BONUS CHAPTER

The Dominions: Canada, Australia and New Zealand before 1914

Summary of events

At the 1907 Colonial Conference it was decided to use the word '*dominion'* instead of 'colony' to describe all the parts of the British Empire which were self-governing - Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and South Africa (from 1909). In the early days of overseas settlement, the theory was that colonies existed simply for the benefit of the mother country. After Britain lost her American colonies in the American War of Independence (1775-83), the idea gradually became accepted that colonies with predominantly European and British populations would eventually be allowed to rule themselves. *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America (1839)* played a vitally important part in persuading the British government that this was the only way to hold the Empire together.

Canada, Australia and New Zealand passed through similar stages of development:

1 Direct rule by a Governor with a council chosen by himself.

2 Representative government - an elected council which could advise the Governor but had no real power itself.

3 Responsible government - an elected assembly which had the power to appoint and dismiss ministers and control internal affairs.

4 Federal government - the separate colonies or provinces united in a federation, keeping their own separate parliaments, but also joining in a central, federal parliament.

Canada achieved independent federal dominion status in 1867 and Australia in 1901. New Zealand became a federal self-governing state in 1856, and then in 1876 decided to abandon the federal system in favour of a single parliament at Wellington. South Africa had a rather different and more troubled history, which eventually resulted in the Union of South Africa in 1910 (see Sections 17.3 and 21.1(b)).

Dominion status was rather a vague term, since it had never been precisely stated how much control the British government had in the last resort over the dominion governments. In 1926 a definition was produced which seemed to satisfy all concerned: in effect the dominions were completely free from British control, but they retained a link with Britain through the monarchy.

18.1 Canada

(a) The early settlement of Canada

Representatives of rival French and British trading companies were the first European settlers in Canada. The French were defeated in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and by *the Treaty of Paris (1763)* Canada, with its considerable French population, became British.

- *The Quebec Act (1774)* was designed in part to placate the French settlers. Canada (still called Quebec at this point) was to be ruled by a British governor who would choose a council of up to 23 members to advise him. There was no elected parliament. French civil law was recognized, but English criminal law was introduced. The French Roman Catholics were given freedom of worship. At this time, the Maritime Provinces of modern Canada - Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and New Brunswick (founded 1784) - were treated as separate colonies.
- *Pitt's Canada Act (1791)* arose from the changing situation brought about by the American War of Independence (1775-83). Many Americans, wanting to remain loyal to Britain, left the USA and moved into Canada. Known as *United Empire Loyalists*,

some stayed on the coast in New Brunswick, while others travelled inland and settled along the northern shores of Lake Ontario. At the same time immigrants were flocking in from Britain,especially from Scotland and Ireland. With the influx of English-speaking settlers, Quebec began to split into a French-speaking east and an English-speaking west. Pitt's Act therefore recognized this by dividing Quebec into two provinces:

Upper Canada **(Ontario)** for the British

Lower Canada **(Quebec)** which was overwhelmingly French.

Each had its own Lieutenant-Governor with an elected assembly which could advise the Lieutenant-Governor and his nominated council, but had no legislative powers and could not dismiss the Lieutenant-Governor. There was also a joint governor for both provinces together. Canada had secured representative government, but there was over half a century to wait before responsible government was achieved.

(b) Unrest and the rebellions of 1837

During the Napoleonic Wars the USA fought against Britain (1812-14). American forces attacked Canada and burnt down the Upper Canada Assembly building in York (later called Toronto). The Canadians and British retaliated by setting fire to the American presidential residence in Washington. Gradually, however, both Upper and Lower Canada became impatient with British rule for a variety of reasons:

- In British Upper Canada there was still a feeling that the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisory council gave preferential treatment in matters such as allocation of land and in civil service and political appointments, to United Empire Loyalists and their families. Another grievance was that large areas of land - known as clergy reserves - were controlled by the Church of England.
- In French Lower Canada the elected assembly was naturally predominantly French, but the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisory council, who had the final say in politics, were British. The French became more suspicious of British motives in

1833 when a new company, calling itself the British American Land Company, began to sell land to British non-Catholic immigrants.

- There was a demand in some quarters, particularly among commercial interests, for a union of the two provinces, since it was felt that the existence of two separate customs systems was hampering the smooth flow of trade along the St Lawrence River.
- During the 1830s the major issue in both provinces was the demand for responsible government, so that the elected assemblies could enforce their will over the Lieutenant-Governors. In 1834 Lord Grey's Whig government sent out a commission of enquiry, but when it became clear that it was not prepared to recommend any major concessions, extremists in both provinces could restrain themselves no longer.

In 1837 there were two separate rebellions. The one in Lower Canada was led by Louis Papineau, a French-Canadian member of the assembly. The one in Upper Canada was organized by a Scottish-Canadian journalist, William Lyon Mackenzie. Both were easily suppressed, but they acted as a warning to the British government that they must treat Canadian grievances seriously.

(c) Lord Durham and the Canada Act (1840)

Melbourne decided to send out Lord Durham, the leading Radical Whig, to investigate and report on the situation. Durham, who took with him as adviser his imperialist friend, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, had vague ideas about a federation of *all* the Canadian colonies, but was disappointed to find that the maritime colonies were very cool towards the idea. He was only in Canada from May until November 1838, when he was recalled because his dictatorial attitude made him unpopular; but it was long enough for him to size up the situation.

Lord Durham's Report, published in 1839, was an important document, often regarded as setting the guidelines not just for Canada, but for the whole of the

Commonwealth. He believed that representative government was not enough to keep the colonists happy and loyal; they would have to be given responsible government, otherwise there was likely to be a Canadian War of Independence. He suggested that the two Canadas should be reunited, in the mistaken hope that the French Canadians would eventually be absorbed into the language and culture of the British population, so making a completely united people. There should be one Governor with his advisory councils, and an elected assembly which would control internal affairs, defence and foreign policy. This last proposal was too radical for Lord Melbourne, but most of Durham's other suggestions were carried out in *the Canada Act of 1840:*

- Upper and Lower Canada were united under a Governor-General;
- He was to have an advisory council whose members were nominated for life;
- There was to be an elected House of Assembly containing equal numbers of members from each province.

map 18.1 Canada before 1914

This was a disappointment for supporters of responsible government, since the Assembly still had very little power. However, Lord Elgin, who became Governor-General in 1847, was a liberal Scotsman (and Durham's son-in-law). He came to an

agreement with the parties in the Assembly, that provided they maintained the connection with Britain, he would accept laws proposed by them. In effect therefore, Canada had responsible government. At about the same time Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland were also given responsible government.

(d) Canada's relations with the USA

Since the birth of the hostile USA, Canadians had been worried about the threat to their largely undefended frontiers. The events of 1812-14 had shown that their fears were justified and it seemed that the Americans were trying to outdo the Canadians at every opportunity. The Canadians retaliated effectively:

- In 1825 the Americans opened the Erie Canal joining Lake Erie to the Hudson River, and threatening to take trade away from the St Lawrence. The Canadians retaliated by building the Welland Canal joining Lakes Erie and Ontario. This proved to be a great success, but commerial rivalry continued.
- A dispute about the frontier between Canada and Maine was settled by *the Ashburton Treaty (1842).* Called after the British negotiator who worked it out with the Americans, the treaty was unpopular with Canadians who felt it had given too much away.
- More popular was *the Oregon Treaty (1846)* which solved a dispute about possession of the Pacific coast. The Americans claimed the whole of the coastline right up to Alaska (owned by Russia until 1867 when it was bought by the USA for $7 million) which would shut Canada out completely from the Pacific. There was considerable tension between Britain and the USA, whose extremists wanted war. President Polk gave way and the treaty fixed the boundary to Canada's advantage along the 49th parallel, with a detour so that the whole of Vancouver Island could be included in Canada.

