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Andrew Goldie in New Guinea 1875–1879: Memoir of a natural history collector
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CHAPTER 2

Andrew Goldie: The experience of Empire

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Andrew Goldie arrived in New Guinea in March 1876 to collect plants for the London nurseryman B.S. Williams. By 1877 he had separate arrangements with Ferdinand von Mueller, the Victoria Government Botanist, and E.P. Ramsay of the Australian Museum and was collecting all kinds of scientific specimens. He established a trade store at Port Moresby where he remained until poor health forced him to leave in December 1890. By then he had acquired an immense knowledge of the people of the southeast coast, having lived among them longer than any white man. Although little has been written about Goldie, he is recognised as perhaps the most important early commercial collector of New Guinea natural history specimens and ethnology. He also built-up a successful trading business at Port Moresby based on his collecting and his career allows a direct line to be drawn from the transactions of natural scientists to fully blown mercantile colonialism. This chapter includes, in an appendix, an annotated bibliography of scientific descriptions of Andrew Goldie's specimens up to 1901, illustrating the significance of his contribution to natural history.

□ *Goldie, natural history, ethnology, New Guinea, imperialism, colonisation.*

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On Sunday, 4 May 1863, Andrew Goldie joined the immigrant ship *Queen of Beauty* on the Thames, and at 7.00pm the next day, his twenty-third birthday, he commenced the long voyage to Auckland, New Zealand. Goldie was part of a decade-long wave of Scottish migration to New Zealand that had peaked the previous year, in 1862 (Buelman, 2008: 243–244). It was swelled by adventurous souls bound for the gold fields, yet most Scots were drawn not by gold, but by the general promise of prosperity in what Goldie described in his voyage diary as ‘one of Britain’s most flourishing colonies’. Although he was not explicit about his own

motivations for ‘leaving old loved scenes and many a dear friend’, the tenor of his diary suggests he was not seeking quick riches on the Otago diggings, but had his mind set on the hard earned rewards of steady work in his profession, that of gardener (Goldie, 1863). Goldie was off to sow the empire (see Casid, 2005), though he could hardly have seen it that way. Nor would he have guessed the extent to which his personal ambition would become entwined in the imperial project, not so much in New Zealand but on the more remote and less forgiving frontier of New Guinea, as a professional natural history collector, explorer and trader; or that, ironically perhaps, his name



FIG. 1. Garrison House, c. 1926. Courtesy Museum of the Cumbraes, North Ayrshire Council.

would be remembered most for the discovery of gold on that great island.

Andrew Goldie did not touch on his early life in any of his writings and the few biographical studies have shed little light on his life before his career in New Guinea. The most comprehensive biography prior to this, only 650 words long, covered it in two or three lines (Gibbney, 1972a). However, it has been possible, largely through parish and census records and newspaper archives to piece together his early life¹ and it provides valuable clues about how well prepared he was for his later career. He was born on 5 May 1840, the eldest son of David and Agnes Goldie. David Goldie was a gardener on the Kelburn estate of the Earl of Glasgow, near Largs on the Clyde coast (OPR, Births 602/0030 0127 Largs [Ayr]). This was an established residence noted as being 'one

of the most charming old seats in Scotland' (Burke, 1853: 164). The mansion and its formal gardens are set within a dramatic wooded hillside estate running down to the coast.

When the 4th Earl of Glasgow, George Boyle, died in 1843 his widow Julia and their son George Frederick Boyle (later 6th Earl of Glasgow) moved to the Garrison House at Millport on the Isle of Cumbrae just across the water from the Kelburn estate. This originally had been acquired by the Earl in 1819, who rebuilt the former customs and excise garrison into his summer residence. When George Frederick Boyle took up residence he considerably developed Garrison House and its gardens. David Goldie became head gardener at the Garrison at this time and lived with his growing young family in quarters within the main house. As well as his official gardening

duties David Goldie also took an active part in the horticultural life of the west of Scotland and was a regular prize-winner and judge at horticultural shows (Glasgow Herald, 2 August 1850, 13 September 1850, 19 September 1851, 31 July 1868, 8 July 1871).

After completing his schooling on the island Andrew Goldie worked with his father on the Garrison demesne learning the craft of gardening. Little is known of his youth but it is clear that he was a keen cricketer and a regular batsman for the Garrison cricket team, occasionally being singled out for comment in the sporting press. After finishing his apprenticeship, Goldie furthered his skills working as a gardener for the Duke of Atholl on his estate at Dunkeld House in Perthshire. This was one of the great estates in Scotland and was famed for its extensive and adventurous planting. 'The style and beauty of the Duke of Atholl's pleasure grounds around Dunkeld House, and the extent of the rides and walks', it is said, were 'supposed to be greater than any other in Britain, and combine every characteristic of the truly picturesque' (Lizars, 1850). The so-called 'planting dukes' had planted some 27 million conifers on the estate between 1738 and 1830, in part with seeds from the Americas supplied by the great pioneer plant hunters Archibald Menzies (1754–1842) and David Douglas (1799–1834) (House & Dingwell, 2003). This experience of working with exotic species may well have provided an impetus for Goldie to seek opportunities to see and work with foreign plants in their native habitat. He rounded out his training in the business of nurseryman with time at Dickenson & Co. in Edinburgh, one of the oldest and most respected plant nurseries in the United Kingdom (Sydney Mail, 8 February 1879).

We can gain some idea of Goldie's character from the diary he kept on the voyage to New Zealand. In it he comes across as rather pious and censorious, considering himself one of the more respectable emigrants and keeping

somewhat aloof from his fellow passengers. He travelled as a 'second cabin' passenger in the poop and was not impressed by the incessant fighting and quarrelling or the unruly antics of the 'wild young men' in the decks below. He 'often felt grieved to see the spite thrown out on innocent and quiet people' and thought that, if insulted, it was best to just laugh or treat the perpetrator with silent contempt. He was a regular service goer on board but, being a good Scottish Presbyterian, was rather disdainful of the English service, declaring it to be 'a mere matter of form'. His observations on marine and bird life also suggest an early interest in natural history beyond horticulture. He wrote that unlike the ocean at home, which was:

... nothing but a dreary expanse ruffled by winds and seeming forsaken by every class of animated nature... the tropical seas and the distant southern latitudes beyond them are alive with birds and fishes pursuing and pursued... so that the horizon presents but one living picture of rapacity and evasion (Goldie, 1863).

After a rather rowdy and eventful voyage, which included being boarded by the confederate cruiser *Alabama* off the coast of Brazil (see Bellamy, 2007), the *Queen of Beauty* arrived at Auckland on 10 August 1863. Here they heard of the outbreak of the Waikato War (1863–64) some 20 miles from Auckland, one of several campaigns in the wars between settler and Māori. The young men aboard *Queen of Beauty* feared being called up into the militia on landing and this made their arrival a rather sombre and subdued occasion. As Goldie stated: 'scenes of blood were not what we travelled o'er the deep to meet' (Goldie, 1863).

This was no doubt, the reason why Goldie decided to settle first in Christchurch, far away from any fighting. However, by March 1865 he had moved back to Auckland and set up in business as a landscape gardener. He advertised

by announcing: 'Having a thorough knowledge of gardening in all its branches, acquired in some of the best Gardens in Scotland, and also having had considerable colonial experience, A.G. feels confident that he will be able satisfactorily to perform any work entrusted to his charge' (Daily Southern Cross, 9 March 1865). While 'considerable colonial experience' might have been overstating the mark for a period of just less than two years in New Zealand, he does seem to have built a reputation in that time. Shortly after arriving in Auckland, he acted as a judge at the Auckland Horticultural Society Show (Daily Southern Cross, 17 March 1865). He also arranged an auction in Christchurch of a 'large assortment of plants' shipped from Auckland, which suggests he had a client base there who would be interested in bidding for plants advertised under his name (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 3 June 1865). Interestingly, the majority of these were conifers, so he was clearly putting to good use the expertise he gained in the forests of Dunkeld.

Andrew's younger brother William arrived in Auckland aboard the *Liverpool* in March 1866 and for a time joined him in business (Daily Southern Cross, 7 March 1866). In addition to Goldie's landscape gardening the brothers, styling themselves A & W Goldie, now operated Rosebank Nursery on the Shoal Bank, North Shore. They offered to supply 'ornamental trees and shrubs, fruit trees, and all kinds of Nursery Stock, at reasonable rates' (Daily Southern Cross, 5 May 1866). From newspaper shipping reports we can trace the importation of plants and seeds into Auckland for Goldie's nursery. At first these came mainly from the southern ports of New Zealand but he also began importing plants from Hobart, Sydney and London. He advertised his new stock in the local press and as well as the usual shrubs and fruit trees he also offered 'a fine selection of Fir Trees, just imported from England' (Daily Southern Cross, 2 July 1868). He was appealing to a community wishing

to plant familiar species from home, but as James Beattie (2008) reminds us, the British Empire was remarkably multicultural and the influence of empire on the New Zealand landscape was a hybrid effect. Goldie was an agent of this hybridity, offering unusual and ornamental plants, the 'Greatest Novelties' from England (Daily Southern Cross, 29 June 1870), and he was regularly sending plants to London. The shipping columns show that between 1865 and 1868 he sent an annual consignment of between two and six cases (Daily Southern Cross, 26 October 1865, 20 August 1866, 9 April 1867, 22 June 1868). He also occasionally exported smaller quantities to Sydney.

During his time in New Zealand, Goldie displayed the sharp entrepreneurial instinct and use of the press, that characterised his later career in New Guinea. In 1870 he diversified his business by making strawberries a major feature at the nursery. Not only did he offer strawberry plants for sale, but he also cultivated large quantities of the fruit himself. His success was noted in Auckland's *Daily Southern Cross* (5 November 1870) and Goldie took advantage of the coverage and began advertising the nursery as a visitor attraction. A half hourly steamer service across the harbour to the North Shore enabled visitors to come and sample his strawberries and cream, enjoy the lovely surroundings and see the newly introduced 'Eclipse' strawberry – 'handsome fruit, excellent flavour, and very large bearer' – growing alongside other varieties (Daily Southern Cross, 24 November 1871). This venture seems to have been a success. Goldie stopped importing plants at this time and also auctioned off a large quantity of his existing stock while he concentrated on improving the facilities at what he was now calling the Strawberry Gardens (Daily Southern Cross, 18 December 1871). Eventually it had harbour accommodation for two hundred visitors, large swings and in December 1873 a 'Christmas

Maze', with a prize for 'the first one out', to attract visitors through the festive season. As well as supplying fresh fruit, Goldie also turned to the manufacture of strawberry jam. It was sold through a grocer in the centre of Auckland and there was 'every prospect of a steadily increasing trade' (Daily Southern Cross, 5 December 1872).

