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THE BRABOURNE PAPERS.

*(Relating to the Settlement and Early History of the Colony ;
purchased from Lord Brabourne by Sir Saul Samuel,
Agent-General.)*

A PAMPHLET

CONTAINING A

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS

OF THESE

IMPORTANT PAPERS.



SYDNEY : CHARLES POTTER, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1886.

3a 138½—86

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PREFACE.

THE Papers, purchased by Sir Saul Samuel from Lord Brabourne, having been carefully edited and copied, were found to be so numerous and bulky as to require for their proper display a very large volume, such as it may not be possible to publish for many months to come. This pamphlet was therefore prepared to satisfy, in some small degree, a demand which has frequently been made for the new or corroborative information the original documents are supposed to contain.



BRABOURNE PAPERS.

IN speaking of these papers it is as well to satisfy at once the national and general public curiosity, as to their history, and how they came into the possession of the Government of New South Wales. As the name indicates, they were in the possession of the Brabourne family, but the name is misleading, and would be better changed to the Sir Joseph Banks papers, for such in reality they are. Their coming into the hands of the Brabourne family was a matter of accident. The grandfather of the present Lord Brabourne and Sir Joseph Banks married sisters, and through the relationship thus established the papers of Sir Joseph Banks passed into the Brabourne possession, and were purchased by Sir Saul Samuel from the present Lord Brabourne. These Australian papers contain the correspondence received by Sir Joseph Banks through more than thirty years of influential connection with all Australian affairs; and, to understand their value, it is necessary to understand clearly the relations Sir Joseph had with the Home Office, with the Governors from Phillip to Macquarie, and with all early settlers, explorers, and collectors. His intercourse with Australia began with his voyage as botanist in Captain Cook's ship, the "Endeavour." We have no record here of that voyage, but we have, and very precious Australian documents they must become, five autograph letters from Captain Cook, when about to embark on that voyage from which he did not return. They are very simple

letters, little more than ordinary kind and courteous farewells ; but they are in the actual handwriting of the discoverer of Australia ; they bring us nearer to one in whom we have a natural and abiding interest, and suitably bound and placed in the Australian Museum they will doubtless be eagerly inspected. With them is a large package of letters from Captain Clarke, Cook's companion in his last ill-fated voyage—hearty rattling seaman's letters, those, for the most part, telling of sufferings in "The Fleet," where Clarke was long imprisoned for debt, of hurried flight from Iraelitish oppressors ; but deepening to a true pathos when, off the coast of China, having buried his old comrade, killed in the islands, he himself had to succumb to the cruel disease acquired in prison, and by the hand of his secretary take a last manly farewell of his old companion, and benefactor, and friend, Sir Joseph Banks. All these letters will be included in the published series, and with them some extracts from Clarke's log, relating to the manner of Captain Cook's death ; several papers also from various officials, showing how slowly the news was transmitted from the few hunters on the coast of Kamschatka, across the convict stations of Siberia, to the Russian capital, and, by way of Berlin, to England.

These letters and extracts form a sort of prelude to the volume, which may be said to make formal commencement with the departure of Captain Phillip and the first fleet. Banks' position then had become that of general adviser to the English Government on all Australian and in fact all exploring and colonising matters. He was Governor of King George's Domain at Kew ; he was deep in the confidence of that Monarch, and on terms of friendship with most of his advisers. He was

the one man of position and power in England who had visited Australia, and naturally his advice was sought on all things connected with Australia. We find him advising as to the outfit of the fleet, making suggestions to Captain Phillip as to the conduct of his Government, and by the return of the first vessels receiving letters from the various officers and officials of the Colony. It is clear that though not the direct he was the most certain medium of approach to head quarters. Governors and officers would report officially to Downing-street, but would write confidentially to Soho Square, the town residence of Sir Joseph. And so in many of these square sheets, folded and sealed and despatched before the days of envelopes, we find items of information which had not before seen daylight, which give a general enlargement, if not a new dower, of very valuable information. There are no autograph letters from Governor Phillip, though there is evidence in Sir Joseph's papers of a good deal of intercourse prior to the first fleet's departure; but Surgeon White writes at length, and by no means hopefully; and on printed papers, extracts from journals of the time, is the full text of the very earliest State papers sent home (headed always "Botany Bay"), and some anonymous letters of no particular interest. It is somewhat curious in turning over these old papers to find Governor Phillip's report on the one side, and Dumourier's address to the Paris Assembly, on "10 Vendemaire," on the other; or a scrap of comment on the probable development of the new settlement, followed by a fierce article on the evil condition of the new republic, and the need of all loyal nations leaguings for its coercion.

It is with Governor King, however, that the series becomes really consecutive, and throws a clear and

steady ray of light along the whole of the path of Colonial progress. Sir Joseph appears to have had but a desultory correspondence with Hunter, or otherwise all Hunter's letters passed into the hands of Collins, who about that time was compiling his history; though we have here some accounts of journeys into the interior; of the discovery of the wild cattle; and a printed pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled "An enquiry into the causes of the expense of the establishment of New South Wales." These are of considerable historic value.

Through Governor King's term Sir Joseph had no less than four good correspondents, exclusive of the Governor. Cayley, a collector, wrote frequently and voluminously. Mr. G. B. Suttor, though not exactly the Adam—the first gardener of Australia—sent many letters, several of high historical value. Captain Flinders from his survey stations and from his prison home in Mauritius, wrote more than any others, and frequently on matters in which the interest has in no sense died. Captains Kent and Waterhouse, Rev. S. Marsden, Mr. Balmain, Lieutenant Grant, Ensign Barraillier, and Captain Tucker wrote also through this period, each one possessing official knowledge of some particular matter. These letters have been arranged chronologically as far as was practicable; the reason for an occasional departure from that order being easily understood. Indeed, the chief departure is in the case of Governor Bligh, whose peculiar public history begins from a year before the foundation of Australia, and extends to the twentieth year of our history. His record as presented here has been kept intact in unbroken sequence.

Governor King following Hunter in the main series writes often and at much length on matters connected with his outfit and departure. The "Porpoise," one of the clumsiest ships in the navy, will not sail with the plant-box and garden which has been fixed on the quarter-deck, and many months are wasted in various trials with this crank and clumsy ship, which at length is left for the "Speedy" whaler, in which more commodious vessel the Governor makes the passage in five months and nine days. He at once begins to observe and to write at length and in a most outspoken manner to his friend. Everything is wrong in the Colony. The officers of the New South Wales corps have monopolised all trade and practically hold the Governor at their will. Much that has never before been written as to the conditions existing between Government House and this corps in those early days will be found in these letters, which throw a curious and, as it seems to us, a new light upon certain important events which happened later on. He finds that good government has been impossible, that he himself is utterly powerless owing to the disgraceful traffic of officers. The Colony is a "sea of spirits." Cargoes of spirits are run into the port, purchased by the officers of the corps, and sold by them to all settlers at fabulous prices and enormous profits. In this way they became mortgagees of all the stock and all the alienated land in the Colony. They receive and lock up all the gold so that there is no money, or food, or clothing, or industrious habit in the Colony. The Government party are in perpetual feud with the military. The free settlers are demoralized, and until to his absolute power can be added adequate assistance he can see no way to effect any permanent improvement. This is the burden of many and many a

long letter, and 'tis sad to know that after all his faithful labour Governor King left, defeated, disappointed, and, as events shortly proved, a dying man. This good Governor's letters, however, are not all complainings. He is constantly planning for survey and exploration. He welcomes Captain Grant, who arrives in the "Lady Nelson," despatches him to survey the south coast, and makes a marginal note in his instructions, "*be particularly careful to ascertain if the Continent is divided by any extension of the waters of the great bight of Port Phillip.*"

He also manages Cayly, a collector, erratic as zealous, and works with zeal in the establishment of native industries, and writes with hope of the flax and hemp he has grown, finer than he ever saw in England or Ireland, and of his factories where he is already weaving with success sailcloth and blankets. He sends home minerals from the Coal River, and starts to sink for coal near Sydney, going down a depth of 98 feet, and to his surprise without success. With explanatory letters he forwards Captain Kent's report on Port Phillip and Western Port, Brown's (botanist), on the Huon. He compiles and forwards valuable statistics, and begins to think of commerce, but not very hopefully. He gives his own version of Captain Macarthur, who for the first time perhaps in these papers begins to appear clearly and intelligibly, the foremost man, the mastermind of his time. It need not be said that the harassed Governor did not regard him in that light, or look with the most sympathizing eyes upon the ex-captain's various schemes of colonization. He lacked as his predecessors the large outlook of Macarthur. His desire was to feed and clothe his own people, and ideas of meddling in the

commerce of the world seemed to him absurd or impertinent. Macarthur's desire to take up country beyond the Nepean was regarded as an attempt to obtain possession of the "Government herd." No man could require lands so extensive and remote for any legitimate purpose. But Macarthur's resolves were fixed as his ideas were large. The record of these papers is chiefly of his struggles and defeats; the succeeding chapters of Colonial history tell of his magnificent triumphs. The matter with which he was most intimately associated was the introduction of the fine-woolled or merino sheep, and as this is dealt with in numerous letters here and by various contemporary writers it has been made the subject of a special chapter under the title of

THE BEGINNING OF THE WOOL INDUSTRY.

