

University of Western Australia
PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE COURSE

**HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES ON THE
FORM, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERTH**

THE REALIZATION OF A CAPITALIST DREAM

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HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES ON THE FORM, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERTH:

THE REALIZATION OF A CAPITALIST DREAM

INTRODUCTION

Objects

The primary object of this chapter is to seek an insight into the underlying forces and mechanisms operating in the City of Perth which might reflect upon the present and future form, planning and development of the City. It is proposed as a secondary object in the end to test any insight gained against the tenets of Marx's historical materialist thesis.

Kilmartin, Thorns and Burke (1985, p.58) in explaining what is meant by the materialism of Marx's theory say:

“Quite simply we mean that for Marx the key to the quality of life and the motor force of historical change in any society stems from the way in which people react with themselves and with nature to satisfy their material needs. In order to live, so the argument goes, people must first be able to transform nature into the food, shelter, clothing, etc. necessary for their survival. In the process of satisfying these material needs, people enter into definite relations of production. These material relations of production, argued Marx, reveal the ‘innermost’ secret of each society, historical directions of societies and provide the foundation upon which all societies are based.”

Deriving inspiration from that account of Marx's materialism, this paper will consider the way in which people of the Perth region have reacted with one another and with nature to satisfy their material needs, both before and after European settlement. By this means it is hoped to discover something of the character of Perth and its environment (if not the “innermost secret”), and to gain an appreciation of historical directions.

HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS 1827-1850

It is proposed in the first part of this chapter to undertake an historical-geographical analysis of Perth's establishment and development going back to the entrepreneurial fountainhead in 1827 and running through to the commencement of convict transportation in 1850. There will be three strands in this analysis namely:

1. Pre-European land use;
2. The Capitalist dream behind European settlement on the Swan River; and
3. Survival of the capitalist dream.

By analysing these three strands we will see that they disclose commonalities and tensions which help to expose the historical-geographical engines driving the City.

1. PRE-EUROPEAN LAND USE

The reason for looking at pre-European land use in the Perth region is to gain an appreciation of the character of the environment and its proven capacity to sustain at least one type of land use in the long term.

The original inhabitants of the area now covered by the metropolitan region of Perth called their land the “Bibbulmun” - the “land of the many breasts” (Durack, 1964, p.9). The nature of their occupation has been described by the Berndts and others, but Mary Durack in “Yagan of the Bibbulmun” provides a description which has the virtue of literary colour -

“Nomad hunters of the forest, they built no houses and sowed no crops but no family group ever encroached over another’s boundary without invitation. They kept a strict code of hospitality and good manners and each group invited its neighbours in at certain times, when there would be feasting, singing and dancing

Life flowed easily for the Bibbulmun. Their needs were simple and their possessions no more than they could carry from camp to camp - a few weapons and bark carries and the skins they wore in cold weather”

There is a tone in this a bit reminiscent of Raphael Nonsenso explaining to More the lifestyle of the natives of Utopia except that this account was a description of the real world. A slightly more prosaic side to aboriginal land use is explained by Sylvia Hallam in her book “Fire and Hearth” (Hallam, 1975). On the basis of extensive research of Aboriginal life in south-Western Australia, she formed the view that “fire stick farming” had been practised for centuries. That involved burning the bush on a regular basis first to scare out kangaroos which could easily be captured, and later to catch other kangaroos which returned to feed on new, green shoots. (Backhouse, 1843, p.541) who visited the Swan area in 1838 observed the Aboriginals “setting fire to the scrub, in various places, to facilitate their hunting and to afford young herbage to the kangaroos”). Hallam concludes that the Aboriginals were genuine farmers who modified the structure and distribution of floral and faunal communities with effects on the landscape which “may have been more crucial than we can fully appreciate”.

The fact seems to be that the Bibbulmun had used the Perth region for thousands of years, apparently striking a balance with the environment that was workable on a long term basis. There is no doubt that the population density was not great by comparison with the population today. Two researchers in the early days of the colony, Robert Lyon in 1832 and Francis Armstrong, the first government interpreter, in 1837, suggested that there were just over one hundred Aborigines in 1829 living in the area now occupied as metropolitan Perth (Hasluck, 1961). But such numbers do not necessarily tell the whole story.

Another way of comparing the Aboriginal and the European land uses is to note that as at 1829, the Aboriginal population of W.A. is estimated to have been 59,000 (Seddon, 1979, p.172). The colony was intended as a self-sustaining **agricultural** settlement, but south-Western Australia was, in general, unproductive under the farming techniques of nineteenth century temperate Europe.

De Garis (1979, pp.13-14) points out that -

“... not until the end of the nineteenth century could the Western Australian environment under its new management support a population equal to that of the Aborigines in 1829”.

It is amusing to note that the changeover from Aboriginal to European land use was officially contemplated as being an orderly affair. The Admiralty instructions to Captain Charles Fremantle in 1828 on departing for the new territory were to formally take possession for

Britain of the western third of New Holland, with the proviso that “he ask the Aboriginals if they objected to him doing so” (Russo, 1987). History does not record whether or not he complied with that instruction, or the response if he did.

Bibbulmun Relationship to the Environment of Perth Metropolitan Region

The Aboriginal occupation of the country is thought to have endured for 40,000 years or more before European occupation (Berndt, 1979, p.30). Even allowing for the present day tendency to eulogize the pre-European condition of the Aboriginals, there were utopian elements of a “paradise on earth” if you like, about the Aboriginal enjoyment of the region. This was lost to the Aboriginals in 1829, in favour of a utopian dream of a very different kind, a paradise for capital and investment.

The early promoters of settlement on the Swan visiting it in 1827 did see the Perth region as a kind of paradise on earth. But that was not so much an evaluation of the then existing state of things; rather it involved a vision of how the land could be exploited for agricultural purposes. Perhaps they were right about the paradise and the exploitation, but they were wrong about the nature of the land use which would realize their dreams.

It hardly needs to be demonstrated that the realization of the capitalist ideal has necessitated the transformation of the environment to more completely reflect the ideal. Whether the transformation is for better or worse is a matter of taste and viewpoint, but whether the new state of affairs is sustainable on a long term basis remains a question capable of and needing to be answered. It may be that the exploitation of W.A. land centred on Perth features and depends upon a wasteful land use incapable of being sustained in the long run.

These questions will be examined in the next parts of this paper.

2. CAPITALIST DREAM BEHIND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT ON THE SWAN RIVER

2.1 Foundation of the Capitalist Ideal

There are three points about the settlement of Perth that are significant in pursuing the objects of this paper:

- (a) The settlement was undertaken in a spirit of high and unrealistic optimism;
- (b) It was established exclusively for private settlement, and was the capital of the only colony founded on the basis of a land grant system; and
- (c) It was unashamedly and in fact avowedly a capitalist undertaking. Perth was to be a town for capitalists.

As to the spirit of high and unrealistic optimism, the case is made out very clearly by George Seddon in his 1979 Octagon Lecture (Seddon, 1979). He records the glowing and inaccurate reports of James Stirling and Charles Fraser (Government Botanist of N.S.W.) arising from their 1827 visit to the Swan River, of which the following passage from the report of Stirling to Governor Darling is a representative example:

“Situated in a Climate which admits of Labour, possessing great varieties of excellent Soil, well Watered by Springs, Creeks and refreshing Showers, and offering, under the influence of a powerful Sun, great ranges in temperature according to the height and position occupied, Swan River appears to hold out every attraction that a Country in a State of Nature can possess ... I am therefore of the opinion that it ought to be immediately retained.

James Stirling to Governor Darling, 18 April, 1827”

Stirling and Fraser made the place seem like a paradise, and especially well suited for agriculture. They judged that it compared very favourably with the eastern colonies on all counts. Their reports were the main basis for the decision to establish an agricultural settlement on the Swan for which, as Seddon points out, it proved a near-disastrous choice.

In the original conception of the settlement then, there was clearly a spirit of high and unrealistic optimism. Secondly the private settlement and land grant elements are a matter of record. Thirdly, it will be seen that the settlement was by and for capitalists, and further that it was firmly planted on capitalist principles. These seem to be prime ingredients for speculation, and it will be seen that speculation of various kinds has played a vital role in the realisation of the capitalist dream for Perth.

2.2 Official Sanction for the Capitalist Ideal

The capitalist character of the Swan River Settlement is best appreciated upon a reading of the Colonial Office’s Conditions for Land Grants at the Swan River, published in December, 1928.

“Although it is the intention of His Majesty’s Government to form a settlement on the Western Coast of Australia, the Government do not intend to incur any Expense in conveying settlers or in supplying them with Necessaries after their Arrival.