However, despite his evident success, Goldie decided to sell up and return to Scotland. The nursery was auctioned in January 1874 and by August he was back at Millport. During his time in New Zealand Goldie seems to have been an upstanding citizen and something of a model emigrant. As well as establishing a successful business he also became a member of the Finance Committee of the local Presbyterian Church, he was secretary of the Devonport Literary Society and played cricket for the North Shore Singles team. He was also a trustee, and at times secretary and auditor, of the Lake Highway Board, responsible for developing the roads in the Devonport and North Shore area. However, it seems that this last was not solely motivated by altruism as he gained valuable contracts through the board, including one in 1872 for road building and another in 1873 for the planting of two thousand trees (Daily Southern Cross, 13 June 1872, 29 April 1873).

Although Goldie was invited to be a judge for the Auckland Horticultural Society shortly after he arrived in 1865, he had little to do with it other than occasionally exhibiting strawberries. The society was in something of a decline at this time and various attempts were made to reinvigorate it. Goldie suggested establishing a society that was not just for exhibiting produce but more of a forum for exchanging ideas and expertise in order that 'we should come to know what is in the colony, and the uses that ought to be made of what we have' (Daily Southern Cross, 26 November 1867). This suggestion was never acted upon, however, and even when the society was

reconstituted a few years later with some of the town's head gardeners and nurserymen as office holders, Goldie did not take part. Nevertheless, he and his brother William left their mark on Auckland. In addition to designing many of its earliest residential gardens, they landscaped public spaces. The 1873 contract, for instance, was for a park on Flagstaff Hill planted with 1000 three year old cluster pines, 500 two year old California pines, and nearly 600 other species, mainly cypress and Norfolk pine (Daily Southern Cross, 29 April 1873, 23 July 1875). William remained in New Zealand and was for many years Ranger at the Auckland Domain, the city's oldest and largest park.

We know nothing of Goldie's motivation for returning to Scotland. His mother died in January 1874, which suggests that news of her failing health may have been one reason. Certainly, when he returned he went back to stay with his family who had now moved from the Garrison House estate to their own residence at Whinfield House in Millport (Glasgow Herald, 21 January 1873). Goldie took with him from New Zealand an extensive stock of over 200 'magnificent tree ferns' that were 'as fine specimens as ever imported' which he advertised for sale. These could be delivered 'to intending purchasers in small or large quantities at London, Edinburgh or Glasgow as required' (The Scotsman and Glasgow Herald, 29 August 1874). He may have intended to set up business in Scotland importing exotic colonial plants or this may simply have been a one-off opportunity to offset the cost of his trip.

It seems likely, however, that Goldie always intended to go back to the antipodes, not as a nurseryman and purveyor of strawberries but instead to embark on a life of exploration and adventure as a plant hunter. In the 1870s, the international plant trade was highly competitive and lucrative and Goldie was keen to take part. In February 1875 he went to London

and entered into an agreement with the famed nurseryman Benjamin Samuel Williams, of Upper Holloway, to collect plants and seeds from ‘the South Sea Islands or such other locality as the said Andrew Goldie shall deem most proper’. The contract allowed Goldie free rein to go wherever he wanted and the discretion to collect whatever plants, bulbs, seeds ‘and such other things’ that he deemed advisable. Williams was to advance Goldie 38 guineas for his passage and other expenses and was to supply a quantity of plants and seeds that he could sell in Australia or New Zealand to raise additional funds to finance his onward voyage to the South Seas. Williams, on his part, was bound to sell any such plants that were shipped by Goldie for the best price. The profits, once appropriate expenses had been deducted, were to be split evenly between the two men. The complexity of this legal document suggests that it was agreed when Goldie was in London in February and that he signed the completed document when he returned to London in March in preparation for departure (Williams & Goldie, 1875).

When in London in February, Goldie booked a passage to Melbourne on the Australian Direct Steam Navigation Company’s steamer *Victoria*, due to sail the following month. However, this turned out to be something of a mistake. When he returned to London expecting to sail on 20 March, he found that the ship had been delayed due to a strike on the Tyne where it was being repaired. Even when the *Victoria* arrived on the Thames it was still beset with delays largely due to the deepening financial troubles of the shipping company. By early April Goldie had still not sailed and was driven to write to the papers, not just decrying his own situation but deploring the treatment of emigrants in general (The Times, 8 April 1875). He pointed out that many families had exhausted their scant savings on boarding-house bills and the company refused to refund their passage money or pay their lodgings.

Goldie portrayed their plight in dramatic fashion, in a way that gives us insights into his state of mind and his compassion:

I have seen a good deal of life, having spent 12 years in New Zealand and the Australian Colonies. I have seen men under the pressure of difficulties over which they had no control madly take away their own life, the brain giving way. Many a man rather than tell to others the pressure bearing on him prefers death. I have witnessed men in connexion with the *Victoria* laying their head in their hands, and with faces that did too truly tell their inward agony, calling out “Oh! What shall I do if I can’t get my money back? My poor wife and family.”

Goldie took the matter to court seeking reimbursement of his fare plus £14 of subsistence money from the shipping broker under the *Passenger Act* (1855). However, the court found that it was the shipping company rather than the broker that was liable, and the case was dismissed (The Times, 11 May 1875).

Goldie eventually gave up on the *Victoria*, which never did depart, and instead booked a passage on the *St Osyth* that sailed from Plymouth to Melbourne on 12 May 1875. The ‘Dutch cargo in the shape of valuable plants’ supplied to Goldie by Williams, valued at £500, had been ‘damaged a good deal by the detention’. He salvaged what he could, sent part of the cargo ahead on another ship and took the remainder with him on the *St Osyth*. Goldie eventually arrived in Melbourne, helped by a record 45-day passage, on 28 June 1875.

Goldie had planned to begin his South Seas collecting career in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), a Presbyterian mission field where he could expect some initial assistance from the missionaries with travel and accommodation. He probably met the Scottish missionary John Inglis, a New Hebrides veteran, when Inglis

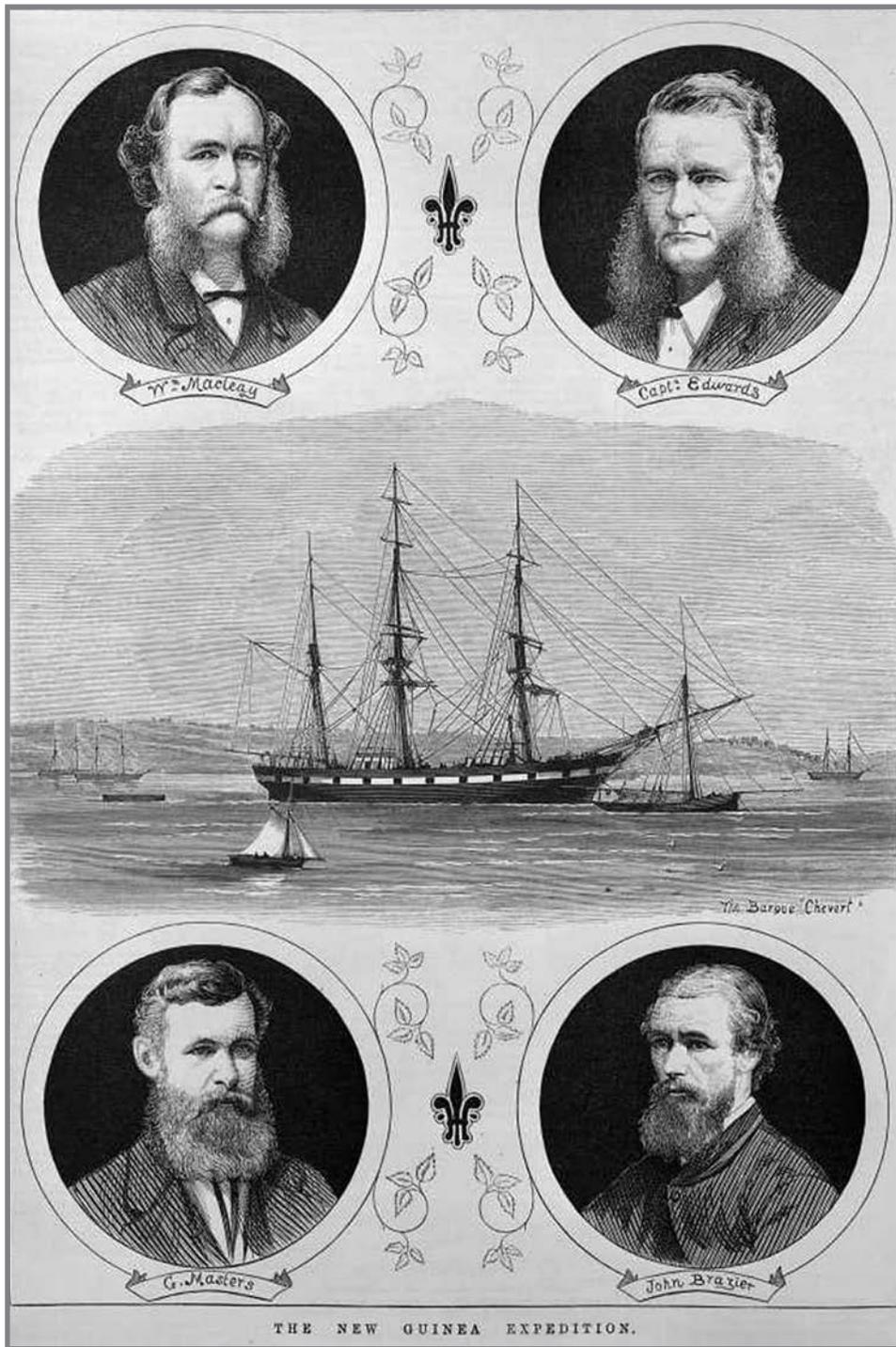


FIG. 2. The Sydney press celebrated the departure of the Chevert Expedition (Australasian Sketcher, 12 June 1875).

visited Auckland in 1869 seeking financial support for the Presbyterian effort (Daily Southern Cross, 12 March 1869): in 1875 Inglis was still stationed at Aneityum. Through his church contacts Goldie arranged to join the mission schooner *Dayspring* in Sydney, but he first had business to transact in New Zealand. Whilst there he received news from the Rev. Dr Robert Steele, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, that there had been a change of plan and the schooner had to leave earlier than expected. By the time Goldie made it back to Sydney *Dayspring* had sailed. His unfinished memoir, reproduced in this volume, begins with the quandary, what to do next?

