

ROYAL  
COLONIAL INSTITUTE



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS







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Royal Empire Society

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

2820

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VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

1875-76.

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15, STRAND, W.C.

1876.

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FREDERICK YOUNG,

*Honorary Secretary.*

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

15, Strand, W.C.

July, 1876.

# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

ROOMS: 15, STRAND, W.C.

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FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.



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# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

15, STRAND, LONDON.

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ESTABLISHED 1863.

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MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

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## OBJECTS.

"To provide a place of meeting for all Gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a reading-room and library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of papers, and for holding discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no paper shall be read, or any discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character." (Rule I.)

## MEMBERSHIP.

There are two classes of Fellows, Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of any two Fellows: the former pay an entrance-fee of £3, and an Annual Subscription of £2; the latter £1 1s. a year, and no entrance-fee. Resident Fellows can become Life Members on payment of £23, and Non-Resident Fellows on payment of £10. The former, after the payment of five or more annual subscriptions, may commute for the sum of £15.

## PRIVILEGES OF FELLOWS.

Use of rooms, papers, and Library. All Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies, have the annual volume of the Proceedings of the Institute forwarded to them.

The support of all British subjects, whether residing in the United Kingdom or the Colonies—for the Institute is intended for both—is earnestly desired in promoting the great objects of extending knowledge respecting the various portions of the Empire, and in promoting the causes of its permanent unity. Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received. A Fund has been opened for increasing the Library, to which money donations are invited.

FREDERICK YOUNG, *Hon. Sec.*

# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

IN LONDON

FOUNDED 1825

MOTTO: *UNIQUE KNOWLEDGE*

1825

The Institute was founded in 1825 for the purpose of promoting the study of the history, antiquities, and natural history of the British Colonies. It was the first of its kind in the world, and its objects are to collect and preserve all the materials which may be necessary for the advancement of the knowledge of the Colonies, and to publish the results of its researches. The Institute has since that time been engaged in the most extensive and valuable work, and has accumulated a large and interesting collection of books, manuscripts, and other objects, which are now deposited in the British Museum. The Institute also publishes a journal, the *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, which contains the proceedings of the Institute, and the results of its researches. The Institute is now one of the most important and useful institutions in the world, and its objects are still the same as when it was first founded.

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# LIST OF FELLOWS.

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(Those marked \* are Honorary Fellows.)  
(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

Year of  
Election

## RESIDENT FELLOWS.

- 1872 ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
1875 ACTON, ROGER, 11, Crescent Place, Mornington Crescent, N.W.  
1874 ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 3, Porchester Gate, W.  
1874 ADLER, J. H., 79, Coleman Street, E.C.  
1868 †AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Airlie Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W., and Brookes' Club, S.W.  
1872 ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 22, Somerset Street, Portman Square, W.  
1875 †ANDERSON, EDWARD R., 39, Eastbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  
1874 ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle Street, E.C.  
1876 ANNAND, WILLIAM, 42, Belgrave Road, S.W.  
1873 ARBUTHNOT, MAJOR, R.A., Carlton Club, S.W.  
1868 ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.  
1876 ARNEY, SIR GEORGE A., Hanover Square Club, W.  
1874 ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S. W., and 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.  
1874 ATKINSON, CHARLES E., Algoa Lodge, Beckenham, Kent.  
1872 AULD, PATRICK, Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover Square, W.  
1872 BADENOCH, REV. DR. G. R., Clarence Chambers, 12, Haymarket, S.W.  
1874 BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C.  
1874 BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., Bt., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W.  
1868 BARR, E.G., 76, Holland Park, W.

*Royal Colonial Institute.*

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Year of  
Election.

- 1870 BEDINGFELD, FELIX, C.M.G., 86, Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W.  
 1869 BEER, JULIUS, 23, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.  
 1876 BEETON, H. C., 2, Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.  
 1873 BELL, WM. MOORE, Bolton Hall, near Wigton. Cumberland.  
 1874 BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 65, Russell Square, W.C.  
 1868 BENNETT, C. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.  
 1869 BERGTHEIL, J., 38, Warwick Road, Maida Hill, W.  
 1868 BLACHFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G.; Athenæum Club,  
 S.W.; and Blachford, Ivybridge, Devon.  
 1868 BLAINE, D.P., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1868 BLAINE, HENRY, 2, Cleveland Road, Castle Hill, Ealing, W.  
 1873 BONWICK, JAMES (care of Mr. Beddow), 22, South Audley Street, W.  
 1869 BOURA, F. W.  
 1872 BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.  
 1868 BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.  
 1869 BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1869 BRIGGS, THOMAS, Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.  
 1869 BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.  
 1874 BROGDEN, JAMES, Seabank House, Portcawl, near Bridgend,  
 Glamorganshire.  
 1869 BROWN, J. B., F.R.G.S., 90, Cannon Street, E.C., and Bromley,  
 Kent.  
 1876 BROWN, COL. SIR T. GORE, K.C.M.G., and C.B., 7, Kensington  
 Square, W.  
 1875 BUCHANAN, A., M.D., 48, Eastbourne Terrace, W., and Junior  
 Athenæum Club.  
 1868 BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, G.C.S.I.,  
 Chandos House, Cavendish Square, W.  
 1871 BURGESS, EDWARD J., 29, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.  
 1872 BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover  
 Square, W.  
 1868 BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate, S.W.  
 1875 BUTTERWORTH, ROBERT L., 70, Basinghall Street, E.C.  
 1874 BYL, P. G. VANDER (Consul-General for the Orange Free State  
 Republic), 102, Harley Street, W.  
 1874 CAMPBELL, DONALD, Christchurch College, Oxford.  
 1869 CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Prince's Street, E.C.,  
 and Buscot Park, Berkshire.  
 1868 CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.  
 1868 †CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 7, Carlton Gardens, S.W.  
 1868 CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Colonial Office, S.W.

- | Year of Election. |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 1875              | CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  |
| 1876              | CARVILL, P. G., J.P., Beuvenue, Rosentrerer, Co. Down; 23, Park Crescent; and Reform Club, S.W.             |
| 1868              | CAVE, THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN, M.P., 35, Wilton Place, S.W.  |
| 1868              | CHALLIS, J. H., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  |
| 1872              | CHESSON, F. W., 3, Lambeth Terrace, S.E., and Canadian Government Buildings, King Street, Westminster, S.W. |
| 1868              | CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens, S.W.   |
| 1873              | CHOWN, T. C., 29, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, and Thatched House Club, S.W.                               |
| 1868              | CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. THE PRINCE, K.G., Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.                                   |
| 1869              | CHURCHILL, LORD ALFRED SPENCER, 16, Rutland Gate, S.W.  |
| 1872              | CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.  |
| 1875              | †CLARKE, HYDE, D.C.L., 32, St. George's Square, S.W.  |
| 1868              | CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.  |
| 1874              | CLOETE, WOODBINE, 3, Clement's Lane, E.C., and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.                        |
| 1875              | CLOETE, HENRY, 11, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.  |
| 1873              | COLE, MAJOR-GENERAL J. AMBER (late 15th Foot), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.                         |
| 1872              | COLOMB, CAPTAIN J. C. R., Droumquinne, Kenmare, County Kerry, Ireland.                                      |
| 1869              | COLTHURST, J.B., 4, Danes Inn, Strand, W.C.   |
| 1876              | COODE, SIR JOHN, 35, Norfolk Square, W., and 2, Westminster Chambers, S.W.                                  |
| 1874              | †COODE, M. P., Cooper's Hill College, Staines.  |
| 1874              | COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART, 20, Prince's Gardens, S.W.  |
| 1874              | *CORVO, H. E. SUR JOAO ANDRADA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal.                                      |
| 1874              | COSENS, FREDERICK W., 27, Queen's Gate, S.W.  |
| 1874              | COX, SLOPER, Highlands, Gipsy Hill, S.E.  |
| 1873              | †CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 23, Upper Thames Street, E.C.  |
| 1869              | CROLL, ALEXANDER, Mavas Bank, Grange Road, Upper Norwood.   |
| 1869              | CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, 10, Coleman Street, E.C., and Granard Lodge, Roehampton.                    |
| 1876              | CROSSMAN, COLONEL W., R.E., 30, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W., and Junior United Service Club.   |
| 1875              | CURRIE, DONALD, 13, Hyde Park Place, W.   |
| 1874              | CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.   |
| 1875              | CURWEN, REV. E. H., Plumbland Rectory, Carlisle.  |
| 1845              | CURWEN, REV. A. J., Harrington Rectory, Cumberland.   |

- | Year of Election. |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 1872              | DAINTREE, RICHARD, C.M.G., 32, Charing Cross.  |
| 1868              | DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  |
| 1872              | DAUBENEY, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. B., K.C.B., 36, Elvaston Place, S.W.   |
| 1873              | DAVIS, STEUART S., 1, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.  |
| 1876              | DEVERELL, W. T., 27, Queen Street, E.C.  |
| 1873              | DOMVILLE, MAJOR-GENERAL J. W., (R.A.,) Rushgrove House, Woolwich, S.E.   |
| 1872              | DONELLY, NICHOLAS (care of J. Farmer, Esq.), 22, Basinghall Street, S.W.                                       |
| 1871              | DOUGLAS, STEWART, 5, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W.   |
| 1875              | DU CANE, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., 8, Chesterfield Street, Mayfair, W.  |
| 1868              | †DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Portman Square, W.   |
| 1868              | DU-CROZ, F., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.  |
| 1868              | DUDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.  |
| 1868              | DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.   |
| 1873              | DUFFIELD, ALEXANDER J., Savile Club, Savile Row, W.  |
| 1872              | DUNCAN, MAJOR F., M.A., D.C.L., Royal Artillery, Woolwich.   |
| 1869              | DUNCAN, WILLIAM, 83, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.   |
| 1874              | DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 8, St. Mary Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W. |
| 1876              | DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 31, Great St. Helen's, E.C.  |
| 1872              | DUTTON, F. H., 11, Cromwell Crescent, South Kensington, S.W.   |
| 1872              | DUTTON, F. S., C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.             |
| 1872              | DUNN, JAMES, 47, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  |
| 1876              | EDWARDS, STANLEY, 17, Chapel Street, East Mayfair, and 6, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.                      |
| 1869              | ELCHO, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, M.P., 23, St. James's Place, St. James's, S.W.                                     |
| 1872              | ELDER, ALEXANDER LANG, Campden House, Kensington, W.   |
| 1875              | ELLIOTT, ROBERT H., 38, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso, Roxburghshire, N.B.                            |
| 1874              | ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place, W.C.   |
| 1872              | FAIRFAX, T. S., Middle Temple, E.C., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.                                  |
| 1869              | FANNING, WM. BOZEDOWN, Whitchurch, Reading.  |
| 1873              | FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.   |

- | Year of Election. |  |
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| 1873              | †FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C. |
| 1875              | FERGUSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W., and Kilkenan, N.B.             |
| 1869              | FILBY, M.B., East Croydon, and Jerusalem Coffee House, E.C.  |
| 1876              | FOCKING, ADOLPHUS, 106, Fenchurch Street, E.C.   |
| 1876              | FORSTER, ANTHONY, Finlay House, Brittany Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.  |
| 1875              | FORSTER, RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P., 80, Eccleston Square, S.W.  |
| 1868              | FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY, 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.  |
| 1869              | FRANKLIN, SELIM, 43, Albemarle Street, W.  |
| 1870              | †FREELAND, HUMPHREY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum Club; and Chichester.                                   |
| 1875              | FRERE, GEORGE, 16, Great College Street, W.  |
| 1868              | FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.  |
| 1872              | *FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.  |
| 1869              | †GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.  |
| 1874              | GAWLER, COLONEL J. C. (late 73rd Foot), Tower, E.C.  |
| 1875              | GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 55, Onslow Square, S. W.  |
| 1869              | GODSON, GEORGE R., 8, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.   |
| 1869              | GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.  |
| 1874              | GOULD, CHARLES.  |
| 1868              | GRAIN, WILLIAM, 50, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.  |
| 1869              | GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., 18, Carlton House-Terrace, S.W.                                       |
| 1872              | GREAVES, EDWARD, Avonside, Warwick.  |
| 1876              | GREENE, FREDERICK, 142, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  |
| 1874              | GREEN, GEORGE, Glanton House, Sydenham Rise, S.E.  |
| 1868              | GREGORY, CHARLES HUTTON, C.M.G., 2, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.  |
| 1875              | GRIEVE, THOMAS K., 48, Jewin Street, Aldersgate Street, E.C.   |
| 1876              | GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, 57, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.  |
| 1875              | GUY, GEORGE, 42, Haverstock Hill, N.W.   |
| 1874              | GWYNNE, FRANK A., Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.  |
| 1876              | HALIBURTON, A. L., 66, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.  |
| 1872              | HALIBURTON, R. G., National Club, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.  |
| 1873              | HALL, ARTHUR, 35, Craven Hill Gardens, W.  |
| 1875              | HALL, HENRY, 4, Glynde Terrace, Lavender Hill, S.W.  |

Year of  
lecti n.

- 1869 HALL, JOHN F., 79, Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1868 HAMILTON, ARCHIBALD, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.  
 1875 HAMILTON, ROBERT, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.  
 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 32, Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1872 HARDY, THE RIGHT HON. GATHORNE, M.P., War Office, and 17, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.  
 1868 HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.  
 1873 HARRIS, JOHN M. YELBANA, Anerley Road, Norwood, S.E.  
 1869 HAUGHTON, JOHN, Manor House, Long Stratton, Norfolk.  
 1876 \*HECTOR, THOMAS, M.D., C.M.G.  
 1868 HENTY, WILLIAM, 12, Medina Villas, Brighton.  
 1869 HILL, JOHN S., 32, Great St. Helen's, E.C.  
 1868 HINCKS, CAPTAIN A. S., Junior United Service Club, S.W.  
 1872 HODGSON, ARTHUR, Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 1874 †HOGG, QUINTIN, 5, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.  
 1875 HOLLINGS, H. DE B., M.A., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1873 HOLMS, JOHN, M.P., 16, Cornwall Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1869 HOUGHTON, LORD, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1876 †HOUSTOUN, G. L., Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.  
 HUME, WILLIAM BURNLEY, 124, Harley Street, W.  
 1869 IRWIN, J. V. H., 4, Boscobel Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 1869 JAMIESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1872 JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 1869 JENKINS, EDWARD, M.P., 20, Southwell Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1874 JOHNSTON, A. R. CAMPBELL, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Heatherley, near Wokingham, Berks; Athenæum Club; and 84, St. George's Square, S.W.  
 1868 JONES, SIR WILLOUGHBY, BART., Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk.  
 1874 JOURDAIN, H. J., 54, Gloucester Gardens, W.  
 1868 JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G. and C.B., Downing Street, S.W.  
 1876 KARUTH, FRANK, Oakhurst, The Knoll, Beckenham, Kent.  
 1874 KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1869 KING, HENRY S., 65, Cornhill, E.C.

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- 1869 †KINNAIRD, HON. ARTHUR, M.P., 2, Pall Mall East, S.W.  
 1875 KNIGHT, A. H., 62, Holland Park, Kensington, W.  
 1876 KNIGHT, JOSEPH J., Mera Lodge, Bexley Heath, Kent.  
 1873 KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
 1869 LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C., and 5,  
 Aldridge Road Villas, W.  
 1875 LANDALE, ROBERT, Dulwich Hill, S.E.  
 1876 LANDALE, WALTER, 15, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.  
 1876 LARDNER, W. G., 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W.  
 1875 LAWRENCE, W. F., New University Club, St. James's Street.  
 1873 LAVINGTON, J. W., 14A, Austin Friars, E.C.  
 1869 LEVESON, EDWARD J., Cluny, Sydenham Hill, S.E.  
 1874 LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W.  
 1869 LINDSAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL LOYD, V.C., M.P., 2, Carlton Gardens,  
 S.W.  
 1869 LISGAR, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Arthur's Club,  
 St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1874 LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.  
 1874 \*LLOYD, SAMPSON S., M.P., President of the Associated Chambers  
 of Commerce of the United Kingdom, Birmingham.  
 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, 59, Radcliffe Gardens, South Kensington,  
 S.W.  
 1871 LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1872 LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 66, Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 1869 MACARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.  
 1873 MACARTHUR, WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwyder Houses, Brixton, S.W.  
 1874 MACCARTHY, JUSTIN, 48, Gower Street, W.C.  
 1868 McDONALD, H. C., 116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1872 MACDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES, K.C.M.G., and C.B., 66, Onslow  
 Gardens, S.W.'; Athenæum Club; and Sorrento House, Co.  
 Dublin, Ireland.  
 1874 MACEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE, Old Swan Wharf, E.C., and 3, Stanley  
 Gardens, Kensington Park, W.  
 1873 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.  
 1869 MACFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W.; and Dreghorn, Colinton,  
 Edinburgh, N.B.  
 1874 MCKERRELL, R. M., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1874 MACKILLOP, C. W., 69, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1869 MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.  
 1869 McLACHLAN, ARCHIBALD, Hatherley Hall, Cheltenham.  
 1872 MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

Year of  
Election.

- 1869 MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey
- 1875 MACNAB, D. M., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.
- 1875 †MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W.
- 1869 MAITLAND, WILLIAM, 2, Royal Exchange Buildings, E.C.
- 1869 MANBY, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, 60, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1868 †MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, 1, Great Stanhope Street, W., and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neot's.
- 1868 MARSH, M. H., Ramridge, Andover, Hants.
- 1875 MARTIN, EDWARD, 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1875 MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1872 MEREWETHER, F. S. S., Peacocks, Ingatestone, Essex.
- 1875 MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin.
- 1874 MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W.
- 1869 MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C.
- 1868 MILTON, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 17<sup>a</sup>, Grosvenor Street, W.
- 1868 MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1869 MONCK, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., 14, St. James's Place, S.W.
- 1869 MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset, and 51, St. George's Road, Pimlico, S.W.
- 1869 MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 1, Oriental Place, Brighton.
- 1869 †MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1868 MOOR, HENRY, Sussex Square, Brighton.
- 1873 MOORE, WM. FREDK., 5, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1869 MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
- 1875 MOSENTHAL, JULIUS DE, 1, Bier Lane, E.C.
- 1875 MUIR, HUGH, 32, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1868 MUTTLEBURY, JAMES W., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W., and 47, Leinster Gardens, W.
- 1874 †NAZ, VIRGILE, C.M.G., care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie, & Co., 9, Idol Lane, E.C.
- 1875 NELSON, WILLIAM, Moorlands, Kenilworth.
- 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., 26, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.
- 1868 NORTHCOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., C.B., M.P., 86, Harley Street, W.
- 1873 NORTON, GEORGE, Wyvil's Court, Swallowfield, Reading.
- 1874 NUTT, R. W., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

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- 1875 OMMANEY, H. M., 24, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.  
 1875 O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH, Canada Government Buildings, King Street,  
 Westminster, S.W.  
 1875 †OPPENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.  
 1875 OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH, 52, Brown Street, Manchester.  
 1872 OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 1876 PALMER, HENRY POLLARD, 15, Coleman Street, E.C.  
 1875 PAGET, JOHN C., 90, Albert Street, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 1869 PATERSON, J., 15, Coleman Street, E.C.  
 1874 PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.  
 1875 PERCEVAL, AUGUSTUS G., Langfords, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.  
 1875 PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, 92, Avenue Road, Regent's  
 Park, N.W.  
 1870 PETER, JOHN, Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1875 PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 3, Abchurch Lane, E.C.  
 1873 †PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., M.P., Leaside, Kingswood Road,  
 Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 1869 †POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Stockbridge, Hants.  
 1875 PORTER, ROBERT, Westfield House, South Lyncombe, Bath.  
 1874 POTTER, RICHARD, 21, Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 1873 PRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C., and Froggnall,  
 Hampstead, N.W.  
 1868 PRATT, J. J., Consul-General, South African Republic, 24, Coleman  
 Street, E.C.  
 1873 PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, W.  
 1874 PUGH, W. R., M.D., Victoria Lodge, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, and  
 Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.  
 1875 PUNSHON, REV. DR. MORLEY, 64, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
- 1871 QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham,  
 S.W.
- 1868 RAE, JAMES, 92, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.  
 1869 †RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.  
 1872 RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings,  
 Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Camp Hill, Nuneaton, Warwickshire.  
 1869 RENNIE, J. T., Aberdeen, and 52, Lime Street, E.C.  
 1873 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, Limber Magna, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.  
 1874 RICHMAN, H. J., 46, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.  
 1868 RIDGWAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL A., 2, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.

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Election.

- 1872 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, Brooklands, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 1869 ROBINSON, MAJOR CHARLES W., Rifle Brigade, South Camp, Alder-  
 shot.  
 1868 †ROCHE, ALFRED R., 31, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.  
 1869 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., K.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholo-  
 mew Lane, E.C., and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.  
 1874 ROSS, HAMILTON, Lane's Hotel, St. Alban's Place, S.W.  
 1875 RUSSELL, G. GREY, care of Messrs. Russell, Le Cren, and Co., 37,  
 Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1875 RUSSELL PHILIP, Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, S.W.  
 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, Haremare Hall, Hurstgreen, Sussex.  
 1876 RYALL, R., 1, Guildhall Chambers, E.C.
- 1874 ST. JEAN, M. LE VISCOMTE ERNEST DE SATJÉ, Junior Athenæum  
 Club, Piccadilly, W., and Malvern Wells, Worcestershire.  
 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.  
 1868 SARGEAUNT, W. C., C.M.G., New Government Buildings, Downing  
 Street, S.W.  
 1873 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 12, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, S.W.  
 1869 †SCHWARTZE, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.  
 1872 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 12, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 1868 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.  
 1871 SEROCOLD, G. PEARCE, Rodborough Lodge, Stroud, Gloucestershire.  
 1874 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., 10, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.  
 1868 †SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C.  
 1869 SIMMONS, P. L., 29, Cheapside, E.C.  
 1873 SMITH, W. H., M.P., The Greenlands, Henley-on-Thames, and 2,  
 Hyde Park Street, W.  
 1874 SOPER, W. G., 14, Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1873 SPENCE, J. BERGER, F.R.G.S., &c., Erlington House, Whalley  
 Range, Manchester.  
 1874 SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C.  
 1875 STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W.  
 1868 SPOWERS, ALLAN, 33, Queensboro' Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  
 1872 STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1868 STEPHENS, WILLIAM, 3, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.  
 1868 STEVENS, JAMES, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1875 STEVENSON, L. C., Hall Place, Bexley.  
 1874 †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART, Glorat, Milton of Campsie, Stirling-  
 shire, N.B., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1872 STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W.

Year of  
Election.

- 1875 STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 21, Denmark Hill, Wimbledon, and 5,  
1869 Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
- 1868 SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM MANNERS, Arthur's Club, St. James's St., S.W.  
SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1874 SWANZY, ANDREW, 122, Cannon Street, E.C., and Sevenoaks, Kent.
- 1869 SYNGE, MAJOR-GENERAL MILLINGTON, R.E., Old Hall, Southborough,  
Kent.
- 1875 SYMONS, G. J., 62, Camden Square, N.W.
- 1873 TAIT, SIR PETER, Southwark Street, S.E.
- 1876 TAYLOR, CHARLES J., 61, Leinster Square, W.
- 1873 \*TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., 16, Albert Mansions, S.W.
- 1875 THOMSON, J.D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1869 TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 84, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1872 TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1875 TOOTH, FREDERICK, The Briars, Reigate, Surrey.
- 1872 TORRENS, SIR ROBERT R., K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W., and 41, Botolph  
Lane, E.C.
- 1870 UNNA, FERDINAND, 12, Lancaster Gate, and 1, Coleman Street  
Buildings, Moorgate Street, E.C.
- 1869 WALKER, EDWARD, 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1873 WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G. and C.B., Hillmore, near Taunton.
- 1861 WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hildrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
- 1875 WALLS, ANDREW M., 11, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1871 WATSON, PETER, 54, Old Broad Street, E.C., and Sutton House,  
Hounslow.
- 1872 WATTS, HENRY, E., Marlborough Chambers, 49, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1869 WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.
- 1870 WELLINGS, HENRY, New Travellers' Club, George Street, Hanover  
Square, W.
- 1875 WESTERN, CHARLES, R., 96, Inverness Terrace, W.
- 1868 WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, St. Andrew's House, Change Alley, E.C.,  
and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
- 1873 WHITE, ROBERT, Mildmay Chambers, 82, Bishopsgate Street Within,  
E.C.
- 1876 WHITEHEAD, HERBERT M., Conservative Club, St. James's Street,  
S.W.
- 1874 WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N., and 26, Budge  
Row, E.C.

Year of  
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- 1874 WILLIAMS, W. J., Clarence Club, 1, Regent Street, S.W.  
 1868 WILSON, EDWARD, Hayes, Kent.  
 1874 WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., 31, Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.  
 1869 WINGROVE, E. W., South End House, Twickenham.  
 1872 WINGROVE, R. P., 24, Abbey Place, St. John's Wood, N.W.  
 1873 WOLFEN, AUGUSTUS, 8, Philpot Lane, E.C.  
 1828 WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., M.P., 44, Park Lane, W., and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants.  
 1873 WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.  
 1868 WRAY, LEONARD, Eagle Lodge, Ramsgate, and Lonsdale House, Fulham, S.W.
- 1875 YARDLEY, S., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.  
 1868 YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.  
 1874 YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., M.P., 126, Mount Street, W.; Reform Club, S.W.; and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks.  
 1869 YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.
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Year of  
Election.

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

- 1874 ALBERGA, D. J.
- 1872 ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 †ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.
- 1875 †ALLPORT, MORTON, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1876 ALMON, M. B., Maplewood, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.
- 1875 ANDERSON, W. J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1872 ARCHER, A., Queensland.
- 1873 ARMITAGE, GEORGE, Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 ATHERSTONE, DR. GUYBON, Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope.  
(Corresponding Secretary.)
- 1875 BABBER, A. H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1876 BALDWIN, CAPTAIN W., Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1875 BAM, J. A., M.H.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 BARRY, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE, Griqualand West, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 BAYNES, HON. EDWIN DONALD, President of Antigua, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1872 BEERE, D. M., Waipukurau, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1875 BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1873 BERKELEY, T. B. H., M.L.A., St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1868 BIRCH, HIS EXCELLENCY A. N., Lieut.-Governor of the Straits Settlements.
- 1872 BIRCH, W. J., Lake Taupo, and Napier Club, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1873 BIRCH, W. J. (JUN.), Lake Taupo, New Zealand.
- 1874 BLYTH, CAPTAIN, Transkeian Territory, South Africa.
- 1874 BOURINOT, J. G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1874 BOWEN, EDWARD, Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.
- 1875 BOYD, JAMES, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1873 BRADSTREET, ROBERT, Natal, South Africa.
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1874 BRODRIBB, W. A., Brookely, near Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1874 BRODRIBB, W. A. (JUN.), Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Hamilton, Ontario.
- 1869 BROUGHTON, J.
- 1874 BROWN, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Queenstown, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1872 BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.

Year of  
Election.

- 1876 BRUCE, J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 BUCHANAN, ARCHIBALD B., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1869 BULWER, SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G., Governor of Natal.
- 1876 BURGERS, HON. J. A., M.L.C., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1871 BURKE, SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, Assistant Attorney-General, Jamaica.
- 1873 BURNS, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1872 BUTLER, MAJOR W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).
- 1872 BUTTON, EDWARD, Transvaal Republic, South Africa (care of S. B. Garrard, Esq., 57, Westbourne Grove, W.)
- 1874 CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 CAMPBELL, HON. C. J., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1872 CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1873 CARON, ADOLPHE P., M.P., Quebec, Canada.
- 1869 CATTANACH, A. J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1876 CHADWICK, F. M., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1873 CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
- 1873 CHASE, HON. J. CENTLIVRES, M.L.C., Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1874 CHIAPPINI, DR., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).
- 1876 †CHRISTIAN, H. B., Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1868 CLARK, COL. SIR. ANDREW, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., Commissioner of Public Works, Simla, India.
- 1872 †CLEGG, THOMAS, West Africa.
- 1872 COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 CORNWALL, CLEMENT FRANCIS, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1869 CORNWALL, HENRY, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1873 CRAUFORD, CAPTAIN F., R.N., River Plate, Brazil.
- 1875 CRAWFORD, JAMES D., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 CRESWICK, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 CROOKES, HON. ADAM, Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1873 CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 CURRIE, JAMES, Mauritius.
- 1875 DANIEL, S. C., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1874 DANGAR, W. J., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1873 †DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Postmaster-General of British Guiana, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1875 DAVIS, P. (JUN.), Pietermauritzburgh, Natal.

Year of  
Election.

- 1873 DAWSON, G. P., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1874 DENNISON, LIEUT--COLONEL GEORGE T., Commanding the Governor  
General's Body Guard, Toronto, Canada.
- 1872 DE ROUBAIX, P. E., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1873 DOMVILLE, CAPTAIN JAMES, M.P., St. John's, New Brunswick.
- 1874 DOUTRE, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
- 1875 DOUGLAS, ARTHUR, Hilton, near Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1869 DOYLE, SIR HENRY W. H., Kt., Chief Justice, Bahamas.
- 1872 DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G.,  
Governor-General of Canada.
- 1869 †DUNKIN, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Judge of the Supreme Court for  
Lower Canada, Knoulton, Quebec, Canada.
- 1876 ELLIOTT, WILLIAM THOMAS, Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1873 EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 †EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1869 ELMSLEY, HENRY, Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 ERSKINE, MAJOR HON. D., Natal, South Africa.
- 1874 ESCOMBE, HARRY, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1876 FALLON, J. T., Albury, New South Wales.
- 1873 FIFE, G. R., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1876 FINLAYSON, J. H., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1874 FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 38th Foot and 1st West India Regiment).
- 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., Town Clerk of Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 FITZHERBERT, HON. WILLIAM, C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New  
Zealand.
- 1875 FLOWERS, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1869 FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 FOX, HON. WILLIAM, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1875 FRANCIS, HON. J. G., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1868 GHINN, HENRY, Australia.
- 1876 GIBB, COLONEL, R.A., Calcutta, India.
- 1875 GIBBS, S. M., Colran Station, Murumbidgee, New South Wales.
- 1873 GIDDY, R. W. H., Treasurer-General, Diamond Fields, South Africa.
- 1874 GILPIN, EDWARD, M.A., F.G.S., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1874 GLANVILLE, THOMAS B., Grahamstown, South Africa.
- 1872 GLOVER, THOMAS, Quebec, Canada.
- 1875 GOLLAN, DONALD, Mangatata, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1868 GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
- 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1869 GOODRICKE, D. G., Durban, Natal.
- 1869 GOODRICKE, J. R., Durban, Natal.
- 1876 GORDON, JOHN, Toronto, Canada.

Year of  
Election.

- 1873 GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.  
 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BULLER, Riverina, New South Wales.  
 1875 GRIFFITH, T. R., Grenada, West Indies.  
 1875 GURNEY, FRANK, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1875 HARDY, C. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1874 HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.  
 1875 HARRIS, MAJOR G. DOUGLAS, R.A., Mexico.  
 1875 HART, LIONEL, British Sherbro, West Africa.  
 1876 HECHLER, REV. PROFESSOR W. H.  
 1869 HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood  
 House, London, Canada.
- 1868 HEATHERINGTON, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.  
 1869 HENDERSON, JOSEPH, Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.  
 1875 HENNESSY, JOHN POPE, C.M.G., Governor of Barbadoes.  
 1873 HETT, J. ROWLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria,  
 British Columbia.
- 1875 HEWAT, CAPTAIN J.  
 1874 HEWETT, —, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1873 HIDDINGH, HON. J., M.L.C., Cape of Good Hope.  
 1873 HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.  
 1872 HILL, P. CARTERET, Halifax, Nova Scotia.  
 1875 HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near  
 Toronto, Canada.
- 1875 HUGHES, HENRY KENT, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1873 † HUGHES, W. W., Wallaroo, South Australia.  
 1873 HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart Town, Tasmania.  
 (Corresponding Secretary.)
- 1873 HUMAN, J. Z., M.H.A., Cape of Good Hope.  
 1872 HUNTINGTON, HON. L. S., Montreal, Canada.  
 1873 HYAMS, ABRAHAM, Golden Spring, Jamaica.  
 1870 HYDE, CHARLES TUNSTAL, Provost Marshal, Barbadoes.
- 1874 IRVING, HENRY T., C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad.
- 1871 JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Chief Magistrate of the Gambia.  
 1872 † JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service.  
 1874 JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada.  
 1873 JOHNSON, MATTHEW TROTTER, Victoria, British Columbia.  
 1876 JOHNSON, G. CUNNINGHAM, J.P., Grenada, West Indies.  
 1876 JOHNSON, ROSS, M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1873 JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town.  
 1873 JORDAN, HENRY, Tygum, Logan River, Queensland.

Year of  
Election.

- 1875 KEEFER, SAMUEL C. E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada.  
 1872 KELSEY, J. F., Bowen, Port Denison, Queensland.  
 1869 KER, ROBERT, Auditor-General, Victoria, British Columbia. (Corresponding Secretary.)  
 1869 KINGSMILL, JOHN JACHERAU, County Judge, Walkerton, Ontario, Canada.  
 1869 KINGSMILL, NICOL, Toronto, Canada.  
 1876 KRIEL, REV. H. T., Aliwal, North, Cape Colony.  
 1872 LAURIE, COLONEL (Staff), Halifax, Nova Scotia.  
 1875 LEEB, P. G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1872 L'ESTRANGE, CAPTAIN CHAMPAGNI, Nova Scotia.  
 1869 LEVEY, CHARLES E., Quebec, Canada.  
 1873 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, Melbourne, Australia.  
 1876 LEWIS, ALBERT, St. Vincent, West Indies.  
 1876 LIARDET, LIEUT. E. A., R.N., Her Majesty's Consul, Navigator's Islands.  
 1876 LOGGIE, J. CRAIG, C.M.G., Inspector-General of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.  
 1875 LONGDEN, SIR JAMES R., K.C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana.  
 1874 LOVESY, CONWAY W., Puisne Judge, British Guiana.  
 1868 LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.  
 1876 LOUW, M. J., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1869 MACDONALD, A. J., Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1875 MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1873 MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Montreal, Canada.  
 1875 MACIAS, COLONEL J. M., Havana, Cuba.  
 1869 MACKENZIE, GEORGE POYNTZ, Toronto, Canada.  
 1875 MCMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikaura, Otago, New Zealand.  
 1871 McMURRAY, J. S., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.  
 1869 MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Canada.  
 1873 MACPHERSON, ALEX., Port Louis, Mauritius.  
 1873 MACPHERSON, COL. HERBERT, V.C., C.B., Bengal Staff Corps.  
 1869 MASON, HENRY SLY-, Victoria, British Columbia.  
 1875 MARAIS, P. J., M.L.C., Pretoria, Transvaal Republic.  
 1869 MAUDE, COLONEL, F.C., V.C., C.B., Royal Artillery, Ontario, Canada.  
 1870 MELBOURNE, CHARLES SYDNEY DICK, Rockhampton, Queensland.  
 1876 MENDS, W. FISHER, Grenada, West Indies.  
 1874 MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.  
 1876 MILNER, HENRY, Natal, South Africa.  
 1873 MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

Year of  
Election.

- 1873 MOODIE, G. P., Member of the Volksraad, Transvaal Republic, South Africa.
- 1875 MOODIE, THOMAS, M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 MORTLOCK, W. R., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1875 NAIRN, CHARLES J., Pouterere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1875 NAIRN, JOHN, Pouterere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1875 † NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1875 NICHOLLS, C. J. H., Kerry, Queensland.
- 1876 NIND, PHILIP HENRY, M.L.A., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1878 NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
- 1868 NORMANBY, THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF, K.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand.
- 1874 NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1872 O'HALLORAN, J. S., Clanfergeal, South Australia.
- 1876 O'MALLEY, EDWARD L., Attorney-General, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1875 ORGIAS, P., M.D., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 OUSELEY, GORE, Indian Civil Service.
- 1869 OUSELEY, MAJOR RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.
- 1872 † PAINT, HENRY L., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1872 PARKES, SIR HARRY, K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
- 1875 PARKER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Chief Justice, British Honduras.
- 1873 PEARCE, BENJAMIN W., Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1871 PHILIPPO, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Straits Settlements.
- 1875 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1871 PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
- 1875 PINSENT, ROBERT J., Q.C., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1873 POOLE, HENRY, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.
- 1873 † PORTER, W. (late Attorney-General), Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 POTTS, THOMAS, St. John's, New Brunswick.
- 1870 † PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Montreal, Canada.
- 1872 PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1876 REINECKER, BERNHARD HENRY, Auditor of the Gold Coast Colony, Cape Coast Castle, West Africa.
- 1874 RHIND, W. G., Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 RHODES, J. Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1873 ROBERTSON, HON. J., M.P., St. John's, New Brunswick.
- 1872 ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal.

Year of  
Election.

- 1869 ROGERS, HON. ALEXANDER, M.L.C., Acting Judge, Bombay.
- 1876 ROLFE, GEORGE, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1876 ROLLESTON, CHRISTOPHER, Auditor-General, Sydney, New South  
Wales.
- 1876 RONALD, A. B., Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 ROWE, SAMUEL, C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1871 RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.
- 1875 RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South  
Wales.
- 1876 RUSSELL, HON. HENRY ROBERT, M.L.C., Mount Herbert, Waipukurau,  
Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1876 RUSSELL, JOHN, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1873 RUSSELL, LOGAN, D. H., M.D., Government Park, near Spanish  
Town, Jamaica.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PURVIS, Woburn, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1873 RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister, Government Park, near  
Spanish Town, Jamaica.
- 1874 RUTLEDGE, WILLIAM, Belfast, Port Ferry, Victoria, Australia.
- 1873 †ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.
- 1874 SAMUEL, HON. SAUL, C.M.G., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1872 SANJO, J., Yedo, Japan.
- 1868 †SCOTT, SIR J. (late Governor of British Guiana).
- 1874 SEWELL, HORACE R., Quebec, Canada.
- 1876 SHARPE, HENRY (Provost Marshal), Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 SHAW, CAPTAIN E. W., Indian Staff Corps.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, HON. THEOPHILUS, C.M.G., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburgh,  
Natal.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, JUN., Pietermaritzburgh, Natal.
- 1875 SHERIFF, HON. W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, Grenada, West  
Indies.
- 1876 SIMMONS, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1875 SMIDT, ABRAHAM DE, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1873 †SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
- 1872 SMITH, SIR FRANCIS, Chief Justice of Tasmania, Hobart Town.
- 1873 SMITH, JAMES F., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 SNAGG, SIR WILLIAM, Kt., Chief Justice, Georgetown, British  
Guiana.
- 1873 SPENSLEY, HON. HOWARD, M.L.C., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1873 STAHLSCHMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.
- 1874 STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1873 †STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.

Year of  
Election.

- 1873 STEWART, ROBERT, General Manager, Standard Bank of British South Africa, Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 STUDHOLME, JOHN, Canterbury, New Zealand.
- 1872 †TENNANT, THE HON. DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1874 THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.
- 1872 THOMPSON, J. ROGERS, Levuka, Fiji.
- 1874 THOMPSON, THOMAS, Transvaal Republic, South Africa.
- 1873 THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1873 THOMSON, W. A., M.P., Rideau Club, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1872 THORNE, CORNELIUS, China.
- 1870 THOZET, ANTHELME, Queensland.
- 1875 TIFFIN, HENRY H., J.P., Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 TROUPE, H. R., Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1869 TRUTCH, HON. J. W., Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia.
- 1874 TYSSEN, G. R., Victoria, Australia.
- 1873 UNIACKE, A.M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1875 VEITCH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.
- 1869 VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G. and C.B., Melbourne.
- 1876 WALKER, EDWARD NOEL, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1873 WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.
- 1874 †WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., Gaboon, West Africa.
- 1875 WARD, J. H., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1873 WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. (Corresponding member.)
- 1868 WELD, HON. FREDERICK A., Governor of Tasmania.
- 1873 WHITE, THOMAS, Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, South Africa.
- 1876 WHITEHEAD, PERCY, Leolrop, Harrismith, Orange Free State, South Africa.
- 1872 WHITFIELD, R. H., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1875 WHITMAN, JAMES, Annapolis Royal, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1876 WILMOT, ALEXANDER, J.P. Port Elizabeth, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 WILSON, JOHN N., Napier, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1871 WOODS, ROBERT STUART, Q.C., Chatham, Canada.
- 1872 WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles).
- 1875 WHITMORE, COLONEL, The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1876 YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

SESSION 1875-76.

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## COLONIAL MUSEUM DEPUTATION.

A DEPUTATION from the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute waited upon Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial Office on Saturday, the 7th August, 1875, on the subject of establishing a Colonial Museum in London. The deputation was introduced by the Hon. Arthur KINNAIRD, M.P., and consisted of Messrs. H. W. Freeland, G. Molineux, J. A. Youl, Edward Wilson, Alexander Rivington, Sir Charles Clifford, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, F. P. Labilliere, and Frederick Young, Hon. Sec.

The Hon. ARTHUR KINNAIRD, M.P., said he had been asked to introduce the deputation of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute. He was quite sure his Lordship felt as much interest as the members of the Institute in this important subject, and knowing that his Lordship's time was so occupied, he should without further remark call on Mr. Young to read the Memorial.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Honorary Secretary, accordingly read the following:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CARNARVON,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The Memorial of the President, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Royal Colonial Institute—Sheweth,

That this Institute has been founded for the purpose of promoting the best interests and strengthening the ties between England and her Colonies.

That among the most effective means of attaining this object is the diffusion as widely as possible among the people of the various parts of the Empire, whether residents in Great Britain itself or the Colonies, of the most extensive practical information on all Colonial subjects.

For this purpose, a knowledge of all the natural productions, as well as the raw and manufactured materials of every description coming from the Colonies, is most essential. In order to attain this object, it is of the utmost importance that a permanent Colonial Museum, worthy of the Nation, should be established in London, as the centre and Metropolis of the Empire.

That your Memorialists are anxious that steps should be taken, without further delay, to found a Museum of this description.

They are aware that the subject has already been brought under the consideration of both the Home and Colonial Governments, but up to this time no practical result has been attained.

They are also informed that a site has already been obtained for the formation of an "Indian" Museum, and they respectfully submit that, considering the vast number of English people who emigrate to the various Colonies, it is at least equally important that a Colonial Museum should also be established in London.

That the importance of the Colonies is not secondary to that of India is illustrated by the returns for 1874, which show that the trade of the United Kingdom, with the Indian possessions, is about £66,000,000, while the trade with the other British possessions for the same period is £92,000,000. In addition to this, it must always be remembered that the Colonies are inhabited by people of English origin, and speaking the English language.

They venture to think that if Her Majesty's Government would avail themselves of the present favourable opportunity of granting a site in some central position in London for a Museum, the various Colonies would be induced to contribute towards the erection of a suitable building, and an adequate provision for its maintenance.

It is hardly necessary to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact, that it would be of the most inestimable advantage to all Colonists visiting this country to be able to see the productions of their own Colonies, and to have the opportunity of comparing them with those of others, while it would be no less advantageous to English capitalists as well as to the mass of the people of this country, whether they contemplate—as many of them do—becoming Colonists themselves, or remaining at home, to be practically acquainted with the vast and varied riches and resources of their own great Empire.

Your Memorialists venture therefore to press on your Lordship the earnest desire they feel that you should take into your early and favourable consideration the suggestion they have now the honour to make to you, feeling that the question is one of the deepest importance, which if taken up in a liberal and comprehensive spirit cannot fail to be of the greatest benefit to the whole Empire.

*August 7th, 1875.*

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG said, in presenting the Memorial to his Lordship, he did not think it was necessary to add any remarks of his own, as it expressed so fully the object for which they waited on him that morning; he therefore contented himself with handing it in without further observation, as he knew that his Lordship was extremely pressed for time.

Mr. H. W. FREELAND said, that having moved a resolution at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute to the effect that the Council should open communications with the Home and Colonial Governments on the subject of a Colonial Museum, he begged to be allowed to offer a very few remarks. His remarks might have been more practical if he had had the opportunity of seeing the answers of the different Colonial Governments to the Circular of Lord Kimberley of the 11th of March, 1875, but as Lord Carnarvon had told their President that he did not think it advisable to produce those answers at present, no doubt he had good reason for that course. The importance of the project spoke for itself, and was sufficiently dwelt on in the Memorial. The advantages of such

a Museum could hardly be exaggerated. They were chiefly twofold—commercial and educational, but they were also great in a scientific, ethnographic, mechanical, social, and political point of view. He should have said something on the subject of the value of such a Museum to intending emigrants, but that matter had been dealt with in the Memorial. As to the nature of the objects, he thought that they should illustrate not only the material resources of the different Colonies, but also, as far as possible, where such existed, their ethnographic peculiarities. The mode of arranging objects was matter of detail for the future. They might be arranged according to classes of objects or according to the Colonies. Commercial men might perhaps prefer the former method, the Colonies the latter, as preserving their several individualities. There was then the important question of site, which he thought should be left open for the present. On the subject of a site for the Indian Museum, opinions at present were divided. He thought that they might all agree on the principle that the site of the Colonial Museum should be independent of, but if possible contiguous to, the site that might be ultimately fixed on as the site of a Museum for India. In conclusion, he thought that if Her Majesty's Government would deal energetically with this question, they would take an important step in cementing more closely together the mother country and the Colonies of our widely-scattered Empire, and in rendering that Empire perpetual.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON remarked that his Lordship must fully appreciate the great importance of establishing such a Museum in this country, if for no other reason than the necessity of dispelling the ignorance which exists, even amongst well-informed people, respecting Colonial matters. His Lordship probably had experience of the extent of such ignorance, but it was conspicuously observable by Colonists mingling in English society. (Lord CARNARVON: It is quite true.) He described the admirable manner in which the Algerian museum in Paris was arranged, and remarked that when the French, who had had such small success in colonising, were able to show so much, it was not to our credit that, with the vast and extensive regions from which we should be able to draw a collection of objects, we had not yet attempted to establish any museum of the description mentioned. He hoped that his Lordship would assist them to do so. It was difficult, considering the local jealousies which existed in the Colonies, to induce any of them to initiate any great undertaking of general advantage, but if the Imperial Government were to make a sufficient commencement, there was every hope that the Colonial Governments might con-

tribute their support to the establishment of such a work of general importance to the whole Empire.

Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD would only allude to one practical proof that the Colonies would thoroughly support an institution of this kind if patronised and carried out under the sanction of the Government. As a Colonial Commissioner for New Zealand at the Vienna Exhibition, he witnessed the anxiety of all the Colonies to vie with each other in displaying all the products of their countries to the best advantage, and, as most of these were afterwards presented to Vienna museums, it is certain the Colonies would be too glad to be represented in a similar manner in a country where it is tenfold their interest to be thoroughly known and appreciated.

Sir RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL said that, not having been able to attend the last meeting of the Council of the Colonial Institute, he had no opportunity of there stating his views on the important question submitted to his Lordship. As to its importance, he entirely agreed with Mr. Wilson's excellent remarks on that point. Individually, however, he felt that it would be wisest to connect the proposed Colonial Museum with that for India, which had already a more or less established existence. Bearing in mind also those occasional local and narrow jealousies amongst the Colonies, alluded to by Mr. Wilson, he felt that they would probably be diminished, if not wholly removed, by blending together in one comprehensive whole, for the purposes of a Museum, all the dependencies of the British Empire, whether Indian or strictly Colonial. That might be called a sentimental, but not on that account a less potential, consideration. He suggested also the practical advantages and facilities which anyone in quest of information on such subjects would derive from the proximity of the exhibitions of Colonial and Indian produce, and from their being all brought together under the patronage of the Imperial Government, under one suitable uniform management, beneath one roof, and in a building worthy of Great Britain and her splendid dependencies. Added to these considerations, he felt that it might probably be a convenience to the Government, if disposed to advance the views of the deputation, to have the option of giving one large suitable site, instead of seeking for two sites. There were other reasons he could urge, but he would not detain his Lordship further than to state that he had been expressing his own views only, not having had an opportunity of conferring with his colleagues in the Council.

Lord CARNARVON, in reply, said he fully appreciated the object of the deputation, having been in correspondence since he came into

office with some of the Colonies on the subject. There were difficulties in the way, but he was not without hope of bringing matters to a satisfactory conclusion. He might say that he had already received offers in support of the proposal to the extent of £9,000 or £10,000, but that was barely more than one-third of the amount required. He was heartily in favour of the project, and would lose no opportunities of pushing it forward. As to the suggestion of annexing the Indian and Colonial Museums, he thought there might be an advantage both in the administration and possibly in the expense if the two were contiguous to each other, without necessarily being combined. With regard to the selection of a site, that was as difficult as it was to obtain the money from the Treasury. However, he was entirely in accord with their wishes, and they might rest assured that he would take every opportunity of furthering the objects held in view by the deputation.

## REPORT ON THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY QUESTION.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, the President of the Royal Colonial Institute, having called the attention of the Council to the subject of the Fisheries of Newfoundland, they appointed a Committee, in the month of March last, for the purpose of collecting information and drawing up a Report upon this important Imperial question.

Having occupied much time in preliminary researches into the past history of the question, and collected a variety of important documents bearing upon the subject, the Committee have agreed to the following Report, setting forth all the facts of interest and importance relating to it.

They have to acknowledge the valuable information they received in the course of its preparation from the Hon. F. B. T. Carter, the Premier of Newfoundland, during his recent visit to England, as well as the assistance rendered by the Hon. C. F. Bennett, and Mr. R. J. Pinsent, the late Solicitor-General of Newfoundland.

The Council have accepted the Report of the Committee, and now present it to the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute. They cannot doubt that it will be read with the deepest attention, containing, as it does, in their judgment, a complete, succinct, impartial, and exhaustive exposition of the facts of a question of most vital importance to the interests, not only of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, but of the whole British Empire.

From this Report it will be seen—

1. That the French have only been allowed certain rights of fishing in the waters of Newfoundland concurrently with British subjects, and not to the exclusion of the latter.

2. That the French have only a right to occupy temporarily portions of the shore for fishing and for drying fish, and that they may occupy no more of the shore than is requisite for such purpose, nor for any time beyond the fishing season, the right of occupation ceasing at the end of each season.

3. That the concurrent right of fishing was limited to the sea, at distances from the shore, varying at different periods, for the purpose of taking codfish.

4. That British fishermen are not prohibited from using, nor have the French any exclusive right of using, any engines or machines for taking fish.

5. That the French have no right to take fish of any description in the estuaries or rivers of Newfoundland, whether on the so-called "French Shore" or elsewhere.

6. That no judicatory rights are conferred on the French by the Treaties, and therefore the interference exercised by their cruisers in disputes between subjects of the two nations is unjustifiable.

7. That there is nothing in any of the Treaties to justify the assertion of a right to exclude British subjects from occupying and settling on the land on that part of the coast called the "French shore," between Cape St. John and Cape Ray. Such a claim, in fact, affects the right of sovereignty in Newfoundland.

FREDERICK YOUNG,

London, November, 1875.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

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#### REPORT ON THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY QUESTION.

The Committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute to investigate the French claims respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries have agreed to the following Report:—

The claims now put forward by France upon the coast of Newfoundland, and virtually enforced by her squadron there, may be resolved into two classes:

(I.)

A claim to the *exclusive right of fishery* on that part of the coast extending from Cape St. John to Cape Ray, a distance including about *one half* of the entire coast of Newfoundland, to which the Treaty of Paris (1763) only gave her a *concurrent right*.

(II.)

A claim to prevent the British inhabitants of Newfoundland from any occupation of land, situated within such limits, for mining, agricultural, or other purposes; in fact, a claim to virtual territorial sovereignty of the same.

From a strict investigation of the whole question in regard to both these claims, it appears—

First,—That the following list embraces the whole of the *Treaties, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, Conventions, and Decrees*, ever made and entered into by Great Britain with France in relation to the Newfoundland fisheries, viz. :—

Treaty of Utrecht...	...	...	...	11th April, 1713.
Treaty of Paris ...	...	...	...	10th February, 1763.
Treaty of Versailles ...	...	...	...	3rd September, 1783.
British Declaration ...	...	...	...	3rd September, 1783.

\* Expired with Treaty of 1783, which was annulled by war, 1793.

Act of Parliament, 28 Geo. III. c. 35 ...	...	...	...	1788.
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Expired with Treaty, 1783, which was annulled by war, 1793.

Treaty of Amiens, Art. 15 ...	...	...	...	1802.
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Merely confirms Treaty of Versailles.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, Art. 13 ...	...	...	...	30th May, 1814.
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Confirmed by Art. 11 of the Definitive Treaty of 20th November, 1815.

Act of Parliament, 5 Geo. IV. c. 51 ...	...	...	...	1824.
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Expired 31st December, 1834; see Act 2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 79.

Convention ...	...	...	...	4th April, 1857.
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Not confirmed by Local Government of Newfoundland.

Decree (France) ...	...	...	...	4th April, 1857.
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Relates to the above Convention.

Act of Parliament, G.B. 2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 79...	...	...	...	1832.
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Expired 31st December, 1834.