Such persons, however, as may be prepared to proceed to that Country at their own Cost before the End of the Year 1829, in parties comprehending a Proportion of not less than Five Female to Six Male Settlers, will receive Grants of Land in Fee Simple (free of Quit Rent) proportioned to the Capital which they may invest upon public or private Objects in the Colony, to the Satisfaction of His Majesty’s Government at Home, certified by the Superintendent or other Officer administering the Colonial Government, at the rate of Forty Acres for every Sum of £3 so invested provided they give previous Security; first, that all supplies sent to the Colony, whether of Provisions, Stores or other Articles, which may be purchased by the Capitalists there, or which shall have been sent out for the Use of them or their Parties on the Requisition of the Secretary of State, if not paid for at Home, each Capitalist being to be held liable in his Proportion; and secondly, that, on the Event of the Establishment being broken up by the Governor or Superintendent, all Persons desirous of returning to the British Isles shall be conveyed to their own Home at the Expense of the Capitalists by whom they may have been taken out. The passages of labouring Persons, whether paid for by themselves or others, and whether they be Male or Female, provided the Proportion of the Sexes before mentioned be preserved, will be considered as an Investment of Capital entitling the Party by whom such Payment may have been made to an allowance of land at the rate of £15, that is, of 200 Acres of Land for the passage of every such labouring Person over and above any other Investment of Capital.

Any land thus granted, which shall not have been brought into Cultivation, or otherwise improved or reclaimed from its wild State, to the satisfaction of Government, within Twenty-One Years from the Date of the Grant, shall, at the End of the Twenty-One Years, revert absolutely to the Crown.

All these Conditions with respect to free Grants of Land, and all Contracts of labouring Persons and others, who shall have bound themselves for a stipulated Term of Service, will be strictly maintained.

It is not intended that any Convicts or other Description of Prisoners be sent to this new Settlement.

The Government will be administrated by Captain Stirling of the Royal Navy, as Civil Superintendent of the Settlement, and a Bill in the nature of a Civil Charter will be submitted to Parliament in the Commencement of its next Session.”

These regulations, issued in the form of a circular, were modified by a new set issued from the Colonial Office on 3 February, 1829. Some significant changes were made in the original conditions. Only ten years was allowed for improving the land granted, instead of the original twenty-one. It was further stipulated that some improvements had to be made within three years to the value of one shilling and sixpence per acre. Failure to comply was to result in a fine. Whereas the original condition had set the end of 1829 as a time limit on arrival in the colony, the new ones extended this to the end of 1830.

3. SWAN RIVER MANIA

Partly as a result of the generous terms offered initially by the Colonial Office, but also as a result of a clever publicity campaign which started with Stirling’s and Frazer’s reports on their 1827 visit, a wave of Swan River mania built up resulting in nearly 1800 settlers being dumped on the beaches in little more than 12 months.

An example of the thinking of the time is provided in an advertisement published in 1829 by H.C. Semphill, the Shipping Agent for the “Lady Campbell” chartered to carry settlers from England to the Swan River.

“Swan River Settlement

The new settlement on Swan River is in one of the finest climates of the Universe, about 3 months sail from England, highly suited for the production of cotton, silk, tallow, provisions, linseed, hemp, flax and corn and the culture of vine.

The country is of an open and undulating character, with excellent soil beautifully but not too much wooded; well adapted for wool growing and the raising of stock. The coast and river literally teem with fish.

The shortness of the distance between Swan River and the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, the Indian Peninsula, Timor, Batavia, New South Wales and many other important places, must open a door for commercial enterprise of a vast magnitude.

It has been calculated that rice, at one penny per pound, sugar at 3 pence per pound, coffee at 4 pence per pound, tea at 2 shillings and sixpence per pound, and many other commodities and live stock at equally low prices can be imported from Java in 5 weeks.

The harmless kangaroo seems to be the only wild animal in the occupation of this immense and beautiful country; while the splendid river and neighbouring lagoons are covered with myriads of swans and wild duck ...”.

(For the full text of this fulsome ad, see Appendix 1).

Stirling, with the first group of colonists, sailed from Spithead in the hired transport *Parmelia* on 6 February, 1829. According to Markey (1976, p.26), the stage had been set for a massive relocation in space. "... a new habitat was to be pioneered on the basis of high expectations as to its suitability for European settlement".