At this point Goldie was still set on the New Hebrides, and after some months he managed to secure, through the good offices of Commodore Anthony Hoskins, a berth on HM Schooner *Sandfly* when next it patrolled the western Pacific. Be that as it may, in 1875 all talk in Sydney was of New Guinea. In 1873–74, John Moresby of HMS *Basilisk* had mapped the southeast coast, naming Port Moresby after his admiral father, and public meetings were demanding annexation. By November 1875, the Italian naturalist Luigi d’Albertis was back from eight months on Yule Island in the Gulf of Papua with a large collection of ‘birds, insects and reptiles’ (Brisbane Courier, 7 December 1875) and controversy was building over William Macleay’s *Chevert* expedition, which in May had left Sydney for New Guinea with tumultuous fanfare and high expectations. Now rumours were coming from the north that the expedition’s results were disappointing. No one doubted that New Guinea was rich in natural history to be discovered, but detractors were insinuating that the wealthy and well-connected Macleay had not been sufficiently vigorous in the expeditions pursuit (Brisbane Courier, 1 October 1875). Indeed, some of the expedition’s naturalists, Lawrence Hargrave,

William Petterd and the ship’s surgeon, Dr William James, were frustrated enough to leave the ship; James ended up at Yule Island recently vacated by d’Albertis, Hargrave eventually joined d’Albertis on his explorations of the Fly River, and Petterd went with Octavius Stone and Kendall Broadbent to Port Moresby (Brisbane Courier, 7 December 1875).

It would be wrong to describe the *Chevert* expedition as a scientific failure; Macleay brought back specimens of hundreds of new species, but more was expected. Also, in an atmosphere of imperialist fervour in Australia, the expedition’s reputation was eroded by Macleay’s pessimistic reports about the prospects of colonisation (see Macmillan, 1957). But for Goldie, ‘New Guinea fever’ and Macleay’s opinion that this land of ‘vast gigantic forests’ might conceal ‘many vegetable productions of great value’ (Sydney Morning Herald, 11 October 1875) was a heady concoction. On 13 October 1875, he wrote to Sir William Macarthur of Camden, whose gardener had returned from the *Chevert* expedition with hundreds of potted plants, asking if he might see them (Fox, 2004: 24). Clearly torn about what to do, on the strength of the toss of a coin, he resolved to go to New Guinea.

Goldie once again fell back on his church connections. He arranged with the Sydney-based Ship Committee of the London Missionary Society (LMS) for its steamer *Ellengowan* to take him to Port Moresby on its next run. The LMS had established a station there in November 1874, the first British settlement in New Guinea, and it was ready to assist scientific endeavours. As Joseph Mullens (1875–1876), the Society’s Foreign Secretary, put it:

... naturalists naturally took advantage of the safety secured by the presence of the Mission Stations. The Society was quite willing that they should

do so, and would be glad to find that honourable men, anxious to pursue the various branches of science, availed themselves of the stations.

At this time relations between the Presbyterian Mission and the LMS were good, and the two pioneers of the LMS's New Guinea mission, Samuel McFarlane and Archibald Murray, were Scots, as was James Chalmers who arrived in 1877. Goldie was confident he could rely on LMS assistance and at the end of January 1876, left Sydney on the mail steamer bound for Somerset, the outpost established in 1864 at the tip of Cape York Peninsula, where he was to rendezvous with the *Ellengowan* for the voyage across the Gulf of Papua (Brisbane Courier, 3 & 4 February 1876).

Goldie's unfinished memoir takes up the narrative, recording in lively prose his exploration and collecting through to May 1879, where it breaks off suddenly in the middle of an account of a voyage to the Engineer Group, to the southeast of the New Guinea mainland. Because the memoir is unfinished we can only speculate about what Goldie intended to do with it, but the style suggests he was writing a popular account of his adventures. Despite showing few signs of the aspiring author before going to New Guinea, he now began to regularly send pieces to the press. He may have felt duty-bound to do so. Colonists expected gentlemen on the western Pacific frontier, naval officers, explorers, missionaries and the like, to publish accounts of their experiences in the newspapers. Goldie's first submission, in the form of extracts from his journal, was to the Presbyterian *The Australian Witness* (1 July 1876), sent after just a few months in New Guinea. The next came out on 17 October 1877 (Sydney Morning Herald) and described the first part of his second trip to New Guinea, covering July and August of 1877. This formed the basis of a report communicated through the Earl of Glasgow to the Royal Geographical Society of London, entitled 'A

Journey in the Interior of New Guinea from Port Moresby' (Goldie, 1877–1878). His third newspaper article (Sydney Morning Herald, 5 January 1878) carried the sensational news that his expedition had discovered gold and was widely syndicated. Probably anticipating this, Goldie used the opportunity to describe his travels, once again in the form of extracts from his journal that ran to some 2,500 words. At this point in his career Goldie was keen to publicise the contribution he was making to exploration and natural history collecting, to shore up current and future patronage as much as anything else.

Yet Goldie had in mind something far more substantial than journal extracts. He insisted that his travelling companions not publish their own accounts of his expeditions (Goldie, 1877b) both because he believed that as leader he had the right to claim the credit for any successes, but also because of his own ambition to write a book. In 1878, he told his agent in Sydney:

I shall be much pleased if Mr Ramsay [Sydney Museum] should prepare notes to publish of what I have collected to be added to the work on my travels which will be placed before the world, when I return if God spares me (Goldie, 1878d).

On Goldie's return to Sydney in January 1879, in a lecture delivered at the Presbyterian Church, Balmain, he announced his intention, at the end of his travels, 'to write a work that he would endeavour to make interesting by his descriptive accounts of habits, customs etc., of the people [of New Guinea]' (Sydney Mail, 8 February 1879). What we have is a draft of this, and while it carries no date, it probably was worked-up to this point during his prolonged 1880 sojourn in the Australasian colonies.

While the ethnographic emphasis of the proposed book probably came as no surprise to his Balmain audience, it illustrates just how

far Goldie's perspective had shifted since 1875. Before leaving for New Guinea he had shown no curiosity about indigenous societies, despite having lived more than ten years in New Zealand. He appears to have had little interest in Māori and their way of life. He never remarked on them, even later by way of comparison with Papuans. Now he seemed to recognise that his hopes for fame and fortune depended, at least in part, on his hard won knowledge of Papuan culture. His interest in it was genuine. He had been stimulated by immersion in the unfamiliar, an experience he clearly found congenial. For someone of his background, temperament and interests, there was a lot to like about the people of the southeast coast. He also was constantly among missionaries whose primary motivation for being in New Guinea was the people. But he also had acquired a sharp sense of the public appetite for stories about exotic natives. Nothing illustrates this more dramatically than the introduction to his Balmain audience of Mayr, a sixteen-year old Papuan boy Goldie had brought from Port Moresby. Mayr caused a sensation (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1879).

We may never know why Goldie left the memoir unfinished at May 1879. Most likely, he set it aside because of the press of work, but why never take it up again? Part of the explanation might be a shift in how he saw his role in New Guinea. By 1883 he was focusing more on business other than natural history collecting, and influenced by this, took more pointed positions on how colonialism should progress. He also saw himself less as a public figure. Goldie's publications rarely alluded to the financial imperatives and underpinnings of his ventures. He acknowledged his initial agreement with Benjamin Samuel Williams, from whom, in a sense, he drew his legitimacy as a professional collector, but apart from that he usually downplayed or evaded altogether the commercial nature of his endeavours. Nor did he seem overly concerned to portray



A NATIVE OF NEW GUINEA.

FIG. 3. Mayr with his bamboo pipe, (*Sydney Mail*, 25 January 1879).

himself as a man of science, in the way that his contemporary Luigi d'Albertis did, despite the determinedly commercial nature of d'Albertis's collecting. In the public mind at this time, the lines between commercial collector, scientist and amateur naturalist were permeable. The Port Moresby LMS missionaries, for instance, demonstrated an educated interest in the natural sciences and were enthusiastic specimen and artefact collectors (Colley, 2003: 406–409). McFarlane and Chalmers became renowned explorers. Indeed, in 1886 Ferdinand von Mueller, the eminent Victorian Government Botanist, invited Chalmers to lead a scientific expedition in New Guinea for which £1000 had been allocated (Home *et al.*, 2006: 467–



FIG. 4. Figure of the Type Specimen of *Dendrobium goldiei* from *The Garden*, 14 September 1878. The specimen was described by the great orchid expert H.G. Reichenbach from a specimen supplied to B.S. Williams by Andrew Goldie.

468). Status accrued in the centres of empire to men on the periphery who contributed to the advancement of science, and in this there was no fundamental contradiction between the accretion of social kudos and the pursuit of personal financial gain (see Endersby, 2000).

Goldie had grown up a nurseryman, an intensely competitive occupation that required for success business acumen, considerable physical vigour, a love of the outdoors and an eye for nature, but also a willingness to engage with the published horticultural science. By the mid 1870s, these elements coalesced seamlessly within him and had become second nature. His first trip to New Guinea was a business venture, backed by a London firm, to exploit the island's virtually untapped botanical potential, but he also had arrangements with von Mueller to supply botanical specimens (Home *et al.*, 2006: 123–124) and with the curator of Sydney Museum, E.P. Ramsay, for a wide range of natural history and ethnological artefacts (Goldie, 1876a). On his second expedition, which began in July 1877, Ramsay arranged for two museum collectors, Alexander Morton and William Blunden, to accompany him, which gave that expedition an even more scientific appearance than the first. Yet the composition of the party was also illustrative of the symbiotic relationship that existed between plant collectors and botanical scientists. Botanists wanted new plants to describe and compare, and new plants had to be authenticated and classified by reputable scientists to be marketable: in the 1870s, a genuinely new orchid from the wilds of New Guinea was a valuable commodity indeed. In 1878, when the renowned orchid specialist H.G. Reichenbach announced in the gardening press that he had identified two new species of orchid collected by Goldie, which he named *Dendrobium goldiei* and *Dendrobium williamsianum*, he concluded with an assessment of the commercial value of the plants to Williams (Reichenbach, 1878). As

a collector of natural history, Goldie's primary motivation was consistently commercial.

Goldie continued to think of himself as a 'Botanical Collector', using that descriptor on correspondence and publications until at least 1879, but other types of collecting soon overtook plants. He might have been a gardener all his life but he was new to botanical collecting and transporting high quality specimens, especially living plants, proved to be more difficult than he had imagined. We know he despatched six cases of what were probably living plants to London in March 1876, before leaving Torres Strait for New Guinea (Fox, 2004: 25). Late in 1876 he sent 15 more cases of what certainly were living New Guinea plants to London (Sydney Morning Herald, 30 December 1876). How many of these made it safely and in good condition to B.S. Williams is not known, but in May 1878 Williams exhibited 'a bold maidenhair from New Guinea' at the Royal Horticultural Show in South Kensington (The Times, 22 May 1878), and in April 1879 several new cycads at the Second Spring Exhibition of the Royal Botanical Society (The Times, 24 April 1879). Back in Melbourne, von Mueller identified two new species that he named *Combretum goldieanum* and *Bauhinia williamsii* in honour of Goldie and Williams, but by the middle of 1878 he was complaining to Ramsay about Goldie's poor results and later wrote that all he ever got from him for £50 was a 'handful' of specimens (Homes, 2006: 454). Ramsay, on the other hand, was an ornithologist in an era of intense scientific interest in New Guinea birds, inspired by the quest for new species of the iconic bird of paradise; Leiden Museum sent out three collectors between 1861 and 1873 (Swadling, 1996: 74–75).

Like most of his contemporaries, Goldie loved to shoot, and he quickly learned to skin and preserve specimen birds. This was an easier and more lucrative activity than plant collecting, with a market bolstered by the fashion for



FIG. 5. Figures of the Type specimens of *Paradisea decora*, or Goldie's Bird of Paradise, collected by Andrew Goldie on Fergusson Island in 1882 and acquired by the British Museum via Salvin and Godman. Osbert Salvin and F. DuCane Godman, 'Description of a recently discovered Species of Paradisea', *Ibis*, 25 (1883), 199-202.

exotic plumes. By November 1877, he had managed to amass 1000 bird skins comprising what he thought were 124 distinct species including twenty-three birds of paradise (*Paradisea raggiana*) (Goldie, 1878a). After his return from New Guinea, in early 1879, he sent Williams not only plants but also 1500 bird skins. Williams had no commercial interest in birds and so put them up for auction at Stevens, one of the leading auction houses specialising in natural history specimens. Before being sold they were assessed by R. Bowdler Sharpe, the head of the bird department at the British Museum, which proved to be the start of an ongoing interest in Goldie's work. Over the next few years Goldie specimens were regularly acquired by the museum (Sharpe, 1906: 359; Allingham, 1924: 172). His specimens were also used by the celebrated Italian ornithologist Tommaso Salvadori in the first systematic survey of New Guinea bird life, *Ornitologia della Papuasias e delle Molucche*, published in two volumes in 1880 and 1881 (Salvadori, 1880 & 1881). Salvadori was Vice-Director of the Royal Museum of Natural History at Turin, but he also spent time at the British Museum assisting Sharpe to prepare the extensive bird collection catalogues. Sharpe, in turn, published a series of papers on the ornithology of New Guinea in the *Journal of the Linnean Society* during the 1880s that drew heavily on the museum's Goldie specimens. He also completed John Gould's epic *Birds of New Guinea and the Adjacent Papua Islands*, which also featured numerous Goldie specimens.

As his reputation grew Goldie abandoned his relationship with Williams and instead worked to order for a number of influential collectors. Principal among these were Osbert Salvin and F. DuCane Godman, two of Europe's leading ornithologists. Godman was a founding member of the British Ornithologists' Union and Salvin served for many years as editor of its journal *The Ibis*. They described several

of Goldie's new species including his most celebrated discovery, *Paradisea decora*, known as Goldie's Bird of Paradise (Salvin & Godman, 1883). Apart from their scientific credentials, Salvin and Godman were wealthy and well connected and built up vast collections. Goldie was 'their correspondent', and as well as acquiring specimens from him they acted as his agents, selling on to, among others, the British Museum and the taxidermist Edward Gerrard (Sharpe, 1883). Among the prominent collectors who purchased Goldie specimens were the Marquis of Tweeddale and Walter, later Baron, Rothschild.² Other collectors acquired specimens direct from Goldie, such as the celebrated natural history artist Marianne North who visited Australia in 1880 (North, 1894: 134).

Augmenting demand from Europe, the late 1870s witnessed the establishment of many of the Australasian metropolitan museums and they were keen to build their collections. In Australasia a well-preserved pair of bird of paradise skins usually fetched about £2. Auckland Museum, which moved into its first purpose-built premises in 1876, paid £45 7s 6d for 96 of the bird skins Goldie collected in 1877 (Cheeseman, 1879). But wealthy private collectors in Europe paid considerably more. At the Stevens auction in London in 1879 a male and female bird of paradise sold for £11 and £10 respectively (Allingham, 1924: 172). In present-day values, therefore, the 1000 bird specimens Goldie had in his possession in November 1877 probably were worth in excess of \$200,000.³ By the mid-1880s protests were beginning to mount against this slaughter of birds at Port Moresby (Musgrave, 1885), but it would be 1894 before New Guinea's first Wild Birds Protection Ordinance was gazetted (Swadling, 1996: 264–265).

There was strong demand for a wide range of natural history specimens from both public and private collectors. As Tom Griffiths explains, 'Fern cases, butterfly cabinets, seaweed albums

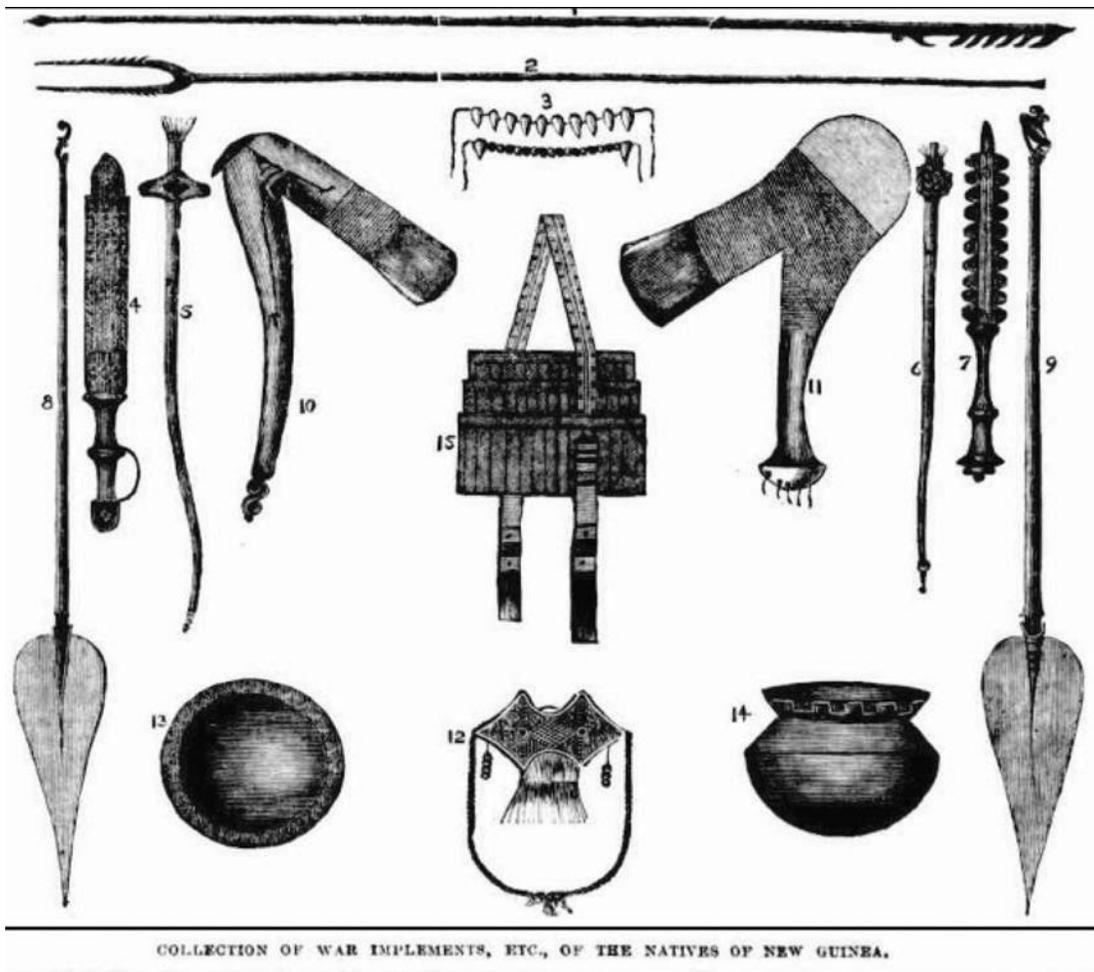


FIG. 6. 'From the pencil of Mr. A. Goldie, the well-known explorer and botanist' (Australian Town and Country Journal, 25 January 1879).

and shell collections were common adornments of the drawing rooms of affluent British families in this period' (Griffiths, 1996: 16). Sir William Macleay was Goldie's most important client in Australia and many hundreds of Goldie specimens ended up in his private museum. Macleay himself was an accomplished ichthyologist and wrote an extensive series of papers describing the fishes collected by Goldie, identifying 56 new species. From his reports we can gain an insight into the meticulous nature of Goldie's work:

The fishes are with a few exceptions well preserved, the native name of each species is duly recorded, in many cases most valuable notes are made of the colours of the living specimen, and altogether Mr Goldie has shown himself to be a most excellent and intelligent collector (Macleay, 1882).

Goldie was also an important collector of moths and butterflies, and again he discovered several new species. However, insects proved to be much more fragile than plants or bird skins to transport, as Godman and Salvin reported:

The specimens were, unfortunately, pinned and packed in boxes; and several of them getting loose in transit caused much damage to the others, so that the greater part arrived in a very broken condition (Godman & Salvin, 1880).

Although Godman and Salvin initially described some of Goldie's new butterflies, it was not till after Goldie's death that the entomologist Herbert Druce identified many additional new species among them.

The range of Goldie's natural history collecting was extensive, with several new species of bug, snails and marsupials being described later by specialists in the scientific literature (see Appendix). From the very beginning he also collected the ethnological. As *The Queenslander's* (4 October 1879) New Guinea correspondent put it, '... [as] it can be seen that eventually all the primitive appliances both for work and warfare will be lost sight of, I think it would be well for the various museums in the colonies to secure collections of what may be said to be the best stone implements in the world.' The same journalist witnessed two of Goldie's men at Port Moresby sorting and packing a 'vast cargo of specimens, curios, etc.' (*The Queenslander*, 1 November 1879).

Yet Goldie's entrepreneurial instincts, so evident in his earlier career in New Zealand, urged him towards the opportunities that lay in more general trade. Goldie was a hands-on collector who personally hunted the bush for specimens, but apart from the botanical, collecting through trade was far more productive. He doggedly travelled from village to village by boat and walking track, and by the late 1870s was generally acclaimed the most successful trader on the coast. Others not of his party also collected specifically for him, in particular the LMS Pacific Islander teachers (evangelists), about thirty of whom were stationed in villages along the south coast. The missionary James Chalmers wrote

that he 'knew a teacher collecting beetles for him [Goldie]; another collecting clubs, &c.; another shields, &c.; another plumes' (*Brisbane Courier*, 7 January 1880). The next step was for collectors to bring specimens and artefacts to his door at Port Moresby.

The store Goldie built at Port Moresby in late 1878, was the most obvious sign he was shifting away from constant field collecting. He purchased the Hanuabada waterfront site from its Papuan owners in May 1878 (Oram, 1976: 23), although at the time he may not have planned to open a trade store. When he first arrived in New Guinea he lived on his boat or under canvas when ashore. By the middle of 1876 he had engaged six Papuans to build him a small hut (Lawes, 1876–1878). By early 1878, he was hard pressed for space to store specimens and in need of a larger, lockable dwelling, but the decision to establish his own trade store probably came late in 1878, because despite going down in history as Port Moresby's first storekeeper (Gibbney, 1972), there were earlier rivals.

In September 1877, Jimmy Caledonia, a Pacific Islander who had been on the north Queensland diggings and was now working for Goldie, discovered gold by the Laloki River within walking distance of Port Moresby, raising the prospect of a rush. The first to respond to this business opportunity was William Ingham, who set out from Cooktown in January 1878, with supplies to set up a store at Port Moresby. He was there almost two months before the first twenty-five prospectors arrived on the *Colonist* (Moore, 1992: 417–418). In July, the same year, the German trader Edwin Redlich also began to build a store (Chester, 1878a). However, both their plans went awry at Brooker Island (Utian); Redlich's, when his partner John McCourt and party were killed establishing a bêche-de-mer camp, and Ingham when he was murdered while investigating the attack. With Ingham dead and Redlich without a partner, men

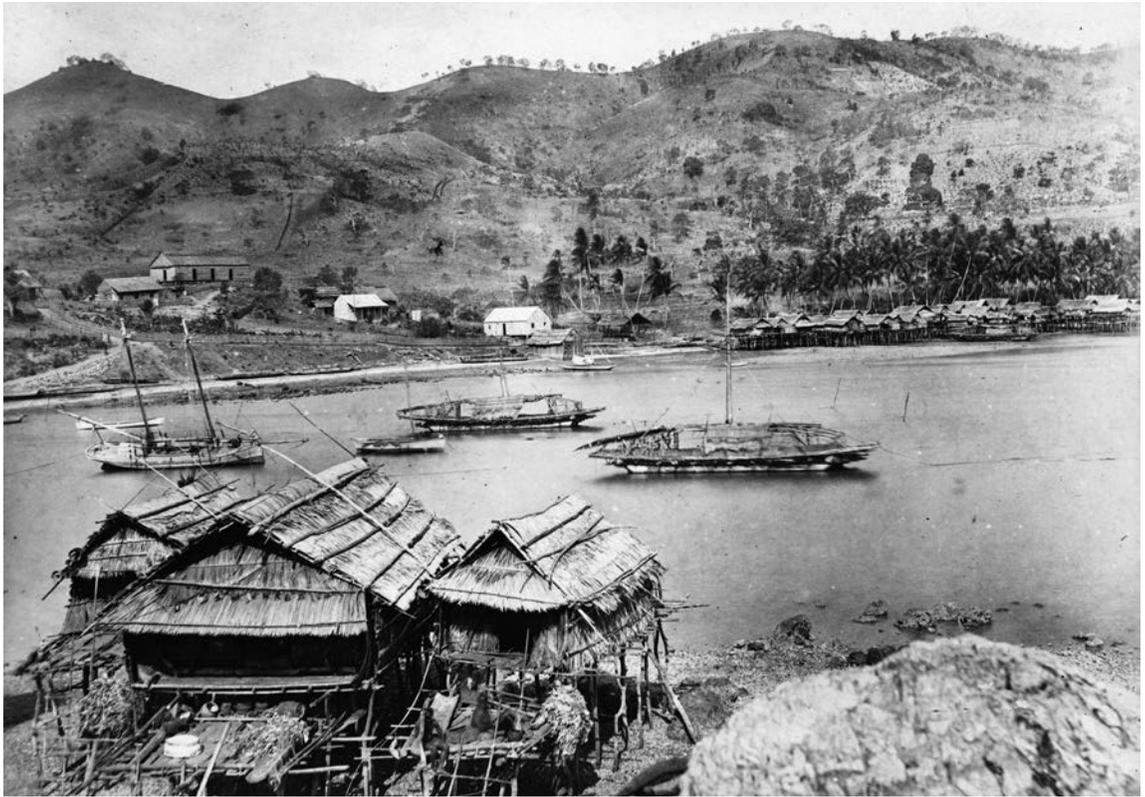


FIG. 7. Port Moresby 1883-1884 (Robert W Lawry, ML PXA 44). Goldie's first store is at the centre of the photograph close to the shore (State Library of New South Wales).

or plant and more than £3000 worse off, Goldie took the opportunity to establish his store.

Goldie was quick to take credit for Jimmy Caledonia's discovery (rightly or wrongly), but publicly he was cautious about the Laloki field's potential. He wrote to the press:

I earnestly warn the public that there should be no rush of Europeans at present. It is true I have found gold, but it wants practical men first to prove where there is sufficient to justify a rush of Europeans (Goldie, 1878a).

He seemed immune to gold fever himself and devoted little time to prospecting, however he must have hoped that his store would profit from the influx of diggers. But Laloki proved a duffer and by the end of 1878 the 100 or so

prospectors who had arrived to try their hand were drifting away. Port Moresby would not be the boomtown some envisaged early in 1878 (Ingham, 1878c), and the most valuable thing the rush left Goldie was a few reliable, seasoned frontiersmen whom he employed in his enterprise.

When Goldie returned from his extended 1880 trip south, he continued to collect and export natural history specimens and ethnographic artefacts, but now he depended more on trade in *bêche-de-mer*, which in the 1870s and 1880s was New Guinea's principal export. Goldie did not gather and process *bêche-de-mer* himself, but advanced stores on the promise of *bêche-de-mer* and also sold it for other traders on consignment. He would take it

to Thursday Island or Cooktown where there was lively competition among local Chinese merchants for the product. Goldie was able to enter this business because of his March 1878 acquisition of the schooner, *Alice Meade*, after the loss of his first vessel *Explorer*, purchased at Thursday Island in 1876. *Explorer* was a cramped little nine-ton pearl-shelling lugger. *Alice Meade*, on the other hand, was 15 tons. While still a small vessel, it was virtually brand new and had a nimble topsail schooner rig that was perfectly suited for coastal work and the prevailing sailing conditions in the Gulf of Papua. *Alice Meade* gave Goldie the mobility, flexibility and carrying capacity to be a fully-fledged coastal trader, and despite the vessel's rather cramped accommodation, he often had it out on charter (Cairn, 1881–1882).

Goldie's next planned diversification was into the cultivation of sugarcane, which required large tracts of land. Its acquisition set him on a collision course with missionaries and colonial authorities alike, although he had already become somewhat disillusioned with both. Perhaps the most significant bone of contention up to this point was what Goldie regarded as a lack of vigour on the part of imperial authorities in the punishment of Papuans who attacked traders. The initial response to the Brooker Island incidents, in which collectively more than 30 people had been killed, was the first and perhaps most telling case. HM Corvette *Cormorant* was sent to investigate, but left without landing a naval party, trusting instead to a rather ineffective volley of cannon fire. One trader expressed a generally held view when he wrote to the press:

The natives' own report since the *Cormorant* shelled the village is that one grass house was broken down, also a few trees, but no other damage was done, and not a single man suffered bodily. The natives are boasting, and hail the departure of the *Cormorant* a single [*sic*] victory. They believe that

they have frightened the white man, and the whole coast of New Guinea is ringing with the story, the natives assuming a very hostile attitude, and declaring their intention to wipe out the whites (The Argus, 6 June 1879).

A few months later the Commodore of the Australia Station himself, J.C. Wilson, arrived with his flagship, HMS *Wolverine*, accompanied by HM Schooner *Beagle*, to land a party of 150 sailors and marines at Brooker Island, but although one islander was shot dead and another wounded while fleeing in a canoe, none of the suspects were captured. Wilson, who had a journalist aboard, ordered all the huts and canoes on the island destroyed, hoping perhaps that this would go some way towards convincing traders that the Royal Navy was serious about protecting their interests (Brisbane Courier, 9 July 1879).

Nevertheless, the attacks continued and Goldie, at least, remained thoroughly unconvinced. After the 7 March 1881 massacre of twelve LMS teachers and their friends at Kalo, a village at the head of Hood Bay, he wrote a letter dripping with sarcasm to the Sydney press:

What if the natives should learn that these warships are for their special protection, and what if they should be told – 'You can kill as many Europeans as you like! Sir Arthur Gordon, *Butanea Tesepata* (or Great Chief) [High Commissioner for the Western Pacific] will not allow you to be punished; at most, they will make only a show of punishment, fire a shell into the bush to warn you that they are coming, land a lot of men as if they were going to attack a citadel, form the men in line on the beach, read the articles of war, and give you lots of time to escape into the bush; and then the bold natives can laugh at the blue-jackets.' Fancy seamen in a New Guinea bush

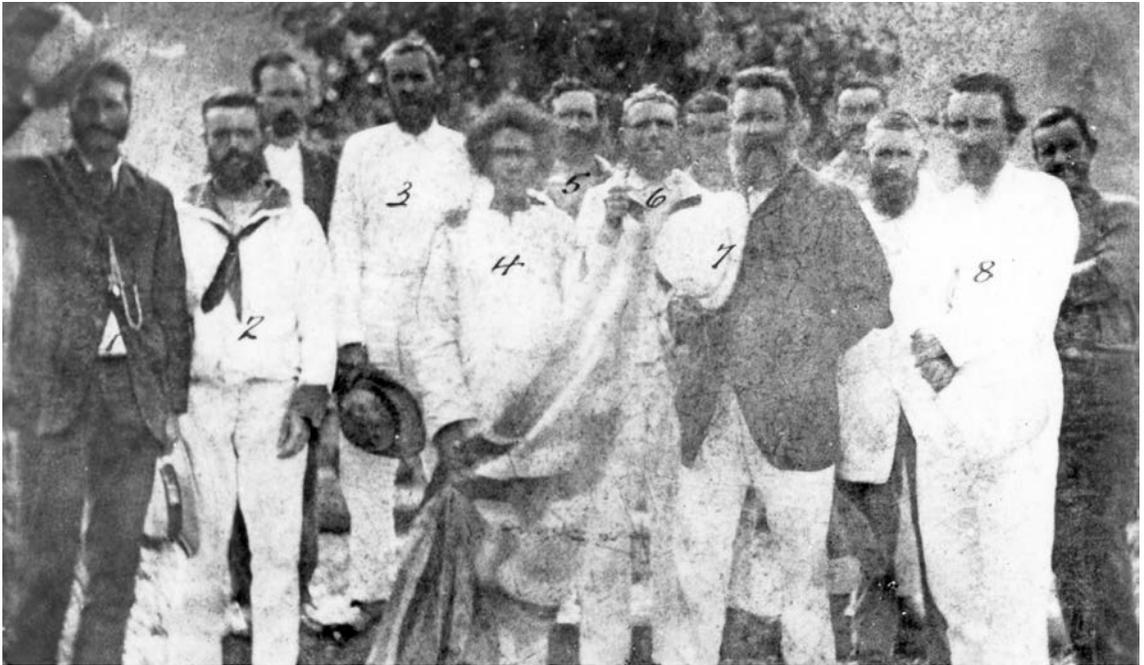


FIG. 8. The Queensland Annexation, 3 April 1883. 1, Frank Walsh, grazier; 2, Water Police Constable; 3, Andrew Goldie; 4, Paramount chief of Port Moresby; 5, Water Police Constable Warren; 6, Coxswain of Water Police Crispin; 7, H.M. Chester, Police Magistrate; 8, James Chalmers LMS (RHSQ P10063) (Image courtesy of Royal Historical Society of Queensland).

hunting natives! The captain will then report, 'Saw no natives'. The only thing they can do is to burn the village, and that matter is settled till the time comes for the next bonfire. The only way to punish Kalo is to take them by surprise at break of day; show no ship, but do it from a distance in boats, and read the articles of war before leaving the ship. If they do not do it this time we will be forced to do their duty for self protection (Goldie, 1881).

Whether or not Commodore Wilson read the letter, when *Wolverine* and *Beagle* launched a punitive expedition against Kalo on 24 August 1881, Goldie's tactics were followed almost to the letter. About forty Papuans were killed, and in a meaningful act of submission the Kaloians handed their offending chief over to the Commodore, dead (The Argus, 29 September 1881).

The LMS usually displayed a conciliatory attitude towards Papuans who were involved in clashes with outsiders, but the call for retributive justice after Kalo was unanimous, and the LMS missionary James Chalmers even accompanied the British warships on their mission (The Argus, 6 September 1881). As in most things, Goldie stood close to the missionaries with respect to the treatment of Papuans. He was proud of his reputation for invariably friendly relations with them (Brisbane Courier, 3 January 1880), but he believed in 'an eye for an eye'. He was also a champion of empire and thought that its agents; administrator, missionary and trader, should work together to impart Christian civilisation, which included the virtues of private enterprise. In keeping with this, Goldie welcomed Queensland's audacious 4 April 1883 annexation of southeast New Guinea, which Premier Thomas McIlwraith claimed

was a pre-emptive move to check an anticipated German annexation. On the other hand, as Diane Langmore (1989: 212) has explained, the LMS generally was anti-imperialist, at least in the sense that it opposed the annexation of indigenous lands. For the Port Moresby missionaries, the Queensland initiative was the fulfilment of their worst fears, because of that colony's bad reputation for the exploitation of Pacific Islander sugar plantation workers and the dispossession and mistreatment of Aborigines on the pastoral frontier. On 7 April, the LMS missionary William Lawes wrote in protest to his superiors that, 'Nowhere in the world have Aborigines been so basely and cruelly treated as in Queensland... are the natives of New Guinea to be handed over to their tender mercies?' (Langmore, 1989: 212). In public, however, the Port Moresby missionary response was rather more measured, as they marshalled their considerable influence to lobby for imperial annexation, a perhaps undesirable but nevertheless necessary counter to Queensland.

New Guinea's potential for sugar production had been recognised almost from the beginning of colonisation. In 1878 Ingham, who had been three years a Queensland planter, reported the quality of the indigenous species of sugar cane and the availability of suitable land and willing labour (Ingham, 1878c). Goldie had been on the look-out for sugar land before the attempted annexation, but he took practical steps immediately afterwards. By July 1883, he had identified about 15,000 acres in the Kabadi district, some 70 kilometres to the west of Port Moresby, and on 23 July he wrote to the Colonial Office from Thursday Island seeking an assurance that if the British Government confirmed the Queensland annexation, it would grant him a pre-emptive right over any purchase he made until a system of legal tenure had been established. In support of his application he provided the names of a number of prominent men who would attest

to his good character, the first of whom were William Lawes and James Chalmers (Goldie, 1883). He then returned to New Guinea with a surveyor, John Cameron, to peg out and pay for the site. Cameron had joined Goldie at Thursday Island after arriving from Sydney armed with a satchel of blank deeds (Lawes, 1881–1883).

Early in September 1883, while negotiations with traditional land-owners were proceeding, the *Ellangowan* arrived at Kabadi with Lawes, Chalmers and William Armit, the leader of *The Argus* exploring expedition. Unfortunately for Goldie, Queensland's annexation had also sparked a race for New Guinea between Melbourne's rival newspapers, *The Argus* and *The Age*, and there were two parties of journalists at Port Moresby vying for sensational stories. Among them were George (China) Morrison and John Stanley James (The Vagabond), Australia's most notable 'muckrakers', both fresh from exposés of Queensland's Pacific Islands labour trade (Pearl, 1981: 15–40; Cannon, 1969: 259). The controversy that now erupted over the Kabadi land purchase was destined to be played-out under the full glare of public opinion.

Yet it was the *Brisbane Courier* that broke the story. It published a short note on Saturday, 13 October 1883, and then a full article the following Saturday under the banner, 'The Pretended Land Sale in New Guinea.' The *Brisbane Courier's* 'Own Correspondent' wrote:

How is it that the Anglo-Saxon is such a terrible land grabber? Why not begin right, and leave these poor Papuans on their lands and in full possession of them? Could you not find in Northern Queensland a few thousand acres of good sugar land for this southern syndicate, and so avoid deceiving the ignorant savage, who seeing a tomahawk would part with everything to secure it. The child plays with the

diamond, and one comes along with his bright new penny piece, hands it to the child, and secures the precious stone. Fine sugar land, beating your Herbert [north Queensland], and the tomahawk fetches it... Unless the present land-jobbing in New Guinea is not at once stopped, the future is full of trouble (Brisbane Courier, 20 October 1883).

Later, it maintained that the Papuan vendors had not understood the nature of the agreements they had made and that, in any case, Goldie and Cameron had purchased the land from the wrong Papuans, the real owner, Urivado, the chief of Kabadi, not being present (Brisbane Courier, 7 November 1883). The newspaper editorialised that if Goldie and his associates attempted to take possession of the land they would be 'resisted to death by the tribesmen', and that the only way to prevent unscrupulous men causing 'quarrels, outrages, retaliation' was to move quickly on formal annexation (Brisbane Courier, 15 October 1883).

Others took up the theme. In March 1884, Sir Henry Parkes, only recently out of office as Premier of New South Wales and holidaying in London, wrote to the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

Now, here is annexation with a vengeance. ... If colonisation is to take place, is it wise to wait until the native mind is darkened by the worst impression of the white intruders?... I cannot see how it can be doubted that they would have a better chance under British rule than by being left open to the lawless influences – I fear I must add lawless assaults – which would continually press upon them in their present state (Brisbane Courier, 21 March 1884).

The Gladstone government repudiated Queensland's annexation but made some concession to the inevitable when on 23

October 1884 at Port Moresby, Hugh Hastings Romilly, Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, proclaimed the British Protectorate of New Guinea. Less than two weeks later, on 3 November 1884, Germany laid claim to northeast New Guinea. Few commentators in Australia were satisfied with this 'ridiculous mouse of a limited protectorate' (The Times, 25 December 1884) and Goldie, on hearing of the German colony, flew the Union Jack at half-mast outside his store, 'because of England's disgrace' (Brisbane Courier, 30 January 1885).

Controversy over the Kabadi land deal continued, although Armit of *The Argus* and Morrison of *The Age* were in no position to contribute much; at the time Armit was struck down by fever, with one of his party dead, and Morrison had been badly speared in the stomach and face on the very day the original *Brisbane Courier* report was being penned. However, John Stanley James, who had been sent to wind-up *The Argus* expedition, did comment, although more moderately than the *Brisbane Courier* correspondent:

You may purchase fast enough, but that only gives the right of possession; there is no such thing as private property in land, and heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns are unknown in New Guinea. So I tell Mr Goldie that the half dozen blank deeds which Mr Cameron brought from Sydney, and by which the rights of the purchasers are fenced in with much legal verbiage, seem to me so much waste parchment. His argument, and one bearing weight, is, 'if the missionaries and Mr Romilly can buy land, why cannot I?' (James, 1884).

To avoid Goldie's actions prejudicing the annexation process, on 24 October 1883 the Queensland Government gazetted a proclamation framed specifically to negate the Kabadi purchase. It declared that:

... in the event of the Territory of New Guinea being annexed to the Colony of Queensland, all purchases of land made previous to such annexation will be deemed to be illegal and treated accordingly; and it is highly probable such purchases will be deemed to be illegal and repudiated by the Federated Colonies, should the Territory be placed under their jurisdiction, and by the British Government under any form of Imperial control (Queensland Government Gazette, 27 October 1883).

Yet the wording of the prohibition was vague enough to encourage Goldie to hold his ground, despite the swelling public opprobrium.

Most newspaper accounts of the affair portrayed Goldie as the agent of a Sydney 'land-jobbing' syndicate headed by John Cameron. Cameron was quick to defend himself in the press, explaining that he was an experienced Government surveyor who after recent private work surveying land purchases in Fiji had decided, on his own initiative, to look for land in New Guinea. While making inquiries in Sydney about buying a small schooner he met a businessman prominent in the Torres Strait pearl-shelling industry who expressed an interest in making a small investment in the project. Cameron decided to take advantage of this unnamed man's commercial connections in 'Torres Strait and on the coast of New Guinea'. His meeting with Goldie at Thursday Island was, therefore, coincidental and he went in with him because Goldie had a boat, knew the New Guinea coast well, had already identified suitable land and was an experienced horticulturalist. Goldie also recognised how useful Cameron's expertise and experience would be to him. In a rhetorical flourish, Cameron left it to others to determine whether he represented 'a syndicate of land-grabbers' (Sydney Morning Herald, 23 November 1883).

Cameron's letter did little to deflect public criticism, partly because the Kabadi affair was now fuel in the annexation firebox. But support came in the form of the young explorer Theodore Bevan who wrote for the *Brisbane Courier*. Bevan first arrived at Port Moresby in November 1884 and was hardly an impartial witness, given that as future events would show, he was also interested in acquiring land. Bevan spent time at Kabadi personally investigating the site and then stayed with Goldie for five or six weeks. With the knowledge gained he wrote a detailed defence of Goldie's position. He pointed out that Goldie had simply meant to establish a pre-emptive right and that the Papuans thoroughly understood the arrangement that had been thrashed out over a week and which had been explained to them by Lawes and other translators. As Cameron explained, Lawes had even translated key sections of the documents into written Motu. Cameron paid Kabadi a second visit after being told by Chalmers the owners had reneged and they recommitted to the agreement, indeed tried to sell more land. To rebut the accusation that the purchase had been made from the wrong Papuans, Bevan reported that the marks of Urivado and his son were on an agreement now lying in a Sydney bank (Bevan, 1885).

Goldie must have known that the *Brisbane Courier* correspondent who broke the 'Pretended Land Sale' story was most likely James Chalmers⁴, who John Stanley James described at the time as 'masterly and masterful; one who speaks strongly and writes strongly' (James, 1884). Goldie also would have known by now that William Lawes had written to George Palmer MP of the Aborigines Protection Society. *The Times* (22 December 1883) carried the story:

Mr Lawes points out that these speculators profess to have purchased, at the price of 1d per acre, 15,000 acres of land in New Guinea for sugar



FIG. 9. Commodore addressing chiefs on board HMS *Nelson*, Port Moresby, 1884. (WG Lawes, SOAS/CWM/LMS/PNG/PHOTO/09/016/014).

production, valued by a scientific agriculturalist at £2 an acre, though the true owner of the land they had never seen... Mr Palmer brought the subject at once before the Colonial Office, in which Sir Robert Herbert says he has been directed by the Earl of Derby to inform Mr Palmer that 'assuming the facts to be as stated (and the various accounts are in substantial accord), Her Majesty's Government will certainly refuse to recognise this transaction, or any others of a similar character.'

Goldie had couched his July 1883 application to the Colonial Office in terms of the benefits commercial agriculture would bring to Papuans, anticipating that his initiative would promote indigenous cane farming on adjacent plots. The application also anticipated the support

of the Port Moresby missionaries. Lawes and Chalmers had expressed some reservations at Kabadi during the negotiations, but Lawes by assisting with the translation had been instrumental to them. The vehemence of their subsequent public attacks must have left Goldie severely shaken.

On 5 September 1883 the Colonial Office refused Goldie's request with respect to land title (Minute on Goldie, 1883), and the formulae used to proclaim the Protectorate seemed to further rule out any chance of a favourable outcome for him. Because of confused instructions from London there were two ceremonies at Port Moresby, the first a simple flag raising performed by Deputy Commissioner Hugh Romilly and the second a much more elaborate affair involving five warships conducted by Commodore James E. Erskine. The only detail in Romilly's proclamation, apart from

a description of the new territory, was 'that all purchase of land from the natives by white men is absolutely prohibited' (Brisbane Courier, 15 November 1884). On the day before Erskine's proclamation, he addressed about 50 Papuan chiefs whom Lawes and Chalmers had gathered aboard the flagship, HMS *Nelson*. Through Lawes, Erskine explained that the Proclamation would place them:

...under the protection of Her Majesty's Government: that evil-disposed men will not be able to occupy your country, to seize your lands, or take you away from your own homes. I have been instructed to say to you that what you have seen done here today on board Her Majesty's ships of war, and which will be done again tomorrow, on shore, is to give you the strongest assurance of Her Majesty's protection of you, and to warn bad and evil-disposed men that if they attempt to do you harm they will be promptly punished by the officers of the Queen. Your lands will be secured to you, your wives and children protected (Sydney Morning Herald, 15 November 1884).

The formal Proclamation, read the next day, stated that its purpose was to prevent:

...the occupation of portions of that country by persons whose proceedings, unsanctioned by any lawful authority, might tend to injustice, strife and bloodshed, and who, under the pretence of legitimate trade and intercourse, might endanger the liberties, and possess themselves of the lands of such native inhabitants...

Goldie deeply resented Erskine's references to 'evil-disposed men' and attributed the tone of his remarks to 'the Commodore being a simple dupe in the hands of the missionaries' (Bevan, 1890: 16–17).

Before departing Port Moresby, Erskine proclaimed regulations that would have the effect of preventing colonisation altogether. Not only were there to be no land sales, but no settlement and no landing of arms and ammunition. As Bevan pointed out in the *Brisbane Courier* (17 December 1884), settlers felt these were 'puerile in their stringency'. How could the existing settlers, missionary and trader alike, survive without the ability to hunt game for food? How would the naturalists collect fauna? The regulations were impracticable and inevitably would be expunged. Paradoxically therefore, they gave Goldie reason to hope that the blanket ban on land acquisition would also be lifted. For full annexation to proceed, some land had to be alienated to the Crown and sold to private investors, if only to defray the cost of administration (Fort, 1886: 38). For Goldie it was simply a matter of time. As he remarked to Bevan, 'there would not always remain a break there in the circulation of the world's commerce...' (Bevan, 1890: 16–17), and he was confident that after annexation, 'a just government could not but recognise their claim' (Edelfelt, 1884).

Things did not unfold quite as Goldie expected. Although by January 1885 the Colonial Office had decided on annexation, the Colony of British New Guinea did not come into being until 4 September 1888. In the meantime, the Protectorate's administrators, under the supervision of Queensland Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave, who had a low opinion of colonial politicians and strong views on indigenous rights (Musgrave, 1886), were reluctant to act on land, though not through lack of applications. In December 1885, Bevan applied to the Protectorate's first Special Commissioner, Sir Peter Scratchley, for a grant of 100 square miles of pastoral country and 16000 acres of agricultural land to underpin a colonising company (Bevan, 1888: 40–41), and others soon followed (Moore, 2003: 137). Scratchley did not favour absolute prohibition, but determined on

a policy of only giving serious consideration to those who claimed prior purchases or applied for leases on the basis of the right of discovery or occupancy. Goldie was one of only two in the first category. Scratchley turned down both, on the grounds of Queensland's Proclamation re: "Kabadi" District (No. 28), Commodore Erskine's Proclamation, and because 'There was no reason shown why in equity the claim should be recognised'. Nevertheless, as Scratchley noted, while John Cameron⁵ 'voluntarily retired' from the claim, Goldie 'still importunes the Government on the subject' (Fort, 1886: 9).

Scratchley contracted malaria and died in January 1885, but his successor, John Douglas, continued his policy. As we have seen, a few blocks of residential land had been acquired at Port Moresby before the 1883 Queensland annexation, with the official approval of William Ingham and Henry Chester, and by November 1886 the Protectorate administration itself had purchased 552 acres and compulsorily acquired another 292 acres (Oram, 1976: 24). In 1886, Douglas began to implement Scratchley's plan to shift the town away from Hanuabada, which Douglas described as 'a festering mess of putrid abominations enough to infect a regiment of men or missionaries' (Hodes, 2006: 462), and this meant moving Goldie's store as well. To relinquish his rights at Hanuabada, Goldie eventually accepted Douglas's offer of £400, three freehold blocks on higher ground above the harbour, and 50 acres of freehold land that had been purchased by the administration at nearby Badili (Oram, 1976: 25).

Before the deal was finally concluded in 1888, Goldie had established his new store. Colonial status meant increased business and the new store was on a more impressive scale than the old one, offering a 'large assorted stock of General Merchandise, Ship Chandlery, Native Trade etc., etc., including every necessary [*sic*] for Explorers, Prospectors, Fishers, Traders and Collectors'. Goldie also continued to act

as a commission agent and to advance credit on 'Bêche-de-mer, Copra, Birds of Paradise, Curios etc., etc.', which he then sold on (Torres Strait Pilot, 6 September 1888). While the Kabadi land deal was over-turned, the ex-gratia compensation afforded Goldie surely allowed for more than the loss of his modest Hanuabada property. In 1884, Goldie also had taken up a 21 year lease from Papuan owners on about 300 square miles of grazing country on the Laloki River, on what were described as 'equitable terms', which included preservation of hunting rights, cultivation patches, repair to any damage done by stock and an annual rent of £50 in trade (Bevan, 1885; Potts, 1886), but that lease does not seem to have featured in negotiations with the administration and may have lapsed. If the 50 acres at Badili was not an unofficial concession to Goldie's prior land claims, then it may have been in recognition of past service to the colony. Bevan certainly believed the administration had rewarded Goldie with 'practical recognition' (Bevan, 1888: 51). In a gesture of confidence in the future and towards the necessity of 'getting on' in a small frontier community, Goldie's store, the government bungalow and the mission house were all connected by telephone in 1888 (Langmore, 1989: 106).

Goldie wrote to his sisters at Millport on 14 July 1887, partly to reassure them that he was well after widely circulated reports of his death reached them on Christmas Day 1886 (Largs and Millport Weekly News, 23 April 1887). He confided that he had led a very trying life, but his business was now doing well and he probably would never leave New Guinea (Goldie, 1887). But repeated bouts of severe malaria took their toll and by 1890 his health had deteriorated to the point where he was forced to sell up. The trading firm Burns Philp & Co was keen to consolidate its position in New Guinea and its Thursday Island manager, Vivian Bowden, alerted the Directors to Goldie's circumstances. Since 1883, Burns Philp & Co

had been running a shipping service between Port Moresby and Thursday Island and Goldie drew his merchandise from the firm. It is possible that Robert Philp was the silent partner in the Kabadi land deal mentioned by Cameron, because Goldie named him an executor of an 1885 will (Buckley & Klugman, 1981: 55–56). Whatever the case, in December 1890, Goldie went to Sydney to finalise the deal and Burns Philp & Co. paid £5,625 for his business, livestock and land, in one pound BP shares valued at thirty shillings each (Burns Philp & Co., 1891). Accepting shares in payment was something of a risk, but given Goldie's situation he had little choice and was probably happy to take up what appears to have been a reasonable offer.

In his 1887 letter to his sisters, Goldie expressed the desire to see Millport once more, but could not see how he could get away. Now he was determined to go home. Before leaving he made a will leaving all he had to his sisters and on Sunday, 26 April 1891, left Thursday Island aboard the new RMS *Jelunga*, arriving at Plymouth on 6 June, four days ahead of schedule. It must have been a very different passage from his first one out to the colonies nearly thirty years before. We do not know how he spent his time once back in Britain, but he probably made straight for Millport to be in the care of his sisters. In Sydney, James Burns had described Goldie as 'too far gone' to go back to New Guinea, so he was very ill (Burns, 1890). Perhaps he now planned to finish his memoir, for he carried the draft with him. William Turner, a missionary who for a short time in 1876 was close to Goldie in New Guinea (see Goldie Memoir, ch. 3 fnn. 93) and who also had reason to feel aggrieved about his treatment there, wrote to Goldie's sisters that it was a blessing their brother had had a little time to be quietly at home (Turner, 1891). Goldie died at Millport from heart failure at the age of fifty-seven on

20 November 1891 (Parish of Cumbrae, SD 552/000043).

Goldie's 1972 Australian Dictionary of Biography entry describes him as 'intensely jealous of his repute as an explorer' and 'unpopular in scientific circles because he tended to see his collections as a commercial venture' (Gibbney, 1972: 260). True, von Mueller regarded Goldie as cantankerous and thought that he had an exaggerated sense of his own importance (Home *et al.*, 2006: 123–124). He also called him 'illiterate', probably referring to his lack of scientific training, but that remark has to be read in the context of von Mueller's lingering bitterness about having lost the curatorship of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Melbourne, to W.R. Guilfoyle, who, as von Mueller often pointed out, was not a 'university man' but a nurseryman, like Goldie (Home *et al.*, 2006: 8–13, 97–99, 119–123, 173–176, 185, 278). Nevertheless, von Mueller was only too painfully aware that publicly funded scientific expeditions were difficult and expensive to mount and he resorted to private collectors, both amateur and professional, as a realistic alternative. Curators such as von Mueller and Ramsay might have been irritated by Goldie's propensity to drive a hard bargain, but they accepted without demur the idea that his was a commercial venture.

After Bevan met Goldie in 1885, he described him as a 'middle-sized man, with somewhat of a stoop, and rather a weary look in his pale blue eyes, who exchanged greetings in a soft Scotch accent', but observed that he was 'not a man to mince matters' (Bevan, 1890: 13). This was at the time of the Kabadi affair when he was under attack by Chalmers and Lawes, which probably explains the 'weary look'. Goldie was a deeply committed Presbyterian and in his early years at Port Moresby generous in his praise of the LMS effort. Late in 1876, William Lawes' wife, Fanny, nursed him in her own home when he was dangerously ill with malaria and on that occasion the missionaries probably saved his



FIG. 10. Mrs Lawes, Mr & Mrs Smithurst, Capt. Runcie, (of the *Ellengowan*) & C.H. Lawes c.1876 (W.G. Lawes, SOAS/M/MS/PNG/OTO/01/001/095).

life when they insisted he return to Australia. Earlier, in August, the Lawes were deeply moved by a beautiful spray of white flowers that Goldie had fashioned to lay on the coffin of their infant son, Percy, who had succumbed to malaria (Lawes, 1876–1878). However, the senior LMS missionaries in New Guinea were bitterly divided and his relationship with them began to sour when in 1878, in the press, he sided with Lawes against Samuel McFarlane, who was a good hater (see Goldie Memoir, note 167). His relationship with James Chalmers, who arrived in New Guinea in 1877, was initially strained by what appear now to have been rather petty disagreements over who should get credit for various explorations, a common point of dispute in the early colonisation of New Guinea. The contentious question of how to prevent attacks on settlers was a more deep-seated issue. However, until the Kabadi affair, Goldie was careful to restrain his public criticisms of the LMS. In Sydney in 1880, when Lt. Thomas de

Hoghton of HM Schooner *Beagle* suggested he should challenge Chalmers in the press over statements Chalmers had made defending the LMS's treatment of their Pacific Islander teachers, he declined because he was returning to New Guinea and 'did not wish to be further wrangling and writing on mission work'. However, after Kabadi he confided to Deputy Commissioner Musgrave, in correspondence that he knew would be published, that he 'had learned to look upon their [missionary] Press correspondence with scorn and contempt' (ARBNG, 1888: 25). In 1887, he wrote to his sisters:

I have learned to have a great contempt for missionaries. I wish to God that my testimony could be different, but it can't. It would take to [*sic*] much space to give you my reasons, but you can rest assured I knew them well (Goldie, 1887).

Goldie felt genuine regret over his loss of respect for the LMS, so it is unlikely to have diminished his personal religious convictions. While he expressed firm and often controversial opinions, no one, not even the missionaries, ever questioned his moral rectitude. Drunkenness was pervasive across all classes on the Queensland-New Guinea frontier. McFarlane described Thursday Island Police Magistrate Henry Chester, as a 'Godless, whiskey loving' man (Mullins, 1995: 152), and late in life reflected that Chalmers' chief weakness had been the bottle (Wetherell, 1998). In July 1883, the journalist George Morrison wrote to his mother that Lawes 'was usually drunk because he can't stand as much as Chalmers' (Pearl, 1967: 46). Lawes, in his journal, sometimes complained about drunkenness among Goldie's men, but Goldie never featured in these criticisms. Although probably not a teetotaler, he certainly was not a drunk. Nor is there any hint that he was one of those traders who interfered with local women. Indeed, as the memoir shows, he had a low opinion of those who did. The artist

and writer Hume Nisbet, who met Goldie in 1886, described him as:

...one of the most modest and retiring of men. He is a confirmed bachelor, and does not encourage any of the 'female persuasion' about his place, which fact has been one of the causes of his great success among the natives; a most moral, good-living, peace-loving, yet fearless man from whose lips I never heard either a coarse word or anything at all approaching an oath – which is the more remarkable in a land where the language is apt to be flowery, if anything (Nisbet, 1891: 247).

Goldie's business success (Burns, 1890) inspired him with confidence in New Guinea's potential as Britain's newest colony. In his last interview before leaving Australia, he insisted that despite what Governor William MacGregor and the missionaries might say, there was an abundance of good agricultural land available that was unoccupied: 'Men with capital and the power to use the labour of the land are all that are required to advance settlement in New Guinea' (Goldie, 1891). That the future, in what became in 1906 Australia's Territory of Papua, did not take the shape he envisaged, and that for the next fifty years the thrust of policy was towards state-centred protectionism rather than investment driven development, was, ironically, significantly influenced by his actions in August 1883. In that moment, between what most commentators still regard as capitalist Queensland's grab for New Guinea and the intervention of the British Government, the Kabadi controversy solidified liberal opinion about Papua's future. After Kabadi there probably was never much doubt that the views of the missionaries Lawes and Chalmers about how colonialism should proceed would prevail over those of the trader Andrew Goldie.

Nevertheless, Andrew Goldie departed New Guinea a respected natural history collector, explorer and businessman who enjoyed the confidence of British New Guinea's senior administrators. His standing was such that he was appointed to the Native Regulation Board, established in 1889 to advise the Administrator on questions relating to 'good government and the welfare of the native population', the only member who was not a government official (Brisbane Courier, 3 June 1890). His contribution to colonisation had been wide-ranging and profound. On a dangerous frontier, he provided a valuable service as a storekeeper, always ready to assist others, black or white, in genuine need or experiencing serious difficulties. In natural history, he was part of a wave of collectors who descended on New Guinea in the 1870s and 1880s, sending thousands of specimens back to Australia, and from there to the world. They helped make New Guinea comprehensible to the western mind, triggering at the same time an inexorable surge of change in local economies and lifestyles that could never be quite the same.

Goldie collected all kinds of specimens; botanical, entomological, ornithological, ichthyological, now scattered through so many institutions that his overall influence as a natural historian is difficult to measure. Around 140 new species were identified from his collections, many of which bear the name *goldiei* in his honour (see Appendix). He is also celebrated in the common names for Goldie's Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea decora*) and Goldie's Lorikeet (*Psitteuteles goldiei*). Although some of what initially were thought to be new species have subsequently been re-classified, many are still recognised as genuinely new. In addition to his discoveries, Goldie also made a significant contribution to the understanding of New Guinea flora and fauna by providing distribution data for species that were previously known only from isolated specimens.

Plant-hunting may have been Goldie's initial motive for going to New Guinea, but it was bird collecting that firmly established his reputation as a naturalist. Sharpe described him as 'one of the pioneers of research in the untrodden regions of South-eastern New Guinea' to 'whose energies science has been indebted for many years' (Sharpe & Gould, 1875–1888). In 1876 the southeast coast of New Guinea was veiled in obscurity, but by 1885 William Macleay was able to state that 'the labours of d'Albertis, Goldie, and others have enabled us to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the fauna of that portion of the island' (Macleay, 1884). The significant role that Goldie's specimens played in scientific studies of New Guinea in the late nineteenth century clearly demonstrate the importance of his contribution to the natural history of the area. His legacy as an ethnological collector is assessed later in this volume.

Goldie returned to Scotland with an immense store of practical knowledge about the people

of the south coast of New Guinea, having lived among them longer than any white man, and in the few months left to him he shared that knowledge with those who were interested, such as A.C. Haddon, the future father of British anthropology (Haddon, 1894: 140). His explorations had been extensive and some of the place names he bestowed are still in use, lasting reminders of the historical connection between Scotland and Papua New Guinea. While Goldie was uncompromising about how British justice should operate on the frontier, he was comfortable among Papuans, those energetic gardeners and shrewd traders, and his day-to-day relationships with them were easy and friendly. Much to his credit, in a time of considerable conflict and violence, his own exploring and trading were invariably peaceful. Goldie was a keen imperialist, no doubt, but one who believed ardently that colonisation could and should be a mutually beneficial enterprise.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The following digital resources were used: www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk (*birth, death and census records*); <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz> (*New Zealand newspapers*); <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/home> (Australian Newspapers); <http://archive.scotsman.com> (The Scotsman Digital Archive); 19th century British Library Newspapers, 19th century UK Periodicals, The Times Digital Archive (all accessed via www.gale.cengage.com).
- 2 Tweeddale's collection was later donated to the British Museum. The catalogue of birds identifies which of his specimens were collected by Goldie. Rothschild sold part of his collection to the American Museum of Natural History.
- 3 There are various ways to calculate the value of old money. Using the Retail Price Index as a measure of pound sterling, £1000 in 1878 would be worth about £72,000 in 2011. However, if Average Earnings is used £1000 is worth about £526,000. For an explanations of the principles involved and useful calculators see Lawrence H Officer & Samuel H. Williamson, *Measuring Worth* <http://www.measuringworth.com/>.
- 4 While there is no incontrovertible proof that this was Chalmers, 'Our Correspondent' claimed to have arrived on *Ellengowan* and witnessed the Kabadi events. It can only have been Lawes or Chalmers. Other *Brisbane Courier* pieces by 'Our Correspondent' appear to have been anonymously written by Chalmers.
- 5 John Brewer Cameron had worked for the Lands Departments of Victoria and New South Wales, and spent time in New Zealand and Fiji. In 1879 he surveyed the border between Queensland and New South Wales, and where they intersect with South Australia is known as Cameron Corner. He went on to be Government Surveyor in BNG under Scratchely, serving meritoriously until his untimely death from heart failure at Brisbane in 1897 (*Brisbane Courier*, 1 January 1898).