(e) The move towards federation and the Dominion of Canada (1867)

In the early 1850s the idea of a federation of all the Canadian colonies began to be widely discussed. There were different motives:

- Time showed that Lord Durham had been wrong in thinking that the French Canadians would be assimilated into their British surroundings. In fact they became more determined to preserve their French customs and language, and more worried as English-speaking immigrants continued to flood in. When gold was discovered in the Fraser River canyon in the far west in 1858, there was the prospect of thousands more flocking into the west, tipping the balance even more heavily against the French. In 1830 the English-speaking population of Upper Canada totalled only half the population of French Lower Canada; by 1861, because of massive immigration, there had been a dramatic turnaround - there were now 1.4 million people in Upper Canada and 1.1 million in Lower Canada. The Upper Canadians were protesting that they ought to have more MPs than the Lower Canadians. The French Canadians decided that a federal system might be the best way of saving themselves from being submerged: Upper and Lower Canada could be separated again and they would at least have their own assembly for internal affairs.
- All the colonies realized the need for a railway to link Halifax (Nova Scotia) with Quebec. This intercolonial scheme received very little support from London and the separate colonies seemed unable to agree on a joint policy. The idea spread that only if British North America became united would the railway be built.
- The colonies had economic problems. As Britain moved towards complete free trade, Canada lost its preferential rates for timber exported to Britain. The American Civil War (1861-5) adversely affected Canada's trade. The Canadians realized that the only way to survive was by closer co-operation between the provinces.
- The American Civil War gave a decisive impetus to federation in another way. The Northern States and Britain were close to war, and British troops shipped out to Halifax had to travel by sleigh through New Brunswick to Quebec. This convinced the British government that a united defence and an inter-colonial railway were needed.

The Canadians began discussions at the Quebec Conference (1864). This broke up without agreement, but the matter became urgent in 1866 when the Fenians (see Section 13.3(a)) attacked from the USA and captured Fort Erie in Upper Canada. British troops were able to drive them back, but the constant threat from the USA convinced all the colonies that unity was essential. Talks were resumed and the Canadians produced their own plan which the British government accepted in *the British North America Act of 1867.*

Upper and Lower Canada were separated again and became the provinces of Ontario and Quebec; they joined New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to form the Dominion of Canada. It was understood that other provinces would join later as they became more populated and developed. Manitoba joined in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The last to join was Newfoundland (1949) which had been a dominion in its own right. Each province had its own parliament (which pleased the French in Quebec) which had certain specific powers over local affairs. There was a federal parliament containing representatives from all the provinces, which was to sit at Ottawa, the new Canadian capital; this controlled matters such as defence, taxation and overseas trade. The Act also contained provision for the long needed railway to link all the provinces. The word *dominion* was chosen to solve the problem of what title to give the new confederation. 'Kingdom' of Canada offended many people, so Samuel Tilley of New Brunswick suggested a text from Psalm 72: 'He shall have dominion also from sea to sea'. Thus the Dominion of Canada came into existence.

(f) Important developments since 1867

- The first Prime Minister of Canada was Sir John A.Macdonald. He had played a leading part in drawing up the details of the 1867 Act. He went on to point the new state towards successful development, the first step in which was the completion of the Intercolonial Railway from the St Lawrence to Halifax in 1876.

- After initial problems, Macdonald was able to promote the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway linking Montreal with Vancouver on the Pacific coast. When this was completed in 1885, it enabled more and more pioneer farmers to move out west and made possible the vast expansion of wheat farming.
- There was one unpleasant episode in 1885. The Federal Government had in 1869 bought up the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company which had been trading in furs for the past 200 years. These huge Northern Territories came under Federal control, but the government had been surprised when Louis Riel, a French Indian, led a rebellion of buffalo hunters who farmed along the banks of the Red River.

Macdonald agreed that their settlements should become the province of Manitoba, and calm was restored. However, in 1885 Riel appeared again, leading a rebellion along the Saskatchewan River. This was quickly suppressed by troops rushed from the east along the new railway. Macdonald made himself unpopular by having Riel hanged, which reawakened much of the resentment between French and British, and helped to keep alive Quebec nationalism which has survived until the presentday.

- Macdonald encouraged the development of Canadian industries by introducing high protective tariffs against American goods, though British goods were given preference.
- The link with Britain remained strong. During the Boer War Canada unhesitatingly sent troops to help the British, while during the First World War no fewer than 650,000 Canadian troops played an important role in the eventual defeat of the Central Powers.

18.2 Australia

(a) New South Wales: the first Australian colony

The first European settlers, 750 convicts, arrived at Botany Bay in 1788, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. Australia was already peopled by the native Aborigines, whose ancestors are thought to have reached the country from Java or South East Asia some 40,000 years ago. It was estimated that in 1788 there were between 300,000 and a million Aborigines living in Australia, but the discovery of a huge burial site in New South Wales in 1994 has led archaeologists to revise that figure upwards to something like three million.

The first European settlement was at Port Jackson and soon afterwards Sydney was founded. The first free settlers arrived in 1793, but the early years were violent ones: the convicts had to be kept in order by troops, and floggings and executions were common. Under pressure from the free settlers, the British government stopped the transportation of convicts to New South Wales in 1840, though the penal settlements remained open until 1866 when the last convicts finished their sentences. Convicts continued to be sent to Western Australia until 1868.

Sheep farming was the vital factor in the early prosperity of New South Wales and of the other colonies as well. The Spanish merino sheep had been introduced from South Africa in 1796 by Captain John Macarthur. At first sheep farmers stayed in the coastal area, but in 1813 an expedition led by William Lawson, Gregory Blaxland and W.C.Wentworth crossed the Blue Mountains and discovered the rich pastureland of the Bathurst plains. A rapid expansion of sheep farming followed and by 1850 Australia, producing high quality wool, was the world's largest wool exporter. The British woollen industry came to rely heavily on supplies from Australia.

Gold became the other mainstay of Australian prosperity. It was first discovered at Bathurst in New South Wales in 1851, and soon afterwards at Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria, which had separated from New South Wales the previous year. It was in Victoria that the largest deposits were found.

(b) The other Australian colonies

Explorers began to move into the interior and around the coasts. Midshipman Samuel Flinders and Surgeon George Bass sailed round Van Diemen's Land (later called Tasmania) in 1798, and by 1803 Flinders had sailed all the way round Australia, mapping the entire coastline.

- *Tasmania* was the second colony to be founded, taken by the British in 1803 to prevent the French claiming it. Hobart was the capital, but in the early days it was used as a penal settlement for the worst type of convicts. The free settlers distinguished themselves by their brutal treatment of the Aborigines who were eventually placed on Flinders Island in the Bass Straits. By 1869 all the Aborigines of Tasmania had died.
- *Victoria* began as a sheep-rearing settlement around the village founded in 1835 and known as Melbourne after the British Prime Minister. Development was rapid: by 1850 there were 77,000 settlers and five million sheep in Victoria, and in that year it was recognized as a separate colony. When gold was discovered the following year, there was a frantic rush of immigrants both from the other colonies and from Britain. 19,000 people arrived in Melbourne in one month - September 1852, while the total for the year was around 84,000.

There were enormous problems of administration and law and order, and there were some unpleasant confrontations between miners and the government of Victoria. In December 1854 there occurred what amounted almost to an armed insurrection at the Eureka mine in Ballarat. The miners complained that over the previous three years they had been subjected to unfair treatment, insensitive policing and exhorbitant mining licence fees, and that all attempts to reason with the mine-owners had come to nothing. In protest, several hundred miners burnt their permits and barricaded themselves in. The authorities brought in government troops who stormed the stockade, killing around 35 miners. Public opinion was with the workers, and at their trials in Melbourne, their leaders were acquitted on charges of high treason. Eventually the industry settled down and the mining was taken in hand by large companies.

- *South Australia* was the other important colony (see below). *Queensland* was first used in 1824 as another dumping-ground for convicts; it became a separate colony in 1859 though its population was only 25,000. The first settlers arrived at Perth in *Western Australia* in 1829, but development was slow and difficult because of the way the land was distributed. The government sold it at less than a shilling (5p) an acre, so colonists bought far more than they needed and lacked sufficient labour to work the land. They even petitioned the government to send them convicts who could work as labourers. The government gratefully obliged, sending 10,000 between 1850 and 1868. Another boost to the colony's development was the discovery of gold at Coolgardie (1892) and Kalgoorlie (1894).

map 18.2 Australia and New Zealand before 1914

(c) Edward Gibbon Wakefield and South Australia

Edward Gibbon Wakefield came from a Quaker and Radical background, his father having been a close friend of Bentham and Place. The young Wakefield was wild and undisciplined. He eloped with one rich heiress and later kidnapped another who happened to be under age; this earned him three years in Newgate Prison, London.

Here he had plenty of time to ponder about the plight of criminals and convicts, particularly those in Australian penal settlements. He developed a theory about how overseas colonization should be organized; this was explained in his *Letter from Sydney* written in 1829 while he was still in prison.

The idea was that if emigration was properly organized by the government, *it could be the perfect solution for unemployment and poverty in Britain.* As things were at present in Australia, he believed it was too easy to get land and too difficult to find labourers to cultivate it. The government should therefore sell land at a 'sufficient price', which would be high enough to ensure that only responsible people acquired it and acquired only a workable area. The money raised would be used to pay the passages of more immigrants who would have to work as labourers until they had saved enough money to buy farms for themselves. The purchase money could then be used to bring out more immigrants, so that the balance between the demand for and supply of labour would always be kept. Convicts would no longer be needed.

- In 1830, as soon as he emerged from prison, Wakefield started a *Colonial Society,* and almost immediately many of his ideas were adopted in the existing colonies. Between 1832 and 1842, 7,000 free settlers arrived in New South Wales; since land was priced at five shillings (25p) an acre, and by 1842 at £1 an acre, most of the new arrivals had to do their stint as labourers to begin with. Transportation of convicts was duly stopped in 1840. This was in marked contrast to what happened in Western Australia where land was sold too cheaply (see above).
- Wakefield, wanting to found a colony of his own, started *the South Australia Association (1834)* and persuaded the government to agree to the setting up of South Australia. The first settlers arrived in 1836 and work began on the capital, Adelaide (named after William IV's Queen). Land was offered at 12 shillings (60p) an acre. Soon, however, the problems of starting a new colony from scratch under Wakefield's system became apparent. The government provided no financial help; this was expected to materialize from land sales and loans. 12 shillings an acre proved to be too expensive to attract enough buyers, but not enough to raise sufficient cash. And a

great deal of cash was needed, since there was a complete lack of facilities and not even a reasonable harbour. Wakefield quarrelled violently with the other members of the governing body - he wanted to raise the price of land to 72 shillings an acre, but they rightly felt this was unrealistic. He withdrew from the whole project and started a New Zealand Association instead.

South Australia was saved from disaster when G.F.Angas floated a company which raised £320,000, enough to provide most of the vital facilities. Progress was slow even then, but by 1850 the colony was well and truly launched. It had a population of 63,000 with around a million sheep and 60,000 cattle. The land proved to be fertile enough for wheat growing, so that the new colony developed into the granary of Australia. The discovery of copper in 1846 brought an added boost to the economy and in 1850 total exports were valued at £570,000. The success of South Australia had little to do with Wakefield, but at least his was the inspiration that founded it.

(d) Political developments: the move towards a united Australia (1901)

The colonies moved towards responsible government without the agitations and disturbances which characterized Canada. New South Wales became a Crown colony in 1826 under a Governor-General who nominated his own advisory council. In 1842 it was allowed that two-thirds of the members of the council could be elected. The other colonies followed a similar pattern until in 1855 responsible elected assemblies - with the power to decide policies - were granted in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia. Responsible government came to Queensland in 1859 and to Western Australia in 1890.

For many years there was little interest in federation. The six colonies had developed separately and communications between them were so poor that any sort of union seemed impractical, at least until after 1870. It was only after 1890 that federation began to be discussed seriously. The reasons were:

- *External threats began to worry many Australians.* Both Germany and Japan had ambitions in the Pacific. After 1890 the Germans began to follow an aggressive policy of expansion wherever possible, and the Japanese showed their potential by defeating the Chinese decisively in 1894. A strong and united defence was essential to dissuade any foreign ambitions of expansion into Australia.
- *The early 1890s were a time of economic difficulty* culminating in the crisis of 1893. In fact South Australia had been in difficulties since around 1880 because of drought and plagues of rabbits which ruined the wheat harvests. In 1886 a sudden fall in world wool prices threw many farmers into debt in all the colonies. Though Australia had experienced an industrial revolution after 1850, much of the new industry was inefficient and in 1890 a depression set in, bringing widespread unemployment. In 1893 the crisis worked its way through to the banks as people rushed to withdraw deposits. Panic followed, and of the 32 major banks in Australia, 22 had to suspend payments. Although prosperity gradually returned, the crisis had been a profound shock for the Australians and was probably the main stimulus to the federation movement. Union would remove the troublesome customs barriers between the states; the increased confidence would enable Australians to borrow from abroad. Improved communications made the idea feasible: Melbourne and Sydney were linked by rail in 1883, Melbourne and Adelaide in 1887 and Sydney and Brisbane (Queensland) in 1889.

The Commonwealth of Australia Act passed the British parliament in 1900 and came into operation on 1 January 1901. The Federal parliament was to control defence, foreign policy and treaties, trade and customs duties, postal services, marriage and divorce, banking and currency and immigration. Everything not specifically mentioned in the list, was left to the state parliaments. These had more power than their counterparts in Canada, controlling social services, health, education, labour and industry, agriculture, mines, police, rivers and railways. To avoid inter-state

jealousies, a new federal capital was to be built at Canberra, between Sydney and Melbourne.

(e) The Dominion or Commonwealth of Australia

The new state did not become prosperous overnight, but by 1914 the policies of the Federal government had stabilized the economy and the depression had disappeared. Important measures of the Federal parliament were:

- *The Immigration Restriction Act (1901)* in effect allowed only whites to enter the country. This was because Australians were afraid that Asian and Pacific labourers would work for very low wages, forcing down wages paid to white Australians. There was also the fear that the whites would be swamped if unrestricted immigration was allowed from such countries as Japan and India.
- *An Arbitration Court was introduced (1904)* to fix 'fair and reasonable' wages and to mediate in industrial disputes. The novelty of this was that the court's decisions were binding on all parties.
- Old age pensions (1908), invalid pensions (1911) and maternity allowances (1912) were introduced.
- In defence matters, conscription was introduced (1911) and the first ships of the Australian navy were launched in 1913. Australia played an important part in the First World War, sending over 300,000 troops to Europe.

18.3 New Zealand

(a) Early colonization

When the first Europeans arrived, New Zealand was already inhabited by the Maoris, a Polynesian race with light brown skins. Captain James Cook had mapped both the North and South Islands in 1769, and had claimed them for Britain. The British government had ignored their existence and there was no large scale attempt to

colonize New Zealand until well into the nineteenth century. The only European settlers were missionaries - the first of whom arrived in 1814 - trying to convert the Maoris, and there were some whalers and escaped convicts.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield was responsible for the first organized settlement. After he had washed his hands of the South Australia project, he formed *the New Zealand Association (1837)* which, the following year, was allowed by the British government to become a chartered company. The first expedition of 1,200 people arrived and four settlements were started - Wellington, Wanganui and New Plymouth on North Island and Nelson on South Island. The British government announced that it had annexed the colony, just in time to forestall a French colonizing party which was off the coast.

The first Governor, William Hobson, signed *the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) with the Maoris of North Island.* It was agreed that:

- the Maoris would regard Victoria as their queen;
- in return the British guaranteed the Maoris the possession of their land;
- the British government would buy any Maori land offered for sale, provided the whole tribe agreed. This was designed to prevent settlers acquiring land cheaply from individual Maoris.

Unfortunately many settlers and officials of the company broke the treaty and simply evicted Maoris from their lands. The Maori tribes retaliated and there was some spasmodic fighting sometimes referred to as the *First Maori War (1842-6).* By 1845 the new colony was not a success: the Maoris were hostile, the settlements were not expanding and exports were non-existent.

(b) The New Zealand Federation (1852)

Sir George Grey became Governor of New Zealand in 1845, and immediately matters took a turn for the better. Aged only 33, he had already made a reputation as a successful governor of South Australia. He quickly subdued the Maoris, mainly by a show of military strength, but then showed great sympathy and understanding and

made a study of Maori language and literature. He stopped the private sale of land and negotiated the purchase of almost the whole of South Island, where there were only about 2,000 Maoris. He developed a close friendship with many of the chiefs and spent money on schools, hospitals, law-courts and agricultural advice. The farmers began to prosper as exports of foodstuffs and livestock to Australia increased in the early 1850s because of the rush to the Australian goldfields.

As the numbers of settlers increased, they began to campaign for self-government, though Grey wanted to postpone it until the land and Maori problems had been settled completely. The first major step was taken in 1852, while Grey was still Governor: *The New Zealand Federation was established by an Act of the British parliament.* The six main settlements - Auckland, New Plymouth (later called Taranaki), and Wellington in North Island, and Nelson, Canterbury and Otago in South Island - were given their own elected councils, and there was a central federal assembly. Although this was representative government, it was not yet responsible government, since in the last resort the Governor was still in charge.Grey ended his first period as Governor in 1853, and the British parliament agreed that the New Zealanders could have full responsible self-government in 1856.

(c) Relations with the Maoris deteriorate again

- There was a great influx of new settlers after self-government was achieved. In 1856 there were still no more than 60,000 Europeans in New Zealand, but the number soared to 350,000 by 1878. There was tremendous pressure for land, causing settlements to spread from the coastal towns into the interior of North Island where the Maoris had previously been left undisturbed. Now they gathered themselves for the final desperate defence of their lands, and the *Second Maori War (1860-71)* broke out.
- The Maoris fought bravely, but against the superior military strength of the Europeans there was no chance of a Maori victory. Grey was recalled for a second term as Governor (1861-8), and though he did his best to bring peace, he had very

little power since the introduction of self-government. However, he managed some concessions: the Maoris were allowed to have at least four representatives in the federal assembly (1867) and an agreement was reached which allowed them to live undisturbed in an area amounting to about one-third the size of North Island. Fighting gradually fizzled out, but the fact remained that the Maoris had been deprived of much of their most fertile land, sometimes by purchase, but more often by straightforward confiscation.

(d) The united New Zealand (1876)

In the early 1870s a group of leading politicians, including Julius Vogel of Otago, became convinced that the provincial assemblies were largely inefficient and lacking in vision, and that government could be carried on more effectively without them. An Act to abolish them passed the federal legislature and came into operation in 1876. There was to be a single parliament in Wellington.

Economically New Zealand went through a difficult period until the mid-1890s. Then prices of foodstuffs and wool began to recover and farmers enjoyed a period of great prosperity, lasting right through the First World War. The development of refrigerator ships enabled them to export lamb to Britain.

The Liberal governments of Richard John Seddon (1893-1906) introduced some remarkable reforms: votes for women (1893), old age pensions, cheap loans to farmers, improved working conditions and a system of compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes (the first country in the world to have such a system).

During the First World War a remarkably high proportion of New Zealand's population served in the armed forces. About 100,000 men served overseas, and many distinguished themselves, and lost their lives, in the Gallipoli Campaign of 1915 (see Section 22.1(d)).

Questions

1 New South Wales was the first Australian colony to be founded, in 1788; it was followed by Tasmania (1803), Western Australia (1829), South Australia (1836), Victoria (1850) and Queensland (1859).

(a) Show how sheep-farming and gold-mining were important in the early development of the Australian colonies. 6 marks

(b) How important was the work and influence of Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the development of Australia? 5 marks

(c) What problems delayed the development of Western Australia, and how were similar difficulties avoided in New South Wales? 4 marks

(d) Why, during the 1890s, did the six colonies begin to think about joining together, and what arrangements were made by the Commonwealth of Australia Act of 1900? 10 marks

Total 25 mark

A document question about Lord Durham and the development of Canada can be found on the accompanying website.