So that in the history of British Imperial legislation in connection with France in reference to the Newfoundland fisheries, there are now only in force—

1. Treaty of Utrecht ...	...	...	...	...	1713.
2. Treaty of Paris ..	...	...	...	...	1763.
3. Treaty of Versailles ...	...	...	...	...	1783.
4. Definitive Treaty of Peace, Art. XIII...	...	...	...	...	1814.

and as all these are very brief, we propose to give them in their order.

(1)

TREATY OF UTRECHT.

“Treaty of peace and friendship between Great Britain and France, signed at Utrecht, 11th April, 1713.

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\* The annotations of Treaties, &c. are given as they appear in the collection of Mr. Hertslett, Librarian, Foreign Office.

Extract (Translation).

“ XIII\* The Island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent Islands, shall, from this time forward, belong of right wholly to Great Britain ; and to that end the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever other places in the said Island are in the possession of the French, shall be yielded and given up within seven months from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or sooner if possible, by the most Christian King, to those who have a commission from the Queen of Great Britain for that purpose. *Nor shall the most Christian King, his heirs, and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said Island and Islands, or to any part of it or them.*

“ Moreover it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said Island of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish ; or to resort to the said Island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish. *But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish and to dry them on land, in that part only and in no other besides that, of the said Island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Bonavista, to the Northern point of the said Island, and from thence running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche.†* But the Island called Cape Breton, and also all others, both in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and in the gulf of the same name, shall hereafter belong of right to the French ; and the most Christian King shall have all manner of liberty to fortify any place or places there.

“ Done at Utrecht, the 11th April, 1713.

“ (Signed)

“ JOHN BRISTOL, C.P. (L.S.)

HUXELLES (L.S.)

“ STRATFORD (L.S.)

MESNAGER (L.S.)”

(2)

TREATY OF PARIS.

“ Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France (and Spain), signed at Paris, the 10th February, 1763.

Extract (Translation).

“ V.‡ The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland, such

\* Renewed by Art. V. of the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

† These boundaries are altered by the Treaty of 1783.

‡ Renewed by Art. VI. of the Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

as it is specified in Article XIII. of the Treaty of Utrecht ; which Article is renewed and confirmed by the present Treaty (except what relates to the Island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence). And his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, *on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well as those of the Continent, as those of the Islands situated in the said Gulf of St. Lawrence.* And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the Island of Cape Breton out of the said Gulf, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the Island of Cape Breton ; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and everywhere else out of the said Gulf, shall remain on the footing of former Treaties.

“ VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in full right to His Most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen ; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said Islands ; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery ; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

“ Done at Paris, the 10th February, 1763.

“ (Signed) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN (L.S.)

“ BEDFORD, C.P.S. (L.S.) EL. MARQ. DE GRIMALDI (L.S.)”

(3)

#### TREATY OF VERSAILLES.

“ Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France, signed at Versailles, 3rd September, 1783.\*

Extract (Translation as laid before Parliament).

“ IV. His Majesty the King of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the Island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent Islands, as the whole were assured to him by the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht ; excepting the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in full right, by the present Treaty, to His Most Christian Majesty.

“ V. His Majesty the Most Christian King, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of

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\* Renewed by Art. XIII. of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 1814.

England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforesaid Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and His Majesty the King of Great Britain consents, on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty, beginning at the said Cape St. John, passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the Island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees fifty minutes latitude. *The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present Article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.*

“VI. With regard to the fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the French shall continue to exercise it conformably to the Fifth Article of the Treaty of Paris.

“Done at Versailles, the 3rd of September, 1783.

“(Signed)

“MANCHESTER (L.S.)

GRAVIER DE VERGENNES (L.S.)”

(4)

“Article XIII. of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 1814.

“Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France. Signed at Paris, the 30th May, 1814.\*

“XIII. The French right of fishing upon the Great Bank of Newfoundland, upon the coasts of the Island of that name, and of the adjacent Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be replaced upon the footing in which it stood in 1792.”

The Articles of these four Treaties are now the sole basis on which France can found any legal ground to fishery rights on the coast of Newfoundland.

Now, what are those rights, as so curtly and graphically therein set forth?

The Article XIII. of the Definitive Treaty of Peace of 1814 states, that it (the right of fishing upon the coasts of Newfoundland) “shall be replaced upon the footing in which it stood in 1792”—that is, on the footing it derived under the three Treaties of *Utrecht*, *Paris*, and *Versailles*. It can stand upon no other, *for no other now exists*; and if any others ever have existed, giving any greater extension of privileges, *they have expired or been annulled*.

Firstly,—The last Treaty of Versailles, prior to 1792, after merely changing the locality of the previous right, states with regard to it :

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\* Confirmed by Art. XI. of the Definitive Treaty of 28th November, 1815.

“*The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery right which is assigned to them by the present Article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.*” Passing over the Treaty of Paris (1763), which restricts and binds the rights of French fishermen upon the coasts of Newfoundland to a far greater extent than is now sought to be enforced against them, the language of Article XIII. of the Treaty of Utrecht is not only sufficiently plain to show that there never was any intention to give the French the *sole and exclusive* right of fishing upon any part of the coast, as will appear from the words themselves, viz. : “*It shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and to dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said Island of Newfoundland, which stretches,*” &c., but even goes so far as to state, as if from the fear that such a sole and exclusive right might be claimed, “*nor shall the Most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said Island and Islands, or to any part of it for them.*”

Therein an exclusive or sovereign right to any part was distinctly and expressly ignored and forbidden, while granting to the French only a certain limited and permissive right to catch and dry fish.

Secondly,—It appears that custom has never given to the French any sole or exclusive right of fishing upon a certain portion of the coast of Newfoundland. *On the contrary*, in practice, the British there have ever exercised *concurrent rights* of fishing with the French.

Persistent in their exertions to obtain concessions from the British Government, the French have construed the desire of England for peace, as giving them a right which we contend has no legal basis. By the bare fact of usurpation they are now claiming, and to a certain extent exercising, a sovereign right over portions of an English Colony which is totally incompatible with the dignity of the British nation.

Among the best works upon that Colony is a “*History of its Government, &c.*,” by John Reeves, Esq., a former Chief-Justice of Newfoundland, published in London, 1793; and to show how early after the peace of Utrecht the French commenced their aggressive measures upon the coast, and how steadfastly their unwarrantable claims have been opposed, it is only necessary to refer to Mr. Reeves’s book.

In Part II. page 53, Mr. Reeves states : “*At the peace of Utrecht we were put into possession of Newfoundland in a way we had not enjoyed it before for some years. Placentia, and all the parts occupied by the French, were now ceded to the King of Great Britain,*

in full sovereignty; the French retaining nothing more than a license to come and go during the fishing season."

Again, page 55: "It had become a doubt whether that part of the Island, lately ceded by the French, was subject to the provisions of Stat. 10 and 11 Will. III." (a Statute passed in the year 1698, intituled, "An Act to encourage the trade to Newfoundland)," "the point was brought forward in consequence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the garrison at Placentia, and some of the French planters, having, on leaving the place, disposed of their plantations for money, and in this manner attempted to convey a right of property, &c. This matter was brought before the Board of Trade, and their lordships were of opinion that Stat. 10 and 11 Will. III. extended to the ceded lands, and that all the beaches and plantations there ought to be left to the public use, and be disposed of as directed by that Act;" thus showing how strong the right was against any exclusive claim, and how clearly the public right to use every portion of the coast of Newfoundland was recognised.

The same author continues, page 59: "The parts that had been surrendered by the French occasioned in various ways great contest and discontent. We have before seen that it was the opinion of the Board that those parts all fell under the regulations of Stat. 10 and 11 Will. III.; and this was confirmed by the opinion of the law officers." And as further showing that concurrent rights were then exercised by the British with the French, Mr. Reeves (page 92) states it to be a matter of serious complaint on the part of the merchants of Newfoundland (1798), "that the French parts were not so open for fishing-ships to get room as they should be."

The interests of Newfoundland seem to have been sadly neglected by the Imperial Government, whereas, from the importance of its fisheries a sa nursery and training-school for British seamen, that Colony has probably contributed more than any other of the same population to the maritime strength and renown of England.

In a debate in the House of Commons, March 25th, 1823, Dr. Lushington said: "There never had been a Colony so neglected as that of Newfoundland;" and in a subsequent debate, April, 1829, on the Newfoundland Fisheries, Mr. Robinson stated: "The truth was, that up to the present time the interests of the inhabitants of Newfoundland had given way to the interests of private individuals in this country."

It seems unfair that such a hardy and gallant race should have to struggle not only with the unjust discrimination of bounties paid by the French and other foreign Governments, but also with the keenly felt neglect of the mother country, to whom they naturally

turn for protection in those rights which by solemn Treaties she has assured them.

Anspach's "History of Newfoundland," published, London, 1827, contains much valuable information relative to the Island and its Fisheries; but nowhere is the subject of the French concessions treated as the absolute grant of a *sole* and *exclusive* right; indeed, had it been so then considered, the inhabitants of Newfoundland would have taken up arms at once to resist the claim; and Mr. Anspach throughout his able history speaks of the fish-trade to Newfoundland being allowed to France "*under restrictions*," and of the strong feeling against its being so allowed even "*under restrictions*."

A subsequent history of Newfoundland by the Rev. Charles Pedley, published, London, 1863, deals minutely and conclusively with the French claims to an *exclusive right of fishery* on any portion of the coast, as unfounded in law and unsanctioned by treaty. The opinions of Mr. Pedley are of great value from his residence in Newfoundland, and his laborious researches into the Ancient Records of the Colony since 1764, placed at his disposal by Governor Bannerman. On page 48 Mr. Pedley states: "By the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain was solemnly confirmed in the exclusive sovereignty of the entire territory; but the French were recognised as having the right of fishing concurrently with the English along certain portions of the shore."

On page 105, speaking of Sir Hugh Palliser, the Governor of Newfoundland in 1764, as sent to devise and carry out the local rules necessary to give effect to the Definitive Treaty of Paris, "by establishing on a practical basis the intercourse between the subjects of two rival nations having a concurrent right of fishing on the same coast," Mr. Pedley states: "The instructions from the Governor were careful to show that within those boundaries the French had no superior rights or privileges over the British fishermen;" and he quotes a portion of such rules issued by Governor Palliser (June 19th, 1764), for the guidance of the commanders of King's ships, Admirals, &c., as follows: "To take the most exact and particular care that the said subjects of France be permitted and allowed in common with the King's subjects, to choose their stations there during the fishery season."

The Act of 28 Geo. III. cap. 35, which expired with the Treaty of 1783, was regarded by the authorities of France as having enlarged their former privileges, and as having conferred on them an *exclusive right* over the coasts and waters in question. Mr. Pedley states this (page 153) "to be a conclusion which has always been success-

fully resisted by those entrusted with the charge of the British fisheries." The reason for its being found necessary to pass the Act referred to clearly appears in the 5th Clause of the Joint Address to Her Majesty of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Newfoundland, dated the 24th of April, 1872.\*

The despatch No. 67 of Governor Hamilton, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated 28th September, 1853, goes into the whole question, and is a most excellent argumentative paper in defence of British rights in Newfoundland. Upon this point Governor Hamilton states :—

“ Under that Treaty (Utrecht) the fishery was always concurrent. The mode in which that fishery has been carried on concurrently by the two nations is clearly evinced by the proclamations of Governors Palliser,† Shuham,‡ and Duff,§ set out in the printed papers accompanying your Grace's despatch.”

Governor Darling, also, in the enclosure with his despatch to Mr. Labouchere, No. 66, July 23rd, 1856, states :—

“ Several proclamations of the Governors of Newfoundland, between the years 1763 and 1783, warning British subjects against *improper* interference with the French in the exercise of their rights, advert to these rights as rights in ‘common,’ or ‘concurrent’ rights, with those of British subjects;” and he also mentions the names of Governors Palliser, Shuham, and Duff.

Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, in his despatch to Governor Sir John Harvey, No. 104, 29th July, 1843, acknowledges the *concurrent rights* of British subjects. The following is a portion of his lordship's despatch :—

“ Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 11th of last November, relative to the claim of the French to the exclusive right of fishing on those parts of the Island of Newfoundland, on which a right of fishing for, and curing cod, has been conceded to French subjects by treaty.

“ Having referred this despatch for the consideration of the Earl of Aberdeen, I have received two letters in answer, dated 28th of February and the 19th of this month, which convey his lordship's opinion, that Great Britain is bound to permit the subjects of France to fish during the season, in the districts specified by the Treaty and Declaration of 1783, free from any interruption on the part of British subjects; but if there be room in these districts for the fishermen of both nations to fish, without interfering with each other, this country is not bound to prevent her subjects from fishing there.”

\* See Appendix, page 31. † Palliser, 19th June, 1764; 27th July, 1765.

‡ Shuham, 24th June, 1772; 27th July, 1773.

§ Duff, 7th July, 1775.

Had Lords Aberdeen and Stanley understood the French to possess the *exclusive right* of fishing on the coast referred to, no question as to "room" could give the British any right to fish there; but the principle is the same in fishing as in the erection of fishing establishments, neither must be done so as to interrupt the French, and if so proved on complaint to have been done, both must be removed by the British Government or authorities, but not by the French; for the Declaration states:—

"For this purpose," namely, to prevent British subjects from interrupting the fishery of the French, "His Britannic Majesty will cause the fixed settlements which shall be formed to be removed." The provision which secured the French fishermen from interruption was not intended to limit the natural right of fishing possessed by British subjects. The object was merely to prevent them from depriving the French of the concurrent right of fishing ceded to them by treaty.

Now it must *first*, under the Declaration on which the French base the claim to an exclusive right, be proved to the satisfaction of His Britannic Majesty that such fishery of British subjects, and the fixed settlements which they may form there (where the French are allowed to fish), do interrupt the French fishery, before they can be removed, and then His Britannic Majesty, or the British authority, not the French, is the only power entitled to remove them. But the French now usurp a territorial sovereignty on the soil of a British Colony, take the law into their own hands, and destroy British property.

This system cannot last much longer. It is the British, not the French, who have cause to complain of violation of their rights. The Assembly of Newfoundland is overwhelmed with petitions from poor fishermen who have had their sole property destroyed by the unwarrantable action of the French cruisers, to which the reports of British naval officers bear testimony. Among others, those of Captain Hoskins, of H.M.S. *Eclipse*, and of Commander Knowles, of H.M.S. *Lapwing*, may be found in the Newfoundland "Journal of Assembly" for 1873, pages 708 to 739.

Commander Knowles writes:—

"The French prohibit the English the use of cod seines, salmon, and herring nets, and bultows (all of which engines they themselves use); the English are therefore restricted to the use of the hook and line and jigger alone.

During my second cruise in September, 1872, I found that the French naval officers were taking more active measures to prevent the inhabitants encroaching on their rights, having made several

seizures of nets, and cutting moorings, &c." of English vessels, "even in places where their own people were not actually fishing."

Captain Hoskins reports (page 738), under date October 9th, 1872:—

"In the earlier part of my report I have alluded to the good sense and good feeling usually shown by the French naval officers charged with the protection of their fisheries in dealing with our people settled on the French shore, and their readiness to meet us half way in preventing the unparalleled state of affairs created there by the treaties, from resulting in national animosities and acts of violence.

"I must regret that the commander of the *Diamant* has thought fit to depart from this wise course, and to make a raid on the nets of our fishermen throughout, as far as I can learn, the whole of the French shore, without asking for the intervention of one of our vessels, and without (in many cases certainly) any warning or notice having been given to the sufferers.

"Each such departure from the conciliatory policy hitherto pursued must accelerate the *inevitable crisis*, and if, as appears probable, the French having put a construction on the treaties at variance with the wording, and entirely in their own favour, are preparing to enforce their claims in their own way and without consulting us, that crisis cannot be far off."

It seems to be a most anomalous state of things that the citizens of the United States should fish on that coast without interruption from the French, and that the natives of the soil should alone be exposed to such high-handed treatment and precluded from the exercise of their natural rights.

Before closing this division of the report, it would be well to call attention in a special manner to the fact that the Treaty of Utrecht gave to the French the concurrent right only of fishing at the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; that subsequently those islands were conveyed in full right to the French, subject to conditions. Now if it had been intended to convey to them an *exclusive* right of fishing on the whole of the so-called French shore, suitable language would undoubtedly at that time have been used to convey such meaning.

Thirdly,—It is strong evidence in favour of the right of the British to enjoy with the French the fisheries in Newfoundland, that a continuous struggle has been made to resist the exclusive claims of the latter ever since they were put forth; and we now propose to devote a portion of the remainder of this report to a brief history of such struggles as shown by the Parliamentary debates, first pre-

missing that it is mostly due to the laxity of the British Imperial Government in not enforcing its treaty stipulations with France, that the latter has been emboldened step by step to put forth unjustifiable pretensions, until she has reached the length of assuming virtual sovereignty over British soil.

In the House of Commons, June 5th, 1834, Mr. George Robinson directed attention to the question "whether France by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (for no others were important) had an *exclusive* right to that fishery, or only in participation with this country;" adding in the course of his speech, "For his part, he was convinced that there was not a word in the treaties which conveyed to France the exclusive right of fishing on the coast in question. Not only had they no right of exclusive possession of the fishery, but the French were prohibited from remaining permanently on the coast; and it was provided that they should go from France to the fishery, and at the end of the season return to France. On what grounds, therefore, the assumption rested he did not know."

On behalf of the Government, Mr. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) replied:—

"The House was probably aware that this subject had been under the consideration of successive Governments in this country since 1783 . . . and he recommended the hon. member (Mr. Robinson) to withdraw his motion, assuring him that attention should be paid to it."

In the same debate, Mr. Baring said:—

"He must say that the British fishermen, whether on the coast of Newfoundland or in the Channel, had not the attention paid to them which they formerly received; and that the British Government evinced an apathy with respect to our fisheries which was highly reprehensible."

Again, in May, 1835, Mr. Robinson brought forward his "motion relative to the rights of British subjects to a *concurrent fishery* on that part of the coast of Newfoundland commonly called the French shore;" and stated in his speech, "The question arose out of the construction put upon a treaty entered into between England and France in 1813, and though so long a period as twenty-one years had elapsed, the Government had given no answer to the persons engaged in this fishery as to how the treaty was to be construed. This was very strange, and he would ask the Government how long after twenty-one years were British subjects to wait before they were told whether they had a right concurrent with the French of fishing on their own coast . . . He protested against any further delay in adjusting this question. The French had an interest in having

the settlement of the question indefinitely postponed, because whilst it was so, they arrogated to themselves the right of interrupting all others fishing on the coast. France had no other right of fishing than that given by the Treaty of Utrecht, and that was nothing more than a permissive right to fish."

The Government again on this occasion postponed giving any definite reply.

The main grounds on which the French base their claim to an exclusive right of fishing would seem to be drawn from the Declaration—usually called the British Declaration—attached to the Treaty of 1783. This Declaration is marked in Herstlett as having expired with the Treaty of 1783, which was annulled by the war between Great Britain and France of 1793. But even supposing the Declaration still in force, no better refutation can be given to such an assumption than the despatch of Mr. James Crowdy—the officer then administering the Government of Newfoundland—to the Right Honourable Sir John S. Packington, Colonial Secretary of State, dated 22nd September, 1852, and to be found (page 195) in the "Journal of Assembly" of Newfoundland for 1857.

In Section 4 of that despatch, Mr. Crowdy most aptly states:—

"The very terms of the Declaration in question, whilst forbidding the English fishermen 'to interrupt by their competition, or to injure the stages' &c. of the French, recognise their presence; and the whole question would appear to be settled by the concession on the part of our Government to the citizens of the United States in the Treaty of 1818, of the *same rights* which had been conceded to the French in that of 1783."

But for conclusive proof of the utter invalidity of these French claims, we come to a period in their discussion under an authority which ought to settle the question. We refer to the note of Lord Palmerston, July 10th, 1838, to Count Sebastiani, the French Ambassador, of which the following extract is copied from the "Journal of Assembly" of Newfoundland for 1857. His Lordship says:—

"I now proceed to answer that part of your Excellency's note which relates to the conflicting opinions that are entertained as to the true interpretation of the Declaration annexed to the Treaty of September 3rd, 1783, and in which your Excellency urges the British Government to disavow the claim of the British subjects to a right of fishery upon the coasts in question" (Newfoundland) "concurrent with the rights of the subjects of France.

"And in the first place, I beg to observe that it does not appear to the British Government that either your Excellency's representation, or that of your predecessor, has shown that any specific

grievance has been sustained by French subjects, in consequence of the doubts which are said to be entertained upon this question, so as to prove that there is any pressing necessity for the call which the French Government makes in this respect upon that of Great Britain.

“But the British Government is, nevertheless, willing to enter into an amicable examination of the matter, with a view to set those doubts at rest, although it is my duty to say that the British Government are not prepared, according to the view which they at present take of the matter, to concede the point in question.

“The right of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland was assigned to French subjects by the King of Great Britain in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, to be enjoyed by them by the Treaty of Utrecht.

“But the right assigned to French subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht was ‘to catch fish and to dry them on land’ within the district described in the said Treaty, subject to the condition not ‘to erect any buildings’ upon the island besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish,’ and not to ‘resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish.’

“A Declaration annexed to the Treaty of 1783, by which the right assigned to French subjects was renewed, contains an engagement that ‘in order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give a cause for daily quarrels, His Britannic Majesty would take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French during the temporary exercise of it, which was granted to them,’ and that His Majesty would ‘for this purpose cause the fixed settlements which should be found there to be removed.’

“A counter declaration stated that the King of France was satisfied with the arrangement concluded in the above terms.

“The Treaty of Peace of 1814 declares that the French right ‘of fishery at Newfoundland is replaced upon the footing upon which it stood in 1792.’

“In order, therefore, to come to a right understanding of the question, it will be necessary to consider it with reference to historical facts, as well as with reference to the letter of the Declaration of 1783; and to ascertain what was the precise footing upon which the French fishery actually stood in 1792.

“Now, it is evident that specific evidence would be necessary, in order to show the construction which the French Government now

desire to put upon the Declaration of 1783, is the interpretation which was given to that Declaration at the period when the Declaration was framed; and when the real intention of the parties must have been best known. It would be required for this purpose to prove that, upon the conclusion of the Treaty of 1783, French subjects actually entered upon enjoyment of an exclusive right to catch fish in the waters off the coast in question; and that they were in the acknowledged enjoyment of the exercise of that right at the commencement of the war in 1792. But no evidence to such effect has been produced. It is not indeed asserted by your Excellency, nor was it contended by Prince Talleyrand, in his note of 1831, to which your Excellency specially refers, that French subjects were, at the breaking out of the war in 1792, in the enjoyment of such an exclusive right; and, moreover, it does not appear that such right was claimed by France, or admitted by England at the termination of the war in 1801, or at the peace of 1814.

“It is true that the privilege secured to the fishermen of France by the Treaty and Declaration of 1783—a privilege which consists in the periodical use of a part of the shore of Newfoundland for the purpose of drying their fish—has in practice been treated by the British Government as an exclusive right during the fishing season, and within the limits prescribed; because from the nature of the case it would scarcely be possible for British fishermen to dry their fish upon the same part of the shore with the French fishermen, without interfering with the temporary establishments of the French for the same purpose, and without interrupting their operations. But the British Government has never understood the Declaration to have had for its object to deprive the British subjects of the right to participate with the French in taking fish at sea off that shore, provided they did so without interrupting the French cod-fishery; and although, in accordance with the true spirit of the Treaty and Declaration of 1783, prohibitory proclamations have been from time to time issued, on occasions when it has been found that British subjects, while fishing within the limits in question, have caused interruption to the French fishery, yet in none of the public documents of the British Government, neither in the Act of Parliament of 1788, passed for the express purpose of carrying the Treaty of 1783 into effect; nor in any subsequent Act of Parliament relating to the Newfoundland fishery; nor in any of the instructions issued by the Admiralty or the Colonial Office; nor in any proclamation which has come under my view, issued by the Governor of Newfoundland, or by the British Admiral upon the station; does it appear that the right of French subjects to an

exclusive fishery, either of cod-fish, or of fish generally, is specifically recognised.

“In addition to the facts above stated, I will observe to your Excellency, in conclusion, that if the right conceded to the French by the Declaration of 1783 had been intended to be exclusive within the prescribed district, the terms used for defining such right would assuredly have been more ample and specific than they are found to be in that document; for in no other similar instrument which has ever come under the knowledge of the British Government, is so important a concession as an exclusive privilege of this description accorded in terms so loose and indefinite.

“(Signed) PALMERSTON.

“To His Excellency Count SEBASTIANI.”

This despatch of Lord Palmerston might have been considered conclusive on the question.

In May, 1857, upon a question put by Sir John Packington in the House of Commons as regards the then proposed Convention between Her Majesty and the Emperor of the French, upon the subject of the Newfoundland fisheries, Mr. Labouchere, Secretary for the Colonies, stated:—

“The right hon. gentleman was aware that questions of a very complicated and embarrassing nature had arisen between the Governments of England and France with regard to fishery rights of the latter in the waters of Newfoundland, and that these questions arose out of Treaties. The two Governments had for several years attempted to arrive by negotiation at a satisfactory solution of the questions, and the Government of this country had also been in constant communication with the Colonial authorities upon the point; but unfortunately those communications and negotiations had never led to any satisfactory result. At length an attempt had been made by Her Majesty’s Government to arrive at a termination of the difficulty by taking another course; and having had all the facts before them, they had thought the best chance they could have—for it was but a chance—of coming to a resolution that would be satisfactory to the two Governments, was to conclude a Convention with France, without any previous communication with the Colony, while an express stipulation should be inserted in that Convention that it should have no effect unless it should be ratified by the Colonial Legislature. Such a Convention had been framed and sent over to Newfoundland; but, he was sorry to say, that the result had been that the Colony had most unequivocally refused to adopt it, and it had therefore of course become inoperative.”

The above Convention would have suited France well enough, for it would have entirely ruined the British fisheries in Newfoundland.

In this Convention we first find the term *exclusive* right to fish stipulated for, and accorded to, the French, and we find it stipulated that the French naval officers should be entitled to enforce the said French exclusive right of fishing, by expulsion of vessels or boats attempting concurrent fishing.

Article XVI. says: "The privilege of French subjects to cut wood for the repair of their fishing erections, and fishing vessels from Cape St. John to Rock Point may be exercised, as far as required, for the purpose, but not on private land, without consent of the occupier." It appears, therefore, that at the time this Convention was drawn up, the French Government did recognise our rights to occupy land on the shore in question.

In 1845 a Commission, of which Mr. Thomas, a merchant of Newfoundland, was a member, representing English rights, and Captain Fabvre, on the part of the French Government, in vain attempted to settle the question.

In 1859 Captain Dunlop, R.N., and the Hon. Mr. Kent, on the part of England, and Captain Montaignac de Chauvance and M. de Gobineau, on the part of France, were sent to Newfoundland to investigate and report on fishery questions, and made separate reports to their respective Governments, having generally agreed upon all the points, except some of no great importance. In reference thereto, on a question put by Mr. Arthur Mills to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, 12th March, 1861, Lord John Russell replied:—

"The Commission on the Newfoundland fisheries made their report in August, 1859, and in March, 1860, a gentleman (Captain Dunlop, R.N.) was sent to Paris with a view to his coming to some arrangement with the French Government on the subject. He stayed in Paris some time, and came to an arrangement with the Government which had been all but completed, but there were two points upon which a difference prevailed. In November Her Majesty's Government made a proposition to the French Government in regard to those two subjects, and they have not yet received an answer."

But probably, from the reasons given before by Mr. Robinson, the French interest in keeping the question indefinitely postponed, no settlement was arrived at.

We beg, in conclusion, to advert briefly to the second class or heading into which this question has resolved itself: a claim on

the part of the French to prevent the inhabitants of Newfoundland from any occupation of land within the disputed district for mining, agricultural, or other purposes ; in fact, a claim to virtual territorial sovereignty of a great portion of the coast of Newfoundland.

In the House of Lords, May 22nd, 1868, Lord Houghton, on rising to present a Petition from the House of Assembly of Newfoundland, praying that the restrictions with regard to grants of land on the so-called French coast, imposed on them by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch dated 7th of December, 1866, may be removed, said :—

“ That, as the Petition proceeded from so important a body as the Colonial Legislature, he felt it proper to accompany its presentation with a few remarks.”

The Petitioners stated that :—

“ Your Petitioners desire to bring under the consideration of your most honourable House a grievance to which your Petitioners in this island are now subjected. Her Majesty the Queen has the territorial dominion over the island of Newfoundland and its dependencies, and, as a consequence, Her Majesty's Government of this Colony has the authority to issue grants within the island for mining, agricultural, and other purposes.

“ This right was never questioned until the year 1866, when, by a despatch from the Right Honourable the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to His Excellency Governor Musgrave, bearing date the 7th day of December, 1866, the issue of grants of land in that part of this island called the ‘ French shore ’ was prohibited.

“ The French shore referred to in the said despatch includes at least one half of the territory of Newfoundland, and the restriction thus placed upon the Local Government is in effect a denial of the exercise of those rights which your Petitioners most humbly submit belong to the British Crown, and therefore to their enjoyment by Her Majesty's subjects in this island.

“ Believing that the Government of this Colony has a clear right to issue grants for mining or other purposes, the Legislature, on the 9th day of April, 1867, in reply to the said despatch, passed certain resolutions and addresses declaratory of such rights, and transmitted the same to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, through His Excellency Governor Musgrave, to which neither His Excellency nor your Petitioners have received any reply.

“ The restriction contained in the said despatch has had the effect of preventing the exercise of British territorial dominion,

and of depriving Her Majesty's subjects of the power of taking advantage of the mineral and other resources which exist within the said French shore.

"The importance of this subject to the people of this Island is such that your Petitioners feel aggrieved that no reply has been received to the remonstrance of the Legislature, and that, so far as your Petitioners are informed, no action has been taken by the Imperial Government to assert the undoubted right of the British Crown, and to place within the reach of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island the mineral and agricultural resources which exist within the said territory.

"For some years past the Legislature of this Island, though embarrassed by financial difficulties arising from the distress prevalent amongst the labouring population, have voted large sums of money for the purpose of obtaining a mineralogical survey of the Island, which will, to a great extent, be valueless if that portion of the Island be withheld from the use of Her Majesty's subjects.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that your most honourable House will be pleased to make inquiry into the matter, and to cause the restriction contained in the Right Honourable the Earl of Carnarvon's despatch to be removed, so as to place the Local Government in a position to exercise those functions necessary to ensure to your Petitioners their territorial rights."

In the course of his remarks Lord Houghton stated:—

"The colonisation of the French coast had begun long since; several populous settlements had been made on that coast, and no other attempt was ever made to move them. At the present moment a very large population, in some thirty or forty considerable stations of English subjects, on the coast were living in a condition of society such as existed nowhere else on the face of the globe. They were squatters living without jurisdiction, without law, without any punishment of crime or enforcement of rights, acknowledging as it were no sovereign."

It appears strange that such a state of things should exist after the language of Mr. Labouchère, once Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, in a speech made in the House of Commons upon a motion by Viscount Bury upon this question, March 10th, 1859, said:—

"*I think the people of Newfoundland should have clearly secured to them the right to cultivate and build upon their own territory.*"

The Hon. Mr. Little, then Attorney-General of Newfoundland, under date 14th September, 1872, writes:—

"Earl Kimberley, in his letter to the Under-Secretary of State,

bearing date the 26th of June, 1872, fairly and plainly states 'that the territory (so called French shore) *without doubt belongs to Her Majesty,*' consequently I respectfully submit that Her Majesty has the *undoubted* right of directing the management and government of that territory in such manner as Her Majesty may deem most conducive to the interests of Her subjects resident there."

Referring to Lord Kimberley's Despatch,\* No. 42, to Governor Hill, dated 6th of August, 1873, his Lordship states (Sec. 5) that "in May, 1872, an address from the Legislative Bodies" (of Newfoundland) "was presented to Her Majesty, praying for the removal of restrictions affecting the territorial rights of the people of the Island."

This joint address from the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Newfoundland is so emphatic in its respectfully earnest appeal for the acknowledgment of an undoubted right, that we recommend its careful perusal as given in full in the Appendix.

In the concluding section (No. 9) of the same Despatch, his Lordship states:—

"It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the suggestions contained in the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses, which was transmitted in Governor Musgrave's despatch of the 29th of April, 1867, will afford a reasonable basis for the negotiations which are now to be resumed; but before proceeding further, they desire to learn the views of the Colonial Government, and I have to request you to bring this despatch under the notice of your Ministers, and to report to me at an early opportunity whether they have any objection to the course proposed."

In accordance with this request, a series of Joint Resolutions from both Houses of Newfoundland were passed on the 23rd of April, 1874, stating in preamble, "That, with the view of terminating the long-pending contentions that have arisen respecting the rights of both nations under the Treaties, it is expedient that negotiations should be resumed for that purpose on the basis of the said report (1867) as suggested in the said (Lord Kimberley's) Despatch." This report, with some amendments, is given in full in the Appendix, page 31, to which we beg to refer.

These Resolutions are now believed to form the basis of negotiations between the English and French Governments in regard to the settlement of this question. It must be admitted that the suggestions of the Legislature of Newfoundland are most moderate, and amply meet all the just claims of the French.

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\* See Appendix, page 28.

On the 4th of June, 1874, in the House of Commons, Mr. Bourke said: "He wished to appeal to the right honourable and gallant Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay) to postpone a motion of which he had given notice in reference to the Newfoundland Fisheries. He did so on these grounds—the subject had been, and then was, under consideration, and negotiations were going forward both with the Colony of Newfoundland and the French Government on the subject. What he wished was that the right honourable and gallant baronet would postpone his motion until Her Majesty's Government were prepared to make a statement on the subject."

Sir John Hay replied: "He had no difficulty in acceding to the request of his honourable friend, inasmuch as his sole object was to assist in settling a very difficult question."

Such is the position of the question at the present time. The temper and patience of the people of Newfoundland have been sorely tried for over *one hundred years*. But this state of things cannot be expected to last for ever. The time has arrived when national policy imperatively demands that the question should be finally settled; so that British subjects may no longer be deprived of the right of fishing in their own waters, and colonising and developing the resources of their own territory. The interests of Newfoundland are most seriously affected by its being kept open, and those of the Empire require that its rights of sovereignty within its own dominions should be maintained inviolate.

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## APPENDIX.

It may be added, by way of Appendix, that the value of the products of the Newfoundland Fisheries, as furnished from Custom-House returns for 1874, was 8,500,960 dols., equal to £2,127,490 Newfoundland currency; that the shipping employed therein amounts to 60,405 tons, that the number of persons engaged in said fisheries was 48,200, and the capital invested £1,340,000 sterling. "Besides" (as Lord Houghton stated in his speech referred to) "its value as a fishing station, there had been discovered large copper mines, mountains of statuary marble and mineral wealth, and also, more lately, the existence of petroleum in large quantities—all of which, if these restrictions on the grants of land were continued, would be excluded from the profitable enjoyment of the Colony."

The following documents bearing further on the question are also appended:—

## LORD KIMBERLEY TO GOVERNOR HILL.

Newfoundland. No. 42.

*Downing Street, 6th August, 1873.*

SIR,—With reference to previous correspondence, I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Foreign Office covering a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, and of a note from the Duc de Broglie, expressing the readiness of the French Government to resume negotiations respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries, and proposing that the two Governments should be represented by Special Commissioners.

2. Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that this announcement will be received with satisfaction by your Ministers and the Colonists generally, as representations on this subject have been repeatedly made to them by the Newfoundland Government and Legislature since the former negotiations were broken off.

3. In 1866 the Executive Council, by a minute, which was transmitted in the Governor's despatch of the 11th June, urged upon him the propriety of re-opening correspondence with Her Majesty's Government upon the question connected with the exercise of territorial rights on the so-called "French Shore;" and in April, 1867, Her Majesty's Government were requested, by a report of the Joint Committees of the Legislative Bodies, to resume negotiations with the French Government, certain propositions being stated as the basis of such negotiations.

4. The subject was again considered in 1868, and in March, 1870, an Address relating to the so-called "French Shore" was presented to the Governor. The Legislative Council were informed, in reply, that the question was under the consideration of the respective Governments of Great Britain and France.

5. In August, 1870, Mr. Bennett and some of the Newfoundland Ministers who were then in England urged upon Her Majesty's Government the importance of settling these questions; and in May, 1872, an Address from the Legislative Bodies was presented to Her Majesty praying for the removal of restrictions affecting the territorial rights of the people of the Island.

6. Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the considerations which render it important that the long-standing differences as to the French fishing rights and the settlements of the so-called "French Shore" should, if possible, be adjusted.

7. They regret that impediments should be thrown in the way of the colonisation of a large portion of valuable territory, and that the development of the mineral and other resources of the Colony, which are believed to be very considerable in the vicinity of the so-called "French Shore," should be delayed by the want of a clear understanding with the French as to free access on the part of the British settlers to the seaboard. The fact that the population of certain places near that Shore has been rapidly increasing, makes it on this account alone most desirable to arrive at a definite agreement with the French Government, with a view to prevent the recurrence

of collisions and misunderstandings which, but for the forbearance and co-operation of the Naval officers of the respective Governments, might lead to serious difficulties between the two Governments.

8. With respect to this latter point, I need only refer to the complaints made in the years 1869, 1870, and 1871; and more especially to the seizure and confiscation, by a French officer in August, 1872, of nets the property of British subjects; and to a collision which threatened to take place this year owing to the announcement that the French officers were prepared to insist on enforcing the claim of the French to an exclusive right of fishing, but which has been happily averted by orders recently given to the officers of both Governments.

9. The whole subject has not been lost sight of by Her Majesty's Government, who have from time to time been in communication upon it with the French Government; but for reasons which your Ministers will understand, no favourable opportunity has recently presented itself for resuming negotiations. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the suggestions contained in the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses, which was transmitted in Governor Musgrave's despatch of the 29th April, 1867, will afford a reasonable basis for the negotiations which are now to be resumed; but before proceeding further, they desire to learn the views of the Colonial Government, and I have to request you to bring this despatch under the notice of your Ministers, and to report to me at an early opportunity whether they have any objection to the course proposed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

Governor HILL, C.B., &c. &c. &c.

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MR. E. HAMMOND TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, COLONIAL OFFICE.

*Foreign Office, July 14th, 1873.*

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 9th instant, and to previous correspondence, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you, for the Earl of Kimberley's consideration, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, enclosing a copy of a note from the Duc de Broglie expressing the readiness of the French Government to resume negotiations respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries, and suggesting the appointment of a Special Commission with the object of settling the questions at issue.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HAMMOND.

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, Colonial Office.

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LORD LYONS TO EARL GRANVILLE.

*Paris, June 12th, 1873.*

MY LORD,—With reference to my despatch, No. 629, of the 2nd instant, and to your Lordship's, No. 317, of the 9th instant, I have the honour to enclose a copy of a note dated also the 9th instant, which I received last night from the Duc de Broglie.

It expresses the willingness of the French Government to resume negotiations respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries, and proposes that the two Governments should be represented by Special Commissioners.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

The EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., &c. &c. &c.

THE DUKE DE BROGLIE TO LORD LYONS.

*Versailles, July 9th, 1873.*

AMBASSADOR,—In recent circumstances your Excellency has shown the advantages that an understanding on the question of the Newfoundland Fisheries would initiate for France and England; and you added that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty was prepared to enter upon the subject in amicable discussion with us.

I hasten to acquaint you that the French Government, who desire equally to see abolished a state of affairs of which the disadvantages are not disputed, are quite disposed to renew negotiations, and to adopt measures to arrive at a conclusion so desirable in their eyes.

The Cabinet of London will judge, I hope, that the best course to follow, in order to facilitate a solution, is to entrust, as in preceding circumstances, to Special Commissioners the duty to represent the respective interests; and I will be thankful to your Excellency to be good enough to acquaint me if it accepts this proposition.

Accept, &c. &c.

(Signed) BROGLIE.

His Excellency Lord LYONS, &c. &c. &c.

LORD KIMBERLEY TO GOVERNOR HILL.

Newfoundland. No. 57.

*Downing Street, October 6th, 1873.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your despatch, No. 79, of the 4th ultimo, transmitting certain Resolutions adopted at a meeting of your Executive Council upon the subject of the rights of Fishery claimed by the French Government under Treaty, on that part of the coast of Newfoundland commonly called the French Shore.

Her Majesty's Government regrets to find that your Ministers are not prepared to adopt, as a reasonable basis for negotiations with the French Government, the suggestions contained in the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses; but they regret still more the tone and language of these Resolutions. Her Majesty's Government are prepared to uphold the legitimate rights of British subjects under the Treaty, but your Ministers must be aware that the exact limits of those rights have been in dispute for many years, and a settlement of grave questions of this kind, which is so

much to be desired in the interest of all parties, can only be obtained by mutual forbearance and concession, and not by characterising the claims of the French Government as preposterous and untenable, nor by assuming that the construction of the Treaty adopted by the Colonial Government is not open to difference of opinion.

I have, &c.

(Signed)      KIMBERLEY.

Governor HILL, C.B., &c. &c. &c.

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JOINT ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY.

*Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland for 1872. Page 173.*

*Wednesday, 24th April, 1872.*

“The Hon. the Premier, from the Joint Committee of the Legislative Council and Assembly appointed to prepare an Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty, praying Her Majesty to cause to be removed the restrictions in connection with the French Shore under which this Colony so inconveniently labours, presented the Report, which he handed in at the Clerk’s table, where it was read as follows:—

*“To the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty.*

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—

“We, Your Majesty’s loyal and dutiful servants, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Newfoundland, beg most humbly to approach the foot of the Throne and to state as follows:—

“1. The present relations of British and French subjects resident on that portion of the coast of this Island commonly designated the French Shore, are of such a nature as to press injuriously upon the interests of British subjects, and at the same time to endanger the peace and harmony that should subsist between the subjects of Great Britain and France in the exercise of those rights secured to them respectively by existing Treaties.

“2. By the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, ‘the Island called Newfoundland belongs of right to Great Britain,’ but it is ‘allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish and to dry them on land,’ within certain limits mentioned in that Treaty, while they are forbidden ‘to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying fish, or to resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying fish.’

“3. By the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, ‘His Majesty the King of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the Island of Newfoundland,’ as it was assured to him by the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, while the French fishermen shall ‘enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article as they had a right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.’

“4. The only alterations effected by the Treaty of Versailles, as regards the fishery rights assigned to the French by the former Treaty of Utrecht, were—

“ First,—An exchange of the line of coast from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche for that extending from Cape St. John to the northernmost point of the island, and thence southward to Cape Ray, which, in point of fishery privileges, was a greatly increased concession to the French.

“ And, secondly,—The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded in full right to France, subject to the modification in His Majesty’s Declaration accompanying the Treaty. With these exceptions the Treaty of Utrecht forms the basis of our territorial and fishery rights.

“ 5. There are certain portions of the strand which the French have during peace continuously occupied, but which in time of war were taken possession of and occupied by British settlers, who refused to surrender them on the restoration of peace; and in order to carry out the terms of the Treaties, it was found necessary to pass the Act of His Majesty 28th George III., cap. 35, to enable His Majesty to remove them, which Act was never put in force for any other purpose. The last time it was put in operation was at the termination of the war in 1814, in compliance with the requirements of the Treaty of Paris. There were at the same time other portions of the strand in like manner permanently occupied by British subjects, and have continued to be so to the present time. There is no desire, nor have any attempts been made, to dispossess the French of the premises occupied by them. On the contrary, British subjects have been employed to take care of them, and are still so employed during the absence of the French in winter, and it rarely happens that any such property is injured or molested.

“ 6. On some occasions disputes between British and French fishermen have occurred during the exercise of their rights, and thus serious collisions have happened. In order to prevent such collisions the Governors of Newfoundland have from time to time appointed magistrates on that shore for the preservation of law and order; but from the departure of Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant, about the year 1852, succeeding Governors have been restricted in making any such appointments.

“ 7. The population of that portion of the Island has been of late years, and is still, greatly on the increase; but such now is the anomalous, inconvenient, and unsatisfactory state of things arising from the absence of any recognised jurisdiction or established system of law and order, that life and property are rendered insecure, and collisions of the gravest character occur, not only among the British settlers themselves, but also between them and the French fishermen.

“ 8. It was not until the year 1866 that any restrictions were placed on the exercise of our territorial rights, and the limits from the coast inwards subsequently prescribed were, from the nature of the case, inoperative and in fact nugatory, inasmuch as the British population for the greater part were, and still are, actually resident within those limits in the prosecution of their fisheries.

“ 9. The temporary right of the French to the use of the land, as may be seen by reference to the afore-mentioned Treaties, is immediately upon the sea-coast, and rarely extends beyond a few hundred yards inland. It is limited simply to the strand immediately bordering upon the sea, and this

only for the purpose of 'curing and drying their fish' during the fishing season. In point of fact, the French only occupy a fractional part of the large extent of coast on which they are permitted the right of fishing; whereas British subjects are resident on all parts of the coast where there is safe anchorage.

"10. It is important to observe that this part of the coast embraces by far the best portion of the Island for agricultural, lumbering, mining, and other industrial pursuits. And were these restrictions to be continued, settlers would be deprived of the right of roadways, and of water privileges whence to ship the produce of their industry to market.

"11. Another and most seriously prejudicial circumstance arising from the existing state of things is, that the Colony is deprived of the revenue which would otherwise be derived from the trade on that part of the coast, besides which shelter and encouragement are thus afforded for smuggling.

"12. Were a well-organised judicial system established there, it would tend not only to the preservation of peace and good order, but also to the protection of Colonial and French Treaty rights.

"13. On a review of the whole case it is evident, we humbly submit, that the policy, comparatively recent, pursued by the Imperial Government towards this Colony, in the restrictions so imposed, have placed the large British population resident on the so-called French shore in a position the most deplorable, and such as is unparalleled in any other civilised country in the world. Life and property are insecure, the vast resources which are known to exist on that portion of the coast are rendered unavailable, and the revenue which should flow into the Colonial Exchequer under the influence of a regularly-constituted order of things is lost to the country.

"14. We do not deem it necessary to repeat those further arguments which have so often been urged before in support of British rights upon that part of the coast. We most humbly and earnestly pray Your Majesty to cause to be removed the restrictions in reference to the appointment of magistrates, and also those affecting our territorial rights, which press so injuriously and inconveniently upon the interests of Your Majesty's subjects in this Colony, and which we should humbly observe are at variance with the rights secured to this Colony by Acts of the Legislature, which Acts were subsequently ratified by Your Majesty.

"Passed the Legislative Council, 24th April, 1872.

"(Signed) EDWARD MORRIS, *President.*

"Passed the House of Assembly, 24th April, 1872.

"(Signed) THOMAS R. BENNETT, *Speaker.*"

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#### JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

*Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland for 1874.—Page 164.*

*23rd April, 1874.*

"The Chairman reported from the Committee, that they had considered the business to them referred, and had come to certain resolutions thereon, which they had directed him to report to the House, and he handed the resolutions in at the Clerk's table, where they were read, as follows:—

*Resolved*,—That this Committee having had under consideration the report of the joint Committee of the Legislative Council and this House, adopted by both branches in the Session of 1867, on the subject of French right of fishery on the coast of this Island, together with the despatch of the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley to his Excellency the Governor, bearing date the 6th August, 1873, are of opinion that with the view of terminating the long-pending contentions that have arisen respecting the rights of both nations under the Treaties, it is expedient that negotiations should be resumed for that purpose on the basis of the said report, as suggested in the said despatch, which report, with some amendments, is as follows:—

“1st. Your Committee submit that no question can arise, under the Treaties, as to the dominion of the soil on the so-called French shore, in common with the whole Island of Newfoundland, belonging to the Crown of Great Britain; and such right in all negotiations between the two nations on the subject of the Treaties has never been impeached; but certain privileges are claimed by the French under these Treaties and accompanying Declarations, in making erections and otherwise on the coast for fishing purposes; and it is contended that British subjects are prohibited from having fixed settlements there.

“2nd. Your Committee further submit that, without French permission, it is lawful for British subjects to construct buildings and reside therein for purposes apart from those of fishery, and to make use of the strand for all purposes essential to the exercise of the territorial dominion of the interior land, and that the term ‘fixed settlements,’ referred to in His Britannic Majesty’s Declaration, applies only to such as are in connection with the fisheries. On the coast are French establishments of a substantial character, unauthorised by the Treaties.

“3rd. It would appear to your Committee that the objection to issuing grants and licenses has arisen from the construction given by the French to their Treaty rights to the use of the shore in connection with the fishery; and whilst it is advisable that any uncertainty on this point should be removed by amicable arrangement, yet your Committee submit that the territory being unquestionably in Great Britain, the local executive is authorised to issue grants and licenses for agricultural, mining, and other purposes, which have not for their object the interruption of the French by competition in the fishery. Your Committee are, however, aware that in the construction of the Treaties as regards the respective rights and privileges of the subjects of both nations, there has not been general acquiescence, and they would recommend a concurrence in any fair adjustment for the better observance and execution of existing Treaties which did not concede any further rights of fishery to the French on the coast of this Island, nor any rights or privileges whatever at Belle Isle and Labrador.

“With this view, and in the acceptance of the suggestions of Her Majesty’s Imperial Government for resumption of negotiations with the Government of France, in order that the utilisation of territorial rights may no longer be obstructed—

“Your Committee recommend that the Legislature should state to Her

Majesty's Government that they are not prepared to agree to any concessions to the Government of France which should convey to the French rights of fishery which they do not now possess, under existing Treaties; but they would recommend the Legislature to consent that the valuable and important right to purchase bait, both herring and caplin, on the southern coast, be conceded to the French, at such times as British subjects may lawfully take the same, upon the terms herein contained being agreed upon.

"It being thus clearly understood that any further concession with regard to rights of fishery are to be excluded from the negotiations, your Committee are of opinion that it would be desirable, for the interest of all parties, if Her Majesty's Government should be able to make such an arrangement with the Government of France as would embrace the following matters, viz. :—

"1st. The establishment of a Joint Naval Commission, which shall only take cognisance of such matters as relate to the fisheries, and in case of disagreement reference be made to the respective Governments; all other questions to be dealt with by competent authorities.

"2nd. That the existing British Settlements in St. George's Bay, Cod Roy and Bay of Islands, Bonne Bay, and White Bay shall remain undisturbed; and there shall be no interruption by the French to fishing by the British in those Bays, nor interference with their buildings and enclosures there, nor with any erection or buildings on any part of the coast where the French have a temporary right of fishing, which do not actually interfere with the fishing privileges of the French, as shall be determined by the Commissioners; nor shall British subjects be molested in fishing on any part when they do not actually interrupt the French by their competition, the claim asserted by the French to the exclusive right of fishery not being warranted by the terms of her Treaties.

"3rd. That no building or enclosure which shall have been erected for five years shall be removed as interfering with the French fishing privileges, without compensation, to be determined only by the Commissioners; but no compensation shall be payable for any such building or enclosure hereafter erected without consent of the Commissioners.

"4th. That the Commissioners should determine the limit or boundary line to which the French may prosecute their fishery; the British having the exclusive right of salmon and all other fishing in rivers.

"5th. That the breadth of strand of which the French should have the right of temporary use for fishing purposes should be defined, thus removing objections to grants of land for all purposes beyond the boundary so to be defined, and within the same for mining purposes, right being reserved to the British Government to erect on such strand works of a military or other public character; and to British subjects for wharves and buildings necessary for mining, trading, and other purposes, apart from the fishery, in places selected with the permission of the Commissioners.

"Passed the House of Assembly, 23rd April, 1874."

## FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Meeting of the Session 1875-6 was held on Tuesday, December 14th, at the Pall Mall Restaurant.

In the unavoidable absence of his Grace the Duke of Manchester, the chair was taken by Major-General Sir CHARLES DAUBENEY, K.C.B.

Mr. F. YOUNG (Honorary Secretary) having read the minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting, the same were confirmed. He also announced that since last meeting sixty-two new Fellows had been elected—twenty-nine resident and twenty-three non-resident, and read a long list of books which had been presented to the Institute.

Mr. F. YOUNG stated that it had been proposed by the Council to make a slight alteration in one of the rules of the Institute, so that the number of Vice-Presidents may be increased; and such intention had been notified in the usual way, by being put up in the rooms for one month before the first General Meeting. The alteration which was now submitted to the members for approval was as follows:—

“That instead of the words not exceeding ‘twelve’ in cap. 1 sec. 3 of the Rules, the words not exceeding ‘twenty’ be inserted.”

The resolution, having been put by the CHAIRMAN, was unanimously carried.

Mr. WILSON then read the following paper:—

## ACCLIMATISATION.

To such of us, at all events, as have had any experience of Australia, it should not be necessary to say much in favour of the project of acclimatisation, for there, indeed, we are pretty nearly all acclimatised together. Having brushed aside—perhaps in a somewhat too peremptory manner—our dusky fellow-subjects, the original occupants of the soil, we have occupied their lands, with what success my hearers very well know. We have taken with us almost all—if not absolutely all—the useful and beautiful animals by which we have been accustomed to surround ourselves. And we have found, I think without a single exception, that they thrive at least equally well as in their old homes,—some of them certainly very much better than in the lands from which we brought them.

In ventilating the idea of acclimatisation, we have long felt the want of a new word more accurately defining our meaning. What

we seek to do is rather to *distribute* the good things of the earth than necessarily to acclimatise them. In what we have done we have discovered some wonderful facilities for adaptation to a new climate and a new set of surroundings; but, as a rule, our principal efforts should probably be directed to simpler forms of distribution—taking the good things of one country to some other country, or rather, to all other countries, in which all those good things might be advantageously introduced and established.