This great foundational industry had its beginning in a very small and humble way. Historians have generally recognized its importance, and sought to trace the various stages of its development. These papers will be found to connect many isolated facts and to complete a chain of evidence which historians of the future will be able to take in hand with absolute certainty and without further search or inquiry. The letters officially bearing on the matter have been gathered in a separate chapter. Most important of them is Captain Waterhouse's letter to Sir Joseph Banks, telling the tale of the first purchaser of fine-woolled sheep at the Cape in 1797, and their arrival and distribution in the Colony. This letter has been many years in print, however, and value attaches to it rather as an original and important historical document than as a source of new information. Next, perhaps, the Rev. Samuel Marsden's letters to Sir Joseph Banks, dated April 27th, 1803, and August 11th, 1804. The

first of these notes the arrival of the only stud sheep introduced to the Colony before 1797, viz., the two rams brought out by Captain Kent and Major Johnston, and requests Sir Joseph's assistance to procure two rams, of Lincoln or Leicester breed, to be brought out by John Fleming, sent home by His Excellency the Governor, in the "Galatea." The second is accompanied by a memorandum and eight specimens of wool, which, preserved in perfect condition, and placed in the Australian Museum, must be regarded as amongst the most valuable relics of the very earliest Colonial days. There are eight specimens, No. 1 being hair from a ewe such as has commonly been imported from India and the Cape; No. 8, is wool from a Spanish ram bred in the colony. The six intervening are the results of various crosses. In the memorandum attached is a description of each, and also a brief history of Mr. Marsden's efforts in improving his flock, of the difficulties he encountered, and the success he ultimately achieved. He had 1,200 sheep at that time (1804), and for eight years he had been endeavouring to improve their quality.

Captain Macarthur comes into this chapter chiefly through memoranda of Sir Joseph Banks, in reply to letters which, unfortunately, are not found in the series. Captain Macarthur was in England in 1804. How he came there will be found set forth in other chapters, but being there he was negotiating with "a number of respectable merchants of London and other parts," with a view to the floating of a Company for the purpose of cultivating on a large scale the breed of fine-woolled sheep in New South Wales. Naturally, large grants of land were required for this purpose, and Captain Macarthur's applications for land were referred in the usual

way to Sir Joseph Banks. The memoranda here are rough drafts of letters written by Sir Joseph to the Secretary of State. They show him to be distinctly in sympathy with the movement, but most remarkably cautious as to the alienation of any large tracts of Crown Land. There is nothing mean or niggardly, however, about his proposals, and had they been made the basis of our land legislation there is little doubt that a better order of settlement would have been established, and many vexatious complications would have been avoided. Sir Joseph proposes to allow the new corporation a million acres for sheep-walks, in lots of 100,000 acres each, in such places as their agents shall fix upon, not being within 5 miles of any settlement or intended settlement. . . . Every part of such grant to be resumable at any time by the Governor in such parcels as he shall find expedient, provided always that an equal quantity of land to that which has been resumed be granted to the Company as compensation, and that no land upon which any building has been placed shall be resumed without five years' notice and payment of the value of the buildings. These surely were good foundational ideas of Australian land legislation, and 'tis a matter for much regret that in later years they were not acted upon. There is also in Sir Joseph Banks' handwriting the rough draft of an unsigned letter, in which he repeats the ideas set forth in the memoranda, and ventures on the curious prediction that the tops of the hills represented by Captain Waterhouse as such excellent sheep pasture (the high lands between Prospect and the Nepean) cannot be wanted for the plough for four or five centuries.

There is a valuable letter from Captain Waterhouse to Captain Macarthur, and evidently in reply to another

letter not found here, in which various ideas current in England at the time as to the unsuitableness of the New South Wales pasturage and the insurmountable difficulties in the way of the projected undertakings, were set forth. Captain Waterhouse writes as "a sailor, not a farmer," but still with some experience and a good deal of practical local knowledge. He has kept sheep, and found them do well on the natural pasturage, and he believes that good pasturage will be found for any number of sheep that may be raised, and ridicules the idea of artificial grasses being necessary.

These fragments show clearly enough the broad ideas held by Captain John Macarthur in those very early years of Colonial history. The success and also the disappointments he found in pursuing them are matters which are not found here, and it has always to be remembered that Sir Joseph Banks was on the Governor's side in those years, and John Macarthur was the most influential if not always the most conspicuous figure in the Opposition. His own decendants have been careful to preserve an account of his labours in the establishment of the wool industry. These papers amplify and verify, and, in a few points, perhaps, correct that account. The last letter of importance in connection with this matter is from Mr. G. B. Suttor, dated October 6th, 1814, in which is the following:—"Sheep keep at a better price from the expectations of the value of our wool. The breeders in the Colony are at great pains to improve it. The Rev. Mr. Marsden has been very successful. He has raised a great number of rams from his Spanish ewes; they are of great value to the country and to himself. Some of his rams are valued at £100 and upwards per head."

Next to this account of the beginning of the wool industry, though rather in simple chronological order than in interest or importance, is a matter which Mr. J. Bonwick, who prepared a digest of those papers for Sir Saul Samuel, very aptly described as

THE EMANCIPATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRADE.

It is the history of the struggle of the first merchants of the Colony with the Honorable East India Company. Trade was commenced between Australia and England by the shipment of logs of wood (she-oak) and tall spars suitable for frigates' masts. In 1798 some few sealskins were gathered in Bass's Straits and sold at 1s. 7d. each. These were sent home in Government vessels by permission of the Governor, or in the whaling vessels of Messrs. Enderly & Co., who established the first great whaling station in the Southern Seas; but in the year 1806 Messrs. Campbell & Co. had purchased a vessel, the "Lady Barlow," built at Pegu, had put on board her a cargo of sealskins and whale oil, valued at £15,000, and despatched her to England. Mr. Robert Campbell had sailed in advance and arranged with Mr. William Wilson, of Monument Yard, to receive and dispose of the cargo. He anticipated no difficulty, and, before the arrival of his venture, had again taken his departure for the Colony. But the jealousy and alarm of the East India Company were aroused when this ship entered London docks and, moved by the directors of the company, the Government instructed the Customs' officers to go on board and bar the landing of the goods. Mr. William Wilson was of course aghast at this proceeding. He appealed at once to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and also to Sir Joseph Banks. The committee of my Lords sat to try the case, and the chairman of the

Court of Directors attended to oppose Mr. Wilson's motion to land the cargo. The chairman's plea was that the charter of the colony gave colonists no right to trade, and that the laws of the Colony prohibited the building of any but very small vessels, and that the whole transaction was against the existing understanding and the welfare of the honorable Company, which was in his opinion synonymous with the commerce of England. The Company's advocate urged further that it was high time to arrest such "piratical enterprises," as "the inevitable consequence of building ships in New South Wales will be an intercourse with all the ports of the China and India Seas, and a population of European descent reared in a climate suited to maintain the energies of the European character, which, when it becomes numerous, active, and opulent, may be expected to acquire the ascendancy in the Indian Seas." The British whalers also put in a protest. They saw the danger of a whale fishery being established in New South Wales, which would threaten the whale fishery carried on in British vessels. Mr. Wilson pleaded his case in vain. My Lords decided that the action of the colonists was irregular in respect to the Company's charter and the laws of navigation. The "Lady Barlow" was left in the docks in charge of the Customs and the Company's officers, and all that Mr. Wilson and Sir Joseph Banks, working with the utmost caution and diplomacy, could effect was that the cargo should be permitted to be landed and sold for exportation. The first cargo from Australia to England was permitted to be landed on the banks of the Thames provided it was sold to foreign merchants and for foreign manufacture. It was so sold and at a loss of £7,150—a curious beginning to our trade of nearly £100,000,000 per annum.



To understand it we must recognise the importance of the Company in those days, the high esteem in which it was held, and the readiness with which it performed what appeared to be its duty. The Company was tenacious of its rights but in no sense mean. When Flinders was about starting on his voyage of exploration, the directors being appealed to or recognised their obligation to bear a share of the cost of outfit, and allowed Flinders and his associates £1,200 as "batta money," and as showing the estimate in which the Government held the Company, we find it set forth as a chief object in all explorations to find harbours where the Company's ships following the southern route to China and the East may find shelter—not to find a site for a Melbourne or Adelaide, but a place of refuge for a Company's ship beating round to China.

But following the "Lady Barlow," the Honduras packet and the ship "Sydney" were expected, and Mr. Wilson was in much perplexity. If these cargoes also were impounded and sacrificed to "foreigners" his clients would be near to ruin. He wrote long and logical yet very pathetic letters to my Lords, setting forth the necessity for showing some indulgence to the Colonists: "I would further, honourable sir," he wrote, "beg leave to observe that if the Colony is not encouraged, any increase of population will be an increase of misery; orphans will increase by the desertion of their despairing fathers, and the Colony continue an expense to the mother country, while by encouragement the happiest results may be expected."

Sir Joseph did more in the way of diplomacy than by pleading, and there is a letter in his handwriting which

he had evidently been desired to prepare for transmission to the Court of Directors. It sets forth how the Lords Commissioners have been informed of the expected arrival of two more Australian ships, and "are disposed to admit the cargo to entry, in case the Court of Directors see no objections to this measure of indulgence towards an infant and improving Colony." The Court of Directors are also informed that their Lordships intend, without delay, "to prepare instructions for the future government of the shipping concerns of the Colony, on a plan suited to provide the inhabitants with the means of becoming less and less burdensome to the mother country, and framed in such measures to interfere as little as possible with the trade prerogatives and resources of the East India Company." This letter appears to have settled the matter, for within a week Mr. Wilson writes, full of thankfulness: "This day I have had the pleasure of receiving Orders of Council to the Honourable Commissioners of Customs and Excise granting all I wished for." The cargoes of the "Honduras" and the "Sydney" would be landed and sold in England, and doubtless the colonists would be greatly encouraged. The whole of the subsequent history of Australian trade is the record of the result of that encouragement, and it is a somewhat curious speculation to enter upon, what would have been the future of Australia had the Company's action been allowed to pass without protest, and the whole of the trade been forced into their hands? The Company might have had the continent for asking in those days, and might have shifted south instead of passing into liquidation in the days when the millions of India grew too powerful for their control.

Sir Joseph Banks did not halt on this single victory. There are two copies of documents evidently prepared by him for the advice of the authorities in passing bills for the regulation of the emancipated trade, and for defining the limits within which trade shall be permitted. His territorial views are broad enough to meet the most advanced Australian of the present. The phrase "adjacent isles," he writes, might be gradually applied to all lands within a thousand leagues of Sydney that are unoccupied by Europeans. New Guinea, New Hebrides, and New Caledonia would all be included here. There is also a passage in this memorandum interesting in its assertion of what "must be" in the event of Britain entering on any war. He does not like the phrase of "Australia or New South Wales," and thinks it would be better to say plainly "His Majesty's Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land." "This puts in a claim for the territorial possession of Van Diemen's Land and leaves the greatest part of New Holland as it ought to be left, open to the enterprise of any European nations who may venture in time of peace to make a settlement there, under a *moral certainty* of its getting into our hands in time of war." The term *moral certainty* in such a connection is at least peculiar.

The last paper dealing with this matter is however the most interesting, if not the most important. It sets forth clearly and concisely Sir Joseph's views upon the "Colony of Sidney," his notions of what should and should not be done, and what development might, under good management, be reasonably expected. He sees the first opportunity of great prosperity in the seal fisheries, and, indeed, appears to regard the real wool "almost as pure as that of the beaver found under the shaggy hair

of certain species" as of much more importance than the merino wool, about which so much has recently been said by Mr. John Macarthur. He speaks here with more directness upon the wool industry than in any other place. "The herbage of the Colony is by no means so well adapted to the sheep-farming as that of Europe," and "the progress of the flocks will, therefore, be slow." Still, something may come of it, as something must come of the seals and whales. And most important of all these, must instantly be such legislation as will "put the Colony on a respectable footing in point of navigation, and, by enabling them to become honest traders, remove all hazard of their becoming pirates." Such was the opinion of, perhaps, the best-informed Englishmen of the time of the future of Australia. We ought to develop industry and become a useful commercial people; but we might become pirates. At least we may thank the enterprise of Mr. Campbell and the advocacy of Sir Joseph Banks for putting that contingency out of the way. We have no record here of any action following Sir Joseph Banks' suggestions. The East India Company ceased its opposition, and Australian commerce grew without much fostering care or special protection.

FLINDERS AND LATER EXPLORERS.

It fell to Sir Joseph Banks to choose, equip, and for the most part, instruct all the explorers sent out through the period of Governor King. Captain Flinders was the foremost amongst these; and a very large collection of letters—upwards of a hundred in all—do much towards filling up the story of Flinders' life from the time of his departure in 1801 till the publication of his voyages in 1812. Flinders was sent out, of course, as we learn from

his commission published in the full series, for the purpose of making a complete survey of the coast of New Holland (the East Coast of Australia). And having made a diligent survey of the coast, and carefully noted all rivers, harbours, and headlands, with all things that might at any time be of service in connection with the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, he was to most carefully examine the North-west Coast of New Holland, "where, from the extreme height of the tides observed by Dampier, it is probable that valuable harbours may be discovered proper for the repairing of ships and very suitable for the commerce of the East India Company." Always "the company," the chances of Australia requiring her own harbours seemed very remote at that time. This done, an accurate survey of Torres Straits was to be made, and then the whole of "the North, the North-west, and West Coast, especially those parts of the coast most likely to be fallen in with by East India ships in their Northern-bound passages." And, last, an examination was to be made of the bank which extends itself from Tryal Rock towards Timor, as from a knowledge of that reef great advantages might arise to the Company's ships. During all this voyaging care was to be taken to allow the naturalists, botanists, and painters time and opportunity to pursue their respective vocations, and to "provide them with variety," the Fijis or other islands might be visited. We know from "Flinders' Voyages," published many years after, how much of this programme was carried out. Here, the narrative breaks with the departure of the "Investigator" from England, and recommences with Flinders in prison in the Isle of France. We can hardly suppose that there was no correspondence through the intervening years; it is more

probable that the letters were used in the compilation of the voyages. Yet if this were the case it is difficult to understand some omissions, which have left us here original letters which may properly be classed as valuable historical documents. The narrative is very full up to the date of the departure; we have records of all contracts made, from that about the Batta money with the Honorable East India Company, to the agreement with Peter Good, the gardener; and we have the negotiations (unsuccessful) with Mr. Wm. Daniel, landscape painter, and the subsequent arrangement, from which we have not derived so much profit as we ought to have done with Westall, who accompanied the expedition, and subsequently journeyed home by way of China and the East. We have letters on the wreck of the "Porpoise;" one from John Franklin—his bones are now somewhere in the white North, and a tablet to his memory is placed in England's Abbey—but then he was a midshipman on the "Porpoise"; and most important of all perhaps (July 12th, 1804) a letter in Flinders' own hand, sad and indignant. He is imprisoned in the Island of Mauritius, and it seems clear is harshly and unfairly treated; he is disappointed and bitter. He does not begin this letter in any formal fashion; and there is no pretension of courtesy about it. The address and date run across the first line of the brown and aged paper, and then with no salutation, or customary term of endearment, he begins:—"Since my imprisonment in the island I have written to you, Sir Joseph, several letters, and by several conveyances. Some one of them must, no doubt, have been received"; no reproach expressed, but a good deal implied. Then a long complaint of the unnecessary rigour of his confinement. General De Caen is a man, "violent against the name of an Englishman, and

ignorant of what relates to voyages of discovery." He does him constant injury, and without cause. "His own subjects (for he is a most despotic monarch), who are acquainted with the circumstances, condemn him for it," but they generally cannot believe that the commander of a voyage of discovery, whose labour is calculated for the good of all nations, should be kept a prisoner without something greatly wrong on his part.

The difficulty of these French inhabitants of Mauritius has been shared by many students of history. It is known that during the Napoleonic period, travellers with scientific aims, properly accredited from the two governments, were never molested. Much trouble had been taken to obtain this scientific passport for Flinders. Why then was it not respected? We find a satisfactory answer here. The "Investigator" had gone to pieces, rotten; the "Porpoise" was wrecked, and Flinders determined to make his way home in the "Cumberland," a Colonial-built schooner of 28 tons burden. Now-a-days we should marvel if such a vessel could ever reach the old world, we should note her departure, we should wait for news of her arrival at intervening ports with much anxiety. We have been demoralized somewhat by our progress in naval architecture. Then it seemed to Governor King a perfectly natural thing that a schooner of 28 tons should sail to England, or anywhere else on the world's face; nor do we hear of any special inducements offered to the men who embarked on her. Captain Flinders was going home, Governor King took the opportunity of sending home some despatches, and these despatches there is little doubt, were the cause of all poor Flinders' trouble. We have here, unfortunately without a date, a memo. from Captain Kent, of H.M.S. "Buffalo," for Governor King,

in which it is stated that the Colony "is admirably situated for sending forth a squadron against the Spaniards on the coast of Chili and Peru." Governor King makes this idea the subject of a despatch. He enlarges upon the opportunities this most excellent harbour offers for the concentration of troops, which might at any time be sent against Spanish America. This despatch he entrusts to Captain Flinders, and this Governor De Caen finds, when, his suspicion aroused by the peculiar appearance of the little "Cumberland," he seizes her, and detains all her papers. Now Flinders' passport was granted to an officer commanding a ship to be employed on scientific work only, and here Flinders was found conveying a despatch to England, England being at the time engaged in a life and death struggle with France, which if delivered and acted on would have the effect of placing points of vantage, and possibly valuable Colonies within easy striking distances. A despatch of this sort could hardly be considered as a document of purely international scientific interest. Governor De Caen did not so consider it, and having a natural animus against all Englishmen, considered himself justified in using the excuse this paper gave him to justify a rigorous imprisonment. Poor Flinders was long deprived of all his books and papers, he could do no work, and it was during this period of enforced idleness that he wrote his most pathetic and suppliant letters. He bothered himself through that time about his promotion in the navy; he indulges in much foolish self-appraisal in his letters to Sir Joseph Banks. Will he get his post-captaincy in the navy despite his imprisonment, and will he, when released, be encouraged to pursue his scientific career? If so he hopes "that even the illustrious character of Sir Joseph Banks may

one day receive an additional ray of glory ; as a satellite of Jove, I may reflect back splendour to the gracious primary who by shining upon me shall give lustre to my yet unradiated name." This seems to us now as the very essence of fulsome flattery, but we must remember the time and also the circumstances under which it was written. Immediately Flinders gets a measure of liberty and access to his papers he settles down to work in a better mood. He labours at his calculations ; he completes his journals : he is busy with plans for the exploration not only of the coast but the mainland of Australia. He thinks that a party might land on the south coast, and another on the shores of the Gulf, and that they should meet in about 1,400 miles. (A singularly accurate guess, this, in a time when it was not fully understood whether Port Phillip was or was not the entrance to an Austral Mediterranean sea.) But he grows weary even when permitted to work, for his captivity is very long. Sir Joseph Banks does all that can be done ; he attempts to move the National Association in France, but at one time his letters are delayed in Holland ; and when at another he contrives through Prince Pignietelle's return to get a despatch to Paris, the Emperor is away in Italy and cannot be approached on such business. Little doubt Banks did all in his power, nor does Governor King appear to have been backward in his endeavours. He by correspondence with the Governor of Mauritius lessens the rigour of confinement, and he writes at length to the Downing-street authorities explaining all the circumstances of the case. But there is another name which deserves especial honorable mention in connection with this matter ; it is that of the first firm of Australian merchants, Campbell & Co. Campbell & Co. in Calcutta receive under cover,

despatches from Flinders addressed to Governor King, and they at once send them on by the brig "Eagle" with instructions to the captain to make all despatch and further desire to state "that as the brig might be required as a cartel to the Isle of France she will be very much at Your Excellency's service." There is a large-heartedness about all the actions of this pioneer Australian firm which is a fair and honorable and worthy foundation of our commercial prosperity. Robert Campbell should not be forgotten when we begin to erect statues to the fathers of our commerce, but hitherto so dense is the haze which has fallen about the first twenty years of our history, that the name of Campbell, in connection with this great act of enterprise and generosity with which he was closely associated has been almost forgotten.

Flinders' letters from his prison continue up to the end of 1807, and about this time there are one or two singularly pathetic appeals from Mrs. Flinders, whose heart had become terribly sick with hope long deferred. After that date there is a blank until 1811, and then one or two specimens of a very formal correspondence which seems to indicate that a rupture of the old friendship had taken place. Mr. Barron, Secretary of the Admiralty, writes to Banks that the Government are agreeable to have the book published at the public cost, Banks superintending, and "Captain Flinders may therefore get into harness immediately." Flinders wrote once only in connection with some astronomical work, and presents his compliments in a most formal and respectful manner. The bulk of the correspondence about the voyage relates to the transactions with artists and engravers, to whom very large sums appear to have been

paid, the plates, vignettes, and charts used for the books costing in all £4,111 2s. 6d. It is, however, in connection with the introduction to this work that we find a little scrap of private information as to the notions of the ruling minds of the time. Sir Joseph Banks sends a draft of the proposed introduction to Sir Robert Peel, which, unearthed for the first time, may well be printed in full even in this *brief resumé* :—

INTRODUCTION.

THE voyages made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Dutch and English navigators brought to light different portions of a body of land in the Southern Hemisphere, of an extent so vast that geographers were disposed to allow to their collective claim the appellation of continent. The continuity of these widely-extended countries was, however, a subject of doubt with many ; for our knowledge of some parts of the coasts was not founded upon well-authenticated information, and of some others we were in total ignorance. Thirteen years had elapsed since the establishment of a British Colony upon these shores ; and the question of this continuity was therefore not only of much geographical importance, but, in point of interest, seemed entitled to national consideration.

To clear up all uncertainty, by a general and accurate investigation of the whole surrounding coasts—to advance the progress of natural knowledge in various branches—to open fresh fields for commerce, and new ports to seamen—the following voyage was undertaken by order of His Majesty's Government, in a ship which received the name of the "Investigator."

The vast region which formed the principal object of this voyage comprehends, in its western part, the early discoveries of the Dutch, under the name of New Holland ; and on the east the coasts explored by British navigators, and named New South Wales. It has not been unusual of late years to designate under the first of these appellations the whole of these immense tracts of land ; but it would be almost as unjust to the British nation, which has had so large a share in their discovery, that New Holland should embrace the whole, as it would be to the Dutch, that New South Wales should be so extended.

It was not until after Tasman's second voyage, in 1644, that the general name Terra Australis, or Great South Land, was made to give place to the new term of New Holland; and it was then applied only to the parts lying westward of a meridian line, passing through Arnhem's Land on the north, and near the Isles of St. Peter and St. Francis on the south. All to the eastward, including the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, still remained Terra Australis. This appears from a chart published by Thevenot in 1663, which he says "was originally taken from that done in inlaid work upon the pavement of the new Stadt-House at Amsterdam."*

It is necessary, however, to geographical precision that the whole of this great body of land should be distinguished by one general term, and under the circumstances of the discovery of the different parts, the original Terra Australis has been judged the most proper. Of this term, therefore, we shall hereafter make use when speaking of New Holland and New South Wales in a collective sense, and when using it in an extensive signification the adjacent isles, including that of Van Diemen, must be understood to be comprehended.

In dividing New Holland from New South Wales, we have been guided by the British patent to the first Governor of the new Colony at Port Jackson. In this patent a meridian nearly corresponding to the antient line of separation between New Holland and Terra Australis has been made the western limit of New South Wales, and is fixed at the longitude of 135° east from the meridian of Greenwich. From hence the British territory extends eastward to the islands of the Pacific, or great Equinoxial Ocean. Its northern limit is at Cape York, and the extremity of the southern Van Diemen's Land is its opposite boundary.

This, we find from a marginal note, was left at Downing-street by Sir Joseph Banks on the 16th November, 1811, and in due course passed under Sir Robert Peel's perusal. We find clear marks of that strong Minister's disapproval over the whole face of the original manuscript. Pencil strokes dashed in here and there, savagely crossed on particularly objectionable passages, such as

*" *Le carte que l'on a mise icy, tire sa première origine de celle que l'on a fait tailler de pièces rapportées, sur le pavé de la nouvelle Maison-de-Ville d'Amsterdam.*"
 " *Relations de divers voyages curieux.*"—Avis.

that beginning—"In placing the western limit of New South Wales at 135°," and that other which speaks of the possibility of Holland asserting her right of colonization. We can easily imagine from these the tenor of the instructions given by Sir Robert to his secretary, and we find them conveyed officially to that gentleman above the Minister's signature. The Minister advises the omission of all reference to the Dutch or of any boundaries whatever to the Colony. He evidently foresaw the British Australasia, and did not wish to run any risk of future conflict about it.

CAPTAIN KENT.

Captain Kent, of H.M.S. "Buffalo," belongs to the period of Governor King, and is intimately associated with the cause of poor Flinders' trouble. He it was who first conceived the idea of using the Colony as a place of rendezvous for troops.

In a memo. to Governor King (the memo. which formed doubtless the basis of the paper found on Flinders) he says, "The Colony is admirably adapted for sending forth a squadron against the Spaniards on the coast of Chili and Peru." The squadron, as we know, never was sent forth, but it is probable that its bare mention locked Flinders up.

The good captain, however, had other and more luminous and practical ideas than these. During his residence in the Colony he had obtained specimens of the iron ore, had taken them home and submitted them to an expert in iron founding at Gosford, whose report was not altogether favourable but still encouraging.

Further, he had sold his house to Governor King, to be used as an orphan school, for the sum of £1,539. The garden, which had cost him £300, he had given in. This transaction took place in 1801, and as payment he took bills on the Home Government. But Downing-street at that time was more sick of Colonial bills than now of Colonial property. Years after, the bills, though many times presented, had not been honoured, and the captain says he must have a grant of land as returnings, or otherwise return and take possession of his house. He had still some interest in the Colony owning in 1806, 800 sheep, 30 cattle, and 12 horses. It is to be feared that this enterprising captain was badly used, as amongst his earlier letters (1801) we find him in trouble about emus he had taken home. The Customs' officers would levy duty on them, and when the claim had been abandoned he had a difficulty in recovering the sum of £8 4s. 11d. for expenses incurred in conveying them to town. The Marquis of Exeter eventually got the emus, and acknowledges the receipt in a courteous letter. November 5th, 1806, is Captain Kent's last letter; in it he solicits a grant of land as he contemplates settling.

CAPTAIN GRANT AND THE "LADY NELSON"; CAPTAIN MURRAY AND LIEUT. ROBINS.

All students of early Colonial history are familiar with the little "Lady Nelson," the tender sent out to aid in the work of completing the survey of the "coast of New Holland." We have the draft of instructions for her voyage, prepared by Sir Joseph Banks, and sent out to Governor King for revision, and also a letter from Grant to the universal patron, in which he describes his ship in glowing terms. She was but a schooner of 80

tons. And then (a very valuable historical document) we have Grant's journal and a report of his discoveries. He tells us how coasting along he called a certain hill "Schanks' Mountain"; how on December 8th, 1800, he named a large bay "Governor King's Bay." And Governor King, in a marginal note to this diary, says that upon the next voyage the "Lady Nelson" must positively ascertain if this is a bay or a mediterranean sea. It need hardly be written that we know it as Port Phillip now. We have but this one journal of a voyage by Grant, with accompanying charts, but supplementing it are several very valuable papers by Lieutenant James Tuckey, who dates his memoir of a chart of Port Phillip, October 26th, 1803. It was ten days' work he tells us. The chart shows admirable results for the time, and the description fills 32 pages quarto-sized paper. The matter it contains has of course passed into history. In another letter to Sir F. Hartwell, March 2nd, 1805, the lieutenant expresses his opinion of N.S.W., which he is pleased to think will become of infinite importance both in a commercial and political point of view. Lieutenant Robins, of the "Buffalo," leaves us his remarks on Western Port, also an account of the wombat, adorned with crude and fantastic drawings of the creature, and "Observations on the Timbers of N.S.W."

MR. GEORGE CAYLEY.

Mr. George Cayley, a young and enthusiastic botanist, was sent out by Sir Joseph Banks in 1798 as a collector for the Kew Domain. His letters cover the whole of the second decade of our history, and though touched and tinged in places with quaint prejudices and conceits, throw a good deal of light on a dark period.

Many of them are amusing, as showing the peculiar relations between the various classes of Colonial society. We have a letter written to Governor King, in which it is complained that the quantity of milk supplied by the Government farm to his establishment at Parramatta has been suddenly cut short. "If this sort of treatment be continued," he writes, "I must inform your Excellency that I am an Englishman no longer." His Excellency has left a foot-note to the letter: "The milk-trouble is arranged, and Cayley is an Englishman again." Further, Mr. Cayley tells how riding along the Parramatta-road he meets a certain officer of the New South Wales Corps, and neglecting to touch his hat to him is rated soundly, and threatened with divers pains and penalties. "The officer, of course, was ignorant of my status and position, but I must say such treatment is abominable to a right-minded Englishman." Records of his actual work are also made. There is a list and long description of plants and seeds (400 specimens) collected. Then an account of journeys some distance inland in 1804 and 1805; also a document entitled, "A short account relative to the proceedings in New South Wales from the year 1800 to 1803, with hints and critical remarks." It would have been far more valuable had he given us the facts without remark but that was never Cayley's habit. He says, however, that he felt it a duty incumbent on him to make to Sir Joseph Banks a true and impartial statement, and he has evidently laboured to accomplish this. Indeed when the paper is stripped of all remark and criticism a considerable bulk of fact remains. The wretchedness of the settlers is clearly shown. "We want settlers in physic, law, and gospel," says Cayley; "at present it is all misery and mismanagement." He gives, also, a graphic account of

that silly "Vinegar Hill" rebellion, and of the miseries which followed, while the uncaptured rebels still hung about the bush on the skirts of settlement, making occasional raids for sustenance or revenge.

Later on, in 1808, he had some experience of the "Great Rebellion" of our history. He was not an eye-witness, his residence being at Parramatta; nor did he come into contact with any of the actual participants in the military riot. He had a wholesome dread of them all, particularly of Mr. John Macarthur. He must be regarded in this connection as a Government adherent, and naturally looked on the action of the officers as downright mutiny and rebellion, while he is almost silent upon the causes which they urged as sufficient excuse. But he writes much on the matter, and discarding as usual his opinions we may cull out some useful and important facts. The least valuable of these papers perhaps are a series supposed to have been written by "Brutus," to a Sydney paper, and addressed to Major Johnston. They are in the Junius vein but not exactly of the Junius style. Much more historical in its character is a letter which he wrote at Governor Bligh's request (during the period of Bligh's imprisonment), giving Sir Joseph Banks an account of the whole circumstances of the rebellion. This is Cayley's last letter; it is dated October 28th, 1808.

GOVERNOR BLIGH.

The papers attached to this name must be regarded as by far the most important of the whole series. Most of them are autograph letters, and they begin at a period prior to settlement of this Colony. The first is dated August 6, 1787. It is a letter to Sir Joseph Banks,

thanking him for his appointment to the "Bounty," under orders to proceed to the South Seas for bread-fruit trees. Next follows the "Bounty's" commission; then two letters—November 25th, 1787, and December 3rd, 1787—the last from Spithead, when just about to sail; and then, from Timor, June 14th, 1789—a letter which has a historical value very difficult to estimate. When Mr. James Bonwick, who looked over these papers with Sir Saul Samuel, saw this document, he decided that the collection must be purchased, and it would indeed have been a matter of regret if they had not been brought to Sydney and suitably preserved. This is Bligh's own account of the mutiny of the "Bounty":—"I have not given so full an account to the Admiralty," he says, "consequently so full an account has not before been published." This is the account of the chief actor on the one side, written in confidence to his patron and friend. It is not, of course, to be taken as history. It is not, indeed, to be read with any view of forming a correct opinion, without a full study of all the records of the Court-martial whereat the mutineers stated their case, ineffectually as we know. The account of the voyage covers twenty pages of foolscap, all in Bligh's handwriting, and it describes the scene of the mutiny and the subsequent marvellous voyage of the launch from the islands to Timor. It is impossible in reading this statement to escape recognition of the great enduring power of this man. Greater perils and labours were never encountered and performed than by the boat's crew on that long voyage, and all the time an accurate log was kept, and such observations made as enabled a course to be picked out on a chart. The chart is preserved here with Bligh's course through the Barrier Reef in black, and Captain Cook's in red. Here is also

an account of the second voyage for Breadpoint successfully accomplished in the "Providence," some letters from Bligh to Banks at the time of the trial of the "Bounty" mutineers, in which he complains of "the low abuse of Christians' brothers," and a somewhat fulsome acknowledgment of courtesies received from the Duke of Clarence—he dined with the Duke. Following this, though not exactly in chronological order, should be noted a very complete account supplied by various persons of the discovery of the mutineers on Pitcairn. Here is the letter of Captain Folger, of the American ship "Topaz," who arrived at the island on February 6th, 1808, and who tells that grim tale of the killing of all the white men save Adams, by the Otahitian men; and then of the Otahitie women rising up in the night like so many Jaels or Judiths and slaying each her man. We have also the accounts of the visit of the "Briton" and "Tagus" in 1811. Captain Pipon's account of his meeting with Adams, eleven pages of foolscap; the story of Christian, by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, dated March 14th, 1809, with extracts from log of "Topaz", dated Valparaiso, October 30th, 1808; others dated March 1st, 1813, at Nantucket; a letter from Captain Folger to the Admiralty with an account of what he had really seen and heard; October 28th, 1814, a letter from Admiral Dixon to the Admiralty, enclosing the account supplied him by Sir Thomas Staines; and July the 11th, 1815, comments made by Lord Keith, at Plymouth, on all the statements he had received. Some of these documents are originals, others are copies made at the Admiralty and sent to Sir Joseph Banks.

We pass, or rather return, from these to a most important chapter in Australian history; it is the story of

the rebellion. First, here should be noted a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Bligh, in which the Governorship of the Colony is informally offered. Governor King has become tired, wearied out, as were his predecessors, of the ceaseless opposition of the New South Wales corps. Banks has been asked to name a successor; he assumes that his choice must be made from amongst the post-captains of His Majesty's navy, and if so, can name but one man possessed of the requisite firmness and capacity. This of course is Bligh. We do not find Bligh's reply; the first letter from him as Governor being addressed to the Hon. F. C. Greville, in which he speaks of the distracted state of the Colony, and the ill-treatment of the settlers by those who consider themselves of a superior class. This letter promises trouble, for Bligh is evidently determined to make a display of that firmness of character for which he has been specially chosen. But as history records, there was determination on both sides, and Bligh's efforts at iron-handed reform ended in his downfall. There are here a long series of letters dated from December, 1807, to September, 1808, relating to the trial of Captain Short, sent home by Bligh charged with insubordination, and acquitted, and in them is discovered evidence of a feeling against Bligh amongst naval officers. Mrs. Bligh writes to Sir Joseph Banks that Captains Hunter, Kent, and Foveaux, with Sir Isaac Coffin, Admiral, are all opposed to her husband; and singularly enough she is troubled with rumours of his recall at the very time of his deposition, and six months before any news of that event reached England; and thinking evidently that influence is being used against him, she writes a letter to the Admiralty in which his cause is warmly championed; and his enemies attacked with more earnestness than sagacity



perhaps. If Sir Joseph approved of this letter he was "to drop it on his way down." As it remained with his papers we must suppose that it did not obtain his approval. We look rather with curiosity than interest on these letters, and turn with pleasure to the long accounts Bligh gives of the rebellion and all its attendant circumstances. The story is very fully told from the attempted arrest of Mr. John Macarthur by the constable to his attachment for contempt of Court, his release by order of Major Johnston, and the march on Government House. It is scarcely necessary to state that this statement will not agree with those which have been previously made. And as there is one particular point at which Bligh's honour has been almost universally assailed, he must be permitted just there, even in this brief *resumé* to speak for himself.

"Immediately followed an operation of the Main Guard at our gate, priming and loading with ball cartridge, and the whole body of troops began to march from the barracks, led on by Major Johnston, the band playing 'The British Grenadiers,' and colours flying. In five minutes the whole house was surrounded by an armed force, consisting of between 300 or 400 men, all their muskets loaded with ball cartridges, the officers attending in their places. Without ceremony they broke into all parts (even into the ladies' room) and arrested all the Magistrates and my Secretary, also Mr. Gore, the Provost-Marshal, and Mr. Fulton, clergyman, who had flown up to me to report what they saw was going on. Thus the civil power was annihilated, and the colony in the hands of the military, guided by Macarthur and Bayly; nothing but calamity upon calamity was to be expected; even massacre and secret murder.

“I had only just time to retire upstairs to prevent giving myself up, and to see if anything could be done for the restoration of my authority, but they soon found me in a back room, and with a daring set of ruffians under arms, headed by Sergeant-Major Whittle, intoxicated with spirituous liquors, which was given them for the purpose, and threatening to plunge their bayonets into me if I resisted, seized me. I was now obliged to go below, where I found the rooms filled with soldiers, and presently Lieutenant Moore came forward and presented me with a letter from Major Johnston, a copy of which follows:—

‘Sir,

‘Head Quarters, 26 January, 1808.

‘I am called upon to execute a most painful duty. You are charged by the respectable inhabitants of crimes that render you unfit to exercise the supreme authority another moment in this Colony, and in that charge all the officers under my command have joined.

‘I therefore require you, in His Majesty’s sacred name, to resign your authority, and to submit to the arrest which I hereby place you under by the advice of all my officers and by the advice of every respectable inhabitant in the town of Sydney.

‘I am, sir,

‘Your most obedient humble servant,

‘(Signed) GEORGE JOHNSTON,

‘Lt.-Governor and Major Commanding N.S.W. Corps.

‘To William Bligh, Esq., F.R.S.,

&c., &c., &c.’

“I had just read this infamous and rebellious letter, when I received a message from this Lieutenant Moore that the Major wished to speak to me in the adjoining room. When I went he met me in the door at the head of his armed men, and in the presence of Robert Townson, John Blaxland, Gregory Blaxland, Garnham Blaxcell, Charles Grimes, Thomas Jamison, Nicholas

Bayly, and Edward Macarthur, who came to sanction this act, he pronounced a speech similar to the letter before stated.

“I was now directed to have no communication with any person whom I had been accustomed to see as a friend, even my Secretary was ordered from me and hurried before a committee, martial-law having been proclaimed, and in the midst of terror interrogated respecting my conduct and concerns as Governor. Of this committee Mr. Macarthur was a member, and said to Mr. Griffin on the occasion, ‘Never was a revolution so completely effected, and with so much order and regularity.’ He ridiculed Mr. Griffin’s youth, laughed, sneered, and did and said everything to disturb his mind, so that he afterwards knew not what he said, from the state he was thrown into by irregular questions which were put to him, and the browbeating he suffered, besides expecting every moment to be murdered.

“Doctor Townson, Mr. Grimes, Surgeon Jamison, Mr. Blaxcell, and Mr. John Blaxland rummaged the rooms upstairs for my public and private papers, which they took and locked up in my office. Doctor Townson and Mr. Grimes were particularly clamorous and indecorous in demanding my keys from John Dunn and George Tubb, my servants, and in knocking my drawers and cabinet about, swearing at them that they knew well where the Governor kept all his private papers.

“On the troops coming up to the house I had only time to save the papers containing the account of the 25th’s proceedings, but all those of the 26th were secured by the rebels. When they had thus far proceeded, five

sentinels were placed over the house, in and out of doors, and I was left with only my daughter and Mrs. Palmer about 9 o'clock at night.

“I have pursued my account with as little digression as possible that the proceedings may be the more distinct; but it is now necessary to observe that the law was not martial in this colony, and in defence of the law.”

The officers of the New South Wales Corps on the court-martial testified otherwise as we know. But there are passages in this statement which do not clash with any written history, and which bring some historical personages and events before us with singular clearness. We obtain a fine idea of the strong capable passionate John Macarthur from this description of his appearance in the Court at the time the Judge's advocate broke up the proceedings and retired to the Government House.

“The Judge advocate read the precept and administered the oath to the six members. The prisoner then desired they would proceed no further until they permitted him to read a protest which he held in his hand against the Judge Advocate Richard Atkins, Esq., sitting on his trial. The Judge Advocate said it was inadmissible; Captain Kemp and Lieutenant Lawson insisted he should be permitted to read it, in which resolution the other four members acquiesced, and Captain Kemp refused to administer the oath to Mr. Atkins. On this an altercation arose; Mr. Atkins insisted they could be no Court without him. However, Macarthur proceeded to read what he called a protest, which was a violent invective against Mr. Atkins, the Judge Advocate. The chief objections which it contained

were, that Mr. Atkins was in his debt, of infamous character, and had hostile enmities against him (Macarthur). The Judge Advocate then arose and said he would commit the prisoner, for it was a most illegal proceeding in the officers to permit by violence such a paper to be read publicly against him, and in the prisoner to read it before he (the Judge Advocate) was sworn in, and he represented to me that, besides the scurrilous matter it contained, Macarthur delivered it with that emphasis, tone of voice, and gesture, which were calculated to excite the disrespect and indignation of the surrounding multitude against His Majesty's Judge Advocate.

“ Captain Kemp, Lieutenant Minchin, and Lieutenant Lawson declared the Judge Advocate should not commit Macarthur, and Captain Kemp added that he would commit him (the Judge Advocate).

“ The Judge Advocate on being refused to sit, quitted the House, loudly calling out there was no court, and sent back a constable to bring the public documents which he had prepared and made ready for the prosecution, but the six members refused to give him up the papers, and he came to report the case to me, saying that he had been used extremely ill, and looked for my protection in supporting the law and justice.”

And a quaint picture of old Sydney is given in the description of a general meeting of all inhabitants in the Church to subscribe funds to present a Sword of State to Major Johnstone. The town bellman went round and the people assembled, and large amounts were promised by several old residents; but we do not think it is on record that the sword was presented. There is as has

already been noted a separate account by Cayley of these affairs, and another by Provost Gore; but the latter is so saturated with partisanship as to be of no practical value. Indeed it is not probable that Bligh's own statement will materially alter the general view of his conduct and administration; but in the permanent records of the country it is important that he should be permitted to state his own case, and there is one fact brought prominently forward which has not perhaps received quite the attentive consideration it deserves. It is that three months prior to the rebellion and at a time when the military party declared the whole Colony to be on the verge of insurrection, Bligh was by 900 settlers presented with an address expressing every confidence in his administration.

Colonel Patterson writes from Launceston to Banks, September 29, 1808, a somewhat lengthy letter, in which, after speaking of the climate and natural history of the island, and recording the significant fact that kangaroo meat was selling at 1s. 6d. per lb., he says of New South Wales, "the Government was in a wretched state from tyranny and oppression (so, at least they say) when the circumstances took place." A letter from the Rev. Samuel Marsden (he was out of the Colony at the time) and another from Bligh to Banks in London, May 28th, 1811, during the progress of the court-martial, closes this portion of the correspondence. The Flinders correspondence has already been dealt with, and latest in date of all, is an important letter from Mr. G. Suttor, included in the chapter on wool, and a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Cayley, telling him the Government dispenses with his further services but grants him an annuity.

Included in the original papers also are a budget of letters and documents from Mr. Menzies, a Kew collector, who was with the exploring expedition under Captain Vancouver, off the north-west coast of America, between the years 1792-7. They are of some geographical interest, but have not been deemed of sufficient local importance to be included in the volume to be published here.

APPENDIX.

The series to be published consists of the following :—

CAPTAIN COOK TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

2nd June, 1772—at Sheerness.

18th November, 1772—On board “Resolution,” Cape of Good Hope.

July 10th, 1776—Plymouth Sound.

Friday, 24th May—no year mentioned, but supposed to be 1776,
from Mile End.

(These have no particular historical value relating to matters of
courtesy or of personal interest.)

CAPTAIN CLARKE TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

May 13th, 1772—on board “Resolution” at sea.

May 31st, 1772—“Resolution” at Sheerness.

June 7th, 1772—“Resolution” at Sheerness.

Sunday morning, 5 o'clock, July 30th (1772)—On board “Resolution.”

Friday morning (undated) ; Friday evening (also undated), but
evidently in July of the same year.

November 23rd, 1776—“Discovery” at Cape of Good Hope.

August 18th, 1779—“Resolution” at sea shortly before his death.

(Also many extracts from Captain Clarke’s log, and papers from
Russian officials, transmitting the news of Captain Cook’s
death.)

CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES.

November 18th, 1788—From Dr. White, at Port Jackson, to Sir
Joseph Banks ; relates the discovery of Port Jackson, and
deplores the miserable condition of the settlement. With
description of country and state of stores. Note attached by
Sir Joseph Banks.

February 1st, 1789—Extract from journal of Lieut., afterwards
Governor, King ; visit to Perouse at Botany ; account of
massacre at Navigator Islands ; the astronomical establishment
of M. La Perouse at Botany.

February 12th, 1790—Extract of letter from Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney ; account of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island.

February 13th, 1790—Extract from letter from Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney ; opinions of settlement and discoveries.

Undated extracts from Governor Phillip's despatches relating to the progress made in his administration.

Undated, but about 1796 or '7—Banks to Hunter, congratulations as to favourable condition of Colony ; dismal predictions of England.

August 20th, 1797—Letter from Mr. Geo. Bass to Lieut.-Colonel Patterson from Sydney Cove ; description of coal-seam discovered south of Botany, and of tropical character of Illawarra Bush.

October 7th, 1797—London, from Captain Phillip Gidley King ; opinions as to propriety of sending out settlers.

June 28th, 1798—From Sir Joseph Banks to Secretary of Treasury ; plants for Colony, and negotiations with Mungo Park.

February 1st, 1799—Sir Joseph Banks to Governor Hunter ; seed received ; European troubles keep Australian matters in the background.

Abstract from Hunter's memorandum, printed in London, 1802, but relating to matters of this period.

January 11th, 1799—Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; description of "Porpoise," and difficulty in bringing out plants.

March 21st, 1799—Letter from Navy Board to Sir Joseph Banks *re* boring apparatus for coal.

September, 1799—Letter from Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks on cultivation of cotton in the Colony.

May 3rd, 1800—From Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks, notes on arrival and real condition of the Colony.

September 28th, 1800—Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; sends home platypus and specimens of wool ; hopes soon to be weaving both cloth and linen.

November 10th, 1800—from Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; still digging for coal near Sydney, but without success.

- April, 1801—Letter from Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; troubles with spirits (American rum) ; first settlement at Coal River ; first sale of coals ; first vineyard.
- June 5th, 1802—From Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; many discoveries and visit of French ships. Naturalistie and Geographe.
- October, 1802—Letter from Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; discoveries by M. Baudin, of the Geographe. Barrailler's Expedition inland.
- May 9th, 1803—From Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks, Flinders ; French visitors ; sheep breeding ; troubles with officers.
- April 8th, 1803—From Sir Joseph Banks, in London, to Cayley, New South Wales ; seeds, skins, and specimens received ; curiosity about platypus and porcupine.
- Undated, but about 1803—Record of temperature during heat of summer ; Cayley's handwriting.
- March 10th, 1804—Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; Coal River resettled ; discoveries beyond the Nepean.
- August 3rd, 1804—Letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Cayley.
- August 14th, 1804—Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; discoveries ; statistics, sheep ; anticipates his resignation.
- December, 1804—Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; no news for twelve months ; fears invasion.
- January 10, 1805—From Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; surveys of Cape Otway ; gaol and orphan report.
- March 10th, 1804—Letter from early free settler to Sir Joseph Banks ; describes Toongabie rebellion.
- August 29th, 1804—Letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Governor King ; Flinders in prison ; MacArthur's Syndicate.
- July 12th, 1805—From Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks ; Collins' book ; Brewery at Parramatta ; linen, hemp, wool ; general review of his own conduct.

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES AND APPENDICES.

- CAPTAIN KENT—October 16th, 1801—to Sir Joseph Banks, with specimens of New South Wales iron.

- November 1st, 1801—Letter to Sir Joseph Banks on the possibility of developing an iron industry in the Colony.
- December 6th, 1801—Sale of house to Government in Sydney, and difficulty in getting the bill cashed in Downing-street.
- December 6th, 1801—From Marquis of Exeter to Sir Joseph Banks acknowledging receipt of emus brought by Captain Kent.
- March 4th, 1806—To Sir Joseph Banks, proposing to go out as Assistant Governor, written in London.
- March 11th, 1806—To Banks soliciting a grant of land.
- November, 1801—Two letters from W. H. Vernon, miner, to Sir Joseph Banks, describing experiments with iron ore brought home by Captain Kent, and proposing to go out to the Colony as an iron worker.
- (Undated)—Captain Kent's proposals to make of Port Jackson a rendezvous for troops to be sent out against the Spaniards on the coast of Chili and Peru.
- LIEUT. JAMES GRANT, Commander of the "Lady Nelson" Remarks on coming in with the land of New Holland, 40 foolscap pages, with marginal notes by Governor King.
- ENSIGN BARRAILLER—Undated, but about 1802—Extract of letter to Mr. Greville, describing expedition to Western Port.
- 1802—Translation of a portion of a journal of a journey, inland of Barrailler, in 1802, made by Mr. Greville for Sir Joseph Banks.
- LIEUTENANT TUCKEY—Memoirs of a chart of Port Phillip, made by Lieut. Tuckey in October, 1803.
- COLONEL PATTERSON—October 8th, 1800—Letter to Sir Joseph Banks; iniquities of the spirit trade; Captain Johnstone's arrest; proposals for raising an Australian force in England.
- (Undated, but about 1803)—To Sir Joseph Banks, appointed Governor of Port Dalrymple; a twenty days' voyage across Bass's Straits; Brown, naturalist, still in Van Diemen's Land; trouble about French officers.
- 3rd October, 1804—To Sir Joseph Banks, introducing Mr. Robert Campbell.
- November 27th, 1804—To Sir Joseph Banks; first settlement at Green Island; Port Dalrymple, Buffalo ashore; first black troubles.

March 20th, 1805—To Sir Joseph Banks ; Collins' removal from Port Phillip to the "Derwent"; wishes to go Home to endeavour to raise another military corps.

CAPTAIN FLINDERS—Undated—Flinders' commission for "Investigator."

July 12th, 1804—Letter to Sir Joseph Banks from his prison in Mauritius, imploring his assistance in obtaining his release.

August 10th, 1804—From Lord Camden to Sir Joseph Banks, authorizing him to take any steps to obtain Flinders' release.

August 30th, 1804—From Sir Joseph Banks to Governor King, with news of Flinders' imprisonment.

August 22nd, 1804—Sir Joseph Banks to National Institute of France, soliciting their interference on behalf of Flinders.

June 18th, 1805—Sir Joseph Banks to Flinders, assuring him that nothing has been left undone to obtain his release.

March 20th, 1806—Letter from Flinders to Banks, explaining probable cause of his detention ; also rough draft of a project for Australian exploration.

November 17th, 1804—Letter from Campbell and Co., Calcutta, to Governor King, conveying inclosures received from Flinders in Mauritius, and offering the brig "Eagle" as a cartel.

Undated draft by Sir Joseph Banks of preface for Flinders' voyages.

November 30th, 1811—Letter from Sir Robert Peel to Sir Joseph Banks, suggesting some alterations in preface.

WHALE FISHERIES.

Review and statement of the Southern Whale Fishery for the years 1803, 1804, 1805 ; quantities obtained and vessels employed.

INTRODUCTION OF FINE-WOOLLED SHEEP.

December 20th, 1804—Letters from Rev. Samuel Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks ; notes despatch of three fleeces, and requests that they may be laid before the Agricultural Society.

April 27th, 1803—From Rev. Samuel Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks, requesting two rams, and noting arrival of rams brought from England by Captain Kent and Major Johnstone.

- December 16th, 1804—From Rev. Samuel Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks ; notes upon wool sent Home ; ideas as to the future of sheep-breeding in the Colony.
- (Undated, about 1804)—Observations by Rev. Samuel Marsden on specimens of wool sent Home.
- July 16th, 1804—Captain Waterhouse to Sir Joseph Banks. Arrival at the Cape, and purchase of Mrs. Gordon's sheep.
- March, 1805—Sir Joseph Banks' remarks on Captain Waterhouse's letter.
- March, 1804—Captain Waterhouse to Captain Macarthur ; remark on the natural pasturage of the Colony.
- January 13th, 1805—From Rev. Samuel Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks ; describing breeds of sheep already in Colony, and stating that Leicesters and Lincolns are wanted.
- March 21st, 1805—Letter from Mr. Arthur Young, President of English Board of Agriculture to Sir Joseph Banks ; opinions of New South Wales wool ; he thinks it might be imported if could be pressed like trusses of hay.
- March 31st, 1804—Draft of letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Captain Macarthur.

EMANCIPATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRADE.

- (Undated)—Sir Joseph Banks' memorandum. to Home Secretary ; Governor Phillip's instructions ; result of seal fisheries concessions to ship builders ; general review of objections of East India Company.
- June 27th, 1806—Letter from Mr. William Wilson, Agent for Mr. Robert Campbell, to Sir Joseph Banks ; detention of "Lady Barlow," by Companies and Customs' officers ; sale to Foreign buyers ; other ships expected ; dismal prospects.
- June 30th, 1806—Draft of letter in Sir Joseph Banks' handwriting to be sent by Clerk of Council in waiting to the Lords of the Treasury ; proposes to have a Bill drafted to regulate Australian commerce.
- July 2nd, 1806—Letter from Mr. William Wilson to Sir Joseph Banks ; is glad to state that he has received orders of Council for admission of next cargo.

June 8th, 1806—Memorandum by Sir Joseph Banks on general prejudice against the Colony, and necessity for proper laws of navigation.

(Undated)—Further Memoranda by Sir Joseph Banks on Colonial matters generally; probable development of coal trade and importance of Australia to United Kingdom.

GOVERNOR BLIGH, November 5th, 1787—Letter to Sir Joseph Banks on eve of departure of "Bounty."

October 13th, 1789—Letter to Sir Joseph Banks from Batavia, conveying an account of the mutiny. He says, "I have not written so fully even to the Admiralty. The ship is lost, but my honor and character remain without blemish."

October, 1789, Batavia—Account of voyage, mutiny, and journey to Batavia, 100 foolscap pages, in Bligh's handwriting.

March 15th, 1805—Sir Joseph Banks to Governor Bligh, making informal offer of governorship.

November 5th, 1807—Governor Bligh to Sir Joseph Banks; his arrival in the Colony, and general opinions on the various orders.

August 25th, 1808—Draft of letter in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Banks, to Governor Bligh, before news of the rebellion had arrived.

December 13th, 1807—Verdict of Court-martial on Captain Short sent Home by Governor Bligh for trial on charges exhibited by Lieut. Tetly; acquitted and his case recommended to the consideration of the Admiralty.

(Undated).—"A true statement of the circumstances represented in the foregoing letter, and which can be proved to their lordships by the most respectable evidence." In the handwriting of Mrs. Bligh.

February 1st, 1808—Letter from Mrs. Bligh to Sir Joseph Banks, mentioning many peculiar rumours.

December 21st, 1808—Letter from Mrs. Bligh to Sir Joseph Banks; has only now heard of the rebellion; General Nightingale mentioned as a probable Governor of the Colony.

December 21st, 1808—Letter from Sir Joseph Banks to Mrs. Bligh; does not think Bligh will be reinstated, but hopes justice will be done him.

- May 25th, 1811—Letter from Governor Bligh to Sir Joseph Banks ; written during the Court-martial on Major Johnstone.
- September 29th, 1808—Letter from Colonel Patterson to Sir Joseph Banks ; news received of Bligh's deposition ; guarded expressions of opinion on that event.
- June 30th, 1808—Governor Bligh's account of the rebellion, written specially for Sir Joseph Banks.
- DISCOVERY OF THE PITCAIRN ISLANDS—17th December, 1811—Captain Piper's account of discovery H.M. ships "Briton" and "Tagus."
- March 1st, 1813—Copy of a letter, by Folger, master of American whaler, to Rear-Admiral Rodham, from Nantucket.
- November 25th, 1814—Extract of letter from Rear-Admiral Dixon to the Admiralty, relating the discovery by Sir Thomas Staines.
- MR. GEORGE CAYLY—Letter from Cayly to Sir Joseph Banks ; Sept. 17th, 1799 ; his troubles on board "The Porpoise."
- August 25th, 1801—Letter from Cayly to Sir Joseph Banks, describing earthquake at Parramatta.
- April 24th, 1803—To Sir Joseph Banks ; general description of the colony.
- July 7th, 1808—To Sir Joseph Banks ; his views of the rebellion, and of all the parties.
- October 28th, 1808—To Sir Joseph Banks ; interview with Bligh, and opinions upon the whole course of procedure.
- (Undated, but in Cayly's handwriting)—A short account relative to the proceedings in New South Wales from the year 1800 to 1803, with hints and critical remarks.
- (Undated and unsigned)—Extract from the letter of a non-commissioned officer, left after the wreck of the "Sirius" at Norfolk Island.
- November 12th, 1812—Letter from a settler to Sir Joseph Banks ; speaks of the general progress of the Colony ; good crops and cheap provisions.
- October 6th, 1814—Letter from a settler to Sir Joseph Banks ; good prospects of successful gardening ; price of meat ; wool likely to become an object of first importance ; shipment by "Seringapatam" ; opening of the Bathurst country.

SKETCHES AND CHARTS—Sketch of settlement at Norfolk Island after wreck of "Sirius" May 16th, 1790.

Views of east and west sides of Arthur's Vale.

Five sketches of Aborigines.

Chart of explorers' track from Prospect Hill to foot of mountains. October, 1802.

Chart by Barrailler, from Prospect Hill far into the mountains. Very carefully made.

Chart of track from the "Upper Part of Richmond Terrace to Mount Banks."

Chart of track from Prospect to the Grose River.

Chart showing tracks of "Lady Nelson" "Harbinger" and "Margaret," through Bass's straits. Signed, P.G.K., 1801.

Chart of Port Phillip and surroundings. Very carefully made. Signed by C. Grimes, Acting Surveyor-General, New South Wales, 1803.

Chart of Western Port. Unsigned.

A survey of the straits between New Holland and New Guinea, by William Bligh, with the following note, "The chart marked with the double line in black and red shows Captain Cook's discoveries in the 'Endeavour,' and fixed according to him in their relative positions to Cape York. The shoals in red are also Captain Cook's. The plain red line shows Captain Cook's track in the 'Endeavour.' The broken red line shows my track in 'Providence' and 'Assistant.' The plain black line shows my track in the 'Bounty's Launch.' The arrows denote the settling of the flood. The half-moons denote the position of the ships at noon. The parts of New Guinea are taken from old charts. The islands in black unshaded were seen both by Captain Cook and myself."

Chart of King's Island, made by C. Grimes, Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales.