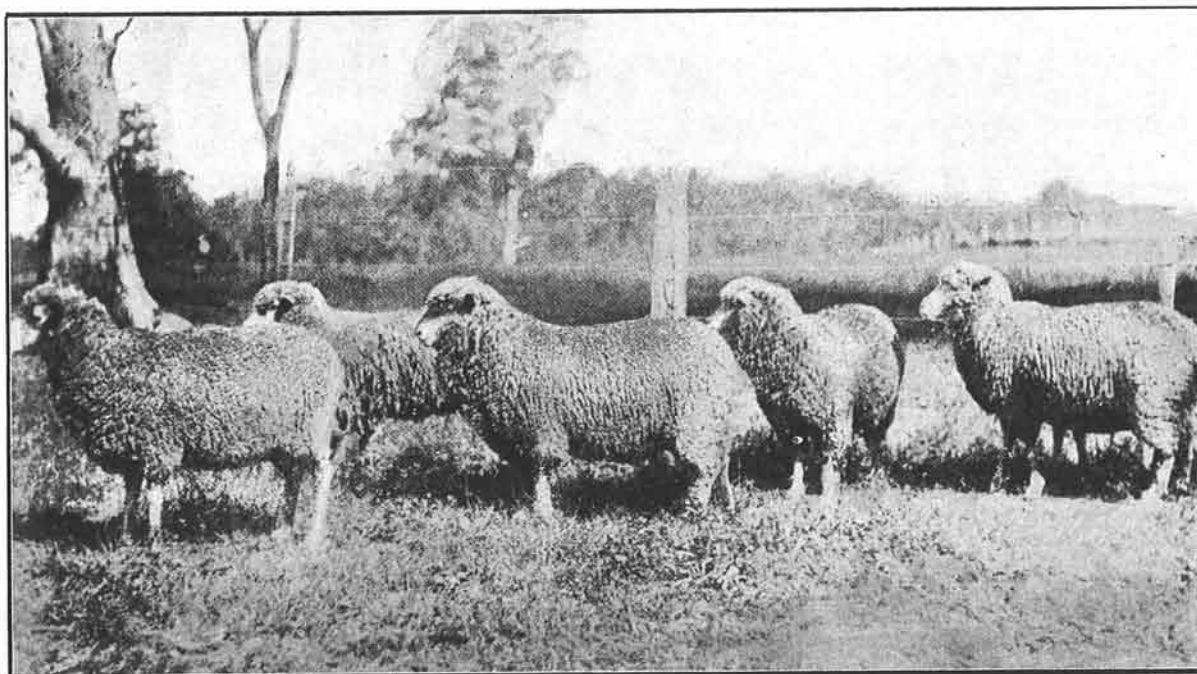
had deterred flockmasters in New South Wales adventuring to the north should have been expressed in regard to western settlement, but in truth the pioneer flockmaster was gravely told that the wool of his sheep would turn to hair. Nothing more suitable for wool production of the best could have been found than the lands of the "Never-Never." When the tide of settlement began to flow towards the west it ever increased in volume as time went on, until at the end of the sixties and in the early seventies there remained no more land to be taken up, for the legislation passed in 1869 encouraged settlement greatly, giving leases for a period of twenty years to all persons who, taking up country, stocked it to the minimum of twenty-five sheep or five cattle per square mile. Here and there rash men found their outlet from some difficulty by over-stocking the country they had taken up, and thus fell into others more serious, for experience showed that safety lay not in over-stocking, but in prudently calculating the number of stock that could be safely depastured during an average season.

It is not unworthy of note that just about the time the despatch of frozen meat, and subsequently chilled meat, to England gave assurance of practically a boundless market for the Australasian pastoralist, the discovery that there were vast stores of subterranean water in the plain lands of Australia opened out a way for development in another direction. With the need for more grazing land, it was given. For with the artesian bore there were made available large tracts of country good in every respect save one, that there was no permanent water thereon. The problem was solved by the rivers flowing far underneath the surface; the wisdom of conserving water was preached, and, receiving attention, the scoop came and dams were made on many a station. In the midst of the great prosperity which came to the country with the advent of meat works, it is well to realize that the exportation of meat could never have been taken advantage of to the full had it not been for the development of boring and its combination with water conservation. It is indeed a thought to remember that many a time in a drought-stricken season the hungry stock trod down and spoilt the grass in the vicinity of the waterholes, thereby rendering their own condition as to food more precarious, while all the time there were millions of gallons of water flowing 2,000 ft. below. It is now confidently asserted that the artesian water supply of Queensland is practically inexhaustible. As time went on the occupation of the country improved its water-bearing advantages, for it was found that as stock were depastured so did they give facilities for a "run-off" in the creeks, as opposed to soakage into the ground, thereby reduced to a spongy consistency. And experience also showed that the smaller the paddock was

the better did the stock, especially sheep, thrive. Perchance in that knowledge was the germ of the grazing farm, which subsequently took form with such excellent results.

Of the two methods of obtaining an artificial water supply, the artesian bore system found much greater favour as compared with conservation, supplies of water up to 3,000,000 gallons per diem being obtained at an average depth of 1,600 ft. Conservation did not proceed so rapidly, although it was known that in many parts of the Colony the configuration of the country lent itself to the system admirably, as was pointed out in reference to the Diamantina, Barcoo, Hamilton, and Georgina Rivers. As the pressure of

should not exceed the amount of land represented by a rental of £200 per annum, and an area of 60,000 acres. But although the system was not directly provided for in the Act, the Land Board sanctioned a combination among several lessees whose farms marched with each other, and in this way what were practically large estates could be formed. We have referred to developments in the pastoral industry as they took place, always on the outskirts of settlement and always in advancement of settlement, as the work is, for the most part understood, that is in the making of townships and the carving out of agricultural farms; but as the days went on there was another movement perceptible in a part of the country which has in the



PURE BRED DESCENDANTS AT CAMDEN PARK.

population becomes greater it cannot be doubted that there will be combined efforts to increase the producing power of the pastoral country as well as open up land for agricultural settlement. What has been done in New South Wales is an object lesson that must be taken to heart and acted on sooner or later.

In the meantime there were noteworthy developments in another direction, for whatever we may think of the leasing principle underlying the Dutton Land Act as a whole and its application particularly to agricultural holdings, there can be no question but that an extraordinary stimulus was given to pastoral settlement by the provision regarding the acquisition of farms. It was provided that the maximum area

minds of visitors aroused wonder at the capabilities of the country in regard to the rearing of flocks. For in the late sixties and the early seventies the Darling Downs stations had evolved beyond the pioneering stage of the early days. The toil, the anxiety, and the danger had passed; the romance had given place to the management of magnificent estates on a scale unknown in Europe, while prosperity had brought in its train all the amenities of life to which Anthony Trollope referred when speaking of station life in Victoria during his visit to that Colony in 1872. The heirs of the pioneers of the Darling Downs were enjoying the fruits of the energy and enterprise of those who had gone before them. In many instances full advantage had been taken of every legislative

measure, and also, doubtless, of every statutory loophole, with the result that in many cases the original leasehold grazing properties had become freehold, and where the goal had not been attained a very effective means of shutting the door against all intruders had been taken by the simple means of selecting for freehold occupation all the portions of a station which could be utilized by the agricultural selector. No one could do the work of selection so deftly as the men who had been daily riding over the country for many years and knew the best parts of the run, the alienation of which would render the other parts of the station useless to selectors, water facilities and roads being the main factors in the question after the quality of the soil. After all, however, it was impossible to lock the door against the selector, who was already clamouring for entrance. It was impossible to hide the fact that there were millions of acres of land on the Darling Downs second to none for agricultural purposes, and although there were among the early squatters men who could and did deny that, we can only attribute the denial to the inability of many men to see beyond the rock-like barriers of their interests, or to picture what might be accomplished by the aid of railways, the railways which they in the first instance had sought so eagerly. As the pioneer pastoralists followed the explorers, so the agriculturists followed the squatters. In many instances the owners of large estates accepted facts, and themselves met the desires of the farmers by cutting up their holdings. Many had done so, and realized large profits, either selling to syndicates, who in turn prepared the land for farms by subdividing it into suitable homesteads, or doing that work themselves. There was yet another method of moving squatters to comply with the demands of those who sought agricultural land, and did not see why they should not obtain it, when so much country that could produce wheat and other crops in abundance was devoted to the rearing of stock. Hence was framed the Act by which the selector came into his own. Estates which had been alienated in favour of the pastoral lessees were repurchased by the Government, and all over the country, not only on the Darling Downs, but in West Moreton, freehold was bought at a fair valuation, surveyed and cut up into farms varying in area from 80 acres upwards. And the great benefit that the selector enjoyed came from the fact that he was dealing with a vendor who could afford to wait for the purchase money, just as there was waiting when the land was taken directly from the Crown, for in the case of farms on those repurchased estates the purchaser was given twenty-five years in which to pay for his land. So the door was opened wide to the farmer, and as a result mixed farming, and

later dairying on a systematic and co-operative system, was undertaken and expanded rapidly. The stations were really not injured, although many an early settler might declare they were, for new markets were opened. And though the bounds of the stations were smaller the financial results were larger. Lambs were raised for export, and crossbreds also became a feature of station produce. Lincoln or Leicester sheep became crossed with the merino, while Southdowns and Romneys were also tried. A very interesting feature of sheep-farming on the Darling Downs was a herd of black merino sheep raised by Mr. Allan, of "Braeside," Dalveen. As the result of experiments following his own observations on the subject, Mr. Allan, in 1877-8, began to breed black sheep. The success attained was beyond expectation, and with an enterprise which deserved success the woollen factory at Ipswich produced a woven fabric, admirable in texture and appearance, and which possessed the very important advantage of being a natural colour, not black, as some people might suppose, but a lustrous brown, which would not fade. Beyond that, black sheep were found to be hardier and more active than their white merino cousins, and still more important they did not suffer so much in drought. The mutton, which is somewhat darker in hue than that of the white sheep, is sweeter than the better-known meat. For the wool facts speak very clearly, and at the sales in London in 1885 the fleece wool of Mr. Allan's flock sold in grease brought more than double the average price, 1s. 6½d., of white merino wool in grease.

In many districts cattle were more suitable, as we have said, owing to the natural grasses, and in more than one district squatters began with sheep and finished by rearing cattle. Undoubtedly cattle offered a great advantage in some respects as compared with sheep, especially in regard to pioneering work, and no less in the important question of marketing, for a bullock doomed to the slaughter-yards could himself walk thither. As time went on the outlet in markets widened greatly, but in the seventies and early eighties the Colonies of New South Wales and Victoria were the best customers. South Australia was also a purchaser of fat cattle. Later the Government realized the advantage to the community that co-operation between the Government and private enterprise must confer, and so came aid in the institution of State farms, as at Gatton Agricultural College, and the importation of prize stock from the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Stud's were raised and the produce sold to stock-owners at from ten to fifteen guineas a head. Good seasons and the best facilities for stock-breeding had at intervals presented a danger to stock-owners, and it is very interesting to note that as the pressure

came so was it relieved. Escape from the ills of over-production was afforded in the first instance by boiling down sheep and cattle, and in evidence of the cheapness of meat in those days we have instances of squatters hiring a spring cart and vending meat at 1d. per lb. in the townships near to their stations. That was done occasionally in Maryborough. Following the boiling-down of surplus stock, which was, after all, a very imperfect remedy, though welcome at the time, there were tentative experiments in making extract of meat at Redbank, near Ipswich, and Yengarie, near Maryborough. But neither the one remedy nor the other was sufficient, and a good season with propitious rains and fat stock meant a glut in the market, even when fullest allowance was made for the outlet by overlanding cattle to the Southern Colonies or shipping bullocks from Gladstone to New Caledonia, which took place as the result of thought, at once happy and practical. But the difficulty was too big for any partial remedy to work a cure, and so came the meatworks and vast exportations of frozen and chilled beef and mutton from Australia and also New Zealand. The proof that the system was effective was shown by the reaction of exportations on the price of meat to Australian consumers. And it may be pointed out that had not the exportation of beef and mutton become a crucial element in the pastoral industry of the country the prices would not have been affected by the war as they were. Refrigeration brought the flesh food of Australasia within the zone of war prices, and kept it there. What the export of meat soon became to the stock-holders may be gauged by the fact that during six years—1901 to 1906—the total exports from the Colony amounted to 353,514,135 lb. of beef and 371,692,090 lb. of mutton. And the impetus given by increased demand through the European markets being opened to Australian meat reacted in stimulating production, and hence there came, as we have seen, corresponding developments in stock-raising, the tendencies being always in the direction of smaller runs. Nothing more calculated to advance a pastoral country than the grazing-farm system could be imagined, and that it succeeded we have proof in the fact that beyond the power granted by Parliament to acquire a portion of any station property for purposes of selection, there came the meeting of a greater demand in the repurchase of estates for sale. It may be held that that was another development in the expansion of agriculture, but the expansion of arable farming could not but mean the previous development of the pastoral industry. In 1884-5 the herds of cattle for the most part were descended from Durham and shorthorn stock. About 2 per cent. were graded Herefords, and there were also Devon crosses. Beyond that were herds of Ayrshires and Aberdeen Polled Angus, with stock from Alderney

and Brittany. As an instance of the magnificent advantages offered in the Queensland climate and herbage for stock-raising, we find at that time a reference to the great success of the Monkira herd, near the western border, and not far from the centre of the continent. Those cattle, culled from the best herds of the day in the United Kingdom, were found to thrive excellently on the indigenous grasses of far-western Queensland, and became so hardy as to travel 1,000 miles to market over country in many parts so scantily watered as to present waterless stretches of sixty to eighty miles.

The horses at that time in the Colony—in the mid-eighties—comprised in all: Blood stock, 3,000; saddle horses, 130,000; light harness horses, 90,000; and heavy draughts, 10,000. The blood stock, though chiefly used for racing, was greatly availed of for improving the breed of hacks, and prices ranged from £30 to £500. Of the saddle horses the best comprised half-breds, and all were capable of great endurance. Their prices varied from £5 to £50. Of the light harness horses the majority were the produce of well-bred sires and active farm mares. There was also coming into vogue a superior class descended from Cleveland bays and Norfolk trotters. The prices ranged from £10 to £50. It may be said that sugar-growing first gave a marked impetus to the breeding of heavy draught stock which were in the initiative perforce drawn from New South Wales. Queensland farmers, realizing the advantage accruing from turning their attention to that branch of stock-raising, devoted themselves largely to it, and fine animals of the Clydesdale and Shire breeds, with the Suffolk Punch, were raised. Prices varied from £25 to £50. Later Queensland, realizing the facilities given by direct steamship communication with India, followed the example of Victoria, and despatched many horses to the Indian market, where they found ready sale at profitable prices, being sold not only for hacks, but also as remounts for the Indian army. All Australian horses were known under the generic name of Walers, the first sent being from New South Wales. It was along the lines of modified relations, altered circumstances, inferred by the changes we have noted, that the pastoral industry thenceforth was to advance, for in future years the outlet for surplus stock, becoming greater, and the demand increasing, did not alter the system, but only caused the factors in evolution to act more swiftly and more thoroughly on old methods which they were supplanting. Indeed, it would be hard to imagine any very great change in the systems now being used more and more as the years go on. For freezing and chilling; grazing farms, with the raising of stock by arable farmers; together with artesian boring and water conservation adopted more widely, seem to be the last words in regard to the pastoral industry.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE SUGAR INDUSTRY: ITS WEAKNESS, ITS STRENGTH.

We have in some wise traced the beginnings of the sugar industry in viewing the sequence of progress in some of the districts adapted to the cultivation of sugar-cane. Yet the Hon. Captain Louis Hope and Messrs. Wish and Trevelyan, with Mr. Adam, the settler from Bourbon, in the Clarence district, who had ventured into sugar-planting, and Dr. Lang, who theorized concerning the industry under slave conditions in Brazil and drew the conclusion, many years before his time, that it could be carried on by means of white labour—not one of those was the first to look to Australia as a field for sugar production. For in 1823, shortly before a settlement was destined to be formed at Moreton Bay, Mr. Thomas Scott, of Port Macquarie, New South Wales, had proved that cane could be grown, but, far more than that, it could be manufactured into sugar, for Mr. Scott made seventy tons of sugar five years later. We learn also that a West Indian planter sought concessions from the Colonial Office for the establishment of sugar-growing on a large scale in the Moreton Bay district, but his terms were not acceptable to the Minister in charge of Colonial Affairs, and the proposition came to nothing.

It is to no purpose to conjecture what might have happened had the prospective pioneer received the same consideration as was given to Captain Macarthur in regard to the pastoral development of the Mother Colony. Undoubtedly when Dr. Lang advocated sugar-planting he had personal knowledge that cane would grow luxuriously in the Moreton Bay settlement, and this we must allow, although we may differ from the worthy Doctor's deductions and generalizations. In 1862 M. Buhöt, whose knowledge of sugar-planting carried on in the colonial possessions of France entitled him to be considered an authority, asserted that sugar-growing was practically possible, and he verified the result of his observations by manufacturing sugar in 1862.

Along the banks of the Brisbane above the city, on the Logan and Albert, the Caboolture and Mary Rivers and Tinana Creek, sugar farms were formed, mills erected, and the industry went ahead speedily. The Pioneer River then entered the industry, and the rich lands behind Port Mackay became fields of waving sugar-cane for a distance of ten or twelve miles inland. In the meantime the capabilities of the banks of the Burnett River, between Bundaberg and the sea, had attracted attention, and plantations being formed there soon made known the magnificent possibilities of the Woongarra scrub, a few miles from the town and facing the ocean beach. The pioneers who lighted on the scrub lands, and realized what they promised in regard to sugar

growing, found they were born under a lucky star, for as the qualities of the rich soil became known investors flocked in, those who were fortunate enough to be first in the field in regard to the selection of the country reaping as rich a harvest as did the pioneers at Mackay. In the meantime there had been experiments in sugar-growing in the Rockhampton district, but for some reason, which never seems to have been satisfactorily explained, the industry did not develop as might have been expected. Later the growing demand for more and more sugar land caused selection to go on apace at the Johnstone River, Cairns, Mourilyan Harbour, Port Douglas, and even at the Bloomfield River, not many miles south of Cooktown.

As in the pastoral industry, so was it in regard to sugar. Progress was evolved under the pressure of circumstances, which indeed led those interested not whither they would go, but in a different direction. For even the strongest supporter of sugar-growing, as it was carried on in the old days, cannot deny that the system in vogue then provided for cheap labour, far different from that sanctioned by custom and approved by law in the other Colonies. The growers in Queensland wanted cheap labour, and they got it.

The indentees were, it is true, protected on the plantations; but the treatment of the "boys" depended much on the character and tendencies of those who were in charge of them. That no special hardships were suffered by the islanders may be attributed to the decency of the white people on the plantations. The islanders while in the Colony did not seem unhappy, being well fed, and certainly better clad than ever in their lives before. They varied in disposition, as do whites, some being industrious and energetic, acute in learning, and keen in fulfilling duties, while others were born skulkers. The system in the beginning was an adaptation of that in the West Indies, where coolie labour was used, and where the central mill system was even then making its way. For on the rivers, from the Albert and Logan away north to the Pioneer, the mill-owner held the key of the situation in his hand. Sugar machinery was extensively in use, and although it has been said that good results were obtained from the small mills worked by horse-power, of which there were several on the southern rivers, the tendency was in favour of as complete appliances as could be obtained, and that was the reason for the establishment of the Co-operative Central Mill, equipped with full crushing power, the latest word in vacuum boiling and labour-saving devices, at a cost of some £50,000. Save, perhaps, at Yengarie, near Maryborough, and one or two of the mills in



the Mackay district, that stage had not been reached, although ere many years the Government was to vote £50,000 for the erection of two State mills at Mackay. In most cases the mill, while being fairly efficient in the extraction of the sugar content of the cane, by no means had the best machinery available. The sugar-boiling appliances stood midway between the wasteful open-pan, or battery system, and the triple vacuum-pan apparatus, the former being just the same as that described by Dr. Lang during a visit to Pernambuco, in the forties. Steam-jacketed pans averted danger from the burning of the crystallizing and concentrating juice. There were all the latest appliances for drying the sugar; in other words, driving out the semi-liquid molasses by centrifugal force and leaving the sugar fit for market. Such mills, factories, or works cost from £8,000 to £10,000, and could often deal with more cane than the mill-owner himself had ready for the rollers. All around, however, on the southern rivers there were farmers ready to grow cane could they be sure that it would be crushed, so that each proprietary mill soon had a host of supplying cane-growers. The system was, indeed, very similar to the central dairy, except in one particular, that the mills in those days, without exception, stood in line with their cane-growing neighbours, and often the mill-owners had a considerable acreage under cane. So eager were the farmers to obtain milling facilities that they willingly accepted the mill-owners' terms that the

cane would be crushed "on halves"; that is, the miller got half the result as payment for extracting the sugar content of the cane. As years went on that arrangement gave place to one more consonant with the business aspect of the question. Then it became more convenient to throw a large staff of men on a sugar farm and remove the cane as quickly as possible. So came it that the farmers found it to their advantage to hire Polynesian cane-cutters, part of the mill staff, who with their white overseers came to the farm and remained there cutting and loading the huge punts by which many tons of cane were floated up and down the river. Let us try to picture the scene as it was at the height of the crushing season,

with the mill on the bank of one of the wide tidal rivers, a primitive tramline linking it with the wharf, more or less substantial, just as business, not safety, required. Alongside the mill were cook-house, blacksmith's forge, and wheelwright's shop, with the houses of the white employés, and further on the huts of the kanakas. The "boys" loved to make huts after their own island model, and cool they certainly were in summer, but other advantages were not apparent to the white observer. And yet it was with difficulty that the islanders could be persuaded to occupy the large frame-houses specially built for them. Beyond and around on every side were waving canefields, while the grinding of the rollers and whirr of wheels could be heard afar off. Sometimes the mill worked late, and the islanders held high holiday, receiving some slight concession of payment for their overwork. And often were boiling operations carried on all night. Rain had a tendency to lower the density; that is, weaken the sugar content of the cane, and thus there was bustle when cane cutting began until it was finished. Such was the system in use during the first ten years of sugar-growing in Queensland, and it served.

Then came an improvement in the system of treatment inaugurated on the Mary River, and then at Bundaberg, for a patent was secured by Messrs. Tooth and Cran, of Yengarie, and later of Millaquin and Bundaberg, whereby the extra amount of lime necessary to

be added to the cane juice to prevent fermentation could be extracted after its purpose had served. For the system was in brief to avoid transporting the cane by conveying the juice. The theory was that every cane-grower should possess a small crushing plant, the cane juice being run into tanks on the old-time punts and floated to the central mill.

During all the time proprietary mills had the monopoly of crushing for cane-growers, who had no sugar-making machinery, there was always a movement towards the co-operative system which subsequently took form under State aid. Farmers were often dissatisfied; there was grumbling at the order in which the



SIR HUGH NELSON.

various areas of cane were cut, and although obviously only the crop of one grower could be taken off first, all wanted to be first. And the subject of frost came in and made the point still more important in the Mary River and Bundaberg districts, with the cane-producing localities further to the south. Again, as time went on, the growers claimed that the charges for crushing the cane and converting it into sugar should be reduced. That demand in time led to the abandonment of the system used for calculating charges for milling, which certainly were very high in the early years of the industry, and there was introduced a very just method of purchasing the cane, for it was valued according to its sugar content. And just as the mill-owners met the wishes of the grower, that very action caused some of the latter to be more suspicious, and thus an antagonism, perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances, continued to grow. It might be deemed that those sugar-growers with moderate areas of cane, who had manufacturing facilities, were fortunate, and indeed things went more smoothly with them than was the case with those who had invested a very large amount of capital in milling machinery. The fact that very few estates confined their manufacturing operations to their own cane made the question in the industry to which we have alluded of paramount importance. Beyond that there was a tendency to hold small milling plants in contempt, and much was heard in those days of the loss sustained by insufficient power at the rollers, leading to a considerable amount of juice remaining in the cane. There were wise and cautious advisers like Mr. Angus Mackay, who strongly advocated the adoption of milling plants within the reach of any farmer who had a fairly large area of land adapted to cane cultivation, but the imperfect extraction of juice on the one hand, and the further objection that a high-grade sugar could not be manufactured in the small mills, prevented the industry developing as it should in that direction.

It is not difficult to understand that all the circumstances in the industry on which we have but touched could only have one of two results. Either the sugar-growing farms would have been absorbed by the mills, or, as eventually did take place, co-operative action, which secured for the cane-grower a share in a large central mill. Meanwhile the relations between growing cane and manufacturing sugar slowly modified until they took form and materialized under the Sugar Works Guarantee Act. Other developments went on contemporaneously. The leasing system was largely adopted by sugar-mill proprietaries like the Colonial Sugar Refining Company and other mill-owners in the Mackay district who had been fortunate in securing large blocks of sugar land. The system worked well,

as also did that other partial co-partnership by which a prospective cane-grower was enabled to secure land within easy access of a mill equipped with all the best and latest machinery for crushing and manufacturing, and beyond that could obtain the fullest facilities for conveyance of the cane to the mill by means of tram lines, permanent or temporary, which formed a veritable network through the land owned or controlled by the mill. A similar system was introduced at Bundaberg, and later in the Isis sugar country, and has done much wherever it is in operation to encourage farmers to enter on cane planting. Away north as far as Port Douglas the system has developed simultaneously with co-operative sugar-mill companies under State aid. The seventies and the early eighties were the heyday of sugar-growing in Queensland. The sugar market of Australia had not been overtaken and prices were excellent; kanaka labour, although condemned by public opinion, was still available. On all the rich alluvial flats of the large rivers the cultivation of cane went on apace. The industry paid—its expansion proved that—and the fact that in the Wide Bay district, notably at Mount Bauple, and also near the coast, and beyond that at the far more extended districts around Bundaberg, sugar farm has been added to sugar farm and mill to mill is conclusive proof that the industry is one very suitable to Queensland in almost all its coastal belts. The time was to come in the first years of the nineties, when the extraordinary rich soil of the Isis scrub was to attract the attention of men in search of sugar land. Railway facilities gave the all-important concession of carriage. Childers became a town, and conditions far more prosperous and permanent than on many a goldfield made for great prosperity. It is quite interesting to remember that in the initiative sugar-growing in the locality caused some persons to express fears lest an inland district might not afford the permanent advantages the other places presented. All fears, however, proved groundless, and the Isis district as it is to-day is proof that its pioneers were as shrewd in reasoning as they were in seizing opportunities. In the Mackay district the pressure was always inland if northward as well. There, also, sugar-cane took root and thrived inland as far as Eton and away in other directions, where cane was grown and mills were built far outside the limits of what was truthfully the ten-mile radius from Mackay of the sugar lands as they were in the very early days. Later than Mackay in its development came the rich sugar lands of the Burdekin delta, and all the time in the purely tropical belts of the Colony sugar was grown and mills were built. And while indented coloured labour was tottering to its fall

the interacting yet strongly opposed interests of mill-owners and cane-growers were meeting, circumstance making for the solution of the problem, which always turned to one point: the need for the cane-growers individually possessing an interest in a mill, so that their interests in their cane might be safeguarded in the stages after it left the field. The cane supplier saw he must be something else, a sugar manufacturer. How was the transformation to be achieved. The vote of £50,000 by Parliament for two mills at Mackay was a promise that the problem could be solved. The Sugar Works Guarantee Act, introduced by Sir Hugh Nelson when Premier, fulfilled all expectations, and by a

those most opposed to the employment of coloured indentees realized that if the system were forcibly and immediately stopped a very serious loss would be inflicted on an industry that had taken the lead in primary productions in the Colony. There were some politicians who held that tropical fruit production in the North would prove an admirable substitute for sugar-growing, and there were suggestions for placing fast steamers with refrigerating facilities at the service of cane-growers, who might turn their attention to fruit-growing. There was, however, a touch of the unpractical about the proposal, and there remained the fact that with the prospect of a stoppage being placed



PETRIE BIGHT, BRISBANE, SHOWING CUSTOMS HOUSE.

magician's wand made the small cane-growers real and active part proprietors in mills, surpassed nowhere in the completeness of their crushing and manufacturing machinery and the effective winning from the cane of the last particle of its saccharine content. The difficulty which had troubled cane-growers for nearly thirty years was solved, very simply, yet in a most business-like manner.

As the years went on the strong antagonism to kanaka labour became more apparent, and it was decided that no further licences to recruit should be issued. That, however, was so drastic a step that

on recruiting in the Pacific, the value of sugar land, which had soared at a rate commensurate with the advancing prosperity of the industry, at once sank to an extent that could only mean one thing, ruin, absolute ruin, to those who had invested in many instances large fortunes in plantation properties. In not a few instances investors had come from England. Land had been bought under the belief that kanaka labour would be available, and the question came up for decision in the highest court of moral equity whether such an act, contemplated, and indeed carried into practice, would not infer an infliction of injustice on

those who could hardly be held blameworthy, in so far as they had only taken advantage of the system that, at the time their investments in sugar property were made, was recognized and specially validated by statutory enactment. The same argument applied to those who, having purchased sugar-mill machinery at great expense, found that the crushing and boiling plants were likely to become as useless and as valueless as scrap iron. Under the circumstances ruin faced Northern Queensland and all interested in the sugar industry. Apart from individual hardship and loss, reducing to poverty those who were previously rich, there was the wider and national question of all that the dropping out of cane-growing as an industry from the list of Queensland's assets meant. Could the young Colony face the industrial paralysis in the North, and as far south as Bundaberg and Wide Bay, were sugar-planting to cease? And cease it would, asserted sugar-growers, were kanaka labour forbidden. Statesmen like Sir Samuel Griffith, firmly convinced though they were that sugar-growing could be carried on by means of white labour, realized that it would be hard and cruel to cut off one source of labour entirely before another was provided. Therefore a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the conditions of the sugar industry, and as a result of their work in 1887 a report was presented to Parliament, the outcome being the very sensible decision to permit kanaka labour to continue for a period of ten years; in other words, sugar-planters were given a period in which to set their house in order. There was absolute finality about the deportation of all Polynesians, but the transition from coloured labour to white was to be effected in ten years. Would the change be brought about without dislocating industrial interests? Many at the time doubted, and not a few sugar-growers expressed their determination to escape from the catastrophe they feared as quickly and with as little loss as possible.

In the midst of difficulty and doubt the problem was solved, for already two State central mills had been erected at Mackay, and the Sugar Works Guarantee Act was practically an extended application of the system adapted to the wants of all. "Give the sugar-growers ample milling facilities for their cane, with interests in the mills, and they will solve the coloured labour question fully and for ever." That was the thought behind the legislation introduced by Sir Hugh Nelson, when Premier of the Colony in 1893, and the logical power and sound common-sense of the Scot's statesmanship solved the problem. Briefly the Act provided for the borrowing of money by groups of land-owners on the security of their land, the men thus mortgaging their properties becoming members of a

given co-operative central mill company. Such members became suppliers of cane, undertaking to plant a given area according to the position they occupied in the company. There was also provision for non-supplying members. The land was valued, and being approved the mill company took form, the farmers electing directors and the Government exercising supervision by having representatives on the controlling board, those representatives being for the most part Government officials in the district concerned. The farmers, with aid from their partner, the State, thus managed the affairs of the central mill. The sugar-grower of limited means became a partner in an up-to-date sugar-mill. The dream of the sugar-growing selector was realized beyond all expectation. Very good terms were given by the Government, loans for purchase of mill machinery, buildings, and tram lines being granted at 5 per cent. interest, provision being made for repayment in forty years. Provision in the Act was made for mill companies who might neglect to fulfil their obligations, for there was a clause in the Statute which empowered the Government in such a case to step in and control and manage the mill company's affairs. Although that provision has in one or two instances been put in operation, it must be said that the companies for the most part carried on their business as sugar manufacturers exceedingly well. A staff of skilled officers, including a chemist, assisted the farmers who were encouraged by the vista of prosperity opening before them to provide for the future by employing white labour as far as possible. So Queensland's dependence on kanaka labour was shown to be in great measure imaginary, though Polynesians were employed by the owners of the larger estates as long as their tenure of the labour lasted. The smaller growers found it to their advantage to employ white labour instead of involving themselves in obligations for a service of three years, and indeed the Polynesian, when the sole coloured man on a farm, or where there were but two or three islanders, was sometimes anything but an acquisition. Further, outrages on the part of kanakas, with murders and many a tribal fight, did much to reconcile even the strongest supporter of coloured labour to the going of the Polynesians. So often did tribal disturbances occur that sometimes much alarm was caused, for serious and even fatal injuries were inflicted, and on one occasion the streets of Mackay were made the scene of a pitched battle, in which the man-eating Malayta "boys" figured as belligerents.

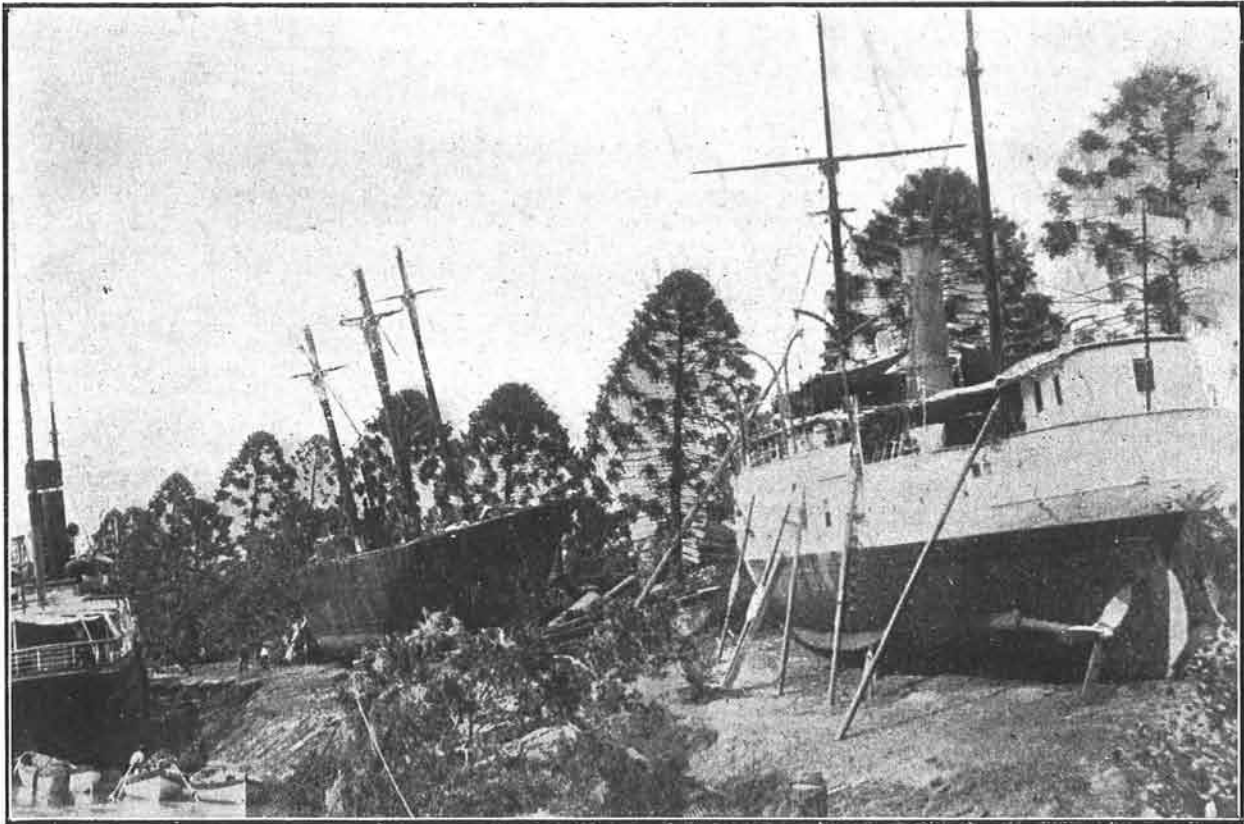
Such were the factors in the passing of the kanaka, and so wisely were the means provided whereby the small suppliers of cane were led into self-help and moved by circumstances to employ white labour, that when the

last shipload of Polynesians were repatriated few of the sugar-growers missed them. It was with a sigh of relief from the great majority of cane-growers that the last of the islanders, grotesquely hugging their cherished "boxes," were seen making their way on board the steamer homeward bound. A few planters there were who hoped for another extension of kanaka service, but with the coming of the Commonwealth all hope in that direction failed. The flag of a White Australia was flown in the breeze.

With Federation the evolution of the white worker

industry by the Federal bonus, and the compensation thus given for the banishment of the kanaka, the difficulties of the sugar-grower do not seem to be at an end. And yet we have crucial test that sugar production keeps on increasing.

We have shown the advantages, stupendous indeed at the time, which the Sugar Works Guarantee Act gave to small growers, and without dwelling on the beneficial effect of the co-operative system and the price which the co-operative mill paid for cane, it is very obvious that while a healthy rivalry was set up



THE GUNBOAT "PALUMA" CARRIED BY FLOOD WATERS INTO THE BOTANIC GARDENS, FEBRUARY 1893.

went on apace. Labour-saving appliances in the form of agricultural implements facilitated the work in the field in all save the harvesting. Men united in cane-cutting gangs, making contracts and money, as their skill at the work equalled their strength and endurance. The highest known wages in industry throughout the world, were won. The pressure of the cane-worker encroaching on the profits of the grower has gone on increasing, and despite the assistance given to the

between proprietary and co-operative mills, any monopoly in either purchase or price by the private mill-owners was rendered impossible. The co-operative mills set the price, for the days of cane price-fixing had not come. From Nerang up to Port Douglas, the littoral of Queensland blossomed under the influences of the Sugar Works Guarantee Act, the principle of which was extended and applied with suitable modifications to meatworks and dairying.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## THE END OF THE CENTURY.

The student of history, as he scans the centuries, may be excused if he draws the conclusion that as the cycles pass away they leave the tracks of their going on the nations. Be that as it may, as a general principle it cannot be denied that for England the ending of the four last centuries have been momentous. The Armada, the English Revolution, the French Revolution, with the nation-shaping thunders of Napoleonic days, and the Boer War, perhaps the first act, or rather German prelude, to the Great War. In view of all this, it is very interesting to ponder how Australian history seems to obey the principle at work in the Empire, for without doubt in the last years of the nineteenth century was to be found the essence of all that goes to make history as we have it in Australia, and also in Queensland.

Noteworthy in other and wider fields it may be of importance to recall the fact that though separation was always a question of great moment in Queensland, events stronger than the will of men or the uses of political parties forbade the division. From the time separation from New South Wales was mooted, the subdivision of the great province extending northward from the Tweed to Cape York was a burning question. And always something, some event stronger than the desire for separation, pushed that subject into the background. There was a National Party then, led by Mr. Hugh Nelson—who subsequently became Sir Hugh Nelson—and that party opposed the provincial system, preferring territorial separation. Sir Samuel Griffith did not see his project fructify, for the Upper House swept out of the path of practical politics the scheme of provincial separation. Clearly, however, there was away behind the movement for territorial separation the interests of the planters, and nothing perhaps could have defeated aspirations which must have made for the rupture of Australian interests so fully and so speedily as Federation. As a wave sweeps in from the ocean obliterating all landmarks, so the wave of feeling affirming the desirableness of Commonwealth relations swept over Australia. Nothing could withstand it, and the demand for separation, as it was desired by many, simply vanished, being swept out of sight by the larger issue.

The year of 1889 is of keen interest to all Queenslanders because of the important political events which were staged. Two years previously there had come the celebrations of the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign. The event was perhaps one of the first in which Brisbane stood for the Colony as a whole, and was acknowledged to represent the territory. From the Downs on the one hand, and the northern coast, as far

as it was linked with the capital by rail, there flowed in streams of sightseers. And the city had not perchance the conveniences for entertaining visitors then that it now possesses. Be that as it may, loyalty had its way and its will, and the day became one to be remembered by all present on the occasion. As light gave way to dusk the waiting multitudes had their reward, for the illuminations were worthy of the event. No matter though a weary night had to be passed in the train as a *finale* to the celebrations, those who took part in them rightly measured the dignity of the day by realizing how seldom came the opportunity for such royal commemorations. The people of Queensland gave rein to their loyalty; so much the celebrations showed, for in truth they were a golden cord in the colourless web of everyday life.

If it be true that the country which has no history is happy, then the year of which we write brought good fortune to Queensland, for even political events, which stir the Colony to its depths, were unimportant. The previous year (1888) had seen the return to power of the Nationalists, as they called themselves, for the general elections gave a mandate from the people to Sir Thomas McIlwraith, who had for some years previously been an onlooker at the political arena, but who now by a very large majority of the electors was invited to enter the lists against Sir Samuel Griffith, who led the Liberals. For some reason difficult to understand at the time, and even more difficult to explain, now that the dust of the conflict has subsided, Sir Samuel Griffith was unpopular, the favour of the mutable many had been lost. The Ministry which took office was a powerful one, comprising, as it did, men strong and capable, representative of Northern and Central Queensland, for Mr. Hume Black as Minister for Lands did Mackay credit, and Mr. W. Pattison, as Minister without portfolio, prevented Rockhampton from being forgotten. Mr. Hugh Nelson, whose calm common-sense, even more than his undoubted mastery of financial affairs, had placed him in the first rank of colonial statesmen, held the portfolio of Railways, while Mr. J. M. Macrossan was Minister for Mines; Mr. A. J. Thynne, Minister for Justice; and Mr. J. Donaldson, Postmaster-General and Minister for Education. Sir Thomas McIlwraith's Ministry should have been not only strong, but laden with good to the country, for Mr. B. D. Morehead, the Premier's lieutenant, who was Colonial Secretary, was known as the "Rupert of Debate," and, beyond that, exerted a very powerful influence not only in the commercial world, but also on that of flocks and herds. It was to Mr. Morehead

that the leadership of the party soon fell, for Sir Thomas McIlwraith in a few weeks found it necessary, owing to his health failing, to hand over the reins to Mr. Morehead.

During 1888 there was the emergence of two constitutional questions, both of which might have caused incalculable harm had not the Minister for the Colonies, Lord Knutsford, displayed a wisdom and moderation not always evinced by the Imperial Government in dealing with oversea administration. In one question the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, in accordance with what he deemed his duty, refused to follow the advice of his Ministers by declining to reprove a prisoner. Looking back on the very keen interest Sir Anthony Musgrave took in all affairs pertaining to Queensland and the desire to aid the advancement of the Colony in every way possible, of which the Governor's public utterances gave token, one can only account for the course Sir Anthony took in regard to the case of a man named Benjamin Kitts, by the belief that for the Government the law was something so sacred that absolutely no circumstances justified the relaxation of a penalty. Kitts was found guilty of stealing a pair of boots, and the facts in the eyes of the Ministers of the Crown, justified the use of the Royal prerogative of mercy. It was a bold step the Governor took when he declined to accept the advice of his constitutional advisers. Popular opinion was all against the vice-regal action, and so strongly indeed did feeling run that when the Ministry resigned, a course inevitable, the Leader of the Opposition, Sir Samuel Griffith, declined to take office. The action of the Opposition demonstrated that the question was considered to be above and beyond ordinary political relations and antagonisms. The Secretary of State, Lord Knutsford, relieved the tension by a direct order from London, for the release of Kitts. In this way very important points of government which might have been found difficult of settlement were avoided. The Ministry withdrew its resignation, and

things resumed their normal course. Later in the year came the untimely death of the Governor, and the community, by the regret expressed on all sides at the sad event, by the sympathy evinced for the widow of Sir Anthony Musgrave, and in the public funeral accorded his remains, gave a touching evidence of desire to make amends. All knew that the Governor had acted according to the light that was in him, and in opposing the course he took there was always respect. It was said at the time that the masterfulness of Sir Thomas McIlwraith was responsible in some measure for the strained relations which arose. Be that thought the real explanation or not, the fact remains that after the



SIR THOMAS MCILWRAITH.

death of Sir Anthony Musgrave the Premier found himself at issues with the Colonial Office. Undoubtedly a great principle was in the balance, the Government claiming the right to be consulted in the appointment of the representative of royalty. The Imperial Government had chosen Sir Henry Blake as the new Governor. There seems to have been absolutely nothing to which the most critical could object in the gentleman chosen, for Sir Henry Blake was both popular and efficient. It was his misfortune, however, to be the point on which the constitutional dispute rested. Ultimately popular opinion in Queensland moved the Colonial Office to substitute the name of Sir Henry Norman for that of Sir Henry Blake, and thus the difficulty was averted. It

may be stated in passing that the principle of consulting the autonomous dependencies concerning the King's representatives has subsequently always been acknowledged by the Imperial Government. Having resigned the Premiership to Mr. Morehead, Sir Thomas McIlwraith made a trip to China for health reasons.

In the year 1889 changes of an important nature took place in regard to what is now termed the Public Service, but which was then called the Civil Service. A Board to control the service was constituted by Act of Parliament, and to Parliament alone was the Board responsible. In a very important department, that of the Railways, a change was also made

in the system of administration, the rule of three Commissioners, wholly removed from all political influences, being substituted for that of one Commissioner, who had been nominally independent of departmental influences, but who in effect was under the control of the Minister. In yet another direction there were changes during the year under observation, for the Supreme Court Amendment Act provided for the appointment of a fifth Judge. Up to that date the Northern Court had been held at Bowen, but the time had come when the claims of Townsville could not be ignored, and His Honor Mr. Justice Chubb became the fifth Judge, and with Mr. Justice Cooper took up the business of the Northern Court. It may be of interest to remember that the Royal Commission appointed in this year to enquire into the causes of the depression of the sugar industry, did not in the light of subsequent events do much to solve the problem which was to be dealt with effectively by Sir Hugh Nelson.

The wool clip of the year 1889 was excellent, and with the propitious seasons gave promise of a bright future in all that was most stable in the country's progress. Not only, however, did the pastoral and agricultural affairs bear witness to the increasing prosperity of the Colony, for gold-mining gave token of expansion. The Eungella field in the Mackay district was discovered, and the richness of the stone raised hopes not fulfilled by future results. Rain, which stimulated other factors in progress, was not without its influences in mining. The gold won during nine months ending September 30 totalled 557,579 oz., an amount that exceeded by 76,876 oz., the total of gold won during the whole of the previous year. The crushings at Croydon gave very satisfactory returns. During one trip the gold escort brought 2,826 oz. of gold to Maryborough from the Eidsvold field, while in the Peninsular country the Anglo-Saxon Mine, in the Cooktown hinterland, yielded 1,070 oz. of gold from 292 tons of stone. Mining was not confined to the mainland, for prospecting at Hammond Island, in Torres Strait, was successful.

The Government was shrewdly wise in developing the hardly-realized wealth of Queensland in dairying, and those who are heirs of the energetic seizing of opportunity little understand how much they owe to those who initiated the system of travelling dairies by which districts like the Lockyer and many a point on the Downs were practically "made over again." To men like Mr. Mahon, who subsequently became Principal at Gatton Agricultural College, the country was indebted to an extent never perhaps realized, for not only did Mr. Mahon and his colleagues possess the gift of imparting the knowledge they themselves had, but beyond that they proved that they had the power of arousing enthusiasm in the work akin to that which animated themselves. Not only were the foundations laid of

skill, destined to produce many a prize-winner in butter and cheese-making, but the best methods in bacon-curing and fruit-raising were made known to all who willed. There was little done in regard to fruit-growing in those days, but the prosperity and success which is attending fruit cultivation in the Moreton districts, on the heights around Toowoomba, at Buderim, the Blackall Range, or further north—all that is now being done is undoubtedly due in great measure to the enthusiasm with which the Government experts in various branches of agriculture imparted their knowledge and shared their experience. Among those who assisted the development of what may be termed the new agriculture was Professor Shelton, the first Principal of the Agricultural College, whose manner and capacity for imparting the fund of knowledge he himself possessed was equalled by his devotion to his work and his zeal in performing it.

The population of the Colony, creeping on, now numbered 400,000, and settlement still wore the characteristics of a new country, for males represented two-thirds of the whole population. Flocks and herds multiplied the prosperity of the country, and there were in the year under review 15,000,000 sheep and 5,000,000 cattle.

In Brisbane the transformation of the city to something greater was going on unceasingly, and it is interesting to learn that the first block of public offices in what was called Treasury Square was completed at a cost of £110,000, and preparations were being made to proceed with further additions at a cost of £80,000. During the year the Custom House at the foot of Queen Street was completed at a cost of £40,000. Other public edifices called not only for notice, but for praise. The Methodist Church, built on the site of the old Freemasons' Hall, at the intersection of Albert and Ann Streets; St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Leichhardt Street; and the ornate Baptist Church, at the intersection of Wickham Terrace and Edward Street, showing evidence of energetic and purposeful development.

It is significant that there was a reaction subsequently from the strained relations, if such indeed is not too strong a term to apply to the determination of Government and people alike, that they should be consulted in regard to the appointment of the vice-regal representative. The very warm welcome accorded to General Sir Henry Norman, and the hearty greeting given him by 30,000 citizens who lined the streets of Brisbane on the occasion of his official entrance on the scene of his duties, must be traced to something deeper than an expression of the worth and services of a great general. Those whose memory goes back to the days of which we write know how deeply earnest Governor Norman was in his desire to aid with all the power that in him lay the State



of Queensland. Sir Henry Norman was one of those whose life work, and the way it was done, forms the best reason why the Empire is great.

It is interesting to note that sport and the interests of sport were expanding with the advancement of the country. A horse-loving people, Queenslanders, through their Parliament, saw the need for restricting betting, and legislation was introduced during the year safeguarding the welfare of the community by restricting the use of totalizators to registered racing clubs, and prohibiting youths from gambling.

During the year is recorded the purchase by the *Telegraph* Newspaper Company of the *Globe Hotel* for the sum of £42,000, and thereon was built the office of the afternoon paper.

Nature seldom gives with both hands, and perchance this was proved in Queensland in the days of which we

to be in a flourishing condition. With February, however, there came a change, and rain poured down incessantly until floods were seen to be inevitable. The pluvial visitation was in truth the heaviest experienced up to that date, for March saw the lower parts of Brisbane awash and flood-waters seeking their way into all the low-lying parts of the city, South Brisbane, and the Valley. Boats crept into the inundated streets, and many parts of the capital assumed the appearance of an Australian Venice. So high did the waters rise that at Goodna, some fifteen miles up the river, it was found necessary to remove the patients from the mental hospital to a point of safety. The Mary River annexed all low-lying land in the vicinity of its channel, and the Burnett and Fitzroy both broke bounds, in the former case the banks being under water from a point near Gayndah to Bundaberg, not far from the sea; while in the latter the pressure of



TOOWONG RAILWAY STATION UNDER FLOOD, FEBRUARY, 1893.

speak, for while there was fullest recognition of the need for agricultural knowledge, scientific, and more reliable than the rule-of-thumb methods by the old-time selector, yet there was inability to grasp the need for a University education in all the faculties necessary for professional courses. In 1889 Sir Samuel Griffith, a student all his life, introduced a proposal for a Queensland University, but the time was not ripe, and the motion was defeated by 24 votes to 16. Professor Shelton remained the sole representative of University teaching. As it was in the sphere of higher education, so did it seem to be in the wider circle of the advancement of the Colony as a whole. The onward march was not to be an unbroken triumphal progress. Up to the beginning of the year 1890 circumstances made for prosperity, and all the great industries were reported

the flood at Rockhampton caused one of the piers of the bridge to collapse, inflicting damage estimated at £6,000. It is astounding to learn how few fatalities or serious accidents of any kind resulted from the inundation, and in truth many a local flood has been far more fatal, as indeed was proved by the visitation at Clermont in 1917.

While the rains were beating down on the heads of Queenslanders, another misfortune came to the sons and daughters of the Colony, for in February the "Quetta," a new liner of the British India Shipping Company, struck on a hidden reef in Albany Pass when outward bound with a complement of passengers drawn from all parts of Queensland. It was only a question of minutes before the fine steamer was beneath the coral sea. The loss of life was great, 158 out of a list of 291 being

drowned. Here and there were marvellous escapes, heroic sacrifice, and no less heroic fortitude. The tidings reached Brisbane on Sunday, March 1, the day after the catastrophe occurred, and gloom and distress spread over the community like a lowering cloud.

In the year of which we write political affairs, if not of great moment, were extremely bitter. Sir Thomas McIlwraith's illness had thrown the Ministerial wheels out of gear, and the first months of 1890 found the veteran leader sitting on the cross benches, having cut himself adrift from former friends and supporters. Mr. B. D. Morehead became Chief Secretary, but to him there also came serious indisposition, and things were not going well for the Ministry. No Government can plead for popularity with a deficit on its books, no matter whether the result was due to wild generosity or political blundering. The Treasury accounts showed that the Ministerial business was £1,000,000 on the wrong side of the ledger, while the estimated expenditure was proved wrong in results to the extent of £500,000. It was necessary to find money, and that quest does not increase the favour of a Ministry with taxpayers. In the crisis, for such it practically was, Sir Samuel Griffith, who had come into power, chose Sir Thomas McIlwraith as the Treasurer of his Administration, and the strained relations existing between Sir Thomas and his former friends enabled him to accept the offer of his one-time rival, in whose Ministry he took office. Even in those distant days there were hints of coalition, beyond and almost in despite of party. The Government was a strong one, as may be gauged by the names of the members of the Ministry, in which Sir Samuel Griffith was Chief Secretary and Attorney-General and Sir Thomas McIlwraith, Treasurer, while Mr. Horace Tozer, was Colonial Secretary and Minister for Works, and Mr. A. S. Cowley, Minister for Lands and Agriculture. The other members of the Cabinet were Mr. T. O. Unmack, Postmaster-General and Minister for Railways; Mr. W. O. Hodgkinson, Minister for Mines and Public Instruction; and Mr. T. J. Byrnes as Solicitor-General, with a seat in the Upper House. It is significant that among the schemes proposed by Mr. Morehead to raise the necessary funds was a land tax, all freehold property above £500 in value being subject to the impost. The proposal, together with that of providing for an increase in the taxes on wines and spirits and the reimposition of the beer tax, failed to give satisfaction, and thus Sir Samuel Griffith came into power. The new Ministry, however, did not find office a bed of roses, and the taxation proposals which they in turn introduced were hardly more to the taste of critics than was the policy of their predecessors. An unpopular feature of economy, no doubt very necessary, was the reduction in the rate of endowments to local

authorities from £2 to £1 per £, additional powers of rating being given in lieu to local governing bodies. To this the Upper House objected, and the prospect of a deadlock rendered the situation grave. The difficulty was, however, overcome by reducing the powers of municipal councils and divisional boards, respectively, from 3d. in the £ to 2d. in the £, and from 2d. to 1½d.

During these years Labourism had been sending out political shoots in all directions, but apparently to its followers the news that all things might be theirs constitutionally was too good tidings to be true, for bludgeon weapons were still believed in and still used. The maritime strike in 1890 was the turning of the giant in his slumber. Officers employed by the intercolonial shipping companies contended that they suffered from long hours and insufficient pay, a hint of which was given during a previous maritime strike, when the proprietaries manned their ships for the most part with officers, supplemented by Tartars brought from the China seas. Then it was found advisable to divide the crews into three watches instead of two; but the system, which certainly relaxed the strain of work, was abandoned when the pressure of the strike passed. In the year of which we speak nothing practically had been done to meet the men's demands, and the officers formed themselves into an association for redress of grievances, and a strike followed. The cessation of business which was expected to follow the action of the central Labour authorities in calling out seamen and kindred trades along-shore did not take place. There was an earnest effort on the part of all classes of society to keep the shipping business in motion, and it was successful in the end, despite conflicts between unionists and free labourers, and when public opinion expressed itself against the strike of the Amalgamated Shearers, in sympathy with the maritime workers, the beginning of the end was seen to have come. The loss in regard to labour alone was calculated at £100,000, and beyond that there was much hardship and privation inflicted on the men on strike and their families. A dispute occurred in the following year between the Queensland Shearers' Union and the pastoralists. Wages or privileges had little to do with the strike at Logan Downs and Clermont, though the ostensible cause of the dispute was the refusal of the unionists to sign the agreement which the pastoralists in conference had decided should be validated between employers and employes. It cannot be said that the stock-owners took up a position unjust or harsh in regard to the shearers. They held fast by a principle—that of freedom of contract for employé—and it was a point that Labour itself—or, rather, a section of it—did not for a moment dispute. Meantime the station-owners engaged labour in

Melbourne, and the arrival of 200 free shearers in the Clermont district was the signal for unionism to resort to every device to win to the cause of the strikers those whom the pastoralists had brought on the scene to foil unionism. In all 1,000 unionists went into camp in a scrub near Barcaldine, and also other camps, in one of which there were 150 rifles in the hands of men who knew how to use them, where determination was expressed that no matter what the outcome might be, the free labour from the South must not start work. Police Inspector Ahearn seized powder and ball and shot while being transmitted to Clermont by the Labour leaders and obviously the movement meant war. Attempts at incendiarism at Northampton Downs, Maneroo, and elsewhere demonstrated the spirit at work

joining the strikers, and there were not less than 120 teams idle at Barcaldine. Lawlessness, however, was not gaining the day, and despite outrages here and there, which were eventually punished, troopers of the Defence Force proved their value, and broke up camps and assemblages of law-breakers. Men charged with conspiracy and rioting were found guilty and sentenced, the unionist leaders found themselves short of funds, and before long the strike was declared off. After all, the hawks aimed at big quarry, for when the disturbances were well mastered the plan of campaign was allowed to transpire. It was no less than the seizure of the central district and the establishment there of a Republic. And to that end 8,000 workers, with £20,000 as an army chest, had pledged themselves.



QUEEN STREET DURING THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1893.

underneath the surface, and attempts at train-wrecking also bore witness to the sinister intentions of rebels, for rebels the law-breakers were. The Government, however, was neither blind nor supine, and although it was not very long before the strike leaders called out 2,000 of the western men, the Defence Force was by that time under arms. A Gatling gun with sixty officers and men, and later fifty members of the Moreton Mounted Infantry, were placed under the command of Major Jackson. Before the shearers realized that facts were against them there were 1,400 men of the Defence Force under arms, in addition to hundreds of police, beyond whom there were also many special constables, who rendered valuable services. The difficulties of the settlers in the west were largely increased by the carriers

For the settlers in the Far North, those who lived on the Peninsular seaboard, there will always be a glamour of the romantic in the words "Merrie England," the Government steamer which voyaged between the possession of Papua and Cooktown or other ports in Northern Queensland. A schooner of fine lines, converted all too late into a steamer, some were inclined to think the "Merrie England" rolled her tall masts through arcs too wide in the sky. For that many a visitor to New Guinea will recall his trip on waters always ruffled by the south-east trades, and for that doubtless the steamer, once the cruising yacht of Lord Rothschild, was remembered by the Premier of Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffith, and his two sons, who voyaged to Papua in the Government steamer in the year 1891.

Like many another adventurer into wild seas, the "Merrie England" struck an unknown reef, and went down in the sunlit waters off the Papuan coast.

When the curtain lifted on 1893 there were few could have dreamed of the dramatic interest which the time was to bring in a flood, the equal of which had never before been experienced, and in financial disruptions cataclysmic in result. There have been many attempts to formulate a theory as to the periodicity of floods in Queensland, but all have failed. Intense heat, the like of which in the opinion of many had not previously been experienced, attended the Christmas holidays, and the first days of the year. On all sides heat and drought-withered vegetation had played havoc with the hopes of stock-owners. Yet the abnormal high temperatures brought their own remedy in the answering weather conditions. A serious gale on the coast as January waned was the first warning that extraordinary phenomena might be expected. Brisbane suffered with its environs, wild winds injuring shipping, wrecking houses, and destroying crops. Then came heavy rains, with the result that the lower portions of the capital were submerged, the wharves being under water. As an immediate result of the phenomenal rainfall the North Coast Railway was interrupted at Cooran. On February 2 the colonists had reason to measure their rainfall by feet instead of inches, for on that day no less than 35 inches of rain fell, and the timid began to make comparisons with things as they were reported to have been in the Deluge. The residents of Copmanhurst, in the Blackall Range, had reason to wonder, for the record for five days ending February 4 was 78 inches. The watercourses, small and large, were filled with rushing torrents, a menace to life. The Brisbane River swept in tawny waves far beyond its bounds, and every hollow soon filled. Many houses were swept off their foundations and carried down stream until driven with relentless force against the piers and upper works of Victoria Bridge, and at each impact the fragments of a house swept down the stream. No structure built by man seemed strong enough to withstand the blows delivered time and again. As was anticipated, the railway bridge at Indooroopilly, which had cost £52,000, was swept away, and next day, February 5, the Victoria Bridge went. Then followed the loss of the railway bridge across the Mary at Antigua, while lower down the bridge at Maryborough, a wooden structure, giving access to the Gympie Road, was swept away. In local phrase, "the Mary was up," the river being 80 ft. above the ordinary level at Gympie. The Mary, as is its wont on such occasions, broke bounds utterly, and took a short cut across the half-circle of country around which the river flows in normal times, the result being that all that was Maryborough proper was

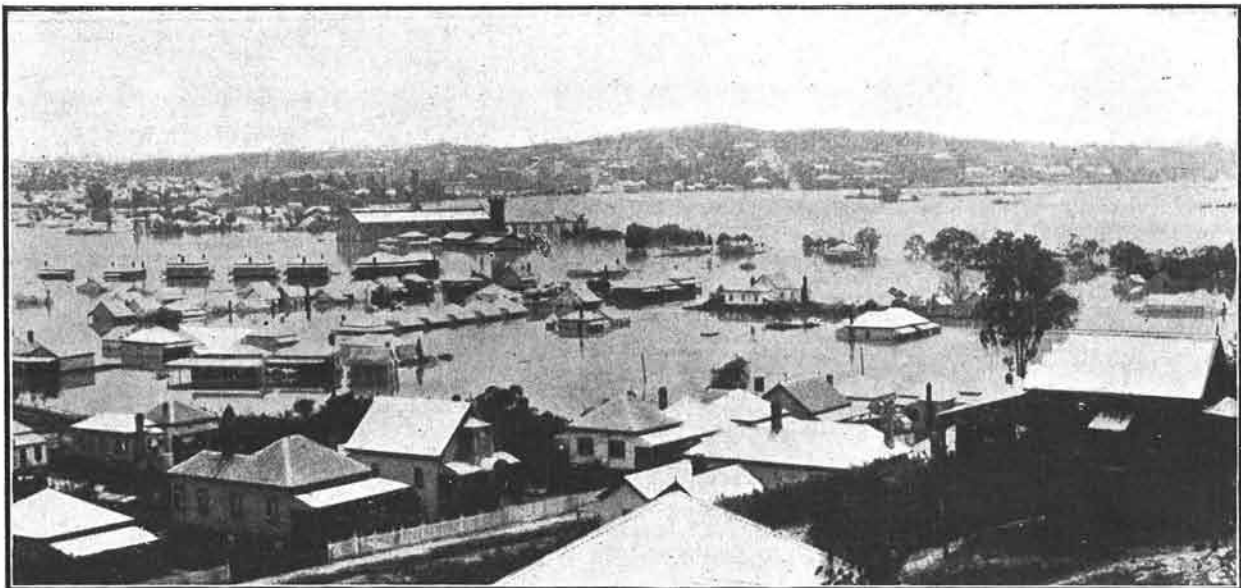
simply under water. As it was with the Mary River, so it was with the Brisbane. Craft broke away in the upper reaches, and the Government steamer "Paluma," the coastal trader "Elemang," and a hulk named the "Mary Evans," forced from their moorings, were stranded in Garden Reach. Punts also floated downstream, and were an added danger to river traffic. The streets in the lower parts of the city were below water to the extent of 15 or 16 feet. Again Goodna was submerged, the problem of rescuing the inmates of the mental hospital once more arising. At Fernvale, on the Upper Brisbane, the river was 24 ft. above the mark of the 1890 flood. In a coal pit at North Ipswich—that of Wright's Eclipse—seven men were entombed, while at Blackstone, a colliery some two miles from Ipswich, four children were drowned, a constable losing his life in the heroic attempt to save the mother, whose rescue was ultimately effected. The Burnett, known for its conditions under flood, did not rise so high as during other pluvial visitations, but still the lower portions of Bundaberg were under water. In Brisbane the highest point of the flood was reached on February 6, but although efforts in relief were then initiated, there was a second, and yet again a third return of flood conditions, on the 10th, and between the 16th and 20th, respectively. It cannot be said that either the second or third recrudescence of the calamity increased very seriously the losses already sustained. Proposals for relief were well devised and as prompt as they were effective. Funds came in readily at the call of the Relief Committee, and the aid given showed how widespread was the sympathy elicited, for beyond subscriptions from Queensland and the other Australian Colonies, there came assistance for the suffering from New Zealand, New Guinea, and Fiji, together with the United Kingdom and the United States. Nothing but good words in fullest appreciation followed the work of the Relief Committee, which completed in October the disbursement of the funds placed at its disposal. In all the labour of love meant a big work, for no less than £83,000 was distributed among 10,945 families, or 27,238 individuals, the administration being effected at a rate surprisingly economical—£911, a little over 1 per cent.

No sooner had the floods abated in the country than there came the banking catastrophe. The first note of alarm was struck on February 8 in the suspension of payment by the Deposit Bank. A scheme was put forth to raise funds by disposing of properties in the hands of the Bank, and valued at £1,050,000. The proposal had the element of chance about it which appealed to popular taste, and there was consequently widespread interest in the drawing, which took place during December. With the advent of April there

came surprise after surprise, deepening into consternation, as one banking corporation after another closed its doors. Between April 4 and May 17 no less than eight banking institutions announced inability to meet engagements, and as in a procession there came a fateful list, each one as it put up its shutters adding to the commercial unrest and the general perturbation, even apart from those cases in which there was severe loss and hardship entailed. The Commercial Bank of Australia was the first to stop business, and was followed at intervals of a few days by the English, Scottish, and Australian Chartered Bank, the Australian Joint Stock Bank, the London Chartered Bank, the Queensland National Bank, the Bank of North Queensland, the Commercial Bank of Sydney, and the Royal Bank. The circumstances were unexampled, and Parliament saw its duty very clearly in aiding financial institutions to make

4½ per cent. In passing, it may be mentioned that the question of unemployment became urgent during the early months of the year, being seriously accentuated by the floods and bank failures. Considerable relief was afforded by the Labour Bureau, but the legislative measures introduced in relief did not show that Parliament had wholly escaped from the theoretical into practical aid affording.

The event of the year, and indeed of the decade, in the political sphere was the passing out of the Parliamentary arena of Sir Samuel Griffith, who, following a time-honoured custom of the Bar on its political side, "took ermine," accepting the Chief Justiceship of the Colony. The relinquishment of all political offices by the veteran leader led to the acceptance by Mr. H. M. Nelson of the Premiership, Sir Thomas McIlwraith being then absent recuperating in India.



VIEW FROM BULIMBA ACROSS TO TOORAK DURING THE FLOOD, FEBRUARY, 1893.

arrangements as speedily as possible for resuming business, as the failures practically represented a commercial deadlock.

The efforts in aid were successful, as was proved by the fact that in a few months, on August 7, all the banks were re-opened. It is very difficult to convey to those who have had no experience of a financial crisis the terrible anxiety of spirit in which people moved from day to day during the financial stress of 1893. The panic spread, as was natural, to the Savings Bank, but there all demands were met in gold, and thus the difficulties were allayed, and the excitement calmed.

The financial legislation included the Queensland National Bank Agreement Bill, by which it was arranged that the liabilities of the Bank as to deposits, etc., would be paid off by instalments, bearing interest at

On his return in March Sir Thomas took the portfolio of Railways, Mr. Nelson becoming Treasurer, and Mr. J. T. Byrnes, Attorney-General. Mr. A. H. Barlow succeeded Mr. A. S. Cowley as Minister for Lands, and Mr. Unmack retired from office, Mr. W. H. Wilson succeeding him as Postmaster-General, while the other department—that of Railways—which Mr. Unmack had administered, was taken over by Sir Thomas. Mr. R. Philp took charge of the Departments of Mines and Works, Mr. Lissner being defeated; while Mr. H. Tozer became Colonial Secretary and Mr. A. J. Thynne, Minister without portfolio. The general elections which took place early in the year gave an overwhelming majority for the Government, thirty-eight Ministerialists being returned to Parliament, the Opposition only numbering eight. There were eight

Independents, while the Labour members numbered sixteen. Great dissatisfaction was aroused during the general election at the large number of voters who were struck off the rolls, no less than 15,000 being treated in this way, the number of electors being reduced from 98,065 to 83,005. Parliament assembled in May, Mr. A. S. Cowley being elected Speaker, Mr. J. R. Dickson declining the office.

A very important point occupied the attention of Parliament early in the session, the question of the trade of the Queensland border being diverted, or, rather, attracted into New South Wales. To remedy the loss sustained by the port of Brisbane the Government introduced the Border Tax Bill, framed for the purpose of causing the products of stations to flow by means of the Queensland railway system to the capital. This was a counter move to the tactics of New South Wales in making a bid for the trade from the Queensland border stations by reducing the rates on the New South Wales railways. To the surprise of the Ministry the border legislation was strenuously opposed by Government supporters chiefly concerned, and whose interests were affected. The antagonism to the Bill was so strong that the measure was only carried by the casting-vote of the Speaker, and, very rightly under the circumstances, the Government resigned. As, however, there was no hope of another Ministry taking form, the resignation can only be deemed to have been a threat and a declaration of independence, for as no member in Opposition would undertake to form a Ministry, Sir Thomas McIlwraith withdrew his resignation, and things went on as before.

Like the ghost of a past controversy the Robb arbitration case arises in the minds of old settlers. The claim, which was in connection with railway construction, represented an amount of £262,311, the award being £20,807, while the total costs in the case were £23,657, the law costs being £12,758, while fees to experts, witnesses' expenses, etc., totalled no less than £10,899. Among the fees paid to Crown counsel were two exceeding £2,000, for to Sir Samuel Griffith went £2,778 and to Mr. T. J. Byrnes £2,968. Yet another lawsuit which bulks yet more largely in the memory of those days was the case instituted by the Queensland Investment and Land Mortgage Company against S. Grimley, E. R. Drury (general manager Q.N. Bank), Sir Thomas McIlwraith, Sir A. H. Palmer, and F. H. Hart. The Supreme Court gave a verdict in favour of the defendants, and there was no appeal to the Privy Council.

In 1893 there were three freezing works capable of treating 400 cattle, or a corresponding number of sheep, daily. There were also four tinning and five boiling-down works, while two additional works were about to

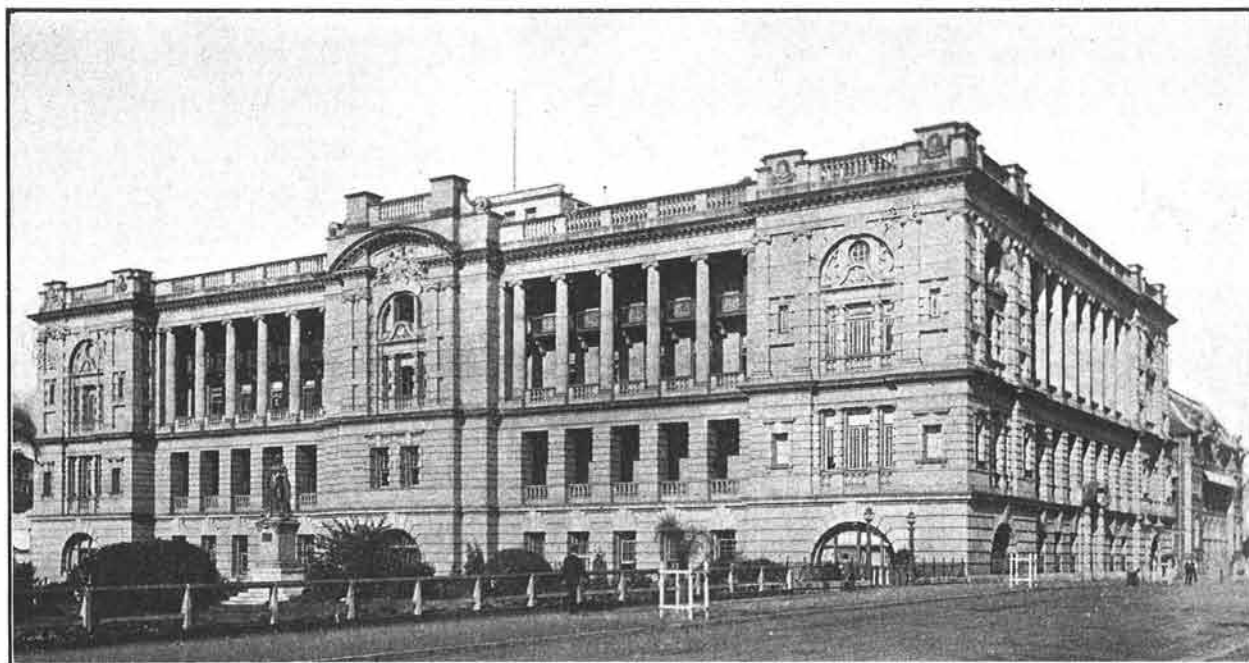
be opened. Scope for the exportation of stock there was surely, for it was reported that there were some 500,000 cattle and 2,000,000 sheep available for markets overseas. The Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act, which became law in 1893, has done much by its wise and liberal provisions. The measure imposed a tax—up to 1897—at the rate of 15s. for every 100 cattle and 1s. 6d. for every 100 sheep. The amounts so raised were placed to the credit of the Meat Fund and Dairy Fund, respectively. The former fund received all moneys raised by taxation in respect of cattle, which did not go to the credit of the Dairy Fund, and all moneys received in respect of sheep. All so-called dairy cattle were, as to taxation, in relation to the Dairy Fund; all cattle, the property of an owner who did not possess more than 100 head, were also deemed to come under the Dairy Fund for the purposes of the Act, as was also one-tenth of the amount received in taxation of cattle other than those used for dairying. The moneys received under the two forms of taxation were advanced to the proprietors of meat and dairy works, the distribution of the advances on loan being based on the revenue received from the several districts into which the Colony was divided. A board, comprising the Minister for Agriculture and five other members, representing as far as possible all of the districts interested, had control of the advances, which were only to be made on the security of a mortgage of works and machinery, interest to be at the rate of 5 per cent, and full repayment was to be made in ten years. All advances, it was provided, should be reported by the Minister to Parliament. Such in very brief outline was the nature of the legislation which has done more than any other thing to advance by leaps and bounds the linked industries of meat works and dairying, both of which have done so much to stimulate progress and induce prosperity. Those who formed the Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act builded better than they knew.

In 1896 another meteorological disturbance threw the wheels of business out of gear, and abnormal heat again threatened floods. They came, but were preceded by a cyclone, which literally devastated Townsville, on January 6 and 27, for public buildings, hotels, and houses were either wrecked or unroofed. It was in truth a time of gales, attended by heavy seas on the coast and continuous rain. So fierce was the storm that more than 200 ft. of the massive breakwater at Townsville was damaged, while steamers and lighters were either sunk or driven ashore. It had become the habit of the Government Meteorologist to differentiate tropical disturbances by name, and "Sigma" has a sinister memory for old residents of Northern Queensland of those days, and the sight or mention of the A.U.S.N. Company's

steamer "Aramac" is ever a point in reminiscence of the cyclone, for the vessel went ashore on Bramble Reef, where she remained for ten hours, being then refloated and all on board saved. "Sigma" at Townsville resulted in no less than thirteen deaths. As may have been gathered by previous records of pluvial visitations, it was no uncommon thing for a flood to seemingly abate its force, and thereafter gather strength again, and this was the case at Townsville, for there were no less than three floods in all on the occasion of which we write. At Clermont bridges were washed away and the full force of the flood experienced, while the Fitzroy and Mary were "up." In Brisbane the pressure of the flood endangered and ultimately caused a portion of the temporary wooden structure at Victoria Bridge to sink

ferry boat, variously placed at from sixty to 100. One thing, alas, was soon known—there were twenty-five deaths as the result of this terrible fatality. Here and there were miraculous escapes, and the bright gleam of heroism was thrown on what was otherwise the darkest of pictures, for there was many a gallant act of rescue and life-saving. In the main, however, the danger of being swept down stream was appallingly great, and we must wonder that the loss of life was not greater than it was.

Turning to the political interests of the time, we find things were then much as they are now. Mr. Charles Powers, the Leader of the Opposition, in shaking the dust of the Parliamentary arena from off his shoes, complained bitterly of the selfish injustice of the Labour



THE EXECUTIVE BUILDINGS, BRISBANE.

some 4 feet. All traffic had before this been suspended, communications between North and South Brisbane being maintained by steam ferry, the "Pearl," a steamer of some forty-one tons, being employed. In the midst of work, seemingly carried on most efficiently, there came a calamity with appalling suddenness, for on February 13, when the vessel was crowded with passengers returning from business, a fatal accident occurred, the "Pearl" being swept by the wildly-flowing current between the stern of the "Normanby" and the bows of the "Lucinda," and so across the anchor chains of the latter vessel, which was the Government yacht. In a moment the catastrophe came, and all on board were precipitated into the water. It was somewhat difficult to estimate the number of passengers on the

Executive in making a union with the Opposition impossible, averring that while Labour insisted on thirty-seven seats being held clear for itself, it was only willing that nine should be retained for the Opposition. There was, Mr. Powers asserted, no willingness on the part of Labour to give an undertaking not to send Labour candidates against those who came out in the Opposition interests. It is exceedingly interesting to note that in those days, nigh a quarter of a century ago, Mr. Powers should have discriminated between the Labour Executive, with whom he bracketed Mr. Glassey and the Parliamentary Labour Party, blaming the former.

The time had come for Sir Henry Norman to resign the Governorship, and he and Lady Norman, with Miss

Norman, carried with them on their departure to England the grandly-won regard and respect of all Queenslanders. In London Sir Henry Norman continued to evince his interest in the Colony and to work for it in the office of Agent-General, the duties of which he assumed. Meanwhile Lord Lamington, a young Scottish nobleman, who had already made his mark as a man of affairs in the sphere of Imperial politics, had arrived in Queensland, travelling *via* Torres Strait, thus touching first at the centres of population in Northern Queensland. Thursday Island was reached on March 27, and the passage of the Queen's representative down the coast was veritably a triumphal procession, the people of Queensland having seemingly taken both Lord and Lady Lamington to their hearts. In Brisbane the welcome accorded was of the warmest, and 70,000 citizens assembled to witness the procession of the vice-regal party through the city. The advent of Lord Lamington was a prophecy of the cordial relations which were to attend the Governor's stay in Queensland.

Meanwhile, amid all the advance, or arrest of prosperity, experienced by one Colony or another of Australia, there was a steady movement onward towards Federation. In this year it had come that the decision of the Premiers in council concerning the choosing of delegates to an intercolonial convention to draw up a Federal Constitution failed to be put in practice. The Federal Enabling Bill, as it was introduced into the Queensland Parliament, did not, however, stand square with the legislation on the subject of the other Colonies, for the measure provided that the ten delegates should be elected by the Legislative Assembly instead of by the people. It was urged in defence of the course taken that a general election had lately been completed, and that the Assembly being chosen as the voting power obviated the expense of a further appeal to the people. Another point soon arose as the result of the action of the Lower House, for the Legislative Council raised its voice. The Ministry had been strong enough to carry the new system of voting through the Assembly, for a motion by Mr. Curtis, member for Rockhampton, in favour of a direct vote by the electors was lost by 26 votes to 36. When, however, the measure came before the Upper House the councillors became clamant in their demand that they, as well as the members of the Assembly, should have a voice in the selection of the delegates, and the Bill was amended accordingly. The Assembly stood firm, as did the Government, the position being taken up that unless Queensland was represented at the Convention on the lines of the Bill it would not be represented at all, and this, despite the fact that Mr. George Reid, Premier

of New South Wales, who had subsequently so much to do with bringing about Federation, visited Brisbane in an effort to move the Ministry to retire from its position. His mediation was, however, unavailing, and in November the Council laid the Bill aside.

Turning to a most important subject, that of land settlement, we find that the demand for grazing farms had largely increased during the year, no less than 289 being taken, representing an aggregate area of 2,014,055 acres. In addition there were selected 104 grazing homesteads and 850 agricultural farms, or a total area in agricultural land selection of 2,485,252 acres, divided into 1,243 selections. This was the largest selection in any one year since the introduction of the Act, and yielded £20,000 per annum in revenue. Not in one district only was the impetus to agricultural settlement felt, for 1,200,000 acres of land in Hughenden, Longreach, Winton, and Cunnamulla were thrown open as grazing farms, and 47,000 acres of land on stations in which the leases had expired were made available as agricultural farms in the districts of Ipswich and Toowoomba. Beyond that a district which rapidly came into its own in regard to agriculture received a strong stimulus, for 30,000 acres were thrown open to the agricultural selectors in Nanango.

The legislations under the Agricultural Lands Purchase Act of 1894 included six estates, the land of which was opened to selection. Four of these estates were in the Darling Downs District, while one was at Rosewood and another at Beaudesert. The encouragement of the man of small means, which the legislation of that day represented, was highly approved, as is shown by the fact that during the year 30,000 acres were made available for selection, the terms providing for twenty years' payment at the rate of £7 12s. 10d. per cent. In contradistinction to the eagerness which attended the selection of land and the increase of the area under the plough in many a district, it is of interest to note that the socialistic ventures failed absolutely, for a sum of £13,000 which had been advanced to co-operative settlements by the Government was written off the public accounts as a bad debt.

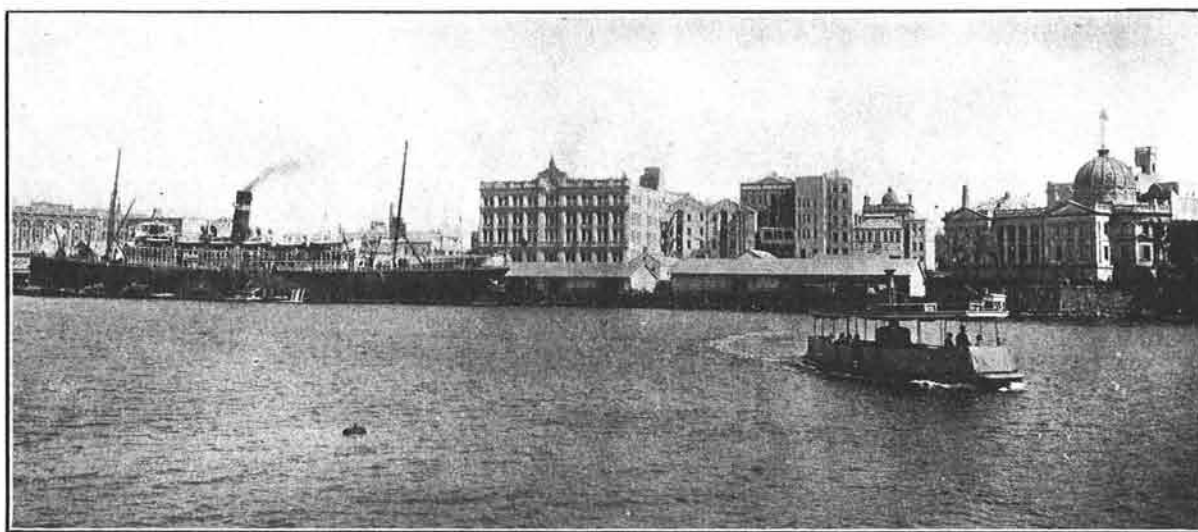
The swinging of the pendulum between floods and droughts has always lent an element of uncertainty to the industries which are especially dependent on rain, with the proviso that there must not be too much of it. Slowly is the lesson being learnt that where Nature fails, or seems to fail, in supplying the necessary conditions, her action is but to stimulate man through ingenuity and energy to supply what is lacking. Much has been done to modify weather conditions by artificial means, and much had even been accomplished in the mid-nineties; but a great deal then, as now, remained to



be done. Thus do we find that in the last months of 1896 the pastoral industry, which had so lately suffered from too much moisture, now found the difficulty pressing on the other side. For seasons beneficent gave way to dearth of rain, at first on the coast and then inland.

The owners of flocks and herds were also finding the old problem assailing them anew. A market for surplus stock had always been one of the questions which those engaged in grazing in Australia had found most difficult to solve. For a time freezing and chilling works had seemed to answer the needs, but with exportation going on busily there came a change. The price of meat in England had fallen, that being the inevitable consequence of widespread recourse to freezing in America and in Australia. And stock-owners found that with an unpropitious market and the heavy charges for freezing the profits were sadly diminished.

to exert the utmost efforts to check effectually the evil, even if it could not be extirpated, for cattle by tens of thousands were swept away by tick fever. Parliament came to the aid of the suffering stock-owners, and the Colony was divided into three zones, the southern boundaries of which being, respectively, the 21st and 24th degree of latitude, and in the most southerly zone the border of New South Wales. Legislation passed on the subject provided that in the northerly zone there was to be no passage therefrom for cattle or horses, while the central and infected areas were proclaimed, and the travelling of stock from one infected area to another was forbidden, except in the case where it was purposed to slaughter the stock in the zone. In the southern zone it was ordered that there should be a close inspection of all stock routes, while dipping was to be carried out when necessary. Dipping, indeed,



CITY REACH, BRISBANE RIVER.

Not alone, however, did the questions of supply and demand occupy the interests and increase the anxieties of the pastoralists, for there had come another menace, that of a veritable plague of ticks. Whether the terribly fatal disease induced by ticks was identical with "Texas fever," a scourge which affected stock in the United States, is a question which the medical scientists alone could decide. Be the fact as to origin what it may, inquiry showed that the disease had prevailed in the northern portion of the Colony, especially in the Gulf Country, and as far south as the Tropic of Capricorn, for some eighteen years. In 1894 the ravages wrought by ticks increased to an extent that justified the most serious alarm on the part of stock-owners. And the menace grew until its widespread prevalence two years later aroused Government and pastoralists alike

was the final preventive in all cases. Despite every precaution some herds were exterminated by the ticks. One must do justice to both Government and Parliament in the energy devoted to the work of preserving stock. Dr. Hunt and Mr. W. Collins were despatched to the United States to make full investigations of the pest and the best means of combating its ravages. Both did their work well, and the meetings held on their return to the Colony were most fruitful. Both were enthusiastic, and imparted the information they had acquired in plain language pruned of all technicalities, so that in the various districts stock-owners were placed in possession of facts in relation to the institution of dips and methods to be adopted in dipping in oil. The difficulties encountered were enormous, when it is stated that no less than 40,000 ticks were found on one animal;

that stock were not rendered immune by one attack, but were subject to a return of tick fever. And again the question was still further complicated by the fear that infection could be spread by ticks remaining in hides sent south for shipment. This source of danger was, however, averted to a great extent by the discovery that a process of dry salting of the hides was an effectual preventive. It is gratifying to know that the energetic efforts made by the Queensland Government in staying the ravages of the disease were fully recognized in the Southern Colonies. The toll taken of the pastoral industry may be imagined with the resulting arrest of progress and development. It is of interest to note that the State Conference convened at Sydney to consider the tick pest, called attention to the wastefulness adopted in the system then prevailing in regard to branding cattle on parts of the hide most valuable to the leather industry, for it was stated that no less than £300,000 per annum was lost through carelessness in that respect.

As it was with the pastoral industry so was it also with the most important phase of agriculture in the Colony—sugar-planting. For just as there was hope that the coming crop would reach 100,000 tons of sugar, there came that which bore the same relation to sugar-farming as did the tick pest to the pastoral industry. Grubs, the product of cane-beetles, appeared in the North and caused great ravages in three leading sugar-producing districts in the tropics, Johnstone, Herbert, and Mackay. Organized and co-operative efforts were made to destroy the beetles, the origin of the mischief, a specified price being paid for their collection, which became for the time a trade. No less than fifty tons of beetles were destroyed during the year in the districts mentioned, and perhaps no clearer evidence of the magnitude or the gravity of the pest could be afforded. And yet the industry, perchance because it had reached a stage where nothing could arrest its advance, displayed great vigour, due no doubt to the wise adoption of the best methods of encouragement in the Sugar Works Guarantee Act introduced some three years previously by Sir Hugh Nelson when Premier. Already there were two central co-operative mills erected under the Act, while arrangements were approved for advances under the Legislative measure for the purpose of building seven other sugar works. All the sugar mills, we are told, paid at least 25s. per ton profit. Beyond that, the price paid by refineries exceeded £1 per ton that paid during the preceding year. In considering the prospects and results of cane-growing at this time, it must be remembered that when the demand of Queensland for sugar was overtaken the growers were thrown on the open market of the world, for Federation had not yet unified the Customs relations of the Australian Colonies,

and New South Wales and her sisters in the South stood on the same plane to Queensland regarding Customs charges as did the United Kingdom or foreign countries. Experience, first at Bundaberg, but subsequently in the Mackay district and elsewhere, proved that cane-growing could be admirably combined with dairy farming, and as a result a strong impetus was given to dairying in those districts suitable for sugar-growing. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the Colony than the discovery that sugar-growing and dairying could well be carried on in conjunction.

On the face of facts elsewhere in the world, tobacco-growing should have been an industry eminently suitable to the tropical North, if not to Queensland as a whole. Experience, however, as it was from the earliest settlement of the Mother Colony, seems to be against the suitability of soil and climatic conditions to produce tobacco at its best. This must be acknowledged when we remember that almost from the first days of settlement shepherds in the distant bush were wont to grow tobacco to supply their own needs. Had the leaf been excellent, nay, had it been passably good, it cannot be doubted but that energy and enterprise would have embarked on the industry, and made it that success which favouring natural circumstances have made sugar-growing in Queensland. As it was in regard to cotton cultivation, so might one think it was also in connection with tobacco-planting. There were always too many apologies for failure to reach the deserved success, always too many explanations why tobacco did not take root as one of the best of the Colony's cultural staples.

The public were told the tropical North could produce a cigar-leaf equal to Cuba or Sumatra, and in proof of the assertion cigars were sometimes distributed freely. But there was no fast-growing demand for the article, and, most ominous test of all, smokers did not seek, and seemed rather disappointed when they obtained colonial tobacco. In the year 1896 there was a marked diminution in those devoting themselves to the industry, for only 397 growers were registered, compared with 493 in the previous year. Somewhat ambiguous is the statement made in contemporaneous records that the Queensland market had been overtaken two years previously.

The year 1896 was uneventful in the main, and there was neither industrial trouble nor unemployment experienced during its course. Turning to a very important asset of the Colony, its mining resources, it may be noted in the summing up of the year's work that the gold yield gave nothing phenomenal; in fact the returns, some 621,000 oz., were 10,000 oz. less than the previous year. It may be that this result was

due to the diminution by some hundreds in the number of prospectors, who were drawn to Western Australia by the counter attractions there. Despite this fact the alluvial prospects were good at Clermont and at the Etheridge, while the reduction of royalty on the use of the cyanide process stimulated what may be termed the science of quartz-mining through the utilization of low-grade ores and the treatment of large supplies of tailings. A vote of £10,000 by Parliament in aid of deep sinking also pointed hopefully to the future, but reading between the lines one can see that during the year gold-mining was below normal.

The year of the financial crisis, 1893, did not bring an end to banking difficulties, and for the Queensland National Bank there were anxious times ahead. The anxiety reached a climax in 1896, for the meeting in July of the Bank directors showed that the forebodings had been well founded, and as a result of the deliberations it was decided that a rearrangement of the terms with the Government was necessary. In the interests of the Colony as a whole, and in view of the fact that those then controlling the institution could not be deemed responsible for the heritage of the past, the Government and Parliament alike showed an earnest desire to assist the Bank authorities to the utmost of their power. A Committee of Investigation was appointed with plenary powers. In November the committee, which comprised Messrs. E. B. Forrest, John Cameron, and E. V. Reid, together with the Auditor-General, presented its report, which showed that there was still a deficit of £1,252,810, while the unproductive advances, including the deficit, were calculated at £3,000,000. As far as the interests of the shareholders were concerned, the Bank was found to be hopelessly insolvent. Yet one must hasten to add—the fact was also found by the Committee of Investigation—that the transactions of the institution represented a good volume of sound and profitable business. In this latter fact lay the hope that there might be a means of outlet from the difficulties through a rearrangement. The object of the Government and Banking authorities alike was so to strengthen the institution that it would stem the stormy weather ahead. Obviously the best buttress the Bank could receive was a Government guarantee of the balances at credit of current account temporarily, together with the new fixed deposits which might mature during the period of reconstruction, for it had been calculated that on the line of business then pursued the deficit might be extinguished in some twelve or fourteen years. Thus came it that a Bill was urgently passed through Parliament, the realization of the necessity for action being shown by the vote in the Assembly, where the second reading was carried by 55 votes to 6. The

price of the Labour Party's assent to the measure had been plainly set forth. It was that a full investigation should be made into the management of the institution since it had been a Government Bank. That pledge was given by the Ministry, perhaps to the surprise of some people. The measure set forth that the Government guarantee should not exceed £800,000, and extend to twelve months. Then followed a week later the Queensland National Bank Limited (Agreement) Act, which was passed by 44 votes to 21, an amendment by Mr. Drake that the reading be postponed to "this day six months" being negatived by 52 votes to 13. The chief provisions of the Act were:—That repayment of monies owing to the Government be made not later than July 1, 1921, and that the minimum rate of interest be 2½ per cent. The Upper House assented to the Bill, which became law. It may be noted in passing that a provision existed in the measure to extend the repayment of Government money to 1931, but in the Assembly the period was reduced by ten years.

A year later there came a celebration that was at once a retrospect and a prophecy, for the commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign in 1897, coming as it did before events which were of momentous import to Australia and the Empire as a whole, is worthy of record. And, after all, there was surely never a more propitious forthcoming of the Empire's strength in unity of the Motherland with her Dominions' daughters, "her daughter queens," as Kipling had it, than was set forth in the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London. The Diamond Jubilee, by the wise ordering of the venerable Queen, showed for the first time the military power of the Dominions, marching side by side with the Imperial troops, and giving a new meaning to the term. For surely nothing could be more significant than the fact that in the procession the military forces of the Colonies should have been represented. Led by Lord Roberts of Kandahar, who was ere long to show that in South Africa, as elsewhere, the unity of the Empire was inviolable, the marshalled pageantry of warriors from all parts of the Empire was surely the promise of that which was to be. Four years comradeship in war in defence of the Empire was to cement for all time that which the Diamond Jubilee first drew together. Not alone in the marshalling of the military might of the Empire were the celebrations a prophecy, for on June 18 the Prince of Wales—who ascended the throne ere long as Edward VII.—welcomed the representatives of Greater Britain at a banquet given at the Imperial Institute, where there assembled one-time vice-regal representatives and agents-general, together with many a notable statesman of the United Kingdom and Dominions overseas.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE WELDING AND THE SHAPING OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

It was not long ere that which had been wrought through all the national growth and had found such well-defined outline in the latest celebrations of Victoria's glorious reign was to be thrown across the sky like the reflection of a conflagration. It was a fire—the fire of patriotism—and all the Dominions were aglow with it. The world wondered, as well it might, for never before had been tested the links in the Imperial armour. How much was proved on the anvil of the gods, when the patience of the Empire broke down at the insolence of injustice and the flaunting of wrong-doing in far away Pretoria! Kruger miscalculated the power of the Empire, because he was unconscious of its unity.

With the tidings of the Empire's need came Australia's answer, and it is with honest pride that Queenslanders remember Sir J. R. Dickson, who offered the military services of the Colony. From that day Australia knew herself—her sons knew themselves—for a common danger had awakened them to the brotherhood of Britons. From every part of Queensland our soldiers poured forth and went to help the Motherland in her time of need.

It is an assertion somewhat paradoxical, but the decentralization of the Australian Colonies was really the cause of the movement for Federal relations. The independence for which each territory had fought so assiduously proved inconvenient and irksome, and as the Colonies waxed stronger, as their population grew and their interests extended, circumstances called for closer relations, something which would avert that which was beginning to be felt by all as a drag on progress, but which for many years had engaged the attention of the most thoughtful men in Australia. The differing and antagonistic Customs duties between Colonies whose interests and aims were one, were felt to be an anachronism and the contradiction of good government and common-sense institutions. Postal communication was affected adversely, and there were many laws—those of naturalization may serve as an example—in regard to which there was felt to be a pressing need for unification. In one important particular more than anything else was the necessity for a point of unity realized, and the march of events was destined to render the argument irrefutable. Sir Edward Braddon, Premier of Tasmania, when in London at the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, emphasized the great need of the Australian Colonies in stating that 30,000 men had been embodied for the defence of the Island Continent, and their numbers, he held, could be indefinitely extended if the occasion arose. In defence more than aught else there was the necessity for a central control and

authority. Away back in the forties, as early indeed as 1846, it was realized that decentralization in the institution of rival Colonies and settlements represented an evil that should be remedied. Again, when Port Phillip, three years later, found herself strong enough for the great adventure of autonomy, circumstances to the watchful gave warning that a hub to the colonial wheel was required. Not only did the question recur again and again to those in Australia who were statesmen by instinct, but also the same line of thought had occurred to men high in the councils of their Sovereign, and we find the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Grey) formulating what was in truth a well-digested scheme for a central legislature very similar to that which took place subsequently under Commonwealth relations, and which could deal with questions of general interests as compared with business domestic to the various Colonies. More than that, to complete the resemblance to the later-day system, Earl Grey's proposals provided for a Governor-General, and what he termed a General Assembly. The Select Committee of the Imperial Parliament appointed to consider the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales, and to whom Earl Grey submitted his scheme, obviously thought it impracticable, for they gave no attention to the proposals.

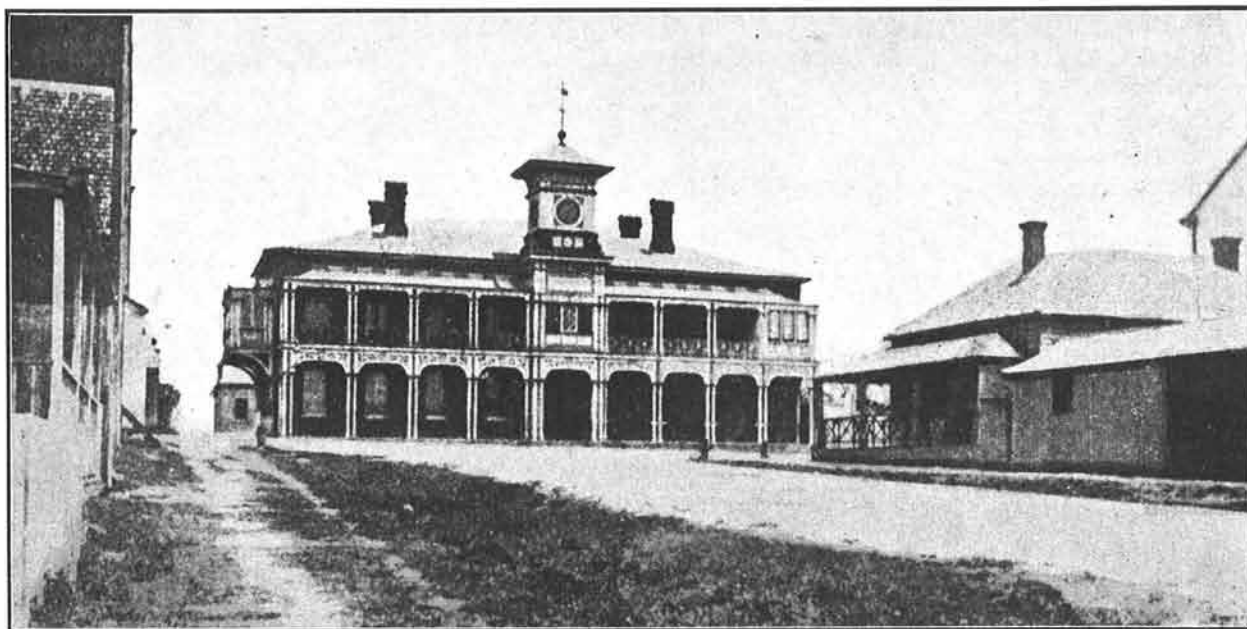
Nine years later Mr. Wentworth, whose statecraft did much to advance the Mother Colony, became possessed of the Federal ideal, and drew up a Bill setting forth a practical system of action which he duly submitted to the Imperial authorities. Nothing, however, resulted. But to the efforts of Sir Henry Parkes, and later to the legal genius of Sir Samuel Griffith, Federation owed its success in the main. For as early as 1867 did the great leader of political thought in Australia turn the indomitable forces of his mind towards the making of Federation. Onward from that period did he work, deadening obstruction of other and selfish interests; all the time was he delving and digging, but it was not until the institution of the Federal Council as a means to an end—and not the end, as it appeared to shallower minds—that success rose above the horizon.

All that Sir Henry Parkes sought was already his potentially, when in a note to a Premiers' Convention in 1881 he defined the object of organization, and of the Federal Council itself, as "the means whereby men might be led to think in the direction of Federation." It gives one an admirable idea of the importance of Federation to Sir Henry Parkes when we realize that the Federal Council, with all the legislative pomp and

circumstance of its coming, all the paraphernalia of its uses, was simply to be a picture of Federation in the minds of all Australians, a picture in full view of their mental vision. Had the prescience vouchsafed to Sir Henry Parkes been possessed by long bygone advocates of Commonwealth relations, Federation might have been accomplished forty years before it took form. Prescience on the subject Sir Henry Parkes assuredly had. How can we otherwise account for his assertion in 1867 that he saw Australia as a constellation of six stars?

From 1889 onward there were conventions and conferences, but always something here or there touched the tender susceptibilities of one Colony or another. Sir Henry Parkes was not to see the realization of his hopes, and he passed, full of years

Mr. G. H. Reid, who at that time held the reins of power in New South Wales, was warm in the cause, and in 1895 the Enabling Bill was approved by the Premiers of the Colonies in council at Hobart. On this occasion Queensland barred the way, as we have elsewhere said, in the reading which the Government chose to give of one of the conditions, popular election. And Queensland withdrew. Yet something, nay much was done, for all the other Colonies, in four Conventions, where each territory was represented by ten members, agreed to the draft Bill for the Constitution of a Commonwealth of Australia. The Conventions took place in 1897 and 1898, being held at Adelaide, Sydney, and Melbourne, the last two Conferences being held at Melbourne. Then followed a



OLD LANDS OFFICE, GEORGE STREET, SHOWING SITE OF PRESENT HOTEL DANIELL ON THE RIGHT.

and rich in the admiring regard of his fellow-citizens. In Mr. Barton, however, the Federal interests found an able champion, and New South Wales rallied her forces. What Sir Henry Parkes had hoped for in the institution of the Federal Council, the education of the people in regard to the need for a unifying organism, that Mr. Barton found in local Federation Leagues. At length, in 1893, something practical and definite was attained, for in a convention of such leagues held at Corowa, Victoria, Sir John Quick succeeded in winning approval for a Federal scheme in the form of a proposal that all the Colonies should pass Enabling Bills authorizing a new Convention, the membership of which should be by popular election. The work of the Convention, it was decided, should be the framing of a Federal Constitution, which it was proposed in turn to submit to a referendum.

referendum in four of the Colonies, the result of which was as follows:—

Colony.	Votes in favour necessary.	For	Against.	Infrml.
New South Wales	80,000	71,595	66,228	834
Victoria ... ..	50,000	100,520	22,099	1,008
South Australia ...	A majority	35,800	17,320	720
Tasmania ... ..	6,000	11,797	2,716	262

Again there was disappointment, for the insufficient majority in New South Wales barred the way. Yet that for which Sir Henry Parkes had planned had come. The people knew now, and took a keen interest in the issues. Even in New South Wales opinion changed, as was shown by the general election which took place, and the vote of which was directed by views on Federation, the constituencies showing themselves in favour of the movement. There was

more than enough to justify the continuing of efforts to bring about Commonwealth relations.

Foremost among the advocates of Federation had been Sir Samuel Griffith, who bent all the great power of his mind, and utilized his no less extended political experience and knowledge of constitutional law in furtherance of the movement. What Sir Samuel Griffith did before the accomplishment of Commonwealth relations, both in his capacity as a legislator and Premier, had no doubt very great influence in moulding public opinion in the Colony. What he did subsequently in the giving of his best thoughts and the rendering of unstinted service to the Commonwealth, his work and Federated Australia testify. In the Convention held in Sydney in 1891 Sir Samuel Griffith was one of the representatives of Queensland, and was chosen vice-president of the assemblage, having for his colleagues from the north Sir T. McIlwraith and Messrs. J. Donaldson, Macdonald-Paterson, A. Rutledge, A. J. Thynne, and J. Macrossan. While all did yeoman service in working for Federation, it was to Sir Samuel Griffith, in an especial manner, that Australia is indebted for the framing of the Commonwealth Bill as eventually submitted to the electors in referendum.

On January 28, 1899, the Premiers in conference at Melbourne accomplished their work, in which Mr. J. R. Dickson, the Premier of Queensland, took part. A great step forward had, indeed, been taken, for the Conference decided that a stage had been reached when no further conventions need be held, all that was now required being the acceptance of the Commonwealth Bill with as few amendments as possible. The amendments approved were, however, very important, one of the subjects, finance, arousing such strong feeling that the very existence of the Bill was endangered. Ultimately, after discussion which continued for three days, it was decided that a simple majority of the members be substituted for a three-fourths majority in those cases where the two Houses of Parliament sat together, while in regard to financial affairs, what was known as the Braddon blot, or clause, was limited as to its operations to ten years, the clause in question providing that not more than one-fourth of the duties raised by Customs and excise were to be devoted to Federal purposes. Yet further important amendments in matters of vital moment provided that the capital should be in Federal territory, relinquished by New South Wales, and not nearer to Sydney than 100 miles, while the first Federal Parliament should be held in Melbourne. It was also decided that prior to an appeal to the people in the other Colonies, the Commonwealth Bill in its amended form should be submitted to the people of New South Wales in referendum. In the passage of the measure through the Parliament of

New South Wales on April 10 it was decided that Queensland must be one of two other Colonies, besides New South Wales, giving assent to Federation before an address to the Crown could be adopted. It was further agreed, after a strong struggle, that a majority of one-fourth in the referenda was necessary for the validation of the measure. On June 20 the referendum was taken in New South Wales, the people affirming that Federation was desirable. It is of interest, perhaps, to note that on the same day the Enabling Bill became law in Queensland. During the next ten weeks the people in Queensland thought Federation and talked Federation. To a great extent the barriers of politics were broken down, and partisans otherwise keenly opposed fought strenuously alongside of each other. New South Wales and Victoria had reached the Commonwealth haven, the referenda there having spoken in favour of Federal relations, and so Mr. Barton from the former Colony and Mr. Deakin from the latter came to Queensland, taking part in the campaign. In the North the hopes of the separationists, or rather of the old-time sugar party, for a while ran high; but very soon they found that all minor interests had become unimportant compared to that of championing Commonwealth relations. On September 2 came a day, vivid in memories for all who took part in it. The voting in Queensland was 38,488 for Federation and 30,996 against, a majority of 7,492 for Commonwealth relations. So the people spoke. Then followed action in Parliament, praying the Queen that the Imperial Legislature might take the necessary action. The petition was carried in the Legislative Assembly on October 4 by 57 votes to 10, great enthusiasm being displayed. Six days later the Upper House approved, after an amendment by Mr. Barlow—for the insertion in the petition of a statement that the question had not been fully and fairly before the electors—had been negatived by 17 votes to 10. Another amendment by Dr. Taylor, giving the Imperial Parliament permission to amend the Bill in the manner deemed best, was turned down by 16 votes to 9, the figures which represented the approval of the petition to the Queen on the part of the Legislative Councillors.

No more succinct delineation of the leading points of the Commonwealth Bill could be found than is given in "Pugh's Almanac" for 1900, and we gladly draw on it for information. The valuable publication in question says:—"The Federal Parliament will consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, both elected on the principle of one man one vote, and in the case of South Australia one adult one vote, women having votes there. The Federal Parliament will subsequently make a uniform suffrage of its own. The House of Representatives will be elected by the several Colonies according

to population, the proportion being one member to between 50,000 and 60,000 voters, and no State will have less than five members. According to latest statistics this would give New South Wales 26 members, Victoria 23, Queensland 10, South Australia 7, and Tasmania and Western Australia 5 each; total, 76. The Senate will consist of six members from each State which adopts the Constitution from the start. The representatives of any Colony joining afterwards will be a matter of arrangement. The Federal Parliament can only exercise the powers expressly conferred upon it by the Constitution, the chief matters remitted to it being defence, banking and currency, light-houses, fisheries, taxation for Commonwealth purposes, borrowing money, foreign and interstate trade and commerce, navigation and shipping, post and telegraph services, quarantine, bankruptcy, immigration and emigration, alien labour. Within two years from coming into existence the Commonwealth must establish a uniform tariff upon which all intercolonial duties will cease, thus providing absolute freetrade between the various States. The Executive will consist of a Governor-General with a salary of £10,000 per annum; a Council of not more than seven members, whose salaries must not exceed £12,000 per year, and they must be members of one or other House of Parliament. Ministers of both Houses will be paid £400 a year. Civil servants will preserve all

their existing rights as to salaries, pensions, gratuities, etc. A High Court of Justice is to be established, consisting of a Chief Justice and not less than two Judges, who will also constitute a Court of General Appeal from the Supreme Courts of the States. The decision is to be final in all cases involving the interpretation of the Federal Constitution, or the Constitution of the States, unless Imperial interests are involved. The Interstate Commission will have jurisdiction over railways, rivers, and other channels of Interstate trade, but their decisions are subject to appeal to the High Court on questions of law only. The Constitution may be amended by referendum, but any amendment must be agreed to

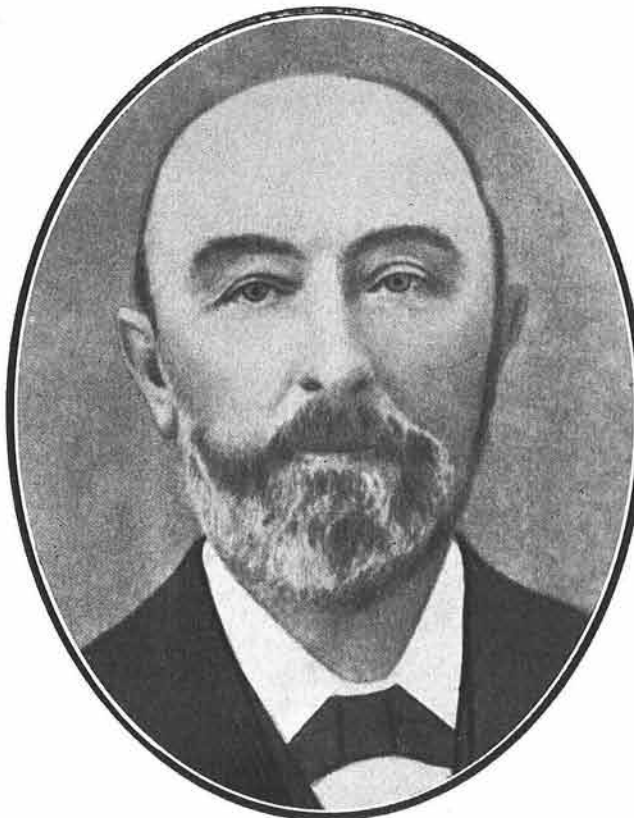
by a majority of the electors voting and also by a majority of the States. Provision is also made for the division of States."

As the majority of the people spoke in Queensland, so also were the wishes of the electors expressed in the other Colonies. The voting was as follows:—New South Wales—For the Bill, 107,420; against, 82,741; majority in favour, 24,679. Victoria—For, 152,653; against, 9,805; majority, 142,848. South Australia—For, 65,990; against, 17,053; majority, 48,937. Western Australia—For, 44,800; against, 19,691; majority, 25,109. Tasmania—For, 13,437; against, 791; majority, 12,646. The grand totals of the referendum vote, inclu-

sive of that of Queensland, previously given, were:—For the Bill, 422,788 against, 161,077; majority for Federation, 261,711.

So far the Australian Colonies had done their part. All that really mattered had been brought to a successful issue, but in the making of the Commonwealth, as of other Dominions overseas, it had been wisely enacted that the all-important stages should be hedged in by formalities, which to the careless and unthinking might mean little enough, but to the thoughtful stood not only for prudent safeguards against hasty action, but beyond, for the emphasizing of the unity of the Empire. In the early days of Australian colonization we have found that the settlers were wont to avail themselves to

the full of their right to petition the Queen, and now, in the consummation of the Commonwealth, it came that the time-honoured procedure was again adopted. In Queensland we have seen that the necessary petition to Her Majesty had been approved by Parliament, and similar action was taken in the other Colonies. More than that, however, was deemed necessary, and Victoria was in the van of the movement, very practical and necessary, to send delegates to London for the purpose of putting forward Australia's views and assisting the passage of the Commonwealth Bill through the Imperial Legislature. Mr. Deakin was the delegate chosen by Victoria, and the promptitude with



SIR J. R. DICKSON.

which the appointment was made gave extreme umbrage to New South Wales, where the embers of intercolonial jealousy flared up, the opinion being expressed that the Mother Colony should have been consulted previous to taking action. Oil was subsequently poured on the troubled waters by the decision of the various Premiers that each Colony should choose its own delegates. As a result, Mr. J. R. Dickson, Premier of Queensland, was selected to represent that Colony in London, while the following gentlemen were appointed as delegates by the other parties to the Federal arrangement:—Mr. Barton, New South Wales; Mr. Deakin, Victoria; Mr. Kingston, South Australia; Sir P. Fysh, Tasmania; and Mr. S. H. Parker, Western Australia. Mr. W. P. Reeves, of New Zealand, also went to London as a delegate, the intention of New Zealand being to secure such an amendment of the Commonwealth Bill as would open the way for the entrance into the Federation of Colonies of Australasia other than those of the Commonwealth. New Zealand, in short, aimed at the extension of Federal relations to the extent provided for in the Federal Council Act. After deliberation with Mr. Chamberlain, the Imperial Minister, who above all others showed himself at one with the aspirations and requirements of Greater Britain, the proposals of New Zealand were modified.

The first reading of the Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Chamberlain, was carried in the House of Commons amid great enthusiasm, although the question of the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council threatened to be as a lion in the path of legislation. Queensland took up the position, in which she was supported by Western Australia, that as the majority of the members of the Queensland Parliament had approved of the appeal system, it would be necessary to obtain the consent of that Legislature to alterations, it being held that a clause to secure the expression of opinion from the colonial Parliament must be inserted. Here there threatened to arise a serious cause of delay, yet the contention of Queensland was cogent and well founded, so much so, that although the attitude taken aroused great antagonism among the Colonies, other than Queensland and Western Australia, by reason of the delay the action would involve, yet the position must have been logically sound, for Mr. Chamberlain recast the amending clause in a form that removed all cause for criticism or objection, and at the same time obviated the convening of a meeting of the Australian Premiers to consider and make recommendations to the Imperial Government, which was the only alternative to a course involving extreme delay. Under the alteration made, the Australian High Court, without raising the question

as to the finality of its judgments on Australian constitutional questions may, when a special reason exists, grant a certificate affirming that in any given case it has decided there should be a final judgment by the Privy Council. Hence it will be seen that the opposition of Queensland was of great value, as it obviated application to the Privy Council for leave to appeal. The remodelled clause, which afforded one more sign of the whole-hearted earnestness of Mr. Chamberlain in aiding Australia to the utmost extent of his power was fully approved by all the colonial delegates then in London. It is further of great interest to Australians to learn that on his own initiative Mr. Chamberlain secured action by the Imperial Ministry for the appointment of four Lords of Appeal, to be paid by the Imperial Government, who should be life peers, and should represent Canada, India, South Africa, and Australia.

All had been done that could contribute to the epoch-making work. After being read a third time in the House of Commons, the Commonwealth Bill was considered by the Peers and passed through the Upper House without change. In looking at the consummation of Federal relations, and all they stand for to Australia and the Empire, it is fitting that the part the venerable Queen took in the constitution of the Commonwealth should be remembered. As a constitutional sovereign under a democracy slowly, but surely, built up, Queen Victoria could do little directly to assist the movement, but it was not unknown at the time that every step in the Federation had for her the keenest interest. Amid all the warring elements of European politics Queen Victoria saw how Dominion added to Dominion overseas would strengthen the Empire, and one cannot but remember that the Royal assent to the Commonwealth Bill was one of the last acts of a Queen who was great but no less good, and had a royal mother-heart for all the people over whose destinies she presided.

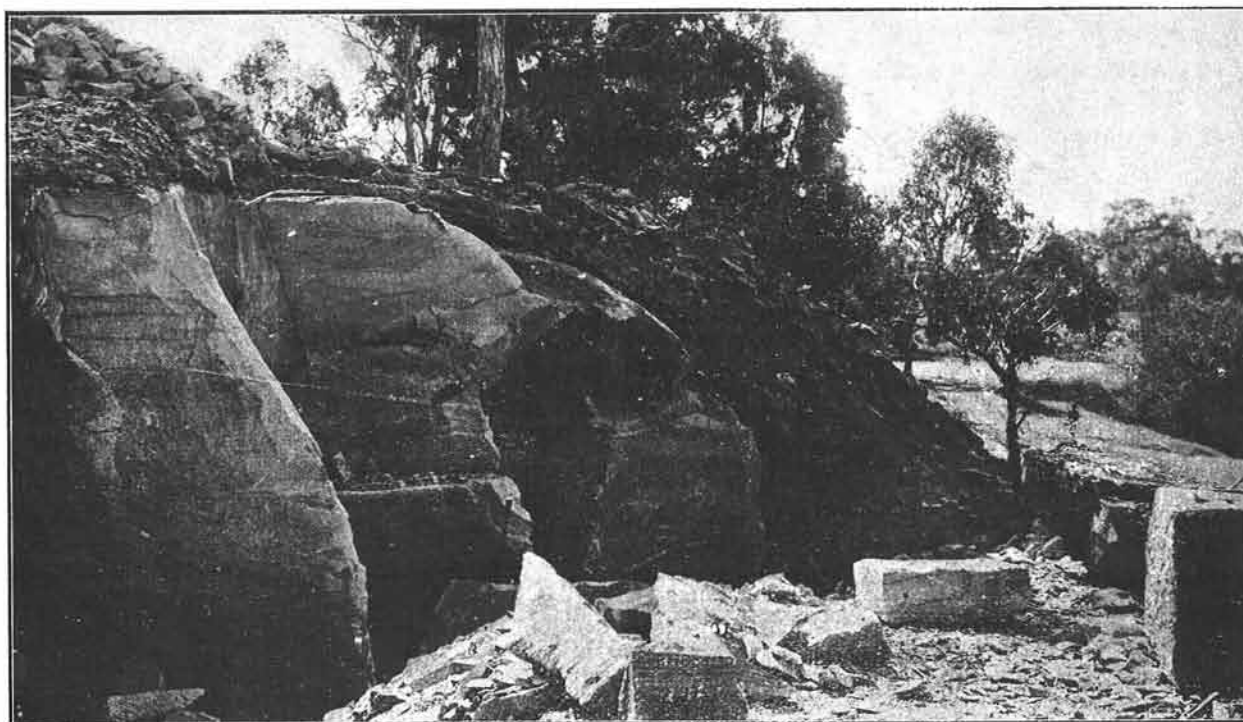
In view of that passing of the Queen, which was to follow so speedily the rejoicings in Australia at the Constitution of the Commonwealth, one can almost believe that the aged monarch had a prescience of that which was coming so soon when she prepared mementoes of Federation and her part in it by signing in duplicate her commission for assent to the Bill. That duplicate, together with the pen and ink used on the occasion, and the table on which she wrote, the Royal lady presented to the Commonwealth. These Royal mementoes of the Federation of Australia should be to us a glory and a warning. They symbolize the unity of the Empire, and are a token that with the institution of the Commonwealth there came, as it had never come before, the consciousness of that unity, the larger Federation of which our Commonwealth relations are a figure.



Yet another thoughtful provision of the Queen for Australia lived after her. Her advisers, true to their trust, had done well in recommending the Earl of Hopetoun as the first Viceroy of the Commonwealth, the Governor-General of Australia. The choice of Lord Hopetoun could not have been bettered, for the Queen's representative was a man after the heart of Australians. A manly man, a lover of sport, one whose family, like himself, had made the honours of the hunting field not the least of their ambitions, Lord Hopetoun was just able to touch the heart-strings of Australia, for he loved horses, and the camaraderie of sport was to him something very real. It is pleasing to remember, that in

accorded a welcome prophetic of the cordial relations to be established between himself and Australians. Sydney was *en fête* for the occasion, and a notable feature of the reception festivities was a naval review. Following on the arrival of the Queen's representative there came a body of Imperial troops to Australia, 1,200 strong, representative of various regiments and branches of the service.

With the first day of the new year, 1901, the Federal Constitution Act came into operation, and Commonwealth relations commenced. The celebrations in Brisbane, as in all the other capital cities of the great Continent of the South, were enthusiastic in their



STONE QUARRIES, YANGAN, DARLING DOWNS.

an especial manner did he love Queensland, finding in the North a place where health might be recuperated and the worries of vice-regal life for a time forgotten. To the Queen also must be traced the happy thought of sending the heir of her family with his Duchess in a royal progress to Australia, in order to personally open the Commonwealth Parliament.

During the closing months of the year all thought was centred on Federation, and it might truly be said that State politics became temporarily—if very temporarily—unimportant. On December 10 the Governor-General the Earl of Hopetoun, arrived in Australia, and was

fervour. Little thought was there that hardly would the echo of the joy-bells die away ere through the whole of Australia there should be a bowing of the head at the passing of a monarch who had endeared herself to her subjects by the virtues of her motherhood, the sanctities of her domestic relations, as much as the power of her intellect and the dominating influence her wisdom exercised in European politics. Yet it was so, for on January 22, after but a short illness, Queen Victoria died. All knew that the Federation of Australia had been with her a personal question, and throughout the Commonwealth there was deep mourning.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## FEDERAL ELECTIONS AND FIRST COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENT.

It had been feared that the death of the Queen would bar the intended visit of her grandson and his consort to Australia, but amid his grief King Edward VII. had time to think of his people overseas, and so it was decided that the Royal progress should be made.

The Royal party sailed from London in the "Ophir," one of the great Orient fleet, which was converted into a Royal yacht for the occasion, on March 16, a naval escort being furnished by H.M. ships "Juno" and "St. George." The Royal party arrived in Melbourne on May 4, 1901.

The first Commonwealth Government was composed of gentlemen who could truly be considered the flower of Australian statesmen at that time. Sir Edmund Barton, of New South Wales, who subsequently adorned the judicature of the High Court, was Prime Minister, holding also the office of Minister for External Affairs; Mr. Alfred Deakin, of Victoria, was Attorney-General; while to Sir William Lyne, of New South Wales, was given the portfolio of the Home Department. Sir George Turner, of Victoria, became Treasurer; Mr. C. C. Kingston, Minister for Trade and Customs; and Sir John Forrest, of Western Australia, was Postmaster-General. Sir James Robert Dickson, whose career in Queensland political life and as Leader of the Government, no less than his keen interest in Federation, together with his knowledge of affairs, eminently qualified him for a place in the Commonwealth Cabinet, became Minister for Defence. Not for long, however, was the honour held, for death came to the veteran political leader on January 10. Thereafter Sir John Forrest exchanged his portfolio of Postmaster-General for the Department of Defence, Mr. J. G. Drake, of Queensland, becoming Postmaster-General. Mr. G. H. Reid, of New South Wales, was the Leader of the Opposition.

It is interesting to note that at the Commonwealth elections the following were the successful candidates for the Senate in representation of Queensland:—Dawson (L.), 29,489; Higgs (L.), 29,346; Drake (M.), 26,700; Stewart (L.), 23,865; Ferguson (M.), 23,233; Glassey (I.O.), 22,737; Thynne, 22,107; Bartholomew, 20,710; Hamilton, 18,530; Cowley, 18,472; Plant, 17,135; Murray-Prior, 12,999; Hoolan, 7,463; Seymour, 4,995; Ahearne, 4,542; Buzacott, 2,575. The following were elected members of the House of Representatives:—Brisbane Division, T. Macdonald-Paterson; Darling Downs Division, W. H. Groom; Moreton Division, J. Wilkinson; Oxley Division, R. Edwards; Wide Bay Division, A. Fisher; Capricornia Division, A. Paterson; Herbert Division, F. W. Bamford; Maranoa Division, J. Page; Kennedy

Division, C. McDonald. There were fifteen candidates for the Senate and twenty-three for the House of Representatives. Of the latter ten were Ministerialists, ten Labourites, and three Independent Oppositionists.

May 9, 1901, was a memorable day, the outlook of Australia being focussed on the Exhibition Building, Melbourne, where the ceremonials in the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament were performed. Prayer by the Governor-General, with the singing of the 100th Psalm, fittingly introduced a solemnly great event, the like of which will never be experienced again in Australia, and after Mr. Blackmore, the Clerk of Parliament, had read the proclamation of His Majesty Edward VII., the heir to the throne, the Duke of Cornwall and York, delivered his speech in opening the Federal Legislature, concluding by declaring in the name of his father the King that the Parliament of the Commonwealth was now opened. The blare of trumpets and a royal salute announced the completion of the ceremony. It was a moment in which all felt that hands indeed were stretched across the seas, for under the ocean was flashed the message of King Edward to the Duke, "My thoughts are with you in to-day's most important ceremony. Most fervently do I wish Australia prosperity and happiness." All knew how true those words were, for to the King the Empire was a trust and a charge which during his reign he fulfilled in obedience to the highest duty. To the message from the heart of the Empire, answering words were sent at once by the Duke of York, telling his Royal father how the epoch-making ceremonial had been completed and the King's greeting read to the 12,000 Australian subjects of His Majesty who were present at a ceremony rightly described by the Duke as "splendid and impressive."

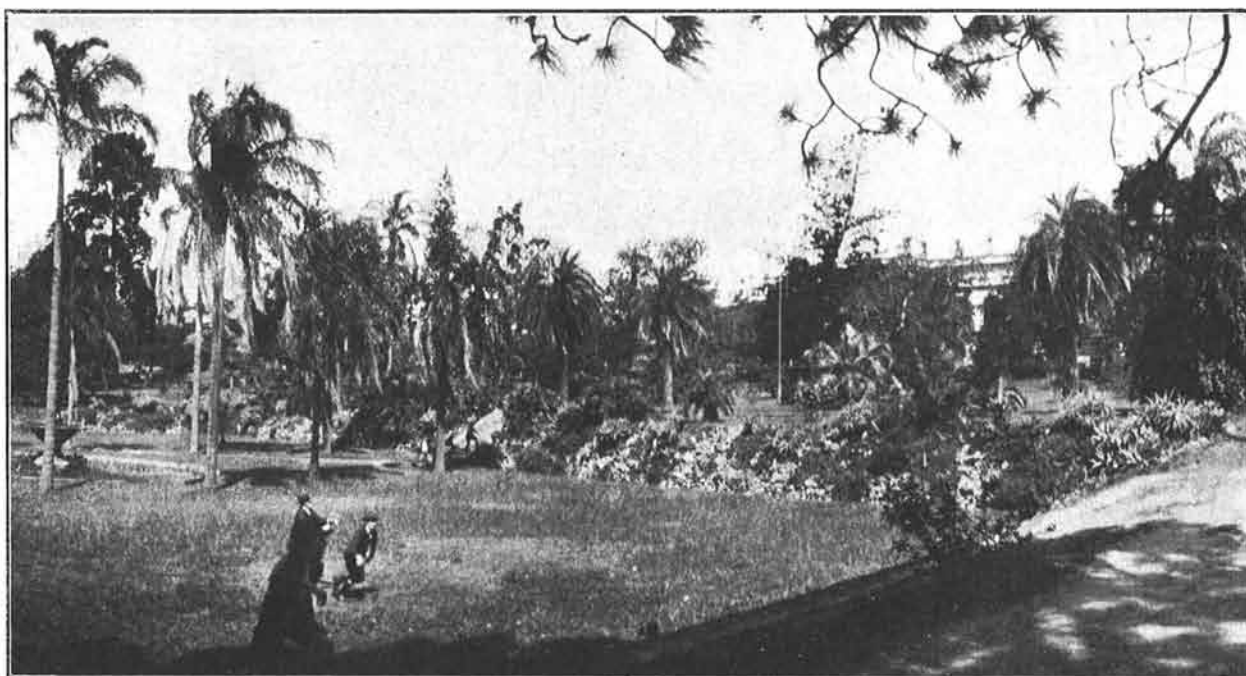
The day was great in potentialities not only for Australia, but also for the Empire.

The time following the arrival of the "Ophir" in Hobson's Bay, four days earlier, on May 5, had been one long period of rejoicing. The reception of the Royal guests of the Commonwealth, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, had been enthusiastic, and in the public landing at St. Kilda, the procession through the streets of the great city, decked brilliantly in holiday attire, there seemed but one thought—loyal welcome. Troops lined the route of the Royal progress through Melbourne, the military force being representative of all the Australian States, New Zealand and Fiji. Yet in the keeping of order, troops and police alike, had a sinecure, for joy in welcome is gentle, and in truth the half-million of spectators were

the best security for their own orderliness. Royal receptions during the day, with reviews and regattas, and illuminations in the evening with torch-light processions, all symbolized the warmth of the Australian heart in heartiest greeting. Not with the opening ceremonial of the Federal Parliament did the pageants and loyal functions in honour of the Royal visitors cease, for school children were made happy by meeting the Royal guests of the Commonwealth, while there was a giving of honours to notable citizens, among whom were Mr. T. Proe, Mayor of Brisbane, and Lieutenant-Colonel Byron, of Queensland. On the former was conferred the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Colonel Byron being made an extra Royal aide-de-camp.

Captain Lord Crichton; Lieutenant the Duke of Roxburgh; Lieutenant-Colonel Byron, A.D.C.; Dr. Manby; and Sir Donald Wallace, Assistant Private Secretary.

Monday, May 20, saw the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of York, who indeed did all in their power to make amends for the disappointing departure from the programme, for the warships "Royal Arthur," "Ringarooma," and "Wallaroo" visited Moreton Bay. Typical of Queensland hospitality was the reception given to the Duke and Duchess, and the citizens surpassed all former celebrations in their right hearty greeting of the Royal guests. The streets were transformed for the occasion. At the top of Queen Street, where it intersects George Street, was an



A CORNER OF THE BOTANIC GARDENS, BRISBANE.

The happenings in Melbourne were in a real sense representative of Australia. In Brisbane great preparations had been made for welcoming the Royal visitors right heartily and it had been arranged that the "Ophir" should visit the capital of the northern State on May 15. In the meantime, however, plague had broken out and Brisbane was then declared an infected port.

It was found impossible for the Royal squadron to visit the metropolis of the north, but the best that could be done under the circumstances was in the end accomplished, and the Royal visitors travelled by rail to Brisbane, including the following in the party:—Lady Mary Lygon; Sir A. Bigge, G.C.V.O.; Lord Wenlock, Private Secretary; Hon. D. Keppel;

arch symbolical of the wealth of the State, for there were arranged the chief products of Queensland. In George Street, then the chief route to Government House—now devoted to the uses of the Queensland University—was another well-devised feature in the magnificent pageant, for midway to the lodge gates of the old vice-regal residence, where sentries in the old army scarlet were wont to pace, was an aboriginal pyramid. Here were denizens of the wilds in full war paint, and here, too, a display of weapons used by the whilom owners of the soil, together with tasteful adornments in palm fronds and ferns. The days of festivity passed all too quickly, for everyone found pleasure in the functions. These are now but pleasant memories to those who were among the spectators, but something

very tangible remains to Brisbane of the bygone halcyon days before war troubled the nations, for during their visit to Brisbane the Duke and Duchess of York became links with the history of the Anglican Church in Queensland, His Royal Highness laying the foundation-stone of the new cathedral, a building of which the city as well as members of that communion have every reason to be proud. The happiest time, like the longest day, comes to an end, and so on May 24 the Royal visitors turned south again, leaving Brisbane for Sydney, where further ovations awaited them.

All that the Northern sugar-growers predicted, and indeed everyone who believed that sugar could not be profitably cultivated without cheap labour, came to pass speedily on the accomplishment of Federation, for the Kanaka Bill was unmistakably a declaration that alien coloured labour must cease. Mr. Barton, the Leader of the Commonwealth Government, left no room for misunderstanding on the subject, having announced on January 17 his policy that the kanaka must go. Looking back we can see that all was for the best, but it must be remembered that those interested in the industry, as it was then, were not given the foresight to realize that the conditions of carrying it on by a vast increase in the number of growers operating on small areas of cane, together with the development of the central mill principle, and above all, a greatly favouring tariff, would conserve the sugar production.

The points of chief interest were the outstanding facts that some 120,000 acres of land were devoted to cane cultivation, the value of the crop in 1900 being £1,612,500, the workers in the field being for the most part 9,000 Polynesians. The problem for solution was the carrying on of the industry without the aid of kanakas, and there were very many who did not hesitate to aver that if the Kanaka Bill became law sugar-growing was doomed, and that in turn meant the loss of the large capital invested in sugar manufacturing machinery and the purchase of sugar land. The measure, as we have said, was uncompromising in the attitude taken up. All Polynesians were to be deported from Australia before the last day of the year 1906. Those interested in the industry were given five years to set their house in order. There were very many who were hopeless of the industry weathering the political storm. The question, it was contended, was purely a tropical or sub-tropical one, in which the electors of the South had no right to interfere. All argument of that description was, however, obviously quite in vain, for the vote at the referendum poll gave the electors of the more densely populated States in the South just that influence which it was held they should not possess. The vote for Federation was a fact, and carried with it the further fact that Queensland immigration was in

the hands of the Federal Government. No soft concessions were in the Kanaka Bill, for among its provisions was a clause setting forth that the islanders introduced in 1902 must be 25 per cent. less in number than the kanaka recruits repatriated in the previous year, while only 50 per cent. of those sent home to their islands in 1902 should be recruited in 1903. On March 4, 1904, all recruiting was to cease. It is not difficult to understand the instability which for a time threatened the industry, nor the dismay with which the assertion was met concerning the withdrawal of capital from white employment which the ceasing of the indented kanaka labour inferred. For appeal to figures showed that while the 9,000 kanakas drew from the industry £148,070 per annum, and the share of the other aliens was £51,930 per annum, the sum secured by the whites in the industry was no less than £1,412,500. It was often asserted then, as indeed it had often been stated previously, that kanaka labour was not championed because it was cheap, but because it gave security concerning the continuance of employés. Efforts were made to extend the period before the final repatriation of all kanakas, but neither the striving of those interested in the industry, nor of the Premier (Mr. Philp) availed, and the Bill became law on December 17.

It must be confessed that the fixity of tenure as to labour was the only sound argument the advocates of a continuance of Polynesian recruiting could advance, and all the weight of that argument was wholly nullified by the voluntary entrance of Queensland into the Commonwealth.

Then, as now, the question of tariff was of paramount importance, and Protectionists and Free-traders battled each for their principles, although both parties have probably modified their views largely since the day of which we write. As far as Queensland was concerned, it was alleged in this State that the Federal tariff worked out in favour of the producers and manufacturers in the more densely populated States of the South, but such a result was inevitable in view of human nature being what it is, and the population basis of the South so different from that of Queensland. One point of the tariff relation of the Commonwealth is, however, deserving of special attention, as repatriation of kanakas, and the relation of that step to the sugar industry, cannot be understood without referring to the sugar bonus. The legislation provided for an import duty on sugar of £6 per ton, for an excise of £3, and a rebate of £2 per ton on 10 per cent. cane grown by white labour. Such were the concessions of the Federal Government in compensation for the withdrawal of kanaka labour from sugar-growers. Upon the tariff and the apprehension of the electors of the South concerning the importance of

sugar-growing to Australia depends the prosperity, nay the existence of the industry in Queensland.

Turning to questions wholly pertaining to the State it may be said that the Liberal Party held the reins of power in Queensland during the nineties. The coalition between Sir Thomas McIlwraith and Sir Samuel Griffith was the best thing that could have happened to the country, for it was to the advantage of the State and all its interests that two minds so capable and far-reaching, and yet so diverse in their turn of thought, should have united to pilot the political ship. Sir Hugh Nelson, who had held office as Premier and Colonial Treasurer from 1893 to 1895, thereafter became Chief Secretary and Premier, being Leader of the Government for three years subsequently. With Mr. Horace Tozer as his lieutenant in the Home Office, Sir Hugh Nelson did right excellent work, the wants of the North in regard to tropical agriculture, and especially sugar, being well cared for by Mr. J. V. Chataway, who administered the Agricultural Department.

Then came another shuffle of the political cards, and Mr. T. J. Byrnes, who in the office of Attorney-General had won attention from all his fellow-Queenslanders as a young statesman of great promise, assumed the Premiership in 1898, having with him as his second in command Mr. J. R. Dickson, destined to win his spurs in the political field through Federation. For all who know the Ministerial history of the country a very sad page indeed is that on which is written Thomas Joseph Byrnes. Seldom were hopes held justifiably higher than in the case of the brilliant young native of Queensland, for taking advantage of the magnificently complete system of education in the country, he went on from school to higher school, ever clearing away every difficulty in the path by his splendid powers of application and concentration, aiding, as they must always aid, to attain results, the talents of an intellect, comprehensive and acute. So Mr. Byrnes won his way through his University career, then necessarily in the

South. Later, with none to thank but his great mental gifts and power of will, he became a member of the Queensland Bar, with a long record of scholastic and academical triumphs behind him. For such an one, the doors of the Legislature are open, if not at one side, then the other, and the victories of his younger days were but repeated in another sphere. Mr. Byrnes, from the stepping-stone of the Attorney-Generalship, reached the highest honours the State could give him, becoming Premier. The young member of Parliament, eager to meet those into whose circle he had come, had visited England, and for some it will be a thrilling thought to remember how the rising statesman on his return to Queensland visited, among other places, Mackay, and there, while present at a gathering of citizens, he received the tidings that the great tribune of democracy, William Ewart Gladstone, had passed away, full of years, and with a great work done. Mr. Byrnes, rightly deeming it unfit to proceed with a social programme, told his hearers in a voice tinged and sometimes broken with emotion, how the great Prime Minister welcomed him to England, entertained, and advised him. And it was not difficult to see, reading between the lines, that Mr. Gladstone appraised very highly the great talents of the young Queenslander, hoping for him a career of great usefulness to his country. Within six months the young Premier had also passed on to



HON. T. J. BYRNES.

the unseen, a bright and promising life being cut short by scarlet fever. A public funeral, and a monument in the form of a statue erected in Brisbane, gave evidence of the mourning and regret of the people of the State, who, indeed, were his admirers.

Events in the making of the Commonwealth have shown that, following the demise of Mr. Byrnes, the reins of the Ministerial coach were taken up by Mr. J. R. Dickson, who held office till December 1. There is a tide in the affairs of Ministers, just as in men, and beyond that, political facts are always showing that Shakespeare's delineation of the ages of man is no less true of political affairs than of mankind as a whole.

The waning powers, the depleted energy, the wrangling at the dictates of personal ambition, and the decay through disorganization are symptoms in a Ministry that new blood is required. So it was with the Liberals, who had held their course under the banner of pastoral or commercial interests, or both in combination, for more than ten years. Thus Mr. Dawson failed absolutely in his attempt to defeat Mr. Dickson's motion for a contingent to aid the Imperial troops in the Boer war, while the Leader of the Labour Opposition scored his point so far in regard to the Railways Standing Committee Bill as to cause the Government to resign. The Opposition, which was by no means confined to those in antagonism to the Ministry, secured so strong a following that Mr. Dickson found himself with a majority of one, the voting being 34 to 33. Under the circumstances the Premier, taking the only course available, handed his resignation to the Governor, and Mr. Dawson was sent for by His Excellency, and expressed his willingness to form a Ministry, it being then December 1, 1899.

The Ministry duly took form, being constituted as follows:—Premier and Chief Secretary, Mr. A. Dawson; Attorney-General, Mr. C. B. Fitzgerald; Home Secretary, Mr. H. Turley; Treasurer and Postmaster-General, Mr. W. Kidston; Secretary for Mines and Public Instruction, Mr. W. H. Browne; Secretary for Lands and Agriculture, Mr. H. F. Hardacre; Secretary for Railways and Public Works, Mr. Andrew Fisher.

The Labour Administration had only a short reign, for Mr. Dawson and his colleagues occupied the Treasury Benches for merely one short week. Meanwhile there had been a change in the leadership of the Liberals, over whose destinies Mr. Philp now presided. The resignation of the Ministry came about without heat and quite simply, for a motion by the Premier, Mr. Dawson, "That the House do now adjourn," was negatived, the voting against being 36, while the ayes numbered 30, the ins of the political game of rounders being outs. In effect, the first Labour Ministry in Queensland only held office for one day, for the adverse vote was given on December 2, although the party administered affairs for six days longer at the request of the Governor.

Mr. Philp was Leader of the State Government in 1901, and was popular and effective in his administration; above all, he was trusted. His Ministerial team was a strong one, but Labour was growing, and perchance the need for maintaining their popularity was the cause of the large expenditure by the Government, which was £4,624,478, as compared with £4,096,290, the actual receipts. The crushing deficit, the heaviest till then in the experience of the country, was attributed to drought on the one hand and uncertainty as to the action of the Commonwealth Government on the other. The revenue from railways was less by

£176,000 than during the previous year, and it cannot be denied that the constitution of the Post and Telegraph Department and Customs as Federal offices barred all assistance in revenue production from those quarters, yet it could be alleged with truth that the circumstances might very reasonably have been anticipated. In casting about for the financial help required, the Government adopted the expedient of drawing upon the landed estate. Treasury bills were issued bearing interest at 3½ per cent. and redeemable in ten years, the money wherewith to retire them to be furnished by selling land. It is to be noted that during the year a great step forward in Australian self-sustainment was made, for of the total amount of loan, £2,374,000, authorized by the State Government, £1,000,000 was placed on the Commonwealth market, and with most satisfactory results, for it was stated at the time that the floating of the loan in Australia had resulted in a much better price being obtained than would have been the case in London, and it was calculated that the new system resulted in a benefit to the Government of some £50,000.

In the first year of the new century Queensland suffered the disaster of a drought, so severe and so far-reaching that there was hardly a district that was not affected in trade and general prosperity. Not only were the rich pasture plains of the west denuded of herbage that made them resemble nothing so much as well-trodden highways, but the coastal lands in many places were equally bare. Then, as now, the pastoralist was at the mercy of the seasons, for even the wisest forethought and provision could not ensure the safety of thousands of cattle or tens of thousands of sheep in a season so dry that forest trees perished, pine, sandalwood, and coolibah withering away. The travelling of stock in order that cattle and sheep might find food became a high science, while to those who could not travel with their stock the network of railways became a veritable boon, for fodder was carried west and even stock trucked east. It was felt that the time demanded the sinking of all questions save the one point of importance to the community as a whole—the saving of its greatest industry—and thus the knowledge that the railways were run at a loss by reason of the lowering of the freight rates was as widely spread as it was assented to. The losses stock-owners sustained were enormous, in some cases representing 80 per cent., while the average deaths in the case of sheep were appraised at 45½ per cent. and in cattle 28½ per cent. And the fact that the other States of the young Commonwealth were equally under the scourge of drought intensified the calamity. Stock could not be renewed by purchase; there were none to buy. The sole hope of replenishing the flocks and herds



EXHIBITION BUILDING, BRISBANE, NOW USED AS MUSEUM AND CONCERT HALL.

was to be found in breeding. Alone on Nature the pastoralists were compelled to rely; she did not fail them, but her methods were slow to those who had lost millions of pounds.

Later with the rains beneficially falling the country literally renewed itself and paddocks as though by magic were clothed in green garments. Yet farming had suffered and had not recovered. This, however, applied to sugar production rather than to grain crops, sugar-cane could not so easily recover from the effects of the drought, being longer in the ground than cereals, and thus more immediately under the dry conditions of the preceding year. Not only did drought injure the cane in the Southern and Central districts, but frost also played havoc with the hopes of the sugar-growers, with the result that the production was some 30,000 tons below that of the previous season, and this despite the fact that in the North there had been increased production to the extent of several thousands of tons. The tonnage yield of sugar per acre fell from 1.55 to 1.28, or more than 5 cwt., while the exportation from Queensland fell from 109,046 tons in the previous year to 63,843 tons.

Notwithstanding the drought dairying continued to thrive by aid of the Meat and Dairy Encouragement Act, and the excellence of the methods adopted was shown by the fact that the exports of butter did not fall. The figures during the triennial period were:—1899, value of exportation, £49,429; 1900, £51,662; 1901, £51,729. The important adjunct in connection with dairying, pig-breeding, prospered during the period under review, the relation of dairying to pork production not escaping the keen eyes of our farmers. Bacon factories had been established in many districts with the result that in all the pork product cured represented 7,685,446 lb. in 1900, an increase of 537,686 lb. compared with the preceding year.

Circumstances, as the seasons had given them, precluded an extension of land settlement, and indeed we find that in the year under review the acreage of selections in lease up to 1914 totalled 2,402,251, representing a decrease of 1,133,183 compared with the previous year, while the arrears exclusive under the Lands Purchase Act amounted to no less than £53,000.

Closely linked with the advancement of agriculture, was a step taken by the Government at this time, in the institution of the Agricultural Bank, which was provided with a capital of £250,000, devoted to assisting settlers by means of money advances on the security of their holdings, and at a rate of interest more favourable than could be obtained elsewhere. Largely availed of, the Agricultural Bank has become one of the most important factors in promoting the expansion of farming. It is now one of the sub-departments, administered by the Commissioner in charge of the State Savings Bank.

Among those whose place was vacant when 1901 had run its course was one whose memory it is the duty of every Queenslander to honour, and who, indeed, was gradually writing his name across the history of federated Australia when he was called to higher service. For August 8 brought the demise of the Hon. William Henry Groom, affectionately termed the "Father of the House" by a circle of admirers, far extending beyond the limits of his electorate or his party, those of Liberal views. Mr. Groom represented the constituency of Drayton and Too-womba for no less than thirty-nine years. He was a firm and potent friend of his constituents, and nothing during his long parliamentary career, that could advance either town or district and was in his power to accomplish, was left undone. A gifted orator and a graceful and convincing writer, Mr. Groom added the rôle of journalist and leader writer to his wonderfully able career in Parliament. As Speaker of the House he fulfilled the duties in a manner so capable as to justify the use of the word ideal in regard to the performance of his work. Exchanging the State sphere for that of Commonwealth politics, he passed honoured and regretted at the age of 68 years.

The first month of the year saw the passing of another notable figure in the public and mercantile life of Queensland, for on January 10, 1901, there died one who is linked with the coming of Federation and who also directed the destiny of his adopted country to wise purpose, while in a business capacity and enterprise he was no less in the forefront. Sir James Robert Dickson, Federal Minister for Defence, and who had been Chief Secretary for Queensland, died at the same age, sixty-eight, as his one-time colleague Mr. Groom. Born in Devonshire, Sir James Robert Dickson arrived in Australia in 1854 at the age of twenty-two. Engaged in banking and commercial pursuits in Victoria, Mr. Dickson, as he then was, came to Queensland in 1862 and built up a successful and influential business as an auctioneer in Brisbane. He was launched on his political career by the electors of Enoggera, who returned him as their Parliamentary representative in 1873. Later he represented the Bulimba seat, and was indeed in the service of the people until almost the time of his death. The value placed upon his work, and the capacity he evinced in doing it, was testified by the fact that he was the trusted member of several Ministries, and in 1898 became Leader of the Government, a position to which he was not unaccustomed, for in 1887 he fulfilled the duties of Acting-Premier during the absence of Sir Samuel Griffith in England. We have seen how Sir James Robert Dickson represented Queensland in London during the negotiations preliminary to Federation, and the same business capacity which he displayed in Australia doubtless largely contributed to the accomplishment of Commonwealth relations.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

## THE LEAN YEARS OF DROUGHT.

The year 1902, during nearly its whole course, witnessed conditions of drought unexampled in the history of Queensland. Here and there, thrice-fortunate districts experienced showers, but for the most part the pressure of hard times was not only general, but terribly severe. For long, in some cases five years and even six, there had not been sufficient rainfall, and when the new year came it brought intense heat, which aggravated the disastrous season. In the West the country could only be described as a desert, and things became so adverse that there was a fear that coach traffic might be forced to cease. Fortunately, public spirit on the part of the well-known proprietary, Cobb & Co., averted that calamity. During the year, as may be imagined, the question of unemployment raised its head, and it is not pleasant reading to learn that heads of families, representing 2,800 persons, were unable to obtain work. Special efforts on the part of the Railway Department and that of Mines, the latter affording facilities for a number of men in prospecting for gold, relieved the pressure; but the outlook was dark indeed. Comparison with circumstances as they were ten years previously, shows that there was a decrease in the number of sheep in the State to the extent of some 12,000,000, for while the tally in 1892 had been 20,000,000 it had shrunk to less than 8,000,000 in 1902.

As it was with the country's wealth in flocks so was it in regard to herds, for the number of cattle in the State decreased during the same period from 6,591,416 to 3,772,707, or not far from a decrease of almost one-half. Despite the fact that the export of frozen meat accounted for a very large number in the foregoing returns, there remains the fact that the sheep and cattle in the State had been reduced in numbers to the extent stated, and the drought still remained a calamity, no matter though the stock, whence were drawn the natural increases of flocks and herds were killed and

dispatched in frozen shiploads to England, and did not perish through the drought.

On looking back and realizing the great losses those on the land sustained, one is moved to wonder at the healthy vitality both the pastoral and agricultural industries displayed, for although the land taken up was less than in 1899-1900 it was considerably greater in area than in the preceding year 1900-1. In all 59,000 acres were sold for a total sum of £54,266, as compared with 50,635 acres in 1900-1, when the selling price was £47,202. The aggregate area alienated since Separation up to the time of which we write was 16,600,000

acres, of which 13,600,000 acres had been selected, while 3,000,000 acres had been disposed of at auction. The wisdom of the step taken by the Government, in purchasing for division into farms the large pastoral estates alienated in the early days, was proved by the success which attended the system. In all, blocks of land totalling 283,336 acres were purchased at a cost of £699,816, and all save a portion of the land most recently purchased was taken up. The arrears of rent did not bulk largely, being only £4,403. Again, as during previous years when drought was experienced in the West, the farmers in the coastal districts made good their losses through the diminution of the crops by the eager demand for all varieties of fodder and the



HIS HONOR. MR. JUSTICE LUTWYCHE.

high prices paid for it by the pastoralists. The pressure of the climax of the "lean years" was intense, and represented a testing of the State's inherent strength and stability most severely. Astonishing is it, therefore, to read that in the very face of disaster the national life grew and strengthened, as was evidenced by many phases of the industries linked with land occupation.

There was, however, one exception, that of sugar growing, which entered upon a new phase of existence through the constitution of Federal relations. Cane-growing suffered greatly through the drought, but it

suffered still more through the centre of power being shifted. The control was no longer in Queensland, for the two largely populated States in the south, New South Wales and Victoria, through their representatives in the Federal Parliament, were masters of the situation, and could dictate, and did dictate, as to what should be done in regard to an industry, concerning which both southern electors and southern members of Parliament were profoundly ignorant. There were many interested in the sugar industry who were asking if Queensland had sold her birthright for a mess of political pottage.

In wider relations than those of the States in Federation, two notable events call for special if brief mention. The Coronation of Edward VII., appointed to be held on June 25, was postponed by reason of the serious illness of His Majesty, from which there was fortunately good recovery. The ceremonials in London, of Empire-wide interest, did not take place until nearly two months later, on August 9, and thus the Prime Minister (Sir Edmund Barton) and Sir John Forrest, who represented the Commonwealth on the occasion, accompanied by an Australian contingent of troops, were absent from the Commonwealth longer than they had anticipated. Mr. Deakin performed the duties of Prime Minister. Queensland was represented at the Coronation by the Agent-General (Sir Horace Tozer) the Premier (Mr. Philp) deciding not to leave the State. In Australia, as throughout the Empire, the celebrations were most heartfelt and earnest, for no more popular monarch ever reigned than Edward VII., whose sagacity and wisdom were given the Empire and civilization for all too short a time. Prior to the Coronation, in June, yet another world important event took place, for that month saw peace in South Africa declared, and the beginning of that which was to be the South African Union.

All had welcomed the appointment of Lord Hopetoun as the first Governor-General. His love of sport, his *bonhomie* and capacity for dealing with affairs and administration made his resignation of office widely regretted. It was not denied that Lord Hopetoun had spent £49,000 of his private fortune, nor was it denied that to maintain the dignity of his position, and dispense the hospitality expected, he would perforce be compelled to spend £15,000 per annum of his own income. There was not only a Government House in Melbourne, but also one in Sydney to maintain, the expenses of the two establishments being £19,000 per annum. The Governor-General placed the allowance per annum necessary in addition to his salary of £10,000, at £8,000, but the House of Representatives declined to validate that calculation, although it made a grant of £10,000 for expenses in connection with the Royal visit. Under the circumstances, and despite all explanations by the Acting Prime Minister, the Earl of Hopetoun resigned.

In Queensland, domestic politics were of interest, for a general election, due to Parliament expiring by effluxion of time, took place in March. The Liberal Party sought coherence and strength in the establishment of the National Liberal Union. Either the popularity of the Liberal Party was very great or its power of organization very excellent indeed, for the Ministerialists secured 59,785 votes, being more than 11,000 in excess of the majority of the Government three years previously. It is perchance significant, that during the triennial period Labour had increased its voting strength from 36,408 to 43,199, while the unimportance of other shades of political belief, in the eyes of the electors, was shown in the fact that "all others" save Labour and Liberal only numbered 7,835. The membership in the House as a result of the appeal to the people stood thus:—Ministerial, 42; Labour, 23; Independent Opposition, 7.

In the new Parliament, Mr. A. Morgan was elected Speaker, while, owing to the illness and consequent absence of Mr. W. H. Browne, Mr. Kidston was chosen Leader of the Labour Opposition. The latter gentleman had sat in Parliament as representative of Rockhampton since 1893, and had been a member of Mr. Dawson's short-lived Ministry, where he occupied the position of Treasurer and Postmaster-General. Mr. Kidston was destined to influence Queensland's Parliamentary affairs very strongly, and to be influenced by them to no less an extent, for the modification of his views as to Labour, was an excellent illustration of the manner in which political opinions and principles may be affected by experience in the House and in Office.

No less than four motions of want of confidence were brought against the Government in the new Parliament, and the fact that one of them proceeded from a Ministerial supporter (Mr. W. D. Armstrong), Member for Lockyer, is significant. Mr. Armstrong opposed the increased railway rates as tending to press heavily upon industries which had already suffered severely from the drought. The amendment did not find favour with the House, for it was negatived on the voices. The retrenchment proposals of the Government caused interest of the most personal nature in the Public Service, and despite the action of the Governor (Sir Herbert C. Chermiside) and the Auditor-General (Mr. T. M. King) in renouncing a portion of their salaries, their example was not popular, that is, it was not followed, and a Bill introduced to reduce the emoluments of the Chief Justice, the puisne Judges, the Judges of the District Court, and the members of the Land Court, failed of its purpose, being very strongly opposed by members of the legal profession in Parliament. Through dismissals and retirements in the Public Service, the sum of £68,851 was saved, and economy was further studied in the Special Retrenchment Act, which aroused strong antagonism in its passage

through the House. Salaries were reduced on the following scale:—Over £450 per annum, 15 per cent., but not to go below £405; between £300 and £450, 12½ per cent., but not to go below £270; between £150 and £300, 10 per cent., but not to go below £139 10s.; between £100 and £150, 7½ per cent. It is of interest to note that the salaries of the Governor and the Auditor-General, who voluntarily relinquished a portion of their incomes, were exempted from the operation of the Act, as were also the following officials:—Judges of the Supreme Court and District Courts, members of the Land Court, and any officer whose salary had been reduced since July 1, 1902. Persons in receipt of pensions, superannuation or retiring allowances were also placed outside the scope of the measure, which it was provided should continue in force until October, 1904.

It is important to note that during the passage of the Bill through the Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. S. Cowley, Member for Herbert, was successful in securing the inclusion of a provision whereby Ministers, Officers and Members of Parliament should be subject to a reduction, similar to that applied to public servants. Another method of making good the loss of revenue facing the Government from almost all sides, was the imposition of an income tax; a Bill providing for that source of public income being introduced, but not without antagonism, as was proved by two motions of want of confidence, one by the Leader of the Opposition and the other by Mr. A. S. Cowley.

The second reading of the Bill was only carried in the Legislative Council by one vote, the numbers being 17 to 16. Despite the belief that other methods of taxation, involving less cost in collection, together with the sale of Crown lands, were preferable to an income tax, the measure became law, and the excellence of the system in revenue-production is exemplified by the fact that one Administration after another has adopted the principle. As a further means of overcoming the financial difficulties, Treasury bills carrying interest at 4 per cent. and with a currency of ten years were issued to the extent of £600,000, it being arranged that the bills should be met at maturity by moneys derived from special sales of land.

It may be mentioned, *en passant*, that the Treasurer in the course of his Budget speech of the year gave great umbrage in more than one quarter, by his statement that in the railways the State "had a valuable asset, which could, if found desirable, be disposed of at capital cost, thus relieving ourselves of an annual drain of about £500,000." And the harassed Minister, looking in every direction for an outlet from the financial stress, added, it must be confessed, hopefully, "Without committing myself to a recommendation of such a step, I mention it as a further means by which it would be possible to avoid burdensome taxation." During the year the loss on railways amounted to £600,000. Those interested in local government affairs, should remember the legislative enactments of 1902, for in that year the Local Authorities Bill passed through Parliament and the old time Divisions, with their Controlling Local Authorities, termed Boards, passed away, being superseded by Shires and Shire Councils. In all its provisions, both for Councils in the towns and in the country, the law of 1902 was acknowledged to be a measure of great practical utility, although it cannot be denied that as far as the rural governing bodies were concerned, the foundation of the major part of that which was useful, was to be found in the Divisional Board system, introduced by Sir Thomas McIlwraith in the early eighties. Both measures, each after its kind, marked an enormous stride forward in self-government by the people and

for themselves.

Despite the hardships and disabilities occasioned by seasons of unprecedented drought, agriculture held its own, the return of wheat in 1901 being 1,692,222 bushels, from a total area of 87,233 acres, or an average of 19.40 bushels per acre, a return the highest of any State in Australia. The production of butter, a very important asset of the State, rose from 20 tons to 931 tons. In 1902 the ghoul of drought had its finger on both wheat and maize, while in the case of butter it was necessary to import supplies. As it was with cotton so was it with tobacco, there was practical proof that the crop was excellently well adapted,



HIS HONOR, CHIEF JUSTICE, SIR JAMES COCKLE.

not only to the sub-tropical districts of the State but also the tropical North. Good cigar tobacco was grown in the Cairns District and found appreciation, while, for pipe tobacco, Texas on the border of New South Wales was proving itself admirably well adapted. The price of the leaf grown at the experimental farm, and sold at auction during the year, was the highest yet received, being 11d. per lb. An incentive to men on the land to enter on tobacco-growing was given during the year, for a large firm of tobacco manufacturers offered to purchase tobacco leaf in its green state, undertaking the curing of it subsequently.

An event, notable not only in relation to the progress and advancement of Australia but also of significance in the linking of the Commonwealth with the heart of the Empire and the commercial world as a whole, was the completion in the last months of the year of the Pacific cable. It was with just pride that the electric tie between Britain and her Dominions was known to traverse an all-red route in its sweep through the ocean from Southport, on the southern coast of Queensland, to Vancouver in British Columbia, through the station at Norfolk Island, whence a line branched to New Zealand, and whither, on its westward journey, it was borne to Fiji, Fanning Island, and along the final stretch of the sea-floor to that part of the Pacific Slope over which flies the Union Jack. Wholly an Imperial undertaking, the cost was to be borne in combination with the Imperial Government, and those of the Commonwealth, Canada, and New Zealand. In all the length of the trans-Pacific Cable was 7,891 miles, while the cost of it was £1,886,000. All shortage in the annual receipts, measured by the amount of the annual instalments covenanted by the associated Governments was to be made good by joint contributions.

Sugar and the apportionment of protective duty promised on the banishment of the Polynesians exercised the attention of Federal legislators, exciting keenest interest. The rebate it was contended, would in operation prove most unjust, incurring a loss of £60,000 in the case of New South Wales and half that amount in regard to Queensland. As a result of considerable agitation, the Commonwealth Government changed its system of working and substituted a bonus of £2 per ton on sugar grown by white labour for the rebate. Intent on the payment of the uttermost farthing by the unfortunate sugar-growers, Senator Glassey secured retrospective action in regard to qualifications for the bonus, as he succeeded in securing the inclusion in the Bill of an amendment providing that no one who had employed coloured labour could be eligible for the bonus. The point was subsequently seized that the Senate acted *ultra vires* in accepting the amendment, because the latter had relation to taxation. The desired end was attained by converting the resolution into a suggestion, which the

House of Representatives accepted. In Queensland there was at that time strong feeling over the protective duty in regard to sugar and the position occupied respectively by Queensland and the Commonwealth. In 1903 the estimated consumption of sugar in Australia was 170,000 tons, of which amount the north-eastern State produced 80,000 tons, the excise duty (£3 per ton) totalling £240,000. The rebate on sugar grown by white labour, amounting to £2 per ton and claimed for 12,000 tons, represented £24,000, leaving a sum of £216,000 for the Commonwealth Treasury.

Two Bills of great moment became law during the year 1903, the Judiciary and High Court Procedure Acts, the latter including the greater part of the Criminal Code and Practice of Queensland which the State owed to Sir Samuel Griffith. Later in the year, Sir Samuel Griffith, then Chief Justice of Queensland, became Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, Sir Edmund Barton, and Mr. R. C. O'Connor being appointed puisne judges. The High Court was opened at Melbourne, with ceremonials proper to the occasion, on October 5. Subsequently, sittings of the Court were held at Sydney and Brisbane.

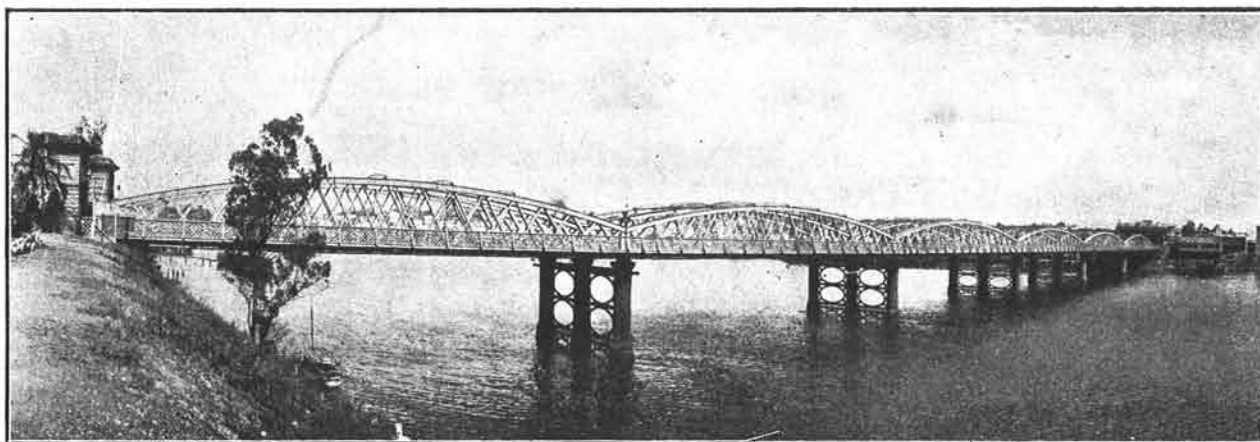
Among the measures dealt with by the Federal Parliament during the year was the Defence Bill, which provided for a permanent force of 1,200, the remainder being citizen-soldiers, with compulsory universal service in defence of Australia. A clause of the Act, on which so much was to depend in days nearer our own, was the provision that citizen soldiers were not to be sent outside the Commonwealth. Akin to the Defence Bill was the Naval Agreement Bill, an arrangement with the Imperial Admiralty, which has stood the severe strain of the Great War, and proved on the whole the best relations which could be instituted between the Commonwealth and the Imperial Government in regard to naval defence. A local fleet was to take form, the Australian Government paying the Admiralty an annual subsidy of £200,000, the agreement being for ten years.

Yet another legislative measure introduced, but withdrawn during the year and destined to strongly affect the political life in the Federal sphere, was the Arbitration and Conciliation Bill, affirming a system, which it had been often contended only required to be introduced in order to forthwith put an end to all industrial disputes and dislocations. The measure provided for a Court, comprising three judges, one of whom (the President) should be a Justice of the High Court. The law specified that the awards should be binding on all those concerned, that there should be preference to organizations and members of organizations, and that there should be power to appoint a tribunal to decide finally in what cases there might be employment, given or received, in the case of persons not members of an organization. The second reading of the Bill was carried, but it was wrecked in Committee. Antagonism was

expressed to the application of the measure to vessels in the oversea trade, while the refusal of the Ministry to include seamen as a whole in the operations of the proposed law, thus affecting coastal shipping, caused the resignation by Mr. Kingston of the portfolio of Trade and Customs. A vote in the strength of the Labour Party to include railway employés in the provisions of the Bill, was so obnoxious to the Government that the prospective law was dropped. Meanwhile Sir William Lyne succeeded Mr. Kingston in the office of Trade and Customs, Sir John Forrest taking Sir William Lyne's place at the Home Department. Mr. Drake took charge of Defence affairs, the office Sir John Forrest had held, while Sir P. O. Fysh became Postmaster-General. During the year the Federal elections took place, and, as a result of the voting as a whole, the hands of Labour were strengthened. The outcome in regard to Queensland was most

of governing the country; his followers included several supporters of the late administration and Independent Opposition, and also all the Labour Party. With the Premier, Mr. Morgan, who was also Minister for Railways, there were the following gentlemen who comprised the Ministry:—Mr. W. Kidston, Treasurer; Mr. D. F. Denham, Home Secretary and Minister for Agriculture; Mr. J. T. Bell, Minister for Lands; Mr. J. W. Blair, Attorney-General; Mr. W. H. Browne, Minister for Mines and Public Works; Mr. A. H. Barlow, Minister for Public Instruction; and Mr. T. O'Sullivan, Minister without portfolio. The two last-named members of the Cabinet had seats in the Upper House. Deficits, present and past, were met by the issue of Treasury bills, the price realized being considered satisfactory.

Favourable seasons spoke hopefully of the future, and a promising sign in regard to prosperity was found in the demand for land for settlement. Land which was



VICTORIA BRIDGE, BRISBANE.

marked, for the candidates endorsed by the Labour Party (Messrs. Turley, Stewart, and Givens) were placed at the head of the poll, while in regard to the House of Representatives Labour secured every seat with the exception of Oxley, where Mr. Edwards, an Opposition candidate, found favour.

In this State the Government was faring ill, the popularity of the Party weakening under the pressure of taxation duties, as it had also by the postponement of a Supply Bill, by which the salaries of public servants were affected, Government and Opposition bickering as to the responsibility for the delay, each blaming the other. Grievances were aired, and the Ministry found opposition among their one-time supporters. The climax came in September, when a division on the taxation proposals showed that Mr. Philp's Ministry had only a majority of two. The Premier's resignation followed, and Mr. Browne, Leader of the Labour Opposition, expressing his inability to form a Cabinet, Mr. Morgan, whose resignation as Speaker was announced, undertook the business

resumed was thrown open for selection, both for dairying and for arable farming generally. Agricultural land was sought in the Darling Downs, together with Wide Bay and Burnett, and excellent results continued from the purchase of land for selection, further estates on the Downs being offered to the Government. The question of light agricultural railway lines in farming districts was coming into prominence, favourable attention being directed to this important subject by the success of a tramway or light railway, 24 miles in length, which was built by Local Government enterprise in the Beaudesert District. In order to have data at its command, the Executive empowered Mr. G. Phillips, C.E., to report on the subject, which had close relation to another very important question, *viz.*, the increased value of Crown Lands through railway facilities in regard to farming operations.

The Opposition may not have been over strong numerically in 1904, although the weight of office was pressing hard upon an Administration that had some

of the elements of weakness, yet Mr. Philp and his supporters proved themselves very capable of criticism and were not sparing in the exercise of their powers. No sooner had Parliament assembled in May than trouble began for the Government, and the debate on the Address-in-Reply was, as far as the supporters of the Opposition were concerned, an indictment or rather an impeachment of the Government. A subject always available for vituperation is the appointment of Legislative Councillors, and so it came that the sending of seven gentlemen to the Upper House, five of them being supporters of the Government, while the remaining two were firmly imbued with Labour principles, gave great umbrage.

Another question that exercised the attention and roused the feelings of Parliamentarians, and indeed of a large section of the public, arose in the appointment of a commercial agent of the State in the East. Queensland decided not to wait on the Commonwealth Government in regard to this important subject, and thus it came that a representative to work on behalf of the State in the direction indicated was chosen, Mr. Frederick Jones being appointed for a term of six months at a salary of £250. Despite fierce party antagonism the Ministry stuck to its guns, and Mr. Jones proceeded on his mission to the Straits Settlements and China and Japan.

No sooner had the furore of criticism died away in the cases referred to, than the action of the Government in the appointment of a Commission or Board to enquire into the Public Service in all its economic relations, with a view to retrenchment, aroused much venom. The members chosen to report on the subject were Messrs. Troupe and Saunders of New South Wales and Mr. H. D. Brennan of the Audit Department, and it was particularly against the last-named gentleman that the criticism was levelled; the main ground of the complaint being probably due to the fact that a junior officer of the Audit Department was placed in a position whence he could pass judgment on those officials who were senior to him in the Service.

The sugar industry was interested in yet another criticism of the Ministry, that of its action in ratifying a further engagement for three years with Dr. Maxwell, who had been engaged in America as Director of Sugar-experiment Stations, and who had rendered valuable service to cane-growers and sugar-producers during the term of engagement, which had drawn to an end. Indeed the very fact that the Ministry contemplated the re-engagement of the sugar expert was good proof that he had done excellent work. Under the arrangement of the first engagement the sugar-growers had agreed to defray the half of Dr. Maxwell's salary, which was £3,000 per annum in all, for a period of five years; and here again we have excellent evidence that the work to

be done was realized to be of the very highest importance. Under the terms of the re-engagement, however, the whole of Dr. Maxwell's salary was to be paid by the State, while he was to add to his duties in connection with sugar-experiment stations, those of Comptroller of Central Mills. This step on the part of the Government gave great umbrage to those whose representatives were, in the initiative, the chief factor in the appointment of Dr. Maxwell, for it was asserted that the added duties imposed on that gentleman would militate largely against the efficiency of his work in the field, for which he was primarily selected. It was further urged with cogency, it must be confessed, that capability to administer affairs at experiment stations did not carry with it the capacity for the management of central mills, and it was also pointed out that men thoroughly versed in that phase of sugar production and with practical experience far greater than that of Dr. Maxwell were to be found in the State. The whole of the sugar industry—all engaged in it—took part in the controversy, and certainly the action of the Government in expanding Dr. Maxwell's duties, while prepared to find all the money for the large salary of the expert, was significant.

There was further grumbling because the Ministry declined to accept the offer of a private company to build a railway to Georgetown, if a subsidy of £7,500 per annum were given. To the unbiased spectator of the drama of politics it does seem to savour of super-suspicion to refuse to utilize capital just because it is capital, as long as there was due provision for subsequent acquirement by the State through purchase of the railway built. Yet another allegation, which to the wider vision of these days has far less justification than any one of the other charges, is found in the complaint made that money had been squandered in giving work to the unemployed in clearing land infested with prickly pear.

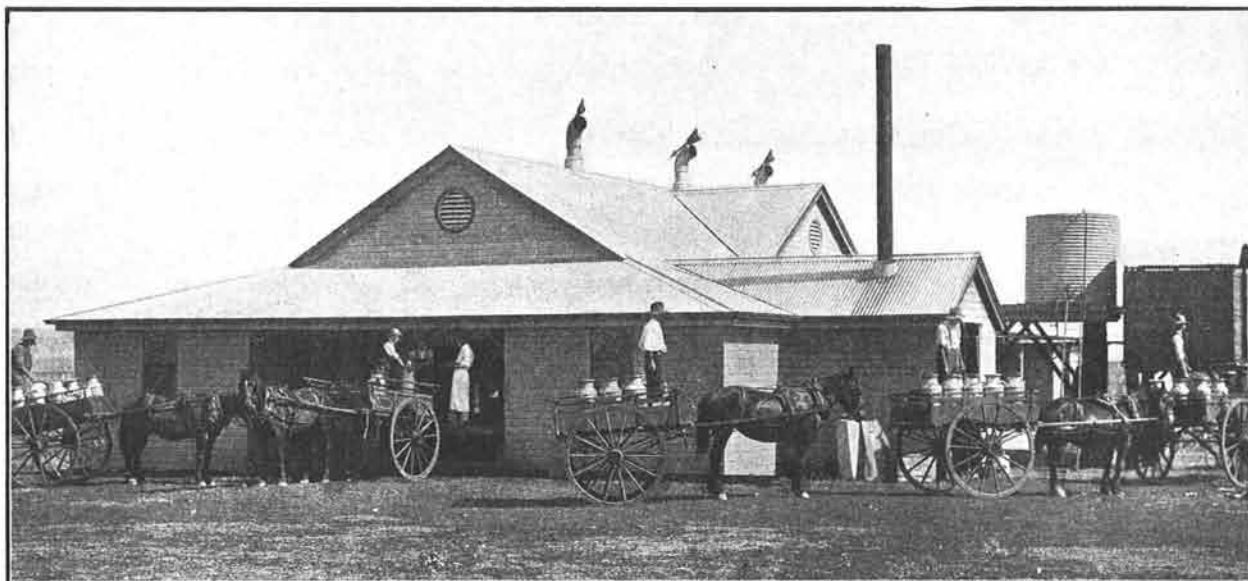
At the end of ten days the debate found its termination in the inevitable amendment, moved by Mr. J. C. Cribb, affirming a want of confidence; and this ushered in a further debate which was prolonged for seven days, the *finale* being a division in which the Ministry found itself with a majority of one. Mr. Morgan's resignation followed, he advising the Governor to dissolve Parliament. This course was not then taken, but after Mr. Philp (the retiring Leader of the Opposition) and Sir Arthur Rutledge (who succeeded him in the leadership of the Party) had been sent for, and the latter having failed in the forming of a Ministry, Mr. Morgan was again sent for and his advice concerning a dissolution was adopted.

Then followed the announcement that the general election would take place on August 27. The results gave Labour thirty-four representatives, while the Ministerial members or Morganites, as they were termed,

totalled twenty-one. The Opposition members numbered seventeen. A combined Morgan-Labour administration followed, the membership of the Ministry being capable of definition as an adaptation to circumstance.

It chanced that the Government was not able to fulfil its pledge concerning the non-imposition of a Special Retrenchment Bill. Circumstances were against them in a shortage to the extent of £70,000 in the revenue received from the Commonwealth, the uncertainty of which gave great dissatisfaction, and assuredly there seems to have been excellent reason for the condemnation by the State Treasurer of the system, whereby three-fourths of the Commonwealth Customs duty was returned, while there was no effort to return to a particular State any part of its own Customs revenue. As

charged on the remainder, while on incomes exceeding £300 and not exceeding £500 sixpence in the pound was payable. In other incomes, such as those up to £1,000, sixpence in the pound was payable on the first £500 and sevenpence on the remainder, and this system was pursued in larger incomes, the amount per pound increasing in a given sum in each case. There was, during the year, an amendment of the Agricultural Bank Act, by which the scope of the measure was enlarged so as to include advances on the following grounds:—Payment of liabilities already existing on the holding: agricultural, dairying, grazing, horticultural or viticultural undertakings; adding to improvements already made; and lastly the purchase of stock, machinery, or implements. In the last-named cases and in regard to repayment of prior



CHEESE FACTORY, DARLING DOWNS.

things had eventuated, recourse to retrenchment was unavoidable. The measure imposing the system was, however, less drastic than the previous proposals, for it provided for only one-half the reductions of the previous Bill, and that the officers affected should be repaid the amount of reduction, or a pro-rata apportionment, if the source from which repayments were to be drawn—the excess of revenue over expenditure—was insufficient for complete and full repayment. Under the circumstances the sardonic critics had no reason to jeer at broken political pledges. In regard to the income tax, the amending Bill exempted, as was promised, incomes under and up to £100, while the tax up to £125 was fixed at ten shillings, and that up to £150 was placed at £1. On the income of all land owned by absentee companies, a tax of one shilling in the pound was imposed. In the taxation of incomes up to £300, the tax was not payable on £100 of the amount, and sixpence in the pound was

liabilities, the advances were to be limited to ten shillings in the pound of the estimated value of the holding, with the improvements made or proposed to be made. When the advances were desired for other purposes the loan might be twelve shillings in the pound. Repayment under the first scale was to be made in twenty-five years, in half-yearly instalments of £3 11s. per cent. In a further amendment of the Act in the succeeding session it is noteworthy to find a provision stating that "No advance under the Principal Act, or this Act, shall be made to any alien." Among the legislative measures of the year was the Queensland National Bank, Limited (Agreement) Act, by which it was provided that the balance then due to the Government, £1,463,660 16s., should be liquidated in sixteen promissory notes, each for £86,097 13s. 1d., with one promissory note for £86,097 14s. 8d. All notes were to bear interest at the rate of £2 12s. 6d. per cent., and were to be payable on June 30

in each year. The measure further provided that until the half of the sum owing, with interest, had been paid, there should be no dividends paid by the Bank, while thereafter, until all the amount due to the Government had been paid, the dividends should not exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the event of any default, power under the Act was given to the Treasurer to terminate the agreement. In dealing with the legislative measures of the session it may be of interest to note that the Supreme Court gave judgment against the Income Tax Commissioner in his reading of the Act under which he worked, for the judicial finding was that no income tax was payable from the annual increase of stock, as the latter could not be treated as income until turned into money.

It must be confessed that the Treasurer had reason for considering that the outlook was cheerful, for not only was the deficit reduced to £12,000 under actual expenditure, but the producing power of the State promised to be enlarged desirably. In regard to stock there was, it is true, not so great an increase in the number of cattle as in sheep, where the percentage was 29·21, but yet the number of cattle rose from 2,481,717 in 1903 to 2,722,341 in 1904. In all the increase of sheep totalled 1,178,000. In another factor of prosperity, mining, there was much to give pleasure to the well-wishers of Queensland, for the mineral production for the year was valued at £3,704,241, being the largest then attained.

During the year 1905 good seasons were experienced, with the result that the pastoral and agricultural industries alike were favoured with prosperous times. Settlement, the great factor in advancement, was stimulated, and it may be added wisely encouraged, as we have seen, by legislation.

Although not so much was heard of Queensland wines as of those in the South, yet in some of the districts, as in Moreton and Toowoomba, viticulture was carried on very successfully, no less than 3,017,743 lb. of grapes in all were produced, and of the crop a portion was devoted to wine making, 66,926 gallons of wine being made, and, we add, bore very favourable comparison with the wine of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. Other phases of fruit-growing expanded under the influence of Federation, but then, as up to our own times, there were influences at work which did not make for justice to the banana growers of the northern rivers of New South Wales and Queensland, for even to the meanest understanding it was obvious that to take advantage of the cheaper rate at which bananas grown by coloured labour in Fiji could be sold in Australia, as against the fruit grown by white labour within the Commonwealth, was hardly in consonance with the views enunciated by those marching under the banner of a White Australia. In 1905 there were grown in Queensland in all 2,509,268 bunches of bananas, while

the returns showed that 506,886 doz. of pineapples were raised and 2,335,947 doz. of oranges.

During the course of the year there was a good deal of excitement in legal and political circles at the rumour that on the score of expense the High Court should no longer be held in Brisbane. The members of the Queensland Bar held a meeting in the month of March at which a vigorous protest against the proposed change was agreed to. The Federal authorities, however, seemed to have seen the error of their ways, for the grievance was obviated and the question settled in June, with the result that succeeding sittings of the High Court took place in Brisbane.

As a community the citizens of the capital could point to 1905 as a year in which great progress was attained in more than one phase of national life, for there was promise of substantial commercial results attending the completion of contracts between the Queensland Meat Export Company and the United States Government for the supply of meat to the troops at the Philippines, and the month of July brought the opening of the Lady Lamington Hospital, the naming of which perpetuated the memory of earnest and practical work done by a lady who made many friends in Queensland. Later in the following month the Presbyterian denomination added to the many places of worship in Brisbane by a church of imposing architecture, St. Andrew's, which was opened on August 27.

Yet another incident very noteworthy took place a few weeks later, when a donation of land valued at £25,000 was made in favour of the Young Men's Christian Association, and as a result a building was erected in Upper Edward Street of which not only the members but all the citizens should be very proud, and which in regard to the benefits conferred on those whom the donor desired to serve should amply have satisfied a mind as intent on doing good as it was most generous.

The year 1905 brought with it many events, sad as well as bright, and among them a change in the *personnel* of vice-regal representation. Early in the year Governor Chermiside resigned his duties and Lord Chelmsford, appointed to succeed him, arrived in the State on November 29, being accorded a very hearty reception by the citizens of Brisbane, promise and prophecy of those extremely cordial relations which were destined to exist between the Governor and the people of Queensland.

With the passing of the year there also passed two men, both of whom had made their career a part of the larger life of the State. On May 6 there died in England the man who first held the office of Premier in Queensland. To many, perhaps, it was even in those days difficult to realize that Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, Permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, and whose career was as brilliant as it was useful to the Empire, had shared in the hopes and fought down the



fears inseparable from the beginnings of autonomy in North-eastern Australia. Yet the capable adviser of the Secretary of State, in whose hands lay so much power to make or mar vast stretches of colonial empire, had been familiar with Brisbane in what may truthfully be termed her village days. Sir Robert Herbert's distinguished career came to a close at the age of seventy-four. In 1905 there also died one whose life and successes stamped him as a most capable man of affairs. Mr. Boyd Morehead was Australian bred and Australian educated. He was one of the many who associated their first acquaintance in the sphere of letters with the

appointment he held as inspector of stations for the Scottish Australian Investment Company. Thereafter, in 1871, another side of life was added to those in which he had emerged above his fellows, for he was elected member for Mitchell, being subsequently returned for the Balonne seat. Meanwhile, in 1873, he established the important and widely-ramifying mercantile business which perpetuates his memory through its name of Moreheads Limited. Associated with Sir Thomas McIlwraith in political work and ambitions, Mr. Morehead was brilliant in debate and became known as the Rupert of the Parliamentary forces. The Premiership



EDWARD STREET, BRISBANE, SHOWING Y.M.C.A.

Sydney Grammar School, the curriculum of which was followed by study at the Sydney University. Banking life and its experiences were united with a no less practical knowledge of pastoral affairs, as was shown by the

came in 1888, and eight years later Mr. Morehead was called to the Upper House. His death removed a man to whom Queensland owes much, and whose memory she honours.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE PASSING OF OLD-TIME POLITICS.

The natal day of 1906 brought death to one who had been a notable figure in Queensland politics, for Sir Hugh Muir Nelson, who had been in ill-health for some time, died as the new year was born, and thus there was removed one who played a great part in the public life of Queensland. The son of the Rev. W. L. Nelson, D.D., who himself did much to advance the interests of Australia in general as well as Queensland, Sir Hugh was born in Edinburgh in 1835, and there educated at the High

School and University. Coming to Queensland in the fifties he engaged in pastoral pursuits on the Downs, beginning his Parliamentary career by the representation in 1883 of the Northern Downs, which constituency he changed for that of Murilla. The portfolio of Railways came to him only a few years after he entered the House, and in 1891 he was chosen Leader of the Opposition. The Premiership of the Colony was achieved in 1893. In 1896 he received the honour of knighthood, and two years later Sir Hugh resigned his Ministerial

offices to accept the Presidency of the Legislative Council. Subsequently he became a Privy Councillor. As Lieutenant-Governor it fell to Sir Hugh Nelson to perform the duties of representative to the Crown, and there, as in all other phases of his duties the work he did was exceptionally good. Gifted with a far-reaching intellect, with great capacity for business, as was proved by his record as Treasurer, Sir Hugh Nelson was perchance especially fortunate in that he possessed that saving faculty of humour which is as salt to other mental qualities. Kindly and warm hearted, he was a man of high ideals and strove to live up to them. Queensland was poorer through his passing though enriched by his work.

Beyond the direct loss which the death of Sir Hugh Nelson inferred his demise brought about immediate and great changes in the Ministry. Mr. Morgan vacated the Premiership and became President of the Legislative Council, while to Mr. William Kidston came the office of Premier, the Department of the Treasury being retained and added to the duties of the Leader of the House. In its reconstructed form with its new Leader the Government became as follows:—Vice-President of the Executive Council, Chief Secretary, and Treasurer, Mr. William Kidston; Attorney-General and Secretary for Mines, Mr. J. W. Blair; Secretary for Public Lands, Mr. J. T. Bell; Secretary for Public Works, Mr. Thos. O'Sullivan; Home Secretary; Mr. Peter Airey; Secretary for Agriculture and Railways, Mr. D. F. Denham; Secretary for Public Instruction (with seat in the Upper House), Mr. A. H. Barlow. Death and resignations had reduced the number of Legislative councillors, and as a result the following five gentlemen were appointed:—Mr. W. H. Campbell, Barcaldine; Mr. A. A. Davey, Brisbane; Mr. T. M. Hall, Brisbane; Mr. H. L. Groom, Toowoomba; and Mr. W. T. Rawlings, of Irvinebank. With the additional members the Upper Chamber comprised forty-four members in all.

Parliament assembled in July, and among the first measures to be dealt with was a motion by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Philp) providing for a reduction in membership of the Legislative Assembly to fifty. The motion failed of its purpose, being defeated, as was also a further resolution for the reduction in the number of members to forty-eight. Despite the strenuous antagonism from the Labour Party the Chillagoe-Georgetown railway, in other words the linking up of the Etheridge goldfields with the railway system, was approved.

The turmoil of a religious question also began, for in fulfilment of the pledge given by both the Philp and Morgan Administrations that the wishes of the people in regard to religious instruction in State schools should be ascertained, a Bill providing the necessary machinery

for taking a referendum on the subject was introduced into Parliament, but the measure being approved in the Assembly by only the casting vote of the Speaker the Government decided to withdraw the Bill. Later the people were afforded the opportunity of expressing an opinion concerning the advisability of adopting the system in use in New South Wales, which provides that the headmaster of State schools should give selected readings from the Bible and instruction wholly unsectarian, while the clergymen of the various Churches were authorized to impart religious instruction during and on such days as the school committee might arrange, the pupils being, of course, the young people of the Church members in each case. The referendum was an object lesson on the assertion often made that great carelessness in regard to religious subjects prevails among many people. No subject excited more attention during a campaign into which great energy was thrown, the verdict of the electors in the ultimate being strongly in favour of religious teaching.

Not only in the lower spheres of instruction was there interest evinced, for on November 13 a congress to consider the question of founding a University in Queensland was opened by the Governor.

Things went well with Mr. Kidston's Administration; the financial statement which was delivered on August 28 showed that the revenue was £3,853,523, which was no less than £218,523 above the estimate, a satisfactory condition of affairs for Ministry and State alike, to which the propitious seasons greatly contributed. Mr. Kidston is to be credited with initiating a conference of Premiers of the various States, for in the financial statement of the year 1906 he in his office of Treasurer was severe in his strictures on the financial relations imposed by the Federal Government, which Mr. Kidston averred were "inherently bad, and if permitted to remain unchanged will undermine in State Ministries all healthy sense of responsibility and ultimately destroy the financial stability of the State." As a result of the criticism of the Premier of Queensland a meeting of leaders of the Government and leaders of the Opposition in the States under the Federation took place, the Queensland representatives being Messrs. W. Kidston, R. Philp, and J. W. Blair. Following upon the deliberations of the conference it was decided: "That the Braddon clause should continue till 1920 and be unchanged save by an amendment of the Constitution; that the Customs and Excise revenue due to the States be calculated upon the several returns between the years 1901 and 1910; that in certain cases and for specific purposes the Federal Government should have power to impose duties; that the State debt scheme formulated by Sir John Forrest be approved, and that a special conference be called to further consider the question."

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## CYCLONES AND LOSS OF LIFE IN THE NORTH.

The previous year had seen Cairns swept by a wind of hurricane force, and the new year brought a cyclonic visitation which laid the greater part of Cooktown low, levelling public buildings and residences as though they had been houses of cards. Cooktown has been well described as the windiest place in Australia, but the inhabitants never experienced so devastating

a cyclone as that which came as the culmination of the intensely hot weather on January 19, 1907, when a rapidly falling barometer gave warning that something extraordinary in the weather conditions was to be experienced. Increasing in violence shortly after noon the wind soon blew with a hurricane force so great that it was almost impossible to make way along the storm-swept streets, and it was necessary to seek shelter, for many houses were unroofed while not a few were wrecked wholly and the occupants forced to flee to other refuges deemed stronger or more sheltered. Rain in torrents accompanied the wind storm, the rain drops driv-

ing with blinding and painful force against the fugitives, for only those seeking shelter or others risking life and limb in strengthening their houses were abroad. All day the wind blew wildly and fiercely, and crash after crash punctuated the devastation it was causing. Churches, schools, banks—nothing seemed strong enough to withstand the hurricane, and it was not till the dawning of a new day that the inhabitants of the town could feel

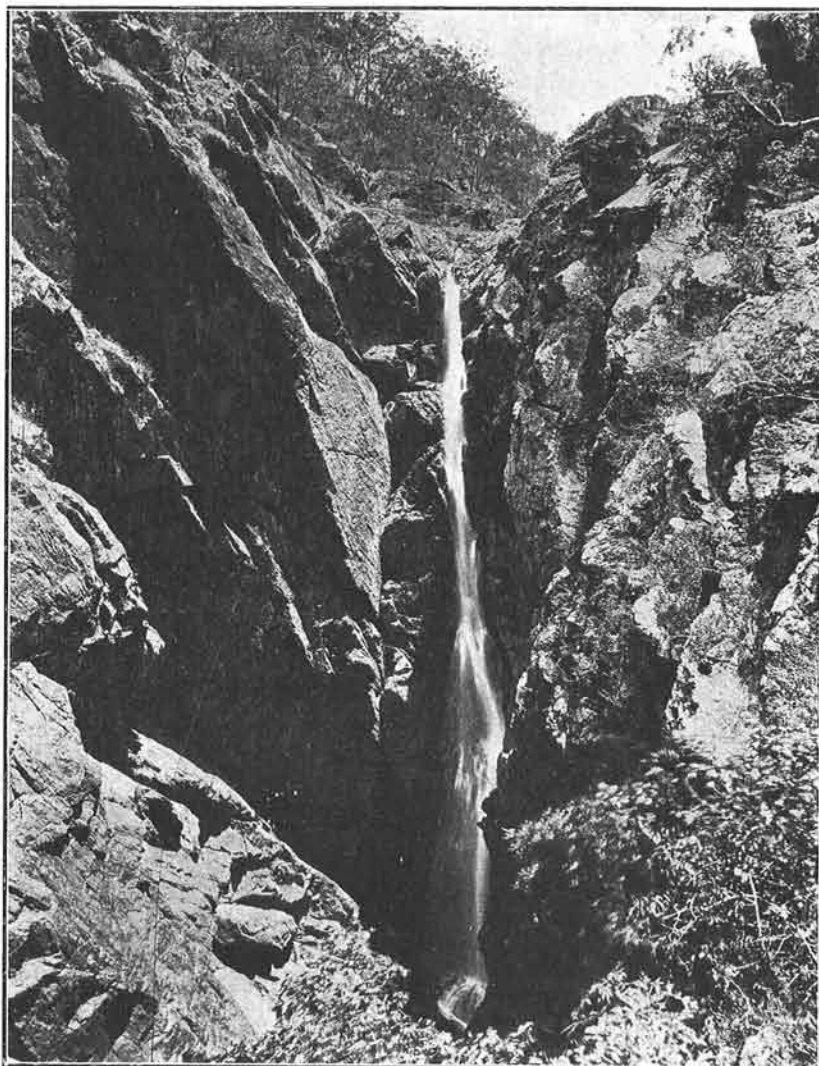
sure that the danger had passed. The shipping in the Endeavour River was driven ashore for the most part, while hawser after hawser was used to moor the steamer "Aramac" to the wharf. Next day was a scene of desolation, in all direction fences were strewn on the ground, and galvanized iron tanks which had hurtled through the air as though they had been paper were

found lodged in vacant allotments, whilst beams of timber and sheets of iron driven from one side of the streets to the other bore witness to the incredible force of the wind, and among the fatalities was a little child killed in its mother's arms by a jagged piece of timber driven in and through the body of the little one. In the country the toll taken by the storm fiend was as great as in the town, and in that part of the district not far south of Cooktown the cyclone blazed its track through the forest, felling the trees as straightly and as regularly as though a company of giant axemen had been at work.

In all, the damage

done through the devastation of the hurricane was estimated at £20,000, but to those present during a very adventurous time that sum seems to inadequately represent the desolation wrought.

Among the tragic incidents which arose from the cyclone was the wreck of the Government ketch "Pilot," which sailed out of Cooktown before the hurricane came but never returned. The little vessel, commanded



YABBA FALLS, NORTH COAST

by Captain Osterlind, and with her usual crew, sailed forth on her periodical mission of carrying supplies to the lighthouse staffs stationed in the North. The "Pilot" on this occasion carried a passenger, Mr. Hargreaves, M.L.A., who being in his constituency during the Parliamentary recess was asked by the Government to make enquiry into certain questions which the men at an island lighthouse desired to lay before the authorities. Many a hope was voiced in the days succeeding the cyclone that the "Pilot" was sheltering somewhere, but when the steamer "Seymour," which had been sent out in search, returned, it was known that the "Pilot" had gone on the rocks. A pillow or two and the combing of the hatch of the ketch was all that was left of the staunch little vessel. Those who manned her, the skipper and his crew, with the member for the district, a deservedly popular representative, had gone; in truth there was no hope of survival in the wild waste of waters which foamed and raged between the Barrier Reef and the rockbound coast where the harbours of refuge are so few.

Only a few weeks subsequently to the cyclone yet another tragedy was enacted along the shores of the Endeavour, for on February 18 the auxiliary schooner "Papuan" was blown up with her cargo of benzine stowed for shipment to Samarai and Port Moresby in British New Guinea, or Papua, as the possession was then named. The "Papuan" was owned by Messrs. Clunn, merchants, of Cooktown, and commanded by Captain Anderson, her crew being for the most part natives of Papua. One white man, who was in charge of the auxiliary engines was on board on the night in question, together with three or four "black boys," all the others, officers and men, being ashore. One of the Papuans is supposed to have been responsible for the destruction of the vessel by searching with a lighted match for kerosene for his lamp in the hold. A leaky tin of benzine was encountered in his quest, and then came chaos. A portion of the deck of the "Papuan" was blown up, the thunderous noise of the explosion being heard from end to end of Cooktown. Both masts and booms shot high into the air. There were also driven on high the remains of the unfortunate coloured boys, and the fragments were discovered three or four days subsequently. The white man being at a point less subject to the force of the concussion made his escape across the burning deck and wharf all aglow. He experienced a marvellous escape, for his feet were horribly burnt, as were other parts of his body, and the unfortunate man suffered agonies, though later he made excellent recovery in the Cooktown Hospital. A wild scene the riverside presented, the flames of the burning vessel lighting up river and shore until the schooner sank, and so the flames were stifled. Even then the

weirdest of illuminations continued, for tins of benzine alight floated down the stream, and the river seemed literally on fire.

Among things political during the early months of 1907 was the withdrawal of Mr. D. F. Denham from the Kidston Administration, in which he had held the portfolios of Agriculture and Railways. Mr. Denham was destined to draw to him a powerful following ere many years, and as Premier became a deservedly important figure in Queensland Statecraft. On Mr. Denham's withdrawal from the Cabinet Mr. O'Sullivan took charge of Agriculture in addition to the Department of Works which he already administered, while the Minister for Lands, Mr. J. T. Bell, added the portfolio of Railways to that of Lands.

The general election which took place in May, 1907, aroused keen interest, as it was the first time on which the franchise was exercised by women in the State. Politics may be described as triangular in character, Kidstonites being pitted against Philpites and Labourites, if not antagonistic to both yet quite ready to take advantage of the balance of power which their position gave them. As a result of the appeal to the people on May 18 the new Parliament was represented by thirty members who followed Mr. Philp's banner, twenty-three supporters of Mr. Kidston, and eighteen Labourites. Mr. Airey failed to make good for Flinders and was succeeded at the Home Department by Mr. A. G. C. Hawthorn, while Mr. G. Kerr became Secretary for Railways. Both Mr. Airey and Mr. F. McDonnell were given seats in the Upper House, Mr. McDonnell not having contested his former constituency of Fortitude Valley by reason of ill-health. Mr. H. Turner, who did not stand for re-election at North Rockhampton, where Mr. James Brennan, a supporter of Mr. Kidston, was elected, was also made a member of the Legislative Council.

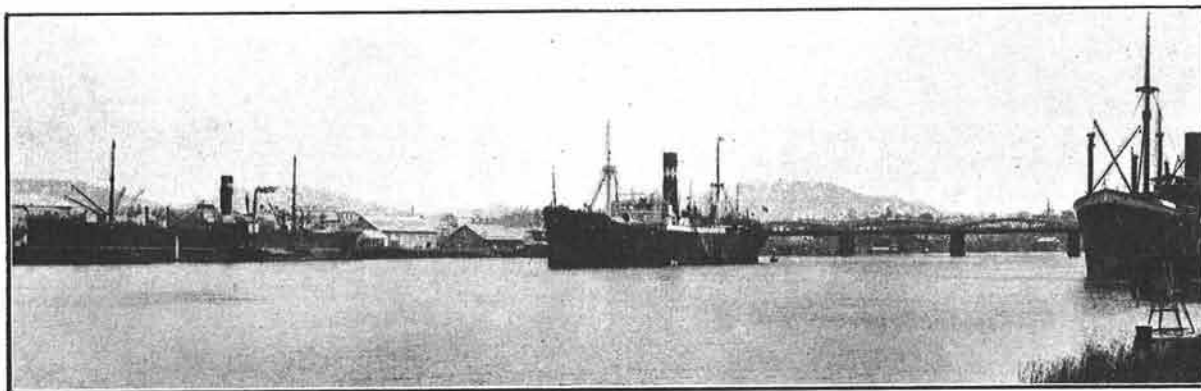
The circumstances attendant on a strongly developed exhibition of three parties in Parliament show that uncertainty must become the prominent feature in administrative life, a decisive vote becoming a matter of arrangement. This weakness on the part of repelling an attack threatened defeat for the Government, but was met, according to the standpoint adopted by Mr. Bowman, through support in a general sense being given by Labour to the Government.

Legislation for the constitution of Wages Boards had been included in the measure dealing with shops and factories which became law in the previous year, but in order to enlarge the scope of the system and make its application general, a Wages Bill was introduced into Parliament. The principle of Boards whereby questions of wages could be settled justly could not be legitimately objected to by anyone, but there were many in Parliament and among the electors who

considered the hard-and-fast regulations as to hours were not applicable to certain industrial fields, and again the Upper House withstood the will of the elective Chamber. The result was that the Councillors carried an amendment excluding employes in the industries of agriculture, grazing, horticulture, viticulture, and dairying from the operation of the proposed law. And the fact that the amendment in the Upper House was carried by 19 votes to 10 proved clearly that the question was not being considered on party lines. In the Assembly Government influence predominated, and the widest possible scope to the Wages Board system was reaffirmed. An appeal to Labour to come within the Government fold as far as the present Parliament was concerned seems to have failed of its purpose, and the climax came in the resignation of the Ministry. Mr. Philp was sent for and accepted the task of forming a Cabinet. Then the unexpected happened, for the triangular system again came into action, and Mr. Kidston found himself so strongly supported that he was able to defeat

similar in constitution to that of which he was previously the Leader, save that he himself handed over the portfolio of the Treasury to Mr. Airey, while to Mr. O'Sullivan fell the Department of Agriculture, which he had previously controlled, a seat in the Legislative Council being given to him following his defeat at Warwick, which he essayed to capture from Mr. G. P. Barnes.

Legislation of importance was carried out during the session, among the enactments being a Bill to amend the Constitution by providing that a bare majority in both Houses should suffice to make alteration instead of two-thirds of a majority in both Chambers, together with the passage through both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, as had been the procedure up to that time. Yet another important measure passed the House in the form of the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Bill, which was an effort to prevent the game of battledore and shuttlecock so often played between the two Houses of Parliament. The measure which was carried set forth



SHIPPING AT SOUTH BRISBANE REACH.

Mr. Philp's intention to pass the Estimates, the Chairman of Committees being moved out of the chair. Meanwhile the Governor had granted a dissolution, and although Supply had not been granted Parliament came to an end on the last day of the year, the general election being appointed to be held on February 5, 1908. Mr. Philp took office on November 19, and remained in power until the new Parliament assembled on February 18.

The general elections which took place on February 5, 1908, demonstrated that a change of opinion had taken place on the part of the electors, for the poll showed that both the Kidstonites and the Labour Party had increased their strength at the expense of the Philpites, whose numbers at the election during the previous year had decreased from 30 to 25, while the Kidstonites and Labourites had increased, the former from 23 to 24 and the latter from 18 to 22. Such were the triangular political forces, together with a solitary Independent, which caused Mr. Philp to resign, and led to a resumption of the office by Mr. Kidston, whose Ministry was

that when a Bill had been twice negatived by the Legislative Assembly and Council respectively it was open for the proposed law to be laid before the people in referendum, and if it were by the electors approved it should have all the power of an Act of Parliament.

During the Parliamentary recess the Premier visited the United Kingdom, but returned in time for the opening of Parliament in November, or rather in time to reconstruct his Ministry prior to proceeding with legislative business. A Coalition was arranged between the Kidstonites and the Philpites, Mr. Kidston bidding a solemn farewell to his Labourism. Messrs. Airey, Kerr, Woods, Mann, and Murphy would have nothing to do with the incoming of the Opposition, but that did not prevent the coalition being consummated. The new Cabinet was constituted as follows:—Premier and Chief Secretary, Mr. W. Kidston; Secretary for Public Instruction, Mr. A. H. Barlow; Home Secretary, Mr. J. T. Bell; Secretary for Lands, Mr. D. F. Denham; Attorney-General, Mr. T. O'Sullivan;

Secretary for Mines and Works, Mr. J. G. Appel; Secretary for Railways and Agriculture, Mr. W. T. Paget; Treasurer, Mr. A. C. G. Hawthorn. The Assembly under the reconstruction numbered 43 supporters of the Coalition Government, the members of the Opposition being 28 in all, inclusive of those who, declining to accept the union with those who previously constituted the Opposition, became either Labourites or political Ishmaelites, their hand being against every man. The ratification of the Torres Strait

mail contract by which space for immigrants, cold storage for 1,500 tons of meat, and a passage of 46 days to England were secured, aroused antagonism from the Labour Party, who objected to the immigration arrangements, but Mr. Kidston's statecraft provided for the completion of the arrangement.

In general prosperity the year 1908 was beneficent and a sovereign test, a Ministerial surplus, bore witness to good times, for against the estimated surplus of £7,104 there was placed the actual amount of £115,308.

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## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

An unexpected death in the early days of 1909 brought a change in one of the high offices, for ere the first month of the new year had waned Mr. John Leahy, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, succumbed to an attack of influenza. The necessary election later resulted in the return to Parliament of a Labourite, Mr. B. F. S. Allen, who defeated the Ministerial candidate, Mr. Cordner, the latter securing 258 votes against 360 polled for his successful rival. Some five months later Mr. J. D. Campbell, who had been compelled through indisposition to resign his constituency of Moreton, passed away, his place in Parliament being filled by Mr. J. Forsyth, who had in years past been member for Carpentaria.

The days of Lord Chelmsford's governorship came to an end during the year, and perchance, because it was thought that His Excellency had felt the bywash of party animosities in the fulfilment of his vice-regal duties, his leave-taking in Queensland was attended by the most cordial good wishes. Following Lord Chelmsford, who subsequently had a most distinguished career, which included the blue ribbon of the service in the Viceroyship of India, there came to Queensland one who from first to last ingratiated himself with the community and deservedly won golden opinions from all sections of society, for there was something of the father, as well as the King's representative, in the relations of Sir William MacGregor to the people among whom he lived as Governor. Parliament assembled on June 29, and the Independent Liberals, whose phalanx behind Mr. Blair was in some quarters deemed fatal, nominated Mr. M. E. M. Jenkinson, member for Fassifern, for the Speakership, Mr. J. T. Bell, lately Home Secretary, being the other candidate. The contest was close, the voting being 38 against 36, while among the majority votes was one cast by Mr. Bell himself. It is, however, fair to say that only the exigencies of party caused the Speaker elected to vote for himself, as he had left the House. Mr. Bowman, who was the Leader of the

Opposition, concluded his speech in the Address-in-Reply by moving a motion of want of confidence. It was then perhaps that the forcefulness of the Premier came to the surface, for he announced his intention of following the issue to a decision, asserting that any destructive tactics would be met by the last resort, appeal to the people. And despite the intervening passage of a Bill for temporary Supply he held to his resolve. Mr. Bowman's want of confidence motion was only defeated by one vote, the numbers being 34 to 33. The debate on the Address-in-Reply had carried Parliament into August. As part of the proceedings Mr. Airey, on the ruling of the Speaker, failed in his attempt to direct attention to the Commonwealth and State relations, the Speaker holding that the course was barred by the Premier having given notice of a Supply Bill, intended to be passed through the House in one day. Mr. Airey's motion that the Speaker's ruling be disagreed with, failed by 35 to 34. Then followed motion and counter-motion, included in an all-night sitting, and ultimately a motion by the Premier that the House adjourn until August 24 was carried. Then there was further bickering, subsequent to the announcement by Mr. Kidston that, conditionally on Supply being granted, he had advised His Excellency to dissolve the House. Prior to this Mr. D. W. Armstrong, member for Lockyer, had succeeded Mr. Maughan, who resigned the Chairmanship of Committees. The vote for £990,000 was attended by great acidity of debate. The action of the Speaker in voting was strongly questioned, while the casting vote of the Chairman of Committees against the balanced scale of 34 votes on either side aroused angry laughter from the Opposition, the motion carried being that of the Premier that the question be now put. An amendment by Mr. Hardacre that one month's Supply be granted failed, and the closure being applied, the quest for Supply full of political adventures attained its goal, and the curtain was rung down on a dissolution.



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND.

The election took place on October 2 and was strenuously contested, the numbers justifying the Premier in the course he adopted, for the Ministerialists returned stronger than ever, 41 members following Mr. Kidston, while there were 27 for Labour, and 4 represented the Independent Opposition. The new House affirmed its approval of the action of the late Speaker, Mr. J. T. Bell, by re-appointing him. Again Mr. Maughan's supporters were in the minority, for that gentleman was defeated in his candidature for the Chair, numbers being 39 to 36. With the exception of Mines and Works, the Ministers previously in office resumed their portfolios. In the preceding Parliament Mr. Jackson held the portfolios of Mines and Public Works. In the new Parliament the Department of Works was given to Mr. Barnes, who administered it in addition to his previously held portfolio of Public Instruction.

Several measures of historical importance became law in the course of the session, and the legislative programme was a mighty one, quite a sheaf of railway Bills being included in the contemplated Parliamentary work. The long-desired and long-sought coping stone was placed on the educational structure during the year 1909, for in the first session of the eighteenth Parliament the University of Queensland became an accomplished fact; an Act providing for the government and control of the institution was passed. The provisions concerning appointment to the Senate and Council were most liberal, and arrangements were made for the affiliation when desired of collegiate bodies similar to the Gatton Agricultural College or the School of Mines, Charters Towers. In like manner provision for the educational curriculum and status were extremely liberal, for evening lectures were to be provided, while those unable to attend the University course could obtain degrees and diplomas after due examination. The privileges of the University were made available for students of either sex, and there were facilities for study, which was to be free, for the benefit of prospective teachers who showed in examination that they possessed educational status. The foundation scholarships, of which there were 20 tenable for three years, with special provision for students carrying on their studies away from home, together with the foundation gold medal carrying financial assistance to the extent of £100 per annum for two years, were available, as the Premier said, "irrespective of class, creed, or sex." There had been much debate in days preceding the constitution of the University concerning its site, but after all claims had been considered and weighed it was generally conceded that the Government had made the wisest and best choice in devoting the old-time Government House and Domain to academical education. The decision benefited the Botanical Gardens to a marked extent, and gave

them not only much more ground for cultural purposes, but also a much greater frontage to the river. The Workers' Dwellings Act entered on an extended field of usefulness during the year. It may be pointed out that the Board of Control provided for by the Act comprised the Under-Secretaries of the Treasury and Public Works Department, together with the Department of Justice, the Under-Secretary to the Treasury being Chairman. Yet another legislation destined to be a very important factor in safeguarding the health of the twin cities on either side of the Brisbane was to be found in the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Act, work in connection with this is supervised by a Board Representative of North and South Brisbane with the Suburban Shires.

The time had now arrived when it was seen to be of vital importance that the ports of the State should be improved to a degree commensurate to some extent with the tendency of the age to increase the tonnage of the merchantmen, and also with the growing importance of the marine trade of the State. A key to unlocking the difficulties of navigation in the Brisbane River was considered to have been found by the Harbour Board, and the scheme of Mr. Cullen, Engineer of Harbours and Rivers, aided, as that gentleman was by a lengthened experience of the aftermath of floods, promised to yield excellent results. The sum of £82,000 was expended during the year in furtherance of a comprehensive proposition in harbour improvements, included in which was a channel 400 feet wide and with a depth of 24 feet at low-water spring tides, the cost of which was estimated at £93,000. Not only at the waterway to the mother city of the State were harbour improvements carried out, but there was good work done at Cairns, Townsville, and as we have seen, at Rockhampton under the respective Harbour Boards. Beyond that the fine natural harbour at Mourilyan was rendered available by the removal of obstructions.

Nothing to be imagined could have more fittingly celebrated the Golden Jubilee of autonomous government in Queensland than the foundation of the Queensland University, the dedication of Government House by the new Governor, Sir William MacGregor, being the leading feature in the celebrations in honour of the auspicious event on December 10, Sir William MacGregor having arrived in Brisbane on the 2nd of the month. The commemorations in honour of the State's Jubilee were heartfelt and enthusiastic, among the notable events of the day being a message of congratulation from King Edward VII. to the people of Queensland. During the quinquennial period ending 1909 the number of cattle in the State increased from 2,722,340 to 4,321,600, while sheep showed an increase from 10,843,470 to 18,348,851. The area of land selected in the five years rose from 1,658,128 acres to 4,902,314 acres. The value of wool raised increased from £2,280,924 to £4,053,338, while



butter produced showed an increase in value from £635,409 to £1,067,760. The value of sugar in 1904 was £1,860,225; in 1909 it was £2,146,395. The tonnage of shipping inwards in 1904 was 949,601 and in 1909 1,601,107, while that of shipping outwards was in the former year 958,792 and in the last of the five years 1,563,911 tons. The railway receipts in 1904 were

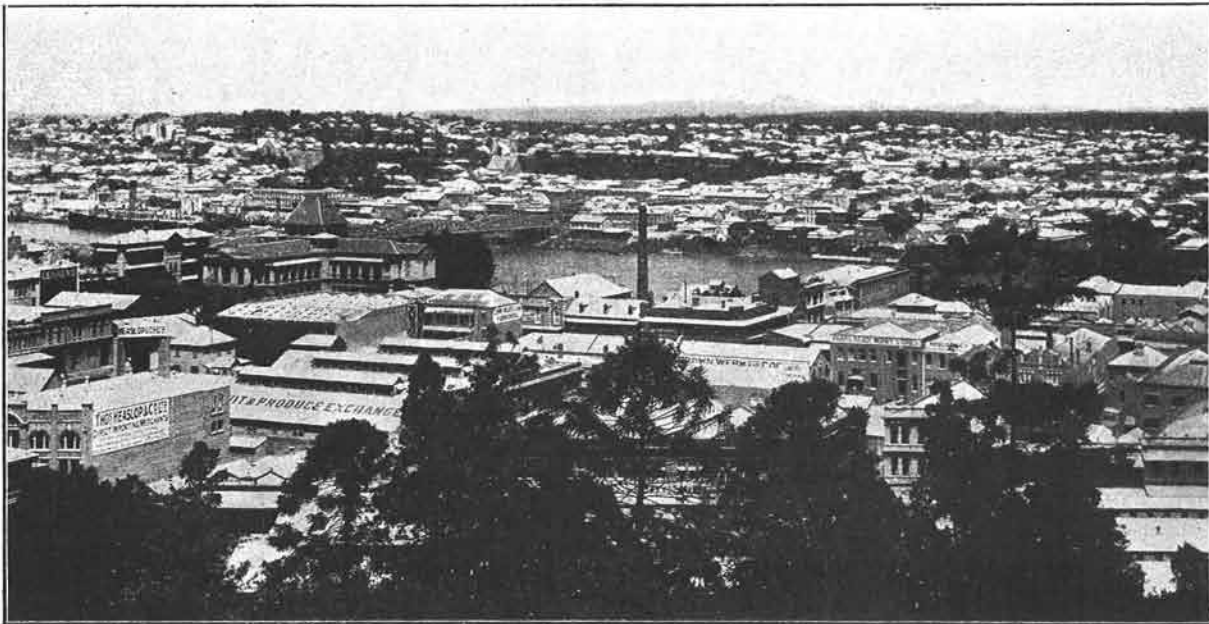
£1,364,186 and in 1909 £1,985,084. Perchance one of the best methods of grasping the difference between the year of separation and the year of jubilee, fifty years later, is to realize that in December, 1859, the population was 25,020 and the revenue £178,589, while in 1909 the inhabitants of Queensland numbered 578,548 and the revenue £5,119,235.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### ADVANCING PROSPERITY.

It could well be said of Queensland that the Jubilee was something more than a commemoration of the past, for it was a stage in national life whence the future could be scanned and, more than that, whence full assurance concerning the destined greatness of the country could be obtained. As Queensland looked ahead

month of February with the Adelaide Steamship Company by which both north and south were cared for as to their producing interests, for provision was made for the carriage of perishable foodstuffs, etc., from the tropical coastal lands. Thus in some measure was the aspiration of the late Hon. W. H. Groom fulfilled, for



BRISBANE FROM OBSERVATORY, LOOKING SOUTH, PRESENT DAY.

from the point of vantage of her years of accomplishment, so in truth did Australia as a whole. The federated States amid their thought of development were wise, they determined to be prepared for all eventualities, and so Field Marshal Lord Kitchener visited Australia to advise the Federal Government concerning defence affairs.

As will be inferred by what has been said the year 1910 was most prosperous as far as the material advancement of the country was concerned, and plentiful rains were experienced, so that the welfare of that which is often termed the backbone of the country, farming, was assured. The Government completed a contract in the

it may be remembered that that Queensland statesman in the eighties, after acting as a member of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to enquire into the sugar industry, brought in a minority report in which he recommended the substitution of fruit-growing for sugar-planting in the tropical lands of the coast, together with a system of transit to the South in swift steamers equipped with cold storage facilities. It is strange that after many years conditions in the fruit trade of the Southern districts of the State, and also of the States in the South, together with the aspect of the sugar industry in relation to the future, should have given much more strength to Mr. Groom's arguments than they were

conceived to possess when they were first given to Parliament and the public. And the step taken by Mr. Kidston's Government in 1910 in regard to cold storage on steamers trading from the North represented the beginning of that which will bear great expansion.

On April 13 came the Federal elections which placed the Fisher Administration in power. It had been arranged that advantage should be taken of the occasion to invite the electors to express their opinion by a referendum vote on the financial agreement between the Commonwealth and the States, and further that a subject which had aroused great interest should be placed before the people for decision. The people were to decide the much vexed question of "the Bible in State schools," as the proposal to amend the "State Education Act of 1875" was colloquially termed. In reference to the relations between the Commonwealth and the States the Conference of Premiers held during August, 1909, had decided that the States should receive 25s. per capita of population per annum, while the Commonwealth should have authority to retain an amount not to exceed £600,000 to provide for the shortage of revenue due to the expiry of the Braddon clause system and to take the place of that system. On the important point whether that method of working should be embodied in the Commonwealth Constitution the referendum was taken. The electors expressed themselves against the decision arrived at by the assembled Premiers of the various States. The result, as explained by the State Treasurer in Parliament, was that the States were brought face to face with a large reduction of income. Beyond this the Federal Government had deducted a sum of £450,000, the amount of the deficit in Federal revenue as at June 30, 1910, from the three-fourths of revenue from Customs and Excise due to the States on December 31. Mr. Hawthorn went on to say that through the passage of a Bill providing for an Australian note issue the Treasury notes of Queensland would be rendered valueless and a loss of £25,000 sustained. The Federal action would necessitate the redemption of the whole of the Queensland Treasury notes, of a value of £1,600,000. Arrangements, the Treasurer explained, had been made for the redemption of all the note issue by payment in gold. Such was the outcome of the referendum in regard to Commonwealth and State relations.

Turning to the other subject on which the people of the State were asked to decide in referendum at the Commonwealth general election—religious instruction in State schools—it has been held that the verdict at the poll was not really an expression of opinion on the part of the people. The fact, however, remains that though only 53 per cent of the electors exercised the privilege of the franchise on the subject, the verdict in favour of Bible lessons in the State schools was

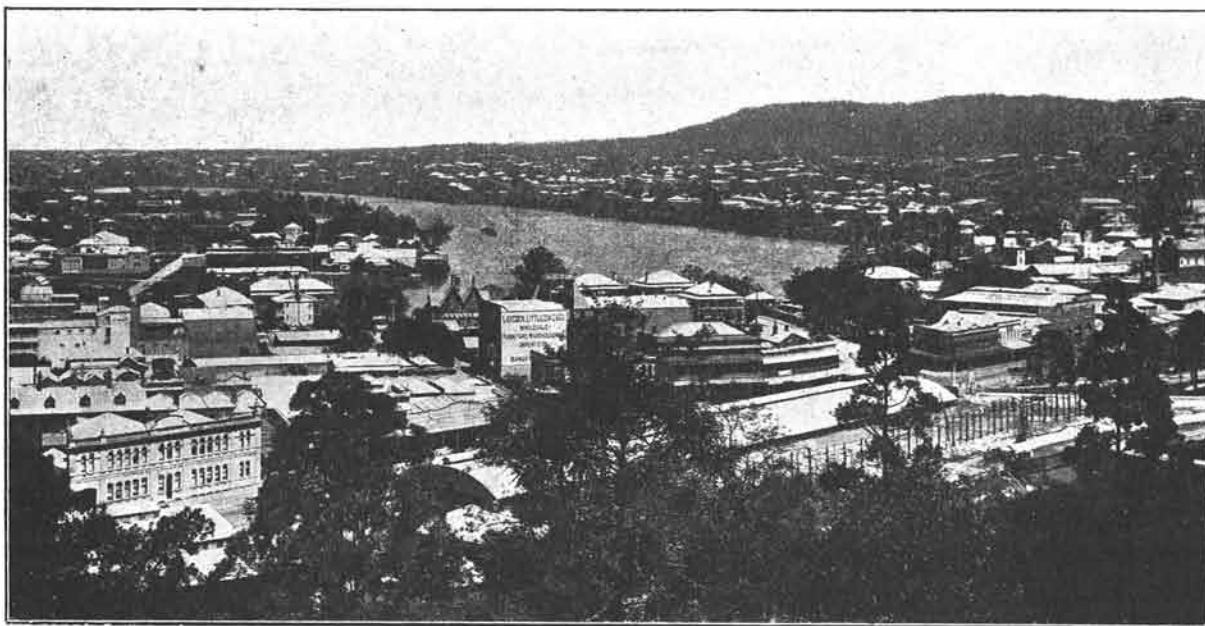
emphatically stated. The question had at its base the much-debated subject of the relation of the State to denominational schools and their financial support, a point that had often been raised in the past and which a wholly secular course of teaching it was thought would have obviated. The State Education Acts Amendment Bill, introduced to give effect to the will of the people in referendum, became law on November 24.

In the passing of the year there came a death, fateful, as must always be the demise of kings. Edward VII., after a reign in which he gave signal evidence of ruling wisely and justly within the demarcations of a constitutional monarchy, died after a short illness, and was succeeded by George, Prince of Wales and Duke of York, the heir-apparent to the throne, owing to the death of his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence, in 1892 at the age of eighteen. To all Australians whose memory takes thought into the time when the two Princes visited the dominions under the Southern Cross there must always be a touch of melancholy interest in recalling to mind the two royal "middies" and their mutual attachment. The elder was taken and the younger as George V. ascended the throne to rule in times the most convulsive that have ever riven Europe.

It has often been said that each party in Parliament considers itself alone capable of carrying out good land legislation, and this statement might be amplified into the assertion that each session of Parliament considers itself capable of bettering the land legislation of the past. That there was a substantial stratum of truth in the allegation is proved by the Herculean labour which the amending codifying work during the year 1910 represented to Parliamentarians. The best of all that had been the law since the year 1838 was selected. Part of that which had been legislative enactments in New South Wales came under scrutiny in this examination of the work of 73 years, and, as the Minister stated, no less than 32 Acts of Parliament were repealed. It was said that the work was on non-party lines, and admiration for the excellent results attained may surely not be withheld for party reasons. And yet party crept in, for Labour averred that the reason why the facilities for leasing had not been more largely availed of was because the principle was kept in abeyance, while the system of freehold was placed prominently before selectors. Be that as it may, or whether, as was asserted by the Government, the favour shown by prospective settlers for freehold was due to the desire that the man on the land has to own the fields he tills, we know not, but in the passage of the measure the Minister gave his promise that the principle of perpetual leases would be tested fully and fairly. Perhaps the most important feature of the legislation was to be found in the changes brought about in the Land Court, the

principle of which, however, was not impugned. There was criticism in the House concerning the rents paid by the pastoralists as compared with Crown tenants of grazing farms. It is but just to point out that there was never even a hint of a reflection on the impartiality of the Land Board. Yet the attitude of the Government led to the offer on the part of two members of the Land Board, Messrs. Sword and Woodbine, to retire under certain conditions, and retire they did in the ultimate. In its process through the two Houses the clauses referring to the Land Board were so dealt with that it was open to anyone of the members to retire on a salary of £500 per annum, being half their annual pay. It was further decided that in the future the appointments should be tenable for fifteen years, there being compulsory retirement at the age of sixty-five years. It

Government, a line running north from Wallal, a point on the Cunnamulla line, north-west to Tobermory, 50 miles north of Thargomindah, and thence to Camooweal, a far-north settlement which had sprung into existence through pastoral enterprise in country which was near to the confines of South Australia and south of a wonderfully fertile part of the State though little known then, the Barkly Tableland. The masterful project entailed an expenditure of over £4,000,000 sterling. Landholders in the benefited areas, amounting to 120,000,000 acres, were held responsible under the guarantee system of railway construction for the payment of 3 per cent. interest on the cost of building the line. A glance at the map of Queensland will show the hardihood of the proposal, but will demonstrate the utility of the project through the



BRISBANE FROM OBSERVATORY, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST. PRESENT DAY.

is a matter of moment to record the fact that the Minister for Lands, Mr. D. F. Denham, who was a member of the Legislative Assembly, addressed the Upper House on the subject of the Land Bill, doing so at the invitation of the Legislative Council.

All sections of the community, no matter what their political belief, could not but acknowledge that the years of which we write witnessed a boldness in railway construction combined with a breadth of outlook never before equalled in Queensland. Mr. Kidston thought in millions and calculated in thousands of miles in his proposal to aid enterprise and promote settlement by means of the railroad. Popular opinion first stood aghast and then was won to warm approval by the comprehensive magnitude of the proposals which represented the railway policy of the

development and safeguarding of the pastoral industry in the State. But the great line from the south-west to the Gulf did not stand alone. There was another project complementary to it, the linking up of the railway systems—Southern, Central, Northern, and Far-Northern. North from Rockhampton the great trunk line along the coast was to be pushed on until the railway ramifications of the Mackay District, including the Proserpine and Bowen branches were touched, and those westward from Townsville and in the Cairns District, with perchance even the seldom heard of Cooktown railway; the building of railways was to go on until all the lines were linked up, of which the whole would represent a coastal trunk railway doing for the rich agricultural lands of the coast what the line to the west would do for that part of the State and great pastoral

interests. The cost of completing the coastal railway was to be £2,320,000, that sum being exclusive of payments for land resumed. Of the country traversed by the coastal trunk railway—some 11,000,000 acres—only one-fifth was alienated. Those whose memory of and interest in political events continues bright, will not readily forget the gasp of astonishment which greeted the issue by the leading newspapers of a sketch map showing the proposed railway extensions. And nothing could have been more inspiring than the proposals, for between the coast and the west the scheme provided for the extension of the railway lines already stretching inland from the coast. Here also there was to be linking up and east and west, the coast and the plains of the far North-West were to be united. At different points work, it was decided, should be initiated simultaneously. During the following year, 1911, other features of a vigorous railway policy were brought into evidence, and no less than ten important branch lines were approved. The Kidston Ministry and their successors had learnt one part of their political lesson well, the relation of railways to settlement. The railway proposals during 1910 entailed an expenditure of a sum which fell but little short of £10,000,000 sterling.

The gigantic adventure into railway construction does something more than stamp the Ministry with enterprise, for only in the midst of successful seasons and propitious weather conditions could a Government have ventured so far afield from the beaten track of political expediency. Splendid rains caused things to be favourable in the agricultural industry, while the season, as far as the pastoral industry was concerned, proved to be the best that had been experienced for ten years. Another very good sign was to be found in the fact that the earning power of the State railways had increased to the extent of £207,915, a very excellent evidence that things were going well with the staple industries of the country. Yet another proof that the State had taken hold of fortune with both hands was to be found in the fact that land and yet more land was being sought, the total amount disposed of being 6,000,000 acres, or 1,000,000 acres in excess of the aggregate area of selections sought during the preceding year. The following year showed a similar advance, for the land selected in 1911 totalled 7,000,000 acres. During the year the wool borne on the Great Northern railway totalled 64,209 bales, or an increase of 10,000 bales compared with the carriage of wool in 1909. In 1910 the amount of butter produced at the Warwick factory was in all 868 tons 16 cwt., the cream dealt with representing a value of £73,853. In the following year the same butter company declared a profit of £2,200. Notable indeed was the expansion of the dairying industry as evinced in 1910, when the total value of production represented £1,500,000 sterling. Dairying had so forged

ahead that it gave employment to no less than 11,529 men and 11,419 women.

Seldom has a Treasurer been given a more pleasant task than fell to the lot of Mr. W. H. Barnes in his financial statement in regard to the year 1910-11, and it must have been with something of patriotic pride that the Minister pointed out that the year he was reviewing showed an increase in revenue of 50 per cent. as compared with 1909-10. And that fact is in no wise affected by the accompanying experience that the expenditure had increased to the extent of 45 per cent. The actual revenue, £5,320,008, was an advance of £276,801 on the estimate. A significant feature of the speech was the announcement in regard to the last State loan, which it was shown had been more economically floated in London than would have been possible under the conditions offered by the Commonwealth Government.

It would seem to be one of the larger laws by which a Ministry, following the laws of empires, touches the pinnacle of success and usefulness, and finds that beyond there is a declining and a falling away. No one blames Mr. Kidston for seizing opportunity as it came on full wing. He had achieved; a severe trial had come to him in the death of Mrs. Kidston, while his own health hardly seemed robust enough to stand the strain of leading his party into further fields of conquest. And so it came that in February, 1911, it was intimated that the Premier had resigned office and had been appointed to a vacant seat on the Land Board, where in truth his decisions and rulings have proved that his mental gifts went far beyond the scope of the purely political. A hard-headed Scot, by no means devoid of that touch of humour which Sydney Smith would deny his countrymen, all political cults rejoiced at the academical degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him *pro causa honoris* by the University of Glasgow.

Mr. D. F. Denham assumed the Leadership of the Government in succession to Mr. Kidston. Again there was a shuffle of the Ministerial cards, for Mr. K. M. Grant became Minister for Education, Mr. E. H. Macartney Minister for Lands, while Mr. James Tolmie took charge of the Department of Agriculture. Mr. A. G. C. Hawthorn resigned the portfolio of the Treasury, being succeeded by Mr. W. H. Barnes. To Mr. W. T. Paget, one of the members for Mackay, was given the Department of Railways. Mr. J. G. Appel became Home Secretary. The Ministerial representation in the Upper House remained unchanged, Mr. Thomas O'Sullivan continuing in the Attorney-Generalship and Mr. Barlow as Minister without portfolio. Mr. Hawthorn became a Legislative Councillor. Perhaps those who studied most closely political events would have said that the reconstructed Ministry, though strong, was not so strong as when Mr. Kidston held the reins. Why, it would be difficult to say, yet it was not long before

whispers, *sub rosa*, were heard and heard again hinting at dissensions in the Cabinet, innuendoes pointing always to the fact that the members of the Ministry were not a happy family. Labour during those days came to the front as it had never done before. Despite a stout resistance and many a rally the Denham Government was to go down before Labour.

The appointment of Mr. W. Main as State Immigration Agent was made in February to promote the coming to Queensland of agricultural labourers. In the same month it is interesting, in the light of events then in the future, to note that a number of Russian immigrants arrived in Brisbane travelling by the Japanese liner "Nikko Maru." In the following month, March, the steamer "Suffolk" brought fifty-two immigrants, and the steamers "Otranto" and "Kumano Maru" 120 new settlers. These facts, together with the readiness of farmers in the Atherton District to mortgage their holdings, valued conjointly at £80,000, for the purpose of securing a sugar mill under the Guarantee Act, and the further important point that the State Sugar Mills Commissioner recommended that crushing and manufacturing works should be erected at the Russell, Johnstone, and Burdekin Rivers, gave excellent evidence that Queensland was advancing in one of the most important phases of national prosperity, the primary industry of agriculture. Yet there was heard the muttering of the storm so soon to break in antagonism between the State and the Commonwealth, for early in the year the State Government declined an offer of the Federal Ministry—Labour, with Mr. A. Fisher as Prime Minister, being in the seats of the mighty. For the burning question involved in the principle that the States should manage their domestic affairs was to be tested in an appeal to the people in referendum. It was said at the time that the question endowing the Commonwealth Government with supreme power in regard to trade and commerce on the one hand, and the management of labour and employment on the other, represented as important a point to be decided by the electors as that in regard to the constitution of Federal relations. It is not exaggeration to say that never was public feeling so greatly excited as it was in regard to the referendum proposals, and in Queensland, as throughout the Commonwealth, the most vigorous of campaigns was carried out by both political parties. The electors declared emphatically against the system, the aggregate majorities against the proposals recorded at the poll taken on February 20 being 304,348 in negation of changing the Constitution to give the Commonwealth the legislative powers sought, while that against monopolies was 247,724. There was no doubt as to the views of the people in regard to the relations between the Commonwealth and the States, and more emphatic was the pronouncement in Queensland than elsewhere.

In March, 1911, there came one of those devastating cyclones which sweep in from the ocean and carry havoc and desolation ashore after wrecking stout ships off the coast. Cairns felt the terrific force of the hurricane, and on the waters of the northern coast, for the most part calm with lake-like surface, a tragedy of the sea was enacted. The "Yongala," a fine ship of the Adelaide Steamship Company's fleet, steamed into the hurricane and was never seen again. Search after search was made, but save for the certainty that the vessel had gone to pieces on a reef, nothing very definite was ascertained. It seems fateful that the fore-and-aft schooner "Norna," of Thursday Island, which was chartered to search for the wreck of the "Yongala," for the discovery of which the Government had offered a reward of £1,000, was herself wrecked, being driven by heavy weather on one of the sunken reefs inside the Barrier Reef.

In May, 1911, came a new departure worthy of mention, for in that month Australia fell into line with the Imperial Parliament in introducing penny postage in the Commonwealth, as the system had already been applied to the Empire as far as the British Government could deal with the subject.

Among the legislative measures of the year was the Mackay Harbour Board Amendment Act, which provided for an extensive and comprehensive scheme by which the port would be given deep water and rendered accessible to the largest of steamers without the expense and delay inseparable through lighterage from Flat Top. The Bill provided for the expenditure of £370,000 obtained through loan for the work. The scheme was modified, and later on, May 22, 1913, approval was given by the Government for a loan of £250,000 towards cost of new harbour works.

In 1912 there came a struggle between employers and employes which threatened at one time to develop almost into war conditions, and which at all events brought all the discomforts, privations, and hardships of a beleaguered town upon the citizens of Brisbane. It is significant, perhaps, that on January 17 there should have been a meeting of the local authorities interested to consider a proposed Bill to acquire and manage the Brisbane Tramways, while on the next day, the 18th, there should be so great trouble in the tramways service that on the evening of that day the running of the cars had to be suspended. The dissatisfaction among the employes was due to the prohibition in the regulations of the company against wearing trades union badges. A principle was doubtless at stake, but beyond that incontestable fact there seemed little either on the one side or the other to cause a ruinous dislocation of industrial life. Things developed very rapidly, yet, despite an attempt to wreck the electric power-house, the trams gave a twelve-hours' service almost throughout the

whole of the strike, which the union leaders decided should become general if no arrangement were arrived at on January 30. No basis of agreement had been reached when 6 o'clock of the day in question came, and so a general strike became a fact as far as Brisbane was concerned. Feeling ran high and indignation was aroused in communities other than the capital at the hardship and loss brought about, especially by the dislocation of the coastal traffic. With the exception of Townsville very little was done, apart from the disciplined obedience to the orders of militant unionists, to evince sympathy with the tramway employés. Meanwhile the citizens of Brisbane suffered much inconvenience. Food was very difficult to procure. A significant feature of the disturbances was the refusal of the Federal Government to accede to the request of the Premier (Mr. Denham) for troops to quell the disturbances and restore law and order. It is well to place on record the resolute and yet temperate firmness which Mr. Denham displayed, and it is not necessary to refer in detail to the grand services rendered by the police and special constables, both under the admirably wise and determined leadership of Major Cahill, Commissioner of Police, who sternly forbade processions. As the days of unrest went on things became more difficult, the suburban train service being suspended. Bread had now reached famine prices. With the coming of volunteer troopers from Esk and Lockyer, who had seen service in the Boer War and who enrolled as special constables, the fear lest revolution might raise its gaunt head was relieved, and other volunteer troopers from Beaudesert showed the way things might go. Thenceforth, though the inconvenience and disturbances dragged on wearily until the last week in March, the conclusion of the whole matter had long been anticipated. Mr. Justice Higgins ordered a compulsory conference between employers and employés, the delivery of bread was resumed, and the strikers as well as the general public longed for a return to normal conditions. On March 7 the High Court of the Commonwealth granted an order *nisi* in the case of an appeal to prevent the award in regard to the wearing of badges being enforced. So ended the great strike in Brisbane.

During the year 1912, and as a consequence, the Denham Government laid the State under a strong obligation by the forceful yet immensely common-sense provision of the Industrial Peace Bill, which passed through Parliament and became law. Power was given to the judge exercising jurisdiction under the Act to mediate or compel conferences in the disputes between employers of twenty men on the one hand or twenty employés on the other. Power to make or unmake Industrial Boards was vested in the Industrial Court, and as the main feature of the Act lock-outs or strikes were prohibited in the case of public utilities, while in

any cases there must be no strike or lockout until there had been fourteen days' notice given in writing and after a secret ballot had been taken. So highly was the tenor of the Act thought of and the wisdom of its provisions appreciated that it called forth strong commendations not only in Australia but in the United Kingdom. Mr. D. F. Denham gave excellent reason for his existence as Premier in the Industrial Peace Act.

Yet another important legislative proposition became law in the year of which we write, for the Liquor Bill, in regard to which it had been found impossible to arrive at any finality in the previous session, and in connection with which there began to be talk of an appeal to referendum, became law in 1912, tact having settled the differences as between the two Houses of Parliament. The measure practically placed the control of the liquor traffic, the number of public houses, or whether there should be any at all in a given district, in the control of the people speaking at a local option poll. The licensing authority under the law was by no means bereft of its powers, but was assisted to good purpose by public opinion and decision.

A greatly generous action during the year falls to be chronicled, for the Premier received advice on May 24 that Mrs. W. R. Hall had donated the interest of a sum of one million sterling in memory of her late husband, one-fourth of which was to come to Queensland, New South Wales receiving one-half of the amount allotted, and Victoria one-quarter. During the year Mr. J. Bryce, who subsequently became Lord Bryce, and who was then the British Ambassador to the United States, visited Queensland, and in conjunction with the Governor, the late Sir William MacGregor, was presented with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Queensland University.

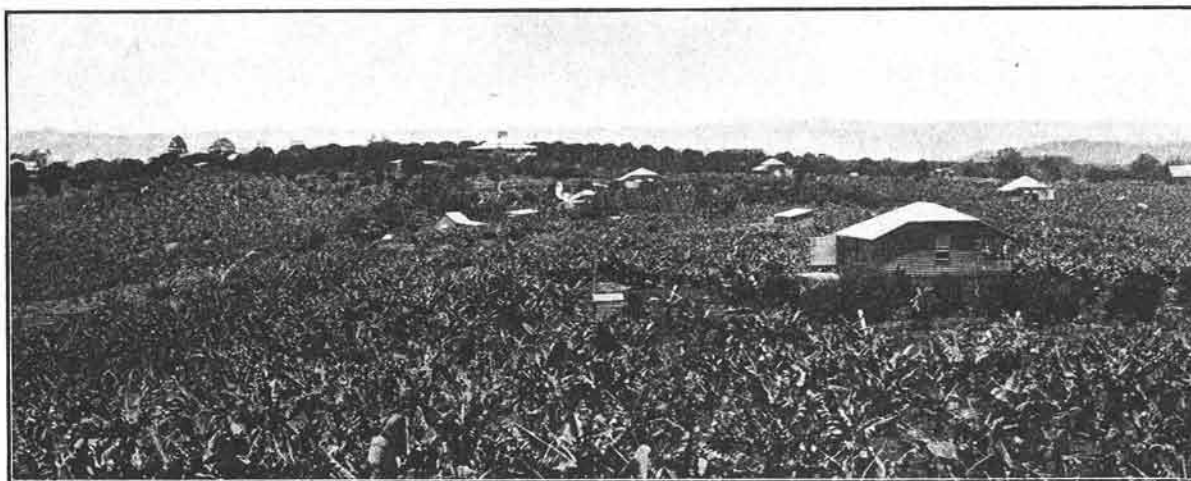
Parliament dissolved in March and preparations for the forthcoming elections were instituted, a novel feature in electioneering campaigns being introduced by Mr. E. W. H. Fowles in his candidature for Fortitude Valley, where cinematograph pictures were used. The poll took place on April 27, the number of electors on the rolls being stated to be 313,498. As the result of the appeal to the people 47 Liberals, 24 Labourites, and one Independent were returned to Parliament. Among those whose addresses were rejected were Messrs. E. B. Forrest, M. A. Ferricks, Stephens, Mann, MacLachlan, Ryland, Mulcahy, Maughan, and D. Hunter, all of whom had seats in the late Parliament. It will be seen that substantial approval of the policy of Mr. Denham was expressed by the electors.

Rain fell plentifully, over-plentifully in some districts, during the year 1913, and as a result pastoral and agricultural enterprises were in part prosperous. The Government seemed sympathetic, and things went exceedingly well in the State. The shipment of cheese

which left on January 8, totalled 1,400 cases, valued at nearly £2,000, and bore witness to the fact that the dairying products of the State stood high in the London market, and this satisfactory conclusion was further justified by a record cargo of butter which was sent to England in the "Argyllshire" some seven weeks later, amounting in all to 28,536 boxes, valued at £71,340. Returns of the stock in Queensland at the beginning of the year showed that the number of horses totalled 665,599, an increase of 46,645 compared with the previous annual period. In cattle there was an increase of 136,443, the total number being 5,209,644. In regard to sheep and swine there were decreases, representing 492,401 in the former and 31,075 in the latter. The total number of sheep was 20,248,580 and of swine 142,820. During the year the record price at that time was obtained for 600 cattle which were bred on Sesbania Station and sold for £8 per head, being purchased by

the general advance towards prosperity that the State was enjoying, and in the first month the revenue showed a net increase of £10,000 compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. During the year the Minister for Railways (Mr. Paget) opened the line from Mackay to Sarina, and also that from Rockhampton to Jardine, both being sections of the northern trunk railway. The turning of the first sod of the Mount Mulligan railway was performed by the Governor on May 19, while on the 24th of that month the Premier performed a similar ceremony in connection with the line from Pialba to Urangan. On August 4 and 22 respectively construction work was ceremoniously initiated by the Minister for Railways in connection with the line from Dalby to Jandowae and from Logan Village to Canungra.

In casting a glance into the past it is very worthy of mention to recall the honour paid to one whose memory



FRUIT FARMS IN THE MT. BUDERIM DISTRICT.

the Alligator Creek Meatworks Company at Townsville. What the rich agricultural land of the State could yield was shown by the return won by Mr. J. Bell, of Maryvale, who raised no less than twenty-five tons of pumpkins from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

In the course of 1913 a departure that had been often urged was taken, for the Brisbane Fruitgrowers' Co-operative Company established a factory in Stanley Street, South Brisbane, for manufacturing jam and canning pineapples, the plant for operating the latter work being capable of dealing with 12 tons gross of tins per diem. Turning to another important agricultural industry, which for some unknown reason seemed to be confined to the country not far from the southern border, we find that the total area devoted to growing tobacco in the Texas and Inglewood Districts was  $652\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

During the year the railway receipts responded to

of work shared in municipal government extended over forty-two years, and whose residence in Queensland began four years previous to Separation, for in the course of the year Alderman McMaster was the recipient of well-merited recognition of faithful services in local government affairs, being presented by his civic well-wishers with a purse of 500 sovereigns.

In furtherance of higher education, as well as the advancement of medical science and healing, the year with which we are dealing brought events, notable in their importance, for King's College, in affiliation with the University, was opened officially by the Governor, who during his whole tenure of office displayed the keenest interest in educational affairs and the advancement of scientific methods. His Excellency Sir William MacGregor further performed the inaugural ceremony in connection with the Institute of Tropical Medicine at Townsville.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## IN THE THROES OF THE GREAT WAR.

The year to which our review of incidents in the national life of Queensland has brought us was momentous in the history of the world, for the second half of the annual period had hardly begun when the Great War came. Throughout its length and breadth Australia was destined to feel the vivifying touch of devoted unselfishness through and in the war; and it is strange, for it seems as though we dealt with quite another world, to note that in the first half of 1914 things pursued their wonted and time honoured course in the State. We were so far away from the jangle and discord of European squabbles and international jealousies that they had no interest for us, were as things apart from our lives, and then at the signal of a pistol shot in Eastern Europe the flames of destruction broke out and Queensland, as all the States, was one with the Empire as she never was before in staying the conflagration of barbarism.

The records of the year in days prior to the war bore witness to but one fact, the advancing tide of prosperity. The sugar crop at Mackay was calculated at between 40,000 and 50,000 tons, while the farms on the rich alluvial upper flats of the Mary River and the no less fertile slopes of Mount Bauple were estimated to yield 40,000 tons of cane for crushing at the central mill there. In the North, in the Cairns district, cane-growing went on successfully, as was proved by the output of sugar at the Mulgrave Central Mill, amounting to over 10,000 tons. In the Roma District the area of land under cultivation for wheat was reported to show a large increase on that of previous years, for several thousands of acres had been put under crop, which was looking well. The official returns published during the year showed that the agricultural crops in the State during the previous twelve months were valued at £6,241,022, while the value of the wool clip was £6,296,000. The amount of land selected during eleven months of the year 1914 represented a total of 7,564,150 acres, the rentals therefrom being in all £42,957. As it was with arable farming so it was with the pastoral industry, and the excellent results of the sale of grazing properties during the first half of the year bore witness to the fact that before the war came and the price of meat, as well as of all foodstuffs, went up, the raising of stock in the State stood for great prosperity. Among the stations sold was "Maranoa Downs" in the St. George district, with 52,000 sheep, 250 cattle, and 50 horses, purchased by Hearn Bros., of Victoria, for £90,000. The travelling of stock on the Northern Railway implied busy times, for it is stated that a record in cattle-trucking was attained, 1,380

cattle being put on a train in seven hours. Yet another record was established, for in June the meatworks at Ross River surpassed all other similar industrial centres in Australia by dealing with 1,772 cattle in one day. Very notable in the history of the pastoral industry was the purchase during the course of the year by the Morris Meat Company of a site on the Brisbane River for building large works for dealing with meat for export. Worthy of mention in stock-raising in Queensland is the killing of a sheep in the Roma District which weighed when dressed no less than 190 lbs. The skin measured 51 inches by 50 inches. The record-breaking animal was the property of Mr. D. Ross of Dingwell.

Of great interest in connection with the mining industry was the discovery of molybdenite, one of the most valuable of industrial minerals other than precious metal. Molybdenite was found at Bamford, in the Cairns district. Later at Wolfram Camp, Mareeba, eight tons of the metal, used extensively in making the toughest steel, were sold at the rate of £462 per ton. Subsequently it was reported that deposits of molybdenite had been unearthed at Stanthorpe. Not only were discoveries and developments in metals reported, for there were also large finds of gems to the value of £40,000 at Sapphire town, together with precious stones for mechanical purposes valued at £5,000. And in the seeking there was also laid bare relics of a bygone age in stone tomahawks, a stone chisel, together with human bones.

Parliament met in July, 1914, and a list of useful measures was presented and for the most part became law. The following comprehensive programme in railway construction was approved:—Cloncurry to Mount Cuthbert (second section); Dirranbandi extension; Enoggera to Terrors Creek; Gatton to Mount Silvia; Goondoon towards Kalliva Creek; Inglewood to Texas and Silver Spur; Lanefield to Rosevale; Malanda to Millaa Millaa; Miles to Taroom (second section); Mount Russell to Cecil Plains; Mundubbera to the Northern Burnett; Murgon to Proston and branch to Windera; Rockhampton to Alton Downs; Tara towards Surat; *via* Recta-Mount Edwards to Maryvale. Parliament also validated the taking over of the Mount Garnet railway by the Government.

It is not within the scope of this work to deal with the war, save to record with glowing pride the answer to the call of battle which the flower of the State gave in defence of the freedom of the world and the safety of the Empire. On land and sea in all the war zones were Queenslanders and Australians as a whole found, and in the self-sacrifice of her sons their country

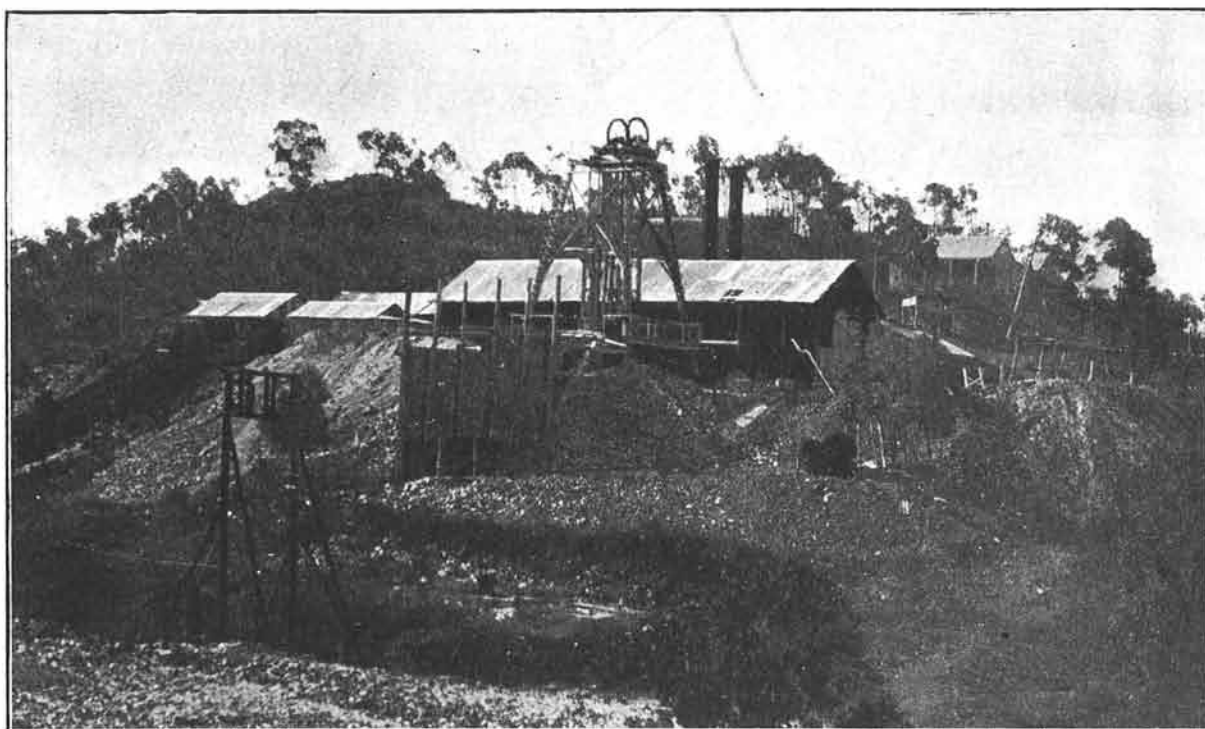


found confidence and assurance concerning her freedom through all time. In the capture of the German raider "Emden" by the "Sydney," the seizure of German New Guinea by an Australian force and the occupation of the annexed possessions the men of the Commonwealth showed their prowess, as did the New Zealand force in the capture of Samoa, while the heroism at Gallipoli will never be forgotten. In Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, in the long vigils in the desert and watch and ward kept at the Suez Canal our troops will ever be remembered. On the Western Front no less did the men from the Austral lands muster and nobly did they write history, many alas with their blood. The war came and the war has passed, but the deeds of the Anzacs have

without portfolio. The passing of Mr. Barlow removed one who had for many years served the State faithfully and effectively in no less than seven Administrations, and through all his labours had won the reputation of a man always eager to do the right and faithful in the doing of it. His demise was regretted by a circle far outside of politics. Mr. Douglas joined the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio.

When the general election came on May 22, 1915, it was found that Labour had secured 45 seats as against 21 supporters of the Liberal Party, there being five representatives of the farmers and one Independent.

During the first months of the new year there came a change in the vice-regal representation, Major Sir



LEISNER BLOCK, WOLFRAM MINES.

been written in imperishable letters upon the scroll of fame.

With the passing of 1914 things in Parliament began to wear a different aspect for the Government, and the coming year was to show that even if the Ministry had not changed, the views of the supreme arbiters in the fate of Cabinets, the electors, had altered. Changes in the Ministry took place early in 1915 while Parliament was in recess, for Lieut.-Colonel Rankin succeeded Mr. Paget as Secretary for Railways, while Mr. K. M. Grant went to the Home Office and also administered the Mines Department in lieu of Mr. J. G. Appel. And yet another change in the *personnel* of the Cabinet was due to the death of the Hon. A. H. Barlow, Minister

Hamilton John Goold-Adams, succeeding Sir William MacGregor, who might fittingly be said to have stood quite apart from all others in the fulfilment of his duties as Governor, through the almost fatherly interest he took in the people of the State and all pertaining to their welfare. In July, 1919, came tidings from Scotland, received with deep regret, that Sir William MacGregor had passed away.

The Ministry who received a mandate from the people to take office was as follows:—Premier, Chief Secretary, Attorney-General, and Vice-President of the Executive Council, Mr. T. J. Ryan; Treasurer and Secretary for Public Works, Mr. E. G. Theodore; Home Secretary, Mr. D. Bowman; Secretary for

Railways, Mr. John Adamson; Secretary for Public Instruction, Mr. H. F. Hardacre; Secretary for Public Lands, Mr. J. M. Hunter; Secretary for Agriculture and Stock, Mr. W. Lennon; Ministers without portfolio, Mr. J. Huxham and Mr. J. A. Fihelly. With this Administration there came an emphatic change in the policy for governing the State.

Among the measures passed in Queensland in 1915 it is to be noted that there were quite a number of laws arising from and due to the war, among them being the Sugar Acquisition Act, enabling the State Government to acquire the whole of the crop of sugar cane during the year in order to act in conjunction with the Federal Government, the measure also authorizing the extension of the powers under the Act to any food-stuffs, goods, and chattels, together with live stock. An effort to solve the ever-recurring problem of the price of cane was made by an Act providing for the constitution of a Central Board together with Local Boards, which were granted the right of appeal to the Central Board. The Workers' Accommodation Act generalized measures passed in reference to shearers and sugar workers. Other measures of moment were Land Tax and Income Tax Acts. The former measure placed the minimum of taxation at £300, the impost rising from 1d. in the pound to 6d. in the pound. Land not developed bore a heavier tax than that in use. In the Income Tax Act the payments ranged in the case of personal exertion from 7½d. to 1s. 6d. in the pound, while property was taxed at a rate varying from 12d. to 20d. in the pound; the incomes of absentees were taxed at a higher rate, and public utility or monopoly companies paid on a yet higher scale up to 36d. in the pound. The Treasurer (Mr. Theodore) in his financial statement explained that the land and income taxes were introduced for the purpose of meeting during the year a deficit estimated at £370,564, the income tax being calculated to yield £210,000 and the land tax £165,000, or a total amount of some £4,500 more than the deficit. Signs of the time were very apparent in the Constitution Amendment Act, which had as its object the abolition of the Legislative Council. The Upper House having exercised to the full its powers in sundry measures had certainly not tended to weaken the penchant of the Labour Party for a single Legislative Chamber. It is of importance to recall the fact that in June of the year under consideration Mr. E. H. Macartney was chosen Leader of the Opposition, while Lieut.-Colonel Rankin became Deputy Leader. Mr. Macartney, however, tendered his resignation of the position on September 8 by reason of ill-health. Mr. J. Tolmie succeeded the member for Toowong in the Leadership of the Opposition.

Among the events in the sphere of farming were the prices paid for 100 selections on the Cochin Estate, the aggregate amount received being £56,574, while in the

sugar industry the Moreton Central Sugar Mill showed a profit of £2,909. It is also interesting to note that the Marburg cane suppliers were being paid 25s. per ton, including payment for cane tops used as fodder. These facts are interesting as both the districts in question are considered to be further south than is deemed advisable in regard to sugar-growing. All the more are the facts of interest as it was calculated later on in the year that there would be a shortage of 32,000 tons in the sugar crop by reason of the dry season. Against that untoward experience may be recorded a shipment of Queensland butter which the steamer "Carpentaria" took to London and which was valued at £108,000. Pastoral affairs were feeling the reaction of the war in enhancing prices, and as an evidence of the expansion of the grazing industry may be mentioned the announcement that the Gladstone District was to be benefited by the establishment of meat works at Police Creek, some three miles from the town, in addition to the very successful and prosperous works at Parson's Point.

Turning to another important asset of the State it is of interest to record that the gold yield in the month of March represented an increase of £28,706 compared with the similar period of the previous year. As an evidence that the mineral products of the North to which we have referred were deemed of great importance by the Ministry, there was an intimation on the part of the Government of an intention to erect a plant at Bamford, in the Cairns District, for the purpose of treating molybdenite and wolfram ores.

As an indication of the manner in which mercantile affairs and maritime trade of the State, coastal, and overseas were enlarging it may be mentioned that new wharves and sheds were built to the order of the South Brisbane Town Council at a cost of £11,000, being completed early in the year. Yet other indications of progress and prosperity were to be found in the sale of the corner of Queen Street and Albert Street, formerly occupied by Messrs. Grimes & Petty, the purchasing price being £65,000. The year also saw the flotation by the Q.N. Bank of their station properties into a Company with a cash capital of £859,000.

In the year 1916, as in all the long-protracted anxious times of the terrible struggle in the various war zones, the masterful influence in family and social life, politics and commerce, was the war. How the State responded, not only by giving of her best in her sons who volunteered, but also of her wealth, may be realized by the fact that in January the Queensland Patriotic Fund stood at £388,808, while six months later, on June 26 the amount raised had risen to £411,899. On April 25 Anzac Day was celebrated by divine services at the camps and churches, together with public meetings and a march of troops through Brisbane, 6,434 soldiers

taking part in the review. Later, on August 4, came the second anniversary of the war, and yet despite the patriotic fervour which blazed up brightly the decision of the State, as of the Commonwealth, was very strongly expressed in regard to conscription, for the referendum which took place on October 28 showed that 151,101 electors were opposed to the system, 143,051 being in favour of compulsory service. In the Commonwealth as a whole the voting was 1,084,918 for and 1,146,198 against conscription.

A stimulus was given to dairy farming, apart from the rise in prices due to the war directly, by an order received from the Indian Government in June for 900,000 lb. of cheese. Signs of the times in advancing settlement were also afforded in the purchase by the Government of Cecil Plains, one of the best

June rain fell so heavily in the West that a projected visit of His Excellency the Governor to that part of the State was perforce abandoned. As the year waned to its close a cyclone which swept over the Mackay District was attended by torrential rain. Very heavy rains were did Clermont suffer, floods devastating the place and resulting in terrible privations, injury to property and also experienced in the Central Division, and especially still the greater calamity, the loss of life. And yet another disaster, this time in the industrial sphere, fell on Queensland during the year, for owing to a dispute between colliery owners and their employes concerning working hours and other questions the miners were all called out by the Central Trades Union Executive in September, and as a result all trams and trains in the metropolitan area ceased work. Fortunately for the



COAL MINE AT TANNYMOREL.

known and most valuable station properties on the Darling Downs, which was acquired for the purpose of being cut up into selections at a purchasing price of £2 per acre. It is interesting, in testimony of the relation of the State railways to the pastoral industry and the advantages of transport they offered as compared with the old-time system, to note that out of 10,000 sheep despatched by rail from Aramac to Dirranbandi only one animal died in transit. During the year the record price for wool was attained at the sales at Brisbane, 3s. 9d. per lb. being realized. This was very nearly equalled at Sydney, where 3s. 8½d. was paid for wool from Darr River Downs. During the year phenomenal downpours of rain were experienced. At Babinda, in the North, no less than 22'40 inches were recorded early in the year, that deluge falling within 48 hours. In

State an understanding was arrived at by October 4, and most of the coalminers had resumed work.

The programme of the Parliamentary session which began on August 22 gave promise of much business, and the measures members were invited to consider included the Bills which had in the previous session proved distasteful to the Upper Chamber, with a view it was astutely believed to recourse to the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act. The proposed measures were the Industrial Arbitration Bill; the Commonwealth Powers (War) Bill; the Meat Works Bill; the Land Act Amendment Bill; together with the Bill to abolish the Upper House, the Popular Initiative and Referendum Bill, with a measure to abolish Capital Punishment. Far reaching and comprehensive the policy was, but the Government did not escape criticism, for after the

Assembly had been in session for some six weeks the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. James Tolmie, moved for a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry "by reason of the disloyal utterances of the Hon. John Fihelly, Acting Minister for Justice, and the Hon. William Lennon, Minister for Agriculture, as appearing in the *Catholic Advocate* newspaper of Thursday, September 7, and *The Daily Mail* newspaper of Tuesday, September 19, and generally for its failure to adequately assist at the present juncture the Empire in its need of reinforcement for the troops in the field." The motion was defeated, an amendment by the Treasurer being carried to the effect that the Government "possesses the full confidence of this House by reason of its capable handling of all problems with which it is faced." The voting was 42 for the amendment against 24 for the motion. Feeling ran very high at the time, and of this the members of the Opposition, and we may add supporters of the Government, gave token by rising and singing "God Save the King."

In November came the financial statement. It anticipated a deficit of £158,076 and looked to two new "resting places" in the scheme of income taxation with increased imposts, together with a super tax on incomes larger than £400 to yield the required sum lacking in revenue. Before the session and the year closed the Industrial Arbitration Bill and the Land Tax Amendment Bill became law, but it was not so with the measure to abolish the Upper House.

The House adjourned on December 22, and but two days before the business of the year was brought to a close there passed hence one of whom Queenslanders should be proud—Sir Arthur Morgan, President of the Legislative Council. Kindly, well intentioned, broad-minded, and capable he achieved and succeeded. He could ill be spared and was deeply mourned.

With the new year, 1917, there came heavy rains in the North and also in Central Queensland. A flood swept "Majuba" Station bare of livestock, the losses including 100,000 sheep. Later it was reported that the Flinders was in flood; the river rose higher than was ever known during thirty-five years. Not only was the loss of stock very serious but there was a toll on human lives, six persons being drowned. Some two weeks subsequently tidings from the south-western districts showed that St. George and Goondiwindi were suffering from excessive rains. As the days passed Charleville and Cheepie reported floods, while in the metropolitan district a heavy storm raised a record by the fall of an inch of rain in twenty-five minutes.

The war went well for the Allies during the year. Patriotism was burning brightly, and already men—and women too—were throwing the energy

of their souls into providing for the homecoming of the Australian soldiers, and their future after their return. Among the grandly generous gifts to the men who served was land for their uses, 7,075 acres of country on "Tantitha" Station being donated by Moore Bros., of "Barambah" Station, the gift being all the more generous as it was unhedged by any conditions. Anzac Day witnessed the appeal of the Young Men's Christian Association for aid and the grand response of the public of £30,000. France's Day was bright and loaded with the deepest fraternal emotion in admiration of our great Ally. The Franco-Queensland League of Help was successful in raising £15,340.

During the course of the year Queensland experienced trouble through strike difficulties and the consequent dislocation of business. The strike of 300 employés of the various bacon factories in the Brisbane District was settled by the employers agreeing to give the men an advance of 10 per cent. in wages. A stoppage of work on the part of 1,600 employés at Mount Morgan was more serious, but an escape from the difficulty was found. The strike arose from the refusal of the management to dismiss a non-unionist worker. The most extensive trade dispute was the strike of the railwaymen at work in the Mackay District and northward. It was due to the refusal of the Department to grant retrospective pay to all employés on the Northern railway. The difficulty was intensified by the stoppage of the coastal trade through the crews of the steamers coming out in sympathy with the railwaymen. After the strike had existed for eighteen days the men in Mackay went back to work on August 24. The employés on the Townsville line continued off work for some time longer. A movement on the part of Mr. Ryan to overcome the strike difficulty in the coastal steamers by taking over three steamers under the authority of the Sugar Acquisition Act of 1915 which dealt with subjects other than its title betokened was met by action on the part of the Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, who forbade the commandeering of the vessels, superseding the authority and law of the State by that of the Commonwealth. In Brisbane commercial men assembled to pass resolutions condemnatory of the attitude of the Government in regard to the northern strike and the holding up of the shipping trade.

In March, 1917, came a *cause celebre* before the Supreme Court, or rather the first act in the judicial drama, for judgment was given in what was termed the Mooraberrie cattle case, in which Mrs. Duncan and F. C. Trotman sued the Treasurer of Queensland and his Under-Secretary, claiming damages for trespass and seizure of cattle. On March 24 the jury gave their verdict awarding £2,900 damages to plaintiffs, with the

alternative judgment of £900 if the proclamation of the Government in regard to acquiring cattle was warranted by law. The Premier, Mr. Ryan, took the suit under appeal to the High Court of Australia. The Judges of that Jurisdiction supported the finding of the State Court. Not content, Mr. Ryan made a final appeal, taking the case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In London the decisions of the Australian Courts, State and Federal, were reversed—rather a mark of Mr. Ryan's pronounced ability as a member of the Bar.

In the following month yet another judgment affecting the Ministry was given, the Full Court deciding that the referendum proposed to be held concerning the abolition of the Legislative Council was illegal. Later the High Court reversed the verdict of the State Court, deciding that the course taken by the Government was legal. The appeal to the electors took place simultaneously with the Federal Election for the return of three Senators and ten members to the House of Representatives. The referendum proved that the electors were against the abolition of the Upper House, the voting being 179,105 against and 116,196 for the abolition

of the Chamber. An event noteworthy in a sphere far other than politics took place in June, when the bi-centenary of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, E.C., was celebrated at the Exhibition, Brisbane. The address on the occasion was given by the Rev. W. Scott, of Toowong.

The session of Parliament did not terminate with the passing of the year, for members reassembled on January 30, and a number of measures were dealt with in the ensuing fortnight during which Parliament was at work. Among the Bills approved and made law were the following:—Factories and Shops Acts Further Amendment Bill; Mount Molloy Railway Bill;

Clermont Food Relief Bill; Health Acts Amendment Bill; Discharged Soldiers Settlement Bill. The following measures were declared by the Assembly to have been lost in the meaning of the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act:—Income Tax Act Amendment Bill; Meatworks Bill; Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act Amendment Bill; Rabbit Bill; Wages Bill. The Upper House did not pass the following measures:—The Chillagoe and Etheridge Railway Bill; the Valuation of Land Bill; and the Hospitals Bill.

The next session of Parliament opened on June 9 and within a week the forces of the Opposition had made a strong effort at consolidation, the Liberal

Association and the National Federation having united on the 15th of the month. Following a time-honoured precedent in Parliament the Ministry during the month of October sought to strengthen their fighting line in the Upper House, and did so by the addition of the following thirteen gentlemen:—The Hons. W. R. Crampton, H. Llewellyn, W. H. Demaine, G. Page Hanify, H. C. Jones, L. McDonald, J. Perel, W. J. Rierdan, R. Sumner, F. Courtice, E. B. Purnell, T. Nevitt, and Randolph Bedford.



THE STATE GOVERNMENT INSURANCE BUILDING, LOOKING DOWN ELIZABETH STREET.

On August 29 the Leader of the Opposition moved a want of confidence motion dealing with the attitude of the Government in regard to the Northern railway strike. An amendment, however, by the Premier was carried by 39 votes to 22. In the following month came the Treasurer's Budget Speech, which foreshadowed a deficit of £496,612. To liquidate the debit balance it was proposed to introduce additional taxation by a new income tax, additional stamp and succession duties, super-land tax of 2d. in the pound on all taxable land of an unimproved value of £2,500 and upwards, together with extra rents from pastoral holdings, obtainable by removing the limitation on the

powers of the Land Court in regard to increasing the rents of pastoral Crown tenancies after reassessment. The proposed scheme of taxation would, it was estimated, yield £500,000, substituting a surplus of £3,388 for the deficit. Again did the Legislative Council decline to accept a Bill deemed of great importance to the Ministry. The measure was the Requisition of Ships Bill, and had for its object the relieving of the tension due to the shipping strike. Yet further friction between the two chambers was due to the Upper House taking exception to an Appropriation Bill for £900,000, and succeeding after a free conference between the two Houses in securing the reduction of the sum asked for by one-half. A number of measures including the Income Tax Amendment Bill were turned down by the Upper House, while one, the State Iron and Steel Works Bill, was so amended as to be unacceptable to the Legislative Assembly, and so went to its appointed place among the lost Bills under the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act. Parliament ceased work on December 6.

That which held the attention of all during 1918 was the war. Nothing in the political world, and nothing in development in any sphere was of moment unless it could be seen that it had relation to the struggle which had gone on for more than three years. Of great importance was it therefore when the tidings came that the grand company of workers in a good cause, the Young Men's Christian Association, in its Queensland branch had raised £35,000, the quota to be obtained by members of the Association in the State. Yet another great band of noble workers, the Red Cross Society, aimed high in seeking to collect £100,000 in aid of their splendid services to the men on war service who were missing, wounded, or in captivity. None knew better than the friends of members of the A.I.F. how thoroughly the Red Cross people did their work. The Queensland branch attained its ambition. April 25 witnessed the enthusiastic celebration of Anzac Day, nor was Empire Day less fittingly celebrated, a very appropriate touch of sympathy and recognition being found in the dinner given to veterans of the Crimean war. In June the Friendly Societies in the metropolitan area raised £2,000 for the Patriotic Fund through the holding of sports. It may be mentioned that a month later it was announced that the total amount subscribed to the fund was £584,735. The coming of August gave occasion for an enthusiastically patriotic gathering on the fourth anniversary of the war, the meeting being held in Market Square, Brisbane. While the evidence of overmastering patriotism was very great, and could be gathered from every district and township in the State, it cannot be denied that as the dark days of the war lengthened there was a tendency among certain sections to seek the ending

of the struggle no matter what the cost of peace might be. Nothing could show this more clearly than the affirmation by an industrial council "that the sole interest of workers of all countries lay in the stopping of the war." Perchance it was the darkest hour before the dawn, for the overture of peace came, but a day after the French Mission had brought their visit to Queensland to a close, and on October 1 Bulgaria, always a doubtful factor in the scheme of aggression, concluded an armistice. Hostilities with Turkey ceased on the last day of October by the Sultan's unconditional surrender, and three days later Austria-Hungary obtained an armistice on terms dictated by the Allies. On November 11 Germany accepted the terms of the Allies in regard to an armistice. Great rejoicings took place in Queensland as well as in other parts of the Empire and all the Allied countries.

The first months of the year 1918 brought serious and disastrous floods, attended with sad loss of life. The town of Mackay and the surrounding district was swept by a cyclone, followed by torrential rains, resulting in floods, through which twenty persons lost their lives and great damage to property ensued, among the losses being a large consignment of sugar stacked on the wharves at the Pioneer River, ready for shipment. Three vessels were also sunk, and the damage sustained in Mackay and district was estimated at £1,500,000. In Rockhampton floods played havoc, stock being lost, and, far more regrettable, several persons drowned. Later, in March, a cyclone wrecked Babinda, north of Townsville, the State hotel being greatly damaged. Here, too, there was loss of lives and many casualties. At another important sugar district in the north, Innisfail, the losses were still greater, for there were more than one hundred casualties and nearly every house in the town was wrecked. Similar losses were reported from Ingham, while Cardwell, Atherton, and Mount Garnet were more or less damaged.

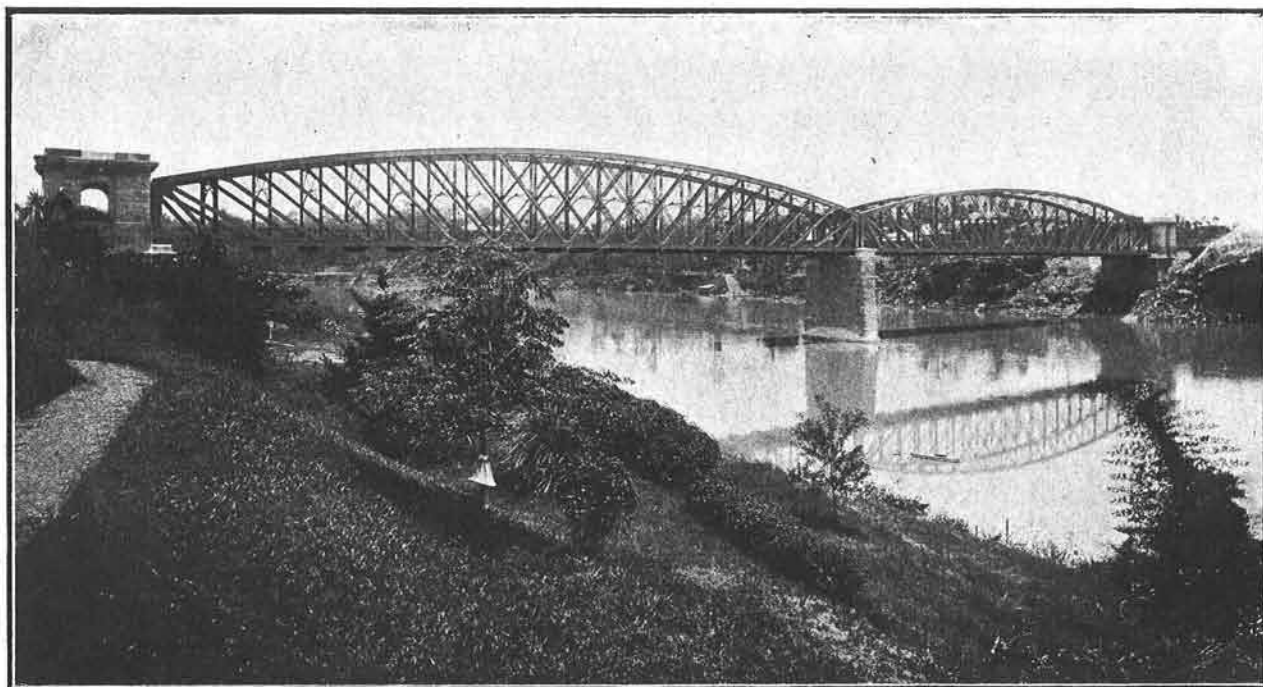
Among the events significant of industrial well-being and progress was the contract given by the Commonwealth Government to Walkers, Limited, of Maryborough, for the building of four steel ships, and in the middle of the year a section of the Dayboro railway, from Sunford to Mitchelton, was opened by the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. J. M. Hunter. Later in the year, in November, the Government purchased Lyndhurst Station in North Queensland, the property being stocked with 25,000 cattle and 415 horses. The purchasing price was £170,000.

Serious bush fires swept the western and south-western districts during the year, and the losses due to this source at Saltern Creek Station were not confined to stock, for the manager (Mr. A. K. Jones) and four

others were burnt to death. Yet other havoc, due to the fire fiend, though not working through bush fires, occurred in the course of the year, for in September the premises of Walter Reid & Co., a building of three stories, in Quay and Derby Streets, Rockhampton, was destroyed, the damages being calculated at £80,000.

Education must always represent the stamp on progress, and without it there can be no sterling advancement. For that reason it is most satisfactory to record the opening of the new Anglican Grammar Schoolhouse, the ceremony being performed by His Excellency the Governor, and attracting a large number of interested spectators. The function took place on June 10 and

of the Cabinet, Mr. Hunter assuming the duties of Vice-President of Executive Council, being succeeded at the Lands Office by Mr. Coyne, who in turn was succeeded at the Department of Railways by Mr. Fihelly, Mr. W. N. Gillies, Honorary Minister, acting as Minister for Justice. The Ministry as a whole, as it came back to power after the election and subsequent to the changes referred to, was as follows:—Chief Secretary and Attorney-General, Mr. T. J. Ryan; Treasurer and Secretary for Public Works, Mr. E. G. Theodore; Home Secretary, Mr. J. Huxham; Secretary for Agriculture and Stock, Mr. W. Lennon; Secretary for Public Lands, Mr. J. H. Coyne; Secretary for



RAILWAY BRIDGE. INDOOROOPILLY.

had an important bearing on the future of the State, far outside merely denominational interests.

Turning to the sphere of politics one finds the focus of many ambitions in the general election which took place on March 16; Parliament having been dissolved on the 16th of the preceding month. The electors, speaking through the ballot boxes, expressed their will with no uncertain voice, for when the numbers were hoisted it was found that 48 Labourites had been returned to Parliament, and 24 Nationalists. In the month of May there was a change in the leadership of the Liberal Party, Mr. E. H. Macartney succeeding Mr. Tolmie. Prior to that there had been a re-arrangement

Railways, Mr. J. A. Fihelly; Secretary for Public Instruction, Mr. H. F. Hardacre; Vice-President of the Executive Council, Mr. J. M. Hunter; Honorary Minister and Acting Minister for Justice, Mr. W. N. Gillies; Secretary for Mines (with seat in the Legislative Council), Mr. A. J. Jones.

Much of the attraction the opening day of Parliament presents to society was lacking when the Legislature met, and there was no guard of honour for His Excellency. The great work of the session was the picking up of the fragments, in other words the re-introduction of measures previously obnoxious to the Legislative Council. In all thirty-one Bills were again dealt with.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## A LEAN YEAR.

The years of a community are like the days of an individual. Some are altogether bright; others are dark and clouded. Of the latter description was in some sense 1919, for during the course of all the seasons the rigors of drought conditions were experienced. The prices of the necessaries of life rose abnormally, fruit and vegetables were difficult to procure, and such as were marketed, of inferior quality. The year was a lean one and the gloom of things was intensified by the presence of the influenza epidemic.

In the political sphere by-elections resulted in the return of the Government candidates, Messrs. Bulcock and Foley for the constituencies of Barcoo and Leichhardt, respectively, while in regard to the contest between Messrs. Macdougall and Spence, the latter, who represented Opposition interests, topped the poll. The election of Barcoo was due to the Chief Secretary and Attorney-General, Mr. T. J. Ryan, resigning his seat in order to enter the field of Federal politics. Mr. E. G. Theodore succeeded Mr. Ryan in the leadership of the Government.

What may be termed the wider politics occupied in the main the field of interest, for industrial troubles assumed in Brisbane threatenings of a revolutionary violence, and it seemed as though the hard times, experienced in Europe as the aftermath of the Great War, were extending their influence to Australia. And yet the times had their compensations, for there was the homecoming of the Australian soldiers, other than those in the Palestine adventure who returned some time later, following that event of world importance, the ratification of the Peace Treaty at Paris. Through Mr. Hughes, who represented Australia on the historic occasion, the Commonwealth played a part in shaping the destinies of the Nations. In the southern portions of the Island Continent, the waves of unrest, however, seemed to beat more heavily than they did in Queensland. The seamen's strike could not but largely affect a State with a huge coastal line, such as Queensland possesses, and even the turmoil of Broken Hill reverberated throughout the vast area which she comprises. In Northern Queensland, the meat-workers on the one hand and the railway employés on the other, seemed to challenge the control of the Government itself, as well as the industrial interests with which their work links them.

The year saw an extraordinary advance in long distance aviation—the crossing of the Atlantic and the yet more ambitious undertaking of a flight from England to Australia which was successfully accomplished by

Captain Ross Smith and Lieutenant Keith Smith, who were subsequently knighted for their great achievement.

Turning to a very important indicator of the prosperity and well-being of the State, we find that during the year 1918-19, the exports, oversea, represented £12,447,416 compared with £15,453,157 in the corresponding previous period. The imports for the year were £6,075,674 as compared with £4,492,746 in 1917-18. Of the exports the most important were:—Wool (greasy and scoured), £6,765,217; meat (all kinds), £3,371,907; hides and skins, £264,564; tallow, £640,612; butter, cheese and milk, £693,449. The shipping returns show 689 vessels of a tonnage of 1,157,646 as having entered at all ports, while 681 cleared, the total tonnage being 1,139,661. In the preceding year 676 vessels of a total tonnage of 1,157,642 entered and 679 cleared, the tonnage being 1,196,528.

Queensland's coal production in 1919 was 931,631 tons, the total value being £614,307, representing a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. The chief sources of the supply are the coalfields in the West Moreton, Wide Bay and Clermont districts. In regard to tin-mining, the centre of interest has moved from Stanthorpe in the south to Tinaroo and the Walsh in the North. In 1919 the total output was 994 tons of a value of £143,167. The value of copper mined was £952,501, the amount being 9,997 tons. Here, also, there was a decrease on the returns of the previous year, when 18,980 tons were mined, the value being £2,087,751. In the year under review, the silver mined totalled 92,048 oz., the value being £28,772, showing a slight decrease on the previous figures. Wolfram also showed a diminution in production, the output being 229 tons valued at £40,596 as against 249 tons of a value of £43,041. In gems there was a satisfactory increase, the value of the year's output being £42,883, as against £16,591 in the preceding year.

The returns of gold won in the State during the year represented a total of 117,476 oz. of the value of £514,105. The three fields in the lead were Rockhampton and Mount Morgan in the Central Division with 89,963 oz.; Gympie (Southern Division) 14,539 oz.; and Charters Towers and Cape River (Northern Division) with 8,095 oz.

Turning to the pastoral industry we find the statistics show a cheering change from the records of the previous year, and demonstrate the marvellous recuperative power of the grazing industry in Queensland. The area of land devoted to pastoral pursuits—including occupation licences—was 352,740,840 acres, figures comparing



favourably with 352,410,030 acres of the preceding year. There were in all at the close of the year, 1,957 runs, the total area being 211,030,440 acres. The cattle showed an increase on the previous year of 153,689, the number being 5,940,433. In sheep there was a decrease of 841,653, the number in the State totalling 17,379,332. The number of horses showed a decrease of 23,021 as compared with the previous year, the figures for 1919 being 731,705. The number of pigs was 99,593, a decrease of no less than 41,373.

In agriculture sugar holds first place. There were in all 34 sugar and juice mills, the yield of sugar being

dairying industry may be gauged by the fact that in the year 1919 there were 18,952 establishments dealing with cream or butter and in addition 42 butter and 85 cheese factories, the combined States and private factories turning out in all 26,213,514 lb. of butter and 8,296,218 lb. of cheese.

The fruit-growing industry in Queensland was of great importance in the year under attention and gave scope to large vineyards where in all 48,495 gallons of wine were made, the return of grapes being in all 2,194,320 lb. Other fruit products were pineapples, 676,483 dozen; oranges, 185,806 bushels; apples,



PALM AVENUE, ROCKHAMPTON GARDENS.

162,134 tons from 1,258,760 tons of cane. In addition there were four distilleries at work producing 488,080 gallons of rum. In crops other than sugar the returns of the principal products were as detailed hereunder:— Maize, 1,830,664 bushels, being an average yield per acre of 17.39 bushels; wheat (chiefly produced on the Darling Downs and in the Central Division), 311,638 bushels, the average yield being 6.71 bushels. In addition there were largely grown lucern, grass and oats, potatoes and barley, while tobacco and arrowroot were very successfully cultivated. The importance of the

68,477 bushels; mangoes, 53,375 bushels; strawberries, 44,884 quarts.

The educational facilities of the State included 1,425 State Schools, 134 provisional schools and four reformatory and aboriginal schools. In all there were ten grammar schools, including four for girls, and a large number of secondary schools for boys and girls. In addition there were ten institutions in various parts of the State for neglected children. The average daily attendance was 93,569 and the expenditure on primary education during the year amounted to £712,611.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE.

The drought which had paralysed progress came to an end early in 1920, the outlook became more hopeful and the prospects of a return of prosperous times cheered the State.

The most notable event of the year was the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, who made a royal progress through the Commonwealth. His ease of manner and lovable personality strengthened the ties which bind Australia to the Motherland, and his tour demonstrated more clearly than ever before the unity of Empire. The visit to Queensland was all too short, but will ever be one of the most valued features in the retrospect of the State.

Early in the second quarter of the year came the tidings of the death of Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, who had endeared himself to all during his term of office as Governor of the State. The sad event took place at South Africa while his Excellency was *en route* to England.

In the political sphere the activities were important and far-reaching, the Labour Party again being asked by the majority of the electors to administrate the affairs of the State. The appeal to the people took place on October 9. The changes which occurred in the Ministry were all within the party and the re-arrangement was as follows:—Premier and Chief Secretary, Mr. E. G. Theodore; Attorney-General, Mr. John Mullan; Home Secretary, Mr. W. McCormack; Secretary for Railways, Mr. J. Larcombe; Secretary for Public Instruction, Mr. J. Huxham; Treasurer and Secretary for Public Works, Mr. J. A. Fihelly; Secretary for Agriculture and Stock, Mr. W. N. Gillies; Secretary for Public Lands, Mr. J. H. Coyne; Minister without portfolio, Mr. Forgan Smith; Secretary for Mines (with seat in Legislative Council) Mr. A. J. Jones. The foregoing result of the shuffle of the Ministerial cards inferred changes in the inner relations and constitution of the Cabinet. Prior to the election the duties pertaining to the Lands Department had been vested in the Chief Secretary, Mr. Theodore, who was also Minister for Lands. After the verdict at the polls, Mr. J. H. Coyne, who had been Minister without portfolio and Assistant Minister for Lands, took full charge of that department. The Cabinet was enlarged by the addition of another Minister and the representative of Mackay, Mr. Forgan Smith, was placed in charge of the Works Department. To Mr. M. J. Kirwan, Member for Brisbane, were relegated the duties of Chairman of Committees.

Later in the same month there was held a referendum vote on the question of prohibition. The verdict of the people was quite emphatic, the vote being 175,225

for continuance of the system in use as against 28,222 for State Control and 145,222 for prohibition.

During the year Mr. Urquhart, who had performed excellent service as Commissioner of Police, went to the Northern Territory as Administrator, while Mr. Watson became Commissioner of State Insurance, succeeding Mr. J. Goodwyn.

An event of great importance was the merging of the State Savings Bank in the Commonwealth Bank. One of the most untoward events of the year was the maritime strike which threw out of gear the industrial machinery of the Commonwealth and had a disastrous influence on the public, private and national life of Australia.

During the year, Sir Samuel Griffith, whose name had been long linked with the State at the Bench, the Bar and the Legislature, and who later served the Commonwealth with distinction in the higher calling of Federal politics, passed away, full of years and honours. In the course of the year the allowance of Federal members of Parliament was increased from £600 to £1,000 per annum. The first Peace Loan had been issued in 1919, amounting to £25,025,000; the second was issued in 1920, £26,613,000 being subscribed.

The year 1921 is not over pleasant in retrospect to those who follow the progress of Queensland. It is true that there was a surplus of £9,830 against the estimate of £11,388, and the Treasurer, Mr. Fihelly, in his financial statement delivered in September, attributed the severe diminution in the earnings of the Railway Department to the slump in the mining industry in the Northern and Central divisions and depression in trade generally, the decrease in the actual revenue as compared with the estimated earnings being £269,688. There was an increase on the estimate in regard to taxation, land revenue, mining and other receipts, the total increases from these sources being £594,087. There was a decrease of £5,368 in the amount received from the Commonwealth under the Surplus Revenue Act. When it is remembered that the two largest spending departments were Public Instruction and Railways, it is perhaps difficult to withhold sympathy from the Government, who, for obvious reasons, found it unwise to retrench overmuch.

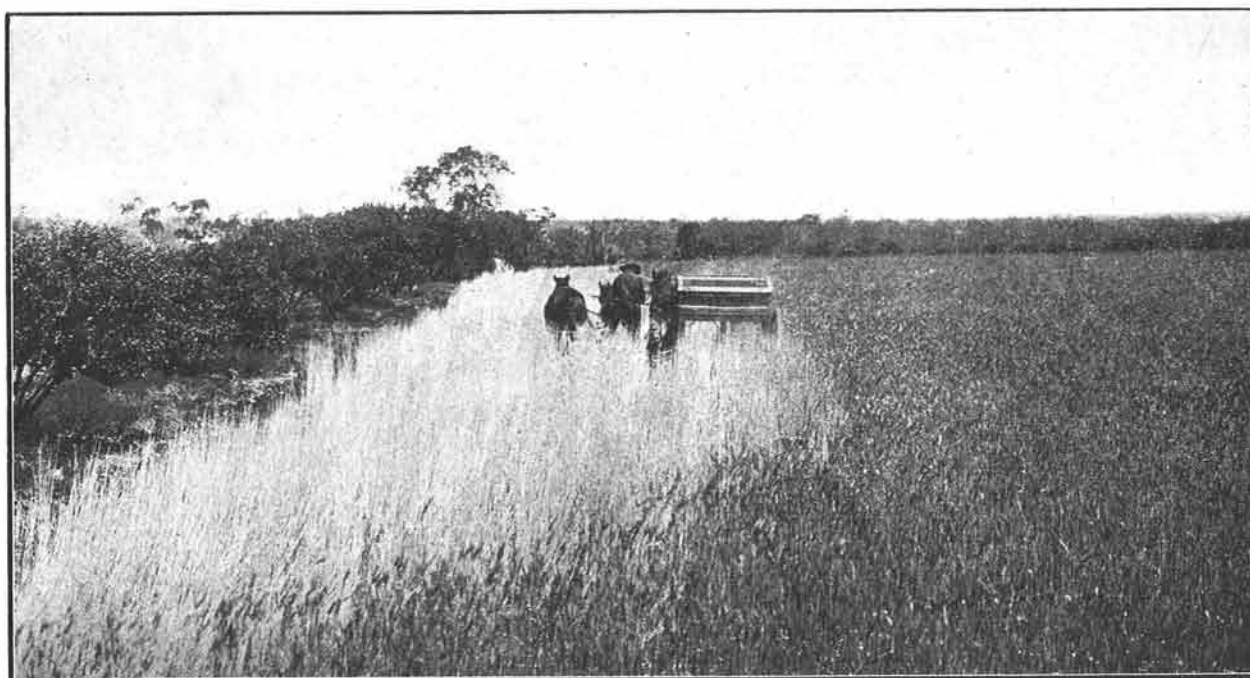
In his speech on the occasion referred to, the Treasurer attributed the balance sheets of the Government in their discouraging aspect to the collapse of the oversea markets for meat, tallow, metals, etc. It is interesting to note the increasing utility of the State Advances Corporation during the nine months prior to

June 30, 1921, that is since the sub-department was placed under the direct control of the Treasurer. The advances to settlers and for workers dwellings totalled during the period £457,572. If the amount for the three following months be added, that is up to September 30, it gives an expenditure of £674,784 for the preceding twelve months, the highest annual expenditure during five years, demonstrating the large extent to which two admirable systems of helping the people were availed of. It is perhaps worthy of note that the sum expended on soldiers' settlements in 1920-21 was £1,017,000 and there was a sum of £750,000 placed on the estimates for the following year.

Speaking in September of the year in question, the

accomplished, the other, the Hon. T. J. Ryan, who had sought the larger sphere of Federal politics, succumbed to sudden illness and passed away in the noonday of his powers.

The pooling of interests industrial had come into vogue during the war, when wheat pools, dairy produce pools and others were formed enabling the producers to control the local and interstate markets. In the initiative the system had been voluntary, but in 1920, one phase of pooling was rendered compulsory by the Wheat Pool Act, which provided for the management of the system by the farmers themselves. The benefits of pooling in regard to the crop affected have been marked and proved beyond question the satisfactory results accruing



STRIPPING WHEAT AT ROMA.

Treasurer made the cheering affirmation that the depressing circumstances through which the State was struggling were not due to internal factors, for Mr. Fihelly stated "that a general view of the present situation makes it quite clear that if outside markets were at all normal, this year would probably be the most prosperous in the history of the State . . . the seasons have been most bounteous, crops everywhere are flourishing and our primary industries, with the exception of mining, are thriving."

During the year two men who wrote their names large in the history of the State passed away. Of these, one was the representative of Maranoa in the Commonwealth Parliament, the Hon. J. Page, who had enjoyed the suffrages of the electors since Federation was

from co-operation between the official advisory board, the growers and the railway authorities. In the year under review, the Cheese Pool Act came into operation as the outcome of a conference of cheese producers. In regard to the sister industry of butter making, the system of pooling, though voluntary, was found of great utility in stabilizing the industry.

The efforts of the Department of Agriculture to enhance the value of fruit-growing by giving lessons in fruit picking were much appreciated and largely availed of. It is significant that agriculture has not reached full growth in Queensland, through the fact that dates, cocoa beans, coffee, tea and spices—unground—figure among the imports during the year 1920-21 to the total value of £2,135,108. Some time, it is hoped, the whole

of the articles in question, all of which could be grown in the State, will find encouragement under a Commonwealth Bounties Act.

That the advance of 5½d. per lb. for seed cotton bore good results may be gauged by a comparison of the statistics of 1919 and 1922 respectively. The acreage had increased from 73 to 7,000 and the yield of the crop from 37,238 to 3,755,526 lb. In the former year the value of the cotton crop was only £853; in 1922 its value had increased to £86,064—convincing facts surely for expanding cotton-growing in the State.

In 1921, the maize crop was represented by 2,907,754 bushels as against 2,012,864 in the preceding year. The average return for the preceding five years was 21·83 bushels per acre. The Atherton district took

the lead with 445,171 bushels, Wienholt coming second and Nanango third.

Turning to sugar we find that the year 1921, owing to an adequate rainfall, was the second largest on record, the return being 282,198 tons of sugar and the area under cultivation 184,513 acres, representing the record as far as area under cane was concerned. It also represents an increase of 21,894 acres compared with the land under sugar in 1920. The amount of cane required to make a ton of sugar had been gradually reduced, owing to improved methods in cultivation and manufacture, from 8·68 in 1918 to 8·11 in 1921. The number of growers in the year under review was 4,465 as compared with 3,930 in 1920, and the value of the total output of sugar, £8,560,006 as against £5,077,830 for 1920.

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## CHAPTER XL.

### THE ABOLITION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

During the year 1922 there was a satisfactory increase in the number of stock in the State, the number of cattle in that year being 7,047,370, and representing an increase of 591,703. The total number of sheep was 18,402,399, an increase of 997,559 compared with 1921 and the sheep industry was in a very satisfactory position on account of the splendid price of wool. The increase in the number of horses in 1922 totalled 5,326, the total number being 747,543, whilst pigs had increased by 40,713. During the year ended June 30, 1922, the average price of stock sold at the Newmarket saleyards in Brisbane was as follows:—cattle, £5 14s.; calves, £3 7s. 6d.; sheep, 12s. 6d.; lambs, 10s.

In the mining fields of the country as a whole the results of working in 1922 were satisfactory, the value of all minerals being £1,791,333, showing an increase of £334,897. Copper, which had risen slightly during the earlier part of the year fell at the end of 1922 to £64 per ton, a price which forbade production as the cost of obtaining the metal in Queensland exceeded that amount. The improvement in the tin market from £168 to £182 per ton naturally provided an impetus beneficial to the industry. In regard to gold production the return represented an increase of 40,208 fine oz. valued at £170,793, being one-half of the total output. It is noteworthy that the North Phoenix, of Gympie, a mine that has been worked for more than forty years, should in 1922 have given the largest yield in its history. The output of coal represented 958,519 tons valued at £840,472, compared with 954,763 tons of a value of £831,483. The average cost of production throughout the whole of Queensland during the twelve months was

17s. 6d. There was a serious reduction in the output of coke in the Ipswich district compared with the preceding year and a yet more serious slump as against production in 1920, which was more than double. At Mount Mulligan a coke plant was started and good results are anticipated. The output of gems represented a decrease on the previous year to the extent of almost one-third. The total value of opal won was £500.

The latest statistics show what a valuable asset the dairying industry represents to the State. In all 61,000,000 lb. of butter were made and more than 15,000,000 lb. of cheese, together with an equal amount of condensed milk. The increase on the output of the previous year was 20,000,000 lb. of butter, 4,000,000 lb. of cheese and 2,000,000 lb. of condensed milk, the total value of the products being £2,964,204. Employment was given to 35,684 persons and the value of the machinery employed in the industry represented £672,088. Nothing perhaps could give a more convincing argument concerning the importance of dairying than the foregoing figures.

In 1922 there took place a very important and far-reaching alteration in the State Legislature through the abolition of the Legislative Council—the result of a statute passed by the Government towards the close of the preceding year. Among other changes due to legislation was an amendment of the Constitution by which an age limit for the retirement of judges of the Supreme Court was provided. Under that statute, the Chief Justice, Sir Pope Cooper, and Justices Real and Chubb, and later on, Mr. Justice Jameson, resigned duties all had performed so well and positions all had adorned.



"BLACKBUT" SAPLINGS, NORTH COAST LINE,

It is noteworthy that in regard to the last-named member of the judiciary that retirement came perforce after he had seen but eight months' service on the Bench. During the year electioneering interests were touched by the Voting by Proxy Act.

A well-devised and important event was the visit to the State of the Cotton Delegation, a party of gentlemen travelling in Imperial interests who during an extended tour throughout Queensland were emphatic in their expression of opinion that Queensland was admirably suited for the production of Sea Island cotton. Thus does the crop, which found favour before sugar-growing ousted it, promise to become a very powerful rival to sugar, possessing as it does the advantages of being more suitable to the small farmer, necessitating far less capital and labour than sugar-cane. The latest figures are interesting and show that to July 24 the following seed-cotton was received:—Rockhampton Ginnery, 3,273,096 lb., value £71,601 15s. 2d.; Wowan, 1,757,941 lb., £40,275 7s. 8d.; Whinstanes, 3,908,948 lb., £88,833 19s. 6d.; Gayndah, 711,816 lb., £16,311 9s. 8d.; Dalby, 402,161, £9,215 12s. 1d. Total 10,053,962 lb., value £226,238 4s. 1d.—figures that speak for themselves when it is stated that the season has been the driest experienced for the past twenty-five years over the areas planted.

A notable event of the year was the total eclipse of the sun which took place on September 21, and from the fact that this State, in its southern bounds, offered exceptional facilities for observation, quite a number of scientists visited Queensland. The obituary of the year includes amongst those whom the State worthily honoured in its service, Sir Robert Philp, Sir Robert Scott, Mr. J. Baynes and Mr. K. M. Grant.

In the year 1921-22, the value of exports showed an increase of more than £2,000,000 compared with the previous year, but in imports there was a decrease of more than £3,000,000. In examining the details we find that in the following productions exported there were substantial increases compared with the trade of the foregoing annual period:—Ores; hides and skins; meat, all kinds; tallow; wool (greasy and scoured); whilst butter, cheese and milk show a considerable decrease. Cotton re-appears as an export with a total of 64,182 lbs.

Favourable seasons and work in development make a comparison between Queensland, or indeed any of the Australian States, and countries in Europe, very favourable to the former, at the dawning of 1923. Matters, social, cultural, industrial and political pursued the even tenor of their ways until May approached,

when the bustle and turmoil of a State election came into evidence. It may be that strong partisans of the Opposition entertained hopes that there would be a change of front in the political line, but if this were so then disappointment awaited those who held them. The Government, prior to the election, comprised the following gentlemen:—Premier, Chief Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. E. G. Theodore; Attorney-General, Mr. J. Mullan; Home Secretary, Mr. W. McCormack; Secretary for Railways, Mr. J. Larcombe; Secretary for Public Instruction, Mr. J. Huxham; Secretary for Public Works, Mr. W. Forgan Smith; Secretary for Agriculture and Stock, Mr. W. N. Gillies; Secretary for Public Lands, Mr. J. H. Coyne; Minister without portfolio, Mr. J. Stopford; Secretary for Mines, Mr. A. J. Jones. Mr. G. W. Watson acted as Clerk to the Executive Council.

As a result of the voting on the eventful day, May 12, the Labour or Ministerial Party were returned with a majority of 16, proving that the Labour Administration in the State had the confidence of the majority. The only change in the Cabinet was occasioned through Mr. Coyne resigning to take a seat on the Land Court Bench, his successor as Minister for Lands being Mr. F. T. Brennan.

It is of interest to record that at an extraordinary election held on July 7 in the Kingaroy Shire, rendered necessary through the recent alterations in the boundaries of the Shire, a lady representative was returned. Therefore to Mrs. Kent-Wilson is the honour of being the first woman in Queensland elected to such a public position.

Notwithstanding the period of drought and consequent effect on the growth of the wool, the pastoralists of the State have every reason to be satisfied with the returns for the wool season 1922-23. The latest available figures give the number of sheep at the beginning of the year as 17,051,756, a decrease of approximately 1,250,000 from the previous period, so naturally the clip was smaller, but throughout the whole of the sales there was strong competition, a keen demand and most satisfactory prices. In the eight sales of the 1922-23 series 298,621 bales were offered and 298,578 sold.

Of the future of Queensland we speak confidently, for where there has been steady ascent for so many years an arresting, or even a halting, is not to be thought of. Wise recognition by the people of their powers and the sufficiency of them, with a firm conviction that in constitutional reform lies a remedy for every ill the body politic is heir to, afford at once the security and the means for sure advancement.

# Explorers and Explorations.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 148)

## CHAPTER IX.

DR. LUDWIG LEICHHARDT.

Of all Australian explorers who have fought privation, risked dangers unknown, and perished in the interior wilds of the then little-known Continent, the name of none has attracted the same degree of romance and curiosity as has that of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt. Disastrous as was the fate of the party led into the heart of the Continent by Burke and Wills, yet the sad ending of the victims of that ill-led expedition was at least ascertained and even the bodies of the leaders recovered. The whole history of the causes leading to the failure was made known. But of the end of Leichhardt and his comrades on his final enterprise all is shrouded in mystery. Critics have assumed that the whole party were murdered by blacks. Others have believed that, penetrating too far into the interior desert when conditions were fairly favourable, it was impossible for the explorers to retrace their steps to more suitable regions when a period of rainlessness and dearth of vegetation overtook the arid heart of the Continent. The view of still others has been that Leichhardt was the victim of just such a flood as washed away the township of Clermont early in 1917, drowning fifty-three persons. No final traces of the death of the explorers have ever been discovered. But it may be taken for certain that the end was reached in Queensland. Before meeting the doom of which we know so little, Dr. Leichhardt had conducted other expeditions, all of which concerned the north-eastern part of the Continent.

Before beginning his career as an explorer, Dr. Leichhardt had devoted his efforts to botany. Knowledge of that science, of course, gave greater value to his journeyings over new land. His medical training also endowed him with special advantages, for making it his practice to associate with the natives he was able to cure many of their ailments, and consequently came to be favoured by tribes among which it would not have been safe for ordinary white men to penetrate. Dr. Leichhardt was born in Germany, educated in Paris, and had resided for a long while among British people. For two years, extending from 1842 to 1844, he had been exploring to the north of Moreton Bay.

In 1844 the people of New South Wales decided to send an exploring expedition to the westward and northward. Oxley, Mitchell, Cunningham, and Sturt

had all done work in those directions, but it was desired to greatly extend existing knowledge of that portion of Australia. A large amount of exploring work had been carried out recently on the western side of the Continent, and undoubtedly this stimulated the desire of the people of New South Wales to learn more of the very much richer territory which they possessed. The particular proposal at that time was to send an expedition overland from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, on the northern coast. Sir Thomas Mitchell already had established his reputation as an explorer on so sure a foundation that it was to him that all eyes were turned as the most suitable leader of the enterprise. A considerable delay occurred in obtaining the needed funds and sanction from the Colonial and Imperial Governments. While the public was waiting for an end to be reached in the long road of official circumlocution news came of South Australia's plans to send out a party for Port Essington under the command of Captain Sturt. In those days a great deal of rivalry existed among the Colonies in the matter of exploring what might well be termed "no man's land." At that stage Leichhardt returned from his work to the north of Moreton Bay. His reputation as an explorer stood high, whilst his scientific attainments were beyond question. At once he set to work to start an expedition by public subscription. This would not require the assistance of any Government. The plan was not carried out without considerable difficulty. Leichhardt himself wrote:—"I had well considered this interesting subject in all its bearings, and had discussed it with many of my acquaintances at Brisbane and its neighbouring district, who were generally of opinion that it was practicable under the plan I had marked out; but with others, particularly at Sydney, I had to contend against a strong but kindly-meant opposition to my journey. Some who took more than a common interest in my pursuits regretted I should leave so prominent a field of research as that which offered itself within the limits of New South Wales, and in which they considered I had laboured with some success during the last two years. Others considered the undertaking exceedingly dangerous, and even the conception of it madness on my part, and the consequence of a blind enthusiasm, nourished either by a deep devotion to science or by

an unreasonable craving for fame; whilst others did not feel themselves justified in assisting a man who they considered was setting out with an intention of committing suicide. I was not, however, blind as to the difficulties of the journey which I was determined to undertake; on the contrary—and I hope my readers will believe me to be sincere—I thought they would be many and great—greater indeed, than they proved to be; but during my recent excursions through the squatting districts I had so accustomed myself to a comparatively wild life, and had so closely observed the habits of the aborigines, that I felt assured that the only real difficulties that I could meet with would be of a local character."

The above words appear in the introduction to Leichhardt's account of the expedition—the last from which he ever returned. The funds for the expedition were subscribed, and Leichhardt duly appointed to take command. Unfortunately, the funds were too slender to allow of an adequate supply of scientific instruments being taken, and the leader decided to limit his party to six persons besides himself. The instruments carried consisted of a sextant, an artificial horizon, a chronometer, a hand Kater's compass, a small thermometer, and an Arrowsmith's map of the continent of "New Holland." No provision was made for any of these things being replaced if they should be lost or broken on the way. But clearly Leichhardt was managing the expedition with the view to lightness of equipment and speed of transit as primary considerations. "As our movements," he wrote, "were to be comparatively in light marching order our preparations were confined more to such provisions and stores as were actually necessary than to anything else. But I had frequently reason to regret that I was not better furnished with instruments, particularly barometers, or a boiling water apparatus, to ascertain the elevation of the country and ranges we had to travel over."

A great many persons offered to accompany Leichhardt on his perilous enterprise, but most of these offers had of necessity to be rejected. The companions ultimately selected by the explorer consisted of Mr. James Calvert, Mr. John Roper, John Murphy (a lad of about sixteen years of age), William Phillips (a prisoner of the Crown), and an aboriginal named Harry Brown. The total number of the party thus consisted of half a dozen persons, making a striking contrast to the cumbersome cavalcade which set out from Melbourne on the ill-starred expedition led by poor Burke and Wills.

Sydney was left on the night of August 13 for Moreton Bay by a steamer known as the "Sovereign." Thirteen horses were carried for the party. The lengthy period of a week was occupied on the voyage, the usual time in those days for the passage being three days. This had the effect of greatly deteriorating the condition of the horses, for besides the knocking about they

received from rough weather, food and water for them had been provided for only the ordinary period at sea. On arrival at Brisbane Leichhardt received the warmest of welcomes and was overloaded with presents, many of which he was forced either to decline or leave behind on account of the unwisdom of overloading the expedition. But one effect of the Brisbane people's generosity was to enable the leader to increase his party. The additions were four. Mr. Pemberton Hodgson, a resident of the Moreton Bay district; Mr. Gilbert; an American negro, named Caleb; and "Charley," an aboriginal. Leichhardt wrote afterwards that he had made the additions to his party with feelings of considerable reluctance. However, he felt he could not very well refuse the solicitations of Mr. Hodgson, to whom he was under considerable obligations for assistance rendered to the expedition. At the Darling Downs a spring-cart was purchased, but it proved only an impediment, and later was broken, when Leichhardt was lucky enough to exchange it for "three good travelling bullocks," which after considerable trouble were broken to pack-saddle work. Later on a present of four young steers and one old fat bullock was received from Campbell and Stephens, station-owners who were fallen in with during the commencement of the journey. The stock now consisted of sixteen head of cattle and seventeen horses. The provisions included 1,200 lb. of flour, with 200 lb. of sugar, 80 lb. of tea, 20 lb. of gelatine, and a number of other less bulky commodities. The ammunition consisted of 30 lb. of powder and eight bags of shot of various sizes, but mostly of No. 4 and No. 6. Each member of the party provided himself with two pairs of strong trousers, three strong shirts, and two pairs of shoes. A great deal of unnecessary difficulty appears to have arisen through the riding and pack saddles not fitting the horses. While there were spare horses, so that those with sore backs might be rested, not very much inconvenience was caused, but afterwards continual trouble arose.

Leichhardt had very little experience with bullocks, and his companions do not appear to have been able to help him in the matter. Not only was trouble met with in breaking the animals to carry packs, but the explorer had to be guided by what outsiders told him as to the amount a bullock was able to carry day after day on a long journey. These statements were very contradictory, but he appears to have been advised that he could put a load of 250 lb. on an animal's back during a continuous march. This he found to be excessive, and subsequently, from his own experience, he concluded that a bullock could not be made to carry more than 150 lb. on a long expedition. Altogether bullocks do not appear to have been a success as carriers.

One of the most difficult portions of the journey proved to be that lying between Brisbane and the outskirts of pastoral settlement. Brisbane was left soon



after a heavy downpour of rain, and this had set all the creeks running bankers, as well as causing the ground to be soft and heavy to travel over. A whole day was occupied in crossing the party and the baggage over the Brisbane River. Leichhardt was so disappointed at this unlooked-for delay that, the night being moonlight, he determined to push on after sunset. He had been lent a bullock-dray by Brisbane friends, and had purchased a light spring-cart. So that with the aid of these vehicles he made up his mind to take a fairly long stage before finally camping for the night. In this he was again disappointed. The ground was so boggy that the bullocks and horses were constantly floundering in the mud, and the dray and cart were axle deep, threatening continuously to be hopelessly embedded in the yielding ground. However, at about one o'clock in the morning, they arrived at Cowper Plains, some ten miles from Brisbane.

The real start of the expedition on its journey of exploration dates, of course, from the point of departure from the last settlement. This was from "Jimbour" Station, then termed, "Jimba," at that time belonging to Campbell and Stephens, near Dalby. The expedition set out from the homestead of that holding at the end of September, 1844, and it finished the journey in December of the following year. During the crossing of the Darling Downs excellent feed had been found all the way for the cattle and horses, whilst the men had benefited considerably from the cool temperature derived from an elevation of 2,000 feet above sea-level. For the first few weeks they travelled through country which certainly had been quite recently soaked with rain, and apparently having benefited previously from a favourable season, Leichhardt described in the most glowing terms. His journal abounds in botanical names of known and unknown plants, which do not strictly belong to a history of exploration, but which demonstrates the thoroughness with which the scientific part of the work was carried out. On October 17 the explorer wrote that the ground had been too heavy and boggy to permit of the camp being left on the previous day.

About this time Leichhardt complains of the small amount of game they are able to obtain, and of the consequent lack of animal food. Tracks of kangaroos, of which some were of great size, were seen, but the animals themselves could not be obtained. The party had only twice seen emus. Traces of aborigines were also found, but the tribes appeared to be rare and scattered. On the 19th a kangaroo was shot, together with a pigeon and a duck, which gave an appreciated change of diet. On the same day Gilbert obtained specimens of coal, which the leader believed to belong to the same layer as had been discovered at Flagstone Creek, on Mr. Leslie's station. He writes:—"We find coal at the eastern side of the Coast Range, from Illawarra

up to Wide Bay, with sandstone, and it seems that it likewise extends to the westward of the Coast Range, being found, to my knowledge, at Liverpool Plains, at Darling Downs, and at Charley's Creek. It is here, as well as at the east side, connected with sandstone." At that time Mr. Hodgson and Caleb had to return, because the party was too large for the provisions. On November 6 the main party came upon and named the Dawson River. Then they traversed some very fertile ground, which they called Calvert Plains, on the 10th again coming upon the Dawson.

For the next four days they continued travelling down the Dawson, the thickets about the banks of the river making progress so slow that they were forced to the neighbouring ridges. Several fine plains which

were met with Leichhardt called Vervain Plains. About this region the utmost trouble was experienced with the bullocks. The beasts kept disturbing hornets' nests in trees with their horns in passing. The insects then would pursue the animals, causing the latter to bolt and upset their loads. Provisions were constantly being wasted in this way and the pack-saddles were broken. Occasionally kangaroos of the largest size were shot, and these proved to be of the greatest value in rendering aid to conserve the supply of food, of which so much had been lost on account of the frequent trouble with the bullocks. Soon after leaving the Vervain Plains they crossed hills, to which they gave the name



DR. LUDWIG LEICHHARDT.

of Gilbert Ranges, after Mr. Gilbert of the party. Then they crossed and named Palmtree Creek, and afterwards Middle Range and Lynd's Range. They crossed and named Robinson Creek, and, finding a wide sheet of water alongside that stream, they bestowed the name of Murphy Lake upon it. Murphy Range also received its name at the same time. Orange trees in blossom were found on the Condamine, and on Robinson Creek again the same species of trees were met with, the fruit beginning to set.

The party, on November 20, were travelling along Robinson Creek, and entered upon a mountainous country, the banks of the stream becoming steep and rugged, whilst frequent narrow gullies running into it rendered travelling slow and tedious. The party had to wend their way through narrow valleys and over ranges where the route was often steep and dangerous. The latitude of the camp on the 21st was  $25^{\circ} 28' 12''$ . A few days later they were travelling over what Leichhardt described as stretches of beautiful country, the leading features being low ridges openly timbered with the silver-leaved ironbark, whilst the ground was covered with an abundance of grass and herbs and was liberally furnished with large lagoons. About the latter were abundant traces of the visits of aborigines, who obtained mussels from waterholes. At one of the recently-vacated black camps the party found four fine kangaroo nets, made of the bark of *Sterculia*, two of which they took, leaving in return a brass-hilted sword, four fishing hooks, and a silk handkerchief. It was to this spot that Mr. Hodgson penetrated when he followed the tracks of the expedition, as the result of rumours of the party having been lost, the story having arisen from the very much longer time than that expected which the journey occupied. A few days later diarrhœa, from which the party had been suffering continuously, began to disappear. All kinds of native meat was readily consumed. "Iguanas, opossums, and birds of all kinds," writes Leichhardt, "had for some time past been most gladly consigned to our stew pot, neither good, bad, nor indifferent being rejected. The dried kangaroo meat, one of our luxuries, differed very little in flavour from the dried beef, and both, after long stewing, afforded us an excellent broth, to which we generally added a little flour. It is remarkable how soon man becomes indifferent to the niceties of food, and when all the artificial wants of society have dropped off the bare necessities of life form the only object of his desires. One of our bullocks had torn one of the flour bags and about 15 lb. of flour was scattered over the ground. We all set to work to scrape up as much of it as we could, using the dry gum leaves as spoons to collect it, and when it got too dirty to mix again with the flour, rather than leave so much behind we collected about 6 lb. of it, well mixed with dried leaves

and dust, and of this we made a porridge—a mess which, with the addition of some gelatine, every one of us enjoyed highly."

On the 27th of the same month they ascended a line of hills and travelled for several miles along the top of this ridge, which was openly timbered. From this vantage point they could see various other lines of mountains, "with conspicuous peaks, cupolas, and precipitous walls of rock," extending in various directions from west by north to north-west. To the most distant range, which was striking and imposing, they gave the name of Expedition Range, whilst a bell-shaped mountain was called Mount Nicholson, in honour of Doctor (afterwards Sir) Charles Nicholson, who had first brought the question of the Port Essington expedition into the Legislature of New South Wales. Aldis Peak was called after a Mr. Aldis, of Sydney, who had considerably aided Dr. Leichhardt in launching his enterprise. From the range they descended with considerable difficulty into a broad valley, bounded on both sides by slopes and ridges.

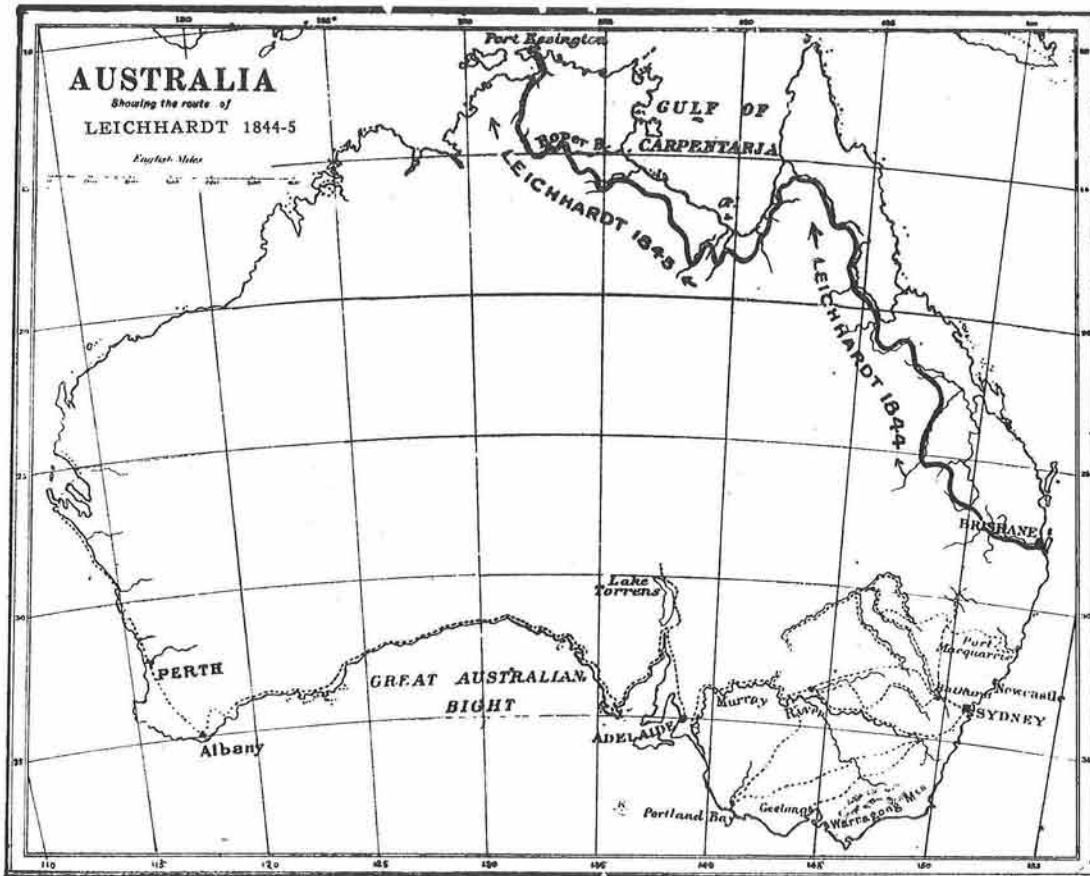
On the following day they discovered, in latitude  $25^{\circ} 19' 19''$ , a river to which they gave the name of the Boyd. The stream was running in a number of channels in a south-westerly direction. This day they busied themselves extracting the oil from an emu which they had obtained. The operation was performed by suspending the bird over a gentle fire and permitting the oil to drip into a vessel. Leichhardt said the oil was of a light amber colour, and was useful in oiling the locks of the firearms, also he regarded it as a good cure for rheumatism, and had used it occasionally for that purpose. The skins of kangaroo were used as a covering for the flour bags, which had become so worn with hard usage as to be unsafe. A day later, by ascending a range, Leichhardt saw five parallel ranges striking from north to south. The three easterly of these he considered sent their waters eastwards and the two westerly turned their streams in a south-westerly direction to the Boyd. To the east of the Boyd was a steep mountain range, striking from east to west. All the ranges were composed of sandstone of horizontal strata. The country passed soon after reminded Leichhardt of the high gates of ruined castles in Germany, and he named a creek there the Creek of the Ruined Castles.

On December 2 the party set out to examine some open country lying to the north-west, which Gilbert had seen from the top of a high mountain. They followed down a creek, on which the leader bestowed the name of Zamia Creek, on account of seeing an aborescent Zamia, with a stem from eight to ten feet high and about nine inches in diameter, and with elongated cones not then ripe. The plant proved to be very prevalent in the district. The kangaroos in this region

were very plentiful, and a number of them were shot. The blacks had been following the animals under cover, and they displayed their anger at the white men interfering with their hunt by spearing one of the horses. On the 10th of the month the Christmas Range received its name, the title being chosen because of Leichhardt expecting to reach the mountains on Christmas Day. Considerable hardship was experienced about this time. One of the good kangaroo dogs was lost, and some of the party became very nearly bushed, Calvert and Brown spending a whole night in the scrub. On the 18th one of the pack bullocks was lost in the scrub and

Brown Lagoon, because the native Brown had been the first to discover them.

By the 28th the party had moved on to Albinia Range, and on the 30th it had reached Comet Creek and was close to the foot of Comet Range. On the following day was discovered the remains of a hut, of which a ridge pole and two forked stakes remained. The latter were each about six feet high, and it was obvious that a European had been at work. The sticks had been cut with a sharp tomahawk. Leichhardt considered that the departed inhabitant of the place must have been a runaway convict from Moreton



THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY LEICHHARDT, 1844-5.

had to be abandoned. On the same day they killed the fat bullock which Mr. Isaacs had given to Leichhardt, the unconsumed meat being cut into thin slices and dried under the almost vertical rays of the sun. The fat was melted down for the purpose of rubbing into the leather gear to stop it from cracking. Next day Calvert and Charley were fortunate enough to discover the pack bullock which previously had been lost. The party remained in the camp they then occupied until after Christmas, the feed being good and some fine sheets of water being adjacent. The latter Leichhardt called

Bay. Shortly after the discovery of the old hut Leichhardt came upon a camp of natives, who instantly fled at the sight of the white men. "We then rode up to the camp," writes Leichhardt, "and found their dinner ready, consisting of two eggs of the bush turkey, roasted opossums, bandicoots, and iguanas. In their 'dillies' (small baskets) were several roots or tubers of an oblong form, about an inch in length and half an inch broad, of a sweet taste and of an agreeable flavour even when uncooked; there were some balls of pipeclay to ornament their bodies for corroborees. Good opossum

cloaks, kangaroo nets, and dillies neatly worked of koorajong bark, were strewed about; there were also some spears made of the brigalow acacia; all were forgotten in the suddenness of their retreat. I could not resist the temptation of tasting one of their eggs, which was excellent, but as they seemed to have trusted to our generosity I left everything in its place and departed. Brown thought that one of them looked like a half-caste, and as they called us, as far as we understood, 'whitefellows,' I felt confirmed in my supposition either that a white man was with them or had lived among them very recently." Probably Leichhardt's surmise was correct regarding the European. Escapes from the penal establishment at Moreton Bay had been very common. Indeed, the comparative ease with which prisoners obtained their liberty formed one of the reasons why the place was no longer used for punitive purposes. No doubt, in the course of time, one of the escapees could have penetrated as far as the Comet, and many refugees were known to have taken up with the blacks.

The expedition remained camped on the Comet Creek from December 31 to January 12, 1845. Vegetable and animal life was plentiful, and water was abundant. On the edge of the creek *Portula* grew, and was found to be a suitable and palatable substitute for vegetables for eating. The lagoons swarmed with duck, whilst the timber was filled with a great variety of birds. Kangaroos and wallabies were plentiful, as also were brush turkeys and bronze-winged pigeons. The natives were very numerous, but no trouble of any kind was experienced with them. Several exploratory expeditions were made from the camp during this rest, and on one of these the Mackenzie River was discovered and named, and was found to receive the waters of the Comet.

On recommencing his journey, Leichhardt travelled down the Comet and then along the Mackenzie, where the natural features made progress easy along the banks of the stream. The river was not running at that time, but was formed of a chain of large water-holes, some of which ranged from fifty to a hundred yards in width and up to seven or eight miles in length. Of course, Leichhardt had no means of knowing that the Mackenzie fell into the Fitzroy, and that consequently its waters reached the sea at Keppel Bay. At about this time the party crossed the route which was afterwards followed by the North Australian Expedition in 1856.

At about this time Leichhardt left his companions in camp, with the exception of Brown, whom he took with him, and set out to examine the country to the north. This proved a disagreeable experience to the pair, as they were lost for four days in a condition of

semi-starvation and nearly sacrificed their lives. First they discovered some large lagoons in latitude 23° 10', then Leichhardt ascended Mount Stewart, which he named, and afterwards he penetrated further to the north. The black, Brown, appears to have lost all courage when he and his leader lost their bearings. "We are lost; we are lost!" was all he could say. This was on the 20th. Nothing Leichhardt could say would put heart into his dusky comrade. However, on the following day the latter recognized the spot where the pair had breakfasted a few days previously, and his gloom immediately disappeared. In the afternoon of the same day the main camp was reached, the occupants being in a state of great anxiety about the lengthy absence of their leader and the black. Leichhardt comments here on the acuteness with which the aborigines are able to recognize minute natural features and objects, and which accounts for their usefulness as trackers. He says:—"I shall have to mention several instances of the wonderful quickness and accuracy with which Brown, as well as Charley, were able to recognize localities which they had previously seen. The impressions on their retina seem to be naturally more intense than that of the European, and their recollections are remarkably exact, even to the most minute details. Trees peculiarly formed or grouped, broken branches, slight elevations of the ground; in fact, a hundred things which we should remark only when paying great attention to a place, seem to form a kind of daguerreotype impression on their minds, every part of which is readily collected."

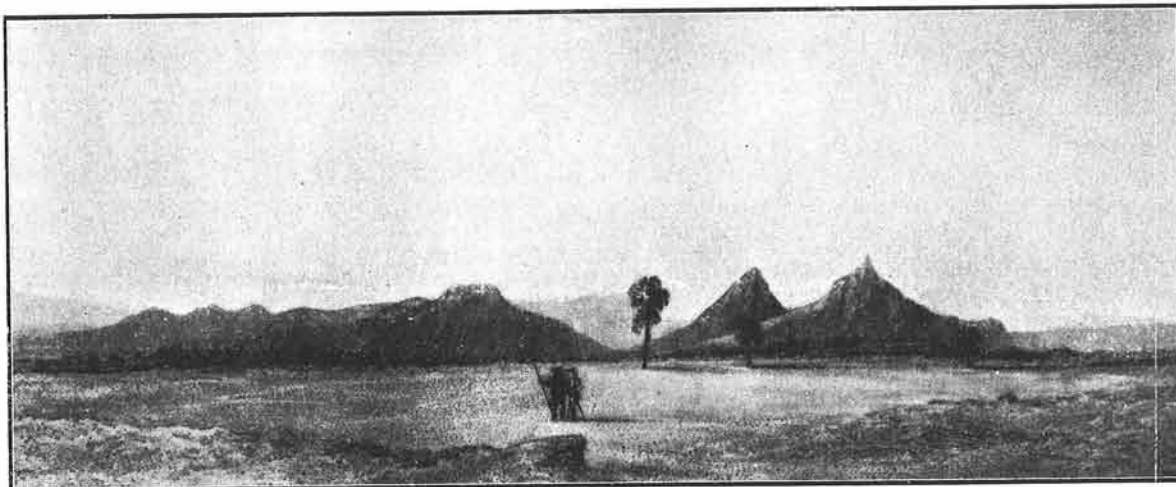
West Hill was named on the 25th, on account of it lying to the westward of their camp, whilst Newman Creek received its name in honour of Mr. Newman, who at that time was superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at Hobart, and who had provided Leichhardt with peach stones, the last of which was planted at that spot. The country about here was abundantly provided with creeks. Extensive plains and numerous hills were discovered in the locality. To four of the latter Leichhardt gave the names of Roper Peak, Scott Peak, Macarthur Peak, and Calvert Peak. He also bestowed the names of Gilbert Dome and Mount Lowe. To the party it appeared that the number of isolated conical mountains was legion. The range was called Peak Range. At this time Leichhardt was close to the site of the present town of Clermont. In this locality Gilbert rode out, leaving his companions in camp, to the westward, and again signs of the presence of a white man were discovered. Leichhardt says that the wanderer probably was a shipwrecked sailor or a runaway convict from Moreton Bay. In view of the number of men who escaped from Brisbane up to the late thirties, when most of the prisoners were taken to Sydney, the latter

surmise would appear to be the most likely. The evidence of the presence of a white man, however, was not conclusive, and consisted in a mark resembling an anchor made on a tree with a stone tomahawk. Gilbert rode to the north-west, and found the country rising in a succession of terraces, and on ascending these he saw a line of hills somewhat smaller than the Peak Range.

Leichhardt, taking Charley and Brown with him, early in February left the main party to reconnoitre to the northward, and after passing Roper and Scott Peaks he came upon a creek, which was not running but contained a chain of waterholes. Further to the north the main party (which the blacks had been sent back to bring on) passed out of the sandstone country and entered upon basalt. The grass was abundant, and they passed and named Phillip Mountain, Fletcher Awl, Lord's Table Range, and Campbell Peak. A few days

he recently had been in, for water, she called, "Yarra, Yarra," and pointed down the river. That water was to be found down the river afterwards proved to be correct. At the butt of the tree the white men found an infant swaddled in layers of teatree bark. Close beside the little creature were three or four large yams. Attracted by the screams, a great number of men and boys came running towards the Europeans, but the latter put their horses to a canter and made towards the aborigines who beat a hasty retreat.

At this time the party were hard pushed for water, and proceeded for some miles down the dry bed of the stream without finding any. Fortunately, Mr. Gilbert and Brown, who had ridden in another direction looking for a spring or hole not yet dry, discovered a lagoon about half a mile from the junction of the Hughs and the Isaacs.



PEAK RANGE FROM THE NORTH-WEST, SHOWING ROPER AND SCOTT PEAKS.

later they had to camp without water, but on the following day they came upon a river, which though not running at the time promised to be of some importance, and Leichhardt called it the Isaacs, after Mr. F. Isaacs, of the Darling Downs. Hughs Creek was also discovered and named, the two streams meeting. Another stream was named Tombstone Creek, on account of the shape of masses of sandstone on its banks. On the following day, near the Isaacs, the party came upon three native women, two of whom were busily engaged in digging for yams, whilst the other was on a tree chopping out wild honey. The trio, immediately on seeing the white strangers, set up most dreadful screams, as though to frighten away wild beasts, and every sign intended to denote friendliness proved fruitless. The yam diggers ran away and the woman in the tree remained among the branches. When Leichhardt asked her, in the language of the natives of the country

Shortly after this serious trouble was experienced with the two blacks, Charley and Brown. The affair arose over the men leaving the camp in the morning and, by not returning until after the others were ready to start, keeping the whole party waiting. Upon being reprimanded Charley used abusive language and struck Leichhardt such a blow in the face as to loosen two of his teeth. Charley was then dismissed the camp, and upon Brown professing his intention of keeping in touch with his countryman he was told that he must choose between loyalty to his friend or loyalty to the camp. As he decided upon adhering to the former the pair were driven away from the white men. But afterwards they both returned separately, begging humbly to be taken back. After some hesitation Leichhardt acceded to the supplications. The blacks always afterwards showed an improved sense of discipline. About this time the heat proved to be intense, killing a little terrier dog and

rendering the sole remaining kangaroo dog in such a state of exhaustion that had Mr. Gilbert not carried it on his horse during the 21st it also would have expired. On March 1 they found some large waterholes on the northerly branch of the Isaacs. Here camp was pitched in what Leichhardt reckoned to be latitude  $21^{\circ} 42'$  and longitude  $148^{\circ} 56'$ .

The party traced the Isaacs up to its source, a distance of about seventy miles from the late camp. They then came across the headwaters of the stream, on which they bestowed the name of Suttor Creek. A few miles down the latter good waterholes were found. Leichhardt described the valley of the Isaacs, in so far as he had seen it, as being excellent pastoral country. Certainly he had experienced trouble from lack of water, but the season happened to be dry over the whole of New South Wales. They had met with a large quantity of wallaby; indeed, kangaroo formed an article of diet which had enabled the supply of dried meat to hold out much longer than otherwise would have been the case. Roper took a ride to the westward of his companions and found wide plains of high fertility. The party then continued their journey along what they took to be the main channel of the Suttor. The country then being passed through was well grassed, and the natives were numerous.

The expedition continued along the course of the river, where they came upon long reaches of water containing great quantities of vegetation and ducks, ultimately reaching the junction of the Suttor with a stream as large as itself. To the latter was given the name of the Cape River. At this spot Leichhardt calculated that he was in latitude  $20^{\circ} 49'$ . Further on the country improved, and is described as carrying a great wealth of grass and open timber. The party camped at the foot of an eminence which was called Mount McConnel, and a little further on found the junction of the Suttor with the Burdekin, the bed of which was a mile wide at the point of meeting. Game was abundant at this spot, the most numerous species of birds being pelicans, ducks, and black swans. The Burdekin received its name because of the liberal assistance Leichhardt had received for fitting out his party from Mrs. Burdekin, of Sydney. The party remained in camp at this spot from March 29 to April 2, during which time another bullock was killed and cured.

The journey continued up the Burdekin in a north-north-west direction. Marks had been observed on the trees, showing that the river had risen from fifteen to eighteen feet above its banks. A conspicuous hill to the east-north-east was named Mount Graham. The Robey Range was also named. Leichhardt found the country on the banks of the river so rugged that he had to cross and recross the stream, on one occasion having to

swim the cattle and horses, so that a good deal of the stores became wet and considerable time was lost in drying them. Porter Range and Thacker Range were both named, and in latitude  $19^{\circ} 12'$  a river as large as the Burdekin was found to join it from the west and south-west. This stream was named the Clarke, after the Rev. W. B. Clarke, of Sydney, who had obtained fame as a geologist. Bowen Creek was found to be another tributary of the Burdekin. The party were now only about thirty miles from Halifax Bay, which was the nearest that they approached to the east coast. Leichhardt thus had gone far out of the straight route to his destination. A more direct westerly course would have greatly shortened his journey to Port Essington, but it would have lessened the amount of good country through which he was the first white man to pass. This was one of the reasons why the time occupied by the expedition was so much more lengthy than had been originally calculated upon. To the north of the junction of the Burdekin and Clarke River, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 1' 18''$ , the party met with a stream which was named the Perry. The country about here impressed Leichhardt as being highly suitable for pastoral purposes. At the Perry the party camped, and killed and cured another bullock. Writing of this time, Leichhardt gives a graphic and typical picture of the life of the party during the journeyings of this period. He writes as follows:—

“The routine of one of our days will serve as an example of all the rest. I usually rise when I hear the merry laugh of the laughing jackass—*Dacelo gigantea*—which, from its regularity, has not been inaptly named ‘the settler’s clock.’ A loud cooee then rouses my companions—Brown to make tea, Mr. Calvert to season the stew with salt and marjoram, and myself and the others to wash and to prepare our breakfast, which for the party consists of two pounds and a half of meat stewed over night, and to each a quart pot of tea. Mr. Calvert then gives to each his portion, and by the time this important duty is performed Charley generally arrives with the horses, which are then prepared for their day’s duty. After breakfast Charley generally goes with John and Murphy to fetch the bullocks, which are generally brought in a little after seven o’clock a.m. The work of loading follows, but this requires very little time now, our stock being much reduced, and at about a quarter to eight o’clock we move on, and continue travelling for hours, and if possible select a spot for our camp.

“The camp fixed and the horses and bullocks unloaded, we have all our allotted duties. To make the fire falls to my share, Brown’s duty is to fetch water for tea, and Mr. Calvert weighs out a pound and a half of flour for a fat cake, which is enjoyed more than any other meal. The large teapot being empty, Mr. Calvert

weighs out two pounds and a half of dry meat to be stewed for our late dinner, and during the afternoon everyone follows his own pursuit, such as washing and mending clothes, repairing saddles, pack-saddles, and packs. My occupation is to write my log and lay down my route, or make an excursion in the vicinity of the camp to botanize, etc., or ride out reconnoitering. My companions write down their remarks, and wander about gathering seeds or looking for curious pebbles. Mr. Gilbert takes his gun to shoot birds. A loud cooe again unites us towards sunset around our tablecloth, and while enjoying our meal the subject of the day's journey, the past, the present, and the future by turns engage our attention and furnish matter for conversation and remark, according to the respective humour of the parties. Many circumstances have conspired to make me strangely taciturn, and I am now scarcely pleased even with the chattering humour of my youngest companion, whose spirits, instead of flagging, have become more buoyant and lively than ever. I consider it, however, my invariable duty to give every information I can when my companions inquire or show a desire to learn, and I am happy to find that they are desirous of making themselves familiar with the objects of Nature by which they are surrounded and of understanding their mutual relations. Mr. Roper is of a more silent disposition. Mr. Calvert likes to speak, and has a good stock of small talk, with which he often enlivens our dinners. He is in that respect an excellent companion, being full of jokes and stories, which though old and sometimes quaint are also pure and serve the more to exhilarate the party. Mr. Gilbert has travelled much, and consequently has a rich store of *impressions de voyage*; his conversation is generally very pleasing and instructive in describing the characters of countries he has seen and the manners and customs of the people he has known. He is well informed in Australian ornithology. As night approaches we retire to our beds. The two blackfellows and myself spread out each on our own under the canopy of heaven, whilst Messrs. Roper, Calvert, Gilbert, Murphy, and Phillips have their tents. Mr. Calvert entertains Roper with his conversation, John amuses Gilbert. Brown sings well, and his melodious, plaintive voice lulls me to sleep when otherwise I am not disposed. Mr. Phillips is rather singular in his habits. He erects his tent generally at a distance from the rest, under a shady tree or in a green bower of shrubs, where he makes himself as comfortable as the place will allow by spreading branches and grass under his couch and covering his tent with them, to keep it shady and cool, and even planting lilies in blossom—*Crinum*—before his tent to enjoy their sight during the short time of our stay. As the night advances the blackfellow's songs die away, the chattering tongue of Murphy ceases after having lulled Mr. Gilbert to sleep,

and at last Mr. Calvert is silent, as Roper's short answers became few and far between. The neighing of the tethered horses, the distant tinkle of the bell, or the occasional cry of the night-birds interrupt the silence of our camp. The fire which was bright as long as the corroboree songster kept it stirred gradually gets dull and smoulders slowly under the large pot, in which our meat is simmering, and the bright constellations pass unheeded over the heads of the dreaming wanderers of the wilderness until the summons of the laughing jackass recalls them to the business of the day."

Leichhardt writes on May 2 that he had travelled in a north-west direction to latitude 18° 50' 11". At first the party passed over box flats, alternating with undulating open country; but about three miles before making camp on the date quoted they traversed small plains at the foot of what appeared to be basaltic ridges. Here they found the dry channel of a river, in which were several waterholes. The river seemed to come from the west-north-west. Next day they travelled along the bed of the river, the banks being too rugged to allow of progress being made upon them. The stream was the Lynd. The grass in this region was plentiful and ample signs showed the blacks to be numerous, though the latter apparently evaded the white men through fear.

On the 5th of the same month they came upon a range dividing two watersheds. This line of mountains varied from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height. The highest peak in view Leichhardt named Mount Lang, after Dr. Lang. On June 1 the party were still travelling along the Lynd, having observed several interesting customs among the natives, who appeared to be fairly numerous in that part of the country. Meanwhile another bullock had been killed, whilst the flesh of a horse which had fallen and broken its thigh while being ridden by Mr. Roper, had also to be turned into dry meat. The camp they were on at the opening of the month was in latitude 17° 45' 40". The day after leaving this spot they crossed three good-sized creeks which joined the river. The course of the Lynd was to the north-west, therefore coinciding, approximately, with the direction which Leichhardt was desirous of following. On the 6th of the month they passed and named Kirchner Range. The river at this point was, in places, fully half a mile broad. On the 8th the expedition entered upon sandstone country, which showed a marked change of vegetation. Ducks were numerous and proved easy to shoot, as many as ten being sometimes obtained with a single shot. Native companions also were plentiful, but were not easy to approach. Along the river was noticed a kind of saw-fish, which previously had always been supposed to confine itself to fresh water. The natives in this region were found to live in a manner altogether superior to

the mia-mia-inhabiting southerners. These northern people used two-storied gnyas, made from strong poles and bark and furnished with floorings. The character of these abodes was considered to be the result of the need for sleeping off the ground during the wet season. Since the beginning of the month the party had been without meat.

On June 16 they reached the junction of the Lynd and the Mitchell, Leichhardt bestowing the latter name in honour of the famous explorer. Just above the meeting of the streams the Lynd narrowed considerably, whilst the bed of the Mitchell was very broad and sandy and showed signs of floods occurring much more frequently than appeared to be the case with the Lynd. Only a small amount of water was running at that time, but there were many large holes well filled. Parallel with the river were many fine lagoons, both large and deep and well stocked with fish. At this point Murphy's pony was poisoned, apparently by eating some strange weed. Another bullock was slaughtered here. Food was running short. On killing the steer the party were able to dine on fried liver, but the nearest approach to sugar was the water in which had been boiled the ragged bags in which that commodity had been carried. The last of the flour had been used up three weeks previously. The party had already been much longer on the route than the six months for which they carried provisions.

Along the Mitchell they encountered crocodiles for the first time, and recognized this as a sign that they were approaching the sea. A considerable change also took place in the vegetation. The birds, too, became different to those inhabiting the regions just left, whilst the palm trees were very much larger. On June 25 Leichhardt decided that it would be more prudent to leave the Mitchell and to proceed towards his destination by a more direct route. His intention was to approach as near to the sea coast as would not impede his progress, and then to pass round the bottom of the Gulf to Port Essington. The following day, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 52' 38''$ , the expedition set off in a direction almost due west. The immediate future contained many annoyances. One of these being the kites, which were so bold that one of them snatched a skinned specimen of a new species of honey-sucker out of Mr. Gilbert's tin case, whilst, when the party were eating meals, they perched round on the branches of overhanging trees, and pounced on the plates in their efforts to carry off food. But the most serious trouble arose from the hostility of the natives, which were very numerous. Whilst Brown and Charley were looking for game near where the bullocks were feeding they observed a native sneaking up to the latter, evidently with the intention of driving the animals towards a party of blacks, who were waiting with spears

poised to attack the little herd. Charley and Brown by firing their guns, had no difficulty in driving away the aborigines, but the incident somewhat alarmed Leichhardt, as it denoted the possibility of greater dangers to come.

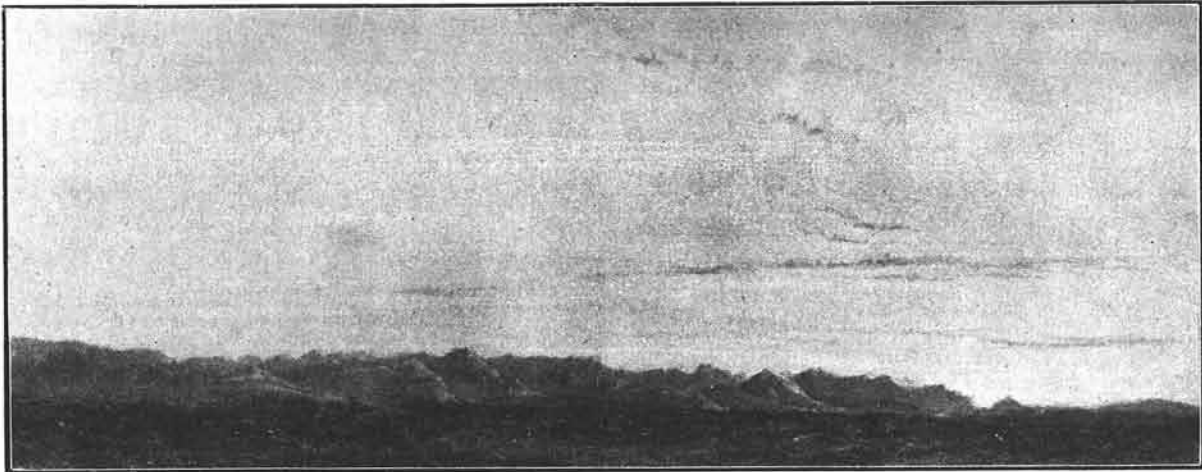
On June 28 the party covered about nine miles and crossed what they believed to be the Nassau. At night a serious adventure occurred, which is best described in the words of Leichhardt himself. The explorer writes:—

“At the end of our stage we came to a chain of shallow lagoons, which were slightly connected by a hollow. Many of them were dry, and fearing that if we proceeded much farther we should not find water, I camped on one of them containing a shallow pool. It was surrounded by a narrow belt of small teatrees, with stiff broad lanceolate leaves. As the water occupied the lower part of this basin only, I deposited our luggage on the upper part. Mr. Roper and Mr. Calvert made their tent within the belt of trees, with its opening towards the heap of luggage, whilst Mr. Gilbert and Murphy constructed theirs amongst the little trees, with its entrance from the camp. Mr. Phillips' was, as usual, far from the others, and at the opposite side of the water. Our fireplace was made outside of the trees on the banks. Brown had shot six whistling ducks and four teal, which gave us a good dinner, during which the principal topic of conversation was our probable distance from the sea coast, as it was here that we first found broken seashells at the fires of the natives. After dinner Messrs. Roper and Calvert retired to their tent, and Mr. Gilbert, John, and Brown were plaiting palm leaves to make a hat, and I stood musing near their fireplace, looking at their work and occasionally joining in their conversation. Mr. Gilbert was congratulating himself upon having succeeded in learning to plait, and when he had nearly completed a yard he retired with John to their tent. It was about seven o'clock, and I stretched myself on the ground, as usual, at a little distance from the fire and fell into a doze, from which I was suddenly aroused by a loud noise and a call for help from Calvert and Roper. Natives had suddenly attacked us. They had doubtless watched our movements during the forenoon and marked the position of the different tents, and as soon as it was dark sneaked upon us and threw a shower of spears at the tents of Calvert, Roper, and Gilbert, and a few at that of Phillips, and also one or two towards the fire. Charley and Brown called for caps, which I hastened to find, and as soon as they were provided they discharged their guns into the crowd of natives, who instantly fled, leaving Calvert and Roper pierced with several spears and severely beaten by waddies. Several of these spears were barbed and could not be extricated without difficulty. I had to force one through the arm



of Roper to break off the barb, and to cut another out of the groin of Mr. Calvert. John Murphy had succeeded in getting out of the tent and concealing himself behind a tree, whence he fired at the natives and severely wounded one of them before Brown had discharged his gun. Not seeing Mr. Gilbert, I asked for him, when Charley told me our unfortunate companion was no more. He had come out of his tent with his gun, shot, and powder, and handed them to him, when he instantly dropped down dead. Upon receiving this affecting intelligence I hastened to the spot, and found Charley's account too true. He was lying on the ground at a little distance from our fire, and upon examining him I soon found, to my sorrow, that every sign of life had disappeared. The body was, however, still warm, and I opened the veins of both arms, as well as the temporal artery, but in vain—the stream of life had stopped and he was numbered with the dead.

elbow, and another on the back of his hand; besides which a barbed spear had entered his groin. Both suffered great pain, and were scarcely able to move. The spear that had terminated poor Gilbert's existence had entered the chest between the clavical and the neck, but made so small a wound that for some time I was unable to detect it. From the direction of the wound he had probably received the spear when stooping to leave his tent. The dawn of the morning (the 29th) was gladly welcomed, and I proceeded to examine and dress the wounds of my companions more carefully than I had been able to do in the darkness of the night. Very early we heard the cooes of the natives, who seemed wailing as if one of their number was either killed or severely wounded, for we found stains of blood on their tracks. They disappeared, however, very soon, for on reconnoitering the place I saw nothing of them. I interred the body of our ill-fated companion in the



RANGES OF THE CAMP AT THE BURDEKIN, APRIL 20.

“As soon as we recovered from the panic into which we were thrown by this fatal event every precaution was taken to prevent another surprise. We watched through the night, and extinguished our fires to conceal our individual position from the natives. A strong wind blew from the southward, which made the night distressingly cold; it seemed as if the wind blew through our bodies. Under all the circumstances that had happened we passed an anxious night—in a state of most painful suspense as to the fate of our still-surviving companions. Mr. Roper had received two or three spear wounds in the scalp of his head; one spear had passed through his left arm, another into his cheek below the jugal bone and penetrated the orbit and injured the optic nerve, and another in his loins, besides a heavy blow on the left shoulder. Mr. Calvert had received several severe blows from a waddy—one on the nose, which had crushed the nasal bone, one on the

afternoon and read the funeral service of the Church of England over him. A large fire was afterwards made over the grave to prevent the natives detecting and disturbing the body. Our cattle and horses, fortunately, had not been molested.”

Next day the party remained in camp, and Leichhardt describes Calvert and Roper as recovering wonderfully. But great hazard lay in lingering in the present locality, so on July 1 a start was made, the leader having determined to see if the two wounded men would be able to travel. The lives of the whole party were at stake. Leichhardt felt that it was his duty not to consider only the individual feelings and wishes of the injured; but he continually watched their wounds, and he took good care to force no more exertion upon them than would be reasonably safe for them to bear. On the first day they covered fourteen miles, and continued their journey towards the Gulf until the

5th, when they came within sight of the sea. The ground then was very dry, but it bore the appearance of being impassable during the wet season. On the same day as reaching the Gulf they came upon a fine saltwater river, the banks of which were clothed with an open, well-grassed forest. The whole horizon here appeared to be studded with smoke from the various fires of natives, whilst near the stream many well-beaten foot tracks were to be observed.

"The first sight of the salt water," wrote Leichhardt, "was hailed by all with feelings of indescribable pleasure, and by none more than by myself, although tinged with regret in not having succeeded in bringing my whole party to the end of what I was sanguine enough to think the most difficult part of my journey. We had now discovered a line of communication by land between the eastern coast of Australia and the Gulf of Carpentaria. We had travelled along never-failing and for the most part running waters, and over an excellent country, available almost in its whole extent for pastoral purposes."

The party remained the whole of the next day in camp, some of the men occupying the time in fishing, whilst the animals grazed and rested. They had hoped for a sufficient catch to enable a supply being dried, but the whole product of the day's work was a small *Silurus*, a mullet, and some small guardfish. However, Charley killed an emu on the following day, and this yielded a small supply of animal food, which was all too scarce. The party were now in a wide region of plains on the south-eastern side of the Gulf, which Captain Stokes had thought favourable for a settlement. For the next two days the party travelled over country which changed very little, and on the 9th they reached Van Diemen River. The stream was from seventy to eighty yards broad. In the bed of the river they saw some well-constructed huts of natives. They were made of branches arched over in the form of a birdcage and thatched with grass and the bark of the drooping teatree. It was apparent that the natives of the coastal regions were more numerous and of a finer stamp than were those of the interior, the reason being the more plentiful and regular supply of food. There did not appear to be any signs of game about the vicinity, and Leichhardt consequently determined to camp at the spot and kill their last remaining steer. Next day this task was performed, and on the 12th the journey was continued. That day they crossed a stream, which was named after their late comrade.

On the 17th of the month they reached the Carron, finding the country along the route very destitute of game, though it appeared to be excellently suited to pastoral purposes. However, as they advanced, the bird life increased, and they were able to obtain ducks, emus, and spoonbills. The party now crossed the

Plains of Promise, which had been so named by Captain Stokes. Here the natives were very plentiful, and Leichhardt had several friendly interviews with them, but he remarks that they appeared to be better able to understand him than he was to comprehend them.

They reached the Albert on August 6. Leichhardt was not quite certain about the identity of the stream. The journey round the head of the Gulf showed that the Plains of Promise extended from Big Plain River to the Nicholson, and that they stretched farthest to the southward along two large saltwater rivers in the apex of the Gulf. On the south these plains were bounded by box flats and drained by numerous creeks, which in their lower course were well filled with water. On August 25 they came upon a lagoon, at which the natives had erected an ingenious trap for catching emus. The water was surrounded with a kind of fence of dry sticks, containing an opening. The birds entered by the latter to drink, and it was the practice of the natives to then rush forward and by blocking the one means of exit to easily capture the creatures, the wings of which are too small in proportion to their bodies to allow of them flying. Continuing parallel with the shore of the Gulf the party crossed Moonlight Creek, Smith Creek, the Marlow, Turner Creek, Wentworth Creek, the Van Alphen, Calvert River, and the Abel Tasman River, the latter stream being reached on September 9. Here the country was rocky and game was plentiful. On the latter feature Leichhardt writes:—"This noise of animal life during the night formed an agreeable contrast to the dead silence which we had observed at almost all our camps around the Gulf, with the exception of one occupied on September 1 and of that at the Marlow, where the flying fox was the reveller of the night."

The Seven Emu River was so named by Leichhardt because so many emus had been killed there. They next day reached the Robinson. The whole party were now in a very bad way for both clothing and food. Their shoes they had preserved by wearing mocassins made from the hides of the bullocks which they had killed. The clothes of Mr. Gilbert had been divided among them, and added somewhat to their slender store. Their tea was finished, as well as their sugar, and they used the seeds of the *sterculia*, which they pounded and boiled, for a drink. The emus shot in this country were very dry and did not provide oil enough for frying their own flesh.

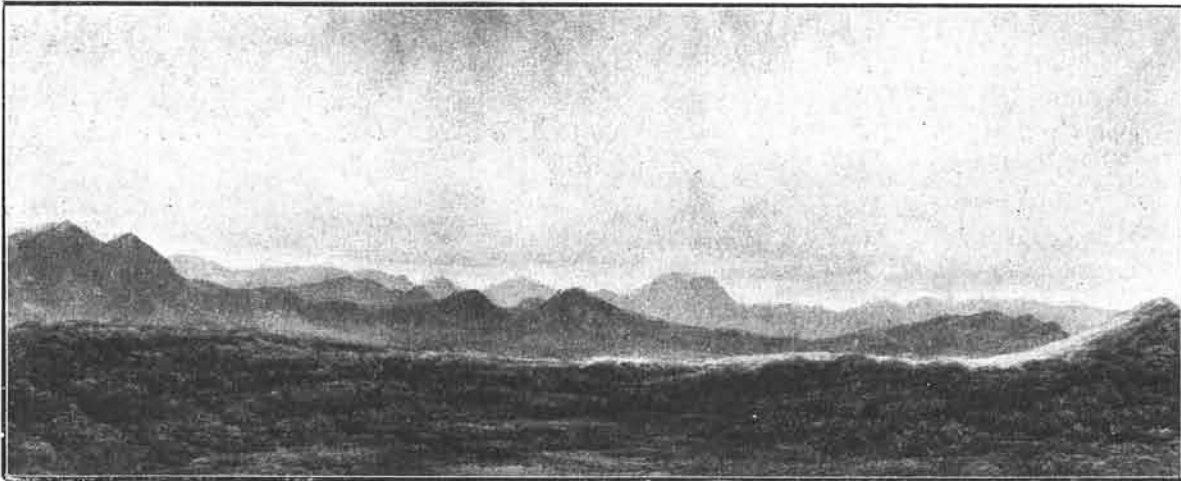
On September 21 they came upon what Leichhardt described as being the largest saltwater river they had yet seen on their travels. They turned at once to the west-south-west in order to head it. They found they had to travel very much farther than they expected in order to cross the stream, which they named the Macarthur. Here they ran so short of animal food

that they were obliged to experiment with bullock hide which they had with them. This they found made excellent soup. A substitute for coffee was found in the bean of the Mackenzie. From an interview he had with natives here Leichhardt formed the impression that they must have had intercourse with white men or Malays, as they knew the use of knives and valued them highly, besides which they appeared acquainted with the use of firearms. The explorer concluded that these aborigines had seen Malays, and that probably some of them had accompanied the latter to the islands.

The river was crossed on the 26th of the month. A good deal of distress had been suffered on account of the scarcity of fresh water. The bullocks, one by one, were knocking up and proving unable to carry their loads. The horses appeared to have withstood the difficult conditions with very much greater endurance, enabling Leichhardt and other members of the party to

a glowing description of the country he passed through during the next few days, and on December 9 saw the tracks of a buffalo, and two days later they managed to shoot one, which enabled them to bring their last remaining pack bullock as far as the destination of their journey. The natives were very numerous and friendly. They knew the settlement at Port Essington, which they called "Balanda."

Port Essington was reached on December 17, the conclusion of the journey being perhaps best given in the words of Leichhardt himself. He writes:—"On the Vollir we came on a cart road, which wound round the foot of a high hill, and having passed the garden, with its fine cocoa-nut palms, the white houses and a row of snug thatched cottages burst suddenly upon us, the house of the Commandant being to the right and separated from the rest. We were most kindly received by Captain Macarthur, the Commandant of Port



RANGES SEEN FROM A GRANITE HILL BETWEEN THE 2ND AND 3RD CAMPS AT THE BURDEKIN.

take frequent reconnoitering excursions from the main camps. However, the pack bullocks, being one by one killed for food, greatly aided the party to cover this difficult stage of their journey. Only one of these was still surviving when the expedition was on the South Alligator River, about sixty miles from its mouth, and within 140 miles from Port Essington. This was on November 24. Previously to that Leichhardt had been obliged to abandon many of his specimens in order to lessen the loads to be carried. The drowning of a horse at the end of October while crossing a river had reduced the number of these animals to nine.

Two days later the horses and the bullock strayed from the camp, and when Charley returned with the stock he was accompanied by a whole tribe of natives, who followed the explorers for some considerable distance, rendering valuable assistance by showing the way over a difficult swamp to firmer ground. Leichhardt gave

Essington, and by the other officers, who with the greatest kindness and attention supplied us with everything that we wanted. I was deeply affected in finding myself again in civilized society, and could scarcely speak, the words growing big with tears and emotion, and even now, when considering with what small means the Almighty had enabled me to perform such a long journey, my heart thrills in grateful acknowledgment of His infinite kindness."

The party remained a month at Port Essington, and then embarking in the schooner "Heroine" arrived at Sydney on March 29, 1846, greatly to the astonishment and much to the delight of the general public, who had come to regard them as the "lost explorers." That they had lost their lives in the interior had long been the accepted belief. Indeed, Mr. Hodgson had been despatched with a party to investigate certain reports about the expedition having been murdered.

He had returned with the conviction that the party were safe, as the stories told him by different tribes of natives were so contradictory. That was during 1845, but as Leichhardt still did not appear the fears of people again asserted themselves. A public subscription was raised to reward the explorers for the many trials and adventures through which they had passed,

in achieving so much that would stimulate pastoral enterprise in the Colony. A sum of £1,500 was soon raised, and the Government of New South Wales added £1,000 to it. Dr. Leichhardt received £1,454 as his share of the amount; Calvert and Roper, £125 each; Murphy, £70; Phillips, £30 and a free pardon; and the aborigines, Brown and Charley, were each given £25.

## CHAPTER X

### THE FATE OF LEICHHARDT.

After his long and arduous expedition, Dr. Leichhardt was not content to remain long in idleness. Early in 1847 he set out with an expedition to explore the country between the last route followed by Sir Thomas Mitchell and that which he himself had followed on his way to Port Essington. In this enterprise, however, he was doomed to disappointment. A whole series of accidents rendered it impossible to continue the undertaking, and he was forced to return. But failure stirred him only to more strenuous and risky undertakings. It was then that he planned, organized, and set out upon the journey from which none of his party ever returned.

The intention was to cross the Continent from east to west, and Leichhardt estimated that this would take a period of two and a half years. Howitt, in his "Discovery in Australia," concisely gives the full objects of the enterprise in the following words:—"The object of the new enterprise was to explore the interior of Australia; to discover the extent of Sturt's Desert and the character of the western and north-western coast, so as to observe the gradual change in animal life from one side of the country to the other. It is obvious that what Stuart, Gregory, McKinlay, Howitt, and others have since seen of this great western desert that it was next to an impossibility to penetrate through it after a long and exhausting journey from the eastern coast. Instead of a central it was shown to be a western desert, and at the spot where Mr. Walker in 1862 came upon his trail, and saw trees marked with the letter 'L'—namely, in latitude 22° and longitude 145°—he was moving directly towards this terrible desert, yet he was considerably to the east of Landsborough's track from the Gulf of Carpentaria southward, which skirted this desert; at least 250 miles east of McKinlay's track, and 350 miles east of the track of Burke and Wills, which still only passed partially through it. He had, therefore, little less than 2,000 miles between him and the western coast, and nearly the whole of it through this burning desert, which has still defied every effort to penetrate it in that direction, and which has defied all the efforts of explorers from south to north, except those of Burke and Wills at the

east of this line, and Stuart's, made by successive efforts from different points. No wonder then that he never reappeared, and that the fate of himself and all his party remains a mystery to be solved."

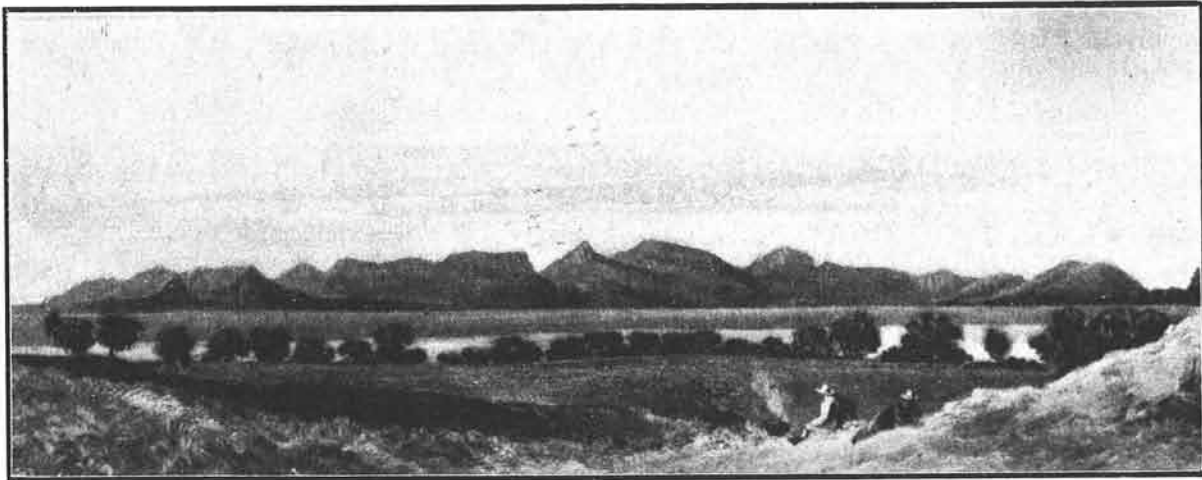
Leichhardt started from Sydney for Moreton Bay in October, 1847. His companions on this fatal expedition were Hentig, Classen (who was a German and a relative of the doctor), Kelly, Donald Stuart, Womai and Billy. The stock consisted of fifty bullocks, twenty mules and six horses. Mr. J. P. Robinson had presented twenty of the bullocks, whilst the Government gave the remaining thirty. The provisions included 800 lb. of flour, 100 lb. of salt, and 120 lb. of tea. They also took 250 lb. of shot and 40 lb. of powder. The original intention was to get to the Barcoo, which Mitchell had found and named the Victoria, describing the country surrounding it in glowing terms; or else to follow his old route as far as the Peak Range and then to strike off to the westward. Leichhardt appeared to think it probable that need for water would force him to reach the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then to follow a river to its southern source. He would then endeavour to reach the Swan River by whichever route proved practicable. In a letter of February 26, 1848, he said he would proceed down the Condamine, and then, following Mitchell's track to the most northern bend of the Cooper, making northward until finding some substantial watercourse falling in the Gulf, then striking to the westward. At that time he expected to reach the Swan River at the end of 1849 or the beginning of 1850. What he ultimately did has been veiled in mystery since he left the limits of settlement. Trees marked by him have been found in the Clermont district, where the Peak Range lies, but human and goats' hair discovered among the natives of the Cooper are usually considered to be evidences of his having penetrated far to the south-west of the former region, and of having lost his life there, together with those of his comrades.

A long time elapsed before alarm was felt at the continued absence of the party. It had set out on a trip which, under normal conditions, was to take two and a half years. Probably all the members had long

since been dead before the least anxiety was felt. But towards the end of 1850 the expedition was nearly three years out and no word had been received from any of the members. Even then public feeling did not appear strong enough to manifest itself in the form of a relief party.

It was not until January of 1852 that Mr. Hovenden Hely was sent in charge of an expedition to search the Gulf country, in the hope of picking up the tracks of the lost explorer and following them up. The party consisted of seven white men and three blacks, and supplemented with sixteen horses, fifteen mules, and provisions for nine months. Hely started from the Darling Downs, proceeded northward, and followed up the Dawson. Near the Peak Range, at a spot he knew, he hoped to find letters from Leichhardt, or other traces of the missing explorer. But he was disappointed in this hope. From the Balonne River Hely wrote in July to the Colonial Secretary, relating stories he had heard from

was fired, that killing one of the aborigines. The horses and mules, he continued, had all been killed, but the bullocks had escaped into the forest, where they were still to be met with. When on the Maranoa, in latitude  $26^{\circ} 4'$ , Hely was told a similar story by some gins, who said that after seven days' journey onward he would find where the massacre had taken place, at a spot he would be able to distinguish by the large number of saddles and accoutrements lying about. Afterwards an old woman told of how a flood had drowned the lost explorers. Little credence was placed in the latter tale, because it was believed that, were it true, the natives would have been able afterwards to collect a quantity of the belongings of the deceased men, and that these, or some of them, would still remain in the tribe. Nor did the murder theory remain tenable, for ten miles beyond where it was alleged to have taken place, and where there were no remains such as those described, a tree was found bearing upon it



LAGOON NEAR S. ALLIGATOR.

the natives of a party of white men having been murdered by blacks at a spot ten days' journey from Mount Abundance. In consequence of this he altered his course. Two of the blacks, who professed to be acquainted with the circumstances of the massacre, led Hely to one of Mitchell's old camping-places, where he gathered up some bones of sheep and other leavings as proof of the sensational tale. One of the aborigines, a boy of sixteen, recounted what must have been a fiction of his imagination, in which he said he remembered the murder of Leichhardt's whole party, which had taken place some years before, and which had resulted from two of the blacks who were accompanying the white men ill-using native women. After the ill-treatment, he related that the tribe had followed the explorers for some days, and ultimately had speared the whole party in the night. Most of the victims, according to this story, must have been sleeping, because only one shot

the mark of Leichhardt and surrounded by what obviously had been one of his camps.

Hely was now induced, by the stories still being told him by the blacks, to search much further onwards for the scene of the massacre, and two of the natives set out to accompany him as his guides to the spot. But before the explorer could reach the locality the aborigines fled from his camp. This occurred in latitude  $25^{\circ} 21'$ . Walker afterwards ascertained that Leichhardt had penetrated very much to the north of this spot, his track being found in latitude  $22^{\circ} 30'$ , between the Belyando and Thomson Rivers.

Provisions began to fail after Hely had proceeded some distance further, and the party returned, the leader believing that the stories of the massacre must have been true. On the return journey they came upon a black who had absconded, and the latter explained his conduct by saying that the guides had

been deluding Hely and would never have revealed the place of the tragedy for fear of being speared by their countrymen as a consequence.

The account of the blacks was not generally believed when brought back by Hely. The natives had told the same story, but this was considered the result of some one of them having first invented the romance, which then had been repeated in its original form. That this spirit of scepticism was justified, and Hely wrong in his conclusions, was proved afterwards by subsequent discoveries. But the evidence collected has all been of a negative character, so far as the actual fate of the party is concerned. What actually happened at the last remains veiled in mystery. But the most likely theory certainly is that the explorers pushed farther into the desolate interior desert than they could recede from, and that they died of hunger or thirst in the dead heart of the Continent, which, being crossed so seldom, might contain their bones exposed for a century without discovery, if, indeed, all remains were not covered by the moving sands of that arid region.

The following letter, which appeared in the *Melbourne Age* on December 21, 1864, written by prominent men of that time who took a profound interest in the fate of Leichhardt, is of interest.

"The return of our fellow-colonist, Mr. Duncan McIntyre, of Glengower, from a most important exploring journey to the Gulf of Carpentaria, during which our knowledge of the movements of Leichhardt and his party has been widely extended, prompts us to request your powerful support in a call on all Australia not to allow the fate of this intrepid, self-sacrificing, and perhaps not yet perished explorer, to remain any longer concealed in mystery. The occasion is simultaneously afforded us, through the attentive courtesy of Mr. McIntyre, to promulgate in a brief outline the main results of the geographical achievements of this gentleman, who at once so brilliantly has entered on the eventful stage of Australian exploration, on which we shall still have to witness many a stirring scene. Mr. McIntyre started from the Paroo, travelled onwards to Coopers Creek, which he crossed at latitude 26 degrees 10 minutes south, followed it up to 25 degrees 50 minutes south, and struck thence across the north-westerly to a new important river, which he named in honour of the Rev. Joseph Docker, of Wangaratta, one of the most generous supporters of the original Victorian expedition. From the Docker River, on a north-westerly course, Mr. McIntyre reached the Mueller River of Mr. McKinlay, crossing this watercourse in 23 degrees south. Continuing his north-western direction, he met about a degree further west, and in about 22 degrees south the very faint tracks of animals, seemingly either goats or sheep, and horses, or cattle, at a spot not known to have been traversed by any explorer. From hence, a system chiefly of granite mountains sends its ramifications in two main lines,

south-west and north-west. On a new principal tributary of the Flinders River, rising on the north-west flank of this mountain trace, Mr. McIntyre passed to the main stream of the Flinders, observing in about 20 degrees 40 minutes south and about one degree westward of Burke and Wills' track, two old horses, an event to which much importance can be attached, when it is remembered that neither the Victorian explorers, nor Landsborough, nor A. Gregory, nor Leichhardt, in his first glorious expedition, abandoned any horses in any adjacent locality, Mr. Walker's horses being left 300 miles to the east. A still more important discovery rewarded Mr. McIntyre's exertions after having reached on the Flinders line, the Carpentaria Gulf; for on his return journey, whilst following up the main east branch of the Flinders River, he noticed on its western bank, in approximate latitude, 20 degrees south two trees, each bearing a larger L, no number attached as a mark, indicating, as we, with McIntyre, feel convinced a Leichhardtian camp. With this position, the traces of Leichhardt, recently found on the Alice River, can be brought into a line of contact. These L's are clearly distinct from any marks of Landsborough's camps, who in that latitude, kept the eastern bank of the Flinders River, and who moreover, attached a consecutive number to his marked camp trees. If further proofs of distinction were wanting, we might add that the bark had encroached to the extent of four or five inches on the incision of the L's, whereby a much greater age of the letters is established than that of Landsborough's camps; and still further we have the evidence of one of the natives, who served both in Landsborough's and McIntyre's expedition, declaring the camp foreign to the expedition of the former gentleman. The position of these momentous trees being in flooded ground, it would have been in vain to search for further camp traces. Mr. McIntyre, in carrying out a judiciously arranged plan, went homeward near Landsborough's tracks, to the source of Bulla, and finally from this river to the Paroo, accomplishing in twenty weeks a journey, by which he has secured a prominent and honourable position amongst our explorers, and this by slender and entirely private means, accompanied only by one of his countrymen and five aborigines.

"Shall, whilst we can avail ourselves of the talents of tried and spirited travellers, like Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Giles, the fate of one of the most famed explorers which the world ever possessed, remain uncared for? Shall the destiny of him, who, in Australia, discovered the 'North-west passage,' remain still for an indefinite period unascertained? And shall the revelation of the fate of this truly great man be any longer left to the chances of mere accident?

"DAVID WILKIE, M.D.

"FRED MUELLER, M.D."

## CHAPTER XI.

## LAST EXPEDITION OF SIR THOMAS MITCHELL.

Of all the expeditions of exploration to penetrate the interior of Queensland, none returned with a more glowing account of what then was the northern section of New South Wales than did that led by Sir Thomas Mitchell during 1846. The story brought back by this most successful of travellers through the unknown regions of the new Continent had a great deal to do with stimulating subsequent pastoral enterprise in what hitherto had been neglected tracts of country of great productivity, for few authorities had established so high a reputation, both for accuracy of judgment and for richness in discovery.

Whatever undue optimism regarding its future usefulness for industrial purposes may have been displayed in Mitchell's picture of the inland tropical belt of Eastern Australia resulted, not from faulty observation nor from hasty calculation in the interpretation of evidence, but from the very simple fact that the country, during the period at which the party passed through it, was experiencing a more than usually bounteous season. Large areas conspicuous in 1846 for dense tangles of luxuriant grasses and herbs, twelve years later, when crossed by Augustus C. Gregory, were nothing more than desolate wastes, supporting not a green leaf or a living plant; whilst the absence of water in places threatened the travellers with annihilation if they should dare to push further into so inhospitable a desert.

The exploring party which set out from Parramatta on November 17, 1845, intending to strive for the discovery of a passage to the north coast within the neighbourhood of Torres Strait, or as near to that highway of the sea as should prove practicable, was the fourth and the last led by Sir Thomas Mitchell. Though not successful in accomplishing the main purpose for which it had been organized, the enterprise certainly proved prolific in bringing to light a wealth of new facts regarding the pastoral probabilities of a wide and

wealthy region which never before had come within the vision of civilized men. Considerable disappointment was felt by the leader at not being able to penetrate to a latitude which would have opened the way to establishing a pathway to the northern coast; but it was the absence of just those qualities of leadership which, causing this expedition, as they did, to turn back at the critical point, allowed less-wisely directed parties to march on to their destruction among the waterless wastes and hostile blacks of the interior.

At the time when the enterprise was undertaken,

Mitchell stood in the forefront of Australian explorers, and the passing of subsequent years has certainly done nothing in the direction of lessening the high standing won by him for the exercise of all those qualities most needed for traversing the unknown wilderness, for correctly estimating the character and value of new land, and for graphically describing the results of his investigation. In his standard work on Australian exploration and explorers, William Howitt, after commenting on the work accomplished by this leader in 1846, wrote:—"On the whole Sir Thomas [Mitchell] must be ranked amongst the greatest of Australian explorers, and the discovery of the vast extent of fine country on the Namoi, the Barwon, the Culgoa, the Maranoa, the



SIR THOMAS MITCHELL.

Claude, the Belyando and Barcoo rivers was a most important service to the Colony. He survived eight years to reap the fame and satisfaction of his successful enterprises in the opening up of the north-eastern portion of the Continent. He finished his very useful career on October 5, 1855, at his residence near Sydney. Besides his services in cutting roads through the Blue Mountains, in surveying and mapping various districts of the Colony, and his well-known achievements as an explorer, Sir Thomas was equally devoted to literature and mechanics and was an accomplished classical scholar."

The immediate object sought after by the Government of New South Wales in launching Mitchell's last expedition was the desire to discover and open up a route towards the Indian Ocean which might be used by breeders and dealers exporting horses to the military authorities in India. The trade in remounts, which has continued ever since, already had commenced, and had been handicapped by the difficulties involved in navigation through Torres Strait. "But other considerations," wrote Mitchell, "not less important to the colonists of New South Wales, made it very desirable that a way should be opened to the shores of the Indian Ocean. That sea was already connected with England by steam navigation, and to render it accessible to Sydney by land was in itself an object worthy of an exploratory expedition. In short, the commencement of such a journey seemed the first step in the direct road to England, for it was not to be doubted that on the discovery of a good overland route between Sydney and the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria a line of steam communication would thereupon be introduced from that point to meet the English line at Singapore." The route particularly desired, should one prove practicable, lay to the head of the Gulf. On the evidence then available, the probabilities pointed to some considerable river emptying itself into the sea in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was projected in 1845, when the Legislative Council, the then legislature of the parent Colony, voted £1,000 towards the expenses of the undertaking. The matter, however, was referred to the home Government by Sir George Gipps, the Governor, a delay somewhat resented by Mitchell, who had been working on the plans of the enterprise since 1843. Sir Thomas at the time was Surveyor-General of New South Wales, and one of the reasons prompting the journey to the north lay in the fact that his department had been reduced to a state of inactivity in no way suited to the taste of a person of the veteran explorer's boundless flow of natural energy. The irritation felt on the part of the intended leader at the postponement of his scheme being carried into operation was not eased by the Governor—after the belated start had been decided upon, the permission of the Imperial authorities having been obtained—attempting to lay down directions which the party were to follow. Sir George Gipps was an engineer by profession, but he certainly was in possession of no knowledge of the technical character which would have justified him in endeavouring to interfere with the leadership or preliminary arrangements of an explorer of the calibre of Sir Thomas Mitchell. An unfortunate result in the Governor having referred to Downing Street, what he had ample power to decide himself, was the loss of the services of the ill-fated Dr. Leichhardt. Whatever defects that enthusiastic explorer may have held in leadership would not have

influenced the results of the 1846 enterprise, whilst his assistance in the capacity of naturalist, a post he was eminently fitted to successfully fill, would have added to the useful scientific data brought back from the fertile north. Impatient at waiting for the doubtful setting forth of Sir Thomas's party, Leichhardt collected six persons, obtained the necessary financial assistance by public subscription, and set out inland from Moreton Bay. When the larger expedition began its wanderings Leichhardt was in some unknown part of the wilderness, and as the subsequent months slipped by without any signs of his reappearance, fears as to his safety hardened into feelings of certainty at a tragedy having overtaken the scientist, together with his brave companions. His ultimate reappearance at Sydney, which he reached from Port Essington by sea, has already been told in the previous chapter.

On receipt of the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor refused to allow Mitchell's enterprise to proceed. However, the Legislative Council renewed the petition originally made by them for the undertaking to be launched, and when Sir George Gipps abandoned the obstinate obstruction he had raised against the scheme being carried into effect the legislative body increased the vote from £1,000 to £2,000.

In the middle of December the expedition made its real start from Buree, the party consisting of twenty-nine persons, of whom all but six were prisoners of the Crown in different stages of probation. Besides the chief of the expedition, the free men were as follows:—Edward B. Kennedy, second in command; W. Stephenson, M.R.C.S.L., surgeon and collector of objects of natural history; Peter M'Avoy, mounted vidette; Anthony Brown, tentkeeper; and William Baldock, keeper of the horses. The others, together with their functions, were as follows:—Two mounted videttes, a storekeeper, eight bullock-drivers, two carpenters, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a barometer carrier, two chainmen, two keepers of horses, a carter and pioneer, a shepherd and butcher, and a sailmaker and sailor. The inclusion of the last on the list may seem a strange provision to be made in a party about to explore a country for the most part so arid that the scarcity of drinking water presents the most serious danger met with. But the fact was that Sir Thomas made it his practice to take one or two portable boats to enable him the more expeditiously to cross whatever formidable rivers might be met with. Experience had shown him the character of the interior of the Continent to be such that rains not unusually falling at certain seasons of the year might convert the dry bed of a water-course, usually consisting of but a chain of stagnant holes, into a flowing sea many miles wide, and in the channel from thirty to sixty feet in depth. Many men,

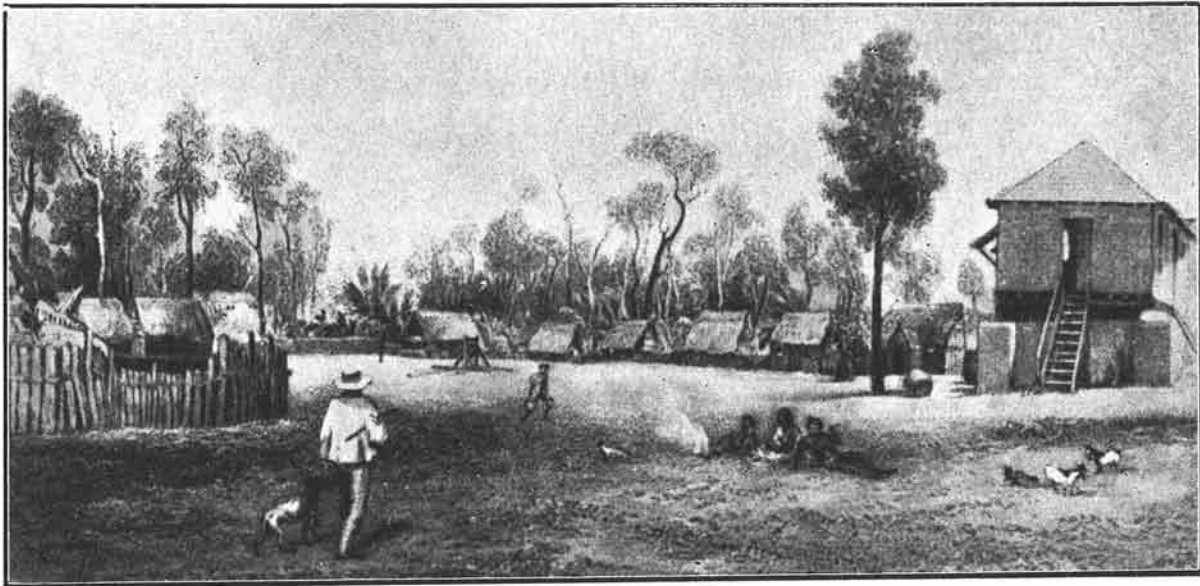


free and bound, had volunteered to form part of the expedition, and a wide field of selection therefore had been presented. At Buree two black guides were included in the staff. These were Piper, who had accompanied Sir Thomas on a former journey of exploration, and a native named Yuranigh.

Means of locomotion consisted of eight drays, each drawn by ten bullocks, three light horse carts, seventeen horses, and two boats. The supply of provisions was calculated to last for a year, and included a flock of 250 sheep. Probably no better equipped body ever set out to explore the interior of Australia, though larger sums of money had been spent on others. The total fund available for Messrs. Burke and Wills, when their ill-fated enterprise was being organized, amounted to £12,400, with the assurance that more money would be forthcoming should it be required at a subsequent date.

might have followed. The general differentiation of labour marking the whole of the arranging of the staff carried with it a definite fixing of responsibility in regard to every necessary duty which made wholly for efficiency, and contributed in no small degree to the success following the various enterprises controlled and managed by the Surveyor-General. The one error which Sir Thomas appears to have fallen into in this preliminary planning lay in choosing bullocks instead of horses, and thereby being forced to travel slowly at times when important results might have been attained by increased mobility.

The last of the settled northern country was reached on January 4, 1846, if, indeed, the rough skeleton industry of that early-day squatting could be regarded as involving real settlement. The mid-summer heat was intense, and the shortage of water imposed painful



VICTORIA SQUARE, PORT ESSINGTON IN 1846.

Experience and sound judgment enabled Mitchell to restrict his encumbrances to articles for which real need existed, whilst it was never the lot of those under his command to suffer hardship or danger through the omission of things for which the work in hand and the particular difficulties to be overcome created a use. In 1861 the party led by Frederick Walker successfully from the Pacific Coast to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria and back, stumbled over the last few hundred miles bootless and with bruised and bleeding feet. Sir Thomas protected his men from that kind of disaster—one which easily might lead to loss of life. The services of one man to be set aside for the care of the barometer might seem like a waste of labour; but it had been through some slight oversight in the care of scientific instruments that other expeditions had been robbed of the valuable results which otherwise

privations upon the explorers, considerable delay being occasioned. Trouble was experienced with Piper, the black guide, who was discovered to entertain feelings of disloyalty to his white companions, so that it was deemed wise to send him back to Bathurst in charge of a trooper. Lengthy halts had to be made at places where water and grass could be obtained. A welcome change in the weather occurred early in February, and a flood in the channel of the Macquarie River, seen at this time, proved one of the most impressive and interesting sights met with by the members of the party during the whole of the expedition. Attracted to the bank of the stream by the low but steadily-increasing murmuring noise, punctuated by cracking sounds like the snapping of the branches of trees, they had not to wait long before a mighty flood came surging towards them. "By very slow degrees," wrote Mitchell afterwards,

describing the event, "the sound grew louder, and at length so audible as to draw various persons besides myself from the camp to the riverside. Still no flood appeared, although its approach was indicated by the occasional rending of trees with a loud noise. Such a phenomenon on a most serene moonlight night was quite new to us all. At length the rushing sound of waters and loud cracking of timber announced that the flood was in the next bend. It rushed into our sight, glittering in the moonbeams—a moving cataract, tossing before it ancient trees and snapping them against its banks. It was preceded by a point of meandering water, picking its way like a thing of life through the deepest parts of the dark, dry, and shady bed of what thus again became a flowing river. I am convinced the scene can never be forgotten by my party, situated as we were at that time, beating about the country and impeded in our journey solely by the almost total absence of water, suffering excessively from thirst and extreme heat. Here came at once abundance—the product of storms in the far-off mountains that overlooked our homes. The first impulse was to welcome this flood on our knees, for the scene was sublime in itself, while the subject—an abundance of water sent to us in a desert—greatly heightened the effect to our eyes. Suffice to say, I had witnessed nothing of such interest in all my Australian travels. . . . The river gradually filled up the channel nearly bank high, while the living cataract travelled onward, much slower than I had expected to see it; so slowly, indeed, that more than an hour after its first arrival the sweet music of the head of the flood was distinctly audible from my tent, as the murmur of waters and the diapason crash of logs travelled slowly through the tortuous windings of the river bed. . . . I was finally lulled to sleep by that melody of living waters, so grateful to my ear and evidently so unwonted in the dry bed of the thirsty Macquarie."

Yet even after the long-desired rain had filled the watercourses and replenished the billabongs the progress of the party was so slow that the twenty-ninth degree of latitude—the present boundary between New South Wales and Queensland—was not reached until March 26. Not only did bullocks prove to be very much slower than horses, but the endurance of the former was considerably lower than was that of the latter. During the period when scarcity of water presented the principal difficulty for Sir Thomas to overcome, he was able to take his whole party over only short stages separating sources of supply, so that, except in the case of small advance expeditions of horsemen, his capacity for penetrating into arid regions was less than it would have been had he depended entirely on horses for locomotion and transport. The journal of the leader contains numerous complaints at the delay caused through this

element of weakness, probably the only error of any seriousness committed by Mitchell in his original plans. During the latter half of February and March the soft-yielding nature of the ground raised another obstacle in the way of fast travelling. The twenty-ninth parallel was approached within the neighbourhood of the Narran River, the route crossing many swamps and lying, for almost every mile, over land nearly as level as the proverbial billiard-table.

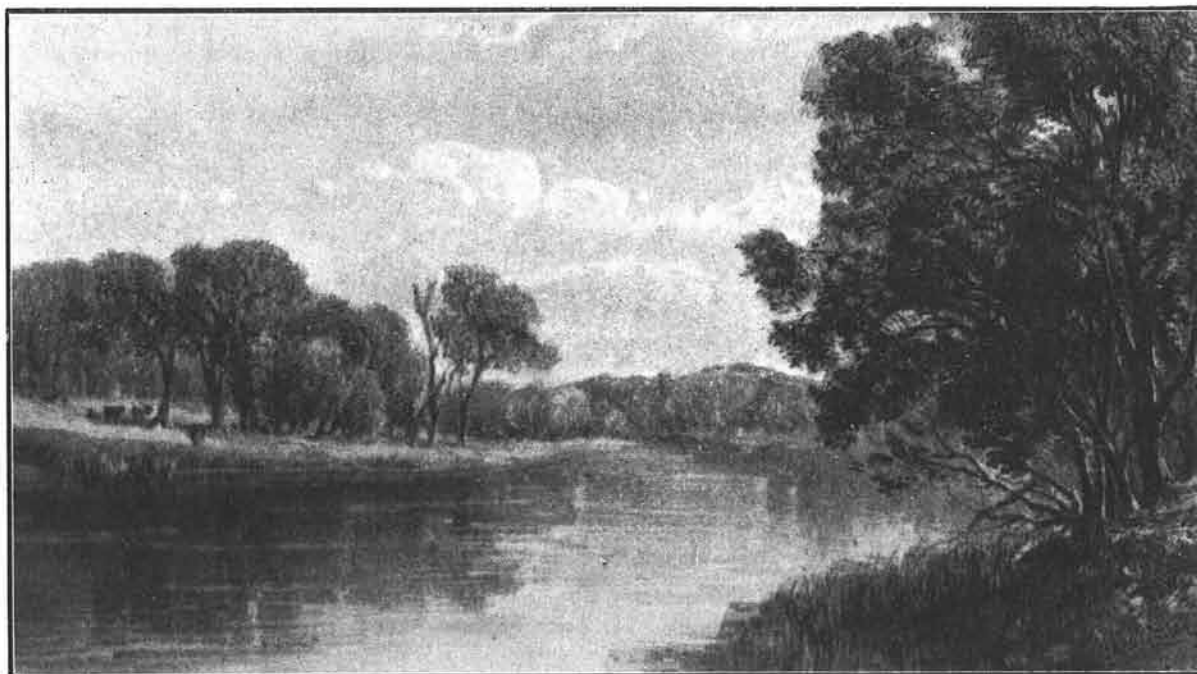
The movement of the expedition after the end of March was filled with interest to the student of the genesis of Queensland settlement. The Balonne River was reached on April 1. Mitchell described it as "as fine a looking river as I have seen in the Colony, excepting only the Murray. There was a slight current, and the waters lay in broad reaches, under banks less elevated above the bed than those of the Darling. In breadth the channel surpassed that of the last-named river in any part, I believe, of its course." The day was occupied in preparing a ford for crossing on the following morning. This was effected by filling a shallow place with logs, branches of trees, and earth. Near this spot a native pointed out two trees on which were marked "J. Towns" and "Bagot, 1845," evidences convincing Sir Thomas he was at or near a place called "Congo," where his son, Commissioner Mitchell, had crossed the Balonne just before discovering the Culgoa. Having forded the river the party that day covered seven miles and camped for the night near the junction of the Balonne and Culgoa rivers.

From the Culgoa Mitchell set off in a northerly direction. "In gaining the right bank of the Culgoa," he wrote, in review of the experiences of the previous weeks, "we had crossed the vast basin of clay extending from the Bogan on the south to this river on the north, and westward to New Year's Range and Fort Bourke (in New South Wales). The country was liable to be rendered quite impassable had the rains set in. But even in such seasons we could still travel over the dry, firm ground bounding this basin of clay on the northward, as the left bank of the Bogan was also passable, however rainy the season; indeed, more conveniently than during a dry one. Rain, if it had fallen at this time, had greatly facilitated our exploration of the northern interior, but these rivers we had reached would supply us with water for some degrees to the northward, as I had been informed by the commissioner of the district, and in our progress so far, I hope that we should arrive at a better watered country." At this point Mitchell followed the practice of marking a tree at each camping-place, a habit afterwards adopted by Leichhardt, and proving of considerable service to those to whom fell the task of tracking the route of the last journey.

For some distance the party followed the course of the Balonne, which was found to develop into a magnificent stream, flowing through fertile, well-grassed land, opening to a width of 120 yards, and in one spot containing a lake surrounding some large islands. This sheet of water was named Lake Parachute, and was described by the commander as being a lagoon supplied by floods from the river. It formed a home and feeding-place for thousands of ducks, pelicans, and other aquatic birds. This attractive region was reached on April 11. A few miles higher up the stream, where the water attained its maximum width, a natural bridge of rock was found. The commander was now desirous of selecting a camp where he could leave the main portion of his party, while he himself, with a small, well-mounted detachment, might proceed more rapidly

preparations to better fit the main body of the expedition for the continuance of the travels. This work selected included "the stuffing of saddles, shoeing of horses, drying of mutton, and, first of all in importance though the least likely of accomplishment, the making of a pair of new wheels for a cart to carry water."

The 15th was occupied by Kennedy in taking a preliminary survey of the country in the direction Sir Thomas was contemplating travelling. The former spent until ten o'clock at night on his ride, the result of which confirmed the intention of the leader to strike off to the north-west at practically a right angle from the general course of the river. "In order better to contend with the difficulty of wanting water," wrote the commander, "and be better prepared for it, I formed my party rather of infantry than of



RIVER BALONNE.

to the north-west. The cattle had become low in condition, several of them had been galled on the shoulders through pulling at their yokes, and they needed rest at some well-grassed and well-watered halting-place. While they should gain in strength, Mitchell might ascertain the further course of the river, and push forward with his work of exploration in the required direction. The district immediately surrounding this ready-made ford offered just such facilities as were required. Arrangements to carry the plan into effect were proceeded with at once. Sir Thomas Mitchell was not the type of leader to permit any of his men to idle away their time while the jaded cattle were picking up lost condition. For the occupation of those who did not accompany him he set on foot various

cavalry, taking only two horses, drawing a cart loaded chiefly with water, and six trusty men, all old soldiers. We were thus prepared to spend several nights without requiring other water than what we carried with us. I hoped thus to be able to penetrate the scrubs and reach, perhaps cross, the higher land bounding this great basin."

The four following days were spent mostly in hewing a track for the carts through rough scrub lands, where no water was found. On the 19th they were overtaken by two horsemen from the main party, bearing a despatch received from Commissioner Wright, communicating the news of Dr. Leichhardt's return from Port Essington, and enclosing a *Gazette* containing that explorer's own account of his journey. This

meant, of course, that Sir Thomas Mitchell could not hope to be the first to reach the north coast by land. The whole detachment thereupon returned to the main camp, which was reached on the 21st. The commander determined to set out at once for the head of the Gulf under whatever promised to be the most expeditious system for getting there.

Two days later Sir Thomas started on his effort to accomplish the main purpose of his expedition. His plan was to leave at the *depôt*, which was found to be adjacent to a great tract of excellent pastoral land, the weakest of his stock and the most difficult of transport of his equipment. Experience caused him to include the bullocks within this qualification. He took with him eight men, two native boys, fourteen horses, three carts, and sufficient provisions to last fourteen weeks. Mitchell's intention was, he wrote, "if possible to penetrate northward into the interior country, and ascertain where the division of the waters was likely to be found. I intended, with this view, to trace upwards the course of the Balonne until I found mountains to the north-westward of it; then to endeavour to turn them by the west, and thus acquire some knowledge on that most interesting point, the watershed towards the Gulf. I left instructions with Mr. Kennedy to follow my tracks with the drays and main body of the party, and to set out on Monday, May 4, when the cattle would have had three weeks' rest." Having in this way obtained information of the division between the watershed, Sir Thomas hoped to then be able to penetrate to the shores of the Gulf itself.

For the first few days the route of the explorers took them through fertile, grassy flats, wide, magnificent reaches of river, stately open timber, and firm soil upon which to walk, ride, or drive gave beauty and enjoyment to the daily task. None were able to appreciate such things better than was Sir Thomas Mitchell, who combined the experienced judgment of an expert with the eye of an artist. "Masses of rock," he wrote, "lofty trees, shining sands and patches of water, in wild confusion, afforded evidence of the powerful current that sometimes moved there and overwhelmed all. At this time the outlines were wild, the tints sublimely beautiful. Mighty trees of *casuarinæ*, still inclined as they had been made to bend before the waters, contrasted finely with erect *mimosæ*, with prostrate masses of driftwood, and with perpendicular rocks. Then the hues of the *anthistiria* grass, of a red-brown, contrasted most harmoniously with the light-green bushes, grey driftwood, blue water, and verdure by its margin; all these again—grass, verdure, driftwood, and water—were so opposed to the dark hues of the *casuarinæ*, *mimosæ*, and rifted rocks, that a Ruysdael or a Gainsborough might there have found an inexhaustible stock of subjects for their

pencil. . . . Noble reaches next extended in fine perspective before us; each for several miles presenting open grassy margins, along which we could travel on firm ground unimpeded by scrub. At length I perceived before me a junction of rivers, and could see along each of them nearly a mile." At this spot the travellers found many recent native encampments, some of them containing fires still burning.

The Maranoa was discovered on May 1, Mitchell coming upon the stream at the point where it joins the Balonne. The party adhered to the course of the Balonne, crossing the Maranoa, and leaving it on their left-rear. Portion of a tribe of natives was met with near the point of junction between the two streams. Naked, and although without weapons of any kind, the savages stood their ground in fearless, open-eyed astonishment. Sir Thomas Mitchell was impressed with the serious, intelligent expressions of these blacks, who though never having before seen white men made no effort to disguise their feelings, as is usual with such people. "There was a manly openness of countenance about them," wrote Sir Thomas, "which would have gained my full confidence could we but have understood each other." On the 3rd Mount First View was discovered and named, and five days later Mitchell ascended Mount Abundance and looked over a magnificent stretch of country, which he called Fitzroy Downs. The party now was within near proximity to the site of the present town of Roma.

Mitchell left the course of the river on the 6th, as it bent to the east. His goal was the north, and from the lay of distant ridges he judged that he might safely depend on falling in with the stream again, if he maintained his original direction. Several small branches of the main stream were found to soon dwindle into mere chains of small pools, and on the 13th the travellers were crossing the ground dividing the watersheds of the Balonne and its tributaries from waters flowing in what was believed to be a generally north-westerly direction.

A northerly route was followed, independently of the course of the creek which had been met with, and after a few days had elapsed difficulty was experienced in finding water. But on the 17th Mitchell, who was examining the country ahead of his party, found the Maranoa, which he described as being fully as large as the Darling, with a course lying north to south, so that by following towards the source the expedition would be proceeding on its way into the far interior. However, after proceeding down the stream for a couple of miles, during which several lately-deserted native camps were passed, he found a sharp bend, and concluded, as a result of this additional investigation, that "its final course was an enigma not to be solved without much more research." Mitchell returned for his

companions, and next day he determined to form a *dépôt* at this supply of permanent water and excellent pasturage. The leader resolved to wait the arrival of Kennedy at this well-favoured site, and meanwhile to explore the neighbouring country.

The district appeared to be fairly-thickly peopled with natives, calculating as density of population was counted in the Australian interior, and after the strangers had occupied their camp for some days the tribes lost the alarm first felt by them at the presence of the newcomers. On the 27th Mitchell ascended Mount Lonsdale, a peak lying due north from the site of Mungallala, on the Charleville line. The view from this altitude proved to include an extensive stretch of country, containing two of the explorer's fixed points, one thirty-two and the other forty-two miles distant. "The land round me," he wrote, "was fair to look

Soon after they all arrived, the men in excellent health and the cattle greatly improved in condition. The only incident of interest they had to relate was a slight brush with the tribe of natives who had followed and proved a source of trouble to the advance detachment. As before, the main object of the savages appeared to be plunder. On one occasion several of the men had come to the camp fires of the Europeans and manifested a strong disinclination to leave, when they were informed by signs that it was the desire of the strangers that they should do so. This evidence of contemptuous familiarity was followed by setting fire to the grass round the camp of the explorers. Finally, the intruders were driven off with shouts and shots fired over their heads. This appears to have been the limit of the hostility displayed at any time by any of the party. Mitchell, and those under him, were always able, during



RIVER SALVATOR.

upon; nothing could be finer than the forms of the hills, half clear of wood, the dispositions of open grassy downs and vales, or the beauty of the woods. Water was not wanting; at least, there appeared to be enough for the present inhabitants, and to an admirer of Nature there was all that could be desired. Deeply impressed with its sublime and solitary beauty, I sketched the scene, and descended from the hill resolved to follow the river upwards, as more favourable in that direction to the chief object of my mission." Mitchell had ascertained that the Maranoa came from a direction slightly north of north-west, and consequently that the route he most desired to travel would be supplied with water; at any rate, for some considerable distance from the site of the present *dépôt*.

Next day (June 1) a shot fired in the distance announced the approach of Kennedy and his party.

the whole of their travels, to defend themselves successfully without resort to bloodshed or to inflicting injury on the natives, whose greatest offence seemed to consist in desire to steal—a failing common to nearly all savages.

Almost immediately on being joined by Kennedy the leader of the party decided to repeat his late plan, leaving a *dépôt* with the heavier stores and slower of the transports at a well-chosen spot, and pushing on with an advance detachment. Both horses and bullocks were taken with the latter. On this occasion he brought on supplies of provisions to last for at least four months, and he increased his party by the addition of Mr. Stephenson, the surgeon, a man to assist him, and the shepherd. Portion of the flock of sheep was brought forward, as by that means food could be conveyed without being carried. One of the boats, borne in two

half pieces, was carried on a dray. A start was made on the 4th, so that no time was lost.

"Every preparation being made," narrated the leader, referring to his departure from this second depôt, "I bade Mr. Kennedy adieu for at least four months, and crossed the Maranoa with my party and light carts. It was not without very much regret that I left this zealous assistant and so large a portion of my men behind, departing on a hazardous enterprise, as this was likely to be, where the population might be more numerous. Anxiety for the safety of the party left predominated with me, for whatever might be the danger of passing and repassing through these barbarous regions, that of a party stationary for a length of time in one place seemed greater, as they were more likely to be assailed by assembled numbers, and more exposed to their cunning and treachery. I gave to Mr. Kennedy the best advice I could, and we parted in the hope of a happy meeting at the period of my return—a hope, I must confess, I could not indulge in then with any degree of pleasure, looking forward to the many difficulties we were prepared to encounter, and considering the state of my own health." On the day of departure they found various traces of coal in the bed of the Maranoa while crossing that stream.

For the first three weeks Mitchell followed a route north of north-west, and by the 21st he had reached a rocky, hilly country, where water was scarce, though the grass was sufficient to provide feed for the horses and cattle. However, in places the soil was mostly loose sand. On the 30th they discovered the Warrego River, and two days later they found the Salvator, which contained the first running water found in any of the streams so far met with in the unknown country. The water was clear and sparkling and tasted strongly of sulphur. This was within eighty miles of the tropic. On July 5 Mount Salvator was named. Mitchell rightly concluded he had crossed into a new watershed, but he was over-optimistic in the surmise he drew as to the final outlet of the stream he was now upon. "Our prospects had suddenly brightened," he wrote, "when instead of following chains of dry ponds we had before us a running stream, carrying life and nourishment towards the country we were about to explore. The whole aspect of the country seemed new to us. The barometer showed we were rapidly descending, and I expected that our living stream would soon join that greater stream, the basin of which I thought I could trace in the line of mist seen from Mount P. P. King on June 28. The course of this river, unlike the others, curved round from N.W. towards north, and having origin in mountains equidistant between Cape York and Wilson Promontory, it was reasonable to suppose that we had at length crossed the division between the northern and southern waters. That between the eastern

and western waters was still to be discovered, and in a country so intricate, and where water was so scarce then, the course of rivers afforded the readiest means of determining where that division was. If the general course of this river were to be the eastward of north, we might safely conclude that the dividing ground was in the west or to the left of our route, and this seemed the more probable from the line of a river flowing north-westward, which I had seen the valley of from Mount P. P. King." Mitchell was certainly right in believing that the stream flowed ultimately eastward of north, but whatever hopes he had of being able to approach the Gulf country by following its general direction were doomed to disappointment. In point of fact, the spot then occupied was where three watersheds nearly join, for a short distance to the north-west the country slopes into the basin of the Barcoo, a system soon afterwards to be discovered by Mitchell himself, and in which the flow is southerly. On following the course of the stream the travellers were disappointed at finding that, instead of providing them with water for an indefinite distance on their way, it emerged into a lake, which they named Lake Salvator, and the outlet from which was dry.

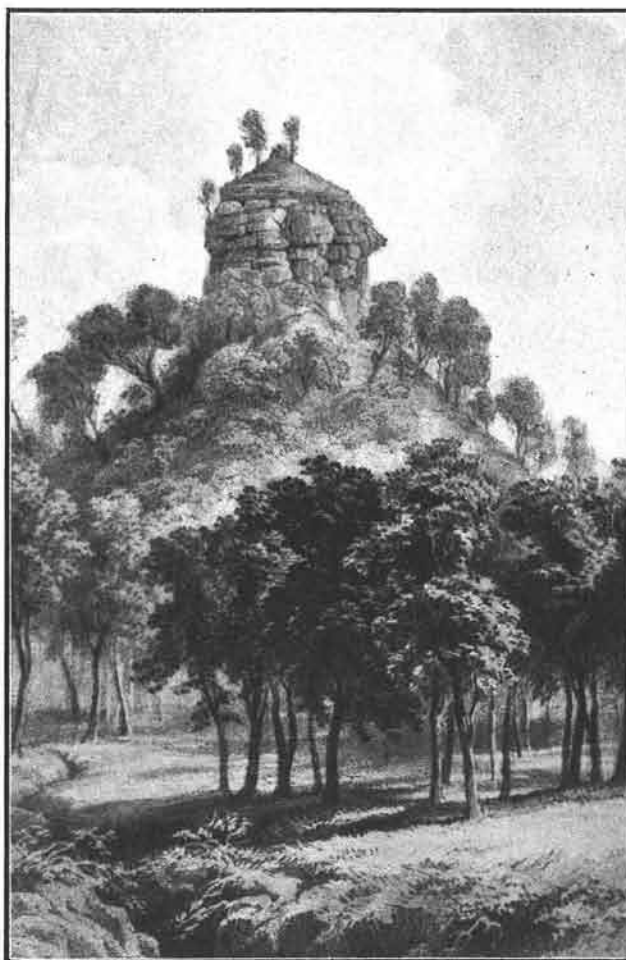
Once more they were faced with a scarcity of water, but after continuing their northern route until the 11th another stream was met with, the Claude River, flowing from the west. The nature of the country in this region varied greatly. In places the soil was fertile and water plentiful, while elsewhere the party passed over arid, barren ground. On the 13th it was 1,310 feet above sea-level. The Nogoia River, having been passed some days before, Mitchell, on the 10th, ascended Mount Mudge, which lies about a degree due west of the present railway terminus of Springsure. The most favourable feature to be observed from this eminence was what appeared to be a watercourse falling either to the south-west or north-east. To the westward of the supposed river a huge, isolated mountain mass shut out the view of the progress of the stream, if, indeed, stream it should prove to be. Sir Thomas determined to shape his further course in that direction, which presented the lowest point in the horizon. Next day the party descended into a valley leading north-west, and after travelling about twelve miles it was found to contain a fine pond of water, beside which the camp was pitched for the night. The valley seemed to continue to the base of the mountain mass viewed from Mount Mudge, and at the base of which it appeared to dip into a deeper valley, sloping to either the northward or the southward. The larger mountain was named Mount Beaufort.

The following day they fell in with the headwaters of the Belyando River, and Mitchell believed at last they had come upon a stream flowing to the north-west,

as he had so long desired. Here again he was, of course, doomed to disappointment, for though the Belyando reaches far north of where he then was, it joins the Burdekin, and thus flows into, not the Gulf of Carpentaria, but the shores of the Pacific Ocean at Upstart Bay, some distance to the north of latitude 20°. The channel, at the point where it was discovered, was dry when reached by the party, and the surrounding country was suffering from lack of rain to such an extent that Sir Thomas remarked he had never seen vegetation so checked by drought. The grass seemed parched and useless, and a continuance of the same sort of weather was likely to kill the trees and convert the region into open downs. Fortunately, the river bed contained occasional pools of water. The tropic was crossed a few days later. On the 24th Sir Thomas wrote:—"There was no hill or other geographical feature near the route whereby it might have been possible to mark there the limit of tropical Australia. We were the first to enter the interior beyond that line. Three large kangaroos, hopping across a small plain, were visible just as we entered these regions of the sun. The air was extremely fragrant, the shrubs and grass being still moist with the thunder shower. The course of the river continued favourable, and the country seemed to improve as we advanced, opening into plains skirted by scrubs of rose-wood and drooping shrubs, whose verdure was most refreshing to the eye after just having passed through dry and withered brigalow. At eight miles a large lagoon appeared on our left, on which we saw many ducks, and at nine miles we encamped where the grass seemed good, finding water was at hand now in the river bed."

Until the middle of August the party followed up the Belyando. At several places it divided into separate channels which met again, whilst tributaries joined the river which the explorers had first discovered. In places the bed was quite dry, and in others it was

dotted with pools, whilst occasional magnificent reaches of splendid water, alive with game, and surrounded with good pastures, provided welcome camping places. On the 10th an excellent example was afforded of how bloodshed may be avoided by Europeans when approached by hostile Australian natives bent on attack. The incident provides a striking contrast to the outcome of somewhat similar encounters recorded in the journals of explorers less courageous and humane than Sir Thomas Mitchell proved himself whenever meeting with the original possessors of the wilds. That the



TOWER ALMOND, NAMED BY MITCHELL AFTER AN ANCIENT CASTLE, THE SCENE OF MANY EARLY ASSOCIATIONS.

commander was away from the camp at the time of the tactfully averting of a conflict confers all the more credit upon his leadership, showing how thoroughly he had instilled into his men his own cool-headed resourcefulness and respect for the lives and natural feelings of the savages who had never seen white people before. The story is well worth rendering in Mitchell's own words. "The camp," he wrote, describing what had been related to him on his return from a short ride into the surrounding country, "had just been visited by seventeen natives, apparently bent on hostile purposes, all very strong, several of them upwards of six feet high. Each of them carried three or four missile clubs. They were headed by an old man, and a gigantic kind of bully who would not keep his hands off our carts. They said, by signs, that the whole country belonged to the old man. They pointed in the direction in which I had gone, and to where Mr. Stephenson happened to be at the time, down in the river bed, and beckoned to the party that they should also follow, or go where I had gone, or leave that place. They were received very firmly, but civilly and patiently, by the men, and were requested to sit down at a distance, my man (Brown) being very desirous that I should return before they departed, thinking that the old man might have given me some information about the river, which he called 'Belyando.' But a noisy altercation seemed to arise

between the old chief and the tallest man about the clubs, during which the latter again came forward and beckoned to others behind him, who also came up. All carried a club under each arm, and another in each hand, and from the gestures made to this advanced party by the rest of a tribe of young men at a distance, it appeared that this was intended to be a hostile movement. Brown accordingly drew out the men in line before the tents, with their arms in their hands, and forbade the natives to approach the tents. 'Nothing damps the ardour of troops so much,' says General Lloyd, 'as an unexpected obstacle at the moment of attack,' and these strong men stood silent and looked foolish when they saw the five men in line with incomprehensible weapons in their hands. Just then our three dogs ran at them, and no charge of cavalry ever succeeded better. They all took to their heels, greatly laughed at, even by the rest of their tribe; and the only casualty befell the shepherd's dog, which, biting at the legs of a native running away, he turned round and hit the dog so cleverly with his missile on the rump that it was dangerously ill for months after, the native having again with great dexterity picked up his club. The whole of them then disappeared, shouting through the wood to their gins. It was remarkable that on seeing the horses they exclaimed 'Yerraman,' the colonial natives' name for a horse, and that of these animals they were not at all afraid whereas they seemed in much dread of the bullocks. That these natives were fully determined to attack the white strangers seems to admit of no doubt, and the result is but another of the many instances that might be adduced that an open fight without treachery would be contrary to their habits and disposition. That they did not on any occasion waylay me or the doctor when detached from the body of the party may, perhaps, with equal truth be set down as a favourable trait in the character of the aborigines, for whenever they visited my camp it was during my absence, when they knew I was absent, and, of course, must have known where I was to be found."

During the following day Sir Thomas Mitchell altered his plans, having determined that the Belyando would not take him to the shores of the Gulf or to any larger stream flowing to those waters. The Belyando, he concluded, was a tributary to or identical with the stream which Leichhardt had seen joining the Suttor in latitude  $21^{\circ} 6'$ . That the Belyando does join the Suttor in this region was afterwards established, the point of junction being approximately that indicated. In point of fact, Mitchell himself could not have been a great distance from the Suttor. The channel had provided the explorers with water across three degrees of latitude, but it had gradually altered its course from north-west to about  $30^{\circ}$  east of north. He had expected to find high lands lying to the north, and that diverting

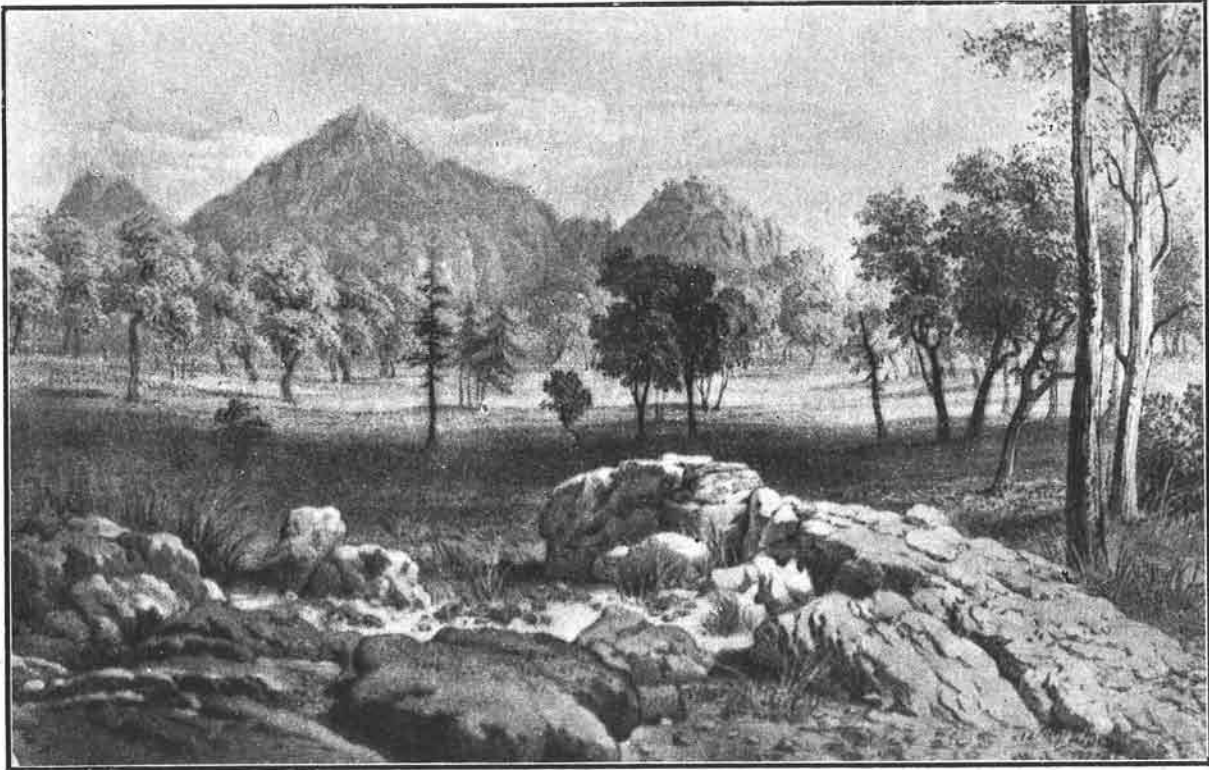
the course of the stream to the west; but no such elevations had appeared, though he had traced it to  $21^{\circ} 30'$  of latitude. At the latter point the bed of the river was but little more than 600 feet above sea level, and from that fact Sir Thomas correctly concluded that the division between the eastern and western watersheds lay more to the westward. He also reasoned: "(1) That the river of Carpentaria should have been sought for to the westward of all the sources of the river Salvator. (2) That the deepest indentation as yet discovered of the division of the waters was at the sources of the river, and corresponded with the greatest elevation indicated by the barometer (about 2,500 feet). And (3) That there, *i.e.*, under the parallel of  $25^{\circ}$  S., the highest spinal range must extend westward, in a line of truncated cones, whereof Mount Faraday appeared to be one." The difference in direction ultimately taken by the system, including the Claude, the Salvator, and the Nogoia, from that of the Belyando, does not appear to have been clearly recognized till some years after Mitchell's expedition; and an authority on Australian exploration as late as William Howitt, in his otherwise accurate work, "The History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand," writes of the Claude as "flowing on to constitute the Belyando," when in point of fact the Claude is a tributary of the Nogoia, and the latter joins the Mackenzie, which, in turn, junctioning with the Fitzroy, reaches the sea at Keppel Bay a few miles north of the tropic.

The programme now decided on by Sir Thomas Mitchell was to retrace his tracks back to the head of the Salvator, and from there to explore the country to the north-west as far as his stock of provisions and the state of the grass and water of that region would permit. Since leaving the Culgoa River he had marked the trees deeply with the number of each camp, cut in Roman figures. At this farthest point he cut "LXIX." over "N.S.W.," the initials of the Colony, thus indicating the number of stages between the Culgoa and the termination of the route. Of course, Sir Thomas felt keenly disappointed at being forced to postpone his original intention of penetrating to the north until he was on some river which he had sufficient grounds for feeling certain fell into the Gulf of Carpentaria and made a track to that coast practical for stock to regularly cross with safety. The task he had found by the route he was then following was too big to be carried to a successful conclusion with the stock of provisions he had with him. Nearly eight months had already elapsed since the party had set out; some hundreds of miles of weary, and in places difficult, country lay between them and the nearest settlement, while their pace could not be any faster than that of the bullocks on which they were so largely dependent for transport, and which already had proved to be so monstrously slow.



Possibly they might have pushed forward a few stages more to the north; but to have persisted in the effort to establish a route to the Gulf from the point where they then were, now it had been shown that the Belyando did not flow that way, would have been stark madness. By a leader of the sound judgment of Sir Thomas Mitchell the idea was not to be entertained; and, of course, a great deal of valuable work had been accomplished. The expedition already had been rich in results of the greatest benefit to the Colony as exercising a powerfully stimulating effect on pastoral settlement. "We had," wrote the leader, "at least laid out a good

any band of hostile savages who might have taken a fancy to his possessions, but by good luck he did not suffer any ill from the adventure. Mitchell still hoped that he might discover the source of a river flowing north-west to the Gulf, which he intended to attempt to reach by striking off to the north-west, when he should have sufficiently retraced his steps along the Belyando. On the 19th the country was impassable, on account of the recent rain having softened the clay to such an extent that the vehicles could not be made to travel over it. The day was consequently spent by Mitchell in maturing his plans for penetrating to the



THE PYRAMIDS.

carriage road from the colony to a river in M. Leichhardt's route, which road, as far as we had marked it with our wheels, led through pastoral regions of much greater extent than all the colonies now occupied. At this farthest point traced by our wheels within the tropics the plants were still known to botanists, but with some interesting exceptions."

The party had proceeded far on the southern journey when they saw evidences of having been followed for a considerable distance by a tribe of natives. On the second day the shepherd lost himself together with his flock, and was not discovered until the next day, when he was walking diametrically away from the direction of the party. He would have fallen an easy prey to

westward of the region of the Salvator. Southward of the high ground of that district, under the parallel of  $24^{\circ}$  or  $25^{\circ}$ , the fall of the water and of the whole country had been observed to be to the south; whilst northward the fall had been so unmistakably in the opposite direction that the party had been able to follow the Belyando for three degrees and from a mean elevation of 2,000 feet to only about 600 feet. No river of any importance had been seen coming from the west, and such as had been met with had their origin to the south-west. From these facts Sir Thomas calculated that a quite distinct watershed lay not far to the westward, in which conclusion he was, of course, correct. Nor was it less reasonable, he argued, to

expect to find there the heads of a river, or rivers, leading to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The rivers were there, truly enough, but they led in precisely the opposite direction to that expected by the explorer, flowing to the south, and finally losing themselves in lakes and swamps in the north-eastern corner of South Australia.

On the 24th the party recrossed the line of Capricorn, having spent just a month within the tropics, during which the weather had been favourable and water abundant. A camp was formed in a peculiarly fertile district of undulating downs, some ten miles from the Claude, on the 31st. For the next few days the party continued travelling through excellent country, recently refreshed by rain, and bursting into vigorous life with the budding of spring. Traces of numerous blacks were seen in places that had been free from inhabitants when the Europeans were on their outward journey.

On September 4 the party reached a spot where it was decided to remain for some time whilst Sir Thomas and a couple of companions set out on the long-looked-for expedition to explore the western country. Near by were some remarkable rocky elevations, the form of which had greatly interested the travellers on their outward journey. One of these was in the form of a kind of watch-tower, rising abruptly from the forest, and at which Sir Thomas said he was obliged to look attentively in order to convince himself that the mass of rock was the work of unaided nature. The locality, being naturally well grassed, and having recently been burned by the natives, offered sweet feed for the cattle, whilst Lake Salvator and the Nogoia River provided ample water.

All the horses being leg-weary, Sir Thomas found it necessary to spend a few days resting them before setting off with the freshest. The interval the leader spent in writing a copious despatch to the Governor giving a detailed account of the proceedings and discoveries to be forwarded to that official should any unfortunate fate overtake the little party that was about to penetrate the wilderness to the west.

On the 10th Sir Thomas started, taking with him two white men and Yuranigh, all mounted, and using two pack-horses, on which were carried sufficient provisions to last for a month. This slender band succeeded in reaching to within a few miles of where the township of Isisford now stands, well beyond the 145th degree of longitude, the distance from the depôt at Lake Salvator being slightly under 240 miles in a straight line, but more than that by the route followed. On the third day they reached and named the river Nive. "I verily believed that this river would run to Carpentaria," wrote Sir Thomas, the optimism of whom appeared to be

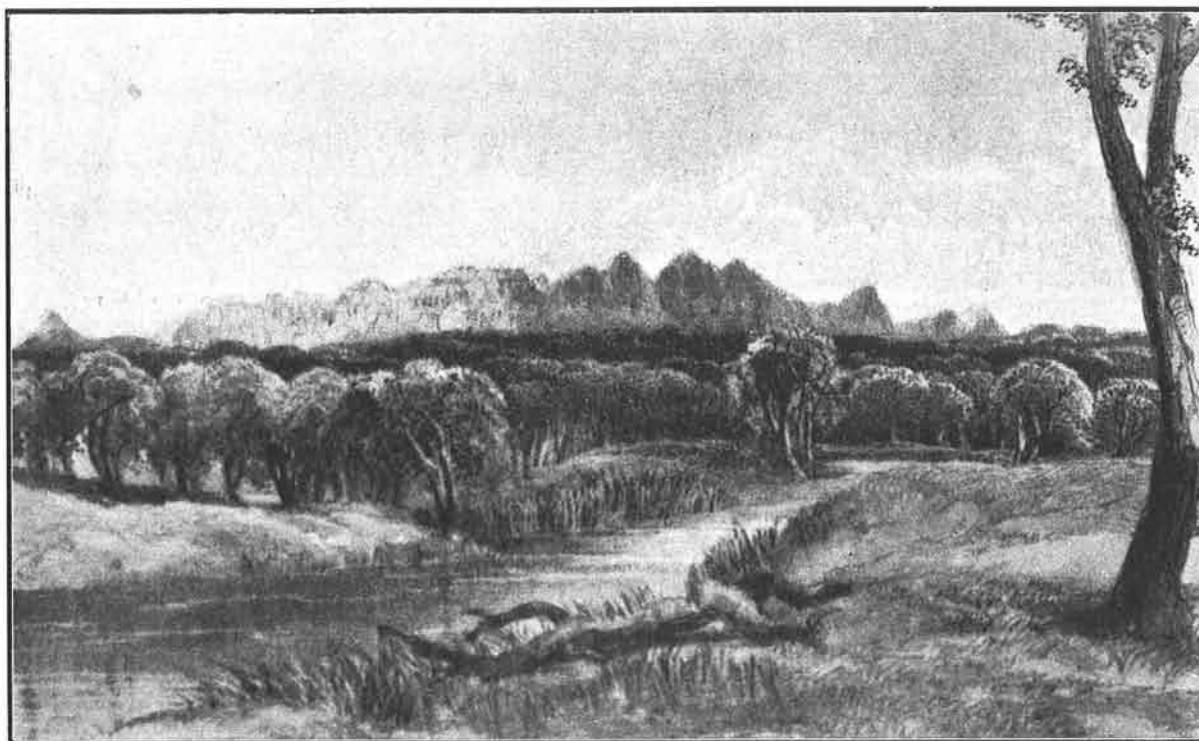
immortal, so far as capacity for surviving disappointments was concerned. In point of fact the Nive, soon after leaving its sources, turns nearly due south, a direction it maintains until falling into the Warrego, which also keeps that course till passing the present border of New South Wales. A good season had just favoured this western country, and Mitchell describes the grass as exceeding that seen anywhere else in Australia in quality and abundance, whilst saltbush was also found.

The Barcoo, or the Victoria, as it was called by Mitchell, and by which name it was known until some years afterwards when confusion with the northern stream of the same title led to the aboriginal term being adopted, was discovered on the 15th. In the early morning the leader of the expedition ascended a high rock. "I there beheld," he wrote, "downs and plains extending westward beyond the reach of vision, bounded on the south-west by woods and low ranges, and on the north-east by higher ranges, the whole of these open downs declining to the north-west, in which direction a line of trees marked the course of a river traceable to the remotest verge of the horizon. There I found then, at last, the realization of my long-cherished hopes—an interior river falling to the north-west in the heart of an open country extending also in that direction. Ulloa's delight at the first view of the Pacific could not have surpassed mine on this occasion, nor could the fervour with which he was impressed at the moment have exceeded my sense of gratitude for being allowed to make the discovery. From that rock the scene was so extensive as to leave no room for doubt as to the course of the river which, thus and there revealed to me alone, seemed like a reward direct from heaven for perseverance, and as a compensation for the many sacrifices I had made in order to solve the question as to the interior rivers of tropical Australia."

The blacks were plentiful along the course of the river, but no trouble from them was experienced by the explorers, who found safety in the rapidity of their movements. Moreover, signs were ample of the natives entertaining great fear of the travellers and their mysterious weapons, but more particularly of the remarkable quadrupeds which they rode, and which exceeded in size any living creature ever seen by the inhabitants of that grassy wilderness where the biggest of all animals were the old-man kangaroos. For many days the direction of the river was consistently to the north-west, and the hopes of Sir Thomas Mitchell rose high. Throughout the whole distance the little party passed over the same luxuriant pastures. In places the channel of the river was dry, but no long tracts had to be covered without drink for

man or beast, as had been the experience in other regions. Tributaries to the main river were found; and on the 21st Mitchell noted a greater tendency westward on the part of the latter. On that day they passed some large huts built by the aborigines near the river. These were of more elaborate plan and substantial construction than were to be found in the dwellings of the natives in the south. A frame, resembling a lean-to roof, had been erected first. Rafters were laid on that, whilst on the latter rectangular pieces of bark were placed in the position of tiles. Next day the riders came upon a point where the several channels into which the river had divided joined together, and had formed "the broad, deep, and

village the nomadic Australian natives ever construct. The huts were large, permanent, and plentiful, whilst well-beaten paths led to and from them. This was clearly the home of a large tribe. The people Mitchell and his companions would gladly have avoided meeting, but it was necessary for the Europeans to keep near the river, which was the most likely place to come upon the natives. The party had not ridden far before "loud shrieks of many women and children and the angry voices of men" demonstrated that the tribe had been overtaken. The temper of the aborigines was by no means improved by being taken unawares. With horses jaded, and desiring nothing less than a conflict, Mitchell took no notice of words yelled at him which



LINDLEY RANGE.

placid waters of a river as large as the Murray." Great quantities of pelicans and ducks were floating here on what formed an extensive feeding place, and the banks were covered with mussel shells of enormous size.

On the 23rd the Alice was discovered flowing in from the north-east. Mitchell correctly surmised that this new stream would turn the main stream off to the west or south, and he thereupon resolved to turn homewards. The Barcoo not only turns to the south-west at that point, but it never again resumes a northerly position.

On the 25th the travellers came upon a large lagoon, beside which was the nearest approach to a permanent

were interpreted as meaning "What do you want?" but adhered rigidly to his original course. Two of his men, riding some little distance behind their leader, noticed two blacks, armed with spears and clubs, ambush themselves behind a bush beside which the white commander would pass unless deflecting his course. When the white men halted the would-be assailants made off.

During the eastward journey the country was found to be suffering from lack of rain, and some of the water-holes which had supplied the requirements of the camps on the way out were dry when depended on at the later visit. Thus the night of October 1 passed without drink for men or horses, though it was spent beside a

pond which had served to quench the thirst of them all on September 17. Since those regions have been permanently settled droughts have occurred with such severity that hardly a vestige of living vegetation has remained, the years 1902 and 1915 being cases in point. On the 5th the party came upon what was strangely the first snake they had seen in their northern travels. Sir Thomas and Yuranigh both tried to kill the reptile with sticks, and both missed, when they were very much surprised by the creature turning on them. With head erect it glided nimbly towards the horses and the rest of the party. It touched the fetlock of one of the forefeet of the leader's horse with its head, but without biting. Then it did the same to the hind fetlock. From the horse, which stood quietly, it darted towards one of the men, when he was in the act of throwing a stick at it, and as he managed to elude the attack it made for Yuranigh, but at that moment received a charge of small shot in its body. The reptile was brown, with red spots on the belly, about six feet long and five inches in circumference. Mitchell says this was the only occasion on which he knew a snake to attack a party, and most bushmen would agree as to the experience being exceedingly rare. At this stage the party were suffering considerable privation from the provisions having almost given out. Emus were plentiful, and at times considerable numbers of kangaroos were seen, but both were difficult to approach within shooting distance.

About sunset on the 6th they reached the *depôt* where Stephenson had remained. The cattle which had been left had benefited greatly by the rest, being in excellent condition for travelling, whilst the whole party were in good health and spirits. The combined forces found they had enough provisions between them for all hands until Kennedy should be reached at the more remote camp on the long homeward journey. Several days' spell was needed by the horses, which had just completed the expedition to the Alice River. During the absence of the leader Stephenson had not been visited by the blacks, nor had he been faced with any difficulties.

Three days were spent by Mitchell in taking short rides into the surrounding country and collecting data of interest to botanists and zoologists. On the 10th a start was made along the old route to the south. What in an expedition led by Mitchell was the rare incident of an accident, resulting in the loss of a horse, occurred on the 17th, when one man leading four horses, contrary to instructions, was close to the precipitous bank of a river channel. One animal kicked at another, and the latter, losing foothold, fell a clear forty feet, and, being unable to rise, had to be shot for humane reasons.

The expedition had been almost free from mishap, such was the care and skill evidenced throughout by Sir Thomas' management.

Next day the travellers reached Mr. Kennedy's *depôt*, where the party were found to be in good health. The four months and fifteen days during which the leader and his companions had been away had not been spent in idleness. A stockyard had been constructed, a storehouse erected, and a garden fenced in and planted with lettuce, radishes, melons, and cucumbers. The camp had the appearance of a permanent settlement, and, in the words of Mitchell, "evinced the good effects of order and discipline." Many specimens of birds and plants had been collected by Drysdale, the storekeeper; while excellent care had been taken of the stores. Several interviews had been held with the natives of the locality. On the occasion of one of these an effort was made to decoy away Dicky, a blackboy belonging to Kennedy's party. The journal of the latter gives the following interesting account of the incident, and contains an illuminating instance of the cunning of the natives:—"Sunday, July 26, prayers were read at 11 a.m., after which, having been told by Drysdale that the natives were still near the camp, and that there was a native among them who could make himself more intelligible to Dicky than the rest, I started down the river to see them to collect what information I could, and then induce them to go farther from the camp. I had not gone far before the cooes from the tents made me aware that the natives were by this time in sight. I therefore returned, and the first object that caught my eye was the bait—a gin, dancing before some admiring spectators; and behind her was a fine, lusty native advancing by great strides, as he considered the graceful movements of his gin were gaining fast upon the hearts of the white men. On going up to him Dicky put the usual question as to the name of the river and its general course. His reply to the first was not very satisfactory, but our impression was that he called it *Bälun*. With respect to its course, he plainly said that it joined the *Balonne*, repeatedly pointing in the direction of the river and then following with his hand the various windings of this branch, repeating the while some word implying 'walk, walk,' and ending with '*Balonne*.' He knew the names of the mountains *Bindàngo* and *Bindyégó*. After his conversation he took some fat, which he appeared to have brought for the purpose, and anointed Dicky by chewing it and then spitting upon his head and face. He next whispered to him, and (as Dicky says) invited him to join them. I then motioned to the men, who were looking on at a short distance, to go to the camp; and, as they obeyed, I made signs to the native to move in the opposite direction, which he at length did with

evident reluctance and disappointment, throwing away his green bough and continually looking back as he retired. I desired Dicky to tell him never to come near our tents and that no white man should go to his."

Sir Thomas Mitchell found he would need to spend some days at the depôt before pushing on towards civilized localities. The carts required repairing and the horses shoeing. As usual, the leader put the intervening time to good use in gathering information about the natural features of the country and in collecting fossils, specimens of new plants, and other data which would add to the total of discoveries resulting from the general enterprise. The party moved off on the 22nd, the cattle and horses thus having benefited by three clear days of rest. Rarely did an expedition which had penetrated so far into unknown country and achieved results so valuable begin the final stages on the homeward route in such excellent conditions. The men were well, whilst on the first day time was lost because of the oxen being too fat for more than the slowest of paces. Big things had been accomplished with a minimum of financial loss and as little as possible of privation to the explorers.

The party made their way southward by the rivers Maranoa and Balonne, meeting with no obstacles of consequence till the end of November, when their progress for upwards of a fortnight was completely suspended on account of continued heavy rains, which commenced on the 21st. Corporal Graham had previously been sent on ahead with despatches for the Governor, which he was to deliver at the Post Office at Tamworth, in New South Wales. On the 15th the party passed within a day's ride of stations lately established by Messrs. Hook and others. These were discovered by Kennedy, who had ridden out with Douglas reconnoitring, and was considerably inconvenienced by being lent a horse by the squatters just named. The explorers were returning by their own outward route, and by the middle of the month numerous tracks of horses and cattle showed that pastoralists were already pushing out into regions which Sir Thomas Mitchell and his companions had been the first white men to see. On the 19th the sight of a white woman setting out to milk a cow caused hilarious amusement to the blackboy Dicky, who never before had seen what appeared to him to be the quaint costume of a European female.

For some days the party were almost surrounded by water, and as hot weather both preceded and followed the downpour, great inconvenience was suffered on account of the quantities of mosquitoes which swarmed round the men in dense clouds. However, on the 9th the conditions had so far improved that the party were able to cross the Barwon. This was accomplished by taking the remains of the stores over the water by boats, which were put together for that purpose for the last time during the expedition, and by swimming the stock

across, whilst the empty drays were drawn through the channel at a favourable spot. Mitchell, in commenting on this experience, incidentally regretted that he "had not reached the navigable portion of the Victoria and that its channel had been so empty." He remarked that perhaps more efficient portable boats were never constructed or carried so far inland undamaged. The country between the Barwon and the Gwydir was found to be unoccupied and free even from tracks of cattle. The latter stream was crossed a couple of days later, and the first of regions, which might fairly be considered as permanently settled, was thus entered upon.

In this manner ended a splendidly successful expedition, which had lasted just a day more than the twelve months—the period for which arrangements had been made. The main purpose—that of finding a route to the north coast—had not been accomplished. Indeed, in that respect, the result had been more disappointing than the leader believed to be the case. The importance of the Barcoo, or Victoria (as its discoverer had named it) River had been exaggerated by him. Only by following down the course of that stream could anyone ascertain that its destination was but great inland swamps, called lakes rather by courtesy than by reason of accuracy. Yet the results of the enterprise were rich in practical value to the growing Colony of New South Wales. A wealth of new information had been collected on the nature of the great interior, and this, coupled with the result of a subsequent enterprise, brought the country found by Mitchell into occupation and under the use for which he had declared it to be suitable.

Sir Thomas Mitchell was not only a courageous and a painstaking explorer of unknown wilds, but he was also a keen judge of the usefulness of the regions into which he was the first to penetrate. Endowed with great physical endurance as well as with an unusual degree of determination, he also was of a scientific type of mind, having a natural gift for weighing the value of data and viewing evidence in proper proportion. It is true that the favourable picture he painted of the interior of Central Queensland has not always been verified by subsequent experience; but so varying is the character of the pasturage and general suitability of that territory for pastoral enterprise that no explorer could possibly have formed an opinion of its real value which would have remained true during all the fluctuating years of subsequent experience. In the main, Sir Thomas Mitchell's impressions have turned out to be surprisingly accurate, and, on the whole, it was more in the interest of the Colony at that stage of its growth that settlers should have been encouraged to push their enterprise to the north than that a damper should have been flung on the prospects awaiting pastoral settlement in that direction.

On the recommendation of Sir Thomas the Governor granted gratuities to certain members of the expedition. He also sent to the Imperial Government the names of such of the convicts of the party as he thought had

rendered themselves deserving of pardon. The cattle and equipment brought back to civilization were sold for £500, a sum devoted to fitting out a subsequent enterprise, of which the following chapter gives an account.

## CHAPTER XII.

### EXPEDITIONS OF EDMUND B. KENNEDY.

The immediate result of the report furnished by Sir Thomas Mitchell of his journeys to the interior of tropical Queensland, as might be guessed, was to stimulate the interest of both the public and the Government in the further investigations of those regions. No one feeling responsibility as to the growth of the Colony was likely to rest content with the meagre knowledge then to hand on the "most important river in Australia," and "the downs and plains through which it flowed, sufficient to supply the whole world with animal food." Sir Thomas still believed the waters of the interior to the north of the Darling to flow in a north-west direction through a fertile and well-favoured country, and opening a way to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. This conviction was strong in his mind before he had set out on his recent excursion, and the course of the Barcoo he had found lying in the direction he had expected. True, that stream had turned to the south-west at the point where he had been forced to leave it; but there was no evidence to show that the original direction had not been resumed soon after.

Sir Charles Fitzroy had become Governor of New South Wales during the absence of Sir Thomas Mitchell and his companions. The explorer did not experience difficulty in enlisting the support of that officer in assisting to send a small party to further investigate the course of the Barcoo. Mr. Edmund Kennedy, who held the position of Assistant Government Surveyor, offered his services as leader of this enterprise. The scheme was adopted and Kennedy's offer accepted. The £500 obtained from the cattle and equipment brought back by Sir Thomas was used in fitting out the expedition. The selection of the commander was wise, for not only was Kennedy a young and capable leader, but the knowledge of the special task in hand which he had gained while with Mitchell, gave him advantages it was impossible for anyone who had not taken part in that journey to possess.

Edmund Kennedy consequently set out in the middle of March with eight well-mounted men, spare horses, two light carts, and sufficient provisions to last for eight months. Kennedy hoped to make more rapid

progress than had been his experience when previously travelling in the same direction, for on the former occasion time undoubtedly had been lost by bullocks being used instead of horses for draught purposes. Moreover, he did not take sheep with him. Ultimate experience of this and other exploring enterprises have demonstrated the strength and safety of small mobile parties, providing they had with them sufficient supplies of food, as against cumbersome and slow cavalcades, such as that which Burke and Wills led to disaster. Even with the light equipment he had, Kennedy was obliged to bury a portion of his belongings on two occasions, and could take the carts only part of the way with him. As it was, he was able to trace the Barcoo in its southern course sufficiently beyond where Windorah now stands to convince himself that he was on but the upper channel of Coopers Creek. With bullocks or a heavier equipment it is unlikely he could have travelled nearly so far over the difficult surface which the ground offered for long distances of the way.

The plan which Kennedy set out to accomplish is best described in the instructions given him by Sir Thomas Mitchell, the latter acting in his capacity as Surveyor-General, and of which the following is a copy:—

"Sir—His Excellency the Governor having been pleased to sanction my proposal for the further exploration of the river Victoria with a small party to be sent under your command, I have now the honour to enclose to you a copy of instructions by which I was guided in conducting the late expedition into the northern interior, and I have to request that you will conform thereto as much as the following particular instructions for your especial guidance may permit. You will as early as possible return by the road across Liverpool Plains, so as to fall into the return route of the late expedition before you leave the settled districts, and in this manner you will recross the Balonne at St. George Bridge, take the route back to Camp 83, and thence by the route along the Maranoa to Camp XXIX., beyond which you will proceed as hereinafter detailed, with reference to the accompanying tracing

of my survey. You will cross the Maranoa at Camp XXIX., and continue along my return route until you reach Camp 75. I beg you will be particular so far in looking for the track of my party returning, as you will perceive by the map that many very circuitous detours may be thus avoided. But beyond Camp 75, about seven miles, you will have to leave my return track on your right, and not cross a little river there at all, but go along my old advance track to Camp XXXIV. Thence you will proceed by Camps XXXV. and XXXVI. in order to approach the bed of the Warrego in the direction of my ride of June 14 in a general north-west direction. It is very desirable that you should keep my horse-track there; but this I can scarcely expect, and I can only therefore request that you will proceed as closely in that direction as you can. The bed of the Warrego may be looked for at a distance further on, equal to that of my ride on June 14. You will next pursue the course of the Warrego upwards towards Mount Playfair, which the accompanying map will be sufficient to guide you to. You will follow up the Cunno Creek, leaving Mount Playfair on your right or to the eastward, and you will thus fall into the line of my horse-track about the spot where I spoke to an old native female. I wish you would then take some pains to travel in the direction of my track from the head of the Cunno through the Brigalow, which is comparatively open, in the direction of my bivouac

of September 11. Keeping the direction of my track of next day, you will arrive at a low but stony ridge, across which you must be careful how you pass your carts; but it is of no breadth, and you will descend into a flat from which you will ascend another stony ridge (B), of no greater height but more asperity than the first, and covered with fallen timber. You will have about a mile of that sort of difficulty to deal with on the higher part, but by turning then to the right you will fall into a well-watered valley, which will lead you to the Nive. In the whole of your route thus far you can meet with no difficulty in tracing it, guided by the map and following these instructions; but if Douglas

should be with you, he will no doubt recognize the country through which he passed with me. It is very important that you should keep that route, as leading to the Victoria in a very straight direction from Sydney, and a direction in which, should your return be delayed beyond the time for which your party is to be provisioned, it is probable that any party sent after you to your aid or assistance would proceed to look for you. After you shall have reached the Nive and Camp 77, you cannot have any difficulty in finding Camp 72 near the Gap, and from that valley you have only to follow down the watercourses to be certain that you are on my track to the Victoria, and, as you have been instructed to take an expert native with you, you

ought to find my horse's tracks across the downs cutting off large bends of the river. But beyond Camps September 16 or October 1 you must keep by the river along my route back, and not follow the circuitous track which I took through Brigalow to the westward. After about four miles by the river you will see by the map that my return track again crossed the outward track over the Downs, so that you may fall into the route westward of the great northern bend of the Victoria. I fear that you must depend upon the latitude, pace measurements and bearings for ascertaining the situations of my camps of September 29 and September 28. You will see by the map how generally straight my journeys were between these points, and how



EDMUND B. KENNEDY.

important it would be for you to know the situation of the camp of September 28, that you may thence set out westward in the direction of my return route, instead of following the main channel throughout the very circuitous turn it then takes to the northward. Beyond the lowest point attained by me, or the point (wherever that may be) to which you will be able to identify the accompanying map with my track, of course it will be your duty to pursue the river and determine the course thereof as accurately as your light equipment and consequent rapid progress may permit. You may, however, employ the same means by which I have mapped that river so far, and for your guidance I shall

add the particulars of my method of measuring the relative distances. If you count the strokes of either of your horse's forefeet, either walking or trotting, you will find them to be upon an average about 950 to a mile. In a field-book, as you note each change of bearing, you have only to note down also the number of paces (which soon becomes a habit), and to keep count of these it is only necessary to carry about thirty-five or forty small pieces of wood, like dice (beans or peas would do), in one waistcoat pocket, and at the end of every 100 paces remove one to the empty pocket on the opposite side. At each change of bearing you count these, adding odd numbers to the number of hundreds, ascertained by the dice, to be counted and returned at each change of bearing to the other pocket. You should have a higher pocket for your watch, and keep the two lower waistcoat pockets for this important purpose. Now, to plot such a survey, you have only to take the half-inch scale of equal parts (on the 6-inch scale in every case of instruments), and allowing ten for a hundred, the half-inch will represent 1,000 paces. You may thus lay down any broken number of paces to a true scale, and so obtain a tolerably accurate map of each day's journey. The latitude will, after all, determine finally the scale of paces, and you can at leisure adjust each day's journey by its general bearing between different latitudes, and subsequently introduce the details. You will soon find the results sufficiently accurate to afford some criterion of even the variation of the needle, when the course happens to be nearly east or west, and when, of course, it behoves you to be very well acquainted with the rate of your horse's paces, as determined by differences of latitude. You will be careful to intersect the prominent points of any range that may appear on the horizon, and the nature of the rock also should be ascertained in the country examined; small specimens, with letters of reference, will be sufficient for this. Specimens of the grasses and of the flower or seed of new trees should be also preserved, with dates, in a small herbarium. But the principal object of the journey being the determination of the course of the Victoria and the discovery of a convenient route to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the accomplishment of these great objects must be steadily kept in view, without regard to minor considerations. Should the channel finally spread into an extensive bed, whether dry or swampy, you will adhere, as a general rule, to the eastern side or shore, as in the event of any scarcity of water the high land known to be there will thus be more speedily accessible to you, and I am also strongly of opinion that you would cross in such a route more tributaries from the east than from the west. On arriving at or near the Gulf of Carpentaria I have particularly to caution you against remaining longer than may be unavoidable there, or,

indeed, in any one place in any part of your route where natives may be numerous. Having completed (at least roughly) the map of your general route, it will be in your power in returning to take out detours and cut off angles by previously ascertaining the proper bearings for doing so, and when so returning it would be convenient to number your camps, that the route and the country may be much better described by you and recognized afterwards by others. These numbers may be cut in common figures on trees, and if, as I hope, you should reach the Gulf, you can commence them there; you may prefix 'C' to each number commencing with '1,' thus avoiding any confusion with the numbers of my numbered camps on the Victoria. On returning to the colony you will report to me or to the officer in charge of the Survey Department the progress and results of your journey.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"T. L. MITCHELL, Surveyor-General.

"E. B. C. Kennedy, Esq., J.P.,

"Assistant Surveyor-General, Sydney."

The junction of the Alice and the Barcoo, which had been the farthest point attained by Sir Thomas Mitchell, was reached by Kennedy on August 13. Crossing to the right, or north-west bank, the party followed the channel through grassy plains, though the other side they could see to be covered with scrub. Before they had proceeded very far they found that the river divided into three channels, two of which contained water only occasionally. As the explorers continued their journey the hope of the stream turning in a direction which might lead to the Continent's northern coast grew progressively less. The country was so flat that the channel kept separating into branches and joining again. For some time after leaving Mitchell's last camp permanent water was always found in one of these branches, but later they were all dry, and need of water presented an increasing difficulty. When near the present site of Welford, Kennedy became convinced that the stream he was following would be unlikely to lead him to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and that he would be unable, with the equipment and provisions he had on hand, to both reach those shores and determine where the river flowed to. He therefore resolved to pursue the latter object and to abandon the hope of attaining to the northern coast. The scheme he mapped out for himself then was that after having traced the channel for nearly a hundred miles in a south-south-west direction with his whole party, he should make a hurried dash with two men as far south as latitude 26°, after which he should follow the Barcoo northward towards its source, and in that way continue Mitchell's route towards the Gulf. In pursuance of this plan he set out with two companions on



August 20, leaving the remainder of his people encamped at a suitable spot.

After riding only about twelve miles the explorers found that a junction of several channels made a magnificent reach of water, just below which the stream took a bend in a considerably more westerly direction. Some distance further on the river turned still more to the west, and for the next thirty miles a succession of fine reaches, from eighty to a hundred and twenty yards wide, removed all source of anxiety on the score of water supplies. However, the plains over which they rode were poor and barren. Some of the reaches were judged to be never dry, as they were protected from being emptied by evaporation by their considerable depth. The next point of interest to be met with was the junction of the Thomson River, coming from a direction slightly east of north. Kennedy named the stream after the Hon. E. Deas-Thomson, who was the Colonial Secretary. The combined stream at this point turned more to the southward.

The ground here became very heavy for travelling upon, and it soon grew apparent that the party would have to lighten their load. Consequently, in latitude  $25^{\circ} 24'$  some of the provisions were buried, fires being burned over the spot, as it was hoped that by such means the fact of the soil having been disturbed would not be noticed by the natives, who would thus be prevented from stealing the food which might be so urgently required by the travellers. This plan had been adopted originally by Leichhardt. Sufficient provisions were retained to last for a period considered adequate to enable the party to reach the furthest point on Coopers Creek attained by Captain Sturt. Unfortunately, the ground grew more difficult to cross as the explorers continued their journey. The horses were in continual danger of breaking their legs in deep cracks in the soil, and became much fatigued by stumbling through these natural traps. Later the river turned to the westward, a barren ridge of sandstone, hardly rising to the dignity of a range, lying on the opposite bank. The several channels again

united and formed another fine reach. This was the second of such poverty-stricken elevations which had diverted the course of the stream, the first having been in latitude  $25^{\circ} 7'$ . A further lot of provisions had to be left buried here. As they progressed the country grew more barren and water more scanty. The party followed the river to latitude  $26^{\circ} 13' 9''$ , longitude  $142^{\circ} 20'$ . Here the stream had cut several channels, all trending south, whilst a low range, which bounded the flat country on the east side, was seen to be bearing  $25^{\circ}$  east. Sturt had abandoned Coopers Creek in latitude  $27^{\circ} 46'$  and longitude  $141^{\circ} 51'$ . These facts now thoroughly convinced Kennedy that he was following the upper portion of the latter stream, and he consequently resolved to turn back.

An unpleasant surprise awaited the explorers at the spot where the main part of the stores had been hidden. The natives had been shrewder at reading natural signs than they had been given credit for. From appearances the surface of the ground looked as though it had not been tampered with for the soil was covered with undisturbed ashes, but a little work at digging soon showed that most of the provisions had gone. At first this was thought to be the work of rats, but soon it was seen that theft had been committed by the natives. Some of the things had been taken away and others were left, though the latter were now destroyed. Tar-



HON. E. DEAS-THOMSON.

paulin and bags, in which such commodities as tea and sugar had been packed, were taken away, whilst the tea and sugar were poured back into the hole with some straw. Earth was filled in on top and a fire was made over the spot, so that only by careful examination could the theft be discovered. The loss unfortunately affected the result of the expedition, for it prevented Kennedy carrying out his project of seriously endeavouring to reach the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

There was now no way open to the party but to pursue their course homewards. Mitchell's dream of a magnificent river flowing through a splendidly fertile

country, leading probably to the northern coast and navigable for part of its way, had been rudely shattered. "The most important river in Australia" had dwindled into a chain of waterholes, afterwards turning into a creek, along which there is a current only at rare intervals, and losing itself in desert sands. The latter explorer had been forced to return, not when on the edge of a magnificently fertile province, as large as a kingdom and as prolific as the well-favoured southern regions, but when approaching an arid wilderness. Perhaps never did the wanderer through an unknown territory follow so elusive a will-o'-the-wisp, thinking he was being led to a land of peace and plenty, as the parties Sir Thomas and Kennedy had commanded in searching for the stream to the Gulf. To have counteracted the optimistic descriptions given by Mitchell of the interior was a useful achievement to have accomplished. Sir Thomas had seen one side of the picture. In the interests of the success of pastoral development, and those embarking upon it with their capital, it was very necessary that someone should view the opposite side of the landscape. Kennedy had certainly justified his expedition.

The homeward journey was rendered none the more pleasant by a tribe of natives, who followed on the heels of the party for days and displayed a readiness to adopt open hostilities, which on one occasion went so far as to bring a boomerang whirling near Mr. Kennedy's head. A serious conflict was averted with difficulty, but ultimately the blacks discontinued their unwelcome attentions, apparently having arrived at the boundary of the territory which, according to aboriginal custom, was regarded as theirs, so that had they continued in the rear of the Europeans they would have brought upon themselves at the hands of another dusky band a form of retaliation much less restrained than had been the feelings of annoyance they had engendered in the hearts of the mounted strangers. Had Kennedy's horses been fresher this kind of danger would not have existed, for the savages could not have kept pace with rapidly-travelling horsemen making along any fairly definite and straight route. It was because he anticipated that kind of menace—a possibility Mitchell always kept on his guard to avoid, so far as was possible—that Sir Thomas had warned Kennedy, in his instructions to the latter, to refrain from lingering in any locality. This old hand at exploration knew that with maintained mobility there was little to fear from natives, for as soon as a tribe had been thoroughly aware of the presence of the white strangers the latter would have moved to a point far beyond their reach.

On the outward route it had been found impossible to take the carts beyond a comparatively early stage, and consequently they had been buried in the same way

as had been the provisions at a later date. This locality was reached again on October 7, when it was found that the blacks had been sounding the ground, and doubtless in a little while would have discovered and taken possession of the plant. The rest of the journey was completed without notable incident, the party passing by Mount Playfair, and then crossing the Warrego and following down the Maranoa and Culgoa to the Barwon, Sydney being reached without mishap and with all the members of the expedition in good health.

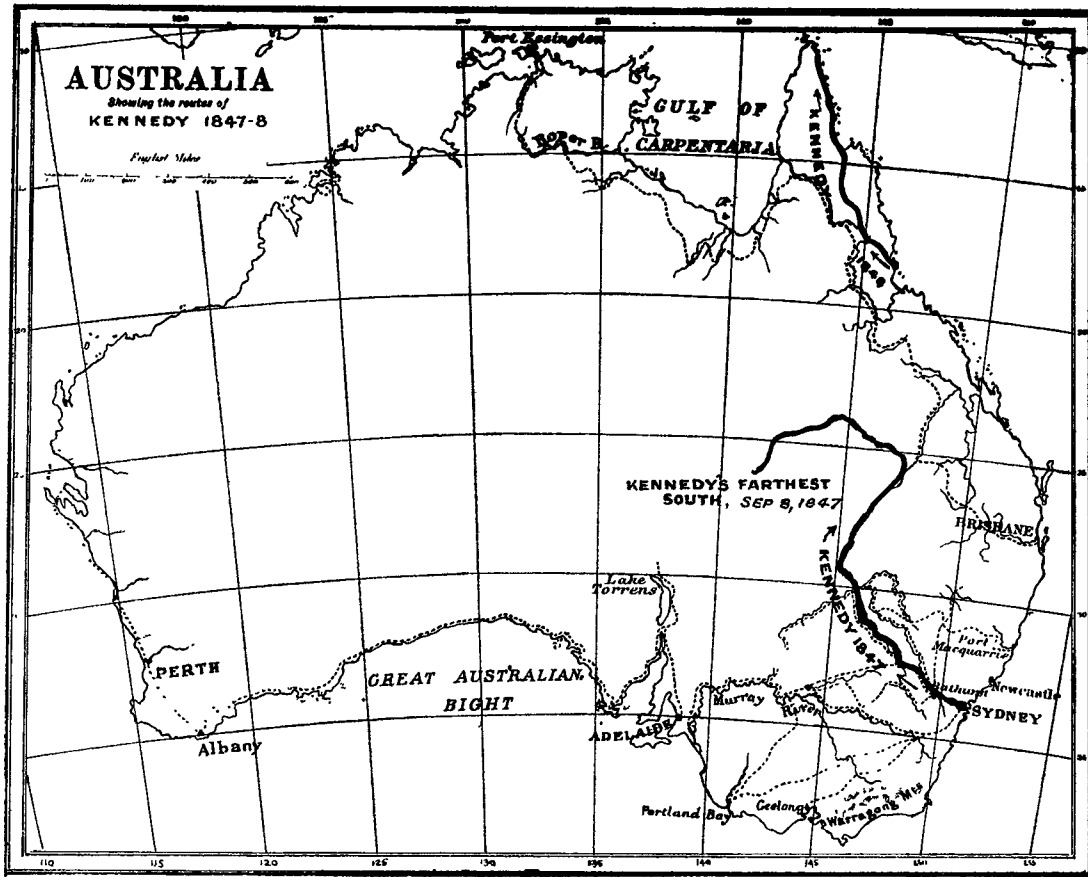
Kennedy did not long remain in the haunts of civilization. Soon after his return he was appointed to the command of an expedition which it was intended would complete the work commenced by Sir Thomas Mitchell by linking up from the north. The new enterprise was to be put in hand early in 1848, so that the preparations he had to make left the energetic young explorer so little time as to compel him to leave the completion of his former journal to the Rev. W. B. Clarke, the geologist, whose name has passed into history as one of the first discoverers of gold in Australia.

An effect of the recent discoveries of Kennedy had been to turn attention to the coastal rather than to the western regions for a practical route to the Gulf of Carpentaria. It was clear that the Barcoo did not lead in that direction, and that the further west one went from the northern country already known the more arid and difficult became the conditions. The next scheme attempted was, therefore, the investigation of the coastal belt from latitude 18° to the Cape York Peninsula. Little was known about the interior of that promising region, and the prospect of its exploration was filled with interest and hope. Yet no expedition of Australian inland exploration, excepting only Leichhardt's fatal march to annihilation, has met so tragic a fate as that which overtook the party of 1848, when out of thirteen only three were spared to return to civilization.

After the partial failure of the expedition just before led by him to the Barcoo, Kennedy eagerly accepted the offer of the command of the enterprise to the northern extremity of Eastern Australia. The task facing him was of more than ordinary difficulty and danger; but those considerations did not weigh in the calculations of the young surveyor, who had set his heart on completing the work so splendidly commenced by his late leader, Sir Thomas Mitchell. No time was lost in the completion of the necessary preparations. The problems to be faced soon began to manifest themselves. Had Kennedy been about to explore the arid interior he could not have done better than to have followed the example set by Mitchell, or indeed to have repeated his own plans of a year earlier. But the task on hand

differed materially from that on which he had been engaged, first as lieutenant to the Surveyor-General and afterwards as commander. Thirst and starvation were the ever-present perils facing the traveller who should penetrate too far into the dead heart of the Continent. To a quickly-moving party the danger from attacks by natives in those regions was comparatively easily guarded against; but the tropical coastal districts were likely to be much more densely populated, whilst evidences went to show that the savages inhabiting that part of the Continent were bolder, more warlike, and more numerous. Moreover, the broken nature of the

The plan with which Kennedy set out was to travel by sea to Rockingham Bay. From there the party were to travel overland to Princess Charlotte Bay, in latitude  $14^{\circ}$ , and then to Cape York, at the extremity of the peninsula. Four months after the departure of the expedition a ship was to leave Sydney with a further stock of provisions, and Kennedy and his companions were to meet this at Port Albany, near Cape York. The latter were then to proceed south along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria to investigate what was thought to be the estuary of the Mitchell River, discovered inland by Leichhardt, but not followed to the



THE ROUTES FOLLOWED BY KENNEDY, 1847-8.

country rendered fast travelling less practicable. Heavy forests were likely to take the place of open plains, and rugged ranges the place of hundreds of miles of country so flat that it was often difficult to tell which way the water fell. The party appointed to accompany Kennedy consisted of a dozen men, besides the leader. There were to be taken twenty-eight horses and one hundred sheep, besides flour, tea, sugar, and other provisions. An ample supply of arms was included in the equipment. These included eight carbines, thirteen pairs of pistols, four guns and one rifle.

sea by that explorer, and, if finding that the opening believed to be the mouth of that stream was really its outlet, to trace the stream to its junction with the Lynd, about halfway across the neck of the peninsula. From that point the party were to travel in a west-south-westerly direction until reaching the Flinders, which was to be followed to its source. Then the journey was to be linked up with Mitchell's route of 1846 by following the Belyando River, or any other convenient route which happened to offer. The party were then to return to Sydney. No body of men ever set out into

the north-eastern corner of the Continent with a more comprehensive or ambitious programme before it.

Rockingham Bay was reached on May 21, 1848, and the overland journey was commenced on June 1. Difficulties were met with immediately, and they proved of a character of which Kennedy had received no experience in his previous expeditions. Rugged ranges rose from near the coast to heights of up to 2,000 feet, and the surface of the ground proved so precipitous and rocky that the carts and heavier portion of the stores had to be abandoned, and the party were forced to travel south-west before they could assume their desired direction to the north. This depletion of the equipment rendered Cape York unattainable for the whole party without aid being obtained. Kennedy therefore resolved to leave eight men at Weymouth Bay, about 100 miles, as the crow flies, south of Cape York—whilst he, with four men, including Jacky, the native guide, should reach Port Albany and send round the ship which would be waiting there with supplies, or a boat to enable them to complete that part of the journey by water. However, the explorers were still a long way south of Princess Charlotte Bay, which is south of Weymouth Bay. In order to reach the former they were forced by the rough character of the ground to penetrate inland sufficiently far to cross on to the eastern watershed. After passing the heads of some of the tributaries of the Mitchell River, they reached a stream flowing north, and by following it down they found the latter emptied into Princess Charlotte Bay. The river they followed was afterwards called the Kennedy in its upper portion and the Normanby in the lower.

The plan of leaving eight of the party at Weymouth Bay was adhered to, and the division of forces was made on November 10. When leaving the main body of his people, the leader struck off to the north, accompanied by three white men and the aboriginal guide. Here began a tale of horrible suffering and tragic failure. Kennedy did not know how bloodthirsty were the savages into whose native forests he was about to penetrate. Many years before Captain Cook had discovered the treacherous and warlike character of the natives of the peninsula, when his vessel had been laid up at Endeavour River. However, even had he known more of the dangers into which he was plunging, Kennedy would have found little choice of action open to him. And had a simple accident not occurred to one of his companions the whole of the subsequent chapter of disasters might have been averted. But as it was, one of Kennedy's travelling companions injured himself with a gun and became unable to travel except at a very slow pace. The slender stock of provisions was rapidly disappearing, and the party were forced to kill one of the

horses for food, drying the flesh in the sun. For three weeks the wounded man struggled on with the aid of his comrades, but finally he grew too ill to proceed any further. There was nothing for it but to still further divide the party. Here Kennedy showed an heroic unselfishness, for he resolved to go on with the company of only the black to help him through the bush. He intended that the wounded man should have the protection of both the other white men. The chance of any of them surviving was less probably than they realized. Nor could it be known to them, with the slender knowledge they possessed of the nature of the murderous tribes about them, that for a little party of white men to remain stationary, so that the savages might surround them in concentrated numbers, watch their chance, and attack at whatever they judged to be the most favourable opportunity, was almost certain death. Judging from his conduct throughout the experiences of the expedition, Kennedy himself would probably have remained behind, sending on one or both the others, had he realized the probabilities arising out of the situation. He left instructions that the three were to remain where they were until the arrival of aid which he would send to them, unless the wounded man died, in which event the two survivors were to follow him. So he left them, and they were never seen by white men again.

The party were some distance inland when they divided. Kennedy and his dusky companion, who displayed unswerving faithfulness throughout the adventures which were to follow, proceeded safely till reaching the sea. The sight of the blue water filled the travellers with fresh hope, but in point of fact it heralded their entry upon new dangers. They were crossing into a region thickly populated with hostile tribes, and they were still some days' journey from their destination. Not long elapsed before they met with some of the savages. These gathered round and made signs of friendliness, which Jacky considered to be suspiciously demonstrative. However, Kennedy handed out presents to the natives, and they continued their manifestations of goodwill. The warnings of Jacky proved to be well grounded, for when the two travellers resumed their journey the savages followed close behind them and would not be shaken off. Besides having been warned of the danger, Kennedy knew of his own knowledge how much to be avoided, had it been possible, was a position such as his. When a tribe takes to following a party of white men trouble may always be expected, and when the party consists of only two the prospect may well strike terror into the stoutest heart. Finally, the blacks threw a shower of spears, and one of the missiles hit Mr. Kennedy in the back. Jacky retaliated, and shot

one of the savages dead. But this only made the others more cunning and more determined in their open hostility. They sought cover behind trees, and used their spears whenever an opportunity presented itself. Kennedy endeavoured to fire, but to his horror discovered that his powder was wet. Soon after he was hit by two other spears. Then the horses were also being speared, and they galloped madly away, leaving the two men to their fate. However, the assailants were held temporarily at bay, and Jacky went a short distance to secure the saddle-bags from a spot where they had been laid. No sooner had he gone than the

blacks rushed round the white man. Though they did not follow their usual practice of clubbing him to death, they stripped him of all he had about him and then went away. Jacky then helped his leader to the shelter of some scrub and did his best to tend the spear wounds. But Kennedy's life was ebbing fast, and telling Jacky to "take the books to the captain, not the big one, take that to the Governor, the Governor will give a lot for it," he fell back into the faithful native's arms and died.

"I was crying a good deal," were the words of Jacky in describing the event when he reached help, "until I got well. That was about an hour. And then I buried him. I dug up the ground with tomahawk, and covered over the body with grass, a shirt and trousers, and then with logs." Jacky had carefully tied up the papers containing particulars of Kennedy's journey while the latter still lived.

All the while the savages were lurking in the neighbourhood. This was known to the guide, and he did not leave the spot till dark. The natives saw him go and threw spears at him, but he was saved by his bush instinct. First he managed to dodge into thick scrub, from which he succeeded in getting into a creek, along which he walked for half a mile with his head only above the water. Once emerging on dry land, Jacky

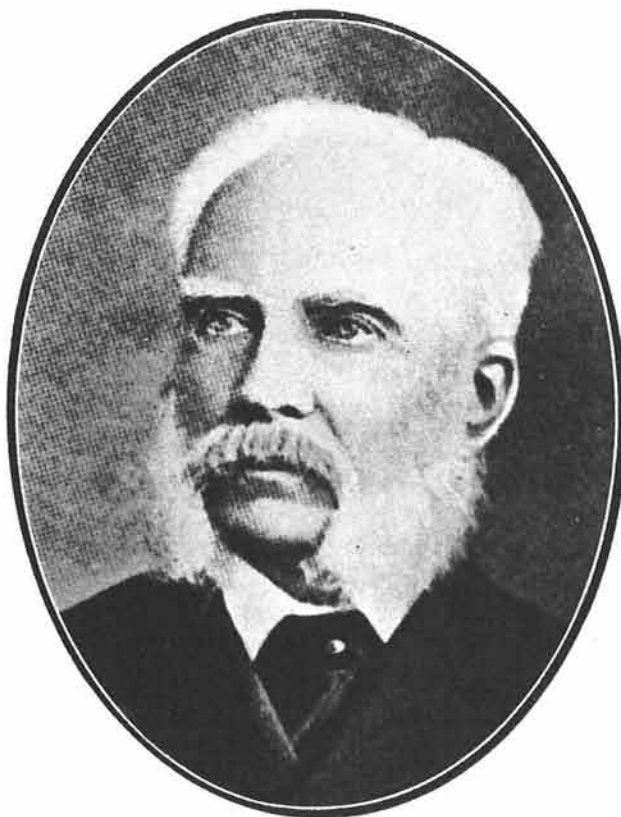
made all the speed he was capable of. For the following two days he travelled as fast as he could, resting only when compelled to do so by weakness. During this period he came across no fresh water, nor would he lose time in searching for it. The only food he ate consisted of some scanty roots and a few reptiles which he caught. After the second day he felt somewhat safer from possible attacks by the murderers of Kennedy. Altogether he was thirteen days in reaching the spot where the ship lay waiting for the party.

Jacky made signs to those on the ship, and was consequently taken on board. The faith-

ful fellow had preserved Kennedy's papers, and these were handed to the captain, who earnestly listened to the native's account of the last sad tragedy. It was at once realized that the lives of the remaining eleven—if, indeed, they should have survived so long—depended on prompt action being taken to rescue them. The circumstantial story told by the black, corroborated as it was by Kennedy's papers, left no room for doubting the veracity of that faithful follower of the lost explorer.

The vessel first sailed for the spot on the coast nearest to where the three white men had been left in the interior. A landing party was guided by Jacky until reaching a spot which he calculated was a day's

journey from where the wounded man and his protectors had been left by Kennedy. A tribe of savages were met with here, and in their possession was found a quantity of articles obviously obtained from Europeans, and which Jacky declared had belonged to the party to which he had been attached. The sailors then refused to proceed further. The reason they advanced was that, as their provisions were running short and they had left the ship in an unsafe position on the coast, it would be dangerous as well as futile to search for men who manifestly had been murdered. The further fact that the eight men at Weymouth Bay



JOHN FREDERICK MANN, THE LAST SURVIVOR OF THE LEICHHARDT EXPEDITION OF 1844-5, DIED AT SYDNEY, 1907.

probably were urgently in need of provisions also weighed with the officer in command, and so the party returned to the shore.

The ship's course was then set for Weymouth Bay. Here a sad tale of tragedy awaited the ears of the deliverers. Indeed, had the latter been many days later in arriving, probably no story would have been told them, for the two sole survivors, who were all left alive of the original eight, were fast reaching the limits of their endurance. Ever since the departure of Kennedy the little party had been waging a grim war against starvation and the attacks of murderous savages. Very few provisions had been left, and after a few days almost the sole article of diet was horseflesh. The men proved unable to subsist on this, and one of them died very soon after the departure of the leader. His death was quickly followed by that of another. The expedition had divided forces on November 10, and four weeks later six men of the eight left at Weymouth Bay were dead. During nearly the whole of the time the camp was surrounded by a large tribe of blacks, numbering, so far as could be estimated, close on seventy men. This handicapped the Europeans in their weak state of health for making excursions in search of food in the adjacent country. Attempts were made by the natives to spear the strangers, but these attacks did not succeed. Three weeks after Kennedy had left a schooner passed along the coast, but those on board her apparently did not observe the frantic signals made by the party on shore to attract their attention. Her departure into the horizon left the stranded men more despondent than they had been before. Towards the end of their experience at the Bay the survivors grew so weak as to be unable to bury the last two of their number who had died, and the bodies had to be placed in a creek because of the impossibility of digging graves.

As December advanced death appeared to stare the two survivors in the face. Weakness was almost preventing them crawling outside the tent, and they were consequently no longer able to go in search of food. The natives now changed their demeanour. They had previously been frightened off by a volley of shots from the guns when they had thrown spears, but with the numbers of the white men so diminished they ceased their demonstrations of hostility and brought presents of small supplies of food. But the Europeans were not inclined to trust the savages, and lived in continual dread of a treacherous attack. When the ship ultimately arrived the two whites, including Carron, were so exhausted that one of them had to be carried to the boat and helped on board. During the departure the natives again adopted their spirit of enmity, and, repeating their former attack, wounded one of the crew.

The commander of the ship now desired to renew his search for the other three missing explorers, but the sailors steadfastly refused to penetrate the interior. The vessel consequently returned to Sydney, carrying with her one black and two white men as the sole survivors of the party of thirteen who had set out so hopefully on their enterprise less than a year before.

Soon after the return of the survivors the Government ordered an investigation into the unfortunate fate of the expedition. Mr. Carron had kept a fairly complete diary of the experiences at Weymouth Bay, and the journal of Kennedy provided a full account of events which otherwise would have lain veiled in doubt and mystery. These documents, supplemented by the evidence of the three survivors, provided a full narrative of all that had occurred to the members of the original party, except, of course, of the wounded man and his two comrades, who had been left in the bush by Jacky and the leader. No further trace was ever brought to light of the unfortunate trio, and the theory that they had been fallen upon, probably unexpectedly, and slaughtered by the bloodthirsty savages admits of little ground for doubt.

The evidence brought before the inquiry all went to show that Kennedy had not only behaved with unselfishness and bravery throughout, but also had done the best he could for the welfare of his companions in the various difficult situations in which unforeseen circumstances had placed him. It could not be said of this enterprise, with any degree of accuracy, as unfortunately has been true of other exploring expeditions, that the disasters falling upon it were the result of faulty leadership. From the nature of the task he was undertaking, Kennedy was not able to guess the character of the difficulties ahead in anything like the way which was open to explorers penetrating country of which an approximate idea had been obtained by predecessors. His first journey had been prolonged beyond any period he would naturally anticipate by the unusually difficult country he had to traverse, there was nothing to indicate to him that the savages of the peninsula would prove as aggressive or as treacherous as they turned out to be, and the immediate cause of the death of himself and three other white men arose from a pure accident, which could be ascribed to nothing but the vagary of fortune. From sheer ill-luck almost every possible obstacle fell in the way of this disastrous enterprise, and the leader displayed sound judgment and indomitable courage in endeavouring to overcome them. Such was the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence brought to light by the official inquiry, and such was the opinion formed by the public from the various sources of information open to it.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## AUGUSTUS C. GREGORY.

The name of Augustus Charles Gregory, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., etc., Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical Society, stands closely connected with the annals of the search made for Leichhardt and his ill-starred expedition. Though the actual fate of the latter party was doomed to lie shrouded in a veil of mystery not yet lifted, it was Gregory who gathered up and made known the most of such scanty evidence of the final wanderings of the lost band of explorers as was ever to be discovered by white men. And, incidentally, Gregory did more than any other leader during the decade following the disappearance of Leichhardt to throw light upon the character of the north of the Continent. A large portion of his travels were over the coastal regions of the north of Western Australia and of the Northern Territory; but he also accomplished far more than had anyone else up to that time to make known the tropical country to the east of the 138th degree of longitude—the western boundary of that part of Queensland. It was he who found and named the Leichhardt River, the Gilbert, and a number of other streams emptying themselves into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and afterwards demonstrated the practicability of journeying overland from the Gulf country to the east coast.

Augustus Charles Gregory was one of four brothers, all of whom have left permanent places for their names in the history of Australian land exploration. C. F., Frank T., and H. C. Gregory had all accomplished valuable work on the western side of the Continent before any of the family became identified with eastern enterprise of a similar nature. All were surveyors by profession. During 1846 the three last-named covered 1,000 miles of new country in forty-seven days, equipped only with four horses and but scanty provisions. Considerable attention was attracted to the feat by coal having been discovered during the enterprise.

On August 12, 1855, A. C. Gregory set out from Sydney upon what proved to be the most successful expedition to the northern country yet undertaken. At about that period a general desire to know more about the tropical regions of the Continent was manifesting itself in no uncertain tones among the rapidly-increasing population of the South. The Imperial Government was then looked to for initiating some scheme for drawing the tropical and sub-tropical parts of Australia within the scope of the colonizing effort already so phenomenally successful in the temperate districts. But it



AUGUSTUS C. GREGORY.

was not until private individuals had demonstrated their confidence in the value of the results likely to accrue from such an undertaking, and when the good reasons justifying the general desire for such an enterprise being launched were multiplied, that the Administration consented to provide the necessary funds. That the matter of clearing up the mysterious disappearance of Leichhardt should have sunk to so small a place in the launching of the scheme as to be unmentioned in the official documents is explained by the length of time elapsing since that explorer had set out, destroying all possibility of finding him or any of his party still alive. First, Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., announced his readiness to provide money for the project, and a Mr. Uzzelli offered

to give £10,000 to the same cause. The Imperial Ministers then rendered these contributions unnecessary by assuming the financial responsibilities of equipping and sending out a party fitted for a lengthy and comprehensive investigation of the north, to a large extent over country traversed by Leichhardt. The despatch dealing with the enterprise from the Duke of Newcastle, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Captain Fitzgerald, Governor of Western Australia, quite omits mention of a projected search for Leichhardt. The document set out that Her Majesty's Government had been long considering the proposal to

despatch an exploring expedition to lay open, if favoured with success, more of the interior of the great Australian Continent than the many energetic but partial attempts hitherto made had succeeded in developing. "The scheme," said the despatch, "originated with the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, who corresponded with the Colonial Department on the subject of it during the last winter. But it was ultimately considered by Her Majesty's Government that the importance of the subject rendered it more advisable that the expedition should be undertaken under their own superintendence as a matter of public concern, and Parliament has now placed at their disposal a sum of £5,000 for the purpose, and will undoubtedly give further assistance should it be requisite." The Duke of Newcastle went on to express the opinion that from a general view of the correspondence on the subject, "Moreton Bay would be a very convenient rendezvous for the land portion of this expedition; that they might be conveyed by sea to the mouth of the Victoria River, on the north-west coast, that it would be advantageous, if possible, that they should act in concert with a Government vessel, which might be employed in surveying operations in the Gulf of Carpentaria and neighbourhood, while the land explorers were engaged in the interior." The Imperial Government had decided to offer the leadership to Mr. A. C. Gregory, then Assistant Surveyor to the Government of Western Australia. The same authorities also took a direct part in the appointment of the scientific members of the expedition, though the selection of the others was left to Gregory himself or to the Colonial Government. The party ultimately collected consisted of the following eighteen persons:—Commander, A. C. Gregory; assistant commander, H. C. Gregory; geologist, J. S. Wilson; artist and storekeeper, J. Baines; surgeon and naturalist, J. R. Elsey; botanist, Dr. (afterwards Baron von) Mueller; collector and preserver, J. Flood; overseer, G. Phibbs; stockmen, C. Humphries, R. B. Bowman, C. Dean, J. Melville, W. Dawson, W. Shewell, W. Selby, S. Macdonald, H. Richards, J. Fahey. Live stock taken from the last point of settlement consisted of fifty horses and two hundred sheep. The enterprise was officially known as "The North Australian Exploring Expedition."

The preliminary arrangements were made in Sydney, from which port some of the party, together with stores and equipment, sailed for Moreton Bay early in July, 1855, in the barque "Monarch" and schooner "Tom Tough." These vessels, even in the short and frequently traversed course to Brisbane, did not escape the fate of mishap so commonly overtaking ships engaged on the work of exploration. An extraordinary feature about expeditions of discovery in Australia has been the remarkable frequency with which ships

engaged on the work have come to grief. This unfortunate record was maintained by the "Monarch" on July 19, when she grounded on the bar at the mouth of the Brisbane River and resisted all efforts to get her off until a week later. As it was necessary to take the barque to Brisbane the steamer "Ballarat" was engaged, but this vessel immediately afterwards struck a rock up the river near Ipswich and sank herself. Then arrangements were made with the owners of the "Hawk," but the engines of the latter were of insufficient power for the task. Finally the steamer "Bremer" ostensibly attempted to bring the "Monarch" to the headquarters of the settlement. The extraordinary conduct of those in control of that vessel is described by Gregory in the following words:—"It was evident, however, that the 'Bremer' did not intend to do this, for she slacked the tow line and then steamed ahead full speed and snapped the hawser, and went off without explanation." Gregory then goes on to explain:—"Having removed a quantity of stores from the 'Monarch' to the 'Tom Tough,' so as to reduce the draught of the former, on August 8 she warped over the bar and proceeded to Moreton Island, where about three tons of water were taken in from the fresh-water creeks near the pilot station. On August 12 weighed and left Moreton Bay, and this being the last point of communication with the civilized world, the expedition might be considered to commence on this date." The horses and sheep had been shipped from Moreton Bay, where they had been purchased. A sufficient supply of fodder had also been taken on board.

Gregory passed Breaksea Spit and Port Curtis on the morning of the 13th, and thirteen days later he reached Port Albany, in Torres Strait, where some of the party landed on Albany Island, described in the journal of the leader of the expedition as being "of sandstone formation rising into hills of moderate elevation, the soil generally poor and sandy, covered with bush and small trees, with a few open grassy patches. Fresh water was found in a small cove one hundred yards north from the landing-place on the sandy beach; the supply was so small as to be of little use and the position inconvenient of access. The mainland appeared to be covered with dense bush, and the rocky sandstone hills did not indicate that the country was of any great value, either for agricultural or pastoral purposes." Port Albany consisted of but a narrow channel lying between Albany Island and the mainland of Cape York. The current was found to be very strong there, owing to the racing through of the tide. The two ships were soon surrounded with native canoes, the occupants apparently being well accustomed to visitors from civilized countries and familiar with the use of tobacco, for which they had made large bamboo pipes. A



remarkable feature about the blacks here was that they were armed with bows and arrows, as well as with spears, the former type of weapons being unheard of in any other part of the Continent. In point of fact they had been introduced by tribes migrating from the islands to the north in comparatively recent times. Each canoe had been rudely hollowed from a single tree trunk and was fitted with an outrigger.

With the beginning of September the expedition was overtaken by a series of disasters. On the night of the 1st anchor was cast after the ships had passed through Dundas Strait. Next morning they passed Vernon Island, and at half-past nine on the same evening the "Monarch" grounded on an ugly reef at the entrance of Port Patterson, the captain having failed to make sufficient allowance for the indraught of the tide. To make matters worse, it was found that the vessel had struck at the top of the spring tide, so that in a very few hours she was high and dry, and for some days after every effort to float her proved abortive. With the low tide the ship was on her beam ends, and as there were fifty horses on board great anxiety was felt by the commander. On September 10 the ship was floated off the rocks. This was accomplished by cutting off the false keel and levelling the surface of the reef so that the ship could be made to glide along into deep water when the tide was high and sufficient power was put on to hauling her. The "Monarch" herself was found to have suffered little damage.

The expedition was now far out of Queensland waters and territory, but the circumstances of the commencement of the overland journey are of considerable indirect interest to a student of the exploration and subsequent development of the most north-eastern of the States, as from the Victoria River Gregory and his party worked eastward until reaching the Pacific Coast. On leaving Vernon Island the commander, taking the "Tom Tough," which was found handier for that kind of work, went on ahead to examine the mouth of the Victoria. Sailing up the stream as far as Blunder Bay, and finding it presented no place suitable for landing stock, he returned to Treachery Bay, where grass and water were plentiful. Here part of the equipment was got on shore, whilst other supplies were transferred from the "Monarch" to the "Tom Tough." On

September 24 the "Monarch" sailed for Singapore. The landing-place selected was the best within sight, and the difficulties presenting themselves in keeping the horses on the ship from dying while a better one was found appeared insurmountable. But it was not to be expected that horses in the sad condition those were could be got on dry land in such a locality without some mortality, or could then safely travel the few miles to where there was fresh water. The landing was commenced on the 18th. The horses had to swim two miles, and strong tides were running, besides which the land was bordered by difficult mangrove flats. Exhaustion brought about the death by drowning of three of the animals, one lost its life in the mud and mangroves, and a fifth went mad, rushed into the bush and was not again seen. After these operations had been completed

the commander of the "Tom Tough" sailed up the river under instructions to establish a camp at the highest convenient spot. Meanwhile the two Gregorys, Dr. Mueller, and seven men set out overland, intending to bring up the horses in easy stages of from eight to ten miles a day, so that wherever there was grass or other feed the animals might graze along, and in that way pick up the condition they had lost during the voyage, and which would be so much needed when their real work began.

This portion of the undertaking was attended by fresh disasters. From Point Pearce to the Macadam Range the country consisted mostly of grassy plains, and water was plentiful.

The range was rocky and difficult of negotiation. The first mishap occurred on the fourth day, when one of the horses became mysteriously ill and shortly afterwards expired. Gregory assumed the cause to be some unknown poisonous weed. On the 11th another horse was lost in the same manner. Two nights later the horses were observed to be disturbed while in camp. The origin of the trouble was not ascertained until next day, when it was discovered that they had been attacked by alligators, and that three of them had been severely bitten and scratched. Two other horses had to be abandoned. "Since these horses were landed," wrote Gregory, "they have not had strength to rise without assistance, and it has been necessary to watch them while feeding to lift them up when they fall down through exhaustion." Small parties of blacks were met with from time to time, but



DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

nothing in the nature of a conflict took place between the natives and the white visitors. On the 16th the Victoria River was sighted about six miles below Kangaroo Point. In attempting to cross some hills here the party was intercepted by a deep gully. Water was observed in a pool at the bottom of this ravine, three hundred feet below the ground on which the travellers were standing. As supplies were short it was determined to lower a man to this by means of a rope, but before the proceeding commenced a spring was discovered at the top of the cliff. Two days later Gregory came across the remains of a large fire and the stumps of half a dozen trees which had been felled by aid of a steel axe. This obviously was the remains of a camp formed by members of the party of "Tom Tough." Gregory searched to find some mark to guide him as to the present whereabouts of the vessel, as he had given definite instructions that such memorandum should be left at landing-places. None was to be found, and he therefore was at a loss to know if the ship had proceeded up the river. However, he resolved to continue his route to some convenient spot for a camp near Steep Hill.

On the 19th they ascended a creek flowing into the Victoria, and reached the termination of the salt water, where the river divided into several small dry channels. In one of these they found a small pool of fresh water, and here a camp was made. This was early in the afternoon. Some of the party set about shooting the game of the locality, and returned with a wild turkey, a hawk, and thirty-nine cockatoos. The country was well grassed. Next day they made back for the river, which they reached late in the afternoon, and after following it for half an hour observed a boat and a tent on the opposite bank.

On the junction of the party the first information to greet Gregory was of the least welcome character. The schooner had grounded and had been badly damaged on a bank below Mosquito Flat. "The 'Tom Tough,'" wrote Gregory, "had reached Entrance Island on September 25, and the next day anchored off Rugged Ridge; on the 27th was proceeding up the river and grounded on a ledge of rocks on the south side of the river, six miles below Mosquito Flat, and from that date was never sufficiently afloat to be under control, but gradually drifted up to about two and a half miles below Curiosity Peak. From the time of getting on the rocks she had leaked considerably, and a large quantity of stores had been destroyed or damaged, there being at one time four feet of water in the hold; but by nailing battens and tarred blankets over the open seams the leaks had been greatly reduced. The stock of water on board the schooner having been exhausted by her detention, Mr. Wilson had sent a boat up to Palm Island to bring down a supply, but having

greatly miscalculated the time requisite for this expedition up the river, the distance being sixty miles, the sheep had been kept several days without a sufficient supply of water, and a great number had died."

Fourteen sheep had been brought up to the camp where the Gregorys had fallen in with the party from the "Tom Tough," and in the evening a boat arrived with twelve more, several others having been lost during the voyage from the schooner. None of the sheep were in sufficiently good condition to be fit for food, and the camp contained but the slenderest stock of other provisions. Consequently the commander was unable to send back the supplies he had hoped for to a small detachment of men he had left behind with a number of the horses which had not been able to travel at anything beyond a snail's pace. Two days later the commander reached the schooner, which he found deeply embedded in mud, and he at once sent back the gig with provisions for a month. Fifty-three sheep remained on board the vessel, which, with those at the camp, made eighty-one as the survivors of the original two hundred. This number was further reduced in landing those on the ship, and they were in so miserable a condition that six others perished from exhaustion while walking from the landing-place to where fresh water was to be obtained for drinking purposes, one more dying the following night. The task of transporting live stock by means of small sailing craft was proving no simple undertaking.

Eventually the "Tom Tough," being lightened of portion of her cargo, was floated off the mudbank and her bottom examined. She had first struck rock and had then drifted on to the softer material. The former was found to have severely broken her timbers, and to make her safe for further service in the open sea presented no insignificant task. One of the strong features in Gregory's claim to rank highly among leaders of exploring parties was the thoroughness with which he had essential tasks carried out, and the consistency with which he safeguarded his parties against risks which could possibly be foreseen. The best of substantial repairs were effected to the schooner, and she was moved to a carefully-chosen spot some miles above Kangaroo Point. The first operation here was the erection of a shed for the protection of the stores from the weather. On the day of arrival the party were afforded a second demonstration of the perpetual danger run both by animals and men from the alligators which the river waters held, often in shapes so closely resembling logs that no notice might be taken of their presence until with lightning-like rush they dashed upon their prey. This was on October 29, and one of the kangaroo dogs which had been brought by the party was unexpectedly seized by one of the huge savage reptiles and instantly drowned.

The sheep were brought up to this place; but more of them had been lost, and only twenty-six were now left. Writing on the 31st, Gregory said:—"Messrs. Wilson, Baines, and Mueller, with the party in charge of the sheep, arrived at 7 a.m., bringing the remainder of the sheep, twenty-six in number, eleven having been drowned from want of proper care in bailing the boat, which consequently sank during the night." A minute overhaul of the "Tom Tough," preparatory to the commencement of repairs, showed the damage to be fully as extensive as had at first been supposed.

Gregory remained at this camp until November 24. During this time he formulated a code of regulations for the efficient working and discipline of the party, each member being allotted specific duties and obligations. Excursions were made into the interior of the Continent in several directions, but the details of that portion of the enterprise form no part of the history of Queensland exploration.

On June 21 Gregory set out upon his big overland journey, which took him completely across Queensland from west to east, and revealed much of the character of the northern part of the coastal and inland parts of the Colony hitherto unknown. The party setting out on this ambitious and splendidly successful undertaking consisted of:—Commander, A. C. Gregory; assistant commander, H. C. Gregory; botanist, Dr. Mueller; geologist, J. S. Wilson; surgeon and naturalist, J. R. Elsey; harness-maker, C. Dean; farrier, R. B. Bowman; and stockman, J. Melville. In two months the party had passed into the Colony of Queensland, and on August 30 had crossed the Nicholson and were on Beames Brook of Leichhardt, an important tributary of the Albert. This was in longitude  $139^{\circ} 23'$ ; longitude  $138^{\circ}$  forming the boundary line between the north-eastern Colony and the Northern Territory. The same day another creek was met with, and a few miles lower down this was found to junction with a smaller stream, the two together forming the Albert River. "This spot between the two creeks," wrote Gregory, "was the rendezvous appointed for the two sections of the expedition, but we were disappointed in our hope that the vessel had reached the Albert."

An important decision had then to be arrived at. One of two courses must be adopted. Either the party

could wait for the "Tom Tough," and what extra equipment she might bring in the way of stores, or else the journey to the south-east might be continued without delay. There were still in hand five months' supply of flour, tea, sugar, and like articles, and three months' supply of meat, all at full rations, whilst any deficiency of meat which might arise could be made up from the horses. "If required," wrote Gregory, "we have sufficient quantity of provisions to enable the party to reach the settled part of New South Wales, unless extraordinary difficulties should be encountered; under the circumstances it did not appear prudent to delay at the Albert River, as the arrival of the 'Tom Tough' might be deferred for an indefinite period." Written documents were left to be discovered by Mr. Baines when he should reach the spot with the schooner, which had meanwhile proceeded to Timor for supplies. The memorandum stated that Gregory had pushed forward in the quest of finding a more direct route between the

Albert and Moreton Bay than Leichhardt had done.

On the morning of September 3 the camp was broken and the party set out in an easterly direction over box flats and open grass land. In the evening they came to a shallow pool on a small creek trending to the north. "The country," wrote Gregory, "consists of vast, level open plains, separated by narrow belts of box and terminalia trees; the soil a brown clay loam, producing rather short and dry grass. On approaching



TREE MARKED BY DUNCAN MCINTYRE.

the waterhole at which we encamped a black and three or four women were found camped on the opposite side of the creek; they climbed the trees and remained among the branches till dusk, when they descended to their fires and made a great noise till nine o'clock, when they decamped. This creek is probably the head of the salt-water arm of the Albert River or of the Disaster River." The next day other natives were met, but tact on the part of the white men obviated anything in the nature of a conflict. Gregory goes on to say that the river was probably the same as that which Leichhardt has supposed to be the Albert—an error causing considerable confusion in framing the maps of his route. Gregory named it after the ill-fated explorer, who probably had met his doom not many hundreds of miles from the spot. The party were now making south-east across the belt of country

known as the Plains of Promise, with the nature of which the leader expressed considerable disappointment. The country was described as being inferior, the grass consisting principally of *aristida* and *andropogon*, with *anthistiria*, or kangaroo grass, existing only in small patches. The soil was good brown loam.

During the next few days signs of natives were numerous, whilst horse feed, though dry and fluctuating in quantity, proved adequate for requirements. On the 8th they reached the Flinders. The channel here was one hundred yards wide, but held only shallow pools. The country passed through on the 14th was very poor, several dry waterholes trending to the west were crossed, and a couple of hours after noon a halt was made beside a small waterhole, which, by being enlarged, was made with difficulty to supply sufficient drink for the stock. The grass just here was nutritious, but very dry. Next day it was felt that the horses required rest, but none of the camps offered sufficient feed to allow of a stop being made. All that day the country proved very poor, and by sundown the travellers were sorely in need of water. Darkness found the party camped waterless by the dry bed of a creek, but during the evening Gregory himself set out on foot down the course of this spasmodic stream, and after progressing for only half a mile he was fortunate enough to find a good pool. Advantage was taken of the ample supplies of grass and water to spend the following day resting the horses. After pushing forward during the 18th, a second suitable resting-place was found, and here a halt was made for several days. This opportunity was taken of killing one of the least serviceable of the horses and thus replenishing the stock of meat. The flesh was cut into strips and hung in the sun to dry, so that it was put in a state of preservation rendering it excellent food, even though it might be carried for weeks before being consumed. Owing to meat thus being rendered abundant, the daily ration of flour was cut down to three-quarters of a pound.

Towards noon on the 21st the party came upon the bed of a large creek or river, which however was not flowing, the only remaining water being what was contained by a few small pools. This was the Gilbert. The direction of the stream was mostly from the south-east, along which route the party traced it for about 180 miles. Two days' journey further up the banks were only fifteen feet high, and on the exterior sides the land dropped away, so that in times of heavy rain the country must be inundated. On the 28th Gregory walked to the top of a hill of low altitude, but from which, owing to the flatness of the surrounding country, he was able to command an extensive view. The country, as seen from this point, he described as being generally level in appearance, but consisting of

numerous low ridges and detached hills of granite, with sandstone on the summits. The valley of the river extended to the east and south, and a large branch appeared to join from the south about ten miles lower down, as a valley and some ranges of hills trended in that direction. The whole face of the country had an arid and desolate aspect, as there were no large trees except along the principal watercourses, and many of the hills appeared destitute of any vegetation other than the small acacias and scrub trees, the bare rock showing through its scanty covering.

The next day water was found to be inconveniently scarce. The geological structure of the part of the country then being passed through is described as wholly dissimilar to any other part of North Australia with which Gregory was familiar. The rock appeared to have been subjected to considerable disturbance, as the slate was much broken and contorted and in several places altered by contact with porphyry, whilst no definite strike or dip appeared to exist. The Gilbert goldfield was discovered afterwards in this locality. The aspect of the country continued barren, rock forming the most conspicuous feature.

As the expedition proceeded on an easterly course lava became more frequent, and at length covered the whole surface. Streams of lava, in the form of abrupt ridges of rough rock, presented obstacles which were crossed only with difficulty. These jagged strips lay in a north to south direction, and were from thirty to forty feet in height. A native well was seen on the 13th, and two small pools of rainwater were found among the rocks after nightfall.

Traces of Leichhardt having passed through the country were met with on the 17th, but the particular expedition of the botanist-explorer from which the evidence had been left was not that from which he and his companions had failed to return. The fragments of a bullock's shoulder-bone were picked up, whilst some of the trees were clearly observed to have been cut with a steel axe. The latitude was found to correspond with that of Leichhardt's camp of April 26, 1845. The slaughtering of a bullock at this place had been recorded by Leichhardt.

On passing over the Divide Gregory had come upon the source of a small watercourse, which soon developed into a sandy creek and later joined the Burdekin. The bed of the latter at this point was 100 yards wide, but it contained a stream only ten yards in width. The channel was almost filled with *melaleuca* and *casuarina* trees. The day of observing Leichhardt's camp, the Moreton Bay ash, the poplar gum, and another variety of gum tree not previously met on the journey from the Gulf, were seen to mingle with the species of trees holding sway in the western country. The following day (a Saturday) the last of the horseflesh was

consumed. The Sunday both men and beasts spent enjoying a well-earned rest, the journey being resumed on the 20th.

During the 20th the party crossed the Clarke River which altered its course to a more easterly direction, and passed over well-grassed flats to the foot of a rocky range of sandstone hills, of which the highest ridge was ascended. The country between the Clarke and the Burdekin, at the spot he then was in, shortly before their junction, Gregory described as of excellent quality, consisting of well-grassed flats, timbered with ironbark, Moreton Bay, ash, poplar gum, and box trees. The Clarke at that point was 100 yards wide, with a sandy bed crossed by ridges of slate rock. It appeared from the evidences to be seen that the Clarke carried the greater volume of flood waters, but that the steady flow was larger in the Burdekin.

Gregory followed down the course of the Burdekin, which trended in a south-easterly direction, until he came upon its junction with the Suttor, which was reached on October 30, and which the commander of the expedition described as but a small stream compared with the Burdekin; but near the first camp he formed on its bank the former contained some fine reaches 180 yards wide, though of no considerable depth. Here again the trees on the banks had been much broken and bent by a violent flood which, in this instance, had occurred within that year. Writing at this period, Gregory expressed his opinion of what he had seen in the following terms:—"Considering the number of miles we have travelled along the banks of the Burdekin few impediments have been encountered, whilst the extent of country suited for squatting purposes is very considerable, water forming a never-failing stream throughout the whole distance." As he desired to link up the explorations of Leichhardt with those of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Gregory followed the course of the Suttor in a southerly direction. On the 2nd water and grass were found in abundance, so that a day's rest was enjoyed. During the previous week the river had been running, and though it had now ceased the various holes along the channel had been filled. Blacks were met with in small parties in this portion of the journey, but hostilities were carefully avoided by the white men. Nor indeed were they looked for by the natives, who usually made off as fast as their legs could be made to carry them. The marks of iron tomahawks was a remarkable circumstance observed at this stage of the journey by the explorers.

The party succeeded in establishing the fact of the Belyando and the Cape Rivers being separate streams. The former was traced to latitude 22°, the routes of the previous explorers thus being connected as was hoped. The party then struck off to the south-east. On

November 6 they were within sight of Mount Narrien and Peak Range. Two days later an eleven-month-old filly, which had been born during the travels of the expedition, was shot, and its flesh turned into meat. Nor was any of the carcase wasted. "The skin," narrated Gregory, "was cleared of hair and was thus made into a species of gelatine, from which excellent soup was subsequently prepared."

At the junction of the Mackenzie and the Comet, which was reached on the 17th, the remains of a camp formed by Dr. Leichhardt's party on their second journey was discovered. The ashes of the fire were still visible, and a quantity of bones of goats were scattered around. A large tree was marked by a big "L" being cut upon it, with the word "Dig" and an arrow. However a hollow in the ground at the foot of the tree showed that whatever had been deposited there had long since been removed.

On the 21st the party reached the station of Messrs. Fitz and Connor on the Dawson River, where they were hospitably received. They were still 400 miles from Brisbane, but owing to the kindly welcomes extended to them by the squatters in possession of the intervening country they made a comfortable journey to the capital of the Colony. The time occupied in travelling from the Victoria River to Messrs. Fitz and Connor's homestead, the first outpost of settlement they fell in with, had been five months and two days. "Thus," wrote the leader of this triumphantly successful enterprise, "the explorations of the North Australian Expedition terminated, after an absence of sixteen months without communication with the civilized world, and during which period we had travelled more than 2,000 miles by sea and nearly 5,000 by land. Perhaps no expedition has yet been undertaken in Australia in which the elements of both success and failure have been so largely combined, for though the liberal manner in which the exploring party had been equipped and supported left nothing to be desired in this respect, yet the long voyage through a sea remarkable for its dangers and the extensive combinations necessary in the arrangements—a failure in any single point of which would have crippled or even annihilated the expedition—added to the ordinary liabilities attending exposures to the vicissitudes of a tropical climate, hostile natives, and desert country, present such an array of difficulties that I feel our utmost endeavours could not have availed had it not been for the protection of that Providence without which we are powerless."

Great practical value resulted from Gregory's North Australian Expedition. His account of the Gulf country was more temperate and accurate than any yet made, and no one before his journey had opened so practical or direct a route from the northern coast to the Pacific slopes of Queensland.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## A. C. GREGORY IN QUEST OF LEICHHARDT.

A. C. Gregory had completed his successful expedition to North Australia during the close of 1856. On January 12, 1858, between thirteen and fourteen months later, he set out upon an endeavour to solve, if that should prove possible, the mystery surrounding the fate of Dr. Leichhardt, who had penetrated into the interior of the Continent never to return, thirteen years earlier. Considerably less than a year of respite from the privations and strenuous work of travel in the sun-baked northern wilderness had been enjoyed by this indefatigable explorer from the time of clearing up the business attaching to the former undertaking and commencing the preliminary arrangements necessitated by his having agreed to lead the search party sent out by the Government of New South Wales.

A remarkable feature of this endeavour lay in the late date of its initiation, nearly a decade and a half having passed since the disappearance of Leichhardt and his companions. The authorities of these days might have been expected to have exhausted all possibility of discovering the missing men whilst reasonable prospect of them remaining alive lasted. That an effort to find the whereabouts of their remains and the story of their death should be launched at a date appearing on the face of it to be many years later than they could have survived, even under the most unlikely of favourable circumstances, would tend to indicate that very much which clearly ought to have been done was neglected at a time when hope still lingered. But the truth was that a highly circumstantial story of the whereabouts of Leichhardt and his companions was communicated to the authorities by a convict named Garbut, then in confinement on Cockatoo Island in Port Jackson. Garbut's tale was certainly sensational. To people inclining towards scepticism by nature it must have appeared even from the first as more melodramatic than probable. But the man declared he knew Leichhardt to be alive and restrained by the force of others from attempting to make his way back to civilization. The public had never felt satisfied with any of the theories advanced by explorers and others to account for the probable fate of the missing party. The first tale, told by the blacks, of the whole party having been massacred by hostile tribes was not generally accepted. Hovenden Hely had done a good deal to discredit that explanation of the tragedy. Nothing appeared to throw any light upon the mystery. Three causes of death had at one time or another been advanced as providing the most probable solution to the puzzle. Thirst and starvation might have brought death in the desert of the interior; one of the mighty inundations which sometimes cover

the northern plains with flood waters extending as far as the eye can reach might have drowned the travellers and washed away most of the belongings which, under other circumstances, might have afforded an indication of what had happened; or wholesale murder might have occurred unexpectedly in the middle of some dark night. The search of Hely over 300 miles of country to the spot said to be the scene of the alleged murder had done nothing to settle the public mind. Rather the reverse had occurred, for Hely's investigations had resulted only in the statements of the natives being disbelieved.

As related in his "History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand," Mr. William Howitt quotes Garbut's tale as follows:—"That far in the interior, beyond even the bounds of pastoral enterprise, was a tract of rich well-watered country, peopled by a colony of runaway convicts, who had married native women and kept up a communication with the settlements by means of pack-horses, obtaining in this way not only new recruits of their own stamp, but supplies of necessaries and even luxuries. Dr. Leichhardt and his party, he said, came suddenly upon this colony directly after leaving the settled district, and for fear he or they should divulge its existence were forcibly detained. Garbut offered, if liberated, to lead a party to the spot, but stated that his brother and uncle, also convicts, had been there as well as he, and sought, we believe, their liberty also. He asserted that the last of Leichhardt's camps, discovered by Mr. Hovenden Hely during his expedition of 1853, was within two hundred miles of the settlement which he professed to describe."

This story soon caused considerable public sensation. A frothy element in every community is always ready to leap at whatever savours of the melodramatic. And a tale which stimulates the imagination and appeals to the sentiment of romance will gain ground before objections which cool consideration raises against its probability can overtake it. But investigation and cross-examination of Garbut himself soon showed the story to be a fabrication of the convict's own imagination. The fable was dissipated yet public thirst for knowledge which might throw light on the fate of Leichhardt had been revived. Indeed this desire had been growing for some time previous to the sensation created by the prisoner. His tale served merely to bring a feeling of general dissatisfaction and restlessness on the matter to a climax. A public meeting, held in Sydney on October 11, 1857, resolved to invoke the aid of the local Government in launching an effort aimed at ascertaining the long-hidden facts, and Parliament consequently agreed to find the necessary funds. When Augustus

Gregory offered his services in the capacity of leader of such an expedition as would be needed to go in search of traces of the route and the end of the missing party, officials and the public at once felt that the community had no one else so eminently qualified for the position, and he was duly appointed.

The objects aimed at were officially stated as follows:—(1) To ascertain the fate of the late Dr. Leichhardt, and (2) to connect the exploring surveys of Mitchell and Kennedy with his own. Writing on September 15 to the Colonial Secretary, Gregory estimated the probable cost of the expedition at a sum of £4,500.

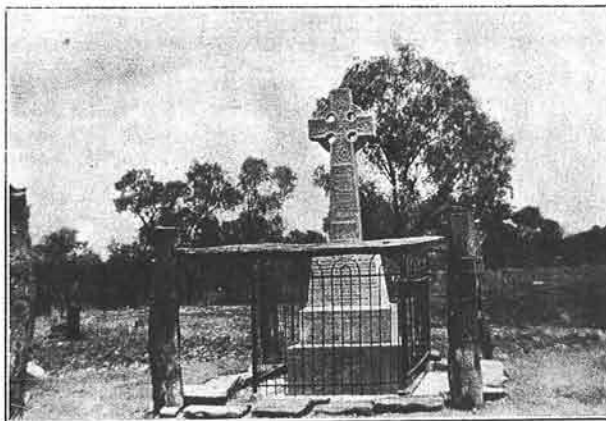
Augustus Gregory's brother (C. F. Gregory) was placed second in command. Besides these two, the party consisted of two overseers (S. Burgoyne and G. Phibbs) and five experienced bushmen (R. Bowman, W. Selby, T. Dunn, W. von Wedel, and D. Worrell). Portion of the equipment was taken by the commander from Sydney to Moreton Bay, and from here he proceeded to Ipswich, at the latter place purchasing ten saddle and thirty pack-horses. The stores were meanwhile despatched by drays to Mr. Royd's station on the Dawson River. The total weight of equipment was 4,600 lb., exclusive of saddles and harness, the average load carried by each pack-horse thus worked out at about 150 lb. Something more than ordinary interest attached to Gregory's calculation, as made at this

period, of the carrying capacity of a horse engaged on exploration work in Northern Australia, seeing that no living man held so wide an experience as a leader of successful expeditions of investigation of those regions. These arrangements were completed during the first week of January, 1858.

The party reached the Maranoa River in about latitude  $25^{\circ} 45'$ , near the source of that stream and not many miles to the westward of the culminating ridge of the Great Divide. Even at this early stage of the journey difficulty was met with in obtaining water, and wells had to be dug in the dry bed of the stream in order to secure a supply. As both Kennedy and Hoven-den Hely had been unable to penetrate further to the westward in the same latitude on account of this obstacle, the expedition adhered to the course of the Maranoa for the short distance to Mount Owen, where plentiful quantities of both feed and water for the horses rendered practicable a few days of well-earned rest. On

resuming the journey Gregory led his companions across a range to a creek emptying into the Warrego, which, like the Maranoa, flows in its early stages in a south-westerly direction. Some fine valleys of open-timbered land, well suited for pastoral pursuits, were here fallen in with. This class of country, alternating with ridges of scrub of brigalow acacia, was traversed until the party reached Mount Playfair, a basaltic hill on a sandstone range dividing the valley of the Warrego from that of the Nive. A creek forming a tributary of the latter was soon afterwards reached and was followed down to where it joined the larger stream, in latitude  $25^{\circ} 6'$ . Pools of permanent water, with fish in them, and numerous native camps were found here. The country was sandy, thinly grassed, and openly timbered, rising in low sandstone ridges covered with dense scrub of brigalow acacia. Severe drought had diminished the supplies of grass, and only in occasional patches could sufficient feed be obtained for the horses.

From the Nive the party pursued a north-north-west course through scrub growing on sandy, level country, so that progress was necessarily slow until reaching to within six miles of the Barcoo, or Victoria, as the river was then called. At this point they emerged upon open downs of fertile clay. But the long period of rainlessness had destroyed all vegetation, and the country bore the appearance of being a complete desert. The bed of the Barcoo was quite dry, and after diligent



STONE ERECTED TO DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

search the best that could be done for the stock was the discovery of a small pool of water surrounded with a few widely-scattered tufts of grass.

They were now following the route which Leichhardt had declared his intention of taking, and the party divided so that both sides of the river might be swept in a face and all probable positions of camps examined. Even with these precautions taken, but slender chances existed of finding the evidence of where the lost explorers had formed their resting-places if they should have passed that way. That heavy floods had occurred during the previous year was clear, marks on the ground going to show that the country for a mile from each bank had been under water. If tracks had existed they would have been obliterated by the inundations. Water remained scarce as they passed down the river, and the plentiful vegetation seen in the same locality by Sir Thomas Mitchell had entirely disappeared. The route was now south-west, and in latitude

24° 37' a small sandy creek, of equal size to the Barcoo itself, joined that stream from the east. At this point some improvement was noticed in the grass.

In this locality, on April 21, the first natives met with on the journey were seen. These were detected by the commander while the horses were being collected at a small pool of water at which a halt had been made. On the same day, a few miles down the river from where this incident occurred, the party met with the only clear evidence they were destined to find during the whole expedition of having come upon the trail of Leichhardt. In latitude 24° 25' and longitude 145° they discovered a Moreton Bay ash, about two feet in diameter at the butt, on which a big letter "L" had been cut through the bark about four feet from the ground. Near at hand were the stumps of smaller trees, which had been cut down with a sharp axe, whilst a deep notch in a sloping tree had apparently been put there to support the horizontal ridge pole of a tent, or for some similar purpose. All the evidences were regarded by Gregory as indicating that a camp had been formed here by Leichhardt's party. "The tree," he wrote, "was near the bank of a small reach of water, which is noted on Sir Thomas Mitchell's map. This, together with his actual and relative position, as regards other features of the country, prove it not to have been either one of Sir Thomas Mitchell's or Kennedy's camps, as neither encamped within several miles of the spot; besides which, the letter could not have been marked by either of them to designate the number of the camp, as the former had long passed his fiftieth camp, and the latter had not reached that number on the outward route, and numbered his camps from his furthest point attained on his return journey. Notwithstanding a careful search, no trace of stock could be found. This is, however, easily accounted for, as the country had been inundated last season, though the current had not been sufficiently strong to remove some emu bones and mussel shells which lay round a native camping-place within a few yards of the spot. No other intimation having been found, we continued the search down the river, examining every likely spot for marked trees, but without success. The general aspect of the country was extremely level, and even the few distant ridges, which were visible, had but small elevation above the plain, the highest apparently not exceeding 200 or 300 feet. Timber was wholly confined to the bank of the river, and though open plains existed acacia scrubs were the principal feature. Water became very scarce in the channels of the river, and we were principally dependent on small puddles of rainwater from a recent thunder shower, but as we approached the northern bend some fine reaches of water were passed."

Gregory continued his search along the course of

the Barcoo without success and under conditions of great hardship and very real danger. During the middle of April the conditions of the party became critical. The country at the junction of the Alice was thoroughly searched, but without result. "A long continuance of drought," wrote the commander of the expedition, "had not only dried up all the water, except in the deepest hollows in the channel of the main river, but the smaller vegetation, and even the trees on the back country were annihilated, rendering the country almost impracticable from the quantity of fallen dead branches, and even in the bed of the river, where the inundation derived from the heavy rain near the sources of the river last year had somewhat refreshed the grass, it was scarcely possible to find subsistence for the horses. Under existing circumstances it would have been certain destruction to attempt a north-west route from this point, and the only course that appeared open to us was to follow down the main river to the junction of the Thomson River, and to ascend that watercourse so as to intersect Leichhardt's probable line of route, had he penetrated in that direction, favoured by a better season. At this time, it was probable that, like ourselves, he had been repulsed, and would then follow down the river and search for a more favourable point from which to commence his north-west course, in order to round the desert interior from the northern side, and we therefore continued our search down towards the Thomson River."

During the last days of April Gregory passed over country completely flat and bearing traces of tremendous floods. Water was still scarce and grass "seldom seen." On May 2 heavy rain fell, water became plentiful, and considerable difficulties were met with in the shape of soft ground and the intricacies of a network of channels. Gregory observes that, had the rain continued, annihilation through drowning would have been a likely fate to overtake the party, as the camp was between deep channels which intersected the plain. "In attempting," he writes, "to extricate ourselves from the plains subject to inundation (we) found ourselves so completely entangled among the numerous deep channels and boggy gullies, in some of which the horses narrowly escaped suffocation in the soft mud, that after having forded one branch of the river, carrying the whole equipment across on our own backs, constructing a bridge over a second for the transport of the stores, and dragging the horses through as best we could with ropes—after three days of the severe toil we had scarcely accomplished a direct distance of five miles. The dry weather which followed rapidly hardened the surface of the clay plains, and I attempted to steer due west to the Thomson, but found the country so destitute of food, and covered with dense acacia scrub, that we were compelled to return to the plain on the bank of the river."



The party was now approaching the junction of the Thomson where the country was almost devoid of vegetation. A route was taken up the course of the river in a northerly direction, until reaching latitude  $23^{\circ} 47'$ , when the absence of grass and water compelled a retreat. "This," wrote Gregory, "was a most severe disappointment, as we had just reached the part of the country through which Leichhardt most probably travelled, if the season was sufficiently wet to render it practicable. Thus compelled to abandon the principal object of the expedition, only two courses remained open—either to return to the head of the Victoria (Barcoo) River and attempt a northern course by the valley of the Belyando, or to follow down the river and ascertain whether it flowed into Coopers Creek or the Darling. The latter course appeared most desirable, as it was just possible that Leichhardt, under similar circumstances had been driven to the south-west. In order to ascertain whether any large watercourses came from the west, the return route was along the right bank of the Thomson, but only one small creek and some inconsiderable gullies joined on that side; nor was the country of a better character than on the left bank, consisting of barren plains, subject to inundation, low, rocky ridges covered with dense scrub, and sandy ridges producing triodia."

When near the Barcoo Worrell's horse fell with him, and the rider was injured sufficiently to render a halt necessary for the following day which was Sunday. Fortunately a patch of grass was found at the locality of the mishap. The rain previously experienced had not extended so far south as the district now occupied by the party. Desolate plains, destitute of vegetation, stretched to the horizon on every side. On the 27th they had reached nearly to the furthest point attained by Kennedy, when failing strength on the part of the horses, coupled with the complete absence of water in the channels on the east side of the plain, forced the party to cross on to the western side of the river's bed. Great trouble was produced by the deep cracks in the dry alluvial mud, which were continually bringing

horses down, and which so exhausted one of them that it had to be abandoned. The animals had been rendered weak by insufficient food, all they could find on some days being decayed weeds, whilst they eagerly devoured the thatch of some old native huts which were found. Next day the party reached the site of Kennedy's second camp on his return journey twelve years before. The small waterhole which had served to refresh the stock of the earlier explorer had almost dried up, containing a quite insufficient supply to meet the needs of so many horses as were with Gregory. A small patch of scattered tufts comprised all the grass available. The letter "K" over "II." was seen cut on the trunk of a large box tree.



FRANK T. GREGORY.

In the beginning of June the party had crossed into the territory of South Australia. In latitude  $27^{\circ}$ , where they were on the 4th, a low sandstone tableland approached the west side of the river. On reaching latitude  $27^{\circ} 30'$  this tableland was found to recede, and a boundless expanse of mud plain was before the party. "Steering west-north-west," wrote Gregory, "the several channels closed on both sides; the soil of the intervening plain was much firmer, but showed by the vegetation that saline nature which so often attends the development of the upper sandstones in Australia. Grass was abundant, and it was surprising with what rapidity the horses recovered their strength." In longitude  $140^{\circ} 30'$ , shortly before reaching the branch of Coopers

Creek named Strzelecki Creek by Captain Sturt, the tracks of two horses were observed. One resembled that of a draught horse, whilst the other was a beast of speedier type. Gregory concluded that "there can be little doubt that these horses belonged to Captain Sturt, who left one in an exhausted state near this locality, and also lost a second horse, whose tracks were followed many miles in the direction of Cooper's Creek."

Some of the information collected by Gregory in this region was of interest even on the Queensland side of the border. He was able to ascertain that the Barcoo, Coopers Creek, Strzelecki Creek, Salt Creek, and Lake Torrens all receive the same flood waters

flowing into this wide region from the much wider watershed extending from the mountains of north-eastern Queensland to the Spencer Gulf, making a kind of system to the west of the Murray system. On June 26 Gregory and his companions reached a cattle station held by a Mr. Barker, about eight miles beyond Mount Hopeless, in South Australia.

The expedition had accomplished but little in clearing up the mystery surrounding the fate of the unfortunate Dr. Leichhardt, but such was the skill and experience of Augustus Gregory that it was hardly possible for him to lead a properly-equipped party of men out into unknown regions without adding greatly and usefully to the known geography of the country. The story of the lost expedition having been massacred at or near the spot where Hely found their tracks, as told by the natives, was robbed of whatever credibility previously remained to it by Gregory's discoveries, for the latter had demonstrated the missing party to have penetrated at least eighty miles beyond that point. Others have brought to light evidence of Leichhardt having advanced further than the position of the tree found by Gregory, for Walker, in 1862, found trees certainly marked by Leichhardt in the same longitude as that met with by Gregory, but in latitude 22°.

On the completion of his task Gregory wrote the following interesting summary of its results and of his views of what he took to be the probabilities surrounding the fate of Leichhardt and those with him:—"With reference to the probable fate of Dr. Leichhardt, it is evident from the existence of the marked camp nearly eighty miles beyond those seen by Mr. Hely, that the account given to that gentleman by the natives of the murder of the party was untrue, and I am inclined to think only a revival of the report current during Leichhardt's first journey to Port Essington. Nor is it probable that they were destroyed until they had left the Victoria, as if killed by the natives the scattered bones of the horses and cattle would have been observed during our search. I am, therefore, of opinion that they left the river at the junction of the Alice and, favoured by thunder showers, penetrated the level desert country to the north-west, in which case, on the cessation of the rain, the party would not only be deprived of a supply of water for the onward journey, but unable to retreat, as the shallow deposits of rainwater would evaporate in a few days, and it is not likely they would commence a retrograde movement until the strength of the party had been severely taxed in the attempt to advance. The character of the country traversed, from the outstations on the Dawson River to the head of the Warrego River, was generally that of a grassy forest, with ridges of dense brigalow scrub. A great portion is available for

pastoral purposes, but not well watered, and the soil being sandy the grass would soon be destroyed if too heavily stocked. As we advanced into the interior it became more barren, and except along the banks of the larger watercourses destitute of timber, and the character of the vegetation indicated excessive droughts. North of latitude 26° dense scrubs of acacia prevailed on the level country beyond the influence of the inundations, but to the southward sandy and stony desert, with low scrubby vegetation, were the characteristic feature. West of longitude 147°, nearly to the boundary of South Australia, in 141°, the country is unfit for occupation, for though in favourable seasons there might in some few localities be abundance of feed for stock, the uncertainty of rain and frequent recurrence of drought renders it untenable, the grasses and herbage being principally annuals, which not only die but are swept away by the hot summer winds, leaving the surface of the soil completely bare. On Coopers Creek, near the boundary, there is a small tract of second-rate country, which, being abundantly supplied with water, may eventually be occupied. The best part is, however, within the province of South Australia. Between Coopers Creek and Lake Torrens about 120 miles of sandy country intervenes. This tract is destitute of surface water, but as it is probable that it could be obtained by sinking wells of moderate depth, I think it might be occupied to advantage during the cool season and thus relieve the stations which are now established within Lake Torrens, though I fear that the summer heat would be too great to admit of permanent occupation. The geological character of the country is remarkably uniform. Carboniferous sandstones and shales, containing occasional beds of coal, with superincumbent hills and ridges of basalt, extend from the Darling Downs to the 146th meridian, where these rocks are covered by horizontal sandstones with beds of chert and water-worn quartz pebbles. This latter formation extends as far as Mount Hopeless, where the slate ranges of South Australia rise abruptly from the plain. The sandy deserts and mud plains are only superficial deposits, as the sandstones are often exposed where the upper formation is intersected by gullies. The direction of the parallel ridges of drift sand appears to be the result of the prevailing winds, and not the action of water, it being sufficient to visit them on a windy day to be convinced that it is unnecessary to seek for a more remote and obscure cause than that which is at present in operation. It is, perhaps, with reference to the physical geography of Australia that the results of the expedition are most important, as by connecting successively the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Mr. Kennedy, Captain Sturt, and Mr. Eyre, the waters of the tropical interior of the eastern portion of the Continent are proved to flow toward Spencer

Gulf, if not actually into it, the barometrical observations showing that Lake Torrens, the lowest part of the interior, is decidedly above the sea-level. Although only about one-third of the waters of Coopers Creek flow into Lake Torrens by the channel of Strzelecki Creek, there is strong evidence that the remaining channels, after spreading their waters on the vast plains which occupy the country between them and Sturt's Stony Desert, finally drain to the south, augmented probably by the waters of Eyre Creek, the Stony Desert, and perhaps some other watercourses of a similar character coming from the westward. This peculiar structure of the interior renders it improbable that any considerable inland lake should exist in connection with the known system of waters, for as Lake Torrens is decidedly only an expanded continuation of Coopers Creek, and therefore the culminating point of this vast system of drainage, if there was sufficient average fall of rain in the interior to balance the effects of evaporation from the surface of an extensive sheet of water, the Torrens basin, instead of being occupied by salt marshes, in which the existence of anything beyond shallow lagoons of saltwater is yet problematical, would be maintained as a permanent lake. Therefore, if the waters flowing from so large a tract of country are insufficient to meet the evaporation from the surface of Lake Torrens, there is even less probability of the waters of the western interior forming an inland lake of any magnitude, even should there be so anomalous a feature as a depression of the surface in which it could be collected, especially as our knowledge of its limits indicate a much drier climate and less favourable conformation of surface than in the eastern division of the Continent. The undulations of the surface of the country are nearly parallel to the meridian, gradually decreasing in height from the dividing range between the eastern and western waters till, instead of the waters of the rivers being confined to valleys, they occupy plains formed by a slight flattening of the curvature of the sphere. Thus the sides of the plain through which the river ran before it turned west to Coopers Creek were 150 feet below the tangential level of the centre channels, and even the summit of the sandstone tableland which rose beyond was below the visible horizon. It is this peculiar conformation which causes the stream beds to spread so widely when following the course of the valleys from north to south, and it is only where they break through the intervening ridges that the water is confined sufficiently to form well-defined channels. The existence of these extensive valleys, trending north and south over so large a tract of country, render it by no means unlikely that they continue far beyond the limits of present explorations, and it is not unreasonable to infer that the great depression which has been traced nearly 500 miles north from

Spencer Gulf through Lake Torrens to the Stony Desert of Sturt (or, rather, the mud plains contiguous to its western limit), may be continuous for an equal distance beyond the low land at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria; a theory also supported by the fact that the rivers flowing into the Gulf either come from the east or the west, apparently from higher land in those directions, while there is not a single watercourse from the south or any indication of elevated country in that direction. Captain Wickham, having named an important river discovered by him in H.M.S. 'Beagle,' on the north-west coast, the 'Victoria,' several years prior to Sir Thomas Mitchell having attached that name to the upper portion of Coopers Creek, which had also been previously discovered and named by Captain Sturt, I would suggest that the term River Cooper be adopted for the whole of the main channel from its sources, discovered by Sir Thomas Mitchell, to its termination in Lake Torrens, as while it does not interfere with the rule that the name given by the first discoverer should be retained, will prevent the recurrence of the misapprehension and inconvenience of having two important rivers with the same designation on the maps of Australia. With regard to the numbers and habits of the aborigines, I could collect little information, as only a collective number of about one hundred men, a few women, and children, were seen in small scattered parties; but judging from the number of encampments seen at least one thousand must visit the banks of the river, and it is probable that the whole of the inhabitants for at least one hundred miles on each side are dependent on it for water during the dry season. Neither sex wear any clothing. Their weapons and utensils are similar to those used on the eastern coast; nor was there any characteristic by which they could be observed to differ from the aborigines of other portions of Australia. Fish, rats, grass seeds, and a few roots constitute their chief food. On the upper part of the river they bury their dead, piling wood on their grave; near the junction of the Thomson they suspend the bodies in nets and afterwards remove the bones; while on Coopers Creek the graves are mounds of earth three or four feet high, apparently without any excavation, and surmounted by a pile of dead wood. In the last-named locality the number of burial mounds which had been constructed about two years ago greatly exceed the proportion of deaths which could have possibly occurred in any ordinary season of mortality, even assuming the population to be the densest known in any part of Australia, and it is not improbable that the seasons of drought which proved so destructive to the tree vegetation higher up the river may have been equally disastrous in its effects on the aboriginal inhabitants of this portion of the interior.—A. C. GREGORY, Sydney, August 27, 1858."

## CHAPTER XV.

W. O. HODGKINSON.

William Oswald Hodgkinson was in the seventies and eighties a well-known man in the public life of Queensland. He was born at Wandsworth, near Birmingham, in 1836, and came to Australia in 1851. When the Crimean war started he went to London and joined the Horse Guards, coming back to Victoria in 1859 to become for a time a reporter on the *Age*. In 1860 he joined the unfortunate Burke and Wills expedition, and when the rear party were waiting at Menindie he rode from there to Melbourne and back in twenty days, a distance of a thousand miles. Had he been in command of the rear party, instead of Wright, the calamities of the expedition would probably have been averted, as he was a sharp, prompt, decisive man, of great energy. In 1862 he was second in command of McKinlay's expedition, which crossed Australia through far-west Queensland, and finally terminated at Bowen on August 8, 1862. He was entrusted with all the hardest work on the trip and was held in much esteem by McKinlay. He settled in Queensland, and in the seventies was returned as Member for Burke. In Parliament he was a sharp, incisive speaker. He established and edited a paper at Mackay and one at Rockhampton, and directed the first quartz mill, the "Lady Marion," at Ravenswood. He afterwards became P.M. and Gold Fields Warden at Cooktown and the Palmer, from 1877 to 1884, ending his days at Petrie Terrace, North Brisbane. In 1876 he was appointed leader of an expedition sent out by the Queensland Government to explore North-west Queensland from Cloncurry to the South Australian boundary. The party included, E. A. Kayser, W. Carr Boyd, Norman McLeod, and an aboriginal called "Larry."

They went from the Cloncurry River, named by Burke, to Lake Coongi in South Australia, thence by the western boundary of Queensland to the Gulf of Carpentaria, returning by the Cloncurry, Normanton, and the Flinders. The party left the Cloncurry in April, 1876. On May 12 they crossed the rolling Downs, in sight of the mountains named Birnie, Aplin, Bruce, Murray and Merlin, by Robert O'Hara Burke. Everywhere the blacks were numerous, and strict watch was kept throughout the night. All the party were bushmen, and were taking no avoidable chances. On May 16 they were running down the Diamantina, originally named from Lady Bowen, wife of our first Governor. They passed weird hills of red sand, through gidya scrubs, and over undulating downs, where emus and bustards (the plain turkey) were very numerous. About the 19th they had heavy rains in a region where game was abundant, there

being hundreds of black ducks, wood ducks, teal and crested pigeons.

The party on one occasion suffered much from cold and hunger, and on June 9 a lot of friendly blacks presented them with the contents of two clay ovens full of cooked "wanti," a root shaped like a radish and tasting like a sweet potato. The journey here carried them across spinifex covered sandhills, over flooded creeks and claypan flats, over open downs, through scrubs of mulga and gidya, and thickets of polygonum, past lagoons covered with wild fowl, through tribes of blacks, the party meanwhile living on portulac, fish, ducks, pelicans, pigeons and salt beef, sometimes with food in abundance and at times very scarce, drenched by heavy rains or weak with the pangs of thirst. On July 2 they were among those romantic lakes discovered by the Burke relief party in 1861, one of them named Lake Hodgkinson by McKinlay, and the "Gnappanbarra" of the blacks. In periods of drought the small lakes are dry and produce very fattening pasture, while others become coated by a noxious slime, which makes the water unfit for use and kills the fish. Here they saw some of those huge peculiar graves peculiar to the Far West, and unknown elsewhere, one four feet in height, ten feet across and eighteen feet in length.

On July 25 they were on the Mulligan River, where it was from 200 to 600 yards in width, and found the aborigines to be "friendly, polite and hospitable." Two days before this the thermometer was down to 24, or eight degrees of frost, with thick ice on the water. In a lagoon on a branch of the Mulligan, they got ducks, swans, pelicans and fish in great abundance. Here, too, they got their first specimens of that remarkable narcotic plant which grows only on the watershed of the Mulligan. This is the famous "Pitcherie," classed botanically as *Duboisia Hopwoodi*, a short squat-bush, growing from three to seven feet in height. The blacks pick the young leaves which grow after a grass fire, dry them in the sun and mixing them with the ashes of the burnt leaves of whitewood make a powder which they chew. Under chemical analysis it is found to contain a volatile alkaloid, now known as "Pit-urine." This alkaloid is almost identical with nicotine, but is very much stronger. Another of the species, *D. Myoporoides*, grows on the coast of Queensland and produces an alkaloid called "*Duboisine*," which has the property of dilating the pupil of the eye like the atropine of belladonna. The blacks sit in a circle, each taking a brief chew of the pituri, and so on all round to the first man, who is the last to use it, and in barely an hour they are all sound asleep in a semi-stupor.

King, the survivor of the Burke and Wills tragedy, said a chew of pituri made him forget all his hunger and misery. On the 20th they entered upon what Sturt called the Stony Desert, later crossing gidya flats, spinifex ridges, and travelling through picturesque sandstone gorges full of rock wallabies. Thence onward they suffered much from want of water and food, with heavy travelling over rat-hole and crab-hole country, polygonum and blue bush swamps, but on the 11th they arrived on well-watered country on the Upper Mulligan, which they ascended until they reached Mary Lake on the Georgina River, originally named the "Herbert,"

after the first Queensland Premier, and camped there on the 26th, having successfully traced the Diamantina to the border, and traversed from the Cloncurry to Lake Coongi in South Australia, the journey occupying from April 13 to September 27, 1876.

The expedition has an honourable record in Australian exploration history, being the only one that avoided a collision with the aborigines. In after years Hodgkinson was elected a member of Parliament for Burke, and held the position of Secretary for Mines and Minister for Education in one of the Griffith Ministries, from August 12, 1890, to March 27, 1893.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### DALRYMPLE'S EXPLORATIONS.

George Elphinstone Dalrymple was a prominent man in Queensland for many years and has left an honoured name for his work as leader of the Government North Coast Expedition of 1873. At that time very little was known of the coast north of Townsville, except the very small settlement of Cardwell on Hinchinbrook Channel, where it enters Rockingham Bay. Sub-Inspector Johnstone had found the river which now bears his name, when he was searching that coast for the wrecked men from the brig "Maria," which was lost on Maria Reef, off Hinchinbrook, when on her way from Sydney with a party of men going gold hunting in New Guinea. North from there no other rivers were known, and there was no Cairns and no Cooktown. All was wild, unknown country, and even the hardy adventurous cedar cutters had not ventured north of Townsville. It was, therefore, a clear field for the explorer to discover new country, and bestow names on the rivers and mountains, as north of Cardwell, the only range then on the chart, was the Bellenden-Ker.

Dalrymple and party left Cardwell on September 20, 1873, in the cutters "Flying Fish" and "Coquette," with thirteen white men and a party of thirteen armed aboriginal troopers, under the command of Sub-Inspector Johnstone. The "Flying Fish," of twelve tons, drew four feet ten inches, and the "Coquette," of ten tons, drew three feet six inches. There was also a native police whale boat, a dingy and a scow, with complete outfit, abundant stores and scientific instruments. Among the boatmen was one named Dodd Clarke, well known in after years as proprietor and editor of the Townsville "*Bulletin*." The botanist was Walter Hill, first Director of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens, which he started in 1855.

They were weather bound at Goold Island for nine

days and then started north and anchored at Dunk Island, named by Cook in 1770, from the Earl of Halifax, whose name was Dunk. On May 26, 1848, the "Rattlesnake" anchored there and started a coast survey, which extended six hundred miles. On the next day Dalrymple named Mount Bartle Frere, from the then President of the Royal Geographical Society. It is a vast jungle-covered, granite mountain, rising 5,000 feet, between the heads of the Russell and Mulgrave Rivers. He also named Emerald Hill and Mount Julia, near the present Mourilyan Harbour, where Captain Moresby, of H.M.S. "Basilisk," had already named Georgia, Hilda, and Ethel Hills, when surveying on the coast. On October 2 Dalrymple, with Johnstone and five troopers, went up the Moresby River, which runs into Mourilyan Harbour, followed by Walter Hill and a Logan River man named Phillip Henry Mind, who was in search of sugar land. On October 4 he started out to examine the Johnstone River, which runs into the sea six miles north of Mourilyan.

On that trip he named the Moresby and the Seymour Ranges, from Captain Moresby, of the "Basilisk," and Commissioner of Police Seymour, of Brisbane. He also named "Gladys Inlet," where nine of the crew of the "Maria" were murdered by the blacks. He named Mounts Annie, Arthur and Maria, in the Seymour, from members of Johnstone's family. Proceeding some distance up the Johnstone, above the site of the present Innisfail, they saw some splendid cedar, one tree being ten feet in diameter. The great area of very rich soil impressed the party and Hill regarded it as "the most valuable discovery in Australia." They estimated the area of available land at half a million acres, of which 300,000 were fit for sugar. It

was a remarkably shrewd calculation, and prediction, though the area was much exaggerated. We know to-day what a splendid sugar district has arisen on that river traversed by Hill and Dalrymple in 1873. While camped on the Johnstone he named the Basilisk and Walter Hill Ranges. Everywhere the vegetation was magnificent and gorgeous in its tropical luxuriance. The party went over to the Frankland Islands, off the mouth of the Mulgrave, obtaining a plentiful supply of fish, many Torres Strait pigeons, and a few cocoanuts from trees self-planted there, the only cocoanut trees seen on the coast of Australia. While there Dalrymple named the Graham and Malbon Thompson Ranges, on the opposite mainland, and the Bell Peaks, which rise to 3,357 feet and 3,033 feet, named from Sir Joshua Peter Bell. On October 16 he named the Walsh Pyramid, a granite mountain, near Cairns (3,050 feet), from the Hon. Wm. Henry Walsh. He also named Mounts Sheridan, Williams, and Whitfield, near Cairns, from the Police Magistrate, Brinsley Sheridan, of Cardwell; F. Y. Williams, the Lands Commissioner; and E. Whitfield, a storekeeper, all of Cardwell at that time.

On the 18th Dalrymple was unfortunate in falling on the hatch of the cutter and breaking one of his ribs. On October 20 he named Mounts Garioch, Mar, Formantine and Buchan, after four parishes in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, where he came from. The Macalister Range he named from the Hon. A. Macalister, Queensland's second Premier, afterwards Sir Arthur, who went to London as Agent-General in 1876. On the way to Schnapper Island, north of the present Port Douglas, he named Harris Peak, Mount Beaufort, the Heights of Dagmar and Alexandria, Thornton Peakes and the Palmer Range. The best known of these to-day is Mount Alexandria, an immense double-topped mountain of solid granite, rising to a height of 4,000 feet, the southern spurs rising from the north side of the Daintree River, twenty-six miles north of Port Douglas. On the 24th he named Cape Kimberley, from the Earl of Kimberley.

Next day, October 25, the party entered Cooktown Harbour and saw the steamer "Leichhardt," Captain Saunders, enter with Howard St. George, P.M., A. McMillan, a number of officials and 70 diggers bound for the Palmer diggings. Cooktown then being merely a collection of white tents under the west side of Cook's "Grassy Hill," a granite and conglomerate hill 600 feet in height. On October 28 Dalrymple's party went up the Endeavour River, but as there was nothing to be seen except mangroves and crocodiles they came back to Cooktown, and returned to the Barnard Group on October 31 in the "Leichhardt," to wait there for a suitable vessel from Cardwell, as the "Coquette" and "Flying Fish" were found to be too small and uncomfortable. At Cardwell Dalrymple chartered the

schooner "Flirt," and on November 14 anchored near Johnstone's camp on Dunk Island. On November 17 the party consisting of ten whites and ten blacks again started north. On the 18th they entered the mouths of the Russell and Mulgrave Rivers, named on that day by Dalrymple, from the earls of those names. Both rivers enter the sea by the one entrance, but a mile inland diverge west and south-west, one to the right and the other to the left of the Bellenden-Ker Range. Dalrymple says he went for eight miles up the Russell and named Harveys Creek, well known to-day on the railway line from Cairns towards the Johnstone. On November 21 Dalrymple started in a whaleboat with Water Hill, Perry, Johnstone and two troopers to ascend the Mulgrave River, the objective being the climbing of the Bellenden-Ker Range. On the 25th a party consisting of Hill, Johnstone and eight troopers started through the scrub, evidently towards Mount Teresa.

Dalrymple saw their signal fires on the "North spur of Bellenden-Ker," and on November 28 their "smoke on the same spur half way down." On the same day they returned in the whaleboat to the mouth of the river. There is clear evidence that they never got beyond Mount Sophia, and that the actual summit of Bellenden-Ker was still two miles away, a thousand feet above them, and quite inaccessible from that side. On December 6 they were all on the site of the present Port Douglas, then called "Island Point," and on the same day Dalrymple entered and named the Mossman, a small river whose mouth is six miles north of Port Douglas. It was named from the Hugh Mossman who, with Clarke and Fraser, discovered Charters Towers in 1872. He also entered and named the Daintree River after the Queensland Agent-General, and Wyandell Point, from the local native name for a canoe. The party had a friendly interview with the blacks, but three years afterwards the same tribes killed several white men. On December 12 they were back at the Johnstone, and Dalrymple sent Hill and Johnstone up the river in a whale boat. The blacks appeared on Coquette Point, painted to look like white men, with black trousers rolled up to the knees, and artfully imitated white men's voices to induce the whites ashore. Failing to do that they rehearsed the murder of the "Maria" men in derision, and made insulting gestures at the boat party, but they paid a heavy price for that performance afterwards, when Johnstone and fourteen troopers got between them and the sea in 1881, when they had killed one of Fitzgerald's men. On December 20, while near one of the Barnard Islands, Johnstone and his troopers went out to meet a small steamer, the "Annie" bound for Port Darwin. A few days afterwards the whole party were disbanded, and Dalrymple returned to Brisbane in the old steamer "Boomerang."

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE JARDINE BROTHERS' EXPLORATIONS.

In the history of Australian exploration an honoured place is held by the Jardine brothers (Frank and Alec), who in 1864 successfully conducted an expedition from Rockhampton to the new settlement of Somerset on Albany Pass, within six miles of Cape York. And they were the youngest of all the explorers, Frank being born in 1842 and Alec in 1844, so they were only twenty-two and twenty years of age when starting on that memorable tour through wild, unknown country, with unknown obstacles to overcome. They were the sons of William Jardine, then Police Magistrate at Rockhampton.

When Sir George Bowen was Governor of Queensland, from December 10, 1859, to January 4, 1868, he decided in 1862 to go on a sea tour along the east coast, from Brisbane to Cape York, the real objective being the discovery of a suitable site on which to start a northern settlement. He went north in August, 1862, in H.M.S. "Pioneer." On his return he suggested Albany Pass, a narrow passage between Albany Island and the Cape York mainland. Albany Island was named in 1846 by Lieutenant Yule, of the "Rattlesnake." At that time there was no mention of Thursday Island. On his return Governor Bowen sent a despatch to the Imperial Government recommending the Albany Pass situation, and his advice was accepted, his reasons being the advantages of the place on account of the geographical position and the suitability as a harbour of refuge, coaling station, and depôt for the future trade of Torres Strait and the Pacific Islands.

The work of forming this far off settlement was entrusted to William Jardine, the Police Magistrate of Rockhampton, and he went up and erected the first buildings in 1864, having gone in the barque "Eagle," chartered by the Government, taking also all the necessary material and stores, and accompanied by his youngest son, John.

While arranging in Rockhampton for the transport of his staff, materials and stores, he foresaw the future need of provisions and so proposed to the Government that he should send his own sons, Frank and Alec, overland, with a mob of cattle and a number of horses to the new settlement, which

was to be called Somerset. The Government promptly accepted the offer and agreed to supply a qualified surveyor, fully equipped, and horses, arms and accoutrements for four aborigines to accompany the brothers. A party of ten men, with thirty horses, left Rockhampton in May, 1864, in charge of Alexander Jardine, and went by easy stages to Bowen, where they were joined in July by Frank Jardine and A. J. Richardson, the surveyor. Pleuro was then prevalent among the cattle, and Frank had some difficulty in selecting suitable stock, but eventually arranged with Mr. William Stenhouse, of the Clarke River, and the party finally divided at Reedy Springs on the Burdekin, Alec Jardine

going on ahead with the pack horses and equipment, leaving Frank, who was the leader of the whole expedition, with Scrutton, Cowderoy and the blackboys to muster and bring the cattle. Alec started on August 17 and arrived at Carpentaria Downs station, on the Einasleigh River, then owned by J. G. Macdonald, from whom the party received every kindness and assistance. While waiting for his brother to arrive Alec decided to explore some of the country ahead, so as to facilitate the final start. He was accompanied by Henry Bode, a gentleman in search of new country, Mr. Binney and two blackboys.

On September 3 they left Carpentaria Downs, Jardine taking old "Eulah," a trusted aboriginal, who in after years was speared by the blacks in a night attack on Jardine's camp near Cape York. Bode took his own



THE JARDINE BROTHERS.

blackboy, so the party consisted of two whites, two blacks, two pack-horses and provisions for three weeks. At the same time J. G. Macdonald started out north-west to find country to form a station on the Gulf. Carpentaria Downs was situated on what was at first supposed to be the Lynd River of Leichhardt, but was found to be a tributary of the Gilbert, and was named the Einasleigh. Jardine ran the river down where it was running strongly in a width of 200 yards, crossing at times from one side to the other, with rough travelling over stony ironbark ridges, naming the New-castle Range, Plato Creek and Canal Creek, which was eighty yards wide, with very high steep banks, and so

on through rough country to where they reached Parallel and Warroul Creeks. Here they found a plant of native spears, neatly made and barbed with wallaby bones. On the 7th they saw great flocks of galahs on a creek running into the Einasleigh, where the junction shows two remarkable porphyritic rock islands in the river, which was 300 yards in width.

Following down the river on September 8, after passing eighty miles of stony ridges and basalt plains, they emerged on fine, open, well grassed river flats, lightly timbered, passing a chain of lagoons covered by black duck, teal, wood duck and pigmy geese, while pigeons and other game birds were numerous in the forest, a sure sign of good country. On the lower Einasleigh they found the river about three-quarters of a mile in width, with a dry sandy bed and abundance of water running a foot under the surface.

The party continued down the Einasleigh for 180 miles, until Jardine was certain it was not the Lynd of Leichhardt, and so decided to return to Carpentaria Downs. On September 14 they met wild blacks for the first time, and also ate the first fruit of the "Nonda" tree of Leichhardt. They saw blacks fishing with three-pronged spears, caught some splendid fish and shot ducks and bustards, being dependent for rations chiefly on what they shot and caught. After eighteen days' journey, over a distance of 360 miles, they were back at Carpentaria Downs, finding all well but no sign of Frank Jardine with the cattle for fifteen more days, when he arrived with 250 head of bullocks and cows in good condition. On October 11, 1864, the whole party, which comprised Frank and Alec Jardine, A. J. Richardson, as surveyor, C. Scrutton, R. N. Binney, A. Cowderoy and four blacks—Eulah, Peter, Lambo, and Barney—started north from Carpentaria Downs. They took provisions estimated to last them four months, and those consisted of 1,200 pounds of flour, 3 cwt. of sugar, 35 pounds of tea, 40 pounds of currants and raisins, 20 pounds of peas and 20 pounds of jams and salt. Beside those stores were tools, ammunition and camp requirements, the whole represented by eighteen packs, averaging 150 pounds each. The four blacks were armed with the double-barrelled police carbine of that period, and the whites carried Terry breech-loaders and Tranter revolvers, which saved their lives on more than one occasion. They carried only three light tents, more to protect the stores than as shelter for themselves, as in dry weather they all slept in the open air. Cowderoy, Eulah, and Barney started at sunrise with the 250 head of cattle. The pack-horses did not start before noon, there being the usual trouble with bucking horses and thrown packs and broken straps. There were forty-two head of horses and one or two mules. The horse party camped at 20 miles, but the cattle had not arrived at the appointed spot, and the two Jardines went back to look

for them next morning and met them about five miles up Pluto Creek, which they were running down, Eulah (the pilot) having lost his bearings and led the party into the ranges to the eastward. It was the custom for the cattle party to start about sunrise, the horse party to overtake them at midday, and then all travel together to where they camped in the evening. At each camp Frank Jardine cut his initials in a tree and the number of his camp. This was the practice of all the explorers. At times the country was so rough they only travelled ten to twelve miles in the day. On October 14 the course was over stony quartz and granite ridges, which ran into the river and could not be avoided, the bed of the creek itself being filled by large boulders. The timber on the ridges consisted chiefly of stunted hollow ironbark, with bloodwood and apple gum along the creek.

On October 15 they camped at Cawana Swamp, a beautiful spot, partly surrounded by Jorgensens Range on the north and east, and on the south and east by walls of cellular basalt. The swamp was six miles in circumference and so shallow that the cattle fed out near the middle. Next day, the 16th, still running down the Einasleigh river, they struck rough country, the basalt laming the cattle and wrenching the heads off the horseshoe nails. They got a native companion, a rock wallaby and a red kangaroo, thereby avoiding the necessity of killing a beast, and preventing the delay which would have been inconvenient as the blacks had burnt all the grass and there was not a bite of feed for horses or cattle. From here onwards they were followed by blacks north beyond the Archer River, and messengers would be sent on, or smoke signals made, to warn all the blacks ahead to be on the lookout for these white men, who were going as they pleased, and doing as they pleased, in defiance of all aboriginal laws. The Jardine party had good reason to know all this in after days. On October 17, on Parallel Creek, they took six hours to travel over three and a half miles, the only path being the bed of the creek, which was crossed at short distances by bars of granite boulders, twenty to thirty feet high. The cows at this stage started calving, and as the calves had to be killed the mothers rambled back in the night to seek for them, and one went so far that they left her there. The party camped that night in the bed of the creek, hemmed by a basalt wall 80 feet in height. Next day they had villainous country, lost one horse and a bull, and several cattle were tired out. They saw a great number of blacks, and at a waterhole came on a fishing party, who fled and left all their weapons, including woomera spears and a very large stone tomahawk. Next day they were on the river itself, where it was 700 yards wide with large waterholes and plenty of fish. At a blacks' fire they found the roasted remains of an aboriginal, the head and thigh bones only complete,



the rest of the body broken up, and the skull full of blood. This may have been a black killed by accident or in a row, or for infringing some tribal law.

On October 21, being in good country with plenty of grass, Frank decided to camp for a few days to recruit his cattle and horses, having come 120 miles from Carpentaria Downs, an average of ten miles per day. Here Frank and Alec went off to find the Lynd River of Leichhardt, being assured by Richardson that it must be about ten miles north-east. At this stage there was a serious difference of opinion between Frank Jardine and Richardson with regard to the latitude of the Lynd, and thence onward the brothers evidently had not much faith in the surveyor. As a question of fact they never saw the Lynd at all, being too far to the westward and south-west.

During the brothers' hurried trip in search of the Lynd they found a stream they called the Byerly, which runs south-west into the Gilbert. Frank knew it was not the Lynd as the country failed to correspond in any way with Leichhardt's description of that river. They all started again on November 4, losing two horses from snake bite, and next day sixteen horses were missing. The brothers went on with the cattle, leaving a party to bring on the horses, and were exceedingly anxious for three nights over the non-arrival of the rear party, the worry being increased on November 8 by the

shortage of twenty or thirty cattle. On the 9th Alec started back to look for the rearguard and met them coming on with specially bad news of a calamity for which somebody's gross carelessness must have been responsible. On November 5, the day on which the brothers had started with the cattle, a grass fire had caught the camp, destroyed six 70 lb. bags of flour, all the tea except ten pounds, one hundred pounds of rice, jam, apples, and currants, five pounds of powder, twelve pounds of shot, a box of cartridges and caps, two tents, a packsaddle, twenty-two packbags, fourteen surcingles, twelve leather girths, six breechings, thirty ringpack straps, two bridles, two pairs blankets, two pairs of boots, nearly all the clothes of the blackboys and the

Jardines, and two bags of awls, needles, twine and other nicknacks. That fire nearly stopped the expedition, for had all their powder gone they dared not have faced the rest of the journey. It appears that Scrutton saved some of the powder from the fire when the solder was actually melting on the outside of the canister. The brothers went ahead to look for a route for the cattle, travelled twenty-five miles west, down Maramie Creek, then eight miles south to where they struck the Staaten, named at the mouth by the old Dutch navigators in 1623, the first river named in Australia, or 147 years before Captain Cook. On the Staaten the Jardines were attacked by blacks, among whom there were doubtless men who were present at the attack on Leichhardt's party

when Gilbert, the naturalist, was killed on the night of June 28, 1845, or nineteen years before the Jardines. They were again attacked by the blacks on the 20th, and probably no other Australian explorers experienced so much trouble in this respect as did the Jardines.

Next Day Frank was attacked when alone and had to shoot two of the Myalls. The party had endless trouble with straying horses and lost cattle, poor grass and scarcity of provisions. They had the same trouble with kites and crows as Leichhardt in the same locality in 1845, hundreds of these birds hovering round, actually snatching the roasting meat from the fire. The blacks were heard



J. G. MACDONALD.

cooeing all night around the camp. On November 27 Frank had a very narrow escape from a spear and shot the man who threw it. The rest of the party were attacked, several blacks being shot and others carried away wounded. This meant that all blacks ahead on their route would be advised and be prepared with a hostile reception. So they continued on down the Staaten through very miserable country, satisfied at last they had missed the Lynd and were far too much to the west. On December 5 they left the Staaten and started north at last, across waterless country, poorly grassed, losing some horses, including one or two that went mad. The mule was lost carrying a valuable pack. They crossed extensive marine plains, covered with native companions,

jabirus, pelicans and ibis; the lagoons swarming with ducks, a perfect paradise of game. On the 16th they struck the Mitchell of Leichhardt, in three channels with a total width of 600 yards, the banks and islands covered by thick vine scrub and lined by plum, chestnut, nouda, flooded gums, tea-trees, and graceful jam-leaved palms. Leichhardt had struck this river ten miles higher where he reported it a mile and a half in width.

On December 18 came the "battle of the Mitchell," probably one of the severest contests in Australian history between whites and the aborigines, and one of the rare occasions when blacks have stood and faced men with rifles. They came suddenly on a lot of blacks fishing, but these crossed the river and swam back carrying bundles of woomera spears. The horsemen cantered back to camp and the blacks pursued them with spears, which were coming so near that the two Jardines and Eulah turned and galloped towards them, the firing bringing all their mates from the camp and shooting became promiscuous. The blacks finally all huddled in a body close to the water, apparently terror-stricken at the noise of ten rifles, which at that short distance were used with such deadly effect, that when Frank called off his men there were over fifty dead blacks, besides some who were probably fatally wounded or drowned. The Mitchell showed traces of heavy floods, and had the party been caught among the branches of that river by the wet season, the expedition would have ended there, for they would never have got a horse or bullock through alive, and their own fate would have been very doubtful. On December 21 another lot of blacks, on the third day after the "battle," attempted to stalk them behind green bushes, but the two Jardines, Scrutton, and the four blackboys chased them on foot for over a mile, until they vanished in thick scrub.

Finally on December 22 they left the Mitchell, which was crossed at about forty miles from the sea, instead of a hundred miles higher, towards the watershed, and started on a line for Cape York. A lot of worthless country was passed over from the Mitchell to Holroyd Creek, next to which was a creek they named the Thalia, a salt stream, proving that they were still far too much to the westward. Here one of their blackboys was chased to the camp by the blacks, who were promptly pursued and a number shot, some of them big men over six feet. The next creek was named Macleod, where they had a terrific storm, and as it was all low country, subject to heavy floods, they were very anxious to get out of it as soon as possible. On January 4 they found and named the Archer River, in honour of the Gracemere Archers, a large sandy river flowing through a valley of great richness and beauty, considered by the Jardines to be the best cattle country they had seen north of Broadsound.

From there on they had some execrable country and lost both horses and cattle, bogged in a rotten tea-tree flat, before they reached the Batavia River, on January 11, a flooded creek, twenty-five yards wide, running very rapidly, fringed by thick scrub. This must have been about where the present overland line crosses at the Moreton telegraph station. In the dry season it is a stream of very clear and excellent water, running over pure white sand. Two horses and a bullock were drowned while crossing and three of the party had a narrow escape. This was a fatal spot for the expedition as twelve of their horses were poisoned here, evidently from eating young shoots of the deadly poisonous ironwood, which is everywhere on the Batavia River. Frank in his diary, camp 67, marked that day as "Black Thursday." From here they had terrible country to travel over, the wet season was starting, and perpetual vigilance was required as the blacks hung on their rear and watched them through the whole journey. The final attack was on January 14, two days north of the Batavia, when two shots were fired killing two blacks and putting the rest to flight. At this time the two Jardines, Scrutton, Binney, and the four blacks were wearing only their shirts and belts, being bare-footed and bare-legged, with caps of opossum skin; and that comprised their outfit for 250 miles.

On January 17 they arrived at what is now the Skardon River, a small stream north of the Ducie River and seventy miles south of Cape York, they were nearing Somerset, but were to experience a terrible time before they saw the new settlement. Most of their best horses were dead and they had to leave some things behind to lighten the packs. They were without beef as they could not carry it without sacrificing some of their packs, and tea and sugar had been finished for weeks. Two horses died at the Skardon and two police saddles were left there. On January 18 they killed a knocked-up foal and cooked and ate it. At this time they were bearing north-east to what they called the Richardson Range, behind Shelburne Bay, and had a sight of the sea. Here they were entangled in thick vine scrubs on the head of what is now the Jardine River, which they followed to the junction of a stream they called the McHenry, a branch of the Jardine, which Frank took to be the head of the Escape River, which runs east into Newcastle Bay, but he saw his mistake when the river continued running to the north-west. There was evidently something wrong with surveyor Richardson or his instruments, as he plotted camp 82 as on the Escape River and sixteen miles from Somerset, whereas they were on the Jardine River, running in an exactly opposite direction from the Escape.

On the 30th the Jardines and Eulah, with a week's provisions, started to find Somerset. They went down the Jardine River to make sure it was not the

Escape and finally returned to the main camp. Frank decided to cross the river, and all got safely over with the aid of a raft, and camped on the north side, where the two brothers left the cattle in charge of Scrutton, to stay there until they could locate Somerset. They went north-east until they saw Newcastle Bay and Mount Adolphus Island, eventually striking the real Escape River, which was flooded and ran through abominable country, and was bordered by a two mile wide fringe of impassable mangrove. They followed up the river with their horses so tired out they had to be driven on foot, the men living chiefly on scrub turkey eggs until they once more reached the main camp. Finally, on the crest of a small hill, they saw their exact position, and next day, March 1, they came to a party of friendly blacks who were very excited and called out the "Franks," "Aliko," and various other words they had been taught by Jardine senior, at Somerset, who told them to keep a look-out for the two brothers and pilot them in to the settlement. Next day, at noon, guided by three of the blacks, they arrived at Somerset, and once more met their father, after an absence of ten months

and a journey of 1,600 miles. Their feet were in greenhide mocassins, they wore caps of emu feathers, had only the waistbands and pockets of their trousers left and were tanned to a dark brown. After getting some fresh horses they searched for a suitable spot for the cattle and fixed on Point Vallack, three miles from Somerset. On March 5 they started with black guides, accompanied by

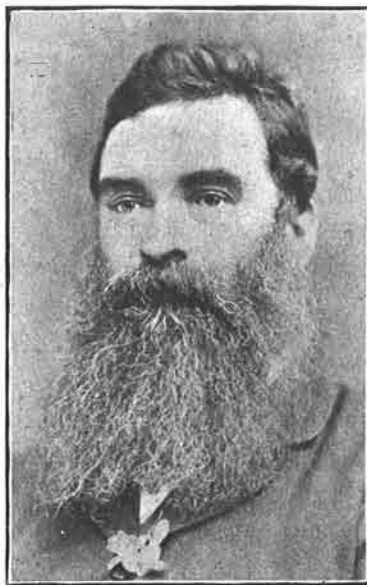
the younger brother, John, to return to the party with the cattle and bring them on to Point Vallack.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable expeditions in Australian history, one in which the party suffered more hardships, encountered more difficulties and faced more continuous dangers than nearly all the other explorers combined, and we can have nothing less than boundless admiration for the splendid courage, the cheerful philosophic endurance, the marvellous faculty of adaptation, and the high intelligence of those two youths of twenty-two and twenty, who finally arrived at Somerset, through incredible difficulties, without the loss of one man, serious injury to any of the party, or even a day's delay by sickness. They were hardy and determined youths, with the blood of the old fighting Jardines of the Border clans in their veins.

Frank and Alec returned with their father to Brisbane, leaving young John, the brother, in charge of the cattle station at Point Vallack. Frank returned to Somerset and remained there until his death, in the year 1919, at the age of seventy-seven. All ships passing Somerset, through Albany Pass, always dipped their flags in token

of respect for the old explorer.

The brother, Alexander (Alec), remained in the south and became a qualified surveyor and engineer, doing much land survey work for the Government, and was for some years Engineer of Harbours and Rivers. Alec is the sole surviving son of the Jardine family, and the last of all the old Australian explorers.



WILLIAM HANN.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### WILLIAM HANN.

William Hann, the North Queensland explorer of 1872, was one of two brothers who at one time owned Lawn Hill Station on the Gulf and were well-known squatters. Frank in after years went to West Australia and did some exploratory work there and in the Northern Territory. William Hann is prominent in Queensland history as the discoverer of the Palmer, the richest alluvial goldfield so far found in Australia, and in a wider

sense, in the world. He was sent out as leader of a prospecting and exploring expedition by the Palmer Ministry in 1872; his party including Taylor, as geologist; Dr. Tate, as botanist; Warner, as surveyor; Stewart, Nation and Jerry (an aboriginal).

Taking 25 pack and saddle horses, 20 sheep, and five months' provisions, the party left Fossilbrook Station on June 26, 1872, following

Fossilbrook Creek to the Lynd, and thence to the Kirchner Range, where Hann lost his prismatic compass. They prospected in many places on the Lynd for five days, leaving there on July 3, and two days afterwards they arrived at a river which Hann named the "Tate," in honour of his botanist. On July 9 he discovered and named Walsh River, from the Hon. Wm. Henry Walsh, then Minister of Works. On the bank of this river, in a limestone formation, he found a large bed of fossils, many beautifully perfect, and in quantity sufficient to load a dray. Among them were several vertebrae of a huge animal, apparently diprotodon, whose fossils were first found on Kings Creek, on the Darling Downs, in 1842. They crossed and named Elizabeth and Louisa Creeks and went down to the junction of the Lynd and Mitchell, two rivers found and named by Leichhardt, in his overland journey from Brisbane to Port Essington in 1845.

On July 27 they followed up the Mitchell, crossed eight miles of basaltic country, evidently the source of the agates in the bed of the river, across two miles of limestone, and three miles of slate, naming Taylors Carboniferous Range, Warner Range, Warner Peaks and Mount Lilley (from a one time Queensland Premier, and afterwards Chief Justice). They followed the Mitchell for 45 miles, and then turned north, naming Mount Mulgrave, Garnet Creek and Mount Daintree. In his diary here, Hann records that, "from the summit of Mount Daintree a large river was seen due north, about three miles from the camp, probably the 'Ninety Yards Wide Creek,' of Kennedy in 1848," though it is very doubtful if Kennedy went so far west as the Palmer, the famous river which Hann named from the Premier (Arthur Palmer), afterwards Sir Arthur Palmer, then Chief Secretary of Queensland. This was the river destined in the following year to be the scene of a gold rush, which attracted ten thousand white men and from ten to fifteen thousand Chinese, and provided nameless graves for hundreds of men who went down under bad water, poor food, Palmer fever, or the spears of the blacks. In this river Warner found scaly gold of a rich colour, in a granite formation, and claimed the reward of half a pound of tobacco, offered by Hann for the first gold discovered. The site of this discovery was promptly named "Warner's Gully," and it became memorable in the after-history of the Palmer, like the Nash Gully in Gympie, where Nash discovered his first gold in October, 1867.

Further prospecting was not successful, but Hann firmly believed there was payable gold in that country. On August 21 he went north and found and named the Coleman River, which runs into the

Gulf, following it up for seventeen miles, to where he had a friendly interview with a band of higher type blacks and gave them some fish hooks. Those Mitchell and Coleman tribes had been deadly foes of the Jardines in their expedition of 1864, only twelve years before Hann, but evidently Hann adopted milder methods and was on friendly terms with the wild children of the forest. Guided by the cone of Mount Newberry in the distance, the party reached the divide of the Peninsula, where the waters run west to the Gulf, and east to Princess Charlotte Bay. They struck the head of what Hann called the Stewart River, after one of his party, and followed it down to where it runs into the north part of Princess Charlotte Bay. The mouth of that river in after years became the depôt where stores and diggers were landed from Cooktown for Ebagoolah and the Coen goldfields.

So far the trip, according to Hann, had been one of pleasure and easy travelling, kangaroos, fish, the Nada fruit of Leichhardt and wild honey providing plenteous supplies. On September 6 they left the Stewart and steered south-west for the Kennedy, the country on each side being open forest and poor soil plains, evidently liable to heavy floods. On the 12th they arrived at a wide running river, which Hann called the Normanby, from the Marquis of Normanby, then Governor of Queensland. On their way there they had crossed an extensive tract of wretched flooded country, and great swamps, covered by geese and ducks. They met many natives, who were all friendly, until Tate foolishly picked up a small blackboy and brought him into camp, the result next day being a hostile demonstration by a large mob of blacks, and serious trouble was only averted by promptly returning the boy.

On September 21 Hann reached a creek where he saw the first river oaks (*Casuarina*) since leaving Fossilbrook, and he called it Oaky Creek, destined to be memorable afterwards in the history of the Palmer. From this creek he went to the Endeavour River, and followed that river down to the coast on the present site of Cooktown. On September 25 Hann started up the Endeavour for thirty miles, and then turned due south, apparently towards the head of the Annan, finally turning eastward through very rough country and dense lawyer cane jungle, until they reached the coast at the mouth of the Bloomfield River, which runs into Cook's Weary Bay, twenty-six miles south of Cooktown. In following up this river they became entangled in the dense scrub which covers all that region, and were struggling in it for ten days, until they wisely went back over the range and emerged in open forest at their sixty-fourth camp on October 12.

On the 18th they crossed some "wretched country of bare slate ridges" on a branch of the Normanby, where Hann named "Andrews Range," from Tate's friend, lost in the "Maria," and on October 28 they were back on the Palmer, the Mitchell on October 31, the Tate on November 6, the Lynd on November 9, and on November 12 arrived at Junction Creek, all well and their journey ended. With the exception of the unpleasant ten days in the scrubs of the Bloomfield River, Hann's party had possibly the most pleasant time of all the explorers, being in open country with mostly fine weather, and abundance of game and fish and moreover the trip produced very important results. In August of the next year, 1873, J. V. Mulligan and party, guided by Hann's report were on the Palmer prospecting, and on September 5 Mulligan went into Georgetown with 102 ounces of "shotty, water-worn gold." In the first four years the Palmer gave 840,000 ounces of gold.

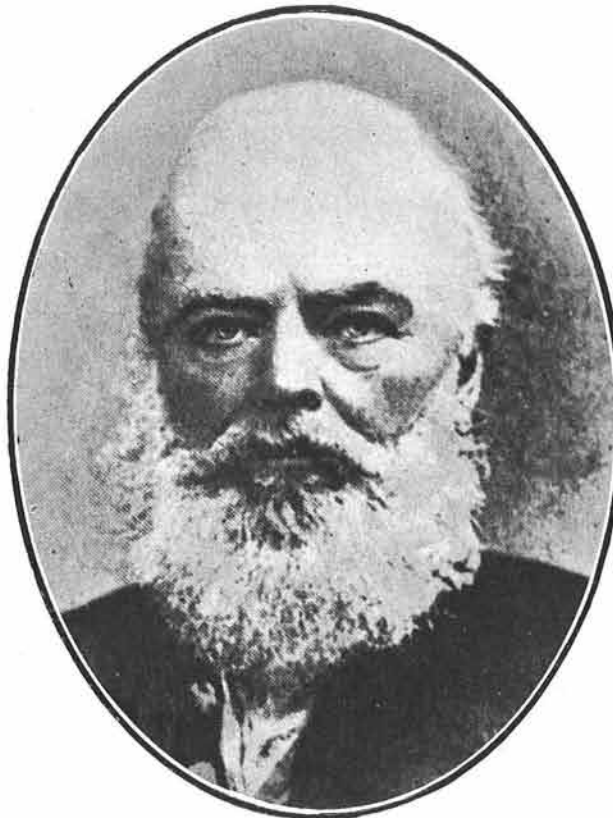
William Hann was drowned one morning while bathing on the beach at Townsville, in front of the hotel, heart trouble being the cause.

Space alone prevents our dealing with the explorations of Charles Fraser, the Colonial Botanist of New South Wales, who was sent to Moreton Bay in 1828 with instructions to "establish a public garden, to collect the vegetable products of the country, to make observations on their uses and importance, especially the forest trees, to report on the nature of the soil and to what extent it is fitted for grazing or agriculture." Hovenden Hely, the leader of a party sent out to endeavour to determine the fate of Leichhardt in 1852; J. G. Macdonald, one of the pioneer squatters of Northern Queensland who led an exploring expedition to the rivers

running to the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1864; Ernest Favenc, who headed a very successful expedition from Brisbane to Port Darwin in 1878; and the exploring vessels "Beagle," "Fly" and "Rattlesnake" of the forties. The "Beagle" in command of Captain Wickham, the "Fly" under Captain Blackwood and the "Rattlesnake" in charge of Captain Owen Stanley did much to explore the east coast of Australia and particularly the area now included in Queensland.

In tracing the history of the exploration of this State the difficulties of pioneering are brought vividly before us and throughout the whole of the expeditions that devotion to duty which is one of the characteristics

of our race has been displayed under the most trying circumstances. Australians do not adequately conceive the nobleness of their "Island Story"—all that romantic setting which stirs the popular fancy is missing—the story of travel over trackless wastes, through forests and over unknown rivers, tributaries and lagoons; of the dangers of flood, the treachery of savages and the facing of that most terrible of all deaths—thirst—as told by men who have calmly and unmovedly performed the duty upon which they set out, will perhaps scarcely appeal to those of our time. But reading the story we can learn to realize the indomitable courage and perseverance and the singleness of purpose which characterized



SIR ARTHUR PALMER.

their efforts, which have meant so much in opening up this vast State. For the mistakes and failures of the past we of the present are in no way to blame, but let us now use our endeavours so that in future the glorious story of Australian exploration will be given a place in our literature and be taught in our schools as a heritage of which we should be justly proud.

# The Pastoral Industry.

(Continued from Vol. II, page 158)

## EVOLUTION OF TYPES OF STOCK.

### CHAPTER III.

Among the first to attract attention with locally-evolved stud sheep were the Tasmanians. In the Island State all the conditions favoured stud breeding. The midlands district of that Colony was noted for producing a very high quality wool. The holdings were relatively small, and for that reason enabled the squatter to devote more attention and labour upon a small and specially-selected breeding flock than was possible over most of the pastoral areas of the mainland. Moreover, the men who became early involved in grazing in that region happened to be born with the characteristics needed by the husbandman who successfully changes the traits of a flock or herd by the selection of sires and dams and the judicious mating of them. The Tasmanian breeders obtained a high reputation among pastoralists of Victoria and New South Wales, and Tasmanian rams sold for hundreds of guineas each. These sheep probably suited the western district of Victoria, as well as they did the pleasant runs of the Island, for very similar natural conditions prevailed in the two places. But they had not been bred to suit the heat and rough aridity of New South Wales. Even less adapted were they to the still more trying environment prevailing in Queensland. Furthermore, these sheep were mostly prepared for sale under artificial conditions, fed on English grasses, housed at nights, and kept in tiny paddocks constructed for only three or four animals. A stud ram being bought by a mainlander would still be pampered, for having paid a high price the owner would take no risks of losing his purchase. But the progeny would prove quite unlike the sire, because they would be treated in a way so completely different. They would shear less wool and would grow smaller in frame. The breeders were producing a type, not for a practical wool-growing objective, but to suit the prevailing demand of the market. At first the Tasmanian sheep were not noted so much for the density of the fleeces as for the super-quality of the wool. It is doubtful if a more beautiful type of lustrous, silk-like fibre of great character and considerable body has

ever been produced in any part of Australia than that which characterized some of the Tasmanian sheep about the seventies and eighties. But this was not the type to withstand the difficulties of life in the torrid North, where a stronger fibre was needed and a vigorous constitution essential. Yet being so largely bought by Victorians and New South Welshmen, this Tasmanian blood filtered through nearly all the flocks of the Eastern States. In some cases they added to the fleeces and improved the quality of the wool in those mainland districts naturally suited for producing high-class fleeces. But they were not the type most suited to produce the best results in the arid interior and the sunbaked North.

In the nineties the Tasmanian stud breeders met with a keen opposition from breeders in Vermont, in the United States. At that time the Tasmanians had considerably increased the density of the fleeces on their sheep, and they were developing folds of skin on the bodies, so that the wool-growing surface was increased. "President," a Tasmanian-bred sire, sold by public auction for 1,600 guineas, was thickly packed with wrinkles and carried a very dense fleece; but he was not large of frame and he would not have been able to withstand conditions of drought under practical pastoral conditions, though his progeny, bearing the sire's characteristics in but a modified form, would have been more suitable for practical requirements. "President" was typical of the Tasmanian sale stud type of that time.

The Vermont sheep were more heavily laden with body wrinkles of skin than were the Tasmanians. Of the best Americans, the fleeces probably weighed heavier than those from the Tasmanian, one ram, which had been imported from the United States, and was awarded a first prize at the Melbourne Sheep Show, yielding wool which turned the scales at forty pounds. But the American sheep carried a larger proportion of fatty solids than did those from the Island State. Moreover, whereas the latter had been changed

to the wrinkled type within a few years, the former had been bred true to type for many generations, and therefore their characteristics were more strongly implanted into their progeny when they were mated with ordinary Australian ewes. The Vermont sheep soon began to attract the attention and desires of fully 90 per cent. of the purchasers who attended the annual stud sheep auction sales at Sydney and Melbourne, whilst for some years nearly all the prizes at the annual sheep shows at those two cities were awarded to American-bred sheep. The Tasmanians met this opposition by evolving their studs so as to make them resemble the imported sheep as closely as possible, and in doing this they were wonderfully successful. Stud which two decades before had been composed of sheep

were the two sets of traits respectively characterizing them. The whole appearance had been changed.

So keen was the demand for the American sheep that but few Australian flocks escaped a direct or indirect introduction of their blood. The Vermonts were small-bodied sheep, and it was apparent from the first that the wethers from a "Vermontized" flock would not command prices so high as were obtained for the larger-framed, plainer-bodied Australian merinos. But wool-growers, for the most part, felt confident that the thickening up of the fleeces which they anticipated to result from an introduction of the new blood would more than compensate for some loss of money in the disposal of surplus stock. The denser fleeces, they calculated, would not only more rapidly fill the bales, but the



WARREN STATE FARM.

with no body wrinkles, and in many cases devoid of folds on the neck, came to look like a different variety, so closely were they packed with convolutions of skin and so much denser had the fleeces become. This was done without the importation of Americans by a process of selection and rejection. It provided a remarkably convincing demonstration of how speedily and thoroughly radical changes of type may be produced by the skilful breeder aiming at a distinct ideal and knowing how to attain the required end. "Sir Thomas" was a sheep of the old plain-bodied stamp, and when sold he brought a record price. He was typical, just as "President" was typical of the later characteristics. Photographs of the two sheep show that nothing could be more widely divergent than

greater number of fibres to every square inch of skin surface would present a more solid tip, and in that way would more effectively keep out the dust, which in many localities does much to deteriorate the value of clips. In the case of flocks woolled lightly with open fleeces an increase in quantity no doubt resulted, though it has never been shown that the same results in this direction might not have been attained by the use of rams of types which were being produced on the mainland of our own Continent. In the great majority of instances the results accruing from the importation of this blood from the United States proved disappointing in the extreme. Where heavily-wrinkled Tasmanian sheep might be used without an excess of wrinkle appearing in the progeny, the Vermonts had been bred

true to type for so long that the characteristics were transmitted with great regularity to offspring. This, of course, led to the flock sheep becoming heavily wrinkled on the bodies, as well as small of frame. The wrinkles on the bodies of the flock sheep proved, not a merit, but a fault. The wool between the folds of skin was inferior in quality, and the staple was too short. Moreover, the density which had so conspicuously stamped the highly-fed stud sheep, that had been pampered in every way calculated to add to the attractiveness of appearance, largely disappeared. When the dust obtained entry to the short fleeces very little clean wool remained. A fleece of lengthy fibre might carry a considerable depth of dust-laden tip, and still show good length of clean wool to the skin. The fatty matter in the fleeces was excessive, and the additional weight, added to that of a heavily-corrugated skin, created difficulties in the way of travelling the distances to and from water sometimes rendered necessary by long spells of dry weather in the interior of this Continent. The wrinkles also at times prevented the lambs from finding the teats of their dams, and the lambing percentage was thus diminished. On top of these disadvantages was the fact that the American sheep were never noted for a good quality of fleece, and their introduction into Australia for some years undoubtedly deteriorated the average value of the whole Australian clip—short, dusty yellow wool prevailing to an extent which had not before occurred. Such was the result of the heavy importations of the Vermonts, with the exceptions of a few studs in New South Wales, where they were used very sparingly and with great judgment. In the latter cases an increase of density was obtained without the other American characteristics being allowed to creep into the progeny.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN MERINO.

Of course, reaction followed. The demand for American sheep died away to vanishing point, and with the unpopularity of the imported type there developed similar suspicion of the Tasmanian sheep which had been evolved to resemble it so closely. A very different kind of sheep came into favour, this being the strain of blood known as the "Australian Merino," a large-framed sheep, plain of body, but bearing large, deep folds of skin on the neck and a wide thigh. The "Australian Merino" carries a bright fleece of long staple, the fibre being strong, well serrated, free from excessive grease, and as dense as is consistent with the maintenance of good length. While the rage persisted for Tasmanian and American sheep, skilled breeders in the Riverina district of New South Wales persisted in aiming at an ideal, distinct and very different from that actuating so many of the other pastoralists of the Continent, for they were improving and developing the "Australian Merino." At that time these sheep

were not being exhibited at the shows of the capital cities, and if they had been prizes would not have gone their way, for the characteristics were not popular. Neither did the breeders seek the publicity of the annual auction sales, but nevertheless, the sale of their rams went on steadily and remuneratively, and each year some thousands of flock rams were sold. All the buyers who felt suspicious of the results of using the small, heavily-wrinkled sheep were buying "Australian Merinos" from the Riverina. It is true that some of the flocks in South Australia were kept large in frame and pure in blood, but they were not quite the type needed for difficult conditions of life in the North. The tide has now turned entirely in favour of the "Australian Merino."

The merits of this type appear so obvious that the wool-grower of to-day wonders why they did not come in for general recognition many years earlier. The rams, though not bred in the heat of Queensland, are at least subject to entirely natural conditions on the plains of New South Wales, where droughts are sometimes as severe and the heat is nearly as intense as it is over most of the pastoral districts of the more northerly State. For the vendor to refrain from artificially feeding and otherwise pampering his sale rams denotes a point of great importance in favour of the buyer. The latter knows what he is obtaining. The faults of his purchase are not hidden by skilful "getting up," only to become apparent as soon as the sire or his stock are subject to practical pastoral conditions. The purchaser, if he buys with any degree of skilled judgment, at least may know that he is obtaining rams with strength of constitution. And he sees just such fleeces as the bought sires may be expected to yield, and which he has every reason to suppose their progeny will inherit. Moreover, experience has demonstrated that on big stations, where the strain is pure and the flock has been managed with normal skill, "Australian Merinos" will return a heavier clip of scoured wool and of higher total cash value than will any other type. The latter fact, in a nutshell, accounts for the complete swing of the pendulum of public opinion in favour of the type which is the product of the interior of the Continent, which has been evolved without introduction of alien blood, by the consistent and well-directed method of selection and rejection. The type is more firmly fixed than is that of the Tasmanian sheep, because although the Tasmanian studs have been in existence longer, and are as pure in blood, their type has been so revolutionized that the traits are not strongly fixed, and wherever the influences of atavism come into operation, divergence from the common standard becomes manifest. But the "Australian Merino" has been bred consistently true to type since the Riverina country first attracted the attention of the wool-growers, and



the distinctive traits have been the more firmly implanted by well-regulated and carefully-applied inbreeding, the latter being a method about which much incorrect popular prejudice exists.

Developments occurring in the world's meat market since 1913 have given a degree of value to large-framed, plain-bodied sheep greater than was counted on in earlier days. When America, by changing from a meat-exporting to a meat-importing country, gave a new scale of values to the cattle-raising industry of Australia, so did she render secure and increase the value of surplus stock from sheep stations. A normal breeding flock, on settled and fully-stocked country, should show a general natural increase of 20 per cent., so that sheep in that quantity must annually be sold to make room for the younger ages which are coming on. The sale of wethers and aged ewes, therefore, forms an important avenue of revenue to the wool-grower, and as prices for meat increase so do his returns from this source become larger. His first consideration is that his flock should return wool of maximum quantity and the highest quality to which the country is capable of producing. But it is also important that his surplus stock should possess the constitutions and frames which lend themselves readily to fattening. No type of merino is harder to fatten than the small, heavily-wrinkled variety, and none easier than the big, plain-bodied sheep. The latter consideration will help to ensure the continuance of the popularity of the "Australian Merino" throughout the Eastern States, and particularly in Queensland.

The following table shows the extension of the sheep-breeding industry in Queensland since 1860:—

Year.	Sheep in Queensland.	Sheep in Commonwealth.
1860 ... ..	3,449,350	20,135,286
1865 ... ..	6,594,966	29,539,928
1870 ... ..	8,163,818	41,593,612
1875 ... ..	7,227,774	53,124,209
1880 ... ..	6,935,967	62,176,027
1885 ... ..	8,994,322	67,491,976
1890 ... ..	18,007,234	97,881,221
1895 ... ..	19,856,959	90,689,727
1900 ... ..	10,339,185	70,602,995
1905 ... ..	12,535,231	74,540,916
1910 ... ..	20,331,838	92,047,015
1911 ... ..	20,740,981	93,003,521
1912 ... ..	20,310,036	83,263,686
1913 ... ..	21,786,600	85,057,402
1914 ... ..	23,129,919	78,600,344
1915 ... ..	15,950,154	69,257,189
1916 ... ..	15,524,293	76,668,604
1917 ... ..	17,204,268	84,965,012
1918 ... ..	18,220,985	87,086,236
1919 ... ..	17,379,332	75,554,082
1920 ... ..	17,404,840	77,897,555
1921 ... ..	18,402,399	—

The figures for 1914 show that just before the commencement of the drought, which opened with 1915, Queensland, besides containing 22,977,996 sheep, depastured 5,369,741 head of cattle and 734,912 horses.

In this State were more horses than in any other of the Commonwealth, and the number of cattle represented nearly 50 per cent. of the grand total of all the States.

The expansion of the cattle-raising industry is indicated as follows:—

Year.	Cattle in Queensland.	Cattle in Commonwealth.
1860 ... ..	432,890	3,957,915
1865 ... ..	848,346	3,724,813
1870 ... ..	1,076,630	4,276,326
1875 ... ..	1,812,576	6,389,610
1880 ... ..	3,162,752	7,523,000
1885 ... ..	4,162,652	7,397,847
1890 ... ..	5,558,264	10,299,913
1895 ... ..	6,822,401	11,767,488
1900 ... ..	4,078,191	8,640,225
1905 ... ..	2,963,695	8,528,331
1910 ... ..	5,131,699	11,744,714
1911 ... ..	5,073,201	11,828,954
1912 ... ..	5,210,891	11,577,259
1913 ... ..	5,322,033	11,483,882
1914 ... ..	5,455,943	11,051,573
1915 ... ..	4,780,893	9,931,416
1916 ... ..	4,765,657	10,459,237
1917 ... ..	5,316,558	11,829,138
1918 ... ..	5,786,744	12,738,852
1919 ... ..	5,940,433	12,711,067
1920 ... ..	6,455,067	13,499,737
1921 ... ..	7,047,370	—

The meat-export industry of Queensland has increased at a rate even higher than the number of cattle depastured in the State.

The drought of 1915 proved the main cause in reducing the number of live stock for that year. There was in Queensland a decrease of 55,288 horses, 7,179,765 sheep, and 675,050 head of cattle.

Although some big fortunes have been made within short spaces of time by sheep and cattle graziers in Queensland, the State nevertheless has proved the grave of many hopes. In no other part of the Commonwealth have holdings of such area of good land been available to the squatter, but the pests and difficulties have corresponding magnitude. Not least among these was the tick pest in cattle, which entailed the drawing of lines of demarcation between areas infested and those which were clean. Prickly pear obtained control over millions of acres of valuable country, and no method of eradicating the plant by means financially practical has yet been evolved, although large sums have been spent by the Government in scientific experimenting. Some conception of the troubles imposed by animal pests may be derived from the following figures:—The number of marsupials and dingoes destroyed since the inception of the Act in 1877 to the end of 1919 in respect of which bonus was paid has been 26,896,508, comprising 7,935,175 kangaroos and wallaroos, 17,195,871 wallabies, 1,205,681 bandicoots, paddamelons, and kangaroo rats, and 559,781 dingoes. The total bonus paid for the destruction of marsupials since

legislation was first introduced, to 1920, was £803,627 12s. 10d. For the twelve months ended December 31, 1919, the number of scalps paid for was 204,420. The total is made up of 7,882 bandicoots, paddamelons, and kangaroo rats, 42,292 dingoes (including foxes), and 154,246 wallaby scalps. The total Government endowment paid since the inception of legislation to 1920, amounts to £304,382 8s. 6d.

Owing to their superior mobility, cattle have been somewhat less prone to destruction by drought than have sheep. The heavy losses among the latter could have been avoided to a considerable extent had means of transporting flocks to relief country existed. But cattle are better able to travel faster over barren stock routes. The construction of increased railway facilities, of course, will minimize the mortality caused by future periods of rainlessness, in regard to both classes of live stock. Without such facilities, less risk from climatic changes would be incurred in breeding horses than in either cattle or sheep-raising. Unfortunately, other causes have detracted from the attractiveness of horse-breeding as a source for the investment of capital.

From the earliest days of pastoral settlement the suitability of the climate and soil of Australia for horse-breeding has been made abundantly apparent. No part of the Commonwealth is better adapted to this form of pastoral enterprise than is Queensland. For many years a trade in the export of horses to India has been based on the military requirements of the latter country. The Australian horses have been eagerly sought after there. From time to time high-class sires and valuable mares have been imported into this country, and so great has been the skill devoted to breeding from this stock that the New Zealand-bred "Carbine," after being purchased for 13,000 guineas to do duty at the stud in the United Kingdom, topped the list of entires in Great Britain for one year with the amount of money won by his stock. What has been true of the racehorse applies to all classes of horses, the types in Australia comparing favourably with those from any part of the world. This is largely due to the attention paid to the Turf and the care taken by the centres of racing control to cater particularly for horses with bone, substance, and endurance, a stipulation applying to the holding of registered meetings being that a given number of races shall be of not less than a certain minimum distance, whilst the richest prizes in the Commonwealth are given for flat races ranging in distance from a mile and a half to three miles, with heavily-staked steeplechases, such as the Caulfield Grand National, running to four miles. The tendency has been all in the direction to encourage the better class of thoroughbred at the expense of the short-distance sprinter able to carry only feather-weights. The blood

of the best racehorses is the most eagerly sought after, and this filters through to mould the type of the national standard of the light horses of the country. The Australian racecourse has certainly proved a useful factor in developing the standard of horses to a high plane.

In addition to the high prices paid for stallions by breeders supplying the needs of racing men, pastoralists commonly pay several hundreds of pounds for stallions for station use. This has given to the Australian remounts shipped to India the activity and endurance for which they have been rightly noted. The reason of this has not been a desire to meet the requirements of the export trade, which is not large enough to influence the policy of station-holders, whose main business is wool-growing or cattle-raising. During the year 1919 only 331 horses, worth £5,595, were exported to oversea ports from Queensland. Pastoralists have bred good horses, because good horses were necessary to get the station work done, especially where runs were large and lengthy distances had to be covered by boundary-riders, musterers, and others between sunrise and night. The following table will show how the number of horses in Queensland and in the Commonwealth have increased during recent years:—

Year.	Horses in Queensland.	Horses in Commonwealth.
1860 ... ..	23,504	431,525
1865 ... ..	51,091	566,574
1870 ... ..	83,358	716,772
1875 ... ..	121,497	835,393
1880 .. ...	179,152	1,061,078
1885 ... ..	260,207	1,143,064
1890 ... ..	365,812	1,521,588
1895 ... ..	468,743	1,680,419
1900 ... ..	456,788	1,609,654
1905 ... ..	430,565	1,674,790
1910 ... ..	593,813	2,165,866
1911 ... ..	618,954	2,279,027
1912 ... ..	674,573	2,408,113
1913 ... ..	707,265	2,522,776
1914 ... ..	743,059	2,521,272
1915 ... ..	686,871	2,377,920
1916 ... ..	697,517	2,436,148
1917 ... ..	733,014	2,497,903
1918 ... ..	759,726	2,527,149
1919 ... ..	731,705	2,421,201
1920 .. ...	742,217	2,415,510
1921 ... ..	747,543	—

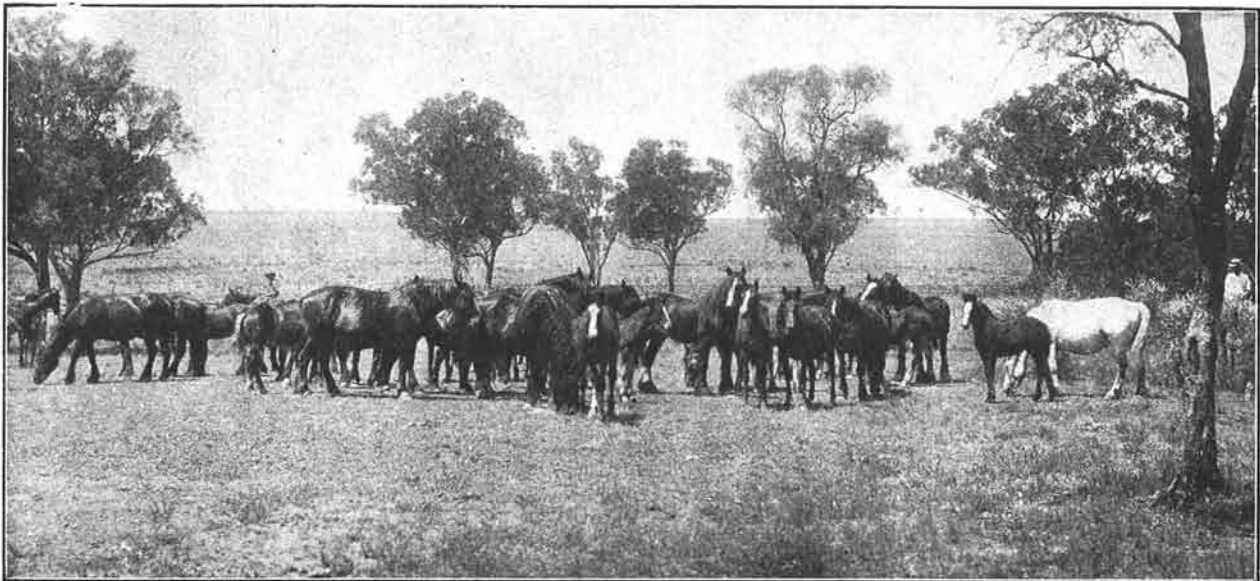
From these figures the reader can easily conceive how trifling is our export trade in horses, seeing the excellence of the stock produced, the steady demand existing in India, and the short distance separating the two portions of the Empire. Authorities well able to express a reliable opinion have declared surprise that the Commonwealth is not maintaining a trade with the United Kingdom in general-purpose horses, and nearly two decades ago, when General Hutton was Commandant of the Australian military forces, he publicly stated these views, pointing out that the step needed to

bring about a substantial development in the industry of producing horses for overseas markets was the establishment of purchasing depôts where breeders and representatives of the buyers might be brought into direct touch with one another.

The reasons which Australian pastoralists usually give for not breeding more horses than will suffice for their own needs is that greater returns may be obtained from the land by producing sheep or cattle. The fact is that for very many years only unremunerative prices prevailed for light horses throughout all the States. This was not due to lack of oversea demand. The military authorities in India were paying £45 per head for all horses of the required standard brought to them. The exporter from Australia might land a percentage in India which would be rejected by the buyer; but the dealer who knew his business would have very few of

pastoralist that no one has become sufficiently active in the matter to secure satisfactory prices.

Should the Imperial Government establish purchasing depôts in this country it would save money if, purchasing at a standard price of £30 per head, whilst breeders would be well satisfied in being able to count on receiving that sum for all the stock complying with the stipulations as to conformation, soundness, and other characteristics. The Commonwealth Government has founded its own breeding establishments in order to satisfy home military requirements. Good work would have been done if also it had taken steps to co-operate with the Imperial authorities with a view to securing machinery for the direct purchase of horses from the breeders. The latter step would have given so strong an impetus to breeding that the Australian position would have become much stronger than it is likely to be



HORSES AT HERMITAGE STATE FARM.

these. And, on the other hand, some of the horses he landed would be sold, not as ordinary remounts, but as officers' chargers, and they would command a price considerably higher than the regular £45. The cost of shipment from Australia usually worked out at something under £10; but the breeder in Australia did not receive anything like £35 for a young remount. In the nineties, and for some years afterwards, he might receive only from £10 to £15 per head, whilst the price prevailing right down to the present is not in proportion to what is paid in India, nor is it sufficient to induce breeders to aim at the export trade. The trade has always lacked organization in the interests of producers. If similar conditions existed in the wool trade the whole squatting fraternity would be up in arms within a week. But the horse-export business has been so much of a side issue to the general affairs of the

made by the Government entering the business, though the latter step may also be necessary. The whole success or otherwise of the horse-export trade depends on the price paid here. The oversea demand exists on a basis which renders possible the payment of remunerative rates in Australia. But by lack of organization landholders have never secured these rates, and the horses exported have merely been the surplus stock not needed for home requirements. Hardly any pastoralist has aimed his operations directly to suit the oversea requirements. Possibly a result of the Great War will be that the Imperial Government will take steps towards stimulating the production of military horses within the Empire. This would probably include the direct purchase from breeders, which would carry with it the payment of a price sufficiently remunerative to give profit to the horse-breeding industry.

### THE UNITED GRAZIERS' ASSOCIATION OF QUEENSLAND.

In giving a short history of the above Association, it may be advisable to state some of the reasons which led to its formation.

Previous to the year 1888, the Queensland Shearers' Union had been formed and was, on the whole, acting fairly by the pastoralist employers, only occasional instances of friction occurring. These conditions continued until the year 1888, when the Queensland Shearers' Union appointed a number of delegates for the purpose of enforcing the enrolment of members and seeing that the rules of the Union were carried out, with a result that at times their action was so intensely irritating that it led to frequent friction.

In June, 1889, at the request of the employers, a sub-committee of pastoralists and a sub-committee of the Shearers' Union met at Blackall and drew up a shearing agreement which was deemed satisfactory to the representatives of both parties. But at the annual meeting of the Queensland Shearers' Union, held at the same place in January, 1890, the shearers refused to ratify the action of their own delegates, and proceeded to draw up an agreement of an entirely different character without consulting the pastoralist employers. To this latter agreement, the employers raised several objections, and suggested, as a way out of the difficulty, that the Shearers' Union should adopt the agreement of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union of Australasia—a Union whose operations extended throughout the States of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. This request was refused by the Queensland Shearers' Union. In June, 1890, subsequent to what is known as the "Jondaryan Dispute," and in accordance with the desire expressed at the conference which settled that dispute, representatives of the Darling Downs Pastoralists' Association and delegates of the Darling Downs branch of the Shearers' Union met in conference at Pittsworth. At that meeting a shearing agreement was decided upon by both parties, but this on being submitted to a general meeting of the Queensland Shearers' Union for ratification met with the usual repudiation. This action on the part of the Union caused considerable feeling and protest among the Darling Downs shearers, which was only allayed by the Blackall committee consenting that the agreement should remain in force for one year in the Darling Downs district alone. With the exception of the Darling Downs district, shearing was being conducted throughout the rest of the State under what was termed a verbal agreement, which practically meant under Shearers' Union rules.

In August, 1889, occurred what was known as the maritime "call out," which affected the whole of Australia. This "call-out" was an order issued by the

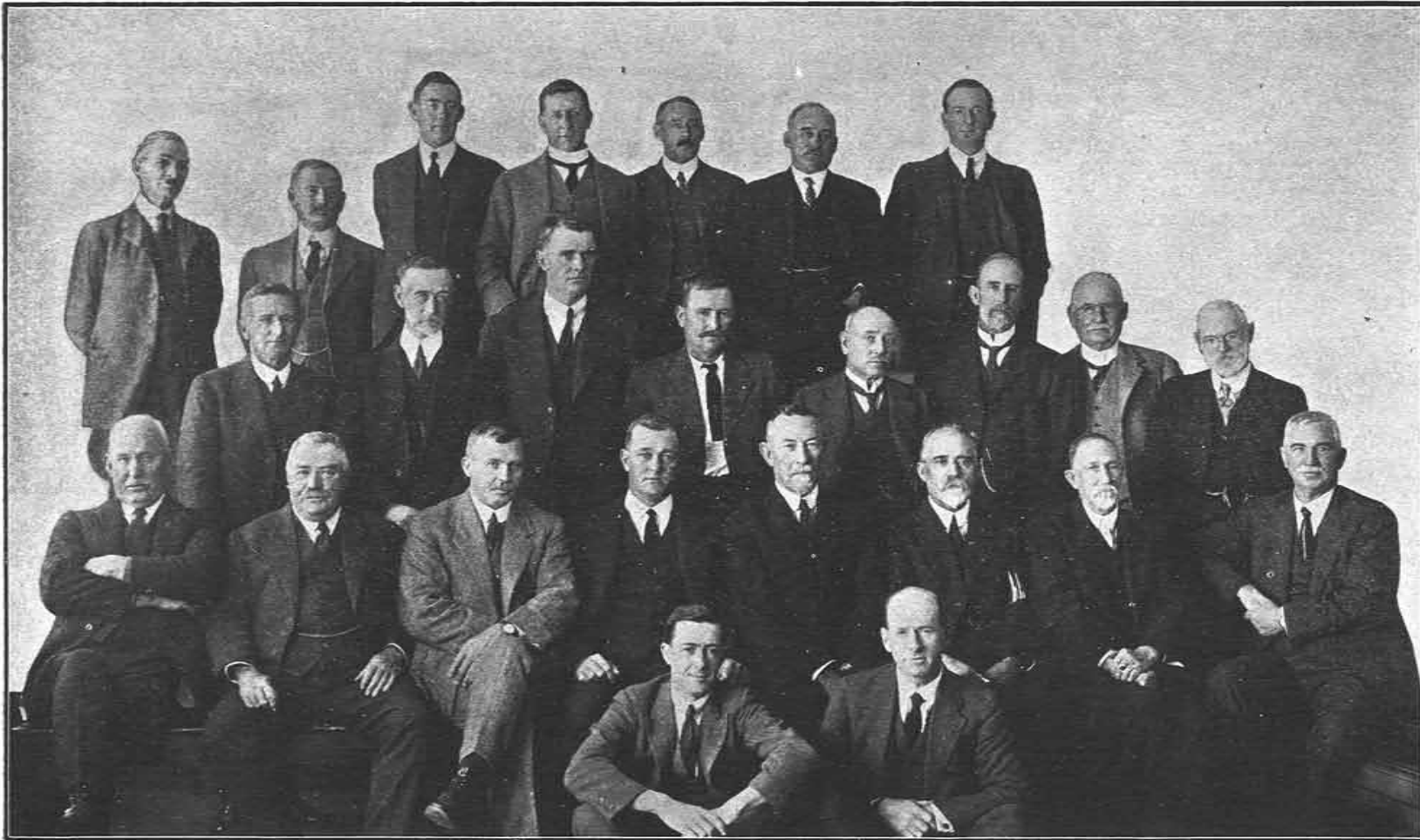
executive of the Labour Unions, who were conducting the maritime strike, that the whole of the members of the Labour Federation of Australia should "down tools" and cease work in token of their support and sympathy with the maritime employees. As a consequence of this order, the majority of the pastoralist employers found the whole of their work suddenly stopped, those who had refused to accede to Union demands and who were employing non-union labour being the only ones able to carry on. It was also found that, through not having signed agreements with their men, they were practically without redress.

This action on the part of the Labour leaders at once demonstrated to the employers that if they were to retain control of their business, they would be compelled to have some written agreement between themselves and their men. As the previous efforts to frame a mutual agreement had been unsuccessful, they decided to draw up an agreement themselves, and accordingly at a conference of representatives of all the Pastoralist Associations of Australia, held in Melbourne on November 7, and in Sydney on December 22, 1890, a shearing and shed hands agreement was decided upon. At the same time, it was also decided to form employers' organizations in the various States, and from these organizations to establish a Federal Council for the whole of Australia. One of the rules of this Federation stipulated that if in any State there were more than one pastoralist employers' organization, they would have to become amalgamated in order to secure representation on the Federal body.

Previous to this meeting in December, 1890, four pastoralist employers' organizations had been established in Queensland, *viz.*, the Darling Downs Pastoral Association, the Maranoa Pastoral Association, the Warrego Pastoral Association, and the Queensland Pastoralists' Association at Barcaldine, which covered the Central and Northern districts of the State. In order that these four organizations might be able to speak with a united voice on matters of importance to the grazing interests of Queensland, as well as to secure representation on the Federal Council of Australia, it was decided to form a central organization, consisting of representatives from each of the district Associations. For this purpose a conference of representatives from the district organizations was held at the offices of the Queensland Employers' Federation, Brisbane, about September, 1890, the result of this conference being the formation of what was then known as the "United Pastoralists' Association of Queensland."

At this conference, Mr. F. R. Murphy, M.L.A., acted as chairman and Mr. F. M. Ransom as secretary. The conference decided to form an Association and draw

THE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED GRAZIERS' ASSOCIATION OF QUEENSLAND, 1922.



Back Row—J. S. Henderson, G. Morgan Reade, E. H. Phillips (Secretary C. & N. Q'land. Assn.), E. H. Russell, R. G. Barton, C. L. Macdonald, A. Leeds, jun.  
Second Row—W. J. Staines, A. F. C. Rogerson, M. Williams, W. J. Akers, Jas. Clark, C. D. E. Francis, W. J. Hooper, Frederick Ranson (Secretary).  
Sitting—H. R. Pockley, W. A. MacVean, S. Blackstock, W. Kent, A. J. B. McMaster, J. P. Peterson, J. H. Hart, R. H. Edkins.  
Front—P. A. Brown (Minute Secretary), W. Muir (Assistant Secretary).

up the rules for governing same, and the first council meeting of the newly-formed Association was held in January, 1891, when the late Hon. Wm. Allan, M.L.C., was elected President. Since that date there have only been three other Presidents—the late John Cameron, M.L.A., 1895 to 1908; the late W. W. Hood, 1909 to 1913; and the Hon. A. H. Whittingham, M.L.C., the present President, who has occupied the position since 1913. Under his presidency the Association has largely increased its membership, and to-day occupies the position of second largest of the graziers' associations of Australia in number of members and of stock.

Mr. F. M. Ranson occupied the position of Secretary from the inception of the Association until his retirement in October last.

The first offices of the Association were in the "Courier" Building, where they remained for a period of about twenty-six years until their present offices in Union Bank Chambers were secured. One of the most important disputes which the Association has been engaged in was that of the shearers' strike of 1891. It began about January 4, at Peak Downs Station, in the Clermont district, owing to the refusal of the men to sign the agreements which had been framed by the Federal Pastoralist Organizations of Australia, and practically lasted till the end of June of that year. During its course serious trouble occurred, in fact, at one period it almost developed into an insurrection, and the Government of the day were forced to call out the military in order to assist the police in effectively maintaining law and order.

The Association took a leading part in this dispute, and through its instrumentality large bodies of men were engaged in the Southern States, Tasmania, and New Zealand to carry on the work of shearing. Latterly the dispute centred around the question of the holding of conferences between the parties. To this the employers were agreeable, provided the men accepted the principle of "freedom of contract," defined by the Federal Pastoralist Organizations of Australia, as:—

"Employers shall be free to employ and shearers shall be free to accept employment whether belonging to shearers' or other unions or not, without favour, molestation, or intimidation on either side."

But this did not satisfy the leaders of the Union, and in consequence the strike dragged out a weary length until the funds of the Union were practically exhausted.

In 1907, the Association was a party to the first application of the Australian Workers' Union (which had absorbed all the Pastoral Employees' Organizations in Australia) for a shearing award for the whole of Australia under the provisions of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The case was heard

in Sydney before Mr. Justice O'Connor, the first Arbitration Court Judge, and under that award shearing rates were increased from 20s. to 24s., with proportionate increase for shed hands. Since then other Federal Court awards have been given by Mr. Justice Higgins in 1911 and in 1917, generally with increasing rates for the employees.

The Queensland branch of the A.W.U. in 1918 decided to apply for and obtained an award under the State Court, and Queensland has since that date been under awards of this Court.

In addition to the work of dealing with industrial matters, the Association has also taken a prominent part in legislation and other questions affecting the occupation of the land by its members. One of the first Acts which it had to deal with was the Rabbit Act of 1892, and the Meat and Dairy Produce Act of 1893, both of which were of great importance to the development of the grazing industry of Queensland.

After the big drought of 1899-1902, the Association took an active part in the framing of an amending Land Act, which had for its object the rehabilitation of the grazing industry of Queensland from the disastrous effects of that calamity. It was through the Association's representations that the public of Queensland were aroused to the importance of the grazing industry, in relation to the commercial and financial life of the State, and to the necessity for some action being taken in order to enable those engaged in it to restore the industry to its former position. This agitation was mainly conducted under the presidency of the late John Cameron, M.L.A.

It is interesting to note that since its formation in 1891 the character of the Association has gradually undergone a change, inasmuch as a large number of grazing farmers, both sheep and cattle, have joined its ranks. It was in recognition of this fact that the name of the Association was changed to the "United Pastoralists' and Grazing Farmers' Association of Queensland," and later to its present title, the "United Graziers' Association of Queensland." To-day the Association's membership is largely composed of the grazing farmers of the State; in fact, they constitute 80 per cent. of its membership. This illustrates the gradual change which has taken place in the character of the grazing industry in Queensland during the last thirty years.

To set out in detail all the ramifications of the Association would take more space than can be allotted to the subject in such a publication as this, but the foregoing particulars regarding the activities of the Association show how valuable its operations have been to the graziers of the State, who should continue to give it their hearty and loyal support.