4. CHOICE OF PERTH TOWNSITE

The capital of Western Australia was not originally destined to be on its present site. Stannage (1979, pp. 29-31) explains how Stirling's original choice of a site for the capital had probably been Point Heathcote and that the present site was probably chosen as a second choice, dictated by the fact that it operate as a port town at the point where goods shipped up the Swan in small boats would have to be unloaded, being as close to the agricultural lands of the Upper Swan as could be managed.

Whatever the reason might have been for the siting of the capital, there seems to be universal acceptance of the fact that the situation at the foot of Mount Eliza, and overlooking the extensive Perth Water is very attractive. Significantly, Perth has that very desirable feature for land speculation, namely location.

5. PERTH DEVELOPMENT 1829 TO 1850

(a) Expansion of the Town

The basic layout of the town was determined at the commencement of the settlement, and was from the earliest time in the form shown in the Arrowsmith Plan of 1833. (Appendix 2).

Even from a planning point of view, the expansion between 1833 and 1845 was not significant, as can be seen from the Hillman Plan of 1838 (Appendix 3) and the official 1845 Plan (Appendix 4).

The planning of the town in this early stage is interestingly treated in chapters 5 and 6 of Seddon and Ravine's "A City and Its Setting" (1986). The same source gives population figures for Perth during the same period (Seddon, 1986, pp.275-6), and those figures demonstrate more clearly the poor performance of the capitalist venture in the first 21 years.

(b) Expansion of Population

1832

The population of Perth as at 1832 was approximately 360 persons, at a time when the population of the colony was 1,707 (1,857 in Statistical Summary - Appendix 5).

1840

By 1840, the population of Perth had grown only to 500 persons, but the total population of the colony was only 2,311.

1848

By 1848, after 19 years, the population of Perth was still only 1,148.

(c) **Area Under Crops**

The Statistical Summary (Appendix 5) discloses that the total area under crops in the whole of the colony by 1850 was only 7,419 acres.

6. STATE OF THE ENTERPRISE AS AT 1850

Given that the establishment of the Swan River Colony had been an agricultural enterprise, it had not been successful according to that specific objective. However the literature of the time abounds with references to the speculation occurring in land sales, and generally speaking, those who had money were able to increase their fortunes in Perth. Stannage (1979, p.7) refers to the view expressed as early as 1835 by George Fletcher More (Advocate General of the Colony) that in Perth, money can make money.

The sources seem to indicate that the original capitalist dream that motivated the first settlers had not been realized by 1850. There was a surrender of principle to expedience at that time with the decision to import cheap labour - convicts.

In the Colonial Office prospectus for the colony in 1828, labourers had been equated with capital so that the capitalist importing one labourer was entitled to receive 200 acres of land. Thus, even without resort to Marx's notion of surplus labour, it is not difficult to see the request for convicts as a significant step consistent with the capitalist ideal.

SURVIVAL OF THE CAPITALIST DREAM

1. CONVICT ERA 1850-1870

The transportation of convicts to W.A. was undertaken at the request of the colonists. Stannage (1979, pp.79 *et seq*) explains the events leading to transportation, and sheets home the primary responsibility for the decision to the farmers of York. In any event, the introduction of that source of cheap labour seems to have had a significant effect. The following figures are worth noting:

(a) Population Growth

In the first 11 years of convict transportation, the population of Perth grew from approx. 1,300 to approx. 5,000. (Seddon, 1986, p.277).

(b) Agricultural Land

In the whole of the colony, in the 20 years of convict transportation, the area under crops grew from 7, 419 acres to 54, 527. (Statistical Summary - Appendix 5).

2. PERIOD 1870-1885

There may have been many reasons for the comparative stagnation in the 15 years immediately following the termination of convict transportation, but it is tempting to see this stagnation as evidence of the importance of the capital infusion that cheap convict labour represented. The statistics are interesting. Note the following:

(a) Population Growth

As at 1861, the population of W.A. was approx. 16,000 and the population of Perth was approx. 5,000. By 1870 the population of W.A. had grown to 25,000, and by 1884 the W.A. population had reached approx. 33,500. While the W.A. population more than doubled in the 23 years from 1861, the population of Perth in that period increased by only 30% to 6,500 in 1884.

(b) Agricultural Land

The area under crops in the 15 years 1870 to 1885 grew by only 10% from approx. 55,000 acres to approx. 60,000. (Statistical Summary - Appendix 5).

3. GOLD-RUSH ERA 1885-1905

The gold-rushes in W.A. began in 1885. There can be no more eloquent statement of the effect of the gold-rushes on Perth than to say that in the 6 years 1884 to 1890, the population of Perth nearly trebled from approx. 6,500 to approx. 20,000. (Seddon, 1988, pp.277 and 279).

Between 1890 and 1900 the population of W.A. increased from approx. 46,000 to approx. 180,000. By 1910, it was approx. 288,000 and by 1920, it was approx. 331,000. By 1920 the population of Perth was 167,000.

The destiny of Perth was realized in the gold-rushes. This was the kind of capitalist venture that much more appropriately fitted the spirit of high optimism that had accompanied the first settlement on the Swan. The capitalist dream had not just survived; it had at last become a reality.

FORM, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERTH

1. SOME INTUITIVE RESPONSES

There is particular significance in the timing and cause of Perth's population boom, having consequences on the form, planning and development of the City. It must suffice simply to mention a number of the points which are significant in this context:

- (a) By reason of its painfully slow growth and indifferent prosperity prior to 1885, there was a unique opportunity for Perth to be, in effect constructed afresh in the early 20th Century.
- (b) There is particular significance in the fact that the era of Perth's most rapid growth corresponded with the emergence world-wide of town planning as a conscious discipline. In the U.K. there was the garden cities movement in the first years of the new century, the formation of a town planning association, and in 1909 the passing of the Town and Country Planning etc Act.
- (c) Stannage (1979, pp.214 *et seq*) makes the point that much of the wealth derived from gold mining was re-invested in real estate and urban development in Perth.
- (d) In 1901 Perth acquired a Town Clerk "Extraordinary", W.E. Bold, who was to serve the City for 43 years, and who had a particular interest in town planning.
- (e) The speculation and entrepreneurism, associated with the gold-rush mentality were not only in keeping with the spirit in which Perth was first settled, but have probably become foundation stones of the recent culture of the West.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter suggests that there were three periods significant in the development and growth of Perth prior to 1928, namely:

- (1) The "Swan River Mania" years immediately following settlement in 1829;
- (2) The convict Era; and
- (3) The Gold-Rush Era.

All of the periods have significant capitalist elements. All involved opportunism. The Swan River Mania years have even more in common with the Gold-Rush Era in that they involved elements of speculation and unreasonable optimism. It would not be unreasonable to intuit that they have left their mark on the character of the people of Perth.

If the City is in fact strongly influenced by an entrenched capitalism, it is perhaps easier to understand the virtual mania for home ownership. It is also easier to understand Perth people clinging to the notion that home ownership should be associated with ownership of a significant piece of land surplus to the floor area of the home, enshrined in the notion of the quarter acre block that until the mid 1980s was deeply entrenched in the popular mentality, and in planning policy.

If the City's origins have in fact predisposed its citizens towards speculation and entrepreneurism, then it would be easier to understand the appearance in Perth during the 1970s and 1980s of a disproportionately large number of corporate and property "superstars".

2. EFFECT ON THE ENVIRONMENT

The entrepreneurs and financiers have a special capacity to influence the form of the City in their built monuments to the capitalist dreams which stand as phallic symbols doing the Lady Chatterley thing to the environment.

At the same time, the exploitation of the resources of the land through mining, speculative farming, forest clearing, and barely controlled urban sprawl, can be assumed to have unfavourable consequences in the medium to long term.

The patterns of land use which have been established in and around Perth are in many ways not calculated to be long-lasting. They involve not just a use, but in a real way a wasting (in the legal sense) of those resources of the land. There must be an end ultimately to those resources, or the demand for them.

CAPITALIST INFLUENCES IN PLANNING OF PERTH IN THE 1980s

Given the above analysis, it would hardly be surprising if there was a strong capitalist influence on the way in which Perth's planning is carried out at present.

Oren Yiftachel (1987) has, after a thorough investigation of the planning processes in Perth reached the conclusion that "Perth Metropolitan planning was chiefly a facilitator of capital ..." (though it also attempted to benefit labour) (p.48). At pp. 48-50 he says:

"... It can be shown that planning, as an arm of the Western Australian state, basically responded to the requirements of capital and was successfully implemented only when in accord with capital forces (Webb 1986; Alexander 1986; Neglie 1984)."

The evidence of this discussion revealed that most attempts for reform were only secondary in importance to economic considerations and aimed at the physical environment only. Accordingly, they did not often address the inequitable elements of the capitalist system. This contradicts the popular view that planning is a movement whose goal is a long-term social reform ...

Webb, Carr and Stephenson (1986) also noted that a general agreement to promote capital interests always existed in Perth, principally because social segregation and poverty were never major problems in the local community. They noted that due to this relative lack of class conflict Perth planners genuinely believed that by assisting investment and economic growth benefits would flow to all residents of the Metropolitan Region.

The Structuralist Marxist view of the State as a sole servant of capital thus appears to be inadequate. Planners attempted to assist all people independently of class considerations. The facilitation of capital, although clearly apparent, appears to have occurred by default rather than by conspiracy.

In addition, it appears too simplistic to assume that Perth planners regarded capital as a coherent entity. The 1955 Plan for Perth primarily catered for one type of capital - the industrialists - while the Corridor Plan chiefly facilitated another - the real estate investors (Harman 1985; Cartwright 1986) ...

In conclusion, one can observe three major factors:

- (a) The mechanism of the capitalist system was quietly accepted by most of Perth's metropolitan planners. They genuinely assumed that economic growth would benefit the community as a whole.
- (b) Although in general the hypothesis of this chapter appears to be correct, the Structuralist explanation of the State over-simplifies the situation: Perth planners did serve the requirements of capital but this did not constitute their sole objective; and
- (c) The claim that planning is an activity of social reform can rarely be supported by the evidence brought forward in the above discussion.

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APPENDIX 1 SWAN RIVER SETTLEMENT

It has been calculated that rice, at one penny per pound, sugar at 3 pence per pound, coffee at 4 pence per pound, tea at 2 shillings and sixpence per pound, and many other commodities and live stock at equally low prices can be imported from Java in 5 weeks.

The harmless kangaroo seems to be the only wild animal in the occupation of this immense and beautiful country; while the splendid river and neighbouring lagoons are covered with myriads of swans and wild duck ...

The fine teak-built ship Lady Campbell, Henry Murphy, Commander, burden 800 ton, possessing all the safe, splendid and roomy accommodation which a first-rate Indiaman is capable of affording, with more than half her cargo of goods and passengers already engaged, will sail for Swan River, Cockburn Sound, Port Vasse and Port Leschenault on the 15th June next.

A Commissioner, furnished with the Government information, which includes the knowledge of the seat and situation of Swan Town, the exact position of all grants already made, the conditions of location, the regulations of the new Colony, its capabilities, woods, soils, fisheries and advantages, will sail in the Lady Campbell and accompany emigrants to their destination for the sole purpose of assisting in their settlement, and otherwise affording them the benefit of his information on the spot.

Engagements with young, stout and healthy labourers and mechanics of good character, are in the course of arrangements; and settlers sailing by this ship may be supplied with such labourers and mechanics on very advantageous terms.

Settlers will have no purchase money to pay for their lands, nor will they be chargeable for any rent whatever; their Grants will be conveyed to them in fee simple and will descend to their assignees or heirs forever, in the same manner and way as any Freehold in England; thereby affording them the satisfaction of knowing that their labour will be wholly expended on their own property, and that the results of their patient endeavours will be enjoyed by their children and their names transmitted with such estates to distant posterity.

The Emigrant will not have to wage hopeless and ruinous war with interminable forests and impenetrable jungle, as he will find prepared by the hand of nature extensive plains ready for the ploughshare. He will not be frightened from his purposes by beasts of prey and loathsome reptiles. He will not be scorched by tropical heat nor chilled by the rigours of a Canadian winter. He will not be separated from the lofty protection of his native country, nor hardened in his heart by the debasing influence of being obliged to mingle with, and employ those bearing the brand of crime and punishment; and as no convict or any description of prisoner will be admitted into the Colony, those who establish property and families will feel that their names and fortune cannot be mixed thereafter with any dubious ideas as to their origin.

Settlers will be provided at the Settlement with livestock and all kinds of agricultural implements on the lowest possible terms. Credit will be afforded to respectable Persons for a part of their passage money, should they require it, that they may not be crippled in providing themselves with necessaries for their location and the immediate commencement of cultivation.

Land so situated, without tythes, taxes or rent, under the special care and protection of His Majesty's Government, and where the British laws will be rigidly and uprightly administered, cannot fail being worth the attention of every industrious and discerning Briton.

Apply personally, or by letters post paid, to
H.C. Semphill,
East India Chambers,
Leadenhall Street.