It seems a singular fact that in the complete furnishing of the earth, so much has been left for us to do. A bountiful Providence has showered upon mankind a profusion of good things, but whether from wanton disregard, from a lazy want of observation, or from whatever other cause, there seems to have been a singular negligence in the use of opportunities of distributing them. It seems as if the task had been left to us of conveying suitable things from one place to another, and we have been contented to perform this task in a very perfunctory and hap-hazard way.

We are assured by our scientific friends that animated nature presents us with, I think, about one hundred and forty thousand varieties; and of all this prodigious wealth of beauty and excellence of various forms, we have practically—at least so far as domestication is concerned—only availed ourselves of some thirty or forty! In fact, I think it would puzzle our friends to enumerate more than that number of things with which we have thoroughly identified ourselves.

Much has undoubtedly been done in the acclimatisation or distribution of useful things, but what has been done seems to be almost trivial in comparison with the possibilities; and I have long argued that what has been done, whether by private enterprise or by public effort, is a mere fraction in the work that we have to do. I hold that this is the proper interpretation of the original command to man: “Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” I consider that it is a waste of opportunity to have done so little, and that, having paved the way by opening up fresh countries by conquest or colonisation, the grand scheme of distribution should be elaborated scientifically, systematically, and exhaustively. I hold that we should never rest until every country on earth is duly furnished with every good thing which that country is capable of maintaining.

And here I wish to say explicitly that in the term “good” I refer to things not simply useful in a practical and economic or

mercantile sense, but good in the sense of adding in any way to the legitimate enjoyment of mankind.

Having helped to agitate this idea in many circles for many years, and in that process having been associated with many most excellent and philanthropic men, I have been struck with the difficulty of impregnating the minds even of such men with the *entirety* of this idea. One has a speciality of one kind—another is apt to have formed a very energetic opinion in some other direction; but I have rarely found any man capable of entertaining the idea of the exhaustive application of the process of distribution.

I have somewhere endeavoured to illustrate my meaning by remarking that with no wish to underrate the value of any contribution to any section of society, it has been my object to apply the adaptation of this principle literally to all, to fairly grapple with the grandest of such efforts, but never to rest in dealing even with the comparatively insignificant. I do not seek simply to furnish new articles of export or import to the merchant and manufacturer. I do not wish to limit ourselves to adding new forms of useful productions to the gardener or the agriculturalist. I do not ask you to stop at a desire to supply fresh forms of amusement to the sportsman. I wish to do all that can be done legitimately in all these directions. But, as I have stated elsewhere, my interpretation of the project of acclimatisation has a scope beyond all this, and which will never be adequately fulfilled till, including all the good things of the various sections of the community to which I have alluded, we have exhausted everything that a beneficent Creator has afforded. A prominent feature in our scheme is, by attention to even seeming trivialities, to lighten the path of the wayfarer and to furnish new pets to the child.

To those who have studied what can be done in this way, and have had some little opportunity of observing the wonderful effects of efforts to render the world more interesting and beautiful, it becomes a matter of the most pleasurable contemplation as to *how* interesting and *how* beautiful the world would become, if full justice were done to this scheme.

We have all felt in our trips by land or by water what interest was given to the day in putting up a few coveys of partridges; in the rousing of a hare, springing from her lair close under our feet; in a flight of flying fish; or in a sudden flitting across the landscape of a flock of bright-coloured paroquets.

There is no vast practical value in any of these things, but their passing across our fields of vision adds life, and colour, and

incident to our daily existence; and I want to see a great deal more of this. At present it seems as if the world were only partially furnished, as if, in point of fact, we were contented to drag on existence in a world ludicrously unfurnished, as compared with its capabilities. What should we think of Her Gracious Majesty, if we heard that she entertained her guests at her splendid palace at Windsor upon bare deal tables, and allowed them to sleep on the ground? How would our club-houses in Pall Mall and St. James's-street look if supplied only with the fittings of an ordinary barrack or national school? We have long since been told, in his own cheery way, by our noble President, how happily he passed the day of attaining his majority, riding over the wilds of North America in a pair of corduroy trousers, much split across the knees. But we should feel greatly surprised if he had carried such primitive doings into his maturer life, and startled his friends at the "Carlton," the House of Lords, or in the stately halls of Kimbolton, with any such apparition as he described. And yet this represents the condition with which we content ourselves in regions which, however delightful and however capable of beauty, would be infinitely more beautiful and infinitely more delightful, if adequately furnished with everything that Nature has so bountifully supplied.

I was riding, recently, through one of our English parks—exceedingly beautiful, umbrageous, and furnished with all that hydrangea, fern, and rhododendron could supply; but as I passed out at the gate, after a ride of something like three miles, I remarked to my companion that I thought we had not seen a single living thing!

Now let us fancy what a dreadful waste of opportunity is here represented. Without any great stretch of the imagination perhaps fifty things could be suggested which would have lent variety and animation to the scene—not necessarily expensive, not necessarily entailing any elaborate treatment or care—to render a ride through such regions one continuous round of enjoyment, instead of leaving upon the mind that dreary sense of solitude and of wasted opportunity.

In the remarks with which I am intending to trouble you, I wish to make it distinctly understood that in the project of acclimatisation according to my interpretation, is included the whole vegetable as well as animal kingdom, although those who know me best consider that having rather a craze in the latter department, I may not be very earnest in the former. On the contrary, no one can have formed a higher estimate than myself of our duty in

covering the earth with beautiful forms of vegetation, and adding to our useful products of the garden, the orchard, the farm, and the forest.

After glancing hastily at the remarkable successes lately achieved in India through the introduction of the tea-plant and the cinchona, and trying to estimate the future results of those valuable plants, let us look for a moment at what is being done in various parts of the earth by some of the native trees of Australia. We have, of course, all heard of the *Eucalyptus globulus*, and may notice the very frequent references to that wonderful tree which meet us constantly in the papers. Opinions are divided as to the merits associated by enthusiasts with this tree; and men of high scientific attainments still challenge the authenticity of the reports of its more sanguine adherents. At the same time, it is worth while remembering the very important fact that, from some cause or another, where the gum-tree grows swamps appear to lose their deadly character. The astonishing power of this tree in the consumption of stagnant water has been tested by actual experiment by a scientific American, who calculates that a moderate-sized tree will drink up something like seventy gallons of water in twenty-four hours, giving out in return that peculiar aromatic odour which many people believe to be a specific against miasma.

I have always taken humbler ground in advocating the claims of this wonderful tree. It is adapted for a very large area of the more temperate regions of the earth. It is stated by Dr. Mueller to be the fastest-growing tree in the world; and if it has no other merit, it has that very important one of being good fuel.

But trees have other uses than this. We have reason to believe that the welfare of many nations has been seriously compromised by the reckless destruction of their timber; that the climate has been thereby modified, the rainfall influenced, and the whole order of the seasons greatly affected. We are accustomed to hear Spain referred to warningly in this respect; and those of us who have travelled through that country must have been impressed with the parched and arid look of immense portions of its surface.

We may then glance at the wonderful results of the cultivation of the larch in Scotland. The larch is not indigenous to Scotland, and yet what wonderful effects have been produced by its diligent cultivation! Hill-sides have been clothed, the landscape has been beautified, shelter has been given to varied crops and varied forms of stock; and it would be difficult to enumerate the advantages that the introduction of this one beautiful tree has conferred upon our industrious and intelligent neighbours in the North. I was

lately speaking to a very competent authority about the condition of New Zealand, and was assured that unless attention were paid to the effective clothing of that country with some form of timber, before the native forests are destroyed, the results could not fail to be most disastrous. From the peculiar form of those islands, and their situation in latitudes liable to prodigiously high winds, the whole country would be so blown over by perpetually recurring tempests, that, without adequate tree protection, it would be impossible to do justice to their otherwise great opportunities.

It is only the student of trees who can heartily appreciate the value of this form of addition to our landscape; but, considering the illimitable variety available in form and colour, there seems something really sad in the small devotion of public attention to this department of the development of the resources of the different nations, particularly of the temperate zones.

It was with great pleasure that I lately came accidentally into contact with a gentleman at the head of the Forest Department of one of the Indian Presidencies, and found how thoroughly they were impressed with their necessities in this way, and what admirable steps they were taking to do justice to the occasion. I was, however, very grieved to learn from him that so little attention is devoted to forestry as a national object in England, that we had to send away our young men, preparing themselves for forest cultivation, to schools in Germany to fit them for future usefulness in such work. Is it not a little shocking that a country with the dependencies of Great Britain, with all their splendid varieties of soil and site and climate, should not recognise as thoroughly as any people the importance of this special branch of what we call acclimatisation?

I now wish to point to a particular feature of this great scheme, to which I want energetically to direct the attention of my hearers. The project being large, and the subjects to be dealt with being very various, it seems obvious that different forms of enterprise are not only permissible, but requisite. Some things may be fairly introduced by the individual, some things may be properly left to the enterprise of associations, some things rise to the dignity of national effort, and can only be properly dealt with by national resources. It is in this latter department that I think we shall find a lamentable deficiency. Statesmen and politicians are too absorbed, forsooth, in the details of their several routines to condescend to such forms of usefulness as these. Yet, allowing great scope to private enterprise and to co-operative association, there still seem some things so large that only national resources can

properly cope with them ; and it seems a pity that Governments, naturally humane and beneficent, should not spare some portion of their attention for such directions as these. In point of fact, it seems almost as if we were going backward. It would, I think, puzzle my hearers to quote any great national effort of this kind in recent years ; although we all know that in the romantic catastrophe of the *Bounty* resulting in the formation of one of the most interesting communities in the world, that of the Pitcairn Islanders, Captain Bligh was at the time of the mutiny engaged in a Queen's ship in conveying the bread-fruit tree from the South Sea Islands to the West Indies.

I shall not soon forget the circumstance of my broaching a proposition of a similar nature to the late Duke of Newcastle. In those days we were stumbling about in the preliminary stages of the experiment of conveying the salmon to Australia, a project in which our friend Mr. Youl has since been so brilliantly successful. I tried to convince his Grace that amongst the less employed of the vessels of the Royal Navy some one might be set apart for so interesting an experiment as this. It is something, in these matter-of-fact modern days, to be able to stagger an English Duke and Cabinet Minister ; and I shall not readily forget the expression with which the Duke asked me what I thought John Bright would say if he heard that the Queen's ships were being converted into herring-boats ? I need scarcely add that my very startling proposal received no acceptance ; although I must say, in justice to the Duke of Newcastle, that he always showed the most sympathetic feeling for the whole project of acclimatisation, and once encouraged us with the remark, that " it assumed almost a form of creation itself."

Here I would, by the way, render hearty homage to the ready reception of our overtures on the part of another Duke and Cabinet Minister, and especially as the concession then so frankly made is capable, I believe, of being utilised to a much greater extent than we are at all at present aware of. I went as one of a deputation, many years ago, to the Duke of Somerset, who was then the First Lord of the Admiralty, and endeavoured to interest him in our project, and to secure his co-operation through the vessels of Her Majesty's service. We were received in the most kindly and sympathetic manner, and there and then was issued an order, still existent, to all captains in the Navy to render to our cause every service in their power.

Of this very much greater use may be made than what at first may seem probable. In the process of distribution those things

seem most thoroughly adapted to a country which come from some other country corresponding in climate, latitude, &c. For instance, take the three countries of nearly corresponding latitudes—South America, South Africa, and Australia. We find them provided, in the one case, with the cassowary; in the second, with the ostrich; in the third, with the emu—three birds in many respects analogous, and leading to well-founded expectations that where any one of the three can live, all three can live equally well. But between countries of corresponding latitudes there is but little opportunity of traffic, as the productions of those countries so nearly correspond that there is not much opportunity of interchange, and consequently of inter-communication by ship. In such circumstances, it seems obvious that a little timely assistance rendered by unemployed vessels-of-war might greatly hasten on this replenishing of the earth, for which I am humbly pleading, and supply new forms of beauty and usefulness in directions to which it would be otherwise difficult to convey them.

I have often looked at the fine, roomy decks of those large ships, and thought of the more than motherly care bestowed by honest Jack upon anything in the nature of a pet confided to his charge, and have mourned over the small results from such splendid opportunities.

Let us take a case in point. I select the herring of our northern seas. Let us reflect, in the first place, upon the prodigious numbers in which it visits our coasts; the rich harvests it affords to some of the most manly and enterprising of our race; the opportunity it gives for the cultivation of the very best seamen in the world. That my hearers may form some adequate idea of the importance of this fish, both as an article of export and as one contributing to the food of the people, it may be stated that in the year 1874 no fewer than 2,047,599 barrels, containing on an average 700 fish each, were caught by boats owned by Great Britain and Ireland, and of this quantity more than a million barrels were exported. Then let us consider the ease with which this useful fish is preserved, and rendered capable of transmission to the very ends of the earth, and its astonishing savoriness when it gets there. Let us, last and not least, trace its power in rendering palatable food otherwise insipid. I ask you to accompany me to the Irish cabin, in which poverty and unsatisfied appetite are apt to take such sorrowful forms, and appreciate, as far as one can appreciate, the virtues of that highly-flavoured little fish, which is reported to add relish to the family dish, and even when reduced to its infinitesimal form, at once leads to the economising of the family resources,

and stimulates the imagination of the child, in constituting an ingredient of the meal known as "potatoes and point."

We have already, I understand, in the Southern Hemisphere, a very excellent fish nearly related to the herring—I mean the pilchard, which sometimes shows itself in shoals upon our coasts in Australia, and of which I have recently heard very favourable reports when found along the shores of South Africa. The existence of so nearly related a congener would seem to point to the obvious suitability of the vast southern oceans for the herring; and I ask my hearers to imagine the service rendered to mankind by the transmission of such a fish to seas of such expanse. It does not seem as if the transmission of the herring to the south should be a matter of any serious difficulty. It would not require to be nursed during long months with the paternal care lavished by Mr. Youl upon his favourite salmon. It seems as if all that would be necessary would be to secure the ova in a fertile condition in these temperate seas, and convey it as rapidly as possible into seas of corresponding latitude in the southern hemisphere. Set Mr. Frank Buckland a job like this, and within a few weeks the thing would be done, and we might leave it to the herring itself to indicate its arrival on all our coasts in its own peculiar way, and in its characteristic wealth of numbers.

If it be argued that there is anything *infra dig.* in the employment of ships provided for the noble game of war in offices comparatively so insignificant as the conveyance of the spawn of fish, I think it would be well for us occasionally to remodel our estimate of the relative value of the victories of war as compared with the less pretentious victories of peace. To the practical mind, influenced fairly, if not extravagantly, by conceptions of utilitarianism, there is something exceedingly horrifying in the waste apparent in the simple preparation for possible wars. We go on board one of the splendid vessels constituting, for instance, our Channel Fleet, and we see expensiveness of the most pronounced type meeting us at every step. Thousands of the finest fellows in the world are idling away their time, and pining for more active and more intelligent employment. We may, unhappily, want them some day for the final purpose for which they are engaged; but that day *may* never come, and meantime it seems to me a form of waste amounting to absolute sinfulness to lose any opportunity of utilising such tremendous forms of usefulness. The men themselves would be very much better occupied by some simple form of employment, and they would feel prouder and more contented in their several spheres if they were impressed with the idea that they were doing

something of a useful character. These ships, during the winter months, are many of them ordered off to milder climates for the sake of the health of the crews. They go to Madeira, Lisbon, Oporto, or wherever else it may be. It seems to me that they might still go to a mild climate, and be employed in the meantime. They should, of course, be kept within reach of recall. For, if the worst came to the worst, even Prince Bismarck, in his most ferocious mood, will never be able to eat us up in a week; and, in any case, vessels might be better employed in such work in pleasant, sunny seas, than in running one another down in an Irish fog.

We ought, I think, as a nation, to do a great deal more than we do in such directions. It might save us from imputations very unpleasant, and not unattended with formidable danger. In recent years, for instance, we have shown our hatred of war and its horrors to such an extent that we are apt to be charged by our Continental neighbours with having lost our grand old heroic spirit—with having become tainted with a low mercenary sentiment, and with having sunk into liability to pusillanimous terrors. This is a very bad character to have, and the fact of such a suspicion existing may lead some day to such insult or line of policy upon the part of other powerful States as may result in a terrible retribution. Would it not be better to be able to say to such Powers, "We do not believe in wars. We see the folly of such prodigious expenditure in preparation for such murderous business. We think we can employ the flower of our youth better than in dressing them in special array, and reserving them for the murder of their fellow-creatures. We do this because we have become convinced of the mischiefs and horrors of war—not from cowardice, not from having lost that warlike spirit, of which we have shown some signs in times past, not even from motives of a narrow economy. The same sums which you waste in so objectionable a manner we spend in exploration, in colonisation, in the interchange of all kinds of valuable commodities, and in covering the earth with all manner of good things. If you ask us what we are doing with the flower of our manhood, we point to the Northern and Southern Poles, to the least known regions of the sources of the Nile, to the centre of Australian deserts, to the heights of the Rocky Mountains and the Himalayas. As the principal explorers, colonisers, merchants, and acclimatisers of the earth, we find an ample and an adequate mode of expenditure. And we ask you whether it is not better so to employ our more energetic spirits than in condemning them to the barracks and the parade-ground: so to employ our money than in wasting it in gunpowder and pipe-clay."

Let us take another case, adapted apparently for national effort—the transference from South Africa to Australia of some of that prodigious wealth of animal life in which the former so abounds. In Australia there is no indigenous deer or antelope. In South Africa there are such varieties of animal life that their enumeration would be tedious. How interesting to introduce amongst our Australian colonies some of those beautiful types. But South Africa, like Australia, produces wheat, and wool, and wine, the orange, the fig, and the olive. And the very similarity of products, which seem to indicate ease of adaptation in a new thing, arrests intercommunication and prevents traffic. A Queen's ship or two, in their passages round the Cape, might render services which, not so offered, might never otherwise be available.

And now for a glance at our fresh-water fishes. Has it ever occurred to my hearers to calculate the awful waste of space and opportunity in the still waters of this country? While we have the lordly salmon sailing up and down our rivers, we can, perhaps, have little to urge as to the occupation of our running waters. Of course, much more scope should be given him by sweeping away the little, miserable obstructions by which one landholder tries to steal a march upon another in securing more than his fair share of the salmon as they pass to and fro. Still, at all events, the rivers are tolerably provided with very beautiful fish. But what can we say of our ponds, canals, and some of our smaller lakes? We can say carp, and tench, and roach, and pike. Is there no better fish in all the world for such purposes than these? It is urged that with proper attention in the preparation even they may be made eatable; but I demur altogether to the recognition of a fish which is greatly dependent on its cooking for becoming palatable food. A fish, like every other animal, should have some decided excellence in itself; and I have every reason to believe that there are plenty of better fishes in the world which might easily be introduced and cultivated in our still fresh waters to very much better effect than our little bony and muddy friends that I have enumerated. We once succeeded in sending home living specimens of the Murray cod of Australia, which does very well there in our waterholes, stagnant during several months at a time, and which might be found to suit the English climate. I am far from saying that this is the most suitable of all fish; on the contrary, I should think that there must be many others much more suitable. I believe there are several kinds of fish in the North American waters which might easily be introduced. And I have seen the sterlet in the tanks of the Brighton Aquarium, which I

have also seen swimming in the tanks of the markets in North Germany, and which is reported to be a very manageable and palatable fish.

If we once get a good fish, we ought then to utilise our still waters much more thoroughly than we do, combining perhaps with that utilisation the forms of amusement which seem to be so popular. A pond should be treated like a poultry-yard—furnished with a certain quantity of its special occupants, and these duly supplied with some sort of food, causing them to pass rapidly to a useful and edible stage, and constituting the water, like the land, an available addition to our resources in the way of food supply. What can be done in that way may be judged of by a statement made to me by the late Mr. Fennell, that one of the proprietors on the Tay had let his fishing for something like six thousand a year; but by mismanagement the tenants had rendered the thing unprofitable, and had to give up the arrangement. On this the proprietor took the matter into his own hands, placed it under proper supervision, cleared a profit of twelve thousand a year, paying him a better rental per acre, Mr. Fennell assured me, than any dry land he had in the county.

Let us imagine, then, the enormous space devoted to ponds, minor lakes, canals, &c., over the United Kingdom, now almost useless; and let us try to estimate what that area would produce in circumstances of proper scientific and systematic cultivation.

Thus far I have instanced those things the treatment of which I consider either suited to national effort or to the action of associations. When we come to minor matters with which individuals are in the highest degree competent to deal, I wish, after some little experience in such matters, to give my hearers a hint which, if accepted, may be a source of very great happiness to them.

While surrounded more or less continuously by such beautiful things as those whose cause I am pleading, the mere happiness of such surrounding is dependent to a great extent upon the association of idea. The same thing will supply a very varying amount of enjoyment to different individuals. One person may have an extreme appreciation of colour, of beauty of form, of special elements of movement, of excellence of song, or of some other quality in an object. And thus it is that one person walks through the country or lounges in a garden absorbed in some consideration miles away from the objects by which he is surrounded, while another plunges with an ecstasy beyond expression into every little detail of which alone the educated and sympathetic nature is capable. But imagine the pleasure of appreciation of a particular

form of beauty, of whatever kind, to one who has done something to introduce that particular form of beauty into new regions, and to bring it under the notice of other appreciative eyes and ears. I wish to make this distinctly understood, and I would take an illustration which occurs to me very frequently in my country walks.

In the year 1858 I sent out to Melbourne, under the care of a kind and attentive friend, a consignment of the common song thrush of England. They were turned out in the neighbourhood of Melbourne, soon bred, and freely scattered over a considerable area, and when I was last in the colony I noticed them in the gardens around Melbourne fluttering about the bushes, and singing as cheerfully as in their native land. Since that day the song of the thrush has been productive of a degree of pleasure to my ears very difficult to describe; for admiring, as one must admire, the wonderful richness and beauty of its note, I always feel that in having done something to introduce to new observers that admirable quality of song, the song itself reaches my ears with very greatly enhanced agreeableness. Indeed, I often think that nobody in the world hears the thrush sing with the pleasure that I hear it. And I say to any one who may feel inclined to challenge this statement, "Go and try the experiment."

Is it too much to hope that out of the large number of men who have attained such brilliant success in the splendid dependencies of the Empire, it should become a sort of fashion for each one to take up some one or two obviously suitable additions to the country with which he has been specially identified, and never rest until he has made it his own? Is it not a sort of duty that we owe to the countries which have done so well by us? Such service would be a graceful tribute, and free us from imputations which I am afraid many of us deserve; in showing a disposition on our part to regard success of a very remarkable degree more as a result of the magnificent opportunities which have been afforded us, than as proceeding from any transcendent merits of our own.

There are small things and inexpensive coming within the scope of our scheme as well as the more pretentious things to which I have alluded. For instance, by a recent ship I sent out to Melbourne a consignment of the common glow-worm, having twice before succeeded in landing them in the colony apparently quite healthy, and lighting their beautiful little lamps as cheerfully as in an English lane. One might be asked, "Why send out such trivial things as glow-worms?" But I have all along endeavoured to vindicate the claims of the comparatively trivial.

Let us fancy what an addition might be made to our beautiful summer evenings in Australia by a few things like these! The young people of those lands, like the young people of other lands, will fall in love with one another, and will indulge in their evening rambles; and, as in other lands, probably they will occasionally fall a little short of topics for conversation. What debt of gratitude would they, so circumstanced, not owe to anyone who should provide them with such materials as the light of the glow-worm and the song of the nightingale?

Another hint—trivial, but suggestive. At my own place I have a sheet of water, with a small island in the centre, covered with rhododendrons, magnolias, and some larger trees. In the course of last summer it occurred to me, as a happy inspiration, that this little island had worn sufficiently long its comparatively untenanted look, and that I ought to take steps for its occupation. I consequently placed on it a couple of the little monkeys which our kind friend, Mr. Jamrach, so readily supplies at so moderate a price. And the success has been so pronounced as to elevate the whole thing into a distinct discovery. I really do not know when I have seen anything more enjoyable than the darting about over the upper branches of the trees of these playful and beautiful little creatures. They have, of course, to be taken in for shelter during the winter months; but during summer they have retained their health perfectly, and have seemed to be as happy as the day was long. Having myself seen the wild monkey in Ceylon, and also watched the little party which has long delighted the inhabitants of the Rock of Gibraltar, I knew pretty well the amusement that these little things would afford in a semi-wild condition; but I had no idea, until I had the opportunity of watching leisurely the doings of these little creatures, of the great enjoyment derivable from their wonderful playfulness, gracefulness, and agility. Indeed, I have often found myself led to think that our good friend Mr. Darwin, when he walked off with our tails, has also, perhaps, been guilty of depriving us at the same time of many of our most engaging and attractive qualities.

The peopling of the little island with such interesting inhabitants has also had another good effect; for their fame has spread rather widely through the neighbourhood, and the young people are promised by affectionate parents that if they will but keep quiet and behave prettily for a certain length of time they shall be brought down the first fine day to see me and my monkeys. And, in thus being able to hold out an incentive to youthful virtue, it is a pleasure to feel that there still lingers in one's path some forms

of usefulness; and, rapidly waning as one's opportunities may be in larger matters, it is a great comfort to find oneself fit to be thus classed with Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, and other mucliprized narcotics, as a "real blessing to mothers."

There is a deeper value in all this than at first sight appears to be the case. In devoting one's attention to matters like these, little by little grows up the unspeakable love for all these things. It is singular to notice how rapidly and inevitably that love grows; and in varying and enhancing the attractions of a country life to our young people, we lead their thoughts into healthier channels than they are apt sometimes to find, and do more than we can well calculate in diverting their ideas from the frivolities and dissipations of the town.

And to the grown man not less than to the child are hints like these capable of useful application. How many of us do we see impressed with too great earnestness in a special pursuit, and that pursuit running more immediately in the direction of money! Over and over again have I pleaded seriously with most estimable men so situated, and have begged of them, almost on my knees, to consider whether some modification of life would not be advantageous to them and all belonging to them. "You are rich enough," I have said, "too rich probably; for, when you are no longer here, the money which you are so anxious to store up will probably make your sons idle and hand over your daughters to the fortune-hunter. Modify your efforts in that way—accept the relaxation of a little holiday-making, pleasantly applied, and keep yourselves alive as the advisers of your sons and daughters during the more critical phases of their careers, instead of hurrying through the counting-house to the grave, leaving behind you overloaded coffers, which will work more harm than good even to those you love the best."

It is sad to one of country tastes to notice most intelligent people habitually rushing into the narrow courts and alleys of this murky city, spending the long hours of every week-day in gloomy, half-lit offices, and burying themselves in what I call the rabbit-warrens and rat-holes of E.C., when they might beneficially afford a certain percentage of their time for purer air, and for identification with things which they would find more delightful than they can believe, if they would but take the trouble to become intimate with them.

We must now turn to a very serious department of this scheme. I allude to the possible mischiefs which may be done by the introduction, by accident or mistake, of something which may turn out to be objectionable; and this is a matter which deserves very grave consideration, as any mistake is calculated greatly to add to the

influence of that very large section of mankind who sneer at all this kind of enterprise. Any fool can sneer. In fact, as far as my observation goes, the more complete the fool the more perfect he is apt to be in this very mischievous accomplishment. This is an animal which there is no necessity to acclimatise or distribute. He is able to take good care of himself. You find him in every land, making himself perfectly at home, and indicating powers of reproduction which leave far behind even the rabbit, the rat, or the house-fly. Poor patient labourers in the cause which I am advocating have been, and are even now, seriously encumbered by the sneers of those who, doing little or nothing for the world themselves, try to compensate for their apathy and uselessness by seeking to disparage the work of others.

Meantime, grave mistakes may easily be made, and we must always be on our guard against the accidental introduction, probably through the agency of some lurking parasite or seed of noxious weed, of something which may perhaps creep in amongst more eligible associates. It has always been held that we owe the Bathurst Burr, which for a long time gave such trouble to our settlers in New South Wales, to seeds introduced originally in the manes and tails of horses from Valparaiso. We know what the thistle has done for us in Australia, and remember the aggressive yellow "Capeweed," which is establishing itself in many parts of the colonies. We have, of course, heard of the misdeeds of the sparrow and the rabbit; and while we are certain to introduce incidentally such things as the house-fly and the bug, and our faithful companion the Norway rat, and other troublesome camp followers which hang on the track of civilised man, we ought to be always on our guard to minimise these evils as far as possible.

But in dealing with great work we must not be deterred by craven fear of possible danger. Are we not to have the vine because of the *Phylloxera vastatrix*? Are we to forego the potato because some vigilant eye has detected the American beetle? The very nature of civilisation involves many such troubles, and we must deal with them in an intelligent spirit, seeking out the best mode of coping with a particular trouble, and opposing its progress with a stern hand. We hear of certain wealthy gentlemen in Victoria who have been committed to the expenditure of thousands a year in endeavours to keep down the rabbit. I recollect seeing a paragraph in the *Field* newspaper many years ago, intimating that the natural enemy of the rabbit was the black polecat, and that the introduction of a few specimens of that animal would save all those thousands a year. And, perhaps, when so

modifying natural action as we do by the prosecution of our special form of enterprise, we ought to accustom ourselves to look to natural modes of checking nuisances rather than to artificial modes. Nature has a wonderful faculty for balancing the various forms of animated life with which she has to deal. If a bird becomes too numerous, a special hawk appears to have been sent to keep it in check; and so throughout the piece.

The sparrows, which are apt to do so much mischief in the gardens in neighbourhoods to which they have been recently introduced and in which they most congregate, should have been dealt with in a very resolute way long before they attained such a position. A sparrow which comes over the garden-wall in the early summer after the young peas or ripening fruit, should be shot *in flagrante delicto*. When he has once tasted these delicacies he is perfectly certain to come back, and very soon will bring his father and mother, brothers and sisters, wife and little ones. He takes some time to make the discovery, but, having made it, he becomes a very inveterate character indeed. We unfeathered bipeds, alas! have no monopoly of criminality. Amongst sparrows and wild animals generally there is the convict character, easily discernible, and just as pronounced as amongst ourselves; and the convict must be dealt with as we ought to deal with our own convicts—in a very uncompromising manner indeed. A false sentimentalism amongst them, as amongst ourselves, may gradually convert an ordinary well-doer into a very objectionable character. Crime in pea-stealing, as crime in watch-stealing and bank-breaking, should be nipped in the bud.

Wild animals are a great deal more amenable to a form of education than is generally supposed. I say this advisedly, as I have had many illustrations of it in my own case. On one occasion I rented a very excellent vineyard, in the fruit of which I was greatly interested. At the bottom of an adjacent paddock was the slaughterhouse of the neighbouring village, haunted, as such places usually are, by the carrion crow of the colony. As my grapes began to ripen, my men told me that they were so attacked by the crows, that unless something were done I should not have a single grape. I gave them a gun or two, and told them when they shot crows to hang them up by the heels; and I rigged up in the vineyard a few scarecrows of more than usually ferocious aspect. My success in thus checking the attack at its outset was a matter of profound surprise, and has impressed me ever since. After a few days, not a crow ever came into that vineyard. I used to see them sailing up and down along the outside of the fences, glancing towards my

grapes with a disdainful eye, and describing me one to another, in as plain language as a crow could use, as a very bloodthirsty and disreputable person, with whom no properly-constituted carrion-crow would be justified in holding any communication whatever.

It is all very well to laugh at this remark, but those of us who have mixed, as all of us should seek to mix, with what are sometimes playfully termed "dumb animals," will soon get to learn their language quite as well as we understand the language of each other; and in many instances it will be found a much more agreeable language than what has been somewhere quaintly described as the cackle of the daws of parliaments, or the shrieks of the kites of officialdom.

Perhaps amongst the legitimate functions of acclimatisation may be enumerated Eradication. In setting about so serious a task as that of remodelling the arrangements of Nature herself, we ought, I think, to assert our right to destroy some things for the purpose of smoothing the path of more valuable things. Many of my hearers will recollect the terrible ravages of the wild-dog in Australia, and the serious expense and anxiety consequent upon his once almost ubiquitous existence there. We have stood upon very little ceremony with this rapacious rascal; and over hundreds of miles of country where he once roamed, not a single specimen is now ever seen. Our Indian fellow-subjects ought long since to have taken example by what we have done in Australia with the wild dog, in coping with that dreadful character, the tiger. It was a most shocking thing to hear in the discussion upon the paper read by Lord Napier of Ettrick to the Society of Arts, that the wild beasts of India are calculated to destroy annually something like ten thousand of our fellow-subjects; ravaging whole districts, condemning large and fertile tracts to sterility, and horrifying us with the knowledge that individual animals have been known to have destroyed one or two hundred of our fellow-creatures. It was a shocking thing, when the discussion recently occupied the columns of the daily press, to find any man coming forward to justify the preservation of the tiger, on the plea that without his existence India would be so intolerably dull, that the more active spirits amongst the military and officials would not consent to accept service there. It is surely a dreadful thing when "sport," as it is called, is purchased at such a price as this.

Eradication may appear a singular form of acclimatisation, but it is not the less necessary to clear a way for the introduction of a good thing by the removal of something not so good. And in

venturing upon so serious a business as that modification of natural resources with which it seems to have been a part of the designs of Providence that we should be charged, one must be prepared to deal resolutely with an injurious thing, whenever its mischievousness becomes apparent. And we should deal with it not only resolutely, but with intelligence. I think there is great opportunity for reducing to a sort of science the process of dealing with objectionable things. We neglect this too much, and, consequently, are not only subjected to endless annoyances, but the very process which I am advocating is objected to by timorous men on the ground that, in attempting to introduce a good thing you may be unconsciously introducing something very seriously objectionable.

Man ought to be more confident in his superior intelligence, and should be prepared to use that intelligence in keeping the upper hand of such forms of even serious annoyance. To the sparrow which comes over the wall, at least as promptly as to the Emperor who audaciously strides across the boundary of international rights, one should always be prepared to say—"My friend, I am essentially a man of peace. But it is as well that it should be always understood, with the utmost distinctness, that I do not intend to stand any nonsense of whatever kind." For want of this resolution, and the knowledge of the necessity of its exercise, with what annoyances are we not constantly met. We know so well the fussy and incompetent house-mistress, helpless in presence of the minor troubles with which every establishment is apt to be beset. What can we think of the competency of a poor creature, who babbles of flies, and gnats, and ants, and who considers that black-bettles and mice are the necessary accompaniments of cheese and jam? We know the ignorant and cowardly gardener, who quails before the cricket, the woodlouse, the aphid, and the red-spider; and the farmer, who despairs of his root crops because the turnip-beetle flies forward open-mouthed and barks at him as he enters the paddock. We ought to accustom ourselves to deal peremptorily and effectually with all such things. A man has more sense than a sparrow, an aphid, or a turnip-beetle; and a woman, if she is good for anything, has more sense than a mouse or a cockroach! And it is the duty of people to keep such things in proper subjection.

In a recent paper I saw a notice that the wolves in France numbered, with their whelps, each spring about two thousand, and that each, preying upon live stock to the extent of £40 a year, cost the farmers many times that amount in the necessity of folding something like twenty millions of sheep! We know what this means by our experience of Australia, where, as I have said, the dingo has,

under the beneficent influence of strychnine, been very extensively annihilated. A large settler there told me that, in a country once very subject to their ravages, he has now never seen a single specimen for more than fifteen years.

In all that I have said I wish to let it be distinctly understood that I have dealt with the subject in the capacity of a lover of nature—in no sense as a sportsman. I wish to see the earth filled up with all manner of good things, to be utilised in their several ways; but I have small sympathy with the man so quaintly described by the French critic as rising in the morning and saying: "What a fine day! Let us go out and kill something!" I cannot understand the pleasure of inflicting death. It seems to me that the logic of the thing would point rather in the way of increasing life, to enjoy the fineness of the morning, than in signalling the pleasant weather by an act of destruction.

No one, I am certain, can enjoy his walks in the country more than I have done, although I never saw a fox-hunt, or a hare coursed, or shot a game bird, in my life. Even in this country, addicted to sport as it is, I cannot help expressing the belief that worthy paterfamilias, with an affectionate wife and loving children dependent upon him, may be better employed than in breaking his neck over our fences. And it seems singular that a man cannot enjoy the pleasures of a ramble in the country without seeking for something to kill; without encumbering himself with a piece of complicated ironmongery, weighing from six to nine pounds, troublesome even when quiescent, and in action noisy, ill-smelling, and liable to serious accident to oneself or friend.

I now have, in approaching the conclusion of my paper, to address a few words of friendly remonstrance to a class to which I think this remonstrance should not have been required. I allude to our scientific men; and I say, with some sadness, that it appears to me that, with a few most honourable exceptions, our scientific friends have not devoted their attention, and have not given the assistance to this cause, which the world has a right to have expected from them.

Such successes as have been achieved have been worked out by the more ordinary practical men of the world; and the blunders that have been made, the expenses that have been uselessly incurred, the time that has been lost, and the want of perfectness in the elaboration of the whole scheme, I believe, is in some sort attributable to the want of sympathy with us in quarters in which, I think, we have had the best title to look for it. One would unwillingly say anything to hurt the feelings of men, earnest enough in their

careers, and favouring the world with invention, discovery, and good effort of various kinds. But in such work as I have endeavoured to depict here, it is a sorrowful spectacle to contemplate (if there be any justice in the suspicion which I throw out) that Science shows a disposition to stand with folded hands—with a sort of incredulous smile upon her intelligent face, and conveying to us more earnest spirits a kind of misgiving that she really does not wish us to succeed. Why this should be, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. My interpretation of Science is that one of its special uses is to render its learning and discovery *practically* useful to the busy world. And I think that scientific man is false to the great cause which he represents, who is content to arrange, guard, and survey his wonderful collections, without being constantly impressed with the wish to utilise each several thing to the utmost extent of which it is capable.

One sometimes is driven to wonder whether the only explanation of such laxity as I seem to see, may be found in the misgiving that on a future day—thanks to the enterprise of such as are doing so much to modify the surface of the earth—they will be driven to the necessity of re-writing their catalogues, and remodelling their musty old cabinets. But it is sad to think of such knowledge, stored up in abundance in so many varied quarters, and not as practically available as it seems that it might be and should be made.

I know what severe things may be said of me in speaking thus plainly of a section of society for which we all feel so great a respect and affection. I throw out the hint, however, in the most friendly spirit—in sorrow, not in anger—and I only beg of them, however indignant they may be with me, to occasionally ask themselves whether they have really endeavoured to popularise their favourite science to the utmost extent of which they conceive it capable.

In this brief review of the arguments for and against this scheme of acclimatisation, I have said that I have rarely met a man readily appreciative and receptive of the entire scheme, and that, amongst many reasons for justifying neglect, it is not very common to find a good one. One such man I found, and one such reason; and with a reference to them I will conclude my paper. My friend had himself done “yeoman’s service” in the good cause, and had a heart for further effort as expansive as the cause itself. We had been one day discussing its varying phases, when he somewhat startled me with the most formidable objection I have yet heard to it: “Why, if the world ever became as varied and interesting, and bright and beautiful, as this project seeks to make it, we should none of us ever wish to go to Heaven.”

## DISCUSSION.

Mr. TOMKINSON said his friend Mr. Wilson would be glad to know that glow-worms had existed to his knowledge in South Australia for some time. Rabbits, also, were so plentiful there that it had been found necessary to pass an Act of Parliament to eradicate them; and on one estate above 13,000 rabbits had been killed in four months. With regard to the suggestion that the polecat was the natural enemy of the rabbit, he might mention that a friend of his in Australia had tried the experiment of placing cats with their litters into the wombat holes where rabbits bred, but without success. The kittens and the rabbits fraternised with each other as a happy family. They had the natural wild cat, a very destructive creature, which, however, preferred sucking the blood of domestic fowls.

Mr. J. B. BROWN thought they were greatly indebted to Mr. Wilson for his excellent paper, so full of truly valuable suggestions. He hoped the members of the Institute would be especially guarded on this occasion against taking narrow or contracted views of this important and interesting subject, as it well deserves to be treated in the like sympathetic spirit, and on the broad and liberal basis, Mr. Wilson has himself treated it. He trusted that members would direct their earnest attention to the practical question of how Mr. Wilson's wishes—which might well be the wishes of everyone who had listened to him—could be carried out, and how some grand scheme could be brought into immediate use, in which scientific men, as well as our intelligent Colonial officials, and both our merchant and Queen's ships could largely and gracefully assist. He was sure the noble Lord, who now so worthily occupies the post of Colonial Secretary—and of whose Colonial administration they all had, irrespective of party, reason to be proud—would give all the assistance in his power to promote any such beneficent scheme, and he hoped the subject would in the discussion to-night be grasped with that grasp and in that spirit to which it was so eminently and worthily entitled.

Mr. KERRY-NICHOLLS considered the subject of acclimatisation formed an important link in the great chain which they hoped would long bind the interests of the Colony to those of the mother country. The paper referred to what should be done, but they might also glance at what had already been accomplished. In the Australian Colonies an inestimable benefit had been conferred by acclimatisation in various ways. They all knew that the Continent of

Australia possessed a fauna and flora peculiar to itself, both of which were ill-adapted to the requirements of a white population; and some might remember that when Captain Cook first discovered that country, the largest indigenous animal was the kangaroo. But what a change had been brought about since then by a careful system of acclimatisation! Australia could now boast a large white population, owning, according to the latest statistics—he would give the figures in round numbers—1,000,000 horses, 5,000,000 horned cattle, and 43,000,000 sheep. Nor were these animals of an inferior class: the cattle were remarkable for their good points, the sheep for the excellent quality of their wool, while the breed of horses would, all things considered, compare favourably with that of this country. As a further result of acclimatisation, South Australia, one of the youngest Colonies of the group, now exported annually about 200,000 tons of bread-stuffs, while her vineyards produced large quantities of excellent wine. In Victoria and New South Wales the benefits of acclimatisation might be seen in many ways, and notably in the introduction of European grasses into the vast pastoral districts, and which were rapidly taking the place of the less nutritious native grasses. In Queensland—which afforded, perhaps, one of the finest fields in the world for acclimatisation—the sugar cane had been introduced with very beneficial results in the alluvial districts bordering the principal rivers. He believed that if the coffee-tree were introduced into the northern territory it would be found to flourish remarkably well, and if the swamp lands in the vicinity of the Gulf of Carpentaria were brought under cultivation, rice might be advantageously grown. Mention had been made in the paper before the meeting of the *Eucalyptus globulus*, the medicinal properties of which were being widely recognised. He might state that this tree had been introduced into various countries of late. He had seen the tree growing in Hong Kong, in various cities of Japan, in San Francisco, in Southern California, in Northern California, and in New York. He was not aware whether it had been introduced into this country, and would like to know whether it was capable of being cultivated here. It had been introduced into Italy, and had also been cultivated with great success in India. He might, perhaps, be excused for reading the following remarks upon the tree from the Acclimatisation Society of Paris:—

“THE EUCALYPTUS GLOBULUS.—The experiment of planting this tree in the unhealthy Campagna of Rome with the object of destroying the influence of the miasmatic exhalations from the ground has been tried for several years, particularly in the locality of the Monastery of St. Paul Trois

Fontaines, where a priest named Gildas has had the plants under cultivation. In some communications addressed to the Société d'Acclimatation de Paris, M. Gildas states that the trees have thriven, and that he believes they have given indications of their power in arresting disease, though as yet they are not sufficiently numerous to produce much effect. The most important statement made by him, however, is that a decoction made from the leaves of the tree possesses valuable properties in cases of fever, and that many persons have been cured of that disease by drinking the 'elixir,' which is also a preventive of fever. A similar preparation of the leaves in the form of a powder is also made, which has the advantage of keeping good longer than the decoction. The merits of the discovery will be placed under the notice of the medical profession, and a more reliable report will probably soon be made."

With regard to the power this class of tree possessed of destroying the injurious influence of miasma and thereby averting disease, it was his belief that the wonderful absence of epidemic diseases in Australia arose principally from the wide distribution of this peculiar growth or family of trees, which extended from one end of the Continent to the other. In fact, comparatively speaking, there was hardly a square foot of land in Australia without its gum-tree. Its only fault was that it afforded but little shade in a hot climate, through its leaves being small and hanging perpendicularly.

Mr. MICHIE said that from various experiments he had made on the gum-tree in Australia, he was satisfied that nothing could exceed their efficacy in converting swamps into dry land. The medicinal properties of the tree also appeared, by respectable scientific authority, to be pretty well established on both sides of the world. He, as well as Mr. Wilson, felt considerable reliance and confidence in the wisdom with which Providence had distributed the infinitely various plants and animals throughout the globe, and he (Mr. Michie) therefore thought they should be extremely careful how they proceeded when undertaking to improve on the operations of nature, inasmuch as lamentable mistakes had already been made in connection with this subject. Sir Arthur Helps, in one of his most interesting works, had shown that in a particular district in the South American Continent the rabbit had taken possession of the land, and had nearly extinguished every other form of life; and it was a curious fact that something like the same result had come about in portions of Australia. Mr. Wilson, in his enthusiasm, was disposed to make light of these consequences, and appeared to forget unfortunate people who suffered from them. It might fairly be doubted whether the redoubtable polecat or any other distinguished exterminator would be found competent to put down the rabbit. He knew of an instance where the rabbit had

taken possession of a paddock of 6,000 acres, and its owner had agreed to give a person, who considered himself accomplished in suppressing this form of nuisance, £1 per acre for the destruction of these animals. The task was undertaken, the work supposed to be completed, the £6,000 paid, but shortly afterwards in that extensive paddock rabbits abounded as before. Fortunately, perhaps, for the perplexed proprietor, the country was shortly afterwards visited by a flood, which did the work better than the professed rabbit extinguiser. He considered it was a mistake to introduce a prolific creature like this into a sparsely-populated country, for the American and Australian experience alike showed it must become an almost impracticable nuisance. Again, what had been the result of the feat of that patriotic Scotchman who had, it was said, introduced the thistle into Australia? Victorian legislators, again, had been driven to vote large sums of the public money to put down this particular form of the Scotchman's enthusiasm. In the Kilmore, and some other districts, you could not travel many miles without finding large tracts of this thistle—a plant, be it remembered, not of the modest character and proportions of the poet's "symbol dear," but a gigantic fellow, two-thirds the height of that room; for everything, animal or vegetable, grew larger in that part of the world than in this. It was, therefore, quite futile to think that the thistle would ever be extinguished in that country, and our Scotchman had thus become as immortal as his own work. He had listened with some astonishment to Mr. Wilson's statement about the thrush, and he was disposed to attribute this also to his enthusiasm; and he could not help thinking that when Mr. Wilson came out, as he had stated, to East St. Kilda, and had, as he supposed, listened with such charmed ear to the note of the thrush—being in that respect so much more fortunate than himself (Mr. Michie), who had lived there upwards of eighteen years, and had never heard the thrush once—he must, in fact, have been listening to the chirruping of his (Mr. Michie's) sparrows, which Mr. Wilson's ardent imagination had converted into the mellifluous notes of the thrush. The sparrow within two years of his introduction had established himself as the same little impudent, dominating, irrepressible fellow with whom they were all so familiar in their own streets. When he first came to question the alleged virtues of the sparrow, he was told he was prejudiced against him, and that if he lost his fruit he should consider the compensation he received. He was anxious to be reasonable, and he patiently awaited the promised compensation. He was told to bear in mind the number of insects which

were got rid of by the sparrows. He had done so, and made a study of the subject. He had frequently collected all sorts of insects to test the sparrow appetite, and had drawn the sparrows to the prepared feast; but with what result? Why, they turned up their noses, he was going to say, but certainly they turned away their beaks with contempt, but whenever his fruit was ripening, they were, to use a common expression, "all there." It should, therefore, be always kept in view that, as a condition precedent to trying any experiment in what was called acclimatisation, a careful and discriminating regard should be had to all the conditions surrounding the work, and a sort of debtor and creditor account, as it were, should be made; and not until they felt assured that the proposed experiment was of a character which would really carry with it a balance of good to the country proposed to be benefited, should the work be carried out. He had tried to obtain some satisfactory information as to the success of the introduction of salmon into Australia, but regretted that he had not been successful. He had heard of one salmon having been actually caught, but the evidence even on this point seemed to be obscure and unsatisfactory. Whether the hitherto uncertain fruits of this unquestionably valuable experiment of Mr. Youl's—to whom their respect should not be measured merely by results—was to be referred to one cause or another—difficulty of obtaining appropriate food, or the presence of too many predacious fish in the southern hemisphere—could be only matter of speculation as yet, but at any rate they could all congratulate themselves as well as Mr. Youl, that the trout, a fish scarcely inferior to the salmon, was now well established in Australia and Tasmanian waters. In conclusion, he desired to express the gratification with which he had listened to many passages of Mr. Wilson's carefully-prepared paper, although he had not been able to go with him in every particular towards which he had invited their concurrence.

Mr. STRANGWAYS did not quite agree with Mr. Wilson in some respects. In South Australia a thrush was known as a thrush, but in Victoria it appeared from Mr. Michie's remarks that it was known as something else. With reference to the Scotch thistle in South Australia, he wished to make two remarks: first, that the plant never came from Scotland, and was not a thistle at all; and in the second place, it was not introduced by a Scotchman but by an Irishman. This man had some seeds sent to him, and not knowing what they were he distributed them amongst his friends, who planted them, and up came the wild artichoke, which was now called the Scotch thistle. He had shot a few rabbits in England

and in Australia, and if Mr. Michie could get him a contract to clear an estate of rabbits, in any part of the world, at £1 per acre, he should be very glad to undertake the work. No doubt rabbits had become, in some parts of Australia, a considerable nuisance, but it was owing to the fact that no one took the trouble of looking after them; some landowners had made them a nuisance to themselves and their neighbours, and now the neighbours in South Australia were to be rated to have them destroyed. As to the acclimatisation of animals, he agreed with what Mr. Wilson had said, although it must be remembered there was scarcely an animal of any description in Australia that was not the result of acclimatisation. The whole of the people there, as well as in this country, were acclimatised. He had no faith in voting large sums of public money for works of acclimatisation, as it invariably led to jobbery: the best way for its being properly done was by being looked after by the people who subscribed the money. As to using ships of war for sending fish out to the Colonies, he did not agree with Mr. Wilson; and he should be very sorry if it went forth to the world that the opinion of the Colonial Institute was that England should incur the serious risk of disarming, for he maintained the best way to preserve peace was to always be prepared for war.

Mr. WILSON said he had not mentioned anything about disarming in his paper.

Mr. STRANGWAYS said that Mr. Wilson had alluded to his experience of the carrion-crow of Australia, and that he thought he was a very cunning sort of bird; but if that gentleman had let that crow alone, no doubt he would have found out that the vegetable diet did not agree with him, and would soon have returned to its ordinary food. The *Eucalyptus globulus* was the blue-gum of Tasmania, and was an exceedingly valuable wood for many purposes; but as to its medicinal properties, he had very lately read that some chemists, having made a careful examination of it, had been unable to find any alkaloids from which its medicinal value was supposed to be derived. It would be very strange if it should turn out that the tree had such a remarkable value, for no one living in Australia knew that they had such a valuable thing close to them. He believed that its real service was that of an evaporating pump. He knew several instances in South Australia where, after the gum-trees had been destroyed, springs of water had appeared where there was no spring before. The gum was a tap-rooted tree, and being an evergreen would draw a large quantity of moisture from the soil, and as the soil dried, miasma would cease to be produced.

Dr. HOOKER, of Kew, said that Mr. Wilson had assumed that

the Government and scientific men had done nothing for the acclimatisation of plants abroad ; but when he made that statement, he could hardly have remembered what his fellow-colonist, Dr. Mueller, had done by his labours and writings ; he surely must have forgotten Allan Cunningham in New South Wales and Walter Hill in Queensland ; and he could not have visited India or the West Indian Colonies, where for fifty years scientific men under the Government had been exerting their influence in introducing useful plants. It might be true that only thirty to forty different kinds of animals—though he should have thought that there very many more—had been acclimatised, but certainly one hundred times that number of useful and ornamental plants had been dispersed over the globe by scientific men. Mr. Wilson had mentioned the bread-fruit, but had forgotten that it was introduced in the West Indies by Government, and through the exertions of a scientific man (Sir J. Banks). He had said that it would be difficult to instance a case of the Government having introduced a plant, forgetting that the cinchona—which was already returning thousands of pounds to the Indian Treasury—was introduced by the Government, and wholly through the agency of scientific men. At present the Government was actively engaged in introducing Liberian coffee into all parts of the world. Mr. Wilson had objected to the word “acclimatisation,” but suggested no other : would he object to one to which scientific men could help him, viz. “naturalisation,” a word which covered everything meant by acclimatisation, and was equally practical, scientific, and more harmonious ? He had listened with great attention to Mr. Wilson’s paper, but there were many difficulties in the way of acclimatisation which had been overlooked. It was true, science had not done everything, and practice had often failed, and there were many things had been, and more which could only be, introduced by heavy scientific labour. One difficulty was, that no one ever knew exactly whether such and such a climate was suited to such and such a plant. For instance, the *Eucalyptus globulus*, the most southernly of Australian gums, would not grow in the neighbourhood of London, and yet another kind of gum-tree withstood many winters at Kew, though it came from the hottest part of South Australia. Dean Herbert used to say: “Plants do not grow where they like, but they grow where other plants will let them;” and this he believed was a perfectly true saying, and one worthy of the careful consideration of all acclimatisers of plants.

Mr. YouL said, with reference to the salmon experiment at the British Museum, three fish might be seen, sent home from Tasmania

by Mr. Morton Allport, one of the Salmon Commissioners, to Dr. Gunther, for his opinion upon them. He pronounced two to be brown trout, and the other a salmon trout, the latter having in its stomach several undigested sardines, a fish never found except in salt water—a proof, therefore, that this fish had only just returned from the sea. Mr. Morton Allport has made the natural history of fish his study for many years, and he disagrees with Dr. Gunther, and declares his conviction that the fish is a true salmon, and not a salmon trout—a grilse, in fact, just returned from the sea. Several fish of a similar character have been caught in the Derwent, and, after careful examination, judged to be the grilse of the true salmon. It seems almost incredible that, as at least 6,000 salmon smolts have been liberated from the breeding-ponds of the Plenty, and only 150 salmon-trout smolts, that they should be continually catching the latter, and not one of the former. He had received many letters from residents and non-residents of Hobart Town, telling him that they were certain that the salmon are naturalised in the Derwent; and they have seen many hundreds of young fish, and some big salmon. With reference to the *Eucalyptus globulus*, the blue-gum of the Colonies, to which reference had been made, he did not believe it indigenous anywhere except in Tasmania, and there it was only found growing on the northern side of the island. It was the leaves of this tree which had been found so beneficial in medicine; and it is possible that the leaves of the other *Eucalypti* spread over Australia had not this quality. Dr. Mueller is reported, some two years ago, to have discovered it growing some 100 miles from Melbourne. One word with regard to the interesting paper read by Mr. Wilson: no one could with greater propriety have prepared such a paper, for he had for many years, and to a great extent, practised what he has preached.

Mrs. Lewis, as working in the same cause with Mr. Wilson, begged to say that the various speakers who had more or less ably spoken, had lost sight of the wider and larger bearing of the paper. The question was not what was to be done with the overwhelming Scotch thistle, with the impudent sparrow, with the too prolific rabbit, or anything of that kind, but how far human endeavours could increase the value of life by enriching those regions into which perhaps their erratic tendencies led them. There had never been a nation since man lived on the face of the globe so colonising as the British islanders, for in the first record given to them, long before the remarkable men came from Marseilles, there was this little passage left by the Carthaginian explorers: "The Britishers exist in large numbers, and are commercially inclined." Those first

Britishers then went, and could go no further, than the shores of the Baltic, but from those shores they had gone to every place, and taken something with them to enhance its value. The principle they had to decide that night was the appropriation or assimilation of various vegetables and various animals, and whether they would increase the value of the lands to which particularly English people go. Surely there could not be a doubt about it. There was no lady or gentleman present who would like to leave and return back to Australia simply with the kangaroo; and there was no honest person present who could say that he quarrelled with Mr. Wilson's principle. She spoke first for his principle, and secondly for the beautiful and ideal shape in which he had clothed it; and no man had a right to disclothe it. Mr. Wilson wished to impress upon them that there was a great ideal in really introducing whatever nature and God had given in one land into another, as far as climate would allow. She went further than Mr. Wilson, and would say they wanted assimilation in England. There were things that would allow larger numbers to live well and to be happy; and it was a first principle—and all the Australian colonisation showed nothing more clearly than—that every man and woman, according to their ability to gain their livelihood, had a right to make life as happy and enjoyable as possible. It was on these broad grounds that Mr. Wilson brought forward his paper. He had clothed his opinion in an ideal shape, and the Colonial Institute had a right to recognise the leading feature of the idea, that the mother country should try by all its power, by Government or by private endeavour, to make the lands which England colonised as happy and as comfortable as possible.

Dr. ORD thought no one having listened to the paper could have failed to see two things: first, very lofty thought, and second, keen and incisive intelligence. Most of the discussion of the evening seemed to have consisted in fault-finding, but wherever great things had to be done much more might be accomplished by seeing the good than by dreading the bad. When facing difficulty, men were either weak or strong. It was the strong men who knew how to take the good out of things and how to crush the bad, and that was exactly what Mr. Wilson had been steadily enforcing. They had reason to thank themselves for acclimatisation, for he did not know what they would have done in England if some sturdy adventurers—some Hawkins, or Drake, or Raleigh—had not in Queen Elizabeth's time brought over from the West two weeds of the night-shade family, the potato and tobacco. The potato was spoken of as a "restorative" in the writings of that period,

although, perhaps, now it might not be considered as such; and from botanical books of that time it might be seen that grasses were collected from all manner of places for the sake of certain salts contained in them. The meaning of all this was, that the diet of the people was deficient in a kind of material absolutely necessary to health, for the prevention of scurvy and allied diseases, which were then, owing to bad diet, frightfully destructive. These things are hardly heard of now, and beyond all doubt the potato has had a predominant share in sweeping them away. A little bit of acclimatisation effected by a rough sailor has thus produced a widespread and permanent benefit to mankind in Europe, and such considerations might remind the Society (as had been suggested by the preceding speaker) that there was work to be done at home as well as in the Colonies.

Mr. WILSON, in reply, said if Dr. Hooker had not left he should have reminded him of a passage in the paper where he said, speaking about scientific men, "with some most honourable exceptions," and amongst those exceptions Dr. Hooker and his father would occupy a very prominent position. Mr. Michie was an excellent man, but his path had fallen in stony places, and if he got confused between a sparrow and a thrush they must have every consideration for him. He (Mr. Wilson) had certainly not mistaken the twittering of the sparrow for the song of the thrush, as suggested by Mr. Michie. He had referred in his paper to some persons who were so occupied with other subjects that they wandered amongst beautiful things without appreciating them. He knew such men by the dozen, and from the bottom of his heart he pitied them.

The CHAIRMAN said they were indebted to other countries for a very large proportion of the vegetables now naturalised in this country, and this was one result of people travelling about and bringing home with them the products of the various countries they had visited, and he thought it was only natural when people resided in Colonies such as Australia that they should try and grow everything they could for their comfort and gratification. The lady who had addressed them had very properly called them to order by bringing them back to the real question before them, and he would not spoil anything she had said so well by attempting to repeat it. He would merely say that he thought Mr. Wilson had endeavoured to show that it was not only the absolute necessities of life which he proposed to naturalise (for that he thought was a better word than acclimatise), but that they should also, as far as possible, endeavour to produce those things which rendered

nature beautiful as well as useful. In conclusion he begged to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Wilson for his very able and lucid address.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The HON. SECRETARY announced that the next meeting would be held on the 18th of January, at which General Bisset would read a paper on South Africa.

## REPORT ON THE GAMBIA QUESTION.

THE Committee to whom the question of the Cession of the Gambia to France was referred, beg to submit to the Council of this Institute the following facts bearing on the subject :—

To begin with the commercial aspect of the question, it appears by the following table that the trade of the Gambia since 1869 has been gradually increasing :—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1869 ... ..	£94,027 ... ..	£109,312 ... ..	£203,339
1870 ... ..	91,996 ... ..	142,517 ... ..	234,513
1871 ... ..	102,064 ... ..	153,100 ... ..	255,164
1872 ... ..	123,088 ... ..	127,225 ... ..	250,313
1873 ... ..	114,404 ... ..	110,816 ... ..	225,220
1874	Returns not yet published.		

For 1874 the trade will show great improvement, for the ground-nut export for that year was—

Ground Nuts ... ..	20,053 tons ... ..	£191,303
Hides ... ..	No. 18,823 ... ..	5,700
Wax ... ..	91 tons ... ..	13,000

Showing a total in these items alone of £210,003

There is no doubt that these returns do not exhibit the trade in as favourable a light as the facts justify. The exports of ground-nuts, for instance, have exhibited since 1837 a steady increase in quantity ; but as the Customs authorities at Bathurst do not accept the market value at the place and time of shipment, adopting an arbitrary valuation of their own, the exports are made to appear of less value than they really are.

As a further instance it may be added that just prior to 1869, when the previous proposal of cession was mooted, the Custom-house officers reduced the declared value of the ground-nuts from £10 to £9 a ton, and now they have further reduced it to £8, whereas the real average selling price at Bathurst has been £9 10s. to £10 for that period.

The different methods adopted at the various ports of shipment along the West Coast prevent any fair comparison being made between the different Colonies. At one place the price in the English or other market is adopted ; at another the shipping value at place of shipment ; at another an arbitrary valuation, fixed at the pleasure of the local officials.

An example of the manner in which the Customs returns are prepared at various ports will suffice. At Sierra Leone the ground-nuts exported were valued at £10 per ton in 1869 and 1870, while at the Gambia they were put down at £8 10s. to £9, and this in face of the fact that in England the Gambia ground-nut brings from 20s. to 30s. higher price than the Sierra Leone article.

The export of hides from the Gambia has been very considerable, as many as 120,000 being in store at Bathurst at one time; but it suddenly fell in 1865, owing to pleuro-pneumonia breaking out, and destroying the cattle all over the country. It is, however, now recovering, and is again becoming an important item in the trade.

Beeswax also is an important article of the commerce of the Gambia, averaging about 95 tons a year, valued at £145 per ton.

Much has been urged about the greater proportion of the trade of the Gambia, principally ground-nuts, being with France; but this is no argument on which to support the assertion that the trade is mostly in French hands.

It simply arises from the fact that British merchants on the Gambia find the best market for their goods in France. The truth is, that the great bulk of the trade is in British hands. The goods purchased with the money produced by it are principally British, which would not be likely to continue, were the Gambia given up to France. But it is not only on the Gambia that the principal trade is with France. The bulk of the ground-nuts and palm-kernels from Sierra Leone generally goes also to France, as may be seen by official returns:—

		Great Britain.		France,
Ground Nuts, 1868	...	7½ tons	...	6,624 tons
1869	...	£3,816 value	...	£56,502 value
1870	...	69 tons	...	8,680 tons
Palm Kernels, 1868	...	787 "	...	4,905 "
1869	...	5,847 "	...	2,700 "
1870	...	1,276 "	...	2,634 "

Again, the whole export trade of Sierra Leone shows a strong foreign tendency, as appears by the following figures:—

	1868.		1869.		1870.
Exports to Great Britain	£66,077	...	£140,042	...	£ 81,456
France	90,153	...	105,585	...	147,199
United States	45,569	...	57,001	...	39,118
Other parts	94,668	...	83,103	...	81,715
Total	£296,467		£385,731		£349,488

Although the Gambia has been upwards of 250 years in British possession, it must be borne in mind that our establishments there, in the earlier days, were kept up for the export of slaves to the southern parts of North America and the West India Islands.

When the slave trade was abolished, there was no legitimate commerce to replace it, until the British merchants, who had established themselves during our temporary occupation on the Senegal and at Goree, finding it impossible to carry on their trade under the French flag, in consequence of the vexatious restrictions imposed on them, emigrated to the Gambia, where they established themselves after the peace of 1814.

They and their descendants have opened up and carried on a legitimate trade, and introduced the cultivation of the groundnut along the banks of the river and its tributaries for a distance of 400 miles.

The capability of the country for this particular product is unlimited, provided roads were established from the adjacent countries, and proper protection afforded. The country also produces excellent cotton, and large quantities of beeswax and ivory can be collected. Bathurst is only ten days' by steamer from Liverpool, and in three days more goods can be landed 370 miles in the interior—facilities possessed by no other Colony on the coast, French or English.

Since 1870 all the troops have been withdrawn from the Gambia, and also the parliamentary grant in aid of revenue, which for that year was £1,000.

There is no public debt, and the Colony is entirely self-supporting.

The revenue, which in 1870 was estimated at £17,000, was in 1874 very materially augmented by increased taxation, the estimated amount for this year being over £22,000.

With the Colonial funds, a small steamer has been purchased for the police of the river, and other Government purposes; and a force of armed police is also maintained at the sole expense of the Colony. The Civil List includes pensions to former officials. Neither in the expenditure of the revenue, nor in the appointment of the officials, have the taxpayers any voice.

When the cession of the Gambia was last advocated, Sir A. Kennedy adduced as a reason for the transfer the insignificance of the trade of the Colony. This argument if admitted would apply with greater force to the following possessions, for their total annual imports and exports, as taken from the Blue-Book for 1873, fall far short of those of the Gambia:—

St. Kitts	...	...	...	...	...	£135,514
Dominica	...	...	...	...	...	124,572
Montserrat	...	...	...	...	...	57,483
Turk's Island	...	...	...	...	...	45,030
Tobago	...	...	...	...	...	89,323
Virgin Islands	...	...	...	...	...	10,441

whereas the trade of the Gambia, in a bad year, as shown by the peculiar system of valuation adopted by the local Customs officials, has amounted to £225,000.

Doubtless we may be told that British interests will be protected by treaty stipulations and guarantees. Past experience, however, proves that little value is to be attached to engagements of this kind. Take, for instance, the Treaty of 1814, when Senegal was restored to the French; in a very few months the English merchants were obliged to sacrifice their property, and quit the place. Take the late case of Fernando Po, when that island was given up to the Spaniards. And it is a significant fact in support of this view, that while in the British Settlements of the Gambia and Sierra Leone are to be found many French merchants settled, and carrying on a large and profitable trade, not a British subject is to be met with at Goree or on the Senegal.

On this point Sir Arthur Kennedy wrote, in a despatch to Lord Granville in 1869: "I believe the transfer would be far from popular with the French residents, who greatly prefer carrying on business under British rather than French rule."

At the present time the French merchants on the Senegal are petitioning their Government to put on, not only differential, but almost prohibitory duties on certain British manufactures, as also a differential tax on British shipping, without which protection the French merchants admit they are unable to cope with the merchants of the English settlements in selling ground-nuts in their own market.

To proceed to the political aspect of the question.

The argument used to depreciate the importance of the Gambia as a British possession applies with far greater force to Sierra Leone, where so much money has been expended, both by the Imperial Government and Public Societies, while little or nothing has been done for the Gambia in that way.

The extended area of land brought yearly under cultivation is the means of affording maintenance for large numbers of people, besides instilling habits of industry, and inducing them to give up their predatory warfare as a means of livelihood. This is surely some proof that civilisation is taking root among the natives.

It is also worthy of serious consideration by Her Majesty's

Government, before handing over the Gambia to France, whether they are prepared to abandon the opportunity of extending British influence and civilisation, and to sacrifice the trade of the Niger, as well as that of the Gambia; for with the latter river in their possession, the French will be in Timbuctoo long before we could reach that place from the mouth of the Niger, as that river is not navigable above Egga.

The importance of the Gambia (a river navigable at all seasons of the year for 400 miles from the sea) as a direct means for penetrating, by a short and accessible route, into the interior, and striking the trade of the Upper Niger, is determined by the fact that native caravans now carry on an overland trade by a road from the head of the Gambia navigation to Segou on the Niger. From an itinerary given a short time ago to the present acting Governor of the Gambia by one of the native traders who frequently passes over this route, it appears that Timbuctoo can be reached from Bathurst by a combined water and land journey in  $46\frac{1}{2}$  days. This road is so much traversed by native traders and the natives of the interior coming down to the Gambia to cultivate the ground-nut, that, compared with other trade routes in those parts, it is comparatively secure from danger to life.

The proposed cession would hand over to a foreign power the possession of a noble water highway, giving easy access to the interior, and of all the territorial rights which the undisputed possession of it gives; also of settlements on the banks, formed by the enterprise and industry of British subjects, who have given value to the land, and formed establishments suited to the requirements of civilised life.

The parts of the coast, it is understood, from which the French are to withdraw, if the cession takes place, are not French territory, but merely small trading stations established on native soil. They are without Government staff or public buildings, and without mercantile and other establishments, such as there are on the Gambia. Nor do they contain any considerable population.

The French are to retire, it is said, from the Mellicourie, Assince, Grand Bassam, and Whydah.

The Mellicourie is a native river, the sovereignty of which the chiefs offered to Great Britain eleven years ago, but it was declined.

The French have there a small *comptoir*, or trading-post, with a resident Consular Agent, for which they pay annual rent to the native chiefs. Beyond that there is no Government establish-

ment, and outside the factory they exercise no jurisdiction whatever. English and other merchants enjoy equal rights of trade there with the French. Even if the latter retire the difficulties are not removed, as the other foreign traders would have to be dealt with, and the Island of Matabele, off the mouth of the Mellicourie, has fallen into the hands of Americans.

The revenue of Sierra Leone undoubtedly suffers from the contiguity of a foreign trading-post; but Her Majesty's Government could, we feel assured, find other remedies for this inconvenience than the sacrifice of the Gambia.

At Assini there is a French merchant, who is the only representative of his country. The English trade there already on equal terms.

The case of Grand Bassam is similar to that of Assini.

At Whydah there are two old forts, occupied respectively by an English and French trader, under the sovereignty of the King of Dahomey.

Should the exchange be effected, the French would retain between the Gambia and Sierra Leone two very important rivers, viz. the Nunez and Pongas, which would remain as injurious to Sierra Leone trade, as the Mellicourie is now.

The greater portion of the public works and property of the Gambia has been created by Colonial taxation, and in equity should be regarded as the property of the Colonists, and not of the Imperial Government.

The gravest aspect of the question is, however, presented in the contemplated transfer against their consent of some 15,000 native British subjects to a foreign power, whose religious and political institutions they view with aversion, and with whose language they are unacquainted. It is surprising that such a project should be entertained, when we call to mind how severely enforced transfers of populations have been condemned by the public opinion of Europe; and when it is remembered that on an exchange being made a few years ago of English and Dutch Settlements on the Gold Coast, the inhabitants of Commendah had to be coerced by arms into renouncing their allegiance to Her Majesty, and passing under another flag.

Reprehensible as such instances of disposing of the property and persons of a people against their will have been justly held to be, this procedure is still more open to censure in the present case, where the native population consists mainly of the descendants of Africans rescued from bondage by our cruisers, who have been brought up in the Protestant religion, and have

been led to regard themselves as the especial objects of British care and protection.

Moreover it does not appear that any effectual step has been taken to consult the disposition of the people of the Gambia, while it stands on record that when the transfer of that settlement was first mooted in 1869, they protested strongly against it. What their views now are on the subject may be learnt from the petition (see Appendix A), in which their repugnance to the proposed change is expressed in forcible terms.

In adopting this Report of the Committee, the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute therefore feels that it is its duty to enter an emphatic protest against the cession of the Gambia, on commercial, political, and Imperial grounds, as well as from a sense of the obligations imposed upon the British Empire not to abandon or hand over without their consent, to a Foreign power, any of its subjects, who desire to retain the privileges and benefits of its rule.

The Council therefore trusts that the project of this cession may be immediately given up, even were the advantages to be expected from it more obvious than they appear.

FREDERICK YOUNG,

*January, 1876.*

HONORARY SECRETARY.

APPENDIX A.

*To the Right Honourable EARL CARNARVON, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the settlements on the River Gambia respectfully sheweth:—

That your petitioners are merchants, traders, artizans, and other inhabitants residing in the settlements on the River Gambia.

That your petitioners have been informed that the transfer of these settlements to the French is now being negotiated by Her Majesty's Government.

That your petitioners were at first reluctant to give credence to the report of the intention of Her Majesty's Government, as your petitioners would not believe that Her Majesty's Government would undertake a transfer involving an interference with the social habits and opinions of thousands of Her Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects without consulting their wishes, or giving them any official notification of their intention.

That in the year 1870, when the subject of the transfer was first approached, your petitioners had the honour of addressing a petition to Lord

Granville, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, deprecating the transfer as being opposed to their wishes and interests, and respectfully but firmly submitting their protest against being denationalised.

That your petitioners still view the prospect of the cession of these settlements to France with great alarm, and naturally feel a great aversion to being summarily transferred into the hands of a foreign power whose language, habits, and institutions are diametrically opposed to their own, and whose policy, as evidenced at Senegal and Goree, your petitioners feel sure will materially interfere with their social and religious rights.

That your petitioners beg to assure your lordship that the whole population of these settlements is opposed to this transfer. because they are averse to French rule; because, as loyal subjects of the Queen, they are attached to British institutions; because they love political and religious liberty, and because by their industry they have acquired property in these settlements which the projected transfer would materially affect.

That, besides other advantages, these settlements afford to the geographical or scientific explorer easy access to the vast interior of Africa, which, notwithstanding recent explorations, still remain a *terra incognita* to the European world.

That your petitioners beg to call your lordship's attention to the fact that the settlements are self-supporting, and practically independent of the mother country, that they have no public debt to liquidate, that they have a revenue at present sufficiently adequate to their requirements, and which, with a little retrenchment and economy, would be more than ample to meet the requisite expenditure.

Should it be necessary, your petitioners are ready and willing to submit to an extra taxation rather than be given over to a foreign power.

That the results consequent on the transfer of these settlements to France are matters of great concern to your petitioners: those who have commercial and landed interests in the settlements will either be forced to sell out at a sacrifice and seek new homes elsewhere, or else adopt the unpleasant alternative of remaining under a government obnoxious to them; and those who have no property to dispose of will of necessity be obliged to adopt the latter course.

For the foregoing and other reasons too numerous to set forth, your petitioners are anxious here to record their dissent from and firm opposition to a scheme so summary in its nature, and fraught with such evil consequences to your petitioners and their children.

In conclusion, your petitioners would humbly pray that your lordship would move Her Majesty's Government to forego any further negotiation on the subject of the transfer, and abandon a scheme so detrimental to the social and religious interest of your lordship's petitioners.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(Signed)

J. D. RICHARDS,

S. J. FORSTER,

H. G. DODSON,

and 149 others.

Bathurst, River Gambia,

7th October, 1875.

## APPENDIX B.

(COPY.)

*Downing Street, September 15, 1871.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Kimberley to acknowledge your letter of the 14th ultimo, enclosing the reply of certain Gambia merchants to Sir A. Kennedy's despatches, regarding the proposed transfer of that settlement to the French.

As Her Majesty's Government have abandoned the project of this transfer, Lord Kimberley thinks it would be useless to continue the controversy, and his lordship feels sure that Sir A. Kennedy will be found fully disposed to further the interests of the settlement, and to co-operate with the Administrator in all measures which may be calculated to promote its prosperity.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

(Signed) H. T. HOLLAND.

T. F. QUIN, Esq.

## APPENDIX C.

On the debate on Sir John Hay's motion in the House of Commons for papers, 16th July, 1870, Mr. Monsell made certain statements which, not being in our opinion correct, we, the undersigned, submit for the information of Members of both Houses of Parliament the following replies:—

## MR. MONSELL'S STATEMENTS.

The settlement has been in our possession 280 years, and comprised only thirty-nine males and eight females.

## REPLY.

The hon. member has gone back to the reign of Elizabeth, who, in 1588, granted a patent to some merchants of Exeter to trade there; this was subsequently abolished, and the present settlement was formed on the island of St. Mary's in 1816, that is, 54 years ago instead of 280.

It is clear that Mr. Monsell entirely ignores the existence of the coloured and native population, when he says the settlements did not contain more than 39 males and 8 females—even for the white population the last census gives 117 males and 14 females. Numbers, however, should not influence the discussion of the principle involved.

## MR. M.

Mr. Monsell, in quoting a letter of Mr. Brown's, August, 1859, desired to show a discrepancy between the statement therein contained and Mr. Brown's statement of facts as to the population of these settlements.

## REPLY.

The date of the letter is 1869 (not 1859), and if the honourable member had given the letter *in extenso* no discrepancy would have appeared, because in the letter of 1869 Mr. Brown was describing only the island of St. Mary's

and the number of its inhabitants; whereas, in the statement of facts quoted by Sir John Hay, the number of inhabitants given comprise those of all the settlements, viz. Bathurst, British Combo, Fort Bullen, Albreda, and McCarthy's Island.

MR. M.

The question of the cession of the Gambia was suggested by the Governor-General, Sir Arthur Kennedy, and his statement of 13th March, 1869, was still more specific, that it would be for the interests of the Colony to cede the Gambia, that the situation of the settlement rendered it unhealthy for four months in the year.

REPLY.

What can the opinion of Sir Arthur Kennedy be worth? He never spent ten days in the Gambia, never went up the river beyond Bathurst, knows nothing of the trade and resources of the river, or of the different tribes inhabiting the banks of it. Why should not the opinions be taken of such men as Sir Richard Graves McDonnell (now Governor of Hong Kong), who spent over eight years in the colony, filling respectively the offices of Chief Justice and Governor, thoroughly knew the character of the natives, as well as the sources of the river and the trade thereof; or Sir John Isles Mantell (now one of the Stipendiary Magistrates for Manchester), who for twenty-seven years resided in the Gambia, holding the appointments of Queen's Advocate, and subsequently that of Chief Justice; or Brigadier-General O'Connor, who for over six years was Governor of the Gambia, and is now Commander-in-Chief in Jamaica; or of Colonel S. J. Hill (now Governor of Newfoundland), who resided for some time at McCarthy's Island and at Bathurst, and subsequently held the appointments of Governor of Cape Coast and of Sierra Leone; or of Daniel Robertson (late Colonial Secretary of the Gambia), who resided there upwards of thirty years, and has now retired on his well-earned pension. These gentlemen have all held high official situations, and, from their long residence and local knowledge, are far better able to give an opinion upon the question of the proposed cession than an officer having so little personal experience as Sir Arthur Kennedy.

MR. M.

In the Blue Book published in 1866 or 1867 there was a statement, that between the years 1857 and 1866 the number of births was about 1,200, and the number of deaths 2,300.

REPLY.

The Blue Book for 1867 gives the number of births for Bathurst and McCarthy's Island at 118, and the deaths at 66. No register is kept for British Combo, Barra, or Albreda.

MR. M.

Sir Arthur Kennedy went on to say that the revenue depended mainly on the export of gold dust (*sic* in Report), meaning probably ground-nuts, which must be precarious and fluctuating.

## REPLY.

Sir Arthur Kennedy is incorrect in so stating. Take the revenue for 1867—the last one published—and it will be seen by the Blue Book, at page 15, that the revenue raised was £21,641 5s. 10d., of which only £4,783 6s. was on ground-nuts, the balance being from other sources. Of course, ground-nuts, like all cereal crops, are dependent upon the seasons, the harvests being good or bad, in all countries, in proportion as the weather is favourable or otherwise.

## MR. M.

The deficiency of the revenue in 1869 was £3,667. The value of the imports to the Gambia in 1869 was £94,207, and of the exports £91,000, about one-fifth of which came from Great Britain.

## REPLY.

It is notorious to everyone connected with the Gambia that 1869 was a very exceptional year, and owing to native wars, famine, cholera, and the early cessation of rain, there was an immense failure of crops. It is not, therefore, fair to form an estimate of the Gambia trade on the result of such an exceptional year. According to the Blue Book for 1867, the total imports to Gambia were £193,420 10s. 8d., of which the imports from the United Kingdom amounted to £104,367 8s., whilst from France it was only £37,565 13s. The total exports were £214,382 7s., of which £157,643 11s. 6d. went to France, not wholly as the proceeds of French trade, but chiefly of English, because Marseilles is a better market for all oleaginous seeds than England. The money for the English portion came to England for the purchase of goods to be again employed in the trade.

## MR. M.

So far as regarded the feelings of the native population, Sir Arthur Kennedy had made inquiries on the subject, and was of opinion they would not offer any serious opposition to the transfer of the Colony to France.

## REPLY.

The whole of the British population of the Settlements on the Gambia, European as well as native, are strongly opposed to the proposed cession, and expressed themselves so to Sir Arthur Kennedy. The Aborigines are well known to be against it to a man.

THOMAS BROWN.

THOMAS F. QUIN.

*Thatched-House Club, St. James's Street, 26th July, 1870.*

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The Reply of the undersigned Merchants of the Gambia to the Despatches of Sir Arthur Kennedy, C.B., to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging the Cession of the Settlements on the River Gambia to France (printed by order of the House of Commons, 10th August, 1870, on the motion of Admiral Sir John Hay, Bart., C.B.), exposing their sophistry and the gross incorrectness of alleged facts.

NOTE.—In the printed papers laid before Parliament, Sir Arthur Kennedy is addressed as the Governor of the Gambia; this is in virtue of his office as Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements. It is essential, however, to bear in mind he never resided ten days consecutively in the Gambia, never went up the river, and knows nothing of the native tribes about whom he writes.

SIR A. KENNEDY'S DESPATCHES.

Sir A. Kennedy to Earl Granville, dated 29th April, 1869 (Paragraph 10): —“ But I must at the same time assure your Lordship that the natives of the country in question, who are highly intelligent, would regard any negotiations with a view to giving over their country to French occupation in the light of a *sale* of their country by Great Britain to France, and that it would irretrievably damage our prestige on the Coast, and raise a spirit of universal distrust against us.”

REPLY.

We must confess it is with very much surprise that we read such words written by Sir A. Kennedy, who, in all his letters on the subject of the cession of the Gambia, an old-established British colony, so ardently advocates the very principle which he herein so strongly recommends the Government *not* to adopt. What possibly could raise a spirit of universal distrust against us more than the cession of the Gambia to a Foreign Power, contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants; and what would more irretrievably damage our prestige on the Coast than such a line of policy?

SIR A. K.

Sir A. Kennedy, in his letter No. 4, of 23rd September, 1869, gives the following reasons for recommending the cession of the Gambia:—

1. The expense of maintaining troops in the Settlement—about £20,000 a year—which sum I believe to exceed the whole mercantile profits of the place.

REPLY.

This expense is no longer incurred, as the troops have been removed over a year. As to Sir A. Kennedy's appreciation of the whole mercantile profits of the place, it is so manifestly absurd that it does not merit any detailed refutation from us.

SIR A. K.

2. The hopelessness of extending civilisation among the peculiar population which surrounds and composes the bulk of the settlement.

REPLY.

This is an assertion of Sir Arthur Kennedy's which we submit, arises from his want of knowledge of this River.

Before 1837 we had a large mahogany trade, and the soil was comparatively very little cultivated. The mahogany trade declined at home in value, and the attention of the natives was directed to the cultivation of the ground-nut by the merchants. In 1837 the whole export was 671 tons; in 1867 the export was 19,133 tons!

The effect of this increased production has put under cultivation very large tracts of land, and has given employment and maintenance to great numbers of people. It has attracted the natives from the far interior to come down to the banks of the River to grow these nuts, and they have lately cultivated cotton to a large extent, and have learnt to manufacture country cloths, the demand for which is so great that it is only when there is a superabundant crop they can be induced to sell the raw material to the merchants at the present low prices. We think we have, by these facts, abundantly proved that the Colony has progressed, and is capable of further improvement.

And as to the hopelessness of extending civilisation among the "peculiar population which surrounds and composes the bulk of the Settlement," with all due deference to Sir A. Kennedy's vague assertion, we maintain, that if "civilisation" means education and the adoption of European habits and customs, the Gambia Settlements have made *extraordinary and remarkable progress* within the last quarter of a century.

SIR A. K.

3. The precarious nature of the revenue and probability of ultimate failure of the ground-nut crop, which forms the staple export of the Settlement.

REPLY 1ST.

All crops—whether wheat, barley, cotton, potatoes, &c., &c.—are occasionally liable to failure, but we are not aware that the ground-nut is more subject to it than other vegetable productions.

The ingenious inference sought to be drawn is, that the revenue is chiefly dependent on the export duty of those nuts; but a reference to the Blue Book and Estimates, with which Sir Arthur Kennedy is supposed to be acquainted, will show that out of a revenue of £15,518 15s. for 1869 the export duty on the ground-nut was only £2,342 0s. 11d.

REPLY 2ND.

Sir Arthur appears wholly to have omitted from his calculation the exportation of wax and hides, the trade of which is *entirely* in the hands of the English. Previous to the cattle plague in 1865, which almost exterminated the oxen, we had a large trade in hides. The exportation in 1865 was 104,122 hides, which has materially fallen off owing to the dearth of cattle; but it is now gradually recovering, and we anticipate it will again reach its former standard. The exportation of beeswax for 1869 was £15,495 5s. 10d., all British.

SIR A. K.

4. That the trade is now almost exclusively French, and will become more so yearly.

REPLY.

Mr. Fowler, in his statement, which is almost entirely adopted by Sir Arthur, puts the exports thus: Ground-nuts exported by English houses, £45,233 10s.; by French houses, £28,732 10s. Hides exported by the English, £1,734 18s.; and by the French, £245 5s. Here, then, out of an importa-

tion of £74,916 5s., the English portion is £46,968 8s.; to £46,968 8 0 this we must add, as per Blue Book and Custom House Returns for 1869, the following exports by the British:—

Beeswax.....	£15,495	5	10	
Ivory .....	262	16	0	
Oxen .....	192	0	0	
Raw Cotton .....	322	15	0	
				16,272 16 10
				£63,241 4 10

Do these figures show the trade to be exclusively French? We assert, and challenge Sir Arthur to deny, that, by official statistics, it is shown that four-fifths of the ground-nuts, palm kernels, and benniseed, raised and collected at Sierra Leone, Sherbro', the Moriah and Samo Country (better known as the Rivers Malicoree and Fourecaria), are exported to France, and all their hides and much of their ginger to America. But what does this prove beyond the fact that every sensible merchant endeavours to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest market? But is this any reason why his nationality should be changed?

SIR A. K.

6. The probability, if not certainty, of frequent collisions with the surrounding native tribes, which renders the maintenance of an expensive protective force necessary.

REPLY.

We have now been more than twelve months without any protective force, and had no frequent, or indeed any, collision with the surrounding tribes. We do not deny the necessity of a protective force, the expenses of which we are ready to defray if allowed the requisite control over the management of our finances.

SIR A. K.

7. The responsibility of maintaining the settlement without any result or prospective advantage. I have, on the other hand, pointed out in former despatches the advantages which would accrue to our commerce generally, and the prosperity of the settlement of Sierra Leone in particular, if the Samo and Moriah countries were freed from French domination, and left to manage their own affairs under their existing treaties with Great Britain.

REPLY.

All troops being withdrawn, and these settlements now requiring no aid from Imperial funds, the annual consumption of British manufactures is a profit to Great Britain. This is clear proof, in the opinion of Sir Arthur Kennedy, that the prosperity of the Samo and Moriah country is "injuriously affected by the domination of the French;" yet he does not hesitate to advocate the infliction of such "injurious domination" on the Gambia settlements.

SIR A. K.

I believe that the transfer would be far from popular with the French residents, who greatly prefer carrying on business under British rather than French rule.

## REPLY.

Is not this an additional proof that "French domination" is "injurious to commerce," when French merchants prefer to remain under English rule? Why, then, force English, French, and native-born subjects, against their will, to accept it? It is a significant fact that not one English mercantile firm is to be found established in the French settlements of Senegal or Goree.

SIR A. K.

At present all the advantages derived from the settlement are enjoyed by the French, while the responsibility of its maintenance devolves upon Great Britain, the French trade contributing little or nothing towards its expenditure or protection; and the French houses settled there fully appreciate this (to them desirable) state of things.

## REPLY.

Can any sensible person suppose that English merchants would for a long series of years continue a trade that was not advantageous to them? We leave Sir A. Kennedy to explain the contradiction apparent in his arguments when he says that the French trade contributes little or nothing towards the expenditure or protection of the settlements. For our parts, we are totally at a loss to understand either his statement or the language in which he attempts to convey it.

SIR A. K.

Any opposition which would probably be offered would be the noise made by a few persons locally interested to enhance the value of their property.

## REPLY.

The remonstrances of the merchants, the protest of the King of Combo, and the petition from the native population of Bathurst, in reporting upon which the late Administrator, Major Bravo, in writing to Earl Granville, said, "I feel bound to inform your lordship I am of opinion that whatever intelligence, respectability, property, or feeling there may be in natives of these settlements, it is almost unanimously represented by the petitioners," fully negatives Sir Arthur Kennedy's assertion.

SIR A. K.

The rivers Gambia and Senegal run nearly parallel to each other; the former navigable for 300 miles, and nearly uniting at their sources, would give the French a valuable and cheap means of controlling the territory lying between them, which is valueless to us.

## REPLY.

Sir Arthur Kennedy's geographical knowledge appears to be greater than that of the Geographical Society in London, as the sources of the Gambia have never yet been visited, but are supposed to exist among a range of lofty mountains.

SIR A. K.

The inhabitants of Bathurst are a mixed body, unwarlike, and, as has been proved by the military protection we have been often compelled to

afford them, quite incapable of defending themselves against their warlike and fanatical Mahomedan neighbours, who are steadily increasing in numbers and influence, and who can only be kept in check by military control.

REPLY.

The island of St. Mary's has never been attacked, but on all occasions when British interests have been menaced the inhabitants have readily enrolled themselves in the militia, and in volunteer corps have co-operated with the regular troops, rendering such effective assistance as to earn the thanks of the officers in command and the governors for the time being. We may state the fact that M'Carthy's island has now been five years without regular troops, and although the tribes surrounding it are the most warlike and fanatic in the river, the small militia force there (only occasionally called out) has been sufficient to deter them from attacking the island. But it must be borne in mind that Colonel G. D'Arcy, our Administrator, and Governor-in-Chief Major Blackall, did not denude the island of all arms and ammunition, as Sir Arthur Kennedy has done with Bathurst.

SIR A. K.

Sir Arthur Kennedy to Earl Granville, in his letter of 29th July, 1870, No. 61, writes :—

“I am informed, on authority which I consider reliable, that the King of Combo, so far from being opposed to the contemplated transfer, will be glad to see the settlement transferred to the French;” and Sir Arthur Kennedy instructs Colonel Anton, the Acting Administrator in the Gambia, to ascertain the feelings of the King of Combo, whereupon the Acting Administrator sends Mr. Smith, the manager of British Combo, to see the King of Combo.

REPLY.

By the report of Mr. Smith, the manager of Combo, given at page 105 of the printed papers, the King of Combo's reply does not justify Sir Arthur Kennedy's report that the King would be glad to see the settlement transferred to the French; and in April last, when disturbances were anticipated from his kingdom, Mr. Fowler's threat of handing them over to the French had the effect of quieting them. Is this any evidence of their desire for this settlement to be occupied by the French? We are aware, from *personal* knowledge of the King and his subjects generally, that they are utterly and unanimously opposed to the transfer; and this assertion of ours can be easily verified.

SIR A. K.

A single gun-boat can protect Bathurst, if it be worth protecting; and if the settlement be retained under British rule, I think the inhabitants should be distinctly informed that Her Majesty's Government cannot be responsible for defensive aid beyond those limits.

REPLY.

We quite agree with this, which shows that a *very small protective force only is necessary*; and we quote from Admiral Patey's report, dated 4th August, 1869 (Blue Book, page 16), where he writes :—

"I conscientiously believe that a small steamer, costing about £3,000, with a couple of guns, would be more effective, and produce a greater impression amongst the natives up the river, where the vessel could penetrate, than the mere display of troops at Bathurst, who cannot be seen by those who require the most effect to be made on them."

SIR A. K.

In paragraph 6 he writes:—

"I believed that they would be wholly defenceless against native aggression when Great Britain renounced all further responsibility on behalf of the settlement, and hence they would be placed under the protection of France, who was able and willing to *defend* and *forward civilisation* amongst them."

REPLY.

Sir Arthur Kennedy did all he could to make us so, leaving the Colony without a field-piece, a rocket-tube, a rifle, or a cutlass, and also without ammunition.

Sir Arthur Kennedy, in his letter to Earl Granville, No. 4, 23rd September, 1869, page 3, gives as one of the reasons of the transfer the *hopelessness of extending civilisation*.

SIR A. K.

In Despatch No. 1, dated 29th April, 1869, at page 1 of the printed papers, he writes:—

"I have before stated that the possession of Gambia and Bulama is greatly desired by Mr. Braouezec, who represents France on this coast; and I feel sure that the cession of either of these would prove more than an equivalent, from a French point of view, for their abandonment of the right of sovereignty claimed by them over the Moriah and Samo country.

"This arrangement would tend to consolidate the territory belonging to, or under the protection of, both nations. Moreover, the French mode of colonisation on this coast would be better suited to the natives surrounding Bulama, and bordering on the River Gambia, than the mild sway of Great Britain."

N.B.—Bulama was afterwards given up to Portugal on the decision of the President of the United States, who was requested by the British and Portuguese Government to act as arbitrator.

REPLY.

Surely Mr. Braouezec's desire is no reason for making the transfer.

The Rivers Mallecoree and Fourecaria, or, as Sir Arthur Kennedy designates them, the Moriah and Samo country, are *not* French, but native rivers, where, under treaties with the native chiefs, French and English subjects have factories or trading stations; and to get the French Government to withdraw from these native rivers, the Gambia is to be transferred to the French. There is no mutual exchange of territory, or, as the French journal *La Gironde* of the 2nd of April, 1871, expresses it—

"Lord Granville, L'a cédé à la France, sans aucun équivalent pécuniaire, quoiqu, une evaluation récente eût porté à un demi-million sterling

la valeur *des possessions Anglaises*. La cession faite par les Français de leurs droits acquis au sud de la Gambie paraît, aux yeux des rédacteurs du *Globe* et de quelques autres feuilles, une chose insignifiante. Tel est l'état des choses, et il n'est pas sans importance pour les négociants Français en rapports assez actifs d'affaires avec la côte d'Afrique d'être renseignés à cet égard."

As we have shown by reference to official documents that Sir Arthur Kennedy's statements are so at variance with facts, we think further comment unnecessary.

Is it on such evidence as this that a British settlement is to be transferred to a foreign power against the wishes of the whole community?

THOMAS BROWN & Co.

THOMAS C. CHOWN.

THOMAS F. JOHNSTON QUIN.

THOMAS F. QUIN.

## SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant on the 18th January, 1876, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Honorary Secretary, having read the minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, Lieut.-Gen. BISSET, C.B., read the following paper :—

## SOUTH AFRICA AND HER COLONIES.

YOUR GRACE, Members of the Institute, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Having been invited to give an address on the subject of South Africa and her Colonies, I have not hesitated from doing so, although I am quite sure there are many in this room more competent than myself. I will, however, endeavour to give a short account of the country with which I have been so long associated.

I purpose dividing the subject under consideration into three epochs, viz. the past, the present, and the future ; and I shall propose to give a brief account of each of the four Colonies—the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Republic.

I will not refer to the first discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1486, for that is a matter of history, as is also that the Colony was first founded by the Dutch in 1652—a small settlement extending gradually, until the frontier reached the great Fish River.

In 1796 the Cape was taken by England, given back to the Dutch in 1803, and retaken in 1806, since which time it has been a dependency of the British Crown. The area of the Colony is about 350,000 square miles, divided into thirty-three electoral districts, with a population of about 600,000, which gives a proportion of about two individuals to the square mile. The inhabitants may be roughly divided as follows : Europeans, 185,000 ; Hottentots, 80,000 ; Kaffirs, 110,000 ; other coloured races, 137,000. In British Kaffraria, a province lately incorporated into the Colony, there are about 8,000 Europeans and 80,000 Kaffirs.

The first British settlers proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope in 1820, and from that date the country has advanced to its present great prosperity. These early settlers had great privations to endure, but that indomitable pluck and perseverance which always accompany an Englishman prevailed, and they are now reaping their reward.

In fifteen years the settlers had increased their flocks and herds, and were living in comparative prosperity, when, in 1835, a Kaffir war broke out, which devastated the whole of the frontier districts.

Sir B. D'Urban was at the time Governor of the Colony, a far-seeing and humane statesman. The Kaffirs were punished, and in a measure conquered, for they had not up to that time become possessed of fire-arms, or aware of their own power. Their country was taken possession of up to the Kie River, under the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide, and held by military occupation; had this been continued, the Kaffirs would have been civilised years ago.

Unfortunately, this policy was not approved by the Home Government, and the country was given back to the Kaffirs, the Governor recalled, and a Lieutenant-Governor sent out, with power to make treaties. Not only was the Province of Queen Adelaide abandoned, but a tract of country between the Fish and Keiskama Rivers, heretofore kept neutral, was also relinquished to the Kaffirs.

These concessions were taken as weakness on our part, and were the cause of the two great Kaffir wars which followed. I cannot here help relating that one of the military posts abandoned in the neutral territory above alluded to, which had cost £60,000, fell to the possession of the Kaffir chief, Maccomo, who immediately sold it "as it stood" to a trader for two cows, valued at the outside £5.

The Lieutenant-Governor, acting under the influence of the "Philipine party" then dominant in England, made "treaties" with the Kaffirs most unjust towards the frontier farmers. The Kaffirs are the greatest cattle robbers in the world, and these treaties held out a premium for them to steal: for instance, a farmer was not allowed to claim compensation for losses of cattle unless he could prove that an *armed herd* was with them at the time they were stolen; and if he saw his own cattle in Kaffirland, with his own "brand mark" on them, he could not recover them unless he proved that he traced the "spoor" from his farm, and handed it (the spoor) over to the authorities on the border of Kaffirland.

These and similar conditions were most unjust to the Colonists, and were among the causes which led to the emigration of the Dutch into the interior of Africa. Another cause of discontent was the liberation of their slaves—not so much from the act itself, but from the injudicious manner in which it was done. The slaves were valued by English Commissioners far below their real value; they were paid for by drafts payable in England, and there was then little or no circulating medium in the Colony; the consequence was that the Dutch had to part with their drafts for one-tenth of their value.

This portion of the Cape inhabitants became so dissatisfied with the English Government about this period (1836-7) that they

formed into bands, and passed over the Colonial frontier to the North, became the pioneers of the vast continent of South Africa, and the names of the leaders of these bands will ever be memorable in the annals of that portion of the world—viz. Pieter Retief, Gert Mauritz, Peit Uys, Potgieter, Pretorius, Erasmus, &c.

The history of these people after leaving the Colony, their wanderings in the wilderness with their flocks and herds, their primitive habits and customs, and their battles with the natives, would record facts more thrilling than many a romance.

After the war of 1835, the Colonists again prospered until another Kaffir war broke out, in 1846-7, when the frontier districts were a second time reduced to poverty and desolation. During this war, Kaffirland, up to the Kie River, had to be re-taken possession of, and, after peace was proclaimed, held by a military force. A third war broke out in 1850, which lasted for three years, and cost this country over £3,000,000 of money. These wars were most ruinous to the country, and nothing but the perseverance of the Anglo-Saxon race could have overcome such disasters.

Since the war of 1850-1853 there has been no collision with the natives of the Cape Colony, and it is to be hoped that such a *general* understanding will be come to in South Africa, on native policy, as will make them matters of the past.

Before proceeding to the present prosperous state of the country, it might be well for me to give a short sketch of the Kaffirs themselves, although little is yet known of their early history or origin beyond mere tradition.

The Kaffir tribes, under the name of Amaxosas, inhabited the country between the great Fish River and the Umtata River, where they join the Abatembee, or Tambookee tribes; these again join the Amapondas, who extend eastward along the coast until they amalgamate with the Zulus in Natal. From 60 to 100 miles inland from the sea there is a range of mountains, running east and west, which divides these several tribes from the races of the interior.

The numbers of the coast tribes inhabiting the country between the Cape Colony and Natal may be put down something as follows:—

The Amaxosas, or Kaffirs	about	.....	250,000
The Tambookees, or Abetembu	„	.....	100,000
Minor Independent Tribes	„	.....	50,000
The Amapondas, or Faku's People	„	.....	125,000

Making a total of near..... 525,000

As I said before, the origin of these races is yet a matter of con-

jecture ; the Amapondas and Tambookees were no doubt the Aborigines of Natal before Chaka drove them out of that country. But

" OR KAFFIR

		Gwali	
		Titi	
		Kobela	
e, Ngeweleshe, Sonlo	AMAGWALI.	Mate	

the country, the mineral wealth is something enormous, and in the future of South Africa will be quite beyond conception.

I need not tell many of those present that the first diamond was discovered in South Africa in March, 1867, and up to the present time over £12,000,000 worth have been found at the Diamond

formed into bands, and passed over the Colonial frontier to the North became the pioneers of the vast continent of South Africa,

Minor Independent Tribes	,,	.....	50,000
The Amapondas, or Faku's People	,,	.....	125,000
			<hr/>
Making a total of near.....			525,000

As I said before, the origin of these races is yet a matter of con-

jecture ; the Amapondas and Tambookees were no doubt the Aborigines of Natal before Chaka drove them out of that country. But the Kaffirs claim a separate history, and by their traditions are said to have sprung from a chief named Xosa, from whom they take their name ; their descent is thus carried back for twelve generations—viz. Xosa, Tshawe, Newangu, Sikomo, Togu, and Gconde—from whom again sprang the present divided tribes, according to the accompanying genealogical table.

This “tree” brings the Kaffir nation down to the present day ; but some of the old chiefs have died since I left the Cape in 1867, and have been succeeded by their sons. It will, I fear, with all I have before me, take up too much time to go into the laws and customs of these people ; suffice it to say that many of them are curious and interesting, and throughout bear a Jewish or Hebrew type. I have, since leaving South, visited *North Africa*, and observed many habits and customs amongst the Moorish tribes similar to those of the Kaffirs. You are aware that all these tribes still carry out the primitive custom of polygamy ; that they have their great wife, and their right-hand and left-hand wives and children, each of these having certain tribal rights (some of them of recent introduction), which tend more and more to break up the magnitude of the tribes into petty chieftainships, and thus lessen their power for combination. Did time admit, I would enter more into this subject ; as it is, I must pass to the present of the Cape Colony.

Ladies and gentlemen, when I tell you that the revenue of the Cape in 1836 was only £180,000, that in 1873 it had risen to £1,280,000, and will this year exceed £2,000,000, I am sure I need not add how prosperous that Colony is at the present moment. The exports were, in 1856, £1,300,000 ; in 1873, £4,000,000 ; in 1874, £4,500,000 ; and will this year exceed £5,000,000.

The chief article of export is wool, merino sheep having been first introduced into the country about the year 1836 ; of this article 43,000,000 lbs. weight were exported in 1874, valued at £3,000,000, over 33,000,000 lbs. of it having been shipped from the Eastern Provinces—the homes of the British settlers of 1820—and 1,500,000 lbs. from the new Province of British Kaffraria. Next to wool, which will always remain the chief staple commodity of the country, the mineral wealth is something enormous, and in the future of South Africa will be quite beyond conception.

I need not tell many of those present that the first diamond was discovered in South Africa in March, 1867, and up to the present time over £12,000,000 worth have been found at the Diamond

Fields, which is at the rate of £2,000,000 a year—over £150,000 a month; but, to bring it nearer home, say £5,000 worth a day. This, as you will perceive, is alone a great source of wealth to a country; and by accounts received by recent mails it appears that large diamonds of great value have lately been found; and in addition to the known sources of mineral wealth it is now reported that a silver mine has also been discovered.

South Africa has also “black diamonds” as well as white and yellow ones—I do not mean the Kaffirs and the Hottentots, I mean coal. In Natal vast coal fields exist, extending over an area of above 300 square miles, and, strange to say, they were discovered in the county of “Newcastle,” bringing forcibly to mind the old English saying.

While Lieutenant-Governor of that Colony I visited these black diamond fields, and saw seams quite twelve feet thick, with only a few feet of soil above this strata of coal; at other places layers of it run horizontally into mountains, so that there would be no necessity to go down into the bowels of the earth, as in England, to the great risk of human life; but it would be brought along its own plane, and run down into trucks on to the railway.

The railway now being constructed at Natal—from Durban to Pietermaritzberg—must, and will eventually, be continued on to this deposit of wealth, and it will mingle with, and impel the trains on the same line with grain of every description, for which the country is so highly adapted; with wool, and with all other varieties of produce—to say nothing of the vast productions from the Transvaal and the interior of Africa.

I have so far only alluded to the two most valuable minerals, viz. that of “black” and “white” diamonds, but the whole continent of South Africa is a mine of future wealth, for I am aware that metals of every description are there in abundance. Many of the hills are composed of “iron,” another great material of the future: the hills around Grahamstown, the capital of the Eastern Province, abound in it, and only require access to coal and capital to convert it into iron roads, and articles of agriculture and commerce now imported from other countries. This valuable ore exists in all the Colonies and States in South Africa.

Copper also extensively exists, and the Namaqualand Mines are said to be the richest and most paying in the world; the supply, I believe, unlimited. I need only say that the original price of the Cape Copper Mining Company was £5 per share, and they are now £38 10s. This metal crops up in many other parts

of the country, and only requires the development of coal to be worked to advantage. The great mountain ranges extending from Cape Town to the Eastern Provinces, and from thence to Natal, contain this and other valuable metals, while quantities of lead ore of a very pure description (containing a large percentage of silver) is found in the Trans Vaal Republic, and I am not therefore surprised that a silver mine has been discovered. Iron, coal, copper, plumbago, and, "last but not least," gold is known to be there in abundance, and I have no doubt but that all these metals will be *further* discovered in the Cape and Natal Colonies.

Before concluding this part of my subject I must allude to one other deposit, which will in the future enable the princes of Africa (as it has done the princes of England and other countries) to build their marble palaces. I do not mean our noble royal princes only, but the princes of wealth, of civilisation, of Christianity, and of progress. I must tell you that in 1866, while in company with Mr. Shepstone and Dr. Sutherland, we came upon a deposit of marble in Natal, extending over an area of thirty square miles, many hundred feet thick, and within four miles of the Umzinkulu mouth, which will one day become a most important port in that part of the world.

To return to the Cape Colony: I need scarcely tell you that the geographical position of Green Point is in latitude  $34^{\circ} 21'$ , and longitude  $18^{\circ} 29'$ , the mean temperature is  $61^{\circ} 26'$  Fahr. in the shade, and the annual rainfall about 25 inches; but the latter varies greatly in different parts of the Colony, the greater portion falling in the Cape districts during the winter months, while the reverse is the case in the Eastern Province.

During 1874, 1,171 English, and 249 foreign ships were entered at the several ports in the Cape Colony, with a tonnage of 615,000, and 77,000; making a total of 1,458 ships, with a tonnage of 700,000, and employing 30,000 sailors. The number of ships proceeding from the Colony would naturally be about the same.

Many of these ships are steamers. The Union Steamship Company, and Messrs. Donald, Currie, & Co., now run five ships monthly to and from the Cape and from the Cape coastways to Natal; their combined tonnage in 1872 was about 20,000; in 1875 it increased to over 40,000, with an average passage of twenty-five days, as against from thirty-two to thirty-three days in 1872.

The Union Company has been subsidised by Government for the conveyance of mails since 1857. Under the new contract (1876)

the mail service will be performed alternately by the above two companies running weekly, and very superior ships are being constructed.

The chief articles of produce taken from the Colony by these ships were (1874) :—

1. Wool	...	...	42,620,481 lbs. valued at	£2,948,571
2. Ostrich Feathers	...	36,829	„ „	205,640
3. Goat Skins	...	1,478,761	„ „	194,323
4. Sheep do.	...	1,462,367	„ „	144,538
5. Angora hair	...	1,036,570	„ „	107,139
6. Copper Ore	...	13,646 tons	„	321,434

These are the chief items, but the declared value of the total export of produce for the year 1874 amounted to £4,138,838 sterling. During the year just come to a close (1875), the ratio of progress has been still greater, as is manifested by an increase of over £400,000 to the revenue.

Thus the present epoch of the Cape of Good Hope must be considered most prosperous ; but I look forward to the future with still more hope. The inauguration of a system of railways throughout the country will add greatly to its prosperity. The want of transport and white population has heretofore been a great drawback : the one will be overcome by the carriage by “rail,” and the expenditure in the construction of the railway will draw the other. Some idea may be formed of the amount paid for carriage of inland transport when I tell you that in one year (1872) over £600,000 was paid for waggon hire between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown alone, a distance under 100 miles.

You are, no doubt, aware that £5,000,000 of money is about to be spent in the construction of railways in the Cape Colony, while £1,000,000 is also about to be expended in the same manner in the sister Colony of Natal.

Gentlemen, with all the virtues of the Dutch colonists, they are nevertheless a non-progressive people, and it has been the Dutch interest (and that of some influential Englishmen who have intermarried with them) which has so long resisted the advance of railway communication. And they themselves will derive the greatest benefit from it, for this reason : heretofore, the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance has prevailed in the Cape Colony, and the large estates of the old Dutch farmers have been so subdivided within the last two or three generations that their offspring have become very small holders of land ; and where once the old possessors lived in

affluence and riches, on the produce of their flocks and herds, the present generation can scarcely exist for want of room, and their persistence in following the pastoral pursuits of their ancestors; the cultivation of the soil for export purposes being heretofore out of the question for want of railway conveyance.

A railway will revolutionise all this as the iron road passes through the fertile districts of the Colony, every one of which is capable, more or less, of being brought under agricultural process. These small farmers will reap the benefit, and the large holders of land will be able to subdivide and sub-let their estates, and become (as in England) the landed gentry of the country, with their tenant farmers and tenants, the latter the yeomanry of the Colony.

The whole of the Cape Colony is capable of maintaining at least ten persons to the square mile, whereas now, in many parts, one farmer possesses nine square miles to himself. All the land in the Western Provinces is particularly adapted to the cultivation of wheat, and other kinds of grain. Large tracts in the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Piquet Berg, Clanwilliam, Worcester, Caledon, Swellendam, and Riversdale, and part of George, are particularly so suited, the soil consisting of loam and clay mixed with decomposed granite and gravel; while Victoria West, Beaufort, and Oudtshorn are still more fertile, but the soil of a drier nature and therefore requiring irrigation, which capital and reservoirs will in time produce. In the remainder of George, and thence on to Uitenhage, the soil is of a most prolific nature, and includes a belt of forest lands from the Knysna to the Zietzakama, capable of maintaining a very large population; it is well watered, and the soil most productive. This tract of land is bounded on the south by the sea, and to the north by a range of mountains running east and west varying from twenty-five to fifty miles from the sea. This locality is wonderfully suited for European emigrants. North of this range are the splendid valleys of the Long-Kloof, capable of producing anything in the world. They were formerly large stock farms, but are now so subdivided, that for the want of roads, and the means of transport, the sons of the old rich Dutch proprietors are very poor.

Uitenhage, the first of the Eastern Province Districts, is of a mixed nature; a portion of the soil is fertile, but much of it is of a dry nature and poor. The village of Uitenhage will, notwithstanding, one day become a flourishing town, when the railway is opened from Port Elizabeth. Port Elizabeth itself is the great

sea-port of the Eastern Provinces, and is a town of very great commercial importance, as may be judged by its exports, amounting in value during 1874 to the sum of £2,863,975, while the custom dues yield £360,000 a year towards the Colonial revenue.

Albany is one of the richest counties in the Eastern Province; it formed the original locations of the British settlers of 1820, and from the energy of these men sprang the present prosperity of the Colony. Lower Albany, the land of my youth, is still to me a "fairly land;" it embraces hill and dale, park and pasture lands, and is withal fertile to a degree. This "district" embraces the second Port of the Eastern Province, named after H.R.H. Prince Alfred. Extensive marine works are still being carried on there. The exports are considerable, and the Custom duties amount to £50,000 per annum. Victoria East adjoins it, and is of the same nature of country.

The districts north of Grahamstown (the capital of the Eastern Province), viz. Fort Beaufort, Somerset, Cradock, Graaf Riet, Richmond, Colesburg, Albert, and Aliwal North, are more pastoral counties, although capable of great agricultural resources, and with the aid of water would be the most productive in the world.

I have now only to include Queenstown, lying north of British Kaffraria, one of the richest provinces in the Colony for all purposes, and British Kaffraria itself, to complete my little history of the Cape Colony. The latter province is also one of the most productive in South Africa, and has a great future before it; a railway is now being constructed through its capital (King William's Town) to Queenstown, in direct communication with the interior of the country, and it has its own little sea-port of East London.

The only drawback to this province is the great disproportion of white to black population, which may any day become a source of danger, unless a very judicious policy be maintained in regard to the natives. The country east of Kaffraria, which extends between that province and Natal, is of the same fine nature of soil, is entirely inhabited by native tribes, but becoming more and more fertile as you proceed eastward.

This terminates my account of the Cape Colony, and I shall in the next place proceed with some account of Natal.

#### NATAL.

The Colony of Natal was thus named from the auspicious day on which it was discovered by the Portuguese in 1497. The Dutch Government visited the country in the seventeenth century, claimed it as a sort of dependency of the Cape Colony, and in that

way it became ceded, with the Cape of Good Hope, to the English Government in 1806.

In 1823 two English officers, named Farewell and King, visited the country with a view to open up trade with the then powerful and despotic chief of the Zulus, named Chaka. Very little intercourse, however, took place.

In 1828 Chaka was assassinated, and was succeeded by his brother Dingaan, who ruled the country with great power, until the arrival of a portion of the Dutch emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony at the latter end of 1837, the remaining portion of these farmers continuing their wanderings to the north into what is now the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic.

Dingaen received the Dutch with apparent friendliness, and on February 4th, 1838, made a cession to the "Boers" of the country extending from the Umzimvubu River to the Tugela River, almost identical with the present limits of Natal. The Dutch were located in camps or "laagers," in different parts of the country between the Dragonsberg and the sea.

Soon after signing this cession to the Dutch, and professing great friendship towards the "white man," Dingaan invited a large number of them to visit him at his "great place." Pieter Retief and about seventy emigrants complied with this *apparently* friendly invitation. I must tell you that these "great places" are peculiar constructions—a sort of village of huts, surrounded with a double fence or stockade of interwoven bush. On the third day of the conference (4th February, 1838) when the Dutch had entered this "trap," they were invited to lay aside their arms and join in friendly intercourse, when, on a given signal, the Zulus rose upon them, and murdered them almost to a man. One or two only escaped to carry the evil tidings to the wives and families of the slaughtered fathers and sons. Pieter Retief and many leaders of the Dutch fell on this occasion.

This treachery had been so preconcerted that, simultaneously with the onslaught at the "great place," thousands of the Zulu warriors fell upon the almost defenceless camps, and in one day no less than 600 men, women, and children were butchered by the enemy. A terrible state of war continued until the following December, by which time the Dutch had been augmented by their relations from the north of the Dragonsberg, when Dingaan was attacked and defeated.

Dingaen was thereupon deposed, and Panda, a younger brother more favourable to the white man, was installed chief of the Zulu nation north of the Tugela River, Natal remaining in possession

of the Dutch. Panda remained king of the Zulus until he died at the end of 1872; and in 1873 his son Cetywayo was formally installed by Mr. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs at Natal, as his successor.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Dingaan, strife with the other tribes in Natal did not cease; and in November, 1838, the English Government sent the first British force there from the Cape. It consisted of Major Charters, R.A., Commanding; Lieut. Levinge, R.A., Lieut. Fuller, R.E., Captain Jervis, Lieut. Sherson, Lieut. Harding, Assistant-Surgeon Malcolm, and 100 rank and file 72nd Highlanders, twenty gunners R.A., and Deputy-Assist.-Com.-Gen. Home. This little force arrived by sea in the barque *Helen*, landed at the "Point," and took possession of a "rayon" of two miles round the present port of Durban. Four Englishmen were found to be residing at Natal at this time—viz. Dunn, Tohey, Ogle, and King; also one American missionary, who was devoting his life to propagate Christianity.

This British force was sent to Natal, not so much to help the Dutch, as to prevent the further effusion of blood; and as the magazines of powder belonging to the Dutch were at the "Point," and taken possession of by the English, they had no alternative but to make peace with the natives.

The Dutch held possession of Natal at this time (1838-9) by six rudely-fortified positions, viz. one on the Tugela Spruit, composed of a turf rampart, commanded by Pretorius (late President of the Transvaal Republic); one on the present site of Pietermauritzberg, a stockaded camp commanded by Rudolph; one called the Upper Umlas Laager, with abbattis of bush, commanded by De Lange; one the Lower Umlas Laager, a stockaded camp, commanded by Landman; one, the present site of D'Urban, stockaded camp, commanded by Kemp; and one other, called the Umgene Laager.

There were other camps in different parts of the country, formed by the waggons in which these migratory people travel about, interwattled with bush. It was at some of these camps that the great slaughter of the Dutch families by the Zulus took place, and the bravery displayed by some of the women would rival the courage of the Middle Ages.

Peace having been established between the Dutch and the native tribes in Natal, the British troops were withdrawn to the Cape towards the end of 1839, the Dutch retaining possession of the country, and hoisting the tricolor flag. There was very little intercourse with the Cape Colony, as it took a month to perform the journey with a waggon, or a fortnight on horseback.

The Dutch remained in possession of Natal from 1839 until 1842. In the latter year they threatened to attack the Amaponda nation, residing on the Umzimvubu, or St. John's River. These tribes had always been in alliance with the Cape Government, and they numbered about 120,000 souls. The Governor of the Cape Colony (Sir George Napier) thereupon sent a military force overland to protect "Faku's people," and then to march on and retake Natal. I had the honour to accompany that expedition; but time does not admit of my giving a detailed account of the march through a wild and unknown country, &c. &c. Suffice it to say, that the troops reached Natal, and after some fighting with the Dutch, and the brave defence made by Major, now Lieut.-General, T. C. Smith, and his little handful of men, who were "shut up" and besieged by the Boers (having to live on horse-flesh), until they were reinforced by troops from Capetown (by sea) under the command of, now, General Sir J. Cloete, negotiations were entered into, and peace was made.

In 1845 Natal was proclaimed a portion of the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1856 it became a separate Colony. The area of Natal is about 15,000 square miles, or 10,000,000 acres. It is divided into nine counties or districts, and may be called the gem of South Africa. Port D'Urban is situated in latitude  $29^{\circ} 53'$ , longitude  $31^{\circ} 4'$ , while latitude  $30^{\circ}$  south and longitude  $30^{\circ}$  east crosses exactly in the centre division of the Colony. It is more fertile and tropical than the Cape Colony, and the rains are more regular and abundant, the average fall being about thirty inches. The rain falls during spring and summer. The weather in winter is clear and dry.

The soil of Natal is very productive, and suited for almost every description of produce. The coast lands yield sugar, coffee, arrow-root, rice, tea, cotton, tobacco, &c. &c.; whilst the Colony generally produces wheat, maize, millet, sweet potatoes, and all kinds of cereals, &c. &c., and as a pastoral country is suited for horses, cattle, sheep, goats, &c. &c.

Taking the year 1874, which was not considered a favourable one, the English farmers raised over 100,000 muids of maize (Indian corn), over 10,000 tons of sugar, 1,200,000 lbs. of coffee, and 70,000 lbs. of tobacco; whilst the natives produced 366,557 muids of maize, 140,000 of millet, 41,000 of sweet potatoes, 1,800 cwt. of coffee, and 527 tons of sugar—the natives cultivating in all 141,000 acres of land. The average yield of sugar, taking the whole country, is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons per acre.

The "stock" in the Colony in 1874 was somewhat as follows:

In possession of Europeans—14,000 horses, 126,000 cattle, 250,000 sheep, 32,000 Angora goats, 25,000 common goats; while the natives possessed 10,000 horses, 376,000 cattle (about one to each soul), 50,000 sheep, 173,000 goats, and 3,000 pigs—the latter, in my idea, showing a great sign of progress.

The shipping entered for Natal during that year was 173 vessels with a tonnage of 64,156 tons, 130 of the ships being English. The value of exports for the year was £770,000, the chief articles being—

136,655 cwt. of Sugar, valued at	£159,078
7,888,994 lbs. of Wool	„ 338,935
202,802 Hides .....	„ 86,028
133,690 Sheep Skin ...	„ 28,596
249,368 Game Skins!...	„ 54,387
Gold Dust and Bars ...	„ 24,710
Gold Quartz .....	„ 380
Ivory .....	„ 9,036
Cotton, 40,960 lbs.....	„ 1,167

I merely mention these articles to show you that they are becoming material articles of export; while there are others equally so, although yet not so productive.

With regard to the pasture lands, as you see by the stock, it is suited for every description of useful animals, the uplands being best suited for wool sheep and other small stock; and I have myself no doubt that a belt of country, between the coast and up-country, will yet be a great cotton-producing tract. On the coast the vegetation is so great that cotton produces “bolls” all the year round, and is therefore not a paying crop, owing to the continued labour of picking.

The Colony of Natal is capable of carrying a very large European population. The soil is very prolific, and it only requires railroads and means of transport to make it one of the most productive export countries in the world.

There is but one drawback to the country, and that is the great preponderance of native population over the white or Europeans. These numbers are as follows: White inhabitants, 18,000; natives, 350,000; while between Natal and the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay there are over 400,000 more natives, and to the south-west, between Natal and the Cape Colony, there are about 250,000 natives. This, gentlemen, is a most serious consideration in the future of Natal, and of South Africa itself.

Up to the present time there has been no war between the

natives in and about Natal and the English, with the exception of the unfortunate collision with the chief Langalibalele, peace having chiefly been maintained through the great influence of Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs. The Zulus in Natal have heretofore looked upon the white man as their protector against their former despotic chief Panda, beyond the Tugela River, but they are now nearly as numerous, and certainly, if united, as powerful as those whom they were formerly afraid of; and if universal pressure or coercive measures are suddenly brought to bear on them, the Zulu people within Natal will unite together, and there will be a war with the Colonists.

Nothing but the most prudent legislation towards the natives in Natal, until both civilisation and progress do their work, can prevent a war in that country. Railroads, European emigration, civilisation, and progress may prevent it. In the meantime, the Government must be firm, but most just, towards them.

The great mass of this vast population have really no claim on the lands of Natal, for they are mostly refugees from Zululand proper; but they have been allowed to come into the Colony, and encroach upon the locations originally allotted to the tribes in the country, until they are now so crowded that they have become discontented.

The native tenure of land in Natal is, I consider, on a wrong principle. It is given out in territorial locations, and the chief's followers do not thereby acquire individual rights. An alteration in this respect should be introduced, granting individual titles to each man or head of a family, which would induce them to improve the land, thus become loyal subjects, and attached to their own homesteads, and so be weaned from the chiefs to the paramount Government. So far as the past is concerned, this should be done with the consent of the chief; but I would enlarge the locations, while there is still Government land available, giving out the new lands on these conditions only, and to natives who are willing to give up polygamy and other objectionable native customs; but this is too long and important a subject to enter into in an address like this.

While on the native subject, however, I propose to give you a brief account of the origin of the Zulu nation, as it may be interesting to many in this country, if not in the room. I am indebted for much of the information I am about to relate to my old friend and companion, the Hon. T. Shepstone.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the present territory of Natal was populated by nearly 1,000,000 natives belonging to different tribes, who lived at peace with each other in a primitive,

rural, and happy condition. This state of things continued until about the year 1812, when the first great disturbance took place, caused, as in the days of Adam, by the first fruit of "knowledge." Up to this time the tribes between St. John's River and the Tugela had lived at peace; plenty abounded, flocks and herds were numerous, and as the soil is productive, corn and grain "filled the land."

Little quarrels between tribes would and did take place, but it was then the custom for the "men" to meet and fight it out in "one day," and not let the sun go down upon their wrath. After the fight young warriors would hand their weapons to those returning home, and they would themselves proceed with the conquerors or vanquished to court and win their lady-loves.

The country was thickly populated, mostly under petty but independent chiefs, there was little or no rivalry, and when these minor disputes did take place, the women would look on and witness the result, mingling together on the termination of the quarrel.

In 1812 these peaceful tribes first tasted the fruit of the "tree of knowledge," the seed of which fruit came from the white man and the Cape Colony, inaugurating what I shall call the second, or turbulent, phase of the Natal native history.

North of the Tugela River there resided about this time a very powerful tribe called the Umtetwas, under a chief named Iobe. All minor tribes living in his neighbourhood were tributary to him, and amongst these petty tribes were the now powerful Zulus.

Iobe had two "great sons," who were ambitious, and wishing to usurp their father's kingdom, formed a plot to kill their sire. The conspiracy becoming known, the chief ordered their execution, and sent a party to carry the mandate into effect. Tana, the eldest son, was killed; but Godongwana, the second son, escaped by jumping over a very high palisade which surrounded the kraal, and over which none of the warriors could follow him. While jumping, however, a barbed assaigai was hurled at him, and entered his back, but he escaped under cover of the night, and was found the next day by his sister, who extracted the spear, secreted and tended him, and when able to move assisted him to escape disguised in her own robe or garment.

He fled to neighbouring tribes, but these not only feared to protect, but endeavoured to kill him; and it is said his escapes were miraculous, owing to the virtues of his sister's "kaross." This young prince was thus driven from "pillar to post," and eventually fled into the Cape Colony, where he entered into service.

The old chief, his father, forgave his absent son before he died, and nominated Godongwana as his successor ; but the tribe, believing him to be dead, raised a younger brother to the chieftainship. Things thus went on for many years, when in 1812 rumours reached the Umtetwa tribe that Godongwana was alive, and returning to claim his kingdom. He was described as a "mighty man and beast," or as a man sitting upon an animal called "Injomane," known afterwards as a horse ; for up to that time no horse had been seen by the natives of Natal.

This semi-civilised chief soon arrived, deposed his younger brother, who was killed, and was himself proclaimed King of the Amatetwa tribes ; for the nation declared that his "wound was his witness," and his name was from thenceforward changed to Dingiswayo, or the "Wanderer."

While in the Cape Colony he saw regiments of regular soldiers for the first time, learned the value of discipline and trained armies as compared with the rude warfare of his own people, and at once, therefore, organised his own warriors into trained bands of regiments and companies, and very soon established a formidable army : with these he waged war, and conquered all the minor undisciplined tribes.

He was not, as is usual with savages, a bloodthirsty chief, for he spared both women and children, nor did he capture the cattle of the vanquished or destroy their corn, but merely subjugated them to his own rule, making them his vassals.

His more powerful neighbours, however, began to inaugurate the same military system, and Dingiswayo afterwards fell a victim to his own mode of attack, for he and his guards were overpowered when in advance of his army, taken prisoners, and he was put to death by a chief who had often been his own prisoner, and released from the circumstance of having been a "companion of his father."

Dingiswayo was only the introducer of this military system ; it was perfected under a much more powerful and bloodthirsty chief. Senzangakona, then chief of the small tributary tribe of Zulus, owing allegiance to Dingiswayo, had an illegitimate son of great talent and ambition, named Chaka, who, while still a very young man, assumed so much authority that he was banished, together with his mother, from the tribe. Chaka took refuge with the Umtetwas, about the time Dingiswayo was organising his army, and full of fire and energy, at once entered one of the regiments as an ordinary warrior, and soon became of great repute as a soldier.

Chaka did not approve of Dingiswayo's forbearance towards the conquered tribes, believing that they would afterwards form combinations against the supreme ruler; he himself being of opinion that a conquerer should inflict such injury as would utterly disorganise, if not destroy, those conquered, a system which he afterwards ruthlessly carried out.

While Chaka was still serving in Dingiswayo's army, and making himself acquainted with his system and what he considered its defects, his father Serzangakona died, and although he was not, as an illegitimate child, entitled to assume command of the tribe, yet the question was referred to Dingiswayo as paramount chief, and he nominated Chaka over the Zulus, from knowing his qualities as a soldier, and being aware of his loyalty to himself.

Chaka requited this friendship by remaining faithful to Dingiswayo up to the time of his death, and it was a combined movement of the two chiefs that drove the first defeated tribes from beyond the Tugela into the present territory of Natal, in 1812, which was the prelude to the extermination or dispersion of its hitherto peaceful inhabitants.

After Dingiswayo's death Chaka became paramount ruler north of the Tugela, and the numerous tribes which he defeated retreated into the Natal country, falling again upon the unwarlike tribes, plundering and scattering them in turn. From that date wave after wave of desolation swept over the land in the shape of retiring tribes before Chaka, carrying all before them; terror and self-preservation turning friends into foes, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour: atrocities of a most shocking nature were perpetrated.

This was only the prelude to horrors to come, for after Chaka had subjugated the tribes north of the Tugela, he sent his armies into Natal to ravage that country, and to spare neither man, woman, or child, and to burn and destroy everything: his theory being to destroy all human beings except those under his own sovereignty. Some tribes did become his vassals, joined his army, and in like manner fell upon their former friends with greater animosity.

These wars of extermination, as they were called, were carried on from year to year, incorporating some of the tribes, and entirely destroying others, or driving them back into Kaffirland on the eastern border of the Cape Colony. It was thus that the Fingoes, once a powerful tribe at Natal, were driven in amongst the Kaffirs, and became their dogs—a synonymous term with that of bonds-

man or slave—until they were released by that humane Governor Sir B. D'Urban, in 1835; and it is curious that Mr. Shepstone and myself were the officers who escorted them into the Cape Colony.

Those tribes who tried to hold out against Chaka, or to remain in their own country, had great privations to endure, and had to live in rocks, glens, and caves. First their cattle were captured by the "exterminators" (army), then the stores of grain were destroyed; nor could they cultivate, as it drew attention to the locality; so the people had at last to live upon their own starving dogs and wild roots. No wonder, therefore, that the country became depopulated, and filled with the dead and dying, and as the remnant of the old residents express it to this day, "The assaigai killed the people, but hunger killed the country."

One would think this bad enough, but worse befel these poor creatures, for one man, more vile than the rest, conceived the horrible idea of feeding on his fellow-man: numbers of starving wretches soon rallied round him and formed a band of cannibals, augmented by similar bands in other parts of the country, who hunted for human beings as dogs hunt for game, and thus acquired a taste for human flesh, which continued long after the necessity ceased. They became so formidable that it was not until after the arrival of the Dutch emigrant farmers, in 1837, that the last of their bands were dislodged from the Beggarsburg and driven out of the country, and old men still alive relate their escape from the hands of these cannibals, after hearing themselves discussed as to whether they would, when killed, eat tender or tough.

In less than ten years Chaka depopulated more than two-thirds of the whole of the country now constituting Natal, and in 1828 had become the undisputed sovereign of all South-eastern Africa, from the Umzimvubu, or St. John's River, to King George's River, far north of Delagoa Bay, including a large portion of what is now the Orange Free State and Transvaal country, and also of the tribe and territory of his former patron and master, Dingiswayo.

Thus the Zulus passed through three important phases in less than half a century: first we have a simple, primitive people without civilisation; secondly, the same people with a little knowledge, reducing their own happy country into a wilderness, causing rivers of blood to flow, and annihilating whole communities; the third phase is the present state of Natal, and the future yet to come.

The railway now in progress from Durban to Pietermaritzburg and along the coast, will be the first stepping-stone towards this future; the second will be the continuation of the railroad to the

coal mines and iron deposits in the Newcastle Division, and thence on to the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic.

These measures will bring European emigration to the country, it will bring wealth and progress, and enable a vast population to raise and export a great variety of produce, which cannot now be done for want of transport; and in a military point of view, it will enable you to move troops with facility to any part of the country.

#### ORANGE FREE STATE.

Your Grace, I shall now proceed to give a short account of the two Dutch States adjoining the English Colonies in South Africa. They are both of them off-shoots, as it were, from the Cape Colony. The Orange Free State was, up to 1835, inhabited by small native tribes under petty chiefs, viz. Betjouanas, Korannas, Basutos, Borolongs, &c. and also by some settlements of Hottentots and half-castes from the Colony under Captain Adam Kok, Waterboer, and others. The country up to that time was covered with vast herds of game of every description.

When the Dutch emigrant farmers passed over the Orange River (the boundary of the Cape Colony) in 1836, large tracts of this country fell an easy conquest to them; a few of them remained in occupation of the country, living in their waggons and tents, tending their flocks and herds, but being almost as migratory as the game. The great body of these "pioneers of South Africa" passed on, however, inland, one portion of them diverging over the Dragonsberg into what is now Natal country, where those battles previously described took place with the Zulus.

The other portion of these Dutch farmers also had their troubles with the natives of the interior, and had a good deal of fighting with the then powerful Matebele nation under Mazulekatze, before they conquered the country which is now the Transvaal Republic.

The Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic were for a long time under one general government, if such it could be called, and the names of Boshoff, Potgieter, Pretorius, and others, will be found enrolled as their chief magistrates. In 1861 the last-named was at the head of both states; in that year a separation of the governments took place, and they are now two distinct governments, with a President and Volksraad, or council, to each.

The Free State has passed through two or three phases, and two collisions with the British troops, before it was recognised as an independent state. In 1846 Sir Harry Smith as High Commissioner took possession of the country, and it was held by the British

Crown, under the name of the "Sovereignty," until January 1852, when it was surrendered by Sir G. Clarke, who was sent out from this country as Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, with full powers to relinquish the territory.

Under his authority a convention was entered into by two commissioners (Messrs. Hogge and Owen) on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and a deputation of Dutch authorities on behalf of the emigrant farmers. Under the terms of this convention the country was relinquished to the Dutch, who now claim and hold both these States.

It was most unwise policy to relinquish this country. Many English subjects had settled there on the faith of its being British territory, and petitioned, without avail, that it should not be surrendered.

The capital of the Free State, Bloemfontein, is situated in latitude 29° south, and is from 90 to 100 miles from the diamond fields. The level of the country is about 5,000 feet above the sea, with splendid pastoral plains, intersected here and there with low ranges of hills, and dotted over with little hillocks called "koppies," apparently upheaves of rock. It is a very healthy country for Europeans, and suited for all kinds of stock, particularly for wool sheep.

This State held a portion of its present territory by agreement from Adam Kok, Captain of the Griqua people (Hottentots and half-castes), but as many disputes arose therefrom Sir George Grey, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, offered that chief a portion of "No-man's-land," then vacant, between the Cape Colony and Natal, to which he and his people removed in 1864-5, selling his lands over the Orange River to the Free State.

They also acquired about 2,000,000 acres formerly belonging to the Basutos; this addition to the Free State was ceded by the Chief Moshesh as war indemnity, in 1865, and confirmed to the Dutch by the award of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in 1869.

The Free State now contains an area of about 70,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000 Europeans, and about the same number of coloured races, including servants and farm labourers.

The country abounds in mineral wealth. Diamonds, garnets, and other precious stones are found in considerable numbers, and the State has a great future before it. Wheat and grain of all sorts can be raised there to any extent, only requiring capital and enterprise, and means of carriage to a port.

It is divided into fourteen districts, with twenty-five towns and

villages, each returning so many members to the Volksraad or Council, presided over by His Honour President Brand, a gentleman of Dutch descent, and formerly a barrister of the Cape Colony.

#### TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC.

The Transvaal Republic is the second Dutch state in South Africa, but by far the most important one of the two; it extends at present between latitudes 22° to 27° south, and from longitudes 25° to 32° east, but to the north its *real* limits are almost unbounded. It adjoins the Orange Free State, part of Basutoland, Natal, Zululand north of the Tugela, and there is only a small tract of country in possession of natives between the Transvaal territory and the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay.

The area is said to be 120,000 square miles, with a population of 40,000 whites (Europeans) and 250,000 coloured. The revenue and expenditure is about £72,000 a year, but this sum gives very little idea of the present or future of the country; the people are of primitive habits, and object to taxation, but they are rich in lands and in flocks and herds.

The Transvaal, like the Free State, is situated on a higher plateau than the English Colonies, and embraces a healthy climate for Europeans, but as you proceed north-east, some of the districts are subject to fever and the "Tzitse" fly.

The pasturage is well adapted for all kinds of stock, and the soil most productive. The country is divided into twelve districts, viz. Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Rustenberg, Lydenberg, Marabastad, Waterberg, Heidelberg, Wakkerstrom, Utrecht, Christiania, Nazareth, and Marico.

The country is governed by a President (His Honour Thos. F. Burgers), elected in 1872, with an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council, consisting of a Speaker and thirty members.

The great future of the Transvaal exists in its mineral wealth. The first diamond discovered in South Africa was found north of the Vaal River in 1866, in a portion of the country claimed by the Griqua chief Waterboer, a territory the boundaries of which are in dispute between the English, the Free State, and the Transvaal Republic.

Diamonds have since been found in the districts of Pretoria, Marico, Rustenberg, and Waterberg. Gold is found in alluvial deposits, and in reefs of quartz, in Marabastad and Pretoria; while the gold-bearing strata extend for 200 miles north of the seat

of government (Pretoria); auriferous quartz existing also through Lydenburg and Rustenburg districts down to the Griqua country.

The Transvaal is also rich in coal, iron, cobalt, copper, nickel, lead, tin, and silver, besides sulphur and saltpetre.

The country is well watered and healthy for both human beings and for stock of every description. The soil is fertile, and suited for the production of all sorts of grain and cereals; some of the districts are semi-tropical, and produce coffee, sugar, cotton, rice, &c., particularly the districts of Rustenburg and Marabastad.

The white population consists mostly of emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony and Natal; the Republic was first formed in 1840, and is recognised as an independent State by the Sand River Convention of 1852. The revenue is derived from simple taxes, viz. quit-rent on farms, transfer, and import duties, capitulation tax, and Kaffir taxes. The exports consist of gold and other metals; wool, hides, skins, ostrich feathers, and stock—many thousands of oxen being sent to the Cape Colony and Natal for slaughter and draught purposes, and thousands of sheep for the butcher.

The relationship between the Dutch States and the English Colonies in South Africa has not heretofore been very cordial. Both States consider they have grievances: the one for our assumption of Griqua-land West, and for taking the Basutos under British protection, just at the time they were about to be conquered after a protracted war; and the other, on the long-disputed boundary question between the Republic and the natives on the Vaal River, the Free State, and Griqua-land; and also on their construction of the terms of the Convention of 1852, claiming that the words "free trade" include exemption from custom dues at English ports.

While Lieut.-Governor of Natal in 1866 I induced the then President of the Transvaal (Pretorius) to pay me a visit. I received him with the usual honours, and from that time a better feeling has existed with that Colony. I submitted the question of "custom dues" to the Legislative Council, and obtained a remission of duty on all Government stores and on machinery; but this has not entirely satisfied the Republic, and they are now about to open up a trade through Delagoa Bay with a view to save the import duties charged at English ports, and have entered into a treaty with the Portuguese Government upon the subject.

Since the discovery of gold and mineral wealth in the Transvaal, an influx of many thousands of English and other nationalities have proceeded there, and very marked effects have been

produced. Land and fixed property has considerably risen in value, and that country will soon occupy a most important position in South Africa.

#### GRIQUALAND WEST.

Griqualand West, or the Diamond Fields, is but a small territory in South Africa, but I need not say it is a most important one, for since the discovery of the first diamond in 1866, the prosperity of that small dependency, and of the South African Colonies and States generally, has rapidly advanced.

The country was at the time occupied by a Griqua captain named Waterboer and his people, who declined to migrate with Adam Kok when Sir George Grey offered a portion of "No-man's-land" to them. Between 1868 and 1870, so many thousands of Europeans flocked to the diamond fields, that it became necessary for some sort of government to be organised.

From the pressure of these circumstances Captain Waterboer offered his territory to the British Government, and on the 27th October, 1871, a proclamation was issued accepting the proffered allegiance of the Griqua chief and his people, while other proclamations were also issued extending Colonial law to the new province and appointing commissioners to administer the government.

Subsequently a Lieutenant-Governor and a regular Government staff was appointed, and the territory vested by commission in the "Governor" of the Cape Colony; but the Province has not yet been regularly annexed to the Cape Colony, and is consequently a matter of dispute between the Dutch and English Colonies in South Africa.

It now includes a large tract of land heretofore claimed by petty native tribes, including Waterboer and his people, the country being but sparsely populated.

Since the diamond discoveries the population has increased to between 60,000 and 70,000, of which about 15,000 are Europeans, but the numbers vary by emigration to and going from the fields. The revenue is already about £70,000 a year.

The "farm" on which the town of Kimberley has been erected was purchased by the Local Government only the other day for £100,000, since which time more than that sum has been realised in building lots sold to residents, while the mines on it remain in the hands of the Government.

The pasture lands of the country are very good, and the Government have lately sold a number of farms, realising about £25,000 for the land, but retaining the mineral rights.

## BASUTOLAND.

Basutoland is a native territory adjoining the Orange Free State, north of the Orange River, annexed to the Cape Colony by Sir P. Wodehouse, in 1871. It contains about 7,000 square miles, with a native population (Basutos) of 120,000 souls. The lowlands or plains are, like the Free State, about 5,000 feet above the sea, but the mountains which bound the country on the south and east are from 7,000 to 9,000 feet high. It is a very rich, fertile, and prolific territory. Large quantities of grain and corn are annually raised, and the pasture lands are good for all kinds of stock; while coal, copper, and iron also abound.

The Basutos were at war with the Orange Free State when the former applied to come under British protection, and the war was thus put an end to. They now pay a hut-tax to the Government which yields a revenue of about £12,000 a year, and is more than enough to pay their able chief magistrate (C. Griffiths, Esq.), and other officers who govern the country by special laws and regulations. French, London, and Wesleyan missionaries have laboured amongst these tribes for many years, with more success than is usual amongst South African tribes.

In 1852, whilst what is now the Orange Free State was still in British possession as the "Sovereignty," and while the Cape Colony and the Kaffirs were at war, the Basutos threatened the small English force left to protect the country, and Sir George Cathcart marched a column of troops over the Orange River, when an engagement took place with the Basutos, and they showed themselves to be formidable enemies.

In 1865 a portion of this tribe also made an inroad into Natal and carried off a considerable quantity of stock, for which compensation was not fully made. They were then at war with the Free State, and hostilities continued until they were taken under British protection in 1868.

The tribe itself is of recent origin, and became powerful from the ability of the chief, Moshesh. There are several table-topped mountains in the country, with almost inaccessible approaches, to which the natives retreat in war time, and from which it is almost impossible to dislodge them. Thaba Bosigo has never been taken, although attacked several times by the Dutch forces. The area on the top of the mountain is considerable, water and pasturage abundant, while the approach is narrow, steep, and easily defended.

Moshesh partly made his tribe by what is called "lending wives" to his people. The African custom is to buy your wife, and when a follower could not afford to pay for the luxury he would go to the chief, who would buy the wife for him, and according to native law the children would owe double allegiance to the chief.

I shall only allude to two other native reserves which are under British protection: one under Mr. Austin, near the Wit-berg, on the left bank of the Orange River, numbering about 15,000; the other a Fingoe settlement formed in a portion of Krilli's country, east of the Kei River, from which that chief and his tribe were expelled in 1857-8.

These Fingoes were a portion of those residing in the Cape Colony, where the settlements became overcrowded; the country was offered to them while vacant, and from 40,000 to 50,000 moved into it, and are now very prosperous.

#### FEDERATION.

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen,—I purpose concluding this address with a few words on a subject which I consider most important for the future prosperity of South Africa, and that subject may be summed up in the word Federation. I do not bring forward this "idea" from any recent excitement prevailing in the South African Colonies; I bring it forward from conviction that South Africa, as a whole, can never become a great and prosperous country without it.

I was stationed in Canada soon after a similar scheme had been carried into effect in that *now* great Dominion; a country that had hitherto been divided against itself, with a series of petty governments, the one antagonistic to the other, their rules and regulations clashing, and the people almost at enmity with each other.

At the present moment it is one united power for all good and general purposes, each State, nevertheless, arranging and providing for its own local Government. It is at once apparent how strong such unity makes a country, when I tell you that there are now 630,000 fighting men enrolled in Canada, and that 40,000 of them come out voluntarily for drill every year. This will evince how strong she has become within herself, and what an adjunct to the British Crown.

So also must South Africa, in my opinion, federate into one great Colony. Canada has no internal enemies; South Africa has vast hordes of savages, and without unity each separate Colony is powerless to stem or oppose a rising of the natives, or to enact

universal regulations for the good government of them, particularly as regards the acquisition of arms and ammunition. At present one Colony prohibits the possession of arms by the natives, except under certain circumstances, while the other Colony admits free-trade in fire-arms, and no less than 500,000 have been sold to the coloured races within the last five or six years, and 500,000 lbs. of powder were imported last year alone. This bears a most serious aspect for the future of South Africa, for these arms will certainly circulate throughout the whole country, while separate legislation is likely to bring on local wars.

This is only one feature of the case, but unity is equally necessary in a commercial point of view. I have endeavoured to show you the wealth of the country lying within the limits of the four Colonies—viz. the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Republic—the exports and imports of which now yearly amount to over seventeen millions of pounds sterling; but I will not again go into statistics. My object is to show you the importance of federation. The interior of South Africa is boundless, the future wealth of it is enormous, the high table-lands and fertile valleys are capable of producing everything in the world, and Dame Nature has been so lavish in her bounties that, in some of these tracts, man does not live by the “sweat of his brow,” but subsists, like the beasts of the field, on what nature provides. The very grass yields seed like corn, and I have seen it sold in the market at Grahamstown under the name of “manna,” the food from heaven.

Well, sir, as the blood circulates through man, going from and returning to the heart, so, with federation, will commerce flow through South Africa, to and from England; but without this unity, the great interior will be tapped by arteries, that will run crossways and cut off the smaller streams flowing inwards, thus carrying the commerce of the great future eastward, away from England and into other countries. Gentlemen, this is a most important consideration for this country and for South Africa.

But, sir, I go beyond this in my idea of federation: I say that England should herself federate with all the British Colonies. The present ties are becoming more and more broken, whereas they should be brought closer and closer together. You may ask, How is this to be done? and I will tell you. Each British Colony should have a representative in this country, and that representative should have a seat in the British House of Parliament. It might be said that such a member would be incompatible with the Constitution, as the Colonies do not *directly* contribute to the expenditure of this

country. Granted ; but let the representative member sit in the House all the same. Do not let him vote, but let him *speak*, particularly upon all *Colonial* subjects.

I say, sir, that the ignorance displayed in the House of Commons when any Colonial subject crops up is something monstrous, not only by members, but by ex-Colonial Ministers, who ought to know better ; and I am sure this fact will present itself to most colonists here to-night.

It would be the duty of such representative to bring forward the requirements and wishes of the Colony from which he is deputed, and when any case arises in the House concerning the Colony, he should be able to rise and make a clear statement of facts on the subject. This would bring the bond of union between England and her Colonies into more harmony.

I would go beyond even this. I would offer federation to every people or nation speaking the English language. I would offer it to the great Anglo-Saxon Race who parted from England on this very question ; it would be holding out the right hand of fellowship to the great American people, and if it did nothing else it would draw us closer together in friendship and alliance.

Such nationality has become the great policy of the day. Look at Italy : look at Germany and Prussia. The latter, from a series of independent kingdoms, has become a vast empire, and almost a standing menace to Europe. Her organised army now consists of 2,420,000 men, with a standing army in peace time (1874) of 401,659, exclusive of the one-year volunteers. In opposition to this, I say, gentlemen, that if England federated with her great Colonies, they could and would, in the event of war or any great calamity, bring great resources in both men and money to aid the parent country.

Ladies and gentlemen, looking round me, and seeing as I do many Cape friends and South African Colonists, I am impelled as a last word to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of one of South Africa's most worthy heroes and defenders—a man who would have been great had he lived in *any* part of the world, but one who made that country his home, gave his substance for the good of it, and his life in its defence. I am sure I need not tell you that I allude to the late Sir Walter Currie, a man loved and respected by his friends, and respected yet dreaded by his country's enemies ;—followed so soon to the grave by his devoted wife, a lady beloved equally by rich and poor—by the one for her virtues and hospitality, by the other for her friendliness and charity.

## DISCUSSION.

Mr. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, who has recently returned from the Cape, said the interesting paper they had just heard read, had doubtless instructed them concerning points of information little known, but which ought to be better known, he would not say respecting the Cape only—for they were all too apt to call South Africa “the Cape”—but respecting vast territories fully equal to Europe in dimensions. (Hear, hear.) The country marked on the large map before them as the Cape Colony was as great as the empire of Germany and Prussia put together in 1871. Perhaps it would make the subject more familiar to their minds if he drew a parallel respecting Natal, also the two Free States of South Africa, with other places. The Colony of Natal was about the size of Switzerland. The Orange Free State was nearly as large as England and Wales together with Scotland. The South African Free State of Transvaal equalled, if taken only up to the Limpopo river, half the size of the Cape Colony, or was as large as England, and Scotland and Ireland if they liked, for it could be extended to any distance. (Laughter.) There was plenty of room for it to spread out, as we had done in India and elsewhere. He mentioned these facts concerning some of the countries of South Africa because, he regretted to say, that he found most maps unreliable. The one before them, however, seemed to be an exception, being more truthful, as it took in more of South Africa than most of them, and allowed the background of the Transvaal to be extended as far as you choose. Pointing to the spots on the map, he said: “There is the Kalahara Desert on the one side, and the territory towards the sea-coast and Delagoa Bay, so recently awarded by President MacMahon to the Portuguese.” (Lieut.-General BISSER: “Yes, that’s what you will get from your enemies when you go to arbitration.”) Well, he (Mr. Campbell-Johnston) had the honour to know the President of the Transvaal Republic—Mr. Burgers. He was at present in Holland, and had contrived to make arrangements with the Portuguese, as many present would be aware, for a railway from Delagoa Bay up to the Transvaal frontier, and this railway would be carried on to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and have Delagoa Bay as a port. From this line another might go on to the Orange Free State—say to Bloemfontein, its capital, and further on amongst the diamond-fields—thus connecting the whole of the Transvaal with the sea-coast by a shorter route than any other—by, in fact, the shortest route feasible. As they had already heard to-night, this great country called South

Africa was teeming with undeveloped wealth, and the interior portions of it required the shortest communication with the sea-coast. This was a good sign, and showed that ideas of progress were in the minds of the people. For too long a sort of contentedness with a sleepy condition of things had prevailed, and that much to the prejudice of the best interests of South Africa—our Colonies included. There had been an absence of competition or rivalry, the soul of trade and enterprise. He was not a Dutchman, but a loyal Englishman; yet he believed that a railway over forty miles of land from Delagoa Bay into the Republic would be felt beneficially over the whole of the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, and everywhere in South Africa—beautiful countries, well watered, and in some places timbered; all, except just on the coast, most healthy; abounding with mineral wealth; and which would soon be populated not by English people alone, but by people from all parts of Europe and the rest of the world—Germans, Chinese, and others—as it was now by some of the best families of a past era—descendants of Dutch and of French Huguenots. After all, the Dutch—slow though they may be—were a fine people. Although slow, they were methodical, and established their ways where they went, which many other people did not do. The Dutch in South Africa had not merely passed through the country, they had stayed—they had adopted it—it was their home. He had been a good deal amongst them, and might have occasionally pointed with his finger to a spot, and said, “Why do you not make a railway here, a canal there, or put up a bridge at this spot, or do something else at that.” But they would answer, and with great justice he thought, “We have to live here, and to bear the consequences of our acts, whilst you are a mere traveller, passing through the country, and perhaps judging hastily of what might be best to do here or there.” There is no doubt they were impatient of taxation, and ever had been; but if history tells the truth, so were we, and we have no particular love of taxation now. He had in some measure given them a geographical outline of the country, and tried to point out the way in which one should look at South Africa to understand it. He began his trip at Port Elizabeth, in the eastern province of the Cape Colony, situated, as they knew, in Algoa Bay, a very different place from Delagoa Bay. He was advised by some friends to travel with horses, and in an “American spider,” as it is called. He did so, but soon found that he had made a great mistake. Horses were not suitable animals for travelling any long distance in South Africa. In the first place a considerable sum had to be paid for them, and they were liable to

many accidents and diseases, and were not easily replaced everywhere. In the next he had to pay not unfrequently fifteen shillings a day for days together for each horse, and as he had always four—most of the way six and sometimes seven—this would not suit. Although the price of their food was most exorbitant, it was mostly, at the season he travelled, very bad, and could not sustain a horse for the purpose of a good day's journey. At Bloemfontein his horses were knocked up, and he had to go by public conveyances to the diamond-fields and back while the horses were recruiting. These are the fields for the ownership of which there was now a great dispute between us and the Orange Free State. If those in this room would observe the map before them they would think these fields should from their position belong to the Orange Free State—it looked as if they were cut out of the Orange Free State. They were on the east side of the Vaal River, so was the Orange Free State, and they were not on the Cape Colony side of the Orange River. The Orange River, after much consideration and debate at home, had been many years ago declared the boundary to the Cape Colony on the north. As they had heard from General Bisset, what is now called the Orange Free State, had been held by us under the name of the "Sovereignty" until January, 1852, when it was given up by Sir G. Clarke, who was sent out from this country as Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, to relinquish that territory—to, in short, cast it off, and all those who were there and had acquired property there. This was done much against the wishes of some of the inhabitants. These even implored and begged that they might not be cast off. But once cast off, through their enterprising character they soon prospered. Fatally, in some respects for them, a few years ago, diamonds were found on the Vaal River; and then, under one pretext or another, that portion on which is situated the diamond-fields was snatched back, and as the Orange Free State considers, not without good cause, in a most unjust manner. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to understand how we can ask or invite the Orange Free State to join us in a system of confederation. Was it likely that the authorities in the Orange Free State could swallow their feelings, and bring their hearts to join in a confederation with their spoilers? He thought it would be best, first, to do justice to the Orange Free State, and then he believed the way would be open, after wounds had been healed up, to think of confederation. He knew President Brand of that State—an Africander, who might be proud of his descent—the name defines from whom. His father before him—who recently died Speaker of the Cape Colony House of Assembly

—was a man in whose soul a spirit of independence ever burnt, and who in his youth had suffered for his declaration of those sentiments publicly and in print—also born of parents in South Africa. Mr. Burgers, the President of the Transvaal, is another Africander. Again, Mr. Molteno, the Premier of the Cape Colony, is another, or as good as one, for he has been in South Africa from his early youth; and there are hundreds besides, all men of mark and of education, good types of the South Africanders. Under such men confederation or unity will, as a matter of course, come about. It may be right to keep this in view. All in England seem to be in favour of some scheme of federation, but I think it is advisable to allow it to shape itself out in South Africa. It will be accomplished in time, but it will never be secured but with deference to the opinions of the South Africanders, and if not treated with delicacy may be postponed for a long time—possibly, by rough management, for ever. Justice, dignity, and carefulness, not to interfere in the local politics of the country, especially in those of the two Free States, may assist the measure—the reverse may be fatal to it, for ever. The two Free States are not vassals, and if they desire it should be most assuredly acknowledged in the proper quarter, as other independent States are. He had been led to enlarge more than he intended on these points in consequence of what had been remarked by General Bisset, with reference to the descendants of the Dutch in South Africa. Before sitting down, he would also say that he had not only travelled through the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, but had made some stay in the Transvaal, at Pretoria, as well as elsewhere. He had visited the gold-fields, Pilgrim's Rest, and Mac Mac; had traversed Natal from one end to the other, from the west to the east coast, from Newcastle to Durban deliberately, in his own private waggon with oxen, and must say he found the Dutch descendants conservative, and averse to much change. What had been remarked about Natal and Zululand should be seriously considered. Certainly, twelve or fourteen Kaffirs to one white man (and he believed they were nearer twenty to one white man) was a state of things pregnant with danger, especially as the natives could not be induced, under the present system of management, to work. There is an awkward saying about the devil finding mischief for idle hands to do. He could not see how federation could alter the Kaffir difficulty. As to the two Free States, they have no reason to be afraid of Kaffirs. They are not in the same position as Natal is in regard to them, and were never likely to become so; and they are inhabited by a practically religious people, and our fellow-Christians.

Dr. ATHERSTONE, whom his Grace introduced as a leading geologist from the Cape, said, as a colonist, fifty years of whose life had been spent at the Cape, he should fail in his duty were he to be silent on a subject of such vast importance not only to the Cape but to the parent country. He felt that he must congratulate his friend upon the admirable paper he had read, and the skill with which he had interwoven the personal and public experience of well nigh a lifetime spent in the Colony with the mass of valuable and interesting information—commercial and political—which he had laid before them. On his arrival from the Cape, after an absence of thirty-five years, he must confess that he was not a little surprised at the profound ignorance which appeared to prevail in England on subjects connected with South Africa. (Hear, hear.) He found that there was a vague kind of notion that South Africa was a Kaffir-breeding island somewhere in the South Seas—(laughter)—which it was perhaps wisest to let alone. He was indeed astonished, but he thought he had discovered some slight explanation of this marvellous want of information. Last week, at the Educational Congress held at King's College, he saw in the show-room the maps used in the elementary schools, and looking at their unequal and disproportionate size, it occurred to him that the reason for the erroneous ideas he found so prevalent might be traced to the varying scale on which these maps are drawn. In fact, he attributed it to the imperfect knowledge of physical geography imparted in these elementary schools. An uniform scale should be adopted; but he found England represented as ten times as large as the whole of the South African Colonies—(laughter)—(and these impressions, recollect, were made in childhood, when the brain is soft and impressionable, and retains them for life) whereas, in point of fact, the Cape Colonies were nearly ten times as large as all England, their area being 500,000 square miles, and that of England only 58,000. In fact, the only country in Europe of superior area was Russia. It might have been expected that their commerce, chiefly with Great Britain, amounting to some ten millions of exports and seven millions sterling of imports yearly, would have sufficed to correct these inadequate ideas about our vast possessions in South Africa. The mineral resources were as unlimited as the country was extensive. Her diamond-fields and copper mines were the richest and most productive in the world. Her undeveloped gold-fields, coal, lead, iron, awaited but the aid of British enterprise and capital. The climate of South Africa is, as is well known, the most salubrious in the world. All these considerations ought to be sufficient to draw attention more closely to

the material welfare, the social condition, and the progress of the inhabitants of that portion of the British Empire. But what had been the case? In consequence of the neglect of the Home Government for the last fifty years, instead of progress proportionate to the vast resources which the country possesses, there had been war after war, costing the parent country over £3,000,000 sterling for Kaffir wars alone, to say nothing of the cost to the Colonies themselves. He thought the principal cause of all the dissatisfaction which prevailed might be summed up in one word. It was the same which lost to England her American Colonies—the want of fair representation. (Hear, hear.) The extreme constituencies of the eastern and western provinces of the Cape were so far distant that unequal representation existed. On the frontier districts, 600 miles away from Capetown, it was impossible, from the social condition of the inhabitants, to find competent men willing to travel 600 miles to attend Parliament for three months in the year. It was, indeed, too great a sacrifice to make. The only men fit for the position and available were professional men, who, as a rule, had other engagements. The result was that in the eastern province, so far distant from Capetown in the extreme west, any person had to be accepted who volunteered to undertake the duties of representation. To this fact was to be attributed most of the dissatisfaction and excitement which for years past had caused so much “inconvenience” and discontent. We had the apparent boon of representative institutions without representation, and until some means were devised for being virtually and equally represented, instead of one section or other being virtually disfranchised by distance, it was not likely there would be harmony in the Cape Colony. The means of communication were also very difficult and tedious. If the bullock-waggon be discarded, with all its uncertainties and delay, the only alternative was a sea voyage in the worst season of the year. He was aware that the Constitution Ordinance provided for this difficulty by the insertion of a clause empowering the Governor to assemble Parliament in the eastern province if found to be desirable, and on one occasion of unusual political excitement a Parliament was accordingly held at Grahamstown, the eastern capital; but since then, which was some ten years ago, Parliament continued to be held in Capetown, at the extreme end of the Colony. There was another subject in the paper to which he wished to draw attention. They had some very sunny pictures drawn of the Cape Colony—they were, in fact, quite *colour de rose*. But there was a shady aspect as well. The population of the Colony was about one million, of which 275,000

natives were massed on the frontier. They existed there as so much dynamite—(laughter)—requiring the utmost care and management and knowledge of native character to prevent explosion. One would have thought that the directing and controlling power would be near at hand in case of need; but what was the fact? With all this explosive material on the frontier the heads of Departments—Governor, Lieut.-Governor, Legislature, and even the Commander-in-Chief of the Cape forces—reside as far as possible from the seat of danger—some 700 miles off! The frontier and the eastern border are the most populous and productive, owing to simple and natural causes, namely, that the eastern sides of all continents are watered by the moisture condensed and thrown down by the mountain ranges, producing fertility and a loosened soil. From the same causes, the winds passing over, deprived of their moisture, the western sides are scenes of comparative desolation. He had travelled lately far beyond Natal many hundred miles over the Drakensberg Mountains, through the Transvaal and Free State, and on a former occasion all through Namqualand also, examining all these countries. He was elated with joy at finding so much mineral wealth, but it was all left to chance development, and the risk of another explosion. Steps are, however, now being taken in the Cape Colony to break down the feudal power of the native chiefs by substituting British law and individual rights of property, and the people had now the right of purchasing land. He had been recently on the Fish River, and had seen a Kaffir chief offering £2,000 for a farm. This was the only mode of preventing Kaffir wars, and he was glad that his friend in Basutoland had been so successful in his efforts to restrain the power of the chiefs for mischief. Still this work must be done with the utmost care and judgment. It was the only feasible plan which could be adopted, for when the Kaffirs had a stake in the country, and enjoyed the protection of British power, they would be always anxious for peace. (Hear, hear.) He hoped, in conclusion, that the wise measures of Earl Carnarvon for the construction of a system of federation would proceed. (Hear, hear.) He could not see why the English could not act in harmony with their former fellow-colonists, the Dutch. They had been driven away by the same grievances of which we complained, the want of protection and equal justice, and when they find that we are prospering they will naturally wish to be incorporated in the general scheme of federation. But the only means of accomplishing this was by a sound system of representation. Let these reforms and changes be effected, and South Africa would become one of the

most valuable, as it was one of the most extensive, dependencies of the British Crown. (Cheers.)

Mr. THOMAS WATSON, President of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, in answer to a call from the Chairman, said he could fully endorse the remarks of the last speaker in regard to the profound ignorance which had hitherto prevailed in England—even amongst the otherwise intelligent classes—respecting South Africa. The only effective way perhaps to get rid of such want of information would be the reading and publication of such papers as we had just been listening to, and to have such meetings of the supporters of this institution as we saw this evening. He was sure that General Bisset well merited the thanks of all present, as well as of the public generally, for the trouble and care he had taken in drawing up his address. He had, however, made one or two slight mistakes, more especially in regard to the construction of railways. He had said “that if a line was open between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhaye, communication and commerce would be greatly benefited,” while the fact was that the railway in question had already been open for traffic for several months. General Bisset had also told us that a line of railway between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, in Natal, was in course of construction. He (Mr. Watson) was not aware that the actual making of such a line had yet been commenced. However, these might be matters of little consequence. When he first arrived in South Africa, some thirty-three years ago, he found great dissatisfaction prevailing in some quarters in consequence of the sudden setting free of all the slaves at one time. This, he believed, was the principal cause of the great antipathy felt by many of the Dutch farmers against the Government of England. In an inland district in which he resided for some years these people had abandoned their farms, previously occupied, not for the rearing of woolled sheep, as now, but principally for the breeding of the common Cape sheep, goats, and cattle, without receiving any compensation whatever, and proceeded with their flocks and families to the northward, beyond the Orange River. There were certain prejudices still existing in the minds of some of these people which he feared might be a serious obstacle in carrying out the idea of federation. He believed that there was a large majority of colonists in both provinces in favour of the scheme, but he saw great difficulty in carrying it into effect. Even if the general question of confederation were agreed to tomorrow, he would like to see the man capable of framing a workable programme. He was sorry that his friend, Dr. Atherstone, in the course of his remarks had referred to the eastern and

western provinces, because this was a sore subject at the Cape, and it would be better for all parties if no direct reference to it were made. He had intended to touch upon several other points, but at that late hour of the evening he would not detain the meeting by going further into particulars, but must say that, in his opinion, the Cape Colony had not been slow in its progress during the last eight or ten years. Within a period of six years its revenue had more than doubled—(hear, hear)—and it was moreover satisfactory to find that it was still increasing. Dr. Atherstone had referred to the inconvenience of Parliament meeting at Capetown, on account of the distance many of the members had to travel; but when all the railways now projected were completed, with quicker steam communication along the coast, it would not be of so much consequence whether the Parliament met in the eastern or western province, more especially now when the Colony is extending telegraphic communication in various directions inland—an advantage which he hoped before long to see extended to Europe, by which the colonies of South Africa would be united by an additional tie to the mother country.

On the motion of Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG the discussion was adjourned to February 15th.

His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER hoped that when the discussion was re-opened he should again see a number of gentlemen present able to take part in the consideration of the topics advanced by Lieut.-General Bisset. But before they separated to-night he wished to say cursorily that he did not entirely agree with his friend's plan for a federation of the Empire, and that at the next meeting he should state what the ideas were which he preferred to those advanced by Lieut.-General Bisset.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG said he felt that he must endorse the statement which his Grace had made.

The company then separated.

## MEMORIAL ON THE CESSION OF THE GAMBIA.

FORWARDED 16TH FEBRUARY TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF  
CARNARVON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The Memorial of the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute—Sheweth,

That although the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute have had the honour of acquainting your Lordship with their views upon the proposed cession of the Gambia, through the medium of a Report, recently adopted by the Council, your Memorialists are so convinced of the importance of the question that they now desire to press upon your Lordship the reasons which lead them to the conclusion at which they have arrived. Those reasons are as follows :—

(1.) That this country has contracted obligations to some thousands of native subjects, which cannot with honour be abandoned against the will of such subjects.

(2.) That to transfer them to a nation of a different religion, and which does not carry out the principles of toleration so completely as they are acted upon by Great Britain, would be to add additional injury to the wrong of handing them over against their consent to a Foreign Power.

(3.) That to transfer aboriginal subjects, understanding our language and government, in exchange for those claimed by another Power unacquainted with both, is very likely to give rise to much confusion and inconvenience, as well as to occasion native wars.

(4.) That, except for advantages of the highest and most undoubted Imperial importance, which your Memorialists submit cannot be shown to be likely to result from the proposed transfer of the Gambia to France, it is most undesirable to part with any of the territories of the Empire. Where such abandonment and loss of territory have taken place in the past, they have, as a rule, invariably been the cause of subsequent regret. As notable examples, the abandonment of the Orange Free State in South Africa, the loss of San Juan, and the exchange of the West African Settlements of the Dutch, leading to the Ashantee war, may be mentioned : the value to the Empire of the two former, and the policy with regard to the latter, being quite disregarded at the time when, through the action of the Imperial Government, or from want of proper steps being taken, they were lost to the Empire. The importance of the interests involved in all of them is now, when too late, fully appreciated.

(5.) Your Memorialists are convinced that the same will be our future experience with regard to the Gambia should we give up its possession. Our commerce with the interior of Africa is clearly only in its infancy; in fact, it cannot be said to have been opened up; but just at the time when its importance is beginning in some degree to be appreciated, it is proposed that we should give up a river which is admitted to be the most extensive and important which we possess.

There are two arguments in favour of the cession or exchange, to which your Memorialists desire to reply. It is urged that by extending the authority of the British Government over a continuous line of coast of considerable length, the importation of arms may be prevented, and the injury to the revenues of the British Settlements, occasioned by importation of goods into ports not within our control, would be prevented. The other argument is that the revenues of the Gambia will not be sufficient for the requirements of the Settlement without aid from this country.

With regard to the former, your Memorialists submit that it is highly improbable that either the importation of arms would be prevented, or the injury to the revenues of the other settlements remedied, by the exchange of the Gambia for such rights as the French claim over other places on the coast.

At Whydah, for instance, the Portuguese claim supreme authority, and your Memorialists are unaware of any guarantees against claims being put in by them, or any other nation hereafter, to this trading port.

It is also by no means improbable that any claims which we might set up in certain parts of the coast, in virtue of the proposed arrangement with the French, might be resisted by the King of Dahomey, who already, we understand, has proclaimed his authority over Whydah.

The risk of serious complications and even war with him or other native chiefs will, therefore, be incurred, which would cause far greater financial derangement and expense than could ever be compensated by any improved means of collecting revenue on the coast. The justice of sacrificing one Settlement for the financial convenience of another cannot, it is submitted, be maintained.

With regard to the revenues of the Gambia not being sufficient for the maintenance of the Settlement, your Memorialists would point out that the expenditure was augmented in consequence of the withdrawal of the protection which, up to May, 1870, had been afforded by the Imperial Government. There is little doubt, however, that if the Gambia had had the advantages bestowed in its development, with which other settlements along the coast have been favoured, its trade and revenues would now be in a much more flourishing condition.

Your Memorialists submit that, considering all the circumstances of the case, there is no reason for Great Britain to abandon so important a possession, which secures her such a valuable highway into the interior.

(Signed),

MANCHESTER,

*President.*

MEMORIAL TO HER MAJESTY ON RECOGNITION OF  
THE COLONIES IN THE ROYAL TITLE.

FORWARDED TO LORD CARNARVON ON 24TH FEBRUARY.

*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty—*

The humble petition of Her Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the President, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, —Sheweth,

That your petitioners desire to approach Your Majesty with the expression of the most profound veneration and loyalty for Your Majesty's Throne and Person.

That in common with the rest of Your Majesty's subjects, your petitioners hail with great satisfaction Your Majesty's gracious intention, as announced in your speech to Parliament, of taking an additional style and title in connection with your Indian Empire.

That your petitioners venture to express their belief that Your Majesty's loyal subjects inhabiting your vast Colonial Dominions would derive the highest gratification if some similar recognition were accorded to them.

That your petitioners are led to think that their Memorial will receive Your Majesty's gracious consideration, from the fact that in the Proclamation issued in 1858, notifying Your Majesty's assumption of the Government of India, Your Majesty was designated as "Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia."

Your petitioners therefore pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to assume such additional style and title as shall distinctly indicate Your Majesty's sovereignty over the whole of the Colonial Dominions.

And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

(Signed) MANCHESTER,  
President of the Royal Colonial Institute.

### THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The Third Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on Tuesday, February 15th, 1876, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Secretary, read the Minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

The adjourned Discussion was then resumed on the Paper of Lieut.-General Bisset, C.B., on

### SOUTH AFRICA AND HER COLONIES.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG said, in rising to continue the discussion which was adjourned at their last meeting, he hoped the company would understand that he did so in conformity with a well-established rule, that any gentleman moving the adjournment of a debate should commence the discussion at the next meeting. He had no wish to usurp the position of those gentlemen he saw around him, who from their practical experience were much better qualified to speak on the subject of General Bisset's paper. In the few remarks he intended to make, he would not stop to pass in review the observations of the General on the beauties, and also of the importance of the great and flourishing Colonies of South Africa. He would confine himself principally to the question of federation. But before speaking on that subject he desired to thank the General individually for his very valuable paper. He (Mr. Young) agreed perfectly in all that the General had said with regard to the importance of the federation of the whole of the South African Colonies. The author had shown most conclusively that, commercially, socially, and politically, the advantages of a perfect federation of those Colonies would be very great indeed. From a commercial point of view there could be little doubt of the great advantages that would accrue to them all. Then, as regards the social aspect of the question, we knew very well how, from an intimate relationship between nations as well as individuals, prejudices were removed and good feeling was established. Again, with respect to its political side, the General had made out his case most conclusively, for as the whole of that vast country was surrounded by a native population, both warlike and enterprising, it was of the greatest possible importance, for the

sake of mutual protection, that all those Colonies should be united. (Hear, hear.) Whatever views we might hold upon the subject or upon the plan suggested by the present Colonial Secretary for producing such a federation, he (Mr. Young) thought that both the people of this country and our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies had to thank Lord Carnarvon for his persistent and energetic action in the matter. The motive which dictated his Lordship's views ought to be looked at broadly, and we ought to give him the greatest credit for the desire he felt to produce such a grand result. He hoped and trusted that his Lordship's proposition to federate all these Colonies would be successful, and that it would be received by the people in South Africa as the wisest solution of the present difficulty. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) General Bisset, in his paper, said he looked forward to something higher than the federation of South Africa; and with that remark he (Mr. Young) entirely concurred. He hoped the question of federation, the key-note of which was now being struck in South Africa and in the Australian Colonies, might some day culminate in Imperial federation, so that the Colonies might be represented in one Imperial Assembly. Whilst acknowledging, however, that he was a most pronounced federalist, he could not agree with the way General Bisset proposed that the federation of the Empire should be brought about. The General suggested that the Colonies should send representatives to our present Parliament, and that they should have a voice in that Parliament, but no votes. Now that proposition, attractive as it looked, would not accomplish the great end he hoped to see, whilst he (Mr. Young) was sure such a proposal would be distasteful to the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) The Colonies would not be satisfied unless they had equal representations with ourselves, and could express their views on the same platform. Another point of the General's, to which he took exception, was his remark that all English-speaking people should have a voice in the English Parliament. Really, if the question was not a grave and solemn one, he hoped the General would excuse him if he told him that that idea seemed almost ludicrous. Why, a scheme might just as well be suggested in which every foreign nation should be represented in the English Parliament. (Hear, hear.) The United States of America was undoubtedly a foreign nation, and what should be desired would be, that every part of the British Empire only should be represented in the English Parliament. There was another point upon which he wished to say a word or two. It was now happily the order of the day for the Colonies to be

recognised in the Royal Speech to Parliament, and the present occasion was no exception to the rule. In the Queen's Speech, delivered on February 8th, there was a clause which must have struck all the members of the Colonial Institute most forcibly, and that was the clause wherein Her Majesty expressed her intention of adopting another title. (Hear, hear.) He had no objection to Her Majesty's recognising the great country of India in this way, but he thought if it was determined that Her Majesty was to assume a new title at all, there was a much larger portion of her dominions even than India which ought to be taken into consideration in connection with this subject—her Colonies. It might be difficult, and no doubt would be, to find a title sufficiently comprehensive to take in all the Queen's dominions, but at the possible risk of being called presumptuous, he would suggest that Her Majesty should assume some such title as that of Queen or Empress of Britannia, or Colonia, or of the British Dominions—some title, in short, which would be expressive of the fact that Her Majesty was the ruler of the whole Empire in its integrity. He hoped that this subject would come under the consideration of the Council of the Institute at an early day, in order that a memorial might be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to assume some such title as he had mentioned, for the purpose of showing our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies that they were considered as an important portion of the ancient English monarchy, and as integral parts of the Greater Britain of the future. (Applause.)

Mr. HENRY CLOETE said that, as a Cape Colonist, and one who naturally took a great interest in anything connected with South Africa, he desired to make a few observations on General Bisset's paper. What he was about to say on the subject he would distribute under three heads. (1) He would criticise General Bisset's paper, stating wherein he disagreed with him, supplying omissions, and leaving that wherein he agreed with him to be collected from that which he passed by unnoticed. (2) He would make some remarks with reference to Dr. Atherstone's address. (3) He would do likewise with reference to Mr. Campbell-Johnston's address. That General Bisset's paper was an exceedingly interesting, comprehensive, and instructive one, that it must have cost him a great deal of trouble and research to have placed on record so many facts relating to the historical, political, financial, commercial, and social condition of South Africa and her Colonies, he need hardly state. The manner in which the address was received manifestly showed that its value was appreciated by the audience. He was sure every South African

Colonist present joined with him (the speaker) in thanking the General for expending so much time and labour in endeavouring, as he himself remarked, "to dispel those mists and ignorances which existed in the minds of the English public with reference to matters relating to South Africa." Seeing, then, his appreciation of the paper, the General would, he was sure, not take it amiss when he criticised some details wherein he disagreed with him, but would rather accredit to him the honest motive of putting things in that light which appeared to him to be truest. Upon referring to the paper read, he found the statement, "that the Kaffirs were the greatest cattle robbers in the world." That statement, no doubt, was true in the main—cattle-lifting certainly was their speciality; but then it was subject to some qualification. Upon first sight that statement would lead one unacquainted with the Kaffirs to conclude that they were, without exception, the greatest thieves in the world. Now that was not so, for the Zulus—a Kaffir tribe—were a very superior race, being, as a rule, very honest and trustworthy, and having a great sense of honour; such, at least, had been his experience of them. (General BISSER: The Zulus are quite distinct from the Kaffirs.) Mr. Cloete said he thought he would challenge that statement, because he considered it too sweeping, and calculated to create wrong impressions concerning the character of that class of South African natives. The General had related to the meeting the treachery that Dinghaan and his followers (who were Zulus) practised upon the Dutch Colonists in 1838, and doubtless he would plead that as a justification for including the Zulus amongst the other Kaffir tribes, and stigmatising them with the common name of thieves and untrustworthy persons. Now he (Mr. Cloete) contended that that was no proof whatever of the character of the Zulus individually, for anyone acquainted with native character would admit that the chiefs exercised great influence over their tribes, taken as a whole. If a tribe was governed by a cruel chief, such as the General admits Dinghaan to have been, the tribe collectively would be guilty of mal-practices which, under another and more humane chief, they would naturally shrink from. In short, individually, the character of the Zulus was, as he (Mr. Cloete) had stated, but if under the governance of a cruel ruler, there was no knowing to what extremes they might be goaded by his evil influence. The General, in his enumeration of the staple commodities of the Cape Colony, forgot to mention, if not the chief, at least one of the principal, commodities—wine. He might have had an innocent object in view for his conduct—namely, not to speak of anything which was in disfavour with his audience; and

Cape wine certainly was in bad odour with the wine-drinking section of the community in England. Well, whatever opinions the English people might entertain as to the quality of Cape wines, he (Mr. Cloete) might assure them that they often drank it under a disguised name. Again, much of the Cape wine sold in London was not Cape wine at all, but stuff manufactured for the purpose of keeping the Cape wine in as low repute as possible, so as to enable the dealers to procure the latter at as low a rate as possible, in order to make the largest possible profits. Englishmen might ask, Why don't the Cape people remedy this? There was the rub. The only effectual remedy, to his thinking, was to be found in the establishment of a company or agency in London for the sale of Cape wines—like the Bodega, for Spanish wines—and a combination on the part of the producers at the Cape for the avowed purpose of selling their wine only to their company or through their agency, who would dispose of the genuine wine, and not rubbish, as Cape. Then he was sure the public would desist from despising Cape wines, for he knew that there were good wines made and to be had at the Cape, and if once the English public had the opportunity of tasting the genuine article, they would think so too. (Hear, hear.) The General attributed the non-advancement of railway communication in South Africa to the non-progressive tendencies of the Dutch. He (Mr. Cloete) would like to ask him whether the fact that railway communication was slowly developed was not rather due to the force of circumstances, namely, that the country was then too poor to undertake such gigantic public enterprises with regard to railways as it undertook now; whether their old form of government (the being governed from Downing-street), which lacked Colonial representation, and consequently the advancement of Colonial interests, had not to answer for a deal; and whether the non-development of the country and its resources at that time required the means of transport which now, since the increased development of the country, was an absolute necessity. That his argument was the correct one, was proved by the fact that there were as many Dutch Colonists now as there were then, and yet see what was being done for railway communication now when circumstances had altered, and a demand for transport was felt. The General further remarked, that it was due to the Roman Dutch law of inheritance which until lately had prevailed in the Colony, "that the large estates of the old Dutch farmers had been so subdivided within the last two or three generations that their offspring had become very small holders of land." Further on he said, "One farmer possessed nine square miles to himself." Evidently there

was some discrepancy between those two statements. The fact of the matter was, that the Roman Dutch law did not subdivide the estates to such an extent as the General would lead his audience to suppose, but he was quite correct in saying that in many parts one farmer owned nine square miles. What the Roman law of inheritance did, was to subdivide the interests in the property, and not the property itself. The *modus operandi* of the Roman Dutch law was as follows: The ancestor died; his descendants as a rule succeeded to his property equally, whether by devise or intestary; the property was then either sold, each child receiving his or her proportionate share out of the proceeds, or one of the descendants took over the interests of the others in the property at a valuation. The effect of the proceeding was manifestly that the property frequently changed hands, or that the descendants who took over the property at a valuation became impoverished, not that the estate itself was subdivided. Where the estates had been so subdivided other causes had been at work—causes which he would not stop to explain for fear of wearying his listeners, and which were quite irrelevant. Further on in his paper the General said, speaking about the British settlers of 1820, “And from the energy of these men sprang the present prosperity of the Colony.” Now he (Mr. Cloete) thought that assertion was hardly fair, seeing that only the Eastern Province—a designation which he used with great reluctance, for he considered that there ought not to be any distinction between the Eastern and Western Provinces—was populated by the settlers of 1820. What about the inhabitants of the Western Province—Dutch settlers and their descendants, had they not added their quota towards raising the united provinces to their present prosperous condition? He took the same objection to that statement which he took to a previous one, namely, that it was too sweeping, and ought to be qualified. The General next alluded to the discontent of the natives. He (Mr. Cloete) took exception to that statement, because he had no evidence to that effect, and that was the more curious, seeing that he read the Colonial papers regularly. The information he had gained through those and official sources went to prove that the natives were as contented as they well could be. (Hear, hear.) That they were becoming more civilised, was proved by the fact that they contributed largely towards the establishment of schools and churches amongst them; and the fact that they bought largely agricultural implements, showed that they were becoming more industrious. Another inconsistency occurred in the General’s paper where he spoke of the discovery of diamonds on the banks of the Vaal. In one place he

stated that the first diamond was found in 1866, in another in 1867. (General BISSÉT: A misprint.) Of course he knew full well that that was merely an oversight on the part of the author; but the reason why he stopped to comment on that statement was, because he thought that nobody knew when the first diamond was found, for he had it on authority from the farmers residing in the vicinity of the Vaal river and from the natives, that traders actually had bought diamonds long before the fact that diamonds were to be found in that locality was made public. When the General said, "The relationship between the Dutch States and the English Colonies in South Africa had not heretofore been very cordial," he (Mr. Cloete) thought he must have meant to say, that the relationship between the Dutch States and the Imperial Government had not been as cordial as it might have been. As regards the relationship of the Colonies, *inter se*, they had been very cordial. Speaking of Griqualand West, the General said, "But the province has not yet been regularly annexed to the Cape Colony." Mr. Cloete said he could assure the General that it never would be annexed until its financial condition appeared more rosy. The occupation of that province had been a mistake from beginning to end. When drifting on to insolvency, the Cape Legislature was requested to annex the province, but they graciously declined doing the Imperial Government that little favour. Lastly, then, was the question of federation. He agreed with the General absolutely that if South Africa was to become a great country, it was expedient that they should federate. (Hear, hear.) The old maxim that "Unity makes strength," was too true ever to be controverted. But voluntary federation—and by voluntary federation he meant where no coercion was employed, for if the Colonies were coerced the result would be a vicious federation, and one which would tend rather to sever the links of unity and brotherhood, instead of bringing them closer and riveting them—was, as Mr. Watson had remarked, impracticable just now. Federation as he (Mr. Cloete) understood the term, and as it was defined by Mr. Austin, meant, "That the several united governments of the several united societies, together with a government common to those united societies, are jointly sovereign in each of these societies, and also in the larger society arising from the federal union." A federation of that kind required the relinquishing of some sovereignty on the part of the States joining the federal union. Did the General imagine for a moment that the Dutch Independent States were prepared to adopt such a course? Did he picture to himself South Africa united under the British flag? If he did so, he could assure him his imagination was indeed vivid.

Did not the General in his paper state that the Dutch Republics had reason to complain of the treatment they had received at the hands of the Imperial Government? And did he think that old sores were healed in a day, or that deep-rooted antipathies could be removed in a hour? Again, the General referred to the Canadian federation, and drew a parallel between that federation and the proposed South African one. He forgot that the Canadian States before they were united were composed of people as a rule of the same nationality, or if not of the same nationality, at least they were so assimilated, that the distinction was rather nominal than real. The people in the South African States were, on the other hand, of different nationalities, widely distinct; still speaking different languages, their habits and customs were different, and they had opposite interests. Though he regretted it very much, Mr. Cloete said he was compelled to say that he thought there would be no federation of South Africa just yet. When their railway systems were so developed that the States were upon intimate intercourse with each other, and the Imperial Government more conciliatory in its tone towards the Dutch Republics, then, *ex necessitate rerum*, federation would follow. (Hear, hear.) It might not be out of place here to remark that he considered the Cape Ministry had acted rightly in the matter of the federation controversy. (Hear, hear.) They, as the repositories of the rights of the people, ought, as they did in this case, to guard them jealously. Every young State was jealous of its rights, and justly too, if bad precedents were sought to be established. Responsible government, as he understood the term, was local self-government, restricted only in this, that its actions must not conflict with Imperial interests. From that definition it followed that the internal administration of such a State as had responsible government, ought to be controlled entirely by the responsible Ministry of that State. Was that done in the case he was speaking of? No; Lord Carnarvon not only named the number of delegates, but also the individual delegates. Further, an Imperial agent was sent out, a proceeding which he (Mr. Cloete) considered most insulting to Sir Henry Barkly, for, to his thinking, Sir Henry was virtually superseded as representative of the Queen in South Africa. When the Imperial agent took the management of the federation scheme into his own hands, what did the Imperial agent do? Stumped the country, agitated the people, and stirred them up against the existing Ministry by inflammatory speeches. Was that constitutional? He (Mr. Cloete) thought that no rational being would say that it was. The position taken up by the Cape Ministry, namely, that Lord Car-

narvon had no right to initiate such a federation scheme without consulting them—although he would not deny that it would not have been more gracious if he had—he considered untenable. There was no doubt in his (Mr. Cloete's) mind, that such a scheme ought to emanate from the parent country. (Hear, hear.) That the Ministry might have been more polite in their minute, when replying to Lord Carnarvon's despatch, he would also acknowledge; but then Mr. Molteno confessed that he was not a polite letter-writer. No, he was something more than that: he was honest to a degree—(hear, hear)—straightforward, and had the welfare of the whole, not any particular part, of the Colony at heart. When the time came for the Premier to resign office—which he hoped for the interests of the Colony might be long deferred—he was sure the country would unanimously declare that John Molteno had been a benefactor indeed to them, and if it did not, his works would be monuments of his usefulness. He would now proceed with his remarks upon Dr. Atherstone's address. From what had fallen from that gentleman, Mr. Cloete said he implied that he had brought his pony "separation" with him from South Africa, after riding him almost to death there. But what seemed most remarkable was, that Dr. Atherstone advocated "federation," and almost in the same breath urged "separation." Mr. Cloete said, to his mind, those positions seemed diametrically opposed. His opinion respecting federation he had already expressed; his views on separation were summed up briefly thus—ruin and destruction to the now prosperous Cape Colony. (Hear, hear.) Had the expense of keeping up petty governments entered into the mind of Dr. Atherstone? Had he considered other collateral antagonisms that must arise when a large State was split up into several smaller ones? And what were the arguments by which Dr. Atherstone justified the adoption of such a course as separation? He said the distance of the Western from the Eastern districts was the cause of unequal representation, and rendered the Eastern districts virtually disfranchised, because the services of no fit men could be procured by the Eastern constituencies to represent them in Parliament. What would Messrs. Paterson, Spragg, Godleinton, Watermeyer, Wood, and many other leading men of the Eastern Province, in both the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament, say to that statement? Mr. Cloete said his opinion was that the Eastern districts were as well, if not better, represented in Parliament, as regards the fitness of their representatives, as the Western districts were. Dr. Atherstone's next argument was that the Cape was at the end of the Colony, and that therefore it was not the

proper seat of government. The transference of the seat of government to Grahamstown was what was aimed at in that remark. But saying nothing about the expense of removing a government and staff, and accommodating them, unfortunately Grahamstown—being situated at the other end of the Colony—was on that account liable to the same objection as Capetown as a seat of government. A few remarks on Mr. Campbell-Johnston's address, in conclusion. That gentleman seemed to have singled out the Dutch Republics, especially the Transvaal Republic, as the object of his address. Why he should have done so, seeing that the title of General Bisset's paper was "South Africa and her Colonies," of course he (Mr. Cloete) knew not, unless it was due to the friendship which existed between Mr. Campbell-Johnston and the presidents of the Republics. But be that as it may, he (Mr. Cloete) took a decided exception to a remark of his, which amounted simply to this, that the British Government knowingly swindled the Free State out of the diamond-fields. (MR. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON: I said snatched, not swindled.) Now as a Colonist and a British subject, he felt hurt whenever the justice and uprightness for which England had been and still was so justly famed over the known world, was assailed. If Mr. Campbell-Johnston had given his reasons for his assertion, he (Mr. Cloete) would not perhaps have felt so strongly upon the point, but here he came and made a serious accusation unsupported by any proof. Mr. Cloete did not for a moment believe that the British Government knowingly defrauded the Free State out of their just dues, but he thought that misconceptions arose, and sometimes were complicated, through obscure and imperfect representations made to the Colonial Office in London. He was sure that the British Government would be only too ready to make reparation, if it could be proved that they had been, even unintentionally, the cause of any wrong. He concluded by thanking the audience for having accorded him such a patient hearing. (Applause.)

Mr. KERRY-NICHOLLS contributed a few remarks upon Imperial federation. He was not acquainted with the internal government of the Cape, and therefore would only speak on the general merits of General Bisset's paper, which all must acknowledge contained much valuable information. (Hear, hear.) Those who had studied the external and internal problems of Colonial politics could not fail to perceive that the question of Imperial federation was of vast importance, not only when considered in relation to the political and commercial prestige of the mother country, but likewise when considered in its bearing upon the welfare of the

Colonies, which were rapidly assuming the position of wealthy and powerful States. That the question was a very difficult one to deal with there could be no doubt, and although many ideas had been advanced concerning it, he did not see that it had yet met with any practical solution. Although they might not all concur in the views set forth by General Bisset, he thought they would be unanimously of opinion that the gallant General's ideas might lay claim to a certain degree of candour, not to say originality. While fully acknowledging the importance of Imperial federation, General Bisset frankly showed them how it was to be brought about. He said that each Colony should send a representative to the British House of Commons, and that these so-called representatives should be allowed to speak, but not to vote. Now the question of Imperial federation was one in which great and vital interests were involved, and before a satisfactory solution could be arrived at, the subject must be impartially considered from two distinct points of view—Imperial and Colonial. If we offered to the Colonies any form of Imperial federation based upon representation in the Imperial Councils of the State, we must extend to them a proportionate representation and voting power. We could not say to them, "We shall be happy to have your representation and hear your voice, but you must not vote; in other words, you may bark, but not bite." How was it to be expected that the Colonies would agree to such a form of representation as that, which was in direct opposition to the spirit of our own constitution, and contrary to the acknowledged principles of free representative government? Supposing, to illustrate the point, that these Colonial representatives did find themselves in the House of Commons under such circumstances. What position could they occupy? What weight would they carry with them? They would by their peculiar and limited powers be left entirely "out in the cold," and to his mind they would be like so many flies in amber, and the world would be apt to wonder not only how they got there, but why they got there. The relationship existing between Great Britain and her Colonies was without a parallel in history. The Greeks and the Romans created vast Colonies, which were founded by conquest and retained by force of arms. We also had dependencies which we had acquired in the same way, such as India and other places; but, on the other hand, we had gone forth and peopled new and sparsely-populated countries, and had raised powerful Colonies, which, to judge from their rate of progress, bid fair to outrival the mother country in population and greatness. But we had gone further than that. We had extended to these Colonies,

speaking the same language and adopting the same laws, a form of representation to all intents and purposes identical with our own; we had permitted them to assume a responsible form of government; we had withdrawn State aid, and had, if he might use the expression, allowed them to sink or to swim according to their power of flotation. Now that power of flotation had been, happily for the Colonies, wonderfully great. Buoyed up with high hopes and aspirations, and placed in new countries possessing a boundless material wealth, they had come to the surface, and had not only assumed the importance of flourishing States, but almost of powerful nations. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Although the Colonies were called dependencies of the Crown, it must be conceded that there was very little spirit of dependence amongst the Colonists themselves. Responsible government, the sentiment of nationality which had sprung up with it, and other causes, had taught them to know their political and material strength and importance; and whilst he believed they would hail with readiness, nay, even with pride, any form of Imperial federation in which their interests would be fairly represented, he was sure they would stand firmly aloof from any scheme of Imperial federation in which they could not enjoy relatively the same privilege with ourselves. The Colonies, mindful of the important position they had acquired for themselves in the world, would be apt to look upon Imperial federation in a very matter-of-fact way. They would say, *Qui bono?* and if arguing the point with the mother country they might justly add, "You gave birth to us, you nursed us when in our swaddling-clothes, you sent us to school in our own parliaments to learn how to govern ourselves, and now that we have attained our majority, and are likely to cut a big figure in the world, you talk about Imperial federation, and ask us to enter into a bond of eternal fellowship." Or they might say, in reply to the gallant General, "You invite us to your home like so many good little children, you ask us to sit at your table and tell you all we know of our far-off countries; but then, with the air of a stern mentor, you give us a tremendous rap over the knuckles that makes us wince again, and you say, My little dears, you must keep your fingers out of the pie." Mr. Nicholls said, recognising, as we must, the great political and commercial eminence to which the Colonies had attained, it seemed clear to his mind that any form of Imperial federation must be based upon measures of equality, and assimilated as near as possible to our present constitution and form of government. In other words, if we invited the Colonies to enter into an Imperial federation, we must meet them as near

as circumstances would allow upon an equal footing, and extend to them relatively the same constitutional privileges with ourselves. We could not at this late stage say to the Colonies, "You shall do this," nor could the Colonies say to us, "You shall do the other." There must be an equal, voluntary, and conjoint action on the part of the mother country and the Colonies, and community of commercial interest in time of peace, and a firm and united action in time of war, must form the principal links in the great bond of union. It could not be denied that Great Britain at the present day occupied the most important position among nations. But how had that been brought about? Had not the Colonies had a great deal to do with that wonderful supremacy? Had they not poured wealth into our coffers? Had not their ships gone forth carrying our flag into every corner of the world? If any further proof of that were wanted, he might mention that according to the latest statistics, those of 1874, the exports from Great Britain to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape amounted to £35,000,000, while the imports to the United Kingdom from those countries were £38,000,000, thus leaving a surplus in favour of the Colonies of over £3,000,000. The question naturally suggested itself how long would this state of affairs last, and what could be done to consolidate this rapidly-increasing power. He did not wish to speak in the spirit of an alarmist, but he believed that the political millennium had not arrived when we might turn our swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. With 7,000,000 of armed men upon the Continent, practically within a few miles of our shores and with a powerful nation creeping up to the confines of our Indian Empire, there was no telling how soon a change might come over the spirit of our dream; and he was firmly of opinion that if anything was to be done in the matter of Imperial federation, there might never be a better opportunity than the present to take the initial step in that direction. So far as his own experience taught him, he believed that the spirit animating British Colonists at the present time was that of love for the mother country and loyalty for the Crown; but it should not be forgotten that the population of the Colonies was composed of various elements, which might now be said to be in a transitory state, and that, irrespective of the foreign element which was being constantly introduced, a race of native-born Colonial subjects was rapidly taking the place of the old British blood; and unless some intimate bond of union was brought about to strengthen and to foster this spirit of love and loyalty for British power and influence, it was one that would, in the ordinary course

of circumstances, become gradually less, and finally die out; and when once secession had set in and the time for action had arrived, we might see a host of Republics spring up around us—as we had before seen in our early colonisation of America—in place of a loyal people, ready to do battle in the cause of a great and united Empire. (Cheers.) He concluded by testifying his appreciation of General Bisset's interesting paper.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE contributed a few remarks respecting the Canadian scheme of federation. That Dominion, he said, had been quoted by General Bisset as a somewhat parallel case to that of the South African Colonies, and exception had been taken by a previous speaker to the Canadian scheme on the ground that while in South Africa there was a great diversity of language, in Canada they had not such an element to deal with. Now he might mention that in the province of Quebec the majority of the people were French, and to such an extent did their interests predominate, that the proceedings in the Quebec Assembly were carried on both in French and English, and all documents had to be printed in both languages; the same rule also prevailed in the Dominion Parliament. He did not think the Dutch element in South Africa would be more difficult to deal with. The progress and success of federation in the North American Colonies was, he considered, such as to give the greatest encouragement to future efforts in that direction. He thought the very name of the Dominion of Canada suggested an excellent appendage to the title of Her Majesty the Queen. We had a Canadian Dominion, and there was no doubt that in time we should have a West Indian Dominion, an Australian Dominion, and a South African Dominion, and if the Queen were to assume the title of "Queen of the British Dominions," in addition to that by which she is now known, he thought it would be at once comprehensive and sufficient. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS (late Attorney-General for South Australia) said he could quite agree with what was said by Mr. Cloete to the effect that there was as good wine made at the Cape as anyone could wish to drink. There was the "Constantia," which was excellent and had a world-wide fame, but some of the Cape sherry was very bad, and yet this latter wine, which was, he thought, largely advertised in the *Times* and other daily newspapers under other names, was much admired by people in this country. He had drunk at the Cape as nice a sherry as he would wish for. But with regard to the main question of the paper—the question of federation—General Bisset would have the Colonies send representatives to the English Parliament who should not vote, but

speak. All he (Mr. Strangways) knew was, that when he was in the Legislative Assembly of South Australia it was the vote he cared for, and he thought Mr. Disraeli, if asked, would say that the principal thing he looked to was the number of names on the division list. Mr. Strangways said he felt sure the General's scheme would not work. Fancy, if America was introduced and the hon. member for the Rocky Mountains made his appearance—a tall, thin, gaunt Kentucky back-woodsman, walking up the centre of the House and making his way towards some old county member, who perhaps might be doing what he might facetiously call attending to his duties in Parliament, namely, having a snooze in a quiet corner with his hat over his eyes, and fancy the hon. member for the Rocky Mountains patting the county member on the back and saying, "Wall, old 'hoss?" what would be the effect upon the members of the British Parliament? The effect he (Mr. Strangways) considered might be more easily imagined than described. He thought he was one of the first who ventured in June last to make some remarks in favour of Lord Carnarvon's views of the federation of the Cape Colonies, and now he would refer to some of the blunders that had been made. In the Langalibalele affair the Cape Legislature was snubbed by Lord Carnarvon, who had afterwards to be content with the removal of the chief from Robin Island to another place, to be kept at a greater expense to the Cape Government. Then Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out to Natal to see all that was to be seen. He reduced the proportion of elected representatives in the Legislature and substituted nominee members, and was freely accused in the local papers of drowning the liberties of the country in sherry and champagne, and, after he left, the Colonists found that they had to pay a bill of some £4,000 for expenses. Then there was Mr. Froude's visit. When it was arranged that that gentleman should go to the Cape, people began to ask, Who is Mr. Froude? All that was said was that Mr. Froude was a great admirer of Queen Elizabeth. (A laugh.) The arrival of Mr. Froude in the Colony was undoubtedly considered as a slur upon the Government. It was true he was well received in places, but the Cape people cared little or nothing about his opinions; they merely went to see him just in the same way as people in this country would go and see a black boy at a country fair. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Now these were the three points on which Lord Carnarvon started his scheme of federation. He (Mr. Strangways) knew the feelings of Colonists as well as anyone in that room, and while he would admit that it was possible to lead our fellow-countrymen on

the other side of the world, he was sure it would be impossible to drive them ; and he had no hesitation in saying that had Mr. Froude been sent out to Australia to act in the same way as he had done in South Africa, he would have been sent back in double quick time. (Hear, hear.) Very serious mistakes had been made with regard to the proposed federation of South Africa—mistakes which would postpone the carrying out of that federal union which they all so much desired to see ; and he (Mr. Strangways) thought the best thing now was to let the subject remain in abeyance for some little time, until the ill-feeling which now existed had passed away. So far as regards the Dutch not joining in any scheme of federation, that was merely a question of £ s. d. Give them some railways and telegraphs, and they would most probably not object to join. After insisting upon his suggestion made some time ago in the press of establishing a line of telegraphic communication through Central Africa between Cairo and Capetown, Mr. Strangways concluded by remarking that he thought the Colonial Office seemed to desire to go back to its old traditions in respect of treating the Colonies as children. He was confident they would rebel against such treatment, and, if persisted in, great disturbance must be the result.

Mr. F. P. LABILLIERE said it seemed to him that one prominent fact was brought out by every discussion of the Institute, and appeared conspicuously in General Bisset's paper, namely, that there was a unity not only of interests and sympathies, but also of political questions and political policies, existing in the various portions of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) For instance, the question of inter-colonial federation, which had been so much considered in this discussion, was identical with that which was discussed and, by the force of circumstances, settled in Canada ten years ago. Similar pressure—the need of joint action for purposes of greater general security—had brought forward the question in South Africa, and he had no doubt it would soon have to be discussed in connection with Australia. He should first like to refer to what General Bisset had said upon the surrender of the Orange Free State. He (Mr. Labillière) maintained that amongst political blunders perpetrated in connection with the Colonies, none had been more glaring than that of parting with that State. It had to a considerable extent brought about the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs, for it had strengthened the Free State influence, which was one of the most serious difficulties in the way of South African federation. With all our knowledge of the Colonies, he was afraid we had yet

to learn wisdom by experience, and to be taught the value of all our territories and of many tracts adjacent to them. Judging by the action of the Imperial Government, New Guinea and other islands were worth little or nothing; but he ventured to say that if we allowed those desirable places to slip from our hands, ten or twenty years hence people would look upon the present indifference with regard to them as a blunder on a par with the abandonment of the Orange Free State. During the present week, Parliament was to be asked to give up one of our great highways to the heart of Africa—the Gambia. Should this be carried out, another cause of future regret and reproach will be furnished. It was to be hoped that Downing Street would learn the lesson the neglect which caused the loss of the Island of St. Juan, and the deliberate abandonment of the Orange Free State, should assuredly teach. He would now say a few words upon federation. He was one of those who, with Mr. Young, thought there was something higher and grander even than inter-colonial federation, and that was Imperial federation. In arranging for the former, we should always bear in view the latter. He would not enter into details with respect to federation. From the earliest times down to the present, we had examples of that form of government, and therefore no student of history required to be told what a federal government meant. Though an advanced Imperial federalist, he did not agree with General Bisset's scheme. In fact, when the gallant General mentioned that the United States should form part of our confederation, he fairly took his (Mr. Labillière's) breath away. He deeply regretted the separation of the United States, and the causes which produced it, but feared it could not be recalled. It was not in general profitable to speculate as to what would have happened if the events recorded in history had not taken place; but if the relations between England and her American Colonies had been as happy a century ago as are those with her Colonies at the present day, we can easily perceive what shape events would have taken. The colonists were Americans of the third or fourth generation, and, though the grandsons and great-grandsons of the persecuted Puritans, whom Stuart oppression had driven from this country, were as true and loyal to the British Crown as any men could possibly be. George Washington wore the British uniform and fought under the British flag, and he would have been perfectly willing to have died under it if he had been allowed to do so—(hear, hear)—but he was compelled to revolt. We can therefore well perceive, and may, with the greatest advantage, reflect upon, the course events would

have followed had the unhappy cause of separation between England and the United States not arisen a hundred years ago. A little later, England became engaged in the great war with Napoleon; and would the Colonies have taken advantage of that to have broken away from her? As a colonist by birth and feelings, he indignantly repudiated the imputation of mean cowardice—for it was nothing less—made against them by those who assert that the Colonies will choose the time of some foreign war to separate from the mother country. Never! Nothing would be more calculated to link the bonds of union closer than a great war. Well, then, how would the Americans have acted in the war of Napoleon? Can we doubt that they would have thrown themselves heartily into it in support of this country? Ships equipped by them would have fought under Nelson at Trafalgar, and regiments of them would have served under Wellington in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. Thus their claim to some share in the Imperial Government would have become conspicuous, and the foundation would have been laid of their federal union with this country, which, by this time, would have become more complete. He would conclude with a quotation from a leading article in the *Times* of Nov. 30th, 1872, in which the question was considered whether the Independence of the United States was necessary. Speaking of Mr. Gladstone's remarks at a dinner given by Mr. Cyrus Field, the article suggests the following weighty reflections: "To quarrel now because George III. and Lord North vainly endeavoured to lay a tax on the Boston trade, would be an extravagance of pugnacity only to be paralleled by an Irish faction fight; and if we disagree at all from Mr. Gladstone's remarks on the original causes of separation, we disagree from him in regarding that separation as inevitable. When he says that Great Britain was struggling against nature, and even against Providence, in opposing American independence, we take leave to doubt whether, if both nations had then known their own interests, American Independence would ever have been proclaimed. Since it is now too late to undo, it is safe to regret events which passed a century ago; and we hold ourselves perfectly free to believe that, but for George III. and Lord North, these islands and the United Provinces might have continued under the same Government—modified, no doubt, by the very nature of such association, yet still embodying the spirit of that constitution which Burke's genius would have known how to develop." He thoroughly sympathised with all the projects of inter-colonial confederation, but in working them out we should ever remember that Imperial confederation should

be the keystone of the arch of all our systems of government in the Empire.

Mr. BAM, M.L.A., Cape of Good Hope, on being called upon to make a few observations, remarked that after what had been stated by General Bisset, and by Mr. Glanville on a former occasion, very little remained to be said about South Africa. They had heard of the vast extent and the numerous resources of those Colonies; they had been made acquainted with the number of the natives, and had learnt what was being done to civilise them; and General Bisset had told them that, notwithstanding the wealth and resources of the country, it had made but slow progress. Now, whilst admitting that in years past the condition of the Cape was anything but satisfactory, yet since they had been given a free constitution and responsible government, the Colony had made rapid strides, and it was now one of the most hopeful of the British possessions. The present population of the Cape Colony (to which he would specially confine himself) was considerably over 600,000, exclusive of the natives of Kaffirland and Basutoland, and its revenue was about £1,250,000 sterling. On referring to Mr. Noble's descriptive handbook of the Colony—which book all who desired to become more acquainted with the Cape should read—he found some interesting statistics with reference to the live stock of the Colony. In 1865, the number of horses in the Colony, quoting them in round numbers, amounted to 228,000; in 1875 they had decreased to 207,000, owing to a prevailing horse sickness a few years ago. On the other hand, mules and asses had increased from 24,000 to 30,000 during the same period: that was because the country farmers now generally use mules. The draught oxen and other cattle in 1865 numbered 692,000; in 1875 there were 1,097,000. The wool sheep during the same time had increased from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000, while the Cape sheep had decreased from 1,470,000 to 944,000. He might mention that some of the tails of these sheep weighed upwards of 20 lbs., the average being from 6 to 8 lbs. They were melted into fat, which served as an excellent substitute for butter; at one time it was sold at 3d. to 6d. per lb., but when he left the Colony it could not be purchased for less than 2s. 6d. per lb. In 1865 the angora goats amounted to 121,000; in 1875 they had increased to 973,000. On the other hand, Cape goats decreased during the same period from 2,148,000 to 2,123,000. Pigs in 1865 numbered 78,000, in 1875; they had increased to 110,000. As regards ostriches, in 1865 there were only 80; in 1875 the number as given by Mr. Noble, was 22,257; nearly £250,000 in value of feathers was exported during last

year. With all these facts before him, he thought the Colony bade fair to be an excellent one for emigrants, and he was glad to note that since 1873 Mr. Fuller, the Cape Emigration Agent in London, had sent out over 3,000 people. It was very gratifying that the Colony had lately been brought so very prominently before the eyes of the world, and this led him to a subject of importance not only to the Cape Colony, but also to the Home Government: he need hardly say that he alluded to the question of federation. A great deal had been said and done with regard to that matter. Upon the arrival of the first despatch in the Colony a great deal of dissatisfaction prevailed, because the Cape Ministry considered it to be dictatorial, and they would not allow themselves to be dictated to by the Home Government; but he believed Lord Carnarvon did not intend to disturb their equilibrium. Personally he (Mr. Bam) was in favour of the proposed conference. Not many years ago the subject of the federation of South Africa was taken into consideration by a commission, who reported that federation was desirable; and, so far as he could see, the matter remained the same as it was then. He considered Lord Carnarvon acted very indiscreetly when he selected his own Commissioner, and so did Mr. Froude, when he unnecessarily agitated the minds of the people of the Colony. (Hear, hear.) There were very few South African colonists who were not in favour of a conference. It had been said by several that the time was inopportune, but he (Mr. Bam) thought that the present time, when complaints were being continually sent home, was most opportune. He had no doubt that the Orange Free State and the Transvaal would ultimately join in a confederation, but nothing better than a conference would help to solve that question. With regard to Mr. Molteno, he maintained that that gentleman had acted fairly throughout. Doubtless a more liberal spirit would soon come over "the spirit of his dream," and he would conclude that, as the South African Colonies were all members of one family, a closer union was necessary. Circumstances were so rapidly advancing, and events moved on so quickly, that it was not unreasonable to suppose that the present state of feeling might soon change, and that at no distant date we might hear of one prosperous South African Dominion. (Hear hear, and cheers.)

Mr. DONALD CURRIE, who had the disadvantage of speaking when the time for continuing the meeting had already been very much protracted, rose in answer to the request of the noble Chairman, and made a few remarks which were well received by the whole meeting, as dictated by the spirit of conciliation and har-

mony. Mr. Currie pointed out with reference to the question which has been raised with respect to confederation generally of all the British Colonies, and the admission to Parliament of representatives, that this would involve a disadvantage and a necessity: a disadvantage, seeing that the colonists would not like to have any share of the National Debt and Imperial Taxation—a necessity that, in his opinion, such confederation could only take place after Australia, the Cape, and other Colonies, had seen their way to follow the example of the North American Colonies, and formed themselves into confederacies. With respect to the interest of South Africa, which he said was the special object before the meeting, Mr. Currie pointed out the gravity of the present crisis. He considered there was no time so important in the interests of the Cape Colonies and Natal as the present. From certain proceedings during last year, embarrassment and complications had arisen between the Cape and the mother country, which, added to the already existing and somewhat long-standing conditions of affairs between England and the Republics, required to be smoothed away. He urged the necessity for the exercise of sound judgment and tact in present circumstances; the duty of everyone—colonist or dweller at home—was to avoid irritating language. He deprecated the severe criticism upon public men which had characterised the speeches of some of the preceding speakers, and also the spirit of jocularly which was allowed to trifle with so important a subject on the part of others. Mr. Currie insisted that Mr. Molteno, as Prime Minister of the Cape and head of the responsible government, was bound and entitled to express his views with independence and freedom. He protested against remarks which had been made derogatory to Mr. Froude; while as respects Lord Carnarvon, he declared that no Colonial Minister had shown so deep an interest in South Africa, and that it would be a foolish and impolitic course for any one, colonist or other, to use any language calculated to moderate the earnestness with which his Lordship sought the welfare of their country. Mr. Currie earnestly urged everyone to do what he could for the practical development of what was best for the social, political, and material interest of South Africa as a whole. He expressed regret that Delagoa Bay had been adjudged a foreign possession, but showed in clear terms that in the long run the good of South Africa would be furthered by the energy of the Dutch capitalists, who had in Holland (as he was informed by President Burgers) agreed to assist the Transvaal in its railway enterprise. Mr. Currie pressed upon the colonists to hurry forward their own new colonial lines of communication with the interior, and prog-

nosticated for their large inland territory a great and increasing progress and prosperity.

Mr. WATSON said he was anxious to offer some explanation respecting the few remarks he made on Lieut.-General Bisset's paper at the last meeting. From what he had subsequently heard, he was afraid an impression had got abroad that he was opposed to federation. Now this was a great mistake, because he was decidedly in favour of a confederation of the States of South Africa, if such a measure could be satisfactorily carried out; at the same time, he could not shut his eyes to the fact that considerable difficulty would be experienced in its accomplishment. He wished also to explain that, while speaking of the dissatisfaction which prevailed amongst the Dutch farmers when he first arrived at the Cape, in 1842, he never meant to infer that the abolition of slavery was a mistake in itself, because no true Englishman could maintain that; but he thought the process of emancipation was carried out in a somewhat objectionable manner, by which the owners of slaves were suddenly deprived of their usual supply of labour.

Dr. ATHERSTONE said Mr. Cloete had accused him of riding a hobby-horse "separation," and at the same time of advocating federation. On reference to the printed speech, he considered Mr. Cloete would find he had made a mistake. He (Dr. Atherstone) thought it was singular bad taste on the part of Mr. Cloete to criticise General Bisset's paper in the way he had done.

The noble PRESIDENT said: In the few remarks I shall make I shall endeavour to set a better example by not speaking at so great a length as many here present have done to-night. The subject has indeed been so very fully discussed and treated of, that there are few points to which I wish to refer. I should like first to say a word upon irrigation. It struck me when I was at the Cape that no other country in the world was capable of greater improvement by means of irrigation than South Africa. (Hear, hear.) The soil gets hardened by the great heat of the sun, and the water from the clouds runs away very rapidly, but if that water could be stored it might soften and enrich the land, and make it prolific instead of being, as it sometimes is, a nuisance. (Hear, hear.) Now I wish to say that I can bear testimony to the excellence of some of the Cape wines. As long ago as 1844 I bought a quantity of a wine called "Dry Pontac," which I found to be of excellent quality. I will now say a word upon a very important question which has been alluded to to-night—namely, the proposal which has been made by Government, that the Queen should make an addition to her title. It has been said, and very properly, that if Her Majesty recognises

the country of India, she should also recognise the magnificent territories which have been won, not by blood or by fighting—very few have been gained by wars—but which have been won from the wilderness by the enterprise and perseverance of our fellow-countrymen; and I quite agree that it would be a graceful act for the Ministry to advise the Queen to add to her title one which should acknowledge the success of the British race in peopling the desolate parts of the world. (Hear hear, and cheers.) I think the suggestion to add to the title of “Queen of Great Britain and Ireland,” the “Dominions” would answer every purpose, and make it as concise and effective as any. But a still more important point to which I wish to refer—and one on which I think I rather ruffled the General’s temper on the last occasion—(a laugh)—is the question of Imperial federation. (Hear, hear.) I highly approve and praise the idea of a confederation of the whole of the South African Colonies. As Mr. Currie remarked, the first step towards the federation of the Empire must be the federation of the Colonies—(hear, hear)—and I welcome every step in that direction, as I think such steps must lead to Imperial federation. (Hear hear, and cheers.) So far I agree with General Bisset, but I do not agree with the way in which he proposes that Imperial federation should be carried out. I do not believe that such federation can be carried out by bringing representatives to sit in the British House of Commons. They would only be there in small numbers, and if they voted their votes would always be outnumbered—(hear, hear)—and I certainly do not think it would be wise for the representatives of a single Colony, much less of a group of Colonies, to sit in the English Parliament, unless they were allowed to vote. I have no doubt, however, some means may be found by which our Colonies may be represented here. I have myself suggested, on more than one occasion, that representatives should be sent to form a council, such as the Indian Council—which, by the way, I have recently learnt has alone the power to sanction expenditure—to sit around the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I think in the Indian Council we have a model which might be followed in the federation of the Empire; and if the Colonies, when they send their representatives, would place some money in their hands, and offer to assist in the development of the power, the grandeur, and the unity of the Empire, those representatives would have as much influence and as much power over the policy of the Empire as the British House of Commons itself. (Hear hear, and cheers.) The idea of Imperial federation I consider an admirable one, and in seeking to develop it I think we cannot do better than take hints from the

system adopted in the India Office by the India Council. I will now offer your best thanks to General Bisset, and congratulate you and him upon the most interesting discussion his paper has called forth. (Applause.)

General Bisset said, at that late hour he would not detain those present by replying *seriatim* to the remarks made by the several gentlemen who had spoken, but would only express his satisfaction at the interesting discussion which his address on South Africa had called forth—a discussion of much importance to the future of the Colonies and to this country. He felt much gratified by the manner in which his paper had been received by the press, and by the interest evinced by the assemblage on each occasion.

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## FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on Tuesday, 21st March, 1876. His Grace the PRESIDENT in the chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed; he then read the following Paper, by Mr. COLEMAN PHILLIPS, of Auckland, New Zealand, on the

## CIVILISATION OF THE PACIFIC.

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE civilisation of the Pacific should be at the present time an interesting subject for discussion. We have lately added Fiji to our Colonial dominion. France is acquiring a firm foothold in the South Seas, and is rapidly peopling New Caledonia with convicts. Germany and America are becoming interested in some of the groups of fertile islands. War vessels of all nations are cruising amongst them, ready at any moment to plant the flag of the particular country which they represent, and indelibly mark their name upon the page which the history of the Pacific will occupy in the annals of the world. The Australasian Colonies are agitating for the annexation of the islands to England, whilst at home deputations have waited upon Ministers in order to suggest Imperial action. It may therefore be advisable to consider their past and present history.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

By the Pacific is meant the central portion of the Pacific Ocean, including all those groups of islands between 30° north and south of the equator, and stretching eastward from the Pelew Islands to Easter Island. This immense area, commonly called Polynesia, is divided by the equator into the North and South Pacific, which division may be again best divided into Eastern, Central, and Western Polynesia. The names of the principal groups of islands contained within these divisions, together with their population, area, &c. &c. will be found in Appendix (A).\* I include New Guinea in Polynesia, although it is doubtful to which of the three

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\* Melanesia and Micronesia are somewhat indefinite titles given to certain islands inhabited by the Papuan or black races. Micronesia principally comprises the Gilbert, Marshall, and Caroline Islands, amongst which, however, many pure Polynesians are found. Melanesia is simply Western Polynesia.

divisions it should belong, Malaysia, Australasia, or Polynesia. Few persons are much acquainted with this portion of the Pacific Ocean or its extent. It is only when we are led to consider the present or future welfare of the islands which it contains, that we find ourselves dealing with so vast an area of the earth's surface, something like 20,000,000 square miles.\* The importance of this fact it is necessary to remember, for the water which separates the various groups of islands is not only valuable in itself, but at the same time so much a naturally prepared highway for future inter-insular commerce.

#### DISCOVERY.

The Pacific Ocean was discovered and formally taken possession of for Spain by Vasco Nunez de Balboa in the year 1513. Crossing the American Isthmus, he was the first European who gazed upon it. Descending, he stepped into its waters, and with drawn sword and in full armour took possession for his Sovereign of all lands and islands the Ocean might contain, even unto the Poles. In 1520, Magellan, a Portuguese, in the *Victory*, † passing through the Straits which now bear his name, was the first to sail across the Pacific (so called by him from the tranquillity of his voyage through it, in comparison with the stormy sea he encountered at and near the Straits). Magellan discovered the Ladrones and Philippine Islands. Alvaro de Mendana discovered and took possession of the Solomon Islands for Spain. He also discovered the Marquesas and Santa Cruz, which he attempted ineffectually to colonise, and where he died.

The Dutch are represented by Tasman, who in 1643 discovered the Friendly Islands and Fiji. Also by Commodore Roggencin, who in 1772 discovered Easter Island—that curious spec of isolated land upon which stand colossal images of stone men. Sailing from thence to the East Indies, the Commodore touched upon Samoa, New Britain, and New Guinea.

England, however, mainly achieved the exploration of the Pacific. Many expeditions were fitted out by the British Government during the reign of George III., although I must not pass over in silence the voyages of English navigators of a much earlier period, amongst which stand those of Sir Francis Drake and old Sir Constantine Phipps, first Lord Mulgrave (the founder of the family of a distinguished Vice-President of this Society, the Marquis of

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\* The Pacific Ocean contains a superficial area of 70,000,000 square miles.

† The *Victory* performed the first voyage round the world.

Normanby), who in William and Mary's reign discovered and named the Mulgrave Islands. But of all English navigators in the Pacific, the name of James Cook stands pre-eminent. He discovered New Caledonia, so named for its resemblance to Scotland, Norfolk Island (part of the Society Group), the Sandwich Islands, and many others. He surveyed the New Hebrides, Society and Friendly Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand by passing through Cook's Straits; \* explored the then unknown Eastern Coast of Australia for 2,000 miles, and circumnavigated the globe in a high southern latitude, in order to decide the question whether any continent existed north of a certain parallel. Captain Cook performed three voyages. The first left Plymouth in 1768, fitted out for the purpose of observing the transit of the planet Venus at Tahiti (the Society Islands were so named by Cook in honour of the Royal Society, which had induced the Government to fit out the expedition). The second left England in 1772, in order to settle the vexed question of the existence of a Southern Continent. The third left in 1776, for the purpose of discovering a passage to the Pacific in the direction of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays, or as Cook preferred, from the Pacific to the Bays. It was at the Sandwich Islands, which he then discovered and named after his patron the Earl of Sandwich, that he met with his death—December 1778. James Cook was, indeed, a great discoverer and navigator. The correctness and minuteness of his surveys have won the admiration of the most accomplished seamen who have succeeded him.

Beside Cook, the names of Anson, Byron, Wallis (who in 1767 discovered and took possession of Tahiti for George III.), Marshall, Gilbert, and other English navigators are indelibly marked on the history of the Pacific.

France is represented in the Pacific by the names of La Prouse and D'Entrecasteaux, whose expeditions encountered more than ordinary misfortunes.

#### MISSIONS.

During the latter portion of the last century, the accounts published by Wallis, Cook, and other voyagers in the South Seas, the visit to London of Omai, the Society islander, concerning whom Cowper wrote, the tragic death of the great navigator himself, and the mutiny of the *Bounty*, kept public attention in England

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\* New Zealand was formerly supposed to be a portion of a great southern continent.

fixed upon the Pacific and the state of the Polynesian islanders. A strong desire was expressed for the religious improvement of the natives, and the London Missionary Society, at that time but newly formed, gratified that desire by sending away eighteen missionary clergymen to the Society Islands. On March 3rd, 1797, the *Duff*, the first missionary vessel, anchored in Matarai Bay, Tahiti, where Cook in 1768 observed the transit of Venus.

When the history of the Pacific is written, the year 1797 will be noted for the actual commencement of civilisation therein. Previous to that date the Islanders had been taught to fear rather than admire modern civilisation. The teachings of the Spaniards can hardly be called civilised. Between 1668 and 1681 the Island of Guam, in the Ladrones, was nearly depopulated by them of its 40,000 inhabitants—a notable instance of Spanish dealings in the Pacific. Our missionaries have carried out a totally different policy to that formerly pursued by the Spaniards. From 1797 to the present date, the loss of life has been always on the missionary side. Quietly and bravely have English missionaries advanced, reclaiming island after island from barbarism, at what cost only the missionary records tell, until there are few islands now left which have not yielded to their gentle influence. No monument exists to commemorate this noble work, or to tell of the many lives which it has cost. Cannibalism, immolation, suicide, idolatry, infanticide, tabu, polygamy, domestic slavery, tribal and internecine strife, have all been conquered. The rising generation is almost entirely ignorant of the dark deeds of its predecessors.

The London Missionary Society commenced the work of planting missionaries simultaneously at the Society, Marquesas, and Friendly Islands. The Wesleyan Missionary Society began its labours in the Friendly Islands in 1831, and in Fiji in 1835. The Church of England (or rather the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) about the year 1850 directed its attention to the Loyalty, New Hebrides, Banks, Santa Cruz, and Solomon Groups, or, briefly, Milanesia. In 1820 the American Board of Foreign Mission took charge of the Sandwich Islands. The Presbyterian clergy are endeavouring to Christianise the New Hebrides. Roman Catholic missionaries have spread themselves wherever they thought that their labours were required, and two or three local bodies have been formed for the especial purpose of assisting the cause. It would be unfair to mention conspicuously the name of any single clergyman. All have zealously devoted their energies, and so many their lives, to the great work of Christianity and civilisation—Williams, Gordon, Baker, Patteson, are almost household

words. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon missionary labour in the Pacific.

#### COMMERCE.

Such is a brief outline of the past history, first discovery, and then missionary zeal. Unlike India, Africa, America, and Australia, wherein discovery was followed by commerce and then by religious teaching, Polynesia first received religious civilisation, and now commerce is stepping in, and we are becoming still more deeply interested in the welfare of the islands. As yet commerce has been of very slow growth, although the exceeding fertility of the islands, their tractable inhabitants, and the general wealth of the Pacific, have long been all known. The great distance of Polynesia from the principal centres of commerce must have been the cause of this slow progress. Steam, however, is lessening the distance; population is flowing over from the Australasian Colonies, and a large trade is springing into existence. It was not until some few years since, when the Colonies of Australia began to take an interest in the islands, that commerce assumed any degree of importance. The American War turned the attention of those Colonists to cotton-growing, and many persons from the Colonies commenced to form plantations. Previous to that date a few merchants in the principal groups carried on a small traffic, and one or two associated companies endeavoured to profit by the evident wealth of the Islands; the celebrated South Sea Company of the last century, which resulted in what is commonly called the "South Sea Bubble," being the first attempt. There were also, as there still are, many traders, who, fitting out in Australasian ports small vessels with suitable articles of trade, cruised amongst the islands and bartered with the natives, as the Carthagenians of old bartered with the Africans. (This sort of trading appears to be very suitable to Polynesia, and is likely to increase. When the resources of the islands are better opened up, trading schooners will give place to resident merchants.) Trade, however, is entirely in its infancy. The natives are hardly sufficiently educated to demand much from us. As yet their wants are few. The people of Western Polynesia, and nearly all Central Polynesia, have not sufficient civilisation to want at all; a little calico and a few knives being all that is at present required. I do not suppose that the Pacific Islands import more than £700,000 per annum, one half of which is for the use of the resident whites, the other half for native use. As the population of the Pacific, exclusive of New Guinea, must number something

over a million, it will readily be seen that trade is in its infancy. Nearly all that we have yet obtained is the surplus natural production—cocoa-nut oil, beche-de-mer, pearl shell, whale oil, sandal wood, &c. Other productions, such as cotton, coffee, sugar, tobacco, &c. &c. have yet to be raised. An attempt has been made to grow cotton, but the uncertainty of obtaining the necessary labour has almost caused its abandonment. How sadly the Pacific needs protection, and how necessary it is for commerce to be under some sort of regulation, is shown in the fact that immediately an exotic production was attempted to be raised, the poor islanders suffered one of the greatest wrongs which the white race could inflict—the wrong of slavery.

“BEACH-COMBERS.”

In addition to the merchants and traders, who followed the footsteps of the missionary clergy, and opened up the resources of the islands, there also existed a class of men who have played a most important part in the civilisation of the Pacific, and done much harm to the cause. These men are commonly known by the name of “beach-combers” (degenerate whites, principally escaped convicts and runaway sailors). Taking up their residence with some tribe, it was easy for them to gain a livelihood. At first the natives naturally regarded them as far superior to themselves. In war, manufacture, and cultivation, their better knowledge soon placed them in the position of right-hand men to ambitious chieftains. Acting, however, more like demons than reasonable beings, they quickly lost the respect of the islanders, who, in many instances, were glad to relieve themselves of their presence. The history of any particular island will prove that the doings of the “beach-combers” were more conspicuous for their wickedness than for anything else. From such men as these the natives first gained their intimate knowledge of the white race; the consequence being that the task of the missionary was and still is rendered more difficult from the knowledge. The beach-combers, however, assisted in teaching the natives the first principles of trade and industry, so that a little good sprang from much evil. There were also a few God-fearing men amongst them, although the majority were sad specimens of civilisation.

SLAVERY.

That a species of slavery in the form of kidnapping did exist there is but little doubt. Spanish and Peruvian atrocities, the *Daphne*, *Peri*, and *Carl* investigations, besides other well-authenti-

cated instances, amply prove that fact. I happened to go on board the *Carl*, in Fiji, after her return from her slaving cruise, and I shall never forget seeing the badly-obliterated blood-stains and shot-torn timbers of the vessel's hold, in which so many unfortunate natives had lost their lives. The planters of Queensland and Fiji may attempt to exculpate themselves from all blame, but it was not at their suggestion that the kidnapping was suppressed. Had the Home Government refrained from interfering, kidnapers would still be gathering their ill-gotten gains. It is true that the Queensland Government, as soon as it recognised the evil, endeavoured to prevent it; but a young Colony was powerless to suppress it. Not that any individual planter perhaps was to blame. Three-fourths of the cotton-growers in Fiji desired the suppression of the traffic, but if any person wanted labourers, and these labourers had "passed the Consul," little inquiry was made as to how they were originally obtained. Fortunately kidnapping has had but a short reign. On June 27th, 1872, the British Parliament passed an Act for "the prevention and punishment of outrages upon natives of the islands in the Pacific Ocean." Our cruisers will see that the Act is enforced, and the disgraceful blot upon the fair face of the Pacific will soon disappear. It still exists in a modified form. Degraded Englishmen can still find sufficient protection under a foreign flag to carry out the nefarious practice, and late accounts state that New Caledonia is supplied with kidnapped natives. All labour vessels under a foreign flag should be regarded by our cruisers with the utmost suspicion. The British Parliament has gained the gratitude of the natives by acting as it has done. The enforcement of the Act has much strengthened the widespread opinion that England is the natural protector of the Pacific.

With regard to domestic slavery, I have before stated that this form of servitude yields readily to missionary teaching. Mission history affords numerous instances of this fact.

#### INHABITANTS, FROM WHENCE DERIVED.

The Pacific Islanders appear to be principally derived from two stocks—the Malayan, long-haired and light-coloured, and the Papuan, crisp-haired and dark-coloured. Those islands in close proximity to the Australian Continent are principally inhabited by the latter race—New Guinea, or Papua, New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon, Santa Cruz, Banks, New Hebrides, Loyalty, and New Caledonia groups, or, briefly, Milanesia. The remaining islands of the Pacific, or Polynesia, excepting Fiji and the New Hebrides, in

which groups both races appear to combine, are inhabited by the former type. It was formerly understood that New Guinea was solely peopled by the crisp-haired race, but late travellers inform us of other native types. The origin of the Papuan, Australasian, and Polynesian races is a most interesting question. Many of the characteristics of the negroes of the Australian Continent will be found in New Caledonia. When we become better acquainted with New Guinea we may perhaps be able to discover whether the peculiar features of the Papuan race, dark colour and crisp hair (the Australian negroes have long, wavy hair) owe their origin to Africa or Madagascar, or simply to the fact of residence upon so large an island situated under the Equator. In Ellis's "Polynesian Researches" the following passage occurs: "The striking analogy between the numerals and other parts of the language, and several of the customs of the aborigines of Madagascar and those of the Malays who inhabit the Asiatic islands, many thousands of miles distant in one direction, and of the Polynesian, more remote in another, shows that they were originally one people, or that they had emigrated from the same source."\* I imagine that the author, by using the term Polynesia meant also to include Milanesia, as he must have been acquainted with the difference which exists. In an able paper upon the native ownership of land in Fiji, Mr. J. B. Thornton remarks, "The highly elaborate Fijian system of relationship, which resembles in almost every particular that of the Seneca, Iroquois, and other American Indians on the one hand, and that of the people of South India, speaking the Dravidian language (Tamil) on the other, points to a bygone existence of the communal family, a state now regarded with horror and disgust, and forbidden by stringent and elaborate laws." Indian writers, also, have often been struck with the resemblance of many Polynesian habits and customs to those of the Hindoos. It will thus be seen that, when fairly investigated, the origin of the Polynesian islanders will not be a very difficult problem to solve. But, whatever may be their origin, in future dealings with the natives we have only to consider the marked peculiarities of the two races. The inhabitants of Western Polynesia are more treacherous and cruel than the Polynesians proper. We should be more careful in trusting them. Both, however, are much less ferocious than either the Maoris, Malays, or American Indians. I do not think that the whole of the inhabitants of Polynesia will give as much trouble to any colonising power as New Zealand gave to England.

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\* Vol. II. p. 48.

COLONISATION.

The actual work of colonisation has as yet been small. Tradition does not even give the name or race of the people who cut the stone images on Easter Island, or erected the immense buildings whose ruins exist upon many islands in the Caroline group, "Hundreds of acres in some localities being covered with the remains of walls, canals, and earthworks of the most stupendous character."\*

SPAIN.

Spain was the first colonising nation in the Pacific, but the attempts of the Spaniards have met with very poor results. They were compelled to abandon many of their settlements. That Government now only possesses the Ladrone and Bonin groups. (The Philippine Islands belong rather to Malaysia than Polynesia.) The aboriginal inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands have simply been exterminated. We have to congratulate ourselves upon the fact, that the Spaniards confined their colonising efforts to so small a number of islands. Anga's "Polynesia" † supplies the following information: "It is said that Americans and Sandwich Islanders have been allowed to settle themselves of late years on the Island of Agrigan (Ladrone), on condition of acknowledging allegiance to Spain; also, that the island is being peopled with natives kidnapped from other parts of Polynesia." "The Bonin Islands have no native population. Japanese junks occasionally visit the group: a few Japanese have established themselves on the Northern Islands. On some of the others there are British subjects located, for the purpose, it is supposed, of carrying on a contraband trade with Japan."

Spain also claims dominion over some of the neighbouring islands in the Pelew and Caroline groups, yet hardly a dozen of her subjects are settled upon them. ‡

FRANCE.

In 1842 France obtained the sovereignty of the Marquesas by

\* H. B. Sterndale.

† 1866 Edition.

‡ The "Statesman's Year Book" for 1875 gives the following information concerning the Spanish possessions in the Pacific:—

Name.	Area, Geographical Miles.	Population.
Philippine Islands.....	3,100	4,319,269
Caroline Islands and Palaos .....	43.1	28,000
Marian Islands (Ladrone) .....	19.6	5,610
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,162.7	4,352,879

treaty, and established a military colony upon Nukuhiva. In 1859 that experiment was abandoned. A few officials, and a couple of Roman Catholic missionaries, who have given up all hope of converting the natives, and taken to planting, alone remain on the group.

In 1844 the French Government established a protectorate over Tahiti, or the Society Islands, and consequently over the Paumotas (Low Archipelago), as there has always existed a close connection between the two groups.

In 1853 France took official possession of New Caledonia.

With the exception of soiling a fair island with the refuse of her population, France has not made any colonising effort. The natives are not benefited by the contact, and the resources of the islands are not developed. No matter how anxious the authorities at home may be for the progress of the Colonies, French officials abroad alone represent their country: the nation does not appear to follow Government action. French occupation in the Pacific deteriorates but does not improve the native islanders, who are first awed into submission, and then demoralised. Religious instruction is supplied by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who can always rely upon the bayonets of the *gens-d'armes* for assistance. France has found it impossible to do anything with the Marquesas, although a finer or more intelligent race of natives does not exist. The immorality of the Tahitians is a standing disgrace to French occupation. The natives of the Loyalty Islands, over whom France, I suppose, claims sovereignty (I have not seen any official notification of the fact), would much prefer our English missionaries to the Roman Catholic missionaries and French bayonets. If the English missionaries would but speak out, what a charge-sheet could they bring against France and the French in the Pacific! Oppression of white industry, bribery, forcible conversion of the natives, kidnapping, &c. &c. would be but a few of the charges.

Whether France claims the sovereignty over any other groups of islands is uncertain. Her right to claim anything at all is a matter of dispute. The manner in which the Protectorate was established over Tahiti was quite unworthy of a great nation. New Caledonia was taken possession of without even the nominal consent of the native population. They hardly knew anything of the circumstance. The treaty made with Admiral du petit Thuars, by which France claims the sovereignty of the Marquesas, is no doubt a curious document. Neither were the interests of the many Protestant missionaries, the only foreigners who could well claim any interest, considered. The natives generally knew nothing of France,

had never committed any offence against that Government, and did not desire its interference. They had been accustomed to regard England and the English as their friends, and next to England, America. English missionaries, English men-of-war, and English traders, were always beside them, and many American whalers; of France they were utterly ignorant. But they were powerless; the English Government did not think it necessary to support the Queen's subjects resident in the islands, and France acted as she pleased. It must be very mortifying to our missionaries to see so much of their labour completely thrown away. After devoting many years to the Loyalty group, after rendering these islands habitable, France steps in and reaps the advantage. Our clergymen have to leave the group, for although France professes the greatest religious tolerance, it is of no use their staying. The Roman Catholic missionaries will not work amicably with Protestant clergymen; and as the first receive the active support of the Government, the second had better leave the field. The New Hebrides are about one hundred and fifty miles from New Caledonia. Nearly every island in the group has been stained with the blood of English missionaries. Sydney and New Zealand traders have opened up the resources of the group, and a few Englishmen are settled there. France may claim the New Hebrides, and the English Government may allow her to quietly take possession of that which British energy has rendered valuable, but England would hardly be acting fairly either to the natives or to English subjects.

In the case of New Caledonia, the action of the Home Government is hardly to be admired. In 1774, as I have already remarked, New Caledonia was discovered by Cook, who so named it in consequence of its resemblance to Scotland. It was duly taken possession of for George III., and was at one time included either in the commission of the Governor of New South Wales, or in that of Sir George Grey's commission as Governor of New Zealand. In 1854 the French took possession. Hearing that military barracks, &c., were being erected, Sir George Grey went down and informed the French Admiral that New Caledonia was British territory. On his return to New Zealand, he reported the circumstance to the Colonial Office, and the matter ended by *his commission being cancelled so far as concerned New Caledonia*. The Government of the time did not wish to go into the question.\* The

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\* My authority for this statement is Sir George Grey himself.

Sydney papers of the day bitterly lamented the inaction of the Home Authorities.

With regard to Tahiti, French occupation means absolute authority. Now, the British public contributed thousands of pounds to the cause of civilisation in this group, and the records of the London Missionary Society testify to the loss of life which the work entailed. For nearly fifty years the head-quarters of our missionaries in the Pacific were established in the group; yet the French were quietly allowed to add it to their Colonial possessions. In Appendix B will be found a short account of the manner in which France established the Protectorate, also a copy of the petition for protection, which is a most curious document. It will be seen that the poor Queen had to especially stipulate for the English missionaries to be allowed to pursue their calling unmolested. That the clause was necessary, is shown in the fact that our clergymen, since that date, have been expelled from the group, only one remaining. I believe, however, that it is their intention to again return.\*

Writing upon the civilisation of the Pacific, one is almost inclined to say, that the advent of the French drove the true civilisers—the English missionaries—from the field. Is it not time that this portion of international law should be looked into, especially as regards the Pacific? English Missionaries are also British subjects. Surely no foreign power has the right to occupy lands in which they reside, without paying some deference to their interests. If any nation has acquired a vested interest in the Pacific, England, through her missionaries, planters, and traders, has most assuredly done so. Certainly no foreign power ought to occupy any such islands without at least informing the British Government of its intention so to do.

I purposely use the word occupy, as it possesses a peculiar meaning. Colonies are acquired by conquest, cession, or occupation. No power, with the exception of Spain, has acquired a colony in the Pacific by conquest, neither does any power wish to do so. Cession and occupation appear to be the favourite modes of acquiring possession therein. In a ceded group of islands, such as Fiji, the voice of all interested is taken, and no injury to any foreign interests is committed. France, however, chooses to occupy certain islands, viz. New Caledonia and the Loyalty Groups, whereby that Government greatly injures all foreign interests, besides ignoring the native population. In my opinion

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\* Statistics of the Protestant Missionary Society, 1872 to 1873.

the only fair and international mode of acquiring these islands is by cession. Civilised nations ought to treat the Pacific Islands somewhat differently to their usual customs. It must be remembered that the islanders can make use of all their islands. There are no vast tracts of unused land in the Pacific, such as there were, and still are, in Australia and New Zealand, upon which the surplus population of Europe can find place. Every acre of land in Polynesia has an owner, and every man knows his land. The manner in which New Zealand was taken possession of was, I suppose, international, but certainly most undignified—two war vessels, belonging to two great Powers, actually racing to see which should first raise the flag of the country which they represented, and by that simple operation claiming the land. International law, so far as regards this portion of the globe, sadly requires some little alteration.

The nation whose subjects have devoted many years to the civilisation of any particular spot, or whose protection is sought for, is the one entitled to the sovereignty of the land. No disinterested power at the caprice of a moment has the right to raise its flag and occupy the land. That proceeding partakes more of conquest than of occupation. France by nominal fair means has acquired Tahiti, the Pamnotas, and the Marquesas, and by actual might New Caledonia. Our Government should not acknowledge her right to any other islands. If a notification were sent to the French Government that British subjects have certain vested interests in the Loyalty, New Hebrides, and other groups of islands near to French possessions, a great deal of trouble may hereafter be prevented.\*

\* The "Statesman's Year Book" for 1875 affords the following information concerning French possessions in the Pacific:—

Name.	Date of Acquisition.	Area, Square Kilometres.	Population.
<b>I. COLONIES—</b>			
New Caledonia ... ..	1854	17,400	29,000
Loyalty Islands ... ..	1864	2,147	15,000
Marquesas ... ..	1841	1,244	10,000
		20,791	54,000
<b>II. PROTECTED COLONIES—</b>			
Tahiti and Dependencies ... ..	1841	1,175	13,847
Touamoton Islands ... ..	1844	6,600	8,000
Gambier ... ..	1844	30	1,500
Toubouaï and Vaoiton ... ..	1845	103	550
		7,908	23,897

It appears to me that the entire action of the French Government in the Pacific was taken for the purpose of establishing a good convict station, and at the same time obtaining good naval stations. England was making use of Australia and Tasmania for a similar purpose, and France desired to do likewise in the Pacific; the civilisation of the native being the last consideration. England forestalled France in the acquisition of New Zealand, and so saved that Colony from being a French convict station. French official documents testify that neither Marquesas nor Tahiti were considered suitable for the purpose. New Caledonia was chosen, and there are now nearly 10,000 convicts on the island. I attach (Appendix C) a copy of the official notification of the act of taking possession, which was made in the presence of the officers of the corvette *Le Phoque* and the French missionaries. The Admiral was compelled to build a block-house for the protection of the very flag which he erected.

With regard to the convicts at present upon the island, they will no doubt in time gradually extend themselves over Australasia and the Pacific. It can hardly be said that they will be of any advantage to the cause of civilisation therein; rather the opposite. I sincerely trust that the Australasian Colonies will endeavour to prevent any other European Power following in the footsteps of France. Every country should maintain its own degraded citizens. Colonising from a convict root may be a problem, but the time has gone by for its solution. It is, in my opinion, almost an imperative duty for the Australian Colonies to discourage by every means in their power the continuation of the convict station at New Caledonia. If France requires a Colony in the Pacific so near to our own, let the Colonies see, for their own benefit and for the benefit of the Pacific, that free emigrants are sent, no matter how poor.

#### GERMANY.

Germany is principally represented in the Pacific by the well-known firm of Messrs. Godefroy & Co., of Hamburg, who in 1858 established their head-quarters at Samoa. From Samoa they have "pushed their agencies southward into the Friendly Archipelago (Tonga) and other islands; northward, throughout the whole range of the Kingsmills and the isles in their neighbourhood, that is to say, Tokeran, the Ellice, and Gilbert Groups, and the Marshalls or Ralicks, through the Carolines, and to Yap, a great island at the entrance of the Luzon Sea, where they purchased 3,000 acres of land, formed a settlement, and established a large depôt intended as an intermediate station between their trading posts at the Navigator

Islands (Samoa), and their old-established agencies in China and Cochin. Between Samoa and Yap (one of the Pelew islands), a distance of 3,000 miles, the firm have, or had lately, an agent at every productive island inhabited by the copper-coloured race (Malay), upon which the natives are as yet sufficiently well disposed to permit a white man to reside."\*

The Germans make good settlers, although mere traders. It is doubtful whether they have added much to the civilisation of the Pacific. They barter such a quantity of firearms, or so much calico, for an equivalent in copra (dried cocoa-nut, from which the oil is extracted after its arrival in Hamburg). In order to obtain a monopoly of this material, one of the principal instructions to their agents is to *oppose the missionary*. The minds of Polynesian chiefs are systematically poisoned against missionary teaching. If it were possible, German traders would keep the natives in their present savage state in order to profit by their labour; of course, the missionary prevents this. The result of German opposition to missionary teaching even in Samoa is lamentable, civil war amongst the native tribes being constant. The Germans fan the flames by supplying the belligerents with arms. In Fiji the German residents strongly supported Maafu in his opposition to King Thakombou, and the desire of the chiefs to cede the country to England. Had we not taken possession, Maafu, with German aid, would have been King of Fiji. The German settlement in Apia (Samoa) consists of some 2,500 acres of land, purchased at about ninepence per acre, and paid for by arms and ammunition. What this means anyone acquainted with natives can easily understand. It is a pity that so enlightened a firm as Messrs. Godefroy should thus oppose the advance of civilisation. A present profit may be made out of the civil war among the natives, but it will be of no advantage in the end, when Samoa becomes depopulated of its inhabitants. As to the missionary, Messrs. Godefroy should remember that had it not been for his teaching they would not now be established where they are, and also the fact that every year the missionary is opening up new fields for commerce. The Germans treat their labourers well, but are not very particular as to how they are obtained. A German man-of-war occasionally visits the Pacific in order to look after the interests of the colonists. German policy at the present time is not a colonising policy, otherwise Samoa would long since have fallen under their flag. At any moment, however, Germany may take possession of the group.

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\* H. B. Sterndale.

## AMERICA.

America is but slightly interested in the Pacific : there are a few merchants in the Sandwich group and a few whalers amongst the islands. The masters and crews of American whalers have done much harm during the past fifty or sixty years ; they have been the cause of a great many of the atrocities which have occurred. Wantonly did the ignorant captains murder and wrong the natives, who revenged themselves upon the next vessel which happened to touch their shores. Numerous acts of cruelty on the part of the islanders must be excused ; all accounts prove that they have generally acted from a spirit of revenge. The whites, and especially the American whites, must bear a great part of the blame. Luckily these occurrences are becoming less frequent. At the same time, it is only fair to state that there are many whaling captains who treated the natives in a Christianlike manner. Of late years the whaling industry has greatly fallen off. Whether the United States Government will claim any portion of the Navigator Group is an open question. On February 17th, 1872, Maunga, chief of Pango Pango, Tutuila, signed a treaty or agreement with Commander Mead, of the United States S.S. *Narrigansett* granting the exclusive right to the U.S. Government of using that harbour as a coaling and naval station for a private line of steamers running between San Francisco and New Zealand and their own ships of war, and binding himself not to grant a like privilege to any other power. This agreement was made to depend upon its ratification by the U.S. Government. In the same year the chiefs of Samoa petitioned that Government for protection ; no action has yet been taken by the Senate in either of these matters.

## ENGLAND.

Until October, 1874, English action in the Pacific was confined to private energy and enterprise ; the Imperial Government paid no attention to the hoisting of ensigns and taking possession of islands in England's name by discoverers and captains of men-of-war ; Pitcairn Island, however, being an exception. On November 29th, 1838, Captain Elliot, in H.M.S. *Fly* took possession of this island, memorable for having afforded refuge to the mutineers of the *Bounty*. A brief account of the matter may be interesting. Captain Bligh stated that the original cause of the mutiny was the connection formed by the crew while at Tahiti with the Tahitian women ; but the islanders flatly deny the assertion, and attribute it to his own perverse temper and tyrannical conduct. Putting Bligh

and seventeen of the crew in an open boat, off Iofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, April 28th, 1789, the mutineers sailed for Tonbouai, where they attempted to establish themselves, but the natives were too hostile. Returning to Tahiti, some of the mutineers landed, but the remainder (Christian and eight men), keeping their place of destination secret, took the vessel on to Pitcairn Island, where they burnt her January 23rd, 1790. Those who remained at Tahiti were picked up by the *Pandora* which frigate was sent out in search as soon as Bligh returned to England. In 1808 the American ship *Topaz* discovered the retreat of the mutineers, and in 1814 H.M. ships *Britain* and *Tagus* touched at the island. In 1838 it was taken possession of by England, and in 1850 the greater number of the inhabitants at their own request were removed to Norfolk Island, having outgrown their diminutive home. Norfolk Island is also British territory, the English Government having twice used it as a convict station. Captain Cook was its discoverer. Until 1788 the island had remained uninhabited, but in that year a small number of convicts, with a party of marines, were sent there from Australia. It was finally abandoned in 1855, and is now the head-quarters of the Melanesian Mission, and the residence of the Pitcairn islanders. Norfolk Island is included in the Commission of the Governor of New South Wales.

In 1864 the inhabitants of Rarotonga, the principal island of the Hervey or Cook's Group, petitioned Queen Victoria, through the Governor of New Zealand, for protection; but Her Majesty's Government did not grant the prayer.

On October 10th, 1874, Fiji was unconditionally ceded to the British Crown. The history of that cession is contained in a valuable and concise paper, read before this Society by F. W. Chesson, Esq. In Appendix D will be found a copy of the Resolution arrived at by the King and chiefs to cede their country to England.

A few private individuals, British subjects, claim certain islands by right of purchase or occupation. For example, Messrs. Houlder Brothers, of London, own three small guano islands in Eastern Polynesia; Mr. Brander, of Tahiti, Palmerston Island, in Central Polynesia; one Eli Jennings owns and lives upon Quiros Island; and Messrs. Godefroy & Co. claim and own many others. There are hundreds of similar uninhabited islands in the Pacific which may thus be acquired. In what manner the title to such acquisition will be treated by the great Powers is a question for the purchaser or occupier to consider.

At the present time, therefore, Spain actually possesses and

occupies the Ladrone and Bonin Groups, together with a few islands in the Pelew and Caroline group; France, Tahiti and a few of the Georgian Islands, the Paumotu, Marquesas, and New Caledonia Groups; England, the Fiji Group, Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands; and America has, or has not, a certain claim upon the Navigators' Group, according to the decision of the United States Government.

#### NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

The other islands are under the rule of their native chiefs. Three of the principal groups aim at possessing certain forms of Constitutional government—the Sandwich, Navigator, and Friendly Islands. This movement has been brought about by the influence of the resident whites, principally Englishmen. Many other islands have also certain forms of Monarchical government, such as Rarotonga and Huahine, together with fair codes of laws, framed by the missionaries.

In 1863 the reigning chief of the Sandwich Islands, King Kamehamha V., granted his subjects a new Constitution (the first Constitution of 1840 was granted by Kamehamha III.) based upon the English model—King, Lords, and Commons.

I may be allowed to make a slight digression in order to explain the position of America with regard to the Sandwich Islands and Samoa. The United States, it appears, cannot protect foreign lands without altering certain clauses of the Republican Constitution, which are antagonistic to the Government despotically ruling foreign possessions. The President is very anxious to protect Cuba, San Domingo, the Sandwich Islands, and perhaps Samoa; but protection means annexation, and the Senate will pause before breaking down the fundamental principles of the Constitution. Cuba may be admitted into the Union as a new State, as it very nearly approaches the standard of landed area and population required to constitute a State; but the other three places will require different treatment. Indirectly, American citizens are being encouraged to take such action as will afford the Senate an opportunity of publicly endorsing national claims over these particular spots, should it at any time wish to do so. The cordial reception at Washington of any member of the reigning family of the Sandwich Group, the Samana Bay Company in San Domingo, Commodore Meade's action with respect to Pango Pango harbour, Samoa, and the appointment of an American citizen to the chief administrative post in that group, are instances of this movement, all of which, I believe, receive the private support of the President, who is a very strong Protectionist. There is very little doubt but that the Sandwich Islands will fall eventually under the American flag.

The Friendly Archipelago, or Tonga, is ruled by a native king and

council of chiefs : this group possesses the best native Government in the Pacific. King George Tabou administers the greater portion of the executive duties of the Government personally, and he administers them well. His power is almost absolute. The laws are simple and well framed, the King paying much attention to the advice of the missionaries, who, having no direct interest in commerce, can best advise him upon questions of a conflicting nature. There are many English planters upon the islands, and more flocking in : the group is becoming very valuable. One great trouble is looming before it—the succession to the crown. The King is over 70 years of age, and the heirs-expectant are beginning to talk of his successor. In the Pacific there are always many claimants for the chief authority, and they have each their supporters. The question is generally settled by war, and these wars of succession are most cruel and devastating—might usually overcoming right. A similar war is likely to happen in Tonga. The real well-wishers of Tonga hope that England will interfere and prevent the dark cloud from bursting, for it most assuredly will devastate the island and cost hundreds of lives.

The Tonguese are a most warlike race, and the most daring navigators in the Pacific. Their sympathies are entirely English, and their chiefs have steadily assisted the work of the Wesleyan missionaries ; indeed, but for them, Fiji would still be a land of cannibals. The Tonguese for more than a century have had much influence in Fijian matters—their warriors playing the part of powerful mercenaries to the quarrelling chieftains. Maafu, a Tongan, carried out for himself a chieftainship in the Windward Islands of that group, and would have ousted Thakombau, had it not been for our interference. He is the most likely man to succeed King George in Tonga, although he has no just right to the crown. Maafu is a great chief, and his friendship is worth cultivating. He rules his subjects well ; white settlers upon his islands can plant and trade in perfect safety.

The action of Sir Hercules Robinson, in inviting Thakombau to Sydney, is highly to be commended ; it would be a great advantage if similar hospitality were extended to Maafu. Is it not advisable for the Australian Colonies to pay some such attention to the principal Polynesian chief ? The practical lesson of civilisation would be a great one, and the bond of friendship between the islands and the Colonies much strengthened. It can hardly be doubted but that the Sultan of Zanzibar will derive much benefit from his late visit to England, and the advancement of civilisation in Eastern Africa be consequently strengthened.

The Navigator Group, or Samoa, is, I believe, desirous of obtaining a representative form of government, but matters are in a very unsettled condition. Colonel Steinberger, U.S.A. (who is said to have been a special Commissioner sent by President Grant to investigate and report upon the petition for American protection made by the chiefs) has very lately been appointed, or, more correctly speaking, has obtained the appointment of, Prime Minister for life. It is to be hoped for this gentleman's sake that the office will continue. I am also informed that a gentleman in the Civil Service of the United States Government, Mr. Platt, has been very lately sent to assist Colonel Steinberger.

The desire of these little communities to possess some form of government which can administer internal affairs, and be recognised by foreign Powers, is very laudable ; but it is doubtful whether any of them will long maintain the position which they have assumed. They will find themselves far better off under the rule of some great Power than under their own. Representative Constitutions are quite unsuitable to them. Democracies cannot exist within the tropics. The great body of the natives implicitly obey the orders of their chief.

Previous to the cession of Fiji, the native Government passed an Act allowing manhood suffrage to both natives and Europeans. The consequence would have been that the power of nominating and returning the whole of the representatives would have fallen into the hands of about four chiefs. Our form of government—Queen, Lords, and Commons—is not found to work well in the West Indies, neither will it in the Pacific. The people may eventually be taught to exercise the power of election, but at present they cannot be entrusted with it. Neither is the aristocratic form of government—king-elected and chiefs—suitable, as the white settlers must possess a powerful voice in the administration. In my opinion, the only form of government suitable is an absolute monarchy, the Crown being assisted by a mixed council of native chiefs and influential white residents, this being analogous to one of our pure Crown Colonies.

In such tropical islands as these there can only be two classes—labourers and employers of labour ; there cannot, for many generations to come, be a middle class. Employers of tropical labour must therefore be rulers, unless a power steps in to protect the labourer ; that power, for the benefit of all concerned, must rule absolutely or not at all. Wherever coloured labour is used the white employers look upon it degradingly. The planters require to be held in check just as much as the natives. The whites in Fiji

utterly ignored the existence of the native population, except as consumers of imported goods, possible labourers, and payers of a tyrannical poll-tax. In many other islands the same feeling prevails. It is to be hoped that white settlers will be more liberal in their ideas, and recognise the advantage of absolute government. It is not at all unlikely that many other groups of islands will set up certain forms of government.

#### ISLANDS STILL RETAINING OLD CUSTOMS.

The following are those islands which still follow their old forms of government, or rather old customs: In the North Pacific: the Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert, or Kingsmill Groups; a few islands in Eastern Polynesia; the Phœnix and Ellice Groups in Central Polynesia; all the isles of Western Polynesia, with the exception of New Caledonia, and the numerous small islands which lie scattered amongst all the principal groups. In most of these islands the missionary clergyman alone represents the bright side of modern civilisation, and tempers the savage habits of the chiefs. In Western Polynesia, however, it is hardly yet safe for a missionary to land or a trader to leave his vessel. New Guinea is a *terra incognita*, and its inhabitants are but little known. New Britain and New Ireland, the Admiralty and the Louisade Islands, are almost in a similar position.

From some of these islands the principal portion of the labour employed in Queensland and the Pacific was, and still is, obtained. Possessing no government, or any power which the whites could respect, the simple inhabitants were at the mercy of those who resorted to their shores; luckily, our cruisers will now be some protection to them.

#### LABOUR TRADE.

Placing upon one side the painful incidents connected with kidnapping, I am inclined to believe that the employment of native labour by cotton-planters and others has been beneficial, especially the employment of labour foreign to any particular locality. The mere fact of seeing other islands, other tribes, and a higher civilisation, has led thousands of natives to reconsider and abolish their barbarous customs, and to listen more readily to missionary teaching. Anyone who has seen a large number of natives collected from perhaps ten different islands of Western Polynesia or the Equator upon a well-ordered plantation, would hardly doubt that the lesson

those natives received during their three or five years' residence upon that plantation tended to make them better members of the human family on returning to their respective homes. Official papers concerning the annexation of Fiji testify that Polynesian labourers upon Fijian plantations are far better off, so far as regards food, clothing, and house accommodation, than when upon their native islands.

On the other hand, the Melanesian Mission Report for 1873 totally disagrees with this opinion. The report states, with reference to the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands, "that the labour trade is depopulating them, and that the returned labourer does not convey back the knowledge of any useful art, or even anything of civilisation. It is therefore the business of those who carry on the Mission to do all they can to prevent and oppose a traffic the effects of which they see to be pernicious."

In this I think that the Mission is decidedly in the wrong. Bishop Patteson himself never demanded the entire suppression of the traffic; he only demanded its proper regulation. Neither do I think that the trade, except in one or two minor instances, is depopulating the islands; it may lessen the population of any particular spot, but only for a time. When the report above referred to was written there were many hundreds of New Hebrides and Banks' Islanders in Queensland and Fiji, waiting to be returned to their different homes. That the labourer returns without having gained any knowledge of civilisation or useful arts is a statement which can only be excused on the ground of missionary zeal. It is to be hoped that the clergy will not oppose the labour traffic, but suggest proper rules for its management, and lend their aid in seeing them carried out. The extension of commerce and the employment of labour will assist rather than retard missionary work.

The Presbyterian Report for 1873, concerning their mission in the New Hebrides, contains the following significant statement: "We expected to find a people who would at least hear the Word of God and receive instruction, but, on the contrary, the great majority of those among whom we are stationed literally close their eyes, and refuse to be taught anything either sacred or secular."

When it is remembered that thirty-five years of missionary labour have been devoted to this group, such a statement is very significant.

Missionaries cannot ascribe this to the labour traffic, for that has only been in operation of late years. In my opinion, it results from the fact that commerce does not properly support missionary teaching. In Eastern and Central Polynesia commerce has followed in the

footsteps of the missionary, and the natives are now orderly and well conducted; but in the New Hebrides commerce has no footing, and the natives listen to nothing, either sacred or secular. It is true that a few natives return to their islands somewhat demoralised. If they carry back a gun and a little ammunition, they are not slow in using them against their old enemies, but they would do the same with bows and arrows. It is a question whether even the vices of civilisation are not better than their own previous savage customs: unfortunately they are apt to add the two together. Still, missionaries cannot expect to keep the islands closed until they have evangelised the natives; commerce must spread, and the first step is to take advantage of native labour. When the excitement connected with kidnapping has passed away, it will be found that the employment of labour has been beneficial, especially in spreading the power and superiority of the white race among the islands yet unvisited by missionary clergymen.

#### WILL THE NATIVE POPULATION DIE OUT?

Whether the native population will die out, is an important question. The labour traffic may have somewhat thinned the population of a few islands, not from rough usage at the plantations, but from the mere fact of a certain number of the natives being unable to stand the change of climate. Change of residence may or may not be good, but that question is subordinate to the great one before us—Whether the natives generally will survive the contact with the white race? I believe they will. The idea that native races die out upon the appearance of the white race is true only in a limited sense. In my opinion the statement only applies to lands situate in temperate or cold zones, which happened to possess or do still possess an aboriginal population; it does not apply to tropical or semi-tropical lands—they are beyond its influence. Thus the Indians in some parts of America, and the Maories in New Zealand, are certain to die out, being unable to survive the contact in temperate zones with the more fitting white race. The American Indians are being gradually driven into the central part of the continent, which is their proper residence. They will for a time range free over the southern portion of the continent, because circumstances are still favourable for their habitation. The Maories are gradually dying out, because it was an error for any portion of the Malayan race to wander so far south. Certain climates kill native races just as surely as contact with the white race. We found very few Maories or Malays in the middle island of New Zealand: they could not exist there. The American Indians have also much Malayan blood

in their veins; their place is within the tropics. Tropical races cannot compete with the more fitting races beyond the tropics, and white races cannot compete with native races within the tropics. No one could possibly assert that the white race will extinguish the East Indian, the Chinese, or the Malayan, neither will it the Polynesian. I am well aware that the aboriginal inhabitants of the West India Islands have nearly disappeared, but in the first instance they were almost exterminated by the Spaniards. I do not think that it is for our interest to exterminate the Polynesians. When the epidemic of measles was lately devastating Fiji, I heard many well-informed persons remark that if 50,000 natives, more or less, died off, the less trouble would be given to the Colonial Government. Now a greater mistake could not possibly be made. Every native dying is a loss to the Government. It is to be hoped that not only the health, but the natural increase of the Fijians, will be carefully looked after.

Figures purporting to show the decrease of any particular island cannot be relied upon. It was formerly supposed that the Sandwich Islands contained a population of 400,000 inhabitants, and New Zealand 200,000. Later calculations inform us that they now contain respectively 58,000 and 30,000. It is doubtful whether the first ever numbered more than 100,000 or the second 50,000. Captain Cook, generally so correct, was sadly out in his estimate of native population.

As soon as certain sanitary regulations are attended to, and infanticide put a stop to, I believe the population of the Pacific will increase. That of Java has nearly quadrupled itself since 1816, and it is a curious fact that the few remaining aboriginal inhabitants of the West India Islands are of late years increasing in numbers.

#### RESIDENT LABOUR.

It is also important for us to know whether the Polynesians will supply a fair amount of voluntary labour. I consider that they will do so, but too much cannot be expected of them at first. That natives, unaccustomed from their birth to work or even to be provident, will suddenly labour twelve hours a day for six days in the week, cannot surely be expected. The galling bitterness of labour to those indolent kidnapped natives must indeed have been great. Twelve hours' constant labour in the tropics means the most rigorous slavery, and only obtainable under compulsion. Nature is so bounteous that there is no necessity for the natives to work; the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plaintain are amply sufficient to supply their wants, and those trees require but little attention. One bread-fruit tree will almost entirely support a small family. Besides

yielding three or four crops a year, its bark furnishes them with native cloth for clothing, and its timber is the most valuable for canoe and house building. Natives require but very little more. The taxes which the chiefs levy are paid by the labour of the women; the men never work. As soon as the Fijians (for instance) fully understand that their chiefs have now no right to levy uncertain taxes, their cup of happiness will be complete. The present generation will settle comfortably down for the rest of their lives, and do little or nothing.

We must accept this state of things, and endeavour to provide a remedy. In my opinion the remedy is to be found in the coming generation, which should be taught to labour six or eight hours each day of its own free will. I think that it lies in our power to teach them. Education, example, and necessity (resulting from a greater population striving for existence) are the means at our command. We have only to use them. The aim is a noble one, the instruments are well suited to attain it. We have only to guard against errors at the outset, and there is very little doubt but that we shall be able to obtain eight hours' labour per day from each male native in Polynesia.

In the correspondence relating to the cession of Fiji, Sir Hercules Robinson, under the heading of "Lala or Service Tenures," remarks: "I think that when the Land Commission shall have decided on the native reserves, that the chief of every qali should be acknowledged as the owner of the lands of the qali or tribe, and the guardian of the interests of his people in such lands. The people of every qali should be viewed as tenants of such lands under the chief, with hereditary rights of lesseeship, subject to the duties of lessees towards the chief proprietor, to whom they should pay, as a head rent for his support, such lala as may be mutually agreed on, in the shape of labour or produce."

In support of this opinion, Sir Hercules alleges the following reasons: "It appears to me that it would be impolitic on the part of the Government, and unjust towards the chiefs and the people, to interfere, for the present at all events, with this system, which on the whole works well, and is cheerfully acquiesced in by all concerned. For many years to come, Fiji can only be governed as a British Colony through the instrumentality of the native chiefs. The effect of abolishing these service tenures would therefore be to weaken the power of the only subordinate agency available at present for the good government of the country: and the people, freed from existing restraining influences, would give way to their natural improvident and slothful inclinations, and would become,

as pointed out by Mr. Thurston, in his able and interesting paper on the native ownership of land in Fiji, useless and perhaps troublesome."

I am sorry that I cannot agree with Sir Hercules Robinson. Our acting in the manner suggested simply means recognising the chieftains as a class, and supporting their position. This in my opinion is inadvisable for two reasons: firstly, because we desire to obtain the voluntary—not compulsory—labour of the natives; and secondly, because we do not require any native aristocracy to assist us in governing the islands.

With regard to my first objection, it must be remembered that up to the present time contracts for Fijian labour have always been made with the chiefs. So many labourers have had to bind themselves to the planters for a certain time at the will of the chief. This is a form of domestic slavery which will most assuredly be continued, if we acknowledge the chiefs as owners of the tribal lands and guardians of the interests of the people. The chiefs are certain to influence any labour contract: the native will never be a free agent. Ought we not to avoid this, not so much for the benefit of the present generation—which would, perhaps, be kept out of mischief by being compelled to work—but for the sake of the population to come, whose voluntary labour we desire to obtain? The interference of any persons, especially chieftains, may be found disastrous. The islanders should work of their own free will, and it is for us to educate them into habits of industry. Whether the present generation will labour or not is a matter of no particular importance. Our planters can import labour from elsewhere, but for the future our object should be to have a resident voluntary labouring population upon every island. In my opinion all compulsory means, such as recognising a native aristocracy, should be avoided.

As to my second objection, anyone acquainted with the Pacific knows how unjust and tyrannical is the system pursued by the chiefs in their method of taxation. The greater number of the natives live in a state of pure villenage, which Blackstone describes as "one where a man holds upon terms of doing whatsoever is commanded of him." Now, nothing can be more demoralising than such a state of things. Of all taxes an uncertain tax is the worst, and the sooner we put a stop to the practice in Fiji the better. If we recognise and support the chiefs as a class we shall not put a stop to the practice. The natives, in spite of every regulation, will still regard their chiefs as divine and obey their commands, especially when they find them supported by the Government. We

ought not to make the mistake of treating the Polynesians in the same manner as we treat the Indians or Cingalese. India and Ceylon contain so numerous a population, that it is found very difficult to interfere with established customs. In the Pacific islands, however, the population is so small that we can deal with it directly. Besides, we have to raise up a population, and we surely do not require the assistance of a native aristocracy.

Fiji contains about 140,000 natives, upon a superficial area of 7,400 square miles. Jamaica has a population of 506,000, upon an area of 4,256 square miles; there is every likelihood of the population of Fiji soon rivalling in numbers that of Jamaica. Will it not be far better for us to deal with that population directly than through the intervention of chiefs? Sir Hercules Robinson observes that we must be just towards the chiefs. True enough; but there is no necessity for us to acknowledge them as owners of tribal lands. We can recognise the present generation as guardians of the tribal interests by appointing them, as Sir Hercules has done, to magisterial posts in their different districts. This would fully suffice, and indeed is all that is required. The chiefs desire to retain their dignified position, and we allow them to do so; but they have ceded their country for their country's benefit, and I cannot but consider that the existence of a native aristocracy is hardly required. The lands should vest, as far as possible, in each native, not in the chiefs, the Government alone retaining the final right of disposal.\* To the chiefs will be allotted a larger share of land than to simple members of a tribe. They will also receive a small salary from the Government. Let them be given to understand—and they are highly intelligent—that their sons must be taught to cultivate their lands, that industry in itself is a golden precept, that idleness has been the root of all the wars and troubles of Polynesia, and I believe the chiefs themselves will agree with me that the sooner a native aristocracy is allowed to disappear, and all natives alike bred up in habits of industry, the better it will be for their future interests. If the sons of chiefs choose to educate themselves for magisterial posts, and if a native magistracy is required, let them by all means occupy their father's position; but for us deliberately to recognise and support a native hereditary aristocracy, by vesting in them the tribal lands, to which even now they are not entitled, would, in my opinion, be a terrible blunder.

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\* The natives are too improvident, even the chiefs themselves, to be entrusted with the power of absolute sale. In my opinion, the term "fee-simple" is not applicable to tropical countries, a title by leasehold being all that is required.

## IMPORTED LABOUR.

I have before stated that the true wealth of the Pacific, and indeed of all tropical countries, does not rest in the soil nor in its productions, but in the amount of resident voluntary labour obtainable to cultivate the soil. To prove this statement it is only necessary to refer to the West Indies. Immediately after the emancipation of the slaves, estates which were worth £50,000 would hardly realise £5,000; the liberated negroes refused to work, and the planters were ruined. It is therefore the primary duty of any Government to superintend and supply the demand for labour, if it desires to advance the prosperity of tropical lands.

Hitherto the labour supply has been conducted by private individuals, and the evils which have arisen to both labourers and employers prove the necessity of Government interference. In Fiji, Samoa, and Tahiti the greater portion of the labour used has been imported from the neighbouring islands; but the supply is uncertain and very small. It may almost be said that there is no labour to be obtained in the Pacific. The removal of a few natives from one group of islands to another, whereby the first group becomes depopulated for a time, means no supply: it is doubtful whether such a transfer is advisable either for the sake of economy or for health. Neither is any certain supply to be found in the resident population.

The existence of 140,000 men, women, and children upon 7,400 square miles of tropical land, as is the case in Fiji, affords no supply—hardly twenty to the square mile. Java contains a population of 337 to the square mile, and Ceylon 87. My general estimate of the population of the Pacific (*vide* chart) is 1,200,000, upon a superficial area of 98,000 square miles, giving about twelve to the square mile.

Tropical lands require a far denser population, and the Pacific must look either to the natural increase of the population or to foreign countries, in order to obtain a fair supply of labour. The natural increase will be found much too slow a process, and the only remaining alternative will be to import labour from abroad under Government superintendence. In South Eastern Asia there exists a labour market able to supply the world. China and India contain a population which is commencing to burst the bounds that have so long restrained them within certain limits. That population is beginning to emigrate, and soon a flood of Asiatics will pour through the long-closed gate of South-Eastern Asia, and scatter themselves over the eastern and western tropical and temperate zones.

Now the Pacific islands lie close at hand, and a little regulation will direct a stream of labour which will amply supply any demand. This simple fact, this proximity to India and China, renders the Pacific islands the most valuable within the tropical belt; the cost of passage (a very great consideration) will be small compared with that to the West Indies. A two or three years' contract with the Asiatic labourer will pay in the Pacific, whereas a six or seven years' contract will hardly pay in the West Indies. Employers of tropical labour will soon perceive this important fact, and a great number will flock to the islands of the Pacific as soon as they are assured of sufficient Government protection.

In Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon will doubtless look after these matters; but ought not the Imperial Government to take up the subject? If the statement is correct that the true wealth of tropical countries rests in the labour, should not the Imperial Government look after the interests of all its tropical possessions by superintending and regulating the supply of foreign labour. The West Indies, the Mauritius, Natal, Ceylon, Northern Australia, Queensland, Fiji, &c. all demand tropical labourers, which India and China can easily supply. The Registrar-General of Bombay informs us that the population of India is increasing two millions annually. It is quite impossible for India to support its present population, together with such a yearly increase; should not, therefore, a proper system of emigration be determined upon? Our tropical possessions and the Pacific can easily absorb a vast number of labourers, and India would be greatly relieved. If, however, caste, prejudice, or custom cannot be overcome, there is a plentiful supply of labour to be obtained from China: many Chinese are already in the islands, but many more are required. The Chinese make good settlers, and infuse some of their own untiring energy into the people around them. It is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will remove the restrictions which were lately imposed upon Chinese emigrants from Hong Kong.

There is very little doubt but that the Imperial Government can easily arrange a liberal labour supply from Asia if it favourably considers the proposal; but we have something else to consider besides the mere importation of labourers—we must *endeavour to retain them after their term of service has expired*. Increase of population in Polynesia means increase of wealth. Fiji can well support a million inhabitants, and when the little Colony contains that population it will also possess a very fair supply of voluntary labour. Necessity will then compel the natives to work more strenuously than they do at present; the struggle for existence will be greater,

and a greater amount of labour must result. It will therefore be seen that the present inhabitants of Fiji are not alone to be considered—a large increase must be provided for, and it is consequently necessary for the Government to gravely consider the land question. As much land as possible should be retained, in order to provide for future increase, and foster future settlement. Sir Hercules Robinson might not have fully considered this subject when he proposed that tribal lands should vest in the chiefs.

An unavoidable mistake has been made in the West Indies, which should, if possible, be avoided in Polynesia. The supply of *female* to *male* coolies, in anything like proportionate numbers, has been much too small, and the result has been found to be thoroughly demoralising—marriage laws have been completely thrown aside. Too many male labourers ought not to be introduced without a proportionate number of females.

#### FEMALE LABOUR.

If we ever wish to arrive at voluntary labour, we must put a stop to female labour. The social status of the female in the Pacific sadly requires raising. At present she is a mere domestic slave, her very life being often in the power of her husband. It lies in our power to ameliorate her condition so far at least as regards labour in the fields. Such a step, of course, will be antagonistic to the planting interest; but the question is not one of competition between sugar and cotton growers. We cannot regard these islands solely in a planter's light—the country must be ruled for its own benefit; and the prohibition of female labour in the fields, except perhaps at crop-time, is greatly to be desired. If Fiji, for instance, offers a cheerful residence, certain hours of male labour only, and fair opportunities for independent cultivation, it will more readily obtain a greater population than, say, New Caledonia, where opposite rules may prevail. If the West Indies, by using female labour, can produce slightly cheaper than Polynesia, the disadvantage must be put up with, although I fancy that compensating advantage will be found in the Pacific. I trust that the time is not far distant when female labour in the fields will be prohibited in all our tropical possessions: it is only a remnant of slavery, and should be abolished. The female can cultivate the home plot if she chooses to do so, while the husband works upon the plantation of the white settler; but no contract should be allowed to be made for her services. For the benefit of coming generations the position of the female must be raised.

## INFANTICIDE.

The suppression of infanticide is also one of the most important subjects which demands our consideration. At first the missionaries found it a very hard task to overcome the wide-spread custom; and even now in Christianised Fiji the custom is still secretly observed. Women who, by contract made with the chiefs, are compelled to perform a certain amount of field labour upon white plantations, find it necessary to kill their children either before or immediately after birth. They cannot work upon plantations, attend to their husbands, pay their husband's taxes, and also look after their children. Naturally enough the children are neglected,

Formerly three or four women shared the work required to be fulfilled at the husband's command; but polygamy was very rightly suppressed. Unfortunately, all the work of a household is now to be performed by the one wife.

Until very lately, a great portion of the female children were killed and the male children preserved for warriors. The mother of a boy waited upon him like an obedient slave—the boy was his mother's master; so he grew up, and so the man became; the boy was not taught to be industrious, and industry could not be expected from the man. Now if we put a stop to female field labour we shall also put a stop to infanticide. A mother will have time to look after her children of both sexes, and she will teach them all to assist her in her duties. The boys as well as the girls will be taught habits of industry, and the race generally will be improved.

Travellers in the Pacific know how graceful the young girls are, and how hideous they become immediately after marriage: the work which they have to do is the cause of this, for they are mere beasts of burden. They cannot avoid the marriage state, otherwise they would willingly do so. Women formerly strangled themselves upon the death of their husbands, but the custom was prohibited. I almost believe they were glad to escape from their weary life. The scanty population of Polynesia results from female degradation and consequent infanticide. A woman's life is so degraded that she has no interest in rearing the children she bears, especially female children.

Besides direct, indirect infanticide, resulting from carelessness, bad feeding, and neglect, prevails to an alarming extent. The mortality amongst infants is something frightful. It would well repay the Government to erect public nurseries for the preservation of infant life in every village in Fiji.

In the French Colonies the practice of concubinage is general, and it is well known that such a system is not at all conducive to the increase of the population.

In Western Polynesia both direct and indirect infanticide is very common, children in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands being frequently buried alive. I sincerely trust the missionary clergy will soon be able to thoroughly establish themselves in those islands.

#### HEALTH OF THE ISLANDERS.

As yet the natives have not considered any sanitary regulations: their houses, although comfortable and suited to the tropics, are badly drained and ill ventilated, the greater number of them being extremely unclean habitations. Mat upon mat is often piled upon the naked earth, until the bottom layer is a mass of decomposition; the consequence is that vermin abound, and the natives have to resort to the use of lime in order to keep themselves personally free from the pest. Contagious diseases of every kind spread amongst them like wildfire: an epidemic kills them off by thousands. Should we not endeavour to prevent this? The natives should be induced to build their houses upon higher ground, not upon the sea-shore, also to keep them in open spaces. In many inland villages I have seen the rank vegetation clustering around the very walls of the huts, which sometimes it is even difficult to discover; a traveller all at once stumbles on a native village buried in the luxuriant growth of the tropics. More wood and stone should be used in the construction of the private dwellings; coral will make a good floor, when wood is not to be obtained; the mat should not be so much relied upon.

The natives are also very improvident in their domestic habits, sometimes gorging to excess, at other times almost starving: they have no regular hours for taking food, but the principal meal is towards evening. Their chief article of diet is vegetable, which renders them incapable of sustaining any very prolonged labour. It is doubtful whether the free use of the cocoa-nut is beneficial to health; in my opinion maize would be found far more nutritious. The dense coast population of Ceylon is chiefly supported by the cocoa-nut; and we often hear of great epidemics raging in that island—some 10,000 natives were carried off by cholera in 1867.

Hardly sufficient attention is paid to the purity of the water supply, upon which health in the tropics so greatly depends. Where running water is used, the streams are generally fouled by the natives, and standing water ought to be avoided: the great amount

of vegetable decomposition constantly taking place soon charges standing water with a pestilential deposit.

Some of the islands are, however, in themselves very unhealthy. These are principally to be found in Western Polynesia. Why they should be so is a difficult matter to determine. In many instances the islands surrounding any particular spot are healthy, whilst the spot itself is the abode of fever and ague. Indeed, it is oftentimes found that three sides of an island are healthy, while the fourth is totally the opposite.

The prevailing winds have much to do with the subject, and likewise the neighbourhood of the Australian continent. Large deposits of vegetable matter in a state of decomposition will also be found to greatly influence the healthy condition of the atmosphere. For these reasons the windward side of any island is more healthy than the leeward, in consequence of receiving the steady current of the south-east trade winds.

In the report of Commissioners Commodore Goodenough and Mr. Layard concerning the cession of Fiji, there is a paper containing some observations by Dr. Messer upon the health of the islands. That gentleman states that the Fijian Archipelago is singularly free "not only from tropical diseases, but also from most of those diseases which in England and other countries yearly cause a large amount of sickness." This is saying a great deal for future white residence in that group. It would be of the utmost advantage if our medical officers, generally, in the Pacific would report upon the health of the islands, as the most healthy are the most valuable for European residence. The climate of an unhealthy island will greatly retard the work of colonisation. Our information on the subject is at present very vague, but I think I am fully entitled to say that the Pacific islands are more healthy and more suitable for European residence than the West Indies or British Guiana.

#### LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION.

The education of the islanders has been principally confined to religious teaching. Nothing else could possibly have been expected nor anything better imparted. Whilst, however, perfectly agreeing with what has already been done, I think that it will be found absolutely necessary to pay more attention to secular and industrial education, especially in those islands which have been Christianised. The Melanesian Mission in Norfolk Island, and the Wesleyan Training Schools in Tonga and Fiji, combine the three: an extension of this plan is alone required. I am quite certain that the mis-

sionaries will cordially assist in any matter connected with the welfare of the natives.!

Both secular education and industrial habits must be inculcated, and the more compulsory the system, the better it will be for the natives. There should not be any hesitation in the course to be pursued. The lazy habits of past generations have to be rooted out, and compulsory means are the most suitable for the work. Boys and girls should be compelled to attend the schools, and the Fijian Government should consider the advisability of establishing such schools in every village. Public nurseries and public schools might well be combined. One great difficulty exists with regard to secular education. Each group of islands has not only one language, but in many instances distinct district dialects,—the missionaries say, distinct languages. The Rev. H. Codrington, in one of his early lectures, remarks: “It is not that each island has its own language, but that there are many languages, mutually unintelligible, on one island. I have a little chart of a part of the New Hebrides—the Shepherd Islands, including Tisiko and Fate: there are twelve islands and thirteen tongues, mutually unintelligible.”

Western Polynesia, however, possesses a greater diversity of language than Eastern or Central Polynesia, in consequence of having been populated not only by colonies of Asiatics, and Papuan, and Australian negroes, but also by many wanderers from Polynesia itself, driven westward by the trade winds. New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands contain many settlements of pure Polynesians. In Eastern and Central Polynesia the different dialects of the parent Malayan tongue are not so numerous. They must, however, rank as distinct languages in consequence of the missionary clergy having been compelled to erect them into that position. The Sandwich, Society, Cooks, Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian islands have each their published Bibles, grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies: portions of the Scriptures have also been translated into some of the languages spoken in the following islands: Marquesas, Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, New Hebrides, Banks, Loyalty, New Caledonia Groups. The press has indeed aided Christianity in the Pacific.

Whether it is advisable to continue this bountiful supply of language is very doubtful. A population of little over a million does not require twenty-five to thirty different languages; it would be much better for the natives to learn one useful language, which could be used as a medium for imparting secular education, than the present numerous dialects of one or two parent tongues. One language is amply sufficient for Eastern, Central, and Northern Polynesia, another for Western Polynesia. In my opinion two languages are

alone required—one founded upon a Malayan, the other upon a Papuan basis. The subject is very important, as the future work of government in the Pacific will be much aided by such a simplification, as the cost of ruling the islands will be increased in proportion to the number of languages. It is also doubtful whether the English language is suitable to the tropics; the natives under our rule will pick it up, but it is much too harsh to become the popular language in Polynesia; French and Spanish are both more suitable. It would, however, be better for the English language to be taught than the numerous native languages which are at present being in a manner built up. Australia will contribute a large number of English-speaking people to the population of the Pacific, and South Eastern Asia many Indian and Chinese. The necessity for having one language common to all and easy of acquisition is hence evident.

#### POSITION OF THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

The position of the Australasian Colonies with regard to these islands is very important, as the trade of the Pacific is almost certain to be conducted from their ports for many years to come. There are few safe harbours in Polynesia, and the rise and fall of tide is very slight; consequently the Australasian ports must be largely relied on for many purposes.

The carrying trade of the Pacific will have to be principally conducted by means of small vessels of 80 to 150 tons, either steam or sail, or a combination of both. Auxiliary screw wooden schooners will be found most suitable. Australasia can supply these vessels better and cheaper than any other country. One or two ports of the Western Coast of America may share in the trade, but the Australasian ports are likely to be the most relied upon.

Colonial shipping will also supply a cheap freight for island produce to European markets. At present, outward English shipping to Australia cannot always rely upon a homeward freight. Vessels have constantly to go from Melbourne, Sydney, and New Zealand to India and China, in order to obtain a return cargo. The trade of the Pacific will supply that shipping with a return freight, and both will mutually profit. Of course, eventually, the islands will require their own lines of vessels, and accommodation will be required in the English docks for the Pacific trade, just as it is required for the West Indian.

The islands will draw from the Colonies their supply of coals, building materials, flour, and other standing articles of consumption; also a vast quantity of material. Towns are yet to be built,

roads and bridges to be constructed; small dry docks, mills, foundries, machinery, water, and gasworks, lighthouses, telegraphs connecting group to group and island to island; indeed, all the wants of civilisation have yet to be supplied, and the Colonies are certain to share largely in the supply. At present the islands possess absolutely nothing—cultivation and production have hardly commenced.

The imports and exports of the British possessions alone in the West Indies amount to fifteen million sterling. The Pacific hardly imports more than £700,000 per annum. The West Indies employ a million tons of English shipping; not a vessel leaves an English port for the Pacific.

It is almost certain that the resources of the Pacific will shortly be greatly developed, and the position of Australasian Colonies with regard to that development is a very important consideration. Australasia is as valuable to the Pacific as the Pacific is to Australasia; indeed, if the islands would consult their best interests, and also look to their geographical position, instead of seeking protection from America, France, and Germany, they would petition the Australian Colonies for assistance. It is for the interest of these Colonies to render such assistance, whereas the Powers above named have no particular interest in the matter.

Which of the Colonies will take the lead in the island trade is uncertain, but in my opinion New Zealand from its position is likely to do so. Auckland is 1,200 miles nearer the greater number of the groups than Sydney or any Australian port. For nine months in the year the south-east wind prevails, and New Zealand lies to the windward of Australia. Auckland is likely to become the seat of a large ship-building trade, possessing as it does a good harbour, and plenty of iron, coal, and timber. Sydney will supply a great amount of merchandise, Queensland meat, and South Australia flour, &c.

New Zealand likewise possesses another great advantage over Australia—its beautiful climate, a fit sanitarium for tropical invalids; many planters even now resort to that Colony in order to recruit their health. Ladies and children will find it of the utmost advantage to annually leave the islands for a couple of months, in order to escape the summer heat.

The bond of union between the Colonies and the islands must become a very strong one; population is gradually overflowing; Colonial merchants are establishing agencies in the Pacific; and there will hardly be a planter who will not possess many friends in one or other of the Australian Colonies.

## CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION.

It is to be hoped that the productions of the Pacific will not be confined to almost one article of consumption, viz. sugar, as is the case in the West Indies. Demand will doubtless regulate cultivation, but it is, nevertheless, a fact that planters possess a strange habit of following a given lead: if one produces cotton, all produce cotton; if sugar cultivation is determined upon, cotton trees are rooted up, and cane planted. Now there is ample room in the Pacific for the cultivation of many tropical productions, and it will be found more payable to rely upon many than upon one. Fiji, for instance, may be divided into three zones: the low river or water lands, suitable for the sugar-cane; the higher lands, suitable for cotton; and the hill or uplands, suitable for coffee.\*

The West Indian planters, after suffering great losses, are beginning to perceive that it is advisable to increase the number of their productions. In the Pacific, sugar, cotton, and coffee will not be found the only payable crops. In fibrous productions the supply of the raw material is unlimited. The owners of paper-mills in England are seeking for new fibres; the Pacific islands possess numerous payable plants: coir, ramie, alue, pine-apple (the celebrated "pina" of the East), Chinese nettle-grass, and others of a similar rich variety. Manilla hemp can be obtained in any quantity; the plant from which this hemp is prepared being an ordinary plantain tree, indigenous to the islands, and regarded almost as a weed.

Of the cocoa-nut tree itself little need be said; its value is well-known. In Ceylon, each tree is reckoned to be worth four shillings annually. There are millions of cocoa-nut trees in Polynesia; scores of small islands are to be found covered with them, and totally uninhabited, oil and fibre wasting at the rate of thousands of pounds annually. Those planters who gave up cotton-growing a short time ago in Fiji, and took to cultivating and producing from the cocoa-nut, gained much profit by the change. In my opinion, the preparation of cocoa-nut fibre and oil, and Manilla hemp, would afford home employment for the whole of the native population.

Tea, rice, arrowroot, indigo, ginger, cinnamon, tobacco, fruits, and innumerable other tropical productions will all pay for cultivation.

Whale oil, Beche-de-mer, fungus, pearl-shell, sandal-wood, tor-

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\* The coffee plant requires to be cultivated at an elevation of at least 1,200 feet above the sea level. Ceylon exports about £2,000,000 worth of coffee annually.

toise-shell, &c. have to be collected, and valuable timber to be cut and exported.

The islands possess a great number of very valuable woods. Timber in the tropics is either very hard or very soft; there is no medium. The soft wood is useless; but the hard wood, such as teak, mahogany, &c. is very valuable. In many islands there are virgin forests of hard-wood trees, in which civilised man has hardly yet placed a foot.

Planters, however, must not be too much led away by the apparent resources of the Pacific. I have before remarked that the true wealth of the islands lies in the available labour, not in the productions: they should, therefore, as a preliminary to cultivation, make certain of their labour supply. No reliance can be placed upon resident labour for the present. A native does not care about working upon his own island; the planter must, therefore, import from abroad a certain number of hands required to perform the principal work of the plantation all the year round. He should select suitable lands near some large native village, and only rely upon the resident natives in crop-time—even then as sparingly as possible. In Ceylon, Tamil labourers are principally employed, the Cingalese doing all the light carrying work.

Neither is money to be hurriedly made. A planter ought to erect a comfortable home upon his plantation: it is a great mistake for a European to live in the wretched manner that I have witnessed upon various plantations. A fortune is not to be made in a year or two; planting in the Pacific requires as much careful consideration and calculation as farming in England. Only a percentage upon the capital employed can be expected—perhaps fifteen, perhaps twenty per cent., perhaps more, according to circumstances and the experience of the planter. In some islands a greater percentage may be relied on than in others; certain productions succeed better in certain localities. First of all choose a healthy island; consider whether it is fairly situated out of the track of hurricanes,\* and cultivate the productions most suitable to it. Where a British subject now resides makes little difference: the last Polynesian Act empowers the High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Gordon, to protect all British subjects in the Pacific.

The rainfall also requires consideration. It is to be hoped that observations will be systematically commenced in the English and French possessions, and also by the missionaries, in order to arrive

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\* Information concerning the hurricane-track is as yet somewhat scanty: the statistical chart attached affords some little information upon the point.

at a fair estimate of this very important subject. The observations of any private gentleman periodically forwarded to one of the Colonial observatories would be of much public value.

A safe principle to be guided by is to separate agriculture from manufacture as much as possible. Unless the greatest care is taken, the profit which may be realised by the one will be lost in the other. I am induced to make these remarks in the hope that they will at least direct the attention of intending planters to past experience. The West Indies, Ceylon, Mauritius, and other islands supply volumes of experience, which only requires to be studied in order to make cultivation in the Pacific a most profitable pursuit.

#### THE POLYNESIAN SCHEME.

With regard to the profits which commercial speculation is likely to realise in the Pacific, I cannot do better than refer to the Polynesian scheme lately proposed by the New Zealand Government, for opening up the resources of the islands, and so warmly taken up by Sir Julius Vogel. Having originated the scheme, I think that I can give a fair explanation concerning its intention: its scope may be misconceived unless some such explanation be given.

Whilst cruising amongst the islands in 1872, I was struck with the necessity which plainly existed for bringing capital to bear upon the undeveloped resources of the Pacific. The only plan which occurred to me was the natural one of an Associated Company. Certain of the groups possessed forms of Government quite unsuitable to them, while others had no Government at all. A powerful company would not only be liable to govern itself, but also establish numerous stations to which all classes of settlers would look for assistance and protection. The objects of the Company were three: (1) To trade, cultivate, and manufacture; (2) To supply labour; (3) To acquire ultimate dominion.

Of the first, little need be said. The opening for trade, cultivation, and manufacture is well known.

Our possessions in the West Indies import and export annually about £15,000,000, Ceylon £8,000,000, and Mauritius £5,000,000, whilst the Pacific hardly does anything in comparison. The only consideration was, firstly, whether it was advisable to go into the matter upon a large or small scale; and, secondly, whether a monopoly was advisable. I suggested the advisability of taking up the subject in the widest sense, in consequence of so many small attempts having failed. An influential company would be able to command good men and far better experience than a small company: it has generally been found that small companies do not

pay. With regard to a monopoly, I failed to see its utility. There is plenty of room in the Pacific for half a dozen such companies as I proposed. The history of the Java Trading Company is not such a one as to recommend its repetition elsewhere.

As to the second object, the labour supply. In 1872 the labour supply was carried on in a most wretched manner. Men and vessels were engaged in it utterly unfitted for the traffic. The greater number of the men were not very desirable citizens in any country, and most of the vessels were small, rotten slavers, of a few tons burthen. Twenty and thirty labourers, sometimes more, were often carried 400 and 500 miles in a vessel of ten tons or so. I need not refer to *how* the labourers were obtained. Names were painted out, canoes were run down, clergymen were vilely personified, and all sorts of shameful *ruses* were carried on to decoy the natives. Matters sadly required mending, and it struck me that the company could mend them by supplying good men, good vessels, and being responsible to Government officers for all transactions. Since that time I have found no reason to alter my views; I still think that the labour traffic should be under direct Government inspection. All our tropical possessions require labourers; and dealing in men's lives—whether Polynesian, Indian, or Chinese—should be a Government question. The trade is of sufficient importance to merit the attention of a powerful company.

The third object, ultimate dominion, can be briefly dismissed. There is little likelihood of the Imperial Government, now that it has taken action by annexing Fiji, supporting or favouring any undertaking which has for its object the acquisition of vested interests. Great companies give too much trouble to be encouraged. At the time when I proposed the scheme, England had not taken action, and the attempt of the white settlers to erect petty independent native states appeared to me open to failure. A powerful company might gradually attain such a position, that it eventually would be enabled to hand over the sovereignty of any island to Great Britain, should the Imperial Government choose to accept it. The East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, the New Zealand Company, the African Company, and many others are precedents for my proposal, and no one can deny that those companies have done much for England.

A Polynesian Company would greatly benefit the cause of civilisation in the Pacific, not by regenerating the natives, but by assisting the missionary. I especially proposed that it should work hand in hand with the missionary clergy, and in Western Polynesia they sadly want such assistance. There, commerce does not follow

religious teaching sufficiently fast ; petty warfare and all the horrors of barbarism reign supreme. A white man dares not land upon many of the islands. Even the lives of the commanders of our men-of-war are not respected. The company could mitigate these evils by simply supporting missionary effort and offering constant rewards for voluntary labour. The missionaries, on the other hand, would find it far better to work with such a company as I proposed than to combat the numerous adventurers who only vilify them.

Such, briefly, was the design of the scheme. In whatever manner it may be commented upon I can only say that its designs were based upon the broadest and most beneficial principles. I am not responsible, neither do I exactly agree with the form in which the scheme was proposed ; but its promulgators can easily amend any defects should they deem it necessary. I believe the idea will be carried out, as capital must be introduced into the islands, and the associated or contract principle is the principle of the age. That it will benefit the islands I am certain, as also the Australian Colonies, for it would vastly assist in strengthening the bond of union which is beginning to grow up between them.

#### SHALL ENGLAND COLONISE ?

Having now briefly touched upon the principal matters connected with the civilisation of the Pacific, it is time to consider the action which England, as a colonising Power, should take with regard to those islands.

It is quite impossible for them to remain in their present condition ; foreign Powers are certain to interfere.

I have pointed out that the petty native kingdoms are too weak to properly administer the duties of government for any length of time. The natives cannot rule themselves, neither can they rule the white people who are settling amongst them. They know this, and they are anxious for annexation or protection by some strong Power. Nearly the whole of Eastern and Central Polynesia look towards England. The natives have been accustomed from their infancy to regard our good Queen as their Queen, and our men-of-war as their natural protectors ; even in Samoa, the chiefs of which have been induced to petition the United States Government for protection, this feeling prevails. In my opinion, the general body of the natives of Samoa prefer to be annexed to England rather than to any other nation. In 1869 the Fijian chiefs petitioned the United States Government for protection ; it is very easy to get up such a petition.

The only question to consider is whether it is advisable for us to take any further and immediate action. Fiji has been annexed, and the labour traffic is being regulated. Shall we leave matters for time to arrange, or is it worth while to lay down a definite policy with regard to Polynesia? For myself, I believe that it is to our interest to acquire every spot of land in the Pacific, not only for its intrinsic value, but in order to prevent other Powers obtaining such valuable possessions. As Colonies, they would become very valuable, for we should then possess nearly all the insular land in the tropics, and such land is of far greater value for certain tropical productions than continental lands.

As naval stations they are very important. In the uncertain state of naval warfare we ought to take every precaution to maintain our supremacy at sea. Ironclads are at present relied upon for national safety; in a short time ironclads may be condemned to coast defence purposes. Smaller, lighter armed, and more numerous vessels may be considered a better fighting fleet. Short distance stations, and many coaling depôts, will consequently be required. If we took possession of the Pacific islands we should gain a great advantage over the war vessels of any European nation, as the Pacific is almost the only portion of the globe in which foreign Powers can establish naval stations. We have it in our power to thoroughly command the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and we should be careful of throwing the chance away. France is as yet the only European Power which has perceived the advantage of having naval stations in the Pacific; it is to be hoped that other European Powers will not be allowed to follow her example, as the acquisition of such positions affords them an admirable basis of operations against our Asiatic and Australian possessions. In the event of war we should have to guard against a great nest of Pacific hornets, which might cost far more than preliminary precaution. It would be almost a pity to see these islands fall into the hands of many nations, and so eventually become merely the fortified rendezvous of half a dozen great Powers. The argument that the Malay islands are open to occupation does not apply. They are, in the first place, too far away to be of any use as coaling stations; and, secondly, are too difficult of acquisition. The Dutch find it a difficult task to subdue the Malays. The Pacific islands are easily acquired, and for this reason they should be especially valuable to us, as they will entail no expense. A regiment of British soldiers will never be required in Polynesia. Our present Australasian squadron is almost sufficiently powerful to keep order in the whole of that portion of the globe.

Another reason for the Imperial Government taking action is the fact that our Australasian Colonies would be greatly benefited thereby. They are constantly petitioning the Home Government to take action, and their leading statesmen even offer monetary assistance. It appears to me that their petitions should be attended to, but their offers of monetary assistance declined. I take it that whatever benefits the Australasian Colonies also benefits the mother country; for although the Colonies reasonably imagine that they will derive much profit from the trade of the Pacific being supplied from their ports, yet we must not forget that the Colonies themselves are supplied from England. English shipping and English manufactures will be principally used—in fact, nearly all that the Pacific requires will be drawn from the mother country.

With regard to the offer of monetary assistance, it appears to me that it would hardly become the mother country to charge one group of Colonies for that which benefits general interests. Indeed, I do not see how the Imperial Government could accept it unless they were allowed to have some voice in the administration of those particular islands the cost of whose government they were partly defraying. It is the desire of the Colonies to develop the trade of the Pacific, and by doing so they will simply extend English commerce.

At present the Colonies petition the English Government to take action, but we must not forget that in a short time they will be sufficiently powerful to act for themselves. Had they possessed the slightest voice in foreign affairs, France would never have been allowed to take possession of New Caledonia. If the Imperial Government will only consider Australasian interests, the Pacific islands may yet form a part of a future Australasian Confederation.

I have no wish to hint at the various obstacles which may prevent Ministers from taking any further and immediate action in the Pacific: I only desire to point out that some definite policy is necessary. It is not always advisable to leave time to solve difficult questions. We may not find in Samoa that which we found in Fiji, —another Thurston to advise the chiefs as to what is best for their country's interest, neither will the suppression of the labour traffic afford a stalking-horse for future action. The broad question to be considered is, whether England should pursue the old policy of colonisation, which has helped to make her what she is, or whether we should allow the Pacific to work its own civilisation. Our missionaries have opened the way to commerce: is France alone to profit by it? Are the Australian Colonies quietly to witness the trade which they are fostering absorbed by foreign nations? Are

our Eastern possessions to be left unguarded? Is it advisable to allow the Pacific islands to fall into the hands of many nations? These questions are worthy of attention, and I trust that they will receive some little consideration.

#### FINAL REMARKS.

I must now bring the paper to an end. The subject upon which it treats is so extensive that the great difficulty under which I have laboured is, not to find what to say, but what to leave unsaid. In a paper such as this it is almost impossible to do justice to so great a subject. Many important matters have been omitted. But slight reference has been made to New Guinea: the civilisation and colonisation of that island must be a task of time. In my opinion the various groups of islands referred to require far more immediate attention than New Guinea. Their colonisation is forcing itself upon our attention, although it has taken nearly a hundred years for the question to ripen into its present importance.

New Guinea, as I have before remarked, is a *terra incognita*: there is not much danger of any great Power attempting to colonise it for some time to come. All that we require at present is the protection of our trade through Torres Straits, and the Royal Colonial Institute has duly brought that important point before the notice of the Imperial Government. That the civilisation of New Guinea will be found a more easy task than that of the Malay Islands is true, but there is no necessity for us immediately to perform the task. Our missionaries will first lead the way. I notice that in May last the Wesleyan missionary barque, *John Williams*, left Fiji with a deputation of white missionaries and about fifteen native teachers for the purpose of taking the first steps to plant Christianity on the north-west of the island, and at the same time the islands of New Britain and New Ireland. The London Missionary Society has selected the south coast. There is very little doubt but that these noble efforts will succeed: yet the task is a difficult one. The natives are somewhat fierce and treacherous, and the climate, so far as we are acquainted, very unhealthy. It would be of much advantage if the Home Government directed our war schooners to visit the new stations occasionally. Nothing has been found more hurtful to missionary enterprise than the solitary condition of the clergy. For many months they are left to themselves to struggle with their numerous difficulties. The one or two mission vessels cannot perform the necessary work of visiting all the stations. I trust the Societies at home will seek a little co-operation in this matter from the Imperial Government.

In the body of the paper it will be observed that reference has often been made to the West India Islands. In my opinion the past history of those islands will be found a very valuable precedent for future action in Polynesia.

The opening of the Isthmus of Panama by a canal has a most important bearing upon the future of the Pacific. The successful accomplishment of that great work will vastly increase the value of the islands. Through them will pass a great trade to Australasia and Eastern Asia, and back again to the Western hemisphere. Great circle tracks are almost certain to be followed, and one or two of these tracks cut the islands. Such a traffic must greatly benefit the Pacific. The opening of the canal will also permit the island trade going direct to English markets, as the distance will then not be much greater than to any other.

That the canal will be constructed is almost a certainty; a late American Commission upon the subject does not consider the difficulties insurmountable. The cause of civilisation would be greatly advanced if America, France, and England warmly took up the subject; our own Government, I believe, is fully alive to its importance.

In conclusion, I may be allowed to express an earnest wish that the Imperial Government will consider the advisability of pursuing some definite policy. Action in Polynesia should not be made to depend upon the mere question of the suppression of slavery. It is not too much to consider that the islands will eventually form a great confederation, but much depends upon the manner in which they are acquired by the Great Powers. The tendency of late years in the West Indies has been towards such a confederation. Under a Federal system the cost of government will not be so great, taxes will be more uniform, and the labour supply can be better regulated—three very important considerations in tropical countries. I trust that Great Britain will act in such a manner as to enable the islands eventually to form a powerful confederation.

I cannot close this paper without adding one tribute of respect to the memory of the latest martyr to the cause of civilisation in the Pacific, Captain James Graham Goodenough, Commodore of the Australian station. Admired and respected by all who knew him, loved and esteemed by all his officers, his loss will be deeply felt. He fell a martyr in the attempt to restore confidence in the minds of the savage natives of Santa Cruz, after having successfully brought about the annexation of Fiji to the British Crown. Few events, since the death of Captain Cook, have created so powerful an impression upon the public mind. Bishop Patteson and Commodore

Goodenough have both fallen victims to the treachery of these particular islanders. When are these losses to cease? Almost a century since, La Perouse and his unfortunate comrades were cast away upon these very islands, and not one returned to tell the tale. Is it not time for us to regard these natives as dangerous to humanity? The lives of our sailors and traders in the Pacific are at their mercy. The late Commodore would not allow them to be punished; but have we not a duty to perform? Should we not at once take steps to prevent the future loss of valuable lives? England cannot afford to lose such sons as John Coleridge Patteson and James Graham Goodenough!

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APPENDIX A.—Statistical Chart of the Islands of the Pacific.

Division	Name of Group.	No. of Islands.	Formation.	By whom Discovered.	Area, Square Miles.	Name of Mission.	Native Population.	Foreign Residents.	Government.	Imports, £	Exports, £	General Remarks.	
NORTH PACIFIC.	Bonin Islands .....	50	Volcanic	Spaniards	...	Roman Catholic	...	30	Spanish.	...	...	No native population. A few Japanese. Iloilo's Harbour, a very good one.	
	Ladron, or Marian Islands...	20	Do.	Magellan, 1521	1,254	Do.	1668...	...	Do.	...	...	The fleet of Prince Maurice, of Nassau, refreshed at Guam, 1682.	
	Pelew Islands .....	20	...	Villalobos, 1543	...	Do.	1710...	...	Native King & Spanish.	...	...	Princess Boro, accompanied survivors to England.	
	Caroline Islands...	300	Volcanic and Coral.	Portuguese, 1626 Drake, 1679	...	American Board of Foreign Missions. Hawaiian Mission.	*150,000	120	Native Chiefs.	...	...	Many excellent Harbours. Great resort of Whalers. Severe Hurricanes. Natives faithless & treacherous. Enormous ruins	
	Marshall, or Mulgrave Islands.	30	Coral	Marshall and Gilbert, 1788	...	Hawaiian Mission. A. B. F. M. Samoan Mission.	12,000	6	Do.	...	...	Redlick and Rallick Chains.	
	Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands	16	Do.	Do.	...	Hawaiian Mission. A. B. F. M.	10,000	...	Native King.	...	...	On the Equator. Severe hurricanes. D-graded and savage type of Natives.	
	Sandwich Islands. (1871)	13	Volcanic	Cook, 1778	6,000	A. B. F. M. 1820 Hawaiian Mission. So. Prop. Gospel. Am. Miss. Asso.	68,765	5,500	Monarchy and Constitution since 1840.	325,176	373,413	Cook killed at Hawaii, 1778. Independence recognised, 1843. Sugar principal export.	
	Marquesas .....	5	Do.	Mendana, 1595	777	Hawaiian Mission. A. B. F. M. R. C. M.	10,000	...	French, 1842.	...	...	...	Bad Harbours. Fine race of Natives.
	Faunoto, or Low Archipelago...	78	Coral	De Quiros, 1606	4,125	R. C. & L. M. S. So. Prop. Gospel.	8,000	...	French Protectorate 1840.	...	...	...	Eighteen uninhabited. Great pearl shell fishery.
	Tabiti or (1871) Society Islands ...	3	Volcanic	Do.	734	L. M. S. 1797. R. C. M.	13,847	...	Do.	120,000	90,000	Cotton principally exported.	
	Georgian Islands..	6	Do.	Do.	...	L. M. S.	10,000	...	Native Government.	...	...	...	Independence from Tahiti recognised. Fair codes of laws. Five of the Islands under French protection.
	Austral, or Tubal Islands .....	5	...	Vancouver, 1791	...	Do.	4,000	...	Native Chiefs.	...	...	...	Good Harbour in Rapa. Beautiful climate.
	Cook's, or Horvey Islands ...	7	Volcanic and Coral	Cook, 1778	...	Do.	16,000	30	Native Queen and Chiefs.	...	...	...	No harbours. Beautiful climate Hurricanes occasional.
EASTERN POLYNESIA.													



## APPENDIX (A.)

## EXPLANATION OF CHART.

As the accompanying statistical chart of the Pacific Islands is the first of the kind attempted, I trust that every allowance will be made for inaccuracies. I have found it very difficult to obtain any reliable information; even the missionary accounts vary considerably.

Notice has only been taken of the principal groups, although scattered amongst them are numerous solitary islands of much value. For example, Savage Island, or Nine, population 5,000, discovered by Cook 1773; Wallis' Island, population 3,000, the residence of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Oceania; Ocean Island, population 2,000; Pleasant Island, population 1,400, so named from its beauty; Gambier Island, population 1,500, under French protection; Easter Island, Fanning Island, and many others.

The names of the various groups are somewhat confusing; in many instances I have given those by which they are most popularly known. It is difficult to name correctly the two groups generally called the Society Islands.

Captain Wallis, I believe, named them the Georgian Islands, in honour of George III. Cook called them the Society Islands, in honour of the Royal Society. Mr. Ellis calls the Eastern Group (Tahiti) the Georgian Islands, and the Western Group the Society Islands. I think that Tahiti should be called the Society Islands, as it was there that Cook made his observations.

With regard to the number of islands which each group is stated to contain, it is necessary to explain that most of them are mere rocks, or chains of islets upon one great reef, or numerous islands enclosed by one reef; there are very few large volcanic islands in any particular group.

Fiji, for example, stated to contain 200, has only three or four large islands, and six or seven small ones, whilst the remainder are mere spots, containing perhaps two, perhaps a thousand, acres each. The Island of Hogolue, commonly so called, in the Caroline Group, is an immense atoll, or coral reef, enclosing a vast lagoon, having a circumference of some 300 miles. Within the lagoon are four great islands, each from twenty to twenty-five miles in circumference, and more than twenty smaller uninhabited cays, covered with cocoa-nut and other trees.

The difference between the volcanic and coral islands it is important to distinguish, as the former are more suited for the growth of coffee, cotton, sugar, tobacco, &c. than the latter.

Exclusive of New Guinea, the area of the islands may be about 98,000 square miles, or five times as great as our West Indian possessions, excepting of course British Guiana. The gross area of any group is only an approximation, and cannot be relied on. By reducing kilometres into miles, I have been enabled to arrive at some idea of the superficial area of the French possessions.

A further survey of the Pacific is sadly needed. Since the *Herald* and Commodore Wilkes' expedition, but little has been added to the Admiralty charts; I am, however, somewhat uncertain whether the Imperial Government has not lately directed a few necessary surveys to be undertaken.

The population of any group marked with an asterisk is purely conjectural. One writer supposes the New Hebrides, for instance, to contain 200,000 natives, another 60,000. I prefer to underrate, rather than overrate, the native population. The total of the numbers given in the chart amounts to 843,612, to which must be added the population of the Phoenix, Santa Cruz, New Ireland, New Britain, Louisade, and Admiralty groups, and also the inhabitants of the numerous solitary islands before referred to. Exclusive of New Guinea, the population of which it is quite impossible to conjecture, there cannot be less than 1,200,000 natives in Polynesia.

The foreign residents are principally European. I do not consider that there are more than 25,000 whites in the Pacific, of which number about 15,000 are in New Caledonia.

The total of the imports amounts to £557,829, and exports £598,215. Add to these sums the imports and exports of the Tongan Archipelago, the only remaining group of any present commercial importance, also the goods sold by the trading schooners in exchange for island produce, and the grand total of imports and exports will not exceed £1,450,000 per annum. The supply of the French convict station at New Caledonia can hardly be included under a commercial heading.

The following table gives a few statistics concerning other tropical countries:—

	Area of Square Miles.	Population.	Imports. £	Exports. £
British Possessions in the West Indies ...1871	19,983	1,089,818	5,186,086	5,804,093
British Guiana.....1871	76,000	193,491	1,897,183	2,748,720
Mauritius .....1871	708	316,042	1,807,382	3,053,054
Ceylon .....1872	24,454	2,405,287	5,169,524	3,163,153
Java .....1871	51,336	17,298,200	4,213,428	7,459,735
Philippine Islands* ...	65,100	4,319,269		

In comparison with these figures, the result of my calculations and approximations may be given as follows:—

	Area of Square Miles.	Population.	Imports. £	Exports. £
Pacific Islands .....	98,000	1,200,000	700,000	750,000
New Guinea .....	260,000	130,000		

It will therefore be seen that the Pacific Islands, possessing a superficial area of five times the extent of our possessions in the West Indies *proper*, and a greater population, does not at present consume one-eighth of the amount annually imported by those islands.

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\* In 1871, the Philippine Islands exported to Great Britain alone £1,391,254, and imported £463,359.

## APPENDIX (B.)

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES THROUGH WHICH TAHITI FELL  
UNDER THE PROTECTION OF FRANCE.

(Extract from a Narrative of a "Trip to Tahiti." By W. K. BULL, 1858.)

THE French deserve credit for the way the town of Papeti is laid out; the Government Offices and Government House are very good buildings. I believe the French are anxious for the advancement and prosperity of the island, if they only knew how to accomplish it. They have lately offered premiums for the cultivation of the sugar-cane and for coffee; but what puzzles me is what the French want with Tahiti at all—in fact, it is only a sort of toy for them, it brings them in nothing. The revenues from fines, and their little petty regulations, must be all absorbed in the collection; it is in no way self-supporting, and the expense of government must be so much every year out of pocket. As a naval station it must be entirely useless, as in the event of a war between England and France, in about the first ten minutes, not only Tahiti, but every other French possession in the South Seas, would of course be taken from them. It may be proper that I should now give some information relative to the possession of Tahiti by the French, and how it was accomplished. It has been under French government for about fifteen years; for many years previously it was known to the world as the head-quarters of Protestant missionary enterprise. Protestant Missions were established there in about 1790, the attention of the Christian world having been directed to Tahiti by the very interesting account given of the natives by Capt. Cook, in his voyages round the world. It was at Tahiti, Protestant missions were first established, extending on to the other Society Islands, the Harvey Group, &c. &c.

The French had a Roman Catholic missionary station at Gambier, a small island lying due east of Tahiti; it was the wish of the Propaganda at Rome to extend operations and spread their faith; for this purpose, in about 1840, they instructed some French Roman Catholic priests, from their station at Gambier, to proceed on to Tahiti. At Tahiti we are told that a law existed relating to strangers landing on those shores, none being permitted to land or reside there without consent of the sovereign and chiefs. The Roman Catholic priests in due time arrived, and you may easily imagine that, with the Protestant missionaries, they were the very last persons they wished to see; in answer to inquiries, they announced the object of their coming was to teach the Roman Catholic religion; the priests were told that they, the Tahitians, had already teachers, and were perfectly satisfied with them; to this a rejoinder is given by the priests that these teachers were teachers of a false religion; this led to a decided answer being given them by the sovereign and chiefs assembled. Permission to stay at the island was refused. Their attention was directed to the law upon the matter relating to strangers, and they were ordered forthwith to depart.

The French Consul stated he knew of no such law in existence as that referred to; that, if any, it was only missionary law, made for the sovereign and chiefs, and not by them.

The French Consul gave them a house to reside in, but here they were not permitted to stay; the natives, acting by instructions from the authorities, took the roof off the house, carried the priests by force to the boats, and made them return to the ship. When information of this affair reached Rome, indignation was roused, France was appealed to, and a man-of-war sent to Tahiti, demanding satisfaction, an indemnity of 4,000 dollars, a treaty also was insisted on, and that for the future there should be toleration for the Roman Catholic religion, and grants of sites of land for places of worship. The captain of the French man-of-war threatened to fire on the town in case of refusal. Capt. Thomas, of the *Talbot*, an English man-of-war, was lying in the harbour at this time, and it may easily be imagined these proceedings were most repugnant to his feelings, but having no power to act, all he could do (to use his own phrase) "was to show his teeth, but not bite." During the negotiation the French captain spoke in insulting terms of Pomare, calling her a "liar;" to resent this the English captain double shotted his guns, placed his ship between the two French frigates, and demanded an apology: the apology was promptly given. This affair naturally led to a period of excitement, and there was no knowing any moment but the inflammable materials might burst into a flame; as for the English sailors, they enjoyed the fun immensely, for Jack had his feelings as well as his officers, and every night they would sing at the top of their voices in the ears of the Frenchmen, "Rule Britannia," making the harbour ring again. Ultimately, to prevent the destruction of property at Papete, the amount of the fines inflicted by the French was paid by the European residents, and the quarrel in the meantime settled. A short time only had elapsed, however, when another source of quarrel was opened up. Pomare was willing to give land to the Roman Catholics for religious purposes from her own property, but the priests insisted upon land which belonged to her people, and was not hers to give. At Tahiti, as well as other islands in the South Seas, a very different state of things prevails to that of the aborigines of Australia. Every man has his land, the boundaries of which he knows as well as any nobleman in England does his estate. Pomare's refusal was construed by the priests into an infraction of the treaty; in addition to this, complaint was made that an outrage had been committed upon some Frenchman; another French man-of-war arrived, 10,000 dollars was this time insisted upon, and demand made that if unpaid Tahiti should be placed under French protection. The Queen fled to Eimeo, an island opposite, where, separated from her advisers and unable to raise the money, she was bamboozled into signing a document, praying for Tahiti to be a French protectorate; the result is, that Pomare is Queen of Tahiti now only by name, receiving an income of £2,000 a year from the French Government,\* and all laws are made and administered by the French. Thus, after a period of sixty years of toil and congratulation (*sic*), was the Protestant Mission in Tahiti annihilated.

With the occupation by the French came stringent restrictions on the Protestant missionaries—their independence and usefulness was at an end

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\* Had it not been for the Empress Eugénie the allowance would have quickly been discontinued.

(for be it known the toleration and religious liberty insisted on by Roman Catholics, when subordinate, is very different to that accorded by them when dominant), the place was made too hot to hold them, and only one Protestant missionary now resides in Tahiti, and he is not permitted to preach to the natives. The desire on the part of the Roman Catholics to introduce their religion in Tahiti, after it had been for so many years the field of labour and suffering on the part of the Protestant missionaries, would appear to some a great hardship, and the act of refusing them to reside there was perfectly unjustifiable; others would view it in a different light, and contend that the refusal came altogether from "missionary" influence; that the simple circumstances of the missionaries acting as religious teachers in the island, in no way warranted the assumption of such a power, that to use it was to exercise on their part all the rights and privileges of sovereignty without any of the legal pretensions, and that the Protestant missionaries have no just right or claim to have the whole field undisturbed to themselves. But whatever difference of opinion may prevail upon this matter, it cannot be denied that the way in which the French possessed themselves of Tahiti, was both pitiful and contemptible, and altogether unworthy the part of a great nation; independently of this, it was anything but an agreeable sight in the eyes of the world to see a polite and gallant people like the French engaged in despoiling a defenceless woman of her rightful dominions. The possession of Tahiti by the French, with the overthrow of the Protestant missions there, created a great stir at the time in the religious world, but Great Britain refused to enter into the strife; she had just got the start of France in the race for New Zealand, and was unwilling to embroil the nation in war for so small a possession as Tahiti.\*

ACTE DU PROTECTORAT.

Tahiti, le 9 septembre 1842.

Parceque nous ne pouvons continuer à gouverner par nous-mêmes, dans le présent état de choses, de manière à conserver la bonne harmonie avec les gouvernements étrangers, sans nous exposer à perdre nos îles, notre liberté, et notre autorité, nous les soussignés, la Reine et les grands-chefs de Tahiti, nous écrivons les présentes pour solliciter le Roi des Français de nous prendre sous sa protection aux conditions suivantes :

- 1° La souveraineté de la Reine et son autorité, et l'autorité des principaux chefs sur leurs peuples sont garanties ;
- 2° Tous les réglemens et lois seront faits au nom de la Reine Pomare, et signés par elle ;
- 3° La possession des terres de la Reine et du peuple leur sera garantie. Ces terres leur resteront. Toutes les disputes relativement au droit de propriété, ou des propriétaires des terres, seront de la juridiction spéciale des tribunaux du pays ;
- 4° Chacun sera libre dans l'exercice de son culte ou de sa religion ;
- 5° Les églises existant actuellement continueront d'être, et les missionnaires anglais continueront leurs fