NOTES ON "A WHITE AUSTRALIA."

By A. Duckworth, F.R.E.S.

[Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, August 3, 1910.]

The Monroe Doctrine.—So long ago as December 1823, President Monroe, in his annual message to the Congress of the United States, made the statement that "we could not view an interposition for oppressing the South American States, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Thus was the famous Monroe doctrine formulated, which has since formed the rule for foreign intercourse recognised by all parties in America. At the time, the United States had but a population of some 9½ millions, and in the circumstances, this notable declaration of President Monroe, as expressing an ideal policy, was one which has increased in importance with the lapse of years. Now, in our own continent of Australia, it has been laid down as a principle, that our Australian territory should, presumably chiefly in the interests of the working classes, be reserved for people of the white races,—in other words, that a "White Australia" is necessary. As regards the purely political or party aspects of this question we have nothing to do. There lies before us the wider economic problem, whether the policy of a White Australia is feasible in fact, in view of the present nature of the existing population and of the diversified range of climates in Australia, and of the proximity of coloured races to its shores. On the question in its climatic and physiological aspects there have been expressed very divergent opinions. It is of vital importance therefore, that scientific inquiry be brought to
bear upon it, so that some reasonable grounds for final decision may be formulated without undue tardiness. Unless Australians have definite and enlightened views upon this problem, the mother country herself can hardly be expected to grasp what we may wish should be done in the interests of the federated States, to whom she has entrusted the destinies of this immense continent, which a late Governor General, Lord Northcote, recently stated would easily support a population of 50 millions. The subject for our investigation is, how can the tropical and sub-tropical areas which constitute a considerable proportion of Australian territory, now under the control of a white population, be effectively developed, and by whom? If not by white people, do we need to consider the advisableness of admitting Indian, Chinese, Javanese, Japanese, or Kanaka labour to our shores, and on what terms? Has a foreign immigrant any legal right to enter Australia except upon the direct authority of the Australian people? and are Australians under any responsibility to accept immigrants from other shores?

**Alien Immigration.**—An American authority\(^1\) puts the legal position in the following way:—

"If any government deems the introduction of foreigners or their merchandise injurious to the interests of their own people, they are at liberty to withhold the indulgence. The entry of foreigners and their effects is not an absolute right, but only one of imperfect obligation, and it is subject to the discretion of the government which tolerates it. . . . . I am of opinion that every government has the right, and is bound in duty to judge for itself, how far the unlimited power of admission and residence of strangers and immigrants may be consistent with its own local interests, institutions and safety."

If this be conceded, then there appears to be no legal or moral responsibility resting upon Australians to allow

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\(^1\) Kent's Commentaries on American Law, Vol. i.
immigrants of Chinese or other nationalities to land upon our shores, although, on the other hand, Australians as British subjects have claimed the right to enter China, somewhat inconsistently.

The powers vested in the Governor of a State, as representative of the Crown and head of the executive government of such State, form the sole basis of constitutional government in the dependencies of Great Britain exercising responsible self-government under a proper "Constitution Act." Now in considering first, the legal aspect of the White Australia question, we need only refer to the well-known case of Chun Teong Toy v. Musgrove (Collector of Customs) under the Chinese Act, 1881, of Victoria. In this case Toy, one of a number of Chinese immigrants, was not allowed to enter that colony, although the poll-tax of £10 was tendered on his behalf; the Supreme Court of Victoria, being called upon, decided in applicant's favour, and damages were awarded to the extent of £150. Chief Justice Higinbotham was one of the minority of the Judges. The case was however carried to the Privy Council, with the result that in terms of the judgment of the Lord Chancellor, "No authority exists for the proposition that an alien has a legal right, enforceable by action, to enter British territory." The sovereignty of the colony, within the limits of the Constitution Act of 1855, was thus upheld, and the position taken up by the Collector of Customs in interpreting the Chinese Act, as practically preventing any excessive numbers of Chinese aliens from landing in the colony and not merely involving the imposition of a tax on those desirous of entering it was maintained. The prerogative of the Crown to exclude aliens, either friends or enemies was upheld, as being in accordance with international law. In 1290, Edward I. expelled the Jews from

1 Law Reports, Appeal Cases, 1891.
England. Would not Australians be justified in expelling any convicts from New Caledonia entering the Commonwealth without lawful authority? Self-preservation is the first law of nations, as of individuals. Yet it comes upon one with some degree of surprise, that one of the Victorian Judges (Mr. Justice Hartley-Williams) expressed an opinion on the case as follows:

"I have been for years, in common with, I believe, very many others, under the delusion (as I must term it) that we enjoyed in this colony (Victoria) responsible government in the proper sense of the term. I awake to find, as far as my opinion goes, that we have merely an instalment of responsible government. . . . We are at present without the legal means of preventing the scum or desperadoes of alien nationalities from landing on our territory whenever it may suit them to come here."

It will be evident that very serious questions were involved in the case of Toy, some of which remain in doubt probably to the present time; for the judgment delivered by the Privy Council (as already set forth) does not enter into any consideration of the wide questions discussed in some of the individual judgments of the Supreme Court Bench in Victoria. To what extent these questions may be modified, if at all, by the later inauguration of the Commonwealth is not yet apparent.

**Virility of Australians.**—Passing on however from this purely legal aspect, to the wider question of the physical fitness of the white races for the successful colonisation of Australia, there is a preliminary but important and pertinent inquiry which needs to be instituted, as to whether the present white population of the southern portions of Australia is maintaining its virility and improving in stamina, or is it deteriorating from the parent stock? It would appear, on the surface, hardly necessary to discuss

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such a question. Yet a certain section of our people have their misgivings, and sometimes succeed in imbuing visitors from other lands with their pessimism. A Melbourne newspaper, only a month or so ago, adverted to the climatic conditions of New South Wales as being the cause of a "very remarkable phenomenon," a reduction of lung capacity in the native born, owing to the mild winters in that State; the result being that "by the time the Australian native in New South Wales has reached manhood, he has quietly dropped out about a sixth part of the lung accommodation that the Briton and American naturally provide." Now on this question of racial stability we have at hand tolerably good evidence in the successful operations of the life offices of Australia during the past sixty years.

Life Assurance Results.—One of the most important investigations in Australia into the mortality of assured lives is contained in the "Mortality Experience of the A.M.P. Society" (1849–1888). In this report, Mr. Teece stated on p. 34, that—

"The experience of the A.M.P. Society has been more favourable than that of either of the American offices, or of the 20 British offices represented in the $H^M$ table," and it seems to "conclusively prove the superiority of our lives over those embraced in the experience of the 20 British offices," whilst in future it is "equally clear that it will not be more favourable than that of the best old British offices."

This favourable result does not however necessarily ensue when we compare the death rates of the general population. One important feature of the mortality of a general population is the rate experienced during the first five years of life. The following table, published in a paper read by me in 1894 institutes a comparison which results favourably in the case of the populations of Sydney and Melbourne:

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1 Leading article in Age, 16th June, 1910.
2 "Insurance and Banking Record," September 1894.
General Population Statistics.—Also in the same paper is given a comparison of the "expectation of life" at all ages in New South Wales and Victoria, as compared with that ascertained for Sydney and suburbs and for Melbourne and suburbs, respectively. The following results were disclosed based on the census of 1881 and 1891 and deaths in the years 1881—1890:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males and females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Persons</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.127</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.190</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.181</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.054</td>
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This showed the comparatively superior longevity of the people of Sydney and suburbs over those of Melbourne and suburbs. The combined table for New South Wales and Victoria at the same dates showed still better results; so favourable indeed that they may be compared with the specially prepared English mortality table (for healthy districts only) first published by Dr. Farr in 1861:
Considering the "select" nature of the English table, the Australian results—in which accidental deaths are a feature as in all new countries—were distinctly satisfactory from a comparative point of view. The average death rate is, obviously, not the result of a natural law which cannot be altered; scientific discovery has made wonderful advances within the last quarter of a century, and has pointed out the ways in which longevity may be fostered, and death be postponed in many cases.

Public Schools Report.—It will be advantageous therefore, to consider what has been the most recent experience of our own State not as regards mortality, but more especially in regard to the physical development of the children, and on this point we have an elaborate Government report relating to over 30,000 children attending Public Schools in Sydney, Newcastle, etc., published in 1908, and a further report for 1908-9 dated March 1910.¹ On the very important point of "weight," this report states that the averages for girls and boys compare favourably with those of England, Scotland and America. The tallest children, it is stated, come from the central tablelands (Bathurst

¹ The report for 1908-9 states that "the general results show the averages in height and weight are somewhat higher, age for age, than those recorded for last year," vide p. 5.
district), but are lighter in weight than children from the sea-side. The British boy, we learn, is shorter but heavier from ages 8 to 13, and again at ages 16 to 17, but at other ages the New South Wales boy is a little heavier. The following table from the report gives the average height and weight as follows:

**Table D.**

*Physical condition of school children at Public Schools in N.S. Wales.*

(Table published in 1908 by the Public Instruction Department.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age last Birthday</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Age last Birthday</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Chest measurement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales Boy. (19,885 records)</td>
<td>N. S. Wales Girl. (16,965 records)</td>
<td>A.M.P. Comparative Experience (Lives)</td>
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<td>3 9 2 3 5 2</td>
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<td>4 7 2 5 6 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 5 6 9 1 2</td>
<td>5 2 8 0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8 7</td>
<td>29 8</td>
<td>32 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 5 6 9 8</td>
<td>5 2 8 3</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of further comparison I have added the figures relating to weight and chest measurement of children accepted for assurances by the A.M.P. Society at ages 11 to 17, taken from an unpublished anthropometrical table of the Society, as computed by Mr. Teece in 1906. With the evidence thus before us it may be hoped that public interest in the matter will be stimulated, and that the experience of other states and institutions will in course of time be forthcoming for comparison and analysis.
If it be found that the development of our native-born population presents satisfactory features as a whole, at least in those portions of the continent enjoying temperate climates, what shall be said regarding the effects upon the white population of residence in the semitropical regions of the continent? These effects may, in part, be measured by a comparison of the death rates and rates of mortality experienced in Australia.

Now the Year Book of the Commonwealth gives the death rates in 1908, per 1,000 living of the mean population in the various States and New Zealand as follows:—

\[\text{Death rate per 1,000 living:}\]

- New Zealand 1808 ... ... 9.9
- South Australia ... ... 9.96
- New South Wales ... ... 11.01
- Queensland ... ... 11.69
- West Australia ... ... 11.69
- Tasmania ... ... 11.90
- Victoria ... ... 14.04

Mean rate for the Commonwealth 11.94 in comparison with

- England and Wales 1907 ... ... 15.0
- Scotland ... ... 16.2
- Ireland ... ... 17.7

From this table the excellent position of Australia and New Zealand, as compared with the United Kingdom will be evident. Queensland and West Australia occupy a relatively higher position than Victoria does with its admittedly temperate climate.

**Queensland Mortality Rates.**—There was a time when it was considered that residence in Queensland entailed an extra risk, to cover which, life insurance offices exacted an extra premium, often amounting to 10s. per annum per £100 assured. This extra premium was discontinued by the
A.M.P. Society after an investigation into the rates of mortality experienced by the Society in Queensland during the period from 1875 to 1888 inclusive. Mr. Teece in his investigation report of 1894, summarised the results by stating that—

"The mortality among Queensland members has been higher than among the general body of the lives assured, but the excess is not sufficient to cause any anxiety. . . Many of the conditions which tended to make life in Queensland precarious 20 years ago have disappeared, and in a comparatively short time few of them will remain. It is difficult to say what is the extent of the improvement which has in recent years been effected in the vitality of the Queensland colonists."

In Queensland the percentage of actual deaths of assured lives was only 83 per cent. of those expected by the British Hm mortality table, although some 16 per cent. in excess of the deaths throughout the whole Society. Can it be said in view of these Queensland results that the white race need fear the future experience and development of the race in that progressive State? It is impossible to believe that, in Australia, the present small white population alone can for many years effectually stem the tide of an alien, if peaceful invasion, flowing in where there is room to live in the idle spaces of our land still in a state of nature. This question was discussed at the Adelaide meeting 1907, of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (Vol. xi), when a paper was submitted by Mr. Matthew Macfie of Melbourne.

Tropical Australia and its development.—In this paper reference was made, inter alia, to the physical effects of excess of light on the white races in tropical and subtropical climates, and the argument deemed to be impregnable, was used that "the white man does not get inured to the sun, and each climate is exactly suited by natural
law to the particular human racial type evolved under its influence, but cannot be adjusted to any other." Professor Baldwin Spencer is therein quoted as having said, "In my opinion there is a belt of country in tropical Australia—the northern territory of Queensland—which can only be worked with the aid of coloured labour." A Vice-President of this Society, the late Dr. Walter Spencer, is quoted as having stated that "If one maintains that the agricultural riches of tropical Australia can be developed by white labour, he is either a deluder or is deluded."

In this Society also we have had a thoughtful paper by Mr. Joseph Palmer on "A White Australia," which is included in the records of its Economic Section. The paper was read in September 1901, and in it reference was made to the Bill then before the Commonwealth Parliament, which subsequently became law as the Aliens Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, it being subsequently amended in 1905. Under this Act, any person other than European, is prohibited from entering the Commonwealth who fails to pass the "dictation test," i.e. "who fails to write out not less than 50 words of a European language prescribed by regulation, when dictated to him by an officer administering the Act." Mr. Palmer held the view that it is the duty of Australians "as trustees in possession of this vast territory, to govern it and its inhabitants in the best interests of the entire human race," and that the theory of a White Australia is "unjust, undesirable and impossible—impossible, because legislate as much as we may, we cannot keep the black and coloured people out." These are statements of a sufficiently definite character to cause us to consider if there be nothing to urge on the other side of the question. Mr. Macfie, already referred to, has recently

1 An amending Bill is now before the Federal Parliament, increasing the stringency of existing legislation and incidentally allowing the dictation test to be imposed at any time within five years of landing.
read a further paper on the subject before the Royal Geographical Society in Melbourne, wherein he approves a suggestion of Professor Osborne, of Melbourne, that a committee of experts should be appointed by the Federal Government, or the Northern States, to make investigations in Australia and Papua as to whether whites or coloured persons under white supervision are best adapted for the effective development of Australian resources. Now we do not propose in this paper to quote from any utterances of prominent Australian politicians on this subject, as probably being deemed biased. What then is the nature of the testimony which can be adduced in favour of the White Australia theory, apart from statistical facts such as have already been referred to?

In favour of White Australia.—Professor J. W. Gregory formerly of Melbourne University, has expressed the opinion that there seems to be no adequate reason why Australia should not in time all be occupied by white races. He has devoted much thought and study to Australian conditions, and in February last read a paper entitled "The Geographical Factors that control the development of Australia." "Travel and Exploration," a London monthly, in its issue for April, contains an appreciative notice referring specially to the circumstance that the author had shewn that the increase of population in Australia, though often popularly regarded as disappointingly low, had really been unusually rapid. He compared it with progressive and much belauded Canada, and pointed out that it took the dominion two and a half centuries to reach the population that Australia had secured in less than one. Then on the burning question of coloured labour, as opposed to white labour, in Queensland, Professor Gregory is con-

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1 Professor Osborne's paper on the "Problem of Tropical Colonisation," appeared in the Argus of 10 April, 1909.

sidered to have conclusively proved that, contrary to general opinion, the tropical regions of Central Australia can be more effectively, and actually more cheaply developed by white labour than by kanakas. Actual experience and theoretical considerations therefore it is said show alike that there is nothing in the climate of tropical Australia to prevent its colonisation by white races.

Professor Gregory also suggested that—
“The northern peninsula of Western Australia, the north-western corner of Queensland, and the Northern Territory,” (which he considered to be the weakest point in the Australian position) “would together form a great tropical territory with a convenient and natural boundary. Its government would train a staff expert in its special tropical problems, and in twenty years time it would be possible to tell whether the colonisation of the country by a white race is practicable within a reasonable time.”

Dr. Ramsay Smith, head of the department of Public Health of South Australia, stated in the course of discussion of Mr. Macfie’s paper at Adelaide in 1907:—
“There is nothing so far as I can find, in the whole science and practice of medicine, to show that white men, as individuals or races, cannot live in the tropics. On the contrary, all the facts of hygiene tend to prove that they can.”

He also stated that science has shown that the black possesses no immunity from malaria, but is in a condition to pass the disease on through the medium of the mosquito to the white man; that persons whether indigenous to the tropics or immigrants to those regions will develop pigment naturally; that the question of white and black labour in the tropics is a commercial one, not one of health, and he deprecated any attempt to support any side of a commercial argument by bolstering it up with scientific fallacies and illogical arguments. Other medical men with tropical experience have held that mere residence in a hot dry
climate will, in the course of time, turn the skin brown, whilst a hot humid climate will turn it black. As to the capacity of Australians to develop pigment we need only to visit one of our coastal beaches in the height of the surfing season. Concerning the medical aspect I shall have something to say later. Only the other day\(^1\) a prominent Sydney journalist (Dr. Ward), opposed any theory that "the further north one went in Australia, the weaker the white men were, and the further south the stronger they grew." We may remark that, as regards the aborigines of Australia it is perhaps admitted that the most vigorous of all are those of the north,\(^2\) but may not this be partly due to the circumstance that affects nomadic tribes so much, namely the abundance of food produced by nature, in prodigal mood, in the tropics, and the absence of rigorous cold in the winter. These conditions would necessarily not affect to the same extent civilised people of white extraction. The contiguity to Australia of lands where coloured races occupy the earth as already stated, renders the problem in Australia more acute.

**Defence of Australia.**—We may quote in this connection and by way of exception, the recent trenchant remarks of Senator Pearce, the present Commonwealth Minister of Defence, who in a speech at Melbourne during last month\(^3\) said that—

"The whole national fabric depended upon our ability to keep this country for the white races of the world. Whilst he believed in arbitration, it was no use shutting our eyes to the fact that a nation which cast envious eyes on Australia would not be prepared to submit the future of this country to any arbitrament but that of force, if it once made up its mind to attack it."

\(^1\) *Sydney Morning Herald* of 20 June, 1910.

\(^2\) A writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 8th July, states that "the Territory blackfellow is the finest race of aboriginal in Australia; big, strong, strapping fellows capable of great endurance," yet becoming lazy and depraved by mixing with the Chinese.

\(^3\) *Melbourne Age* of 8th June, 1910.
Tropical Islands adjacent to Australia.—North-west of Australia and south-east of Asia lie the islands of New Guinea, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Java and the Malay peninsula, etc., not to speak of Ceylon on the one hand and the Philippines on the other. Here we find a mixture of races indeed. In Java and Sumatra strenuous work is almost unnecessary, since nature is so prodigal of her bounty. In the former island alone a population of some 30 millions exists; from the land with a rainfall of some 200 inches per annum, sugar is the main article produced. The invasion of the islands under Dutch sovereignty by Chinese, is stated to be a growing one. In Fiji there are large numbers of Indian coolies engaged in the sugarcane industry. All this means possible complications for Australia. We have shut the Chinaman out, but in Queensland they are said to be still increasing, and although they cannot own land, yet it is stated that on the Atherton tableland to day—where assuredly the white races should be able to hold their own—Chinamen are leasing lands from the owners and paying a rental of £1 per acre, whilst the half-caste population is apparently growing in numbers.

Northern Territory Lands.—Consider now the vast field for future colonization in Australia, which is evidenced by the existence of such areas, for example, as the Barclay tablelands of the Northern Territory, between the overland telegraph line and the Queensland border, comprising an estimated area of 37,000 square miles, even now almost a terra incognita. Mr. W. M. Burton, a recent writer,¹ says "there is no finer grazing land perhaps in the world," having a rainfall of from 16 to 23 inches per annum, in different localities, and abundant reservoirs of sub-artesian water, whilst the summer heat is a dry heat comparable to

¹ Dalgety's Review, 1 Sept. 1909, also compare a series of articles in Sydney Morning Herald, 8 July 1910, and succeeding days.
that of Bourke in the west of New South Wales. As regards the Northern Territory as a whole, it has a coast line of 1,200 miles, yet is without agriculture after 40 years of partial occupation, its rainfall being 60 inches in the wet season from October to March.

Central Australia and its Climate.—Again there is the much decried Eremian, or solitary desert region in Central Australia, explored by the W. A. Horn expedition in 1894, an area some 1,600 miles long by a width of 800 miles, with an average rainfall of but 5 to 12 inches per annum, similar in extent to that of the Coolgardie goldfields, with frequent periods of drought; yet in the neighbourhood of the MacDonnell Ranges, rising to an altitude of nearly 5,000 feet above sea level, the rapidity of vegetable growth is stated as being almost marvellous, following upon tropical rains, leading to inundation of the surrounding country by reason of the immense volumes of water rushing down from the hills. Another recent feature is that of the striking of underground water at Eyre on the proposed trans-Australian railway route, regarding which Sir John Forrest has expressed the opinion that this discovery of sub-artesian supplies adds a province of 15 million acres of limestone country to West Australia. Australia, be it remembered in this connection, is to-day as near England in point of time as Land’s End was to John O’Groat’s a century ago. Long after the middle of the eighteenth century communication between London and Glasgow was maintained by stage coach, which travelled once a month and accomplished the journey in twelve or fourteen days. During the winter, travelling was often impossible.

South African Racial Difficulties.—Nowadays Australians cannot forget that Queensland alone is half as large

1 Contrast this for instance with the rainfall of Papua, where at Port Moresby it averages between 160 and 170 inches per annum.

again as France and Germany put together. And as regards population we have only to compare that of Australia and New Zealand, some $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions and over 1 million respectively, with that of South Africa, where in the four now unified colonies about 1 million whites only are confronted with the existence of a coloured population of 4 millions; who, so far at least as the colonies other than Cape Colony are concerned, have been excluded from the franchise. The British House of Commons in its discussion of the Union Act, however, was at first inclined to condemn this erection of a rigid colour bar as being contrary to both the spirit and traditions of the British Empire. Here are present the elements of racial and political relationship pregnant with possibilities for the future. Is it not advisable therefore that in Australia some authoritative statement should soon be made so as to render free from reasonable doubt the best methods of settling the northern portions of Queensland, South Australia and West Australia. The London Times, according to a cablegram which appeared in the Sydney newspapers on 11th July, holds that—

"The overshadowing Australian problem relates to the huge, rich unpeopled northern territories. There is need for a rapid awakening of Australian opinion on this vital issue, and Australian politicians should realise that they are merely stewards for the rest of the world."

Will Australia soon be called on to account for its stewardship?

Sugar Industry.—Involved in the question is the future of an important industry, that of sugarcane producing, which is now protected in the interests of white labour to the extent of £5 per ton as difference between the import excise and bounty rates. The conference resolved to urge that a Royal Commission be appointed to inquire into the sugar industry. The Prime Minister on 4th July last explained

1 Article by Professor Gregory, "Nineteenth Century." Feb. 1910.
that it was proposed that the arrangement for payment of bounty and collection of excise should remain undisturbed on the present basis under the acts expiring by effluxion of time on 1st January, 1913; excise being payable at £4 per ton on all manufactured sugar, and a bounty being payable to growers of cane by white labour at the rate of £3 per ton of sugar produced. But there are other considerations to be borne in mind in relation to the general question.

**Development of Civilization.**—One of the most recent deliverances on the subject of tropical regions is a paper by Professor R. De C. Ward,\(^1\) of Harvard. It contains the following startling statement concerning Australia: “Most of the latter continent (Australia) is a trade wind desert, and therefore hopelessly arid.” It is rather surprising to find a statement of this character emanating from such a source. Professor Ward says:—“Experience teaches that white men cannot with impunity do hard manual labour under a tropical sun, but they may enjoy fairly good health as overseers, or at indoor work if they take reasonable precautions.” It follows, in his opinion, that in tropical regions it is impossible that successive generations could go on reproducing white men and women without physical, mental and moral degeneration. It has, however, been pointed out that “prehistoric man in his earliest stages, when most helpless, was an inhabitant of the tropics.” It is also in the tropics that animal and plant life reach such full development, and where nature does so much for primitive man that he needs do but little. Mr. Benj. Kidd in his “Control of the Tropics,” says, “slowly but surely we see the seat of empire and authority moving like the advancing tide northward. The evolution of character which the race has undergone has been northwards from the tropics.” But in this connection it would seem, in

\(^1\) "Popular Science Monthly," for March 1910.
regard to some writers, that the temptation to be picturesque rather than to be strictly accurate must be considerable. If man originally came from the tropics, we may assume that his physical environment was then suitable, and that time must have been a very important element in connection with his gradual adaptation to new conditions in subtropical, temperate, and finally the colder regions and snowy deserts of the earth. Herbert Spencer in his "Study of Sociology," says with regard to climatic changes of constitution, that "such changes can be brought about by slow spreadings of the race through intermediate regions having intermediate climates to which succeeding generations are accustomed little by little." Surely the conditions of peopling the cold regions by colonising races must have originally been as difficult as the task is now said to be of peopling the tropics with the white races. For fears are even now expressed that in Canada and Russia the long continued cold conditions in winter seriously militate against the white races, since man needs so much and nature is so inhospitable, and plant and animal life so restricted, that his utmost activity is necessary so that he may even continue to exist.

**Tropical Diseases.**—It may be admitted that natives of tropical countries are not injured by the sustained high atmospherical temperature in which they live, as their physical activity is attuned by custom and habit to their surroundings. A European requires to adjust himself to altered meteorological conditions. But, as Sir Patrick Manson, an eminent medical authority, has pointed out:—

"In the tropics, as in temperate climates, in the European and in the native alike, nearly all disease is of specific origin."

Germs of a parasitic nature are the source of nearly all disease, but these require certain conditions of temperature, certain media, and certain opportunities for their continued
multiplication. The same authority states:

"The more we learn about these diseases, the less important in its bearing on the geographical distribution, and as a direct pathogenic agency, becomes the rôle of temperature per se, and the more the influence of the tropical fauna."

Malaria for instance is by far the most important disease agency found in the tropics and sub-tropics, undermining the health of multitudes and predisposing to other diseases, and as to its source in native villages, Sir Patrick Manson refers to the Anopheles mosquito which having bitten a person with infected blood, then becomes affected by the *Plasmodium malaric*, and after biting other persons it infects them also with the disease. He says:

"After some years, and after many re-inoculations by infected mosquitoes, the surviving original inhabitants gradually acquire immunity from malaria, and the parasite can no longer be found in the blood. . . Children born in the village have no immunity, and therefore, soon after birth, being bitten by the infected Anopheles, acquire the infection. In this way there is kept up in the village a permanent stock of infected Anopheles."

Dr. W. H. Deaderick says:

"It is evident that if this cycle be broken at any point, infection cannot occur, and that if it were universally interrupted during a sufficiently long period of time the disease would be annihilated."

The author also refers to the success attending efforts to suppress the disease at Ismailia, where it was introduced in 1877, and made great headway during the period 1885–1902, but since 1903 the cases have fallen to 2½ only of the annual average for 1885–1902.

Sir Patrick Manson says also, "That there is a protective power in the human body against the plasmodium is

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certain, otherwise spontaneous recovery from malarial infection could not take place”; and he refers to some self defending physiological element of the body, the daily variation of which by deficiency or debility causes the intermittency of malarial fever. This testimony leads one to enquire whether the white race, sprung from aboriginal stock of a tropical climate has, owing to the effect of change of environment, lost some portion of its original protective physical powers, and that this loss may possibly be repaired. Of course it may be said that man of the old times was but a child as compared with men to-day. But however this may be, as regards his mind and active stage of civilization, we are not precluded from the view that his physical condition was at least as vigorous and well developed as that of the average man to day.

Papuans and Polynesians.—Have we not at hand an important illustration in the Papuan and Polynesian races? The Polynesians (including the Maoris) are physically some of the finest specimens of the human race, and they and the Papuans are both of Asiatic origin; but the Papuans, or many of them, are said to have physically deteriorated, possibly by long residence in a malarial climate. The Fijians, who are said to combine the physique of the Polynesians with the language and colour of the Papuans, evidencing an ancient adjustment of racial conditions, are admittedly of magnificent physique; but this is to some extent accounted for by the fact that malarial fever is said to be unknown in Fiji. Are we to set down the differences between the Fijians and the Papuans as nothing more than essentially the results of malaria? If the darker race is now subject to its ill effects, and these effects can be combated, then may not the white races claim that similar results would follow in their case eventually? If so, then we may have to reconsider the sufficiency of such statements as
that already quoted, made by Dr. Woodruff, a surgeon in the U.S. Army, after experience both in the Philippines and in the Southern States of America, that "each climate is exactly suited by natural law to the particular human racial type evolved under its influence, but cannot be adjusted to any other." We find also that a writer of such calibre as Benj. Kidd, in his well known work, makes the statement that, "In the tropics the white man lives and works only as a diver lives and works under water." Yet he admits that the black races will make no development under native government; and further he says:—

"The great rivalry of the future is already upon us. It is for the inheritance of the tropics, not indeed for possession in the ordinary sense of the word, for that is an idea beyond which the advanced peoples of the world have moved, but for the control of these regions according to certain standards."—(Page 3.)

In his earlier work he expressed the opinion that "the tropics must be administered from the temperate regions." Are we then to hold that in the tropical portions of Australia the white races are to constitute a ruling caste, merely utilising and supervising coloured labour? If this be not admitted, are we then reduced to accept the view expressed by Professor C. H. Pearson in "National Life and Character" (Chap. 1), who predicted—

'A globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions and circumscribing the industry of the European.'5

1 Quoted in Mr. Macfie's paper previously referred to in this paper.
2 "Control of the Tropics," p. 54.
3 "Social Evolution," Ch. 10.
4 Cf. F. List's views referred to further on.
5 In the cables in the press of 26th July, reference is made to the new Japanese tariff coming into operation in July 1911, under which it is estimated that British goods to the value of nearly a million sterling annually will be excluded.
But that the coloured races have their own disabilities, and are also subject to the influence of malaria, is evidenced by the fact, pointed out by Sir Patrick Manson, that in Africa many of the Chinese labourers on the Congo railway had died of African haemoglobimirc fever. These men were, equally with white men, outside their ordinary climatic environment, and their capacity of resistance to disease was doubtless less than that of white men in similar circumstances.

National Theories of Colonization.—Now, in the past, colonies peopled from European nations have been formed under three main conditions (1) as a possession or estate, to be exploited in the interest of the mother nation, such as Java in relation to the Netherlands; (2) as a necessary expansion of territory, such as that of France in Africa; and (3) as territories held as those under the dominion of the English race, on a basis permitting of the ultimate expansion of the colonies into States of the modern type by a scheme of federal authority, despite the many partial failures in bygone days. The German writer, F. List, says

"England has got into her possession the keys of every sea, and placed a sentry over every nation." List further declared (p. 270) that "all Asiatic countries of the torrid zone will pass gradually under the dominion of the manufacturing commercial nations of the temperate zone; the islands of the torrid zone which are at present dependent colonies, can hardly ever liberate themselves from that condition; and the states of South America will always remain dependent to a certain degree on the manufacturing commercial nations."

On this point Mr. Kidd has remarked, that—

"Railing off of immense regions in the tropics, under the policy which has suggested their acquirement, regions tending in the absence of white colonists to simply revert to the type of States worked for gain. . . . to the exclusion of the rest of the world."

* "The National System of Political Economy," 1881, p. 46,
This suggests the idea that, as already stated, the question has its moral side, that the evolution which is going on among the nations, is a social evolution, and one where the best interests of the world at large may be involved in the holding of the tropics by white races as a trust for civilization. If the coloured races are markedly inferior not only in civilization but in moral character, the greater or less development of which may well measure the future stability of the race, may it not be incumbent upon the white races, as the finest product of civilization, to undertake this development of tropical and sub-tropical regions in the best interests of the world, as witness already the work performed under British guidance in Egypt and in India. This is totally opposed to the idea current among some people in our day, that the government of a large native population means the creation of a permanent European caste, "cut off from the influence of the political and ethical conditions and social traditions which have been the source of the development of the European race."

**Australian Sub-tropics.**—We cannot, however, consider Australia in this connection as being truly tropical, except in very limited areas, if we mean by "tropical" regions of monotonous heat with a relatively high humidity leading to great rankness of vegetable life.¹ We cannot compare the hotter districts of Australia with the climate of Java, India, the Philippines, or Hawaii, for example, and other countries where the seasons seem not to exist since the variations of temperature are comparatively so slight. If we accept Goldwin Smith's dictum (referring to the British rule in India) that "no race can forever hold and rule a land in which it cannot rear its children"; are we to conclude that this condition holds for Northern

¹ Professor Gregory points out the fact that there is as yet no proof that any considerable tracts of Australia have wet beds, temperatures above the limit of 85° and 88°.
Australia? Even if it did, it may not follow that the white races would be finally ousted by climatic consequences? In this connection we need to remember the important fact pointed out by Professor Ward, that thousands of Italians for instance, go to the United States in the spring to work there during the warmer months and then return to the milder climate of Italy for the winter. Similarly incursions are made into Argentina in the harvesting season. It remains therefore a question for Australians to consider whether people from Southern Europe may successfully be invited to migrate permanently to Northern Australia. Have we here a clue to the great problem of the development of the sub-tropical regions of Australia? Is there not a moral necessity pressing upon us to develop in the best manner possible the resources, mineral, pastoral, and agricultural of the regions in the northern portions of our land now running to waste under ineffective management? The sustained high tropical temperature of our northern areas is not of that dangerous intensity created by the more humid conditions of the tropics, and the diseases which may be of special prevalence in warm climates are not, so far as we probably know, of that deadly nature which is experienced in other portions of the torrid zone. Young and healthy Australians, properly educated beforehand, regarding the risks and inconveniences of our sub-tropical areas, will surely be forthcoming even from our somewhat limited population, to supply the waste places of our land with that vigor, energy and national capital of endurance which is requisite for the development of every part of our territory; and if we should also seek a judicious admixture of other European nationalities accustomed to a warm climate, who shall say nay?

**Study of Tropical Diseases.**—We have already at Townsville an Institute for the study of tropical diseases, with officials fully acquainted with the results of research in
Equatorial Africa. Has the time yet arrived when, after a full investigation and discussion of the varied problems affecting the policy of a White Australia, it will be possible to announce certain definite conclusions based on scientific evidence which will convince the people of this country once for all as to the proper solution of a question which otherwise threatens to be the "riddle of the Sphinx" to them?

**Australian Ideals of Government** — It has been well said by an English writer:

"Australia is no longer an uncertain region of adventure and romance, no longer a region of wide, rich, unpeopled spaces. . . . Few people would have ventured on the eve of Federation to prophesy that to-day the Commonwealth would be as undivided as it is on its policy of a White Australia, which unconditionally closes the door to the man of colour, or on a highly protective tariff, the initiation of an Australian Navy, and a scheme of national defence, even if by resorting to compulsory training. In these and other directions one has unmistakable evidence of the growing presence of virile individual Australian thought, which, while quite consistent with Imperial ideals, reveals that the Australian people are taking their future seriously, and are grappling with their problems according to their particular circumstances, and with a full sense of their responsibilities"

In conclusion, the aim of the paper now submitted for your consideration will have been attained, if the result should speedily follow that the question of maintaining a White Australia is definitely and decisively considered as a means and basis for the future national development of Australia.

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1 London 'Money Market Review of 10 April, 1909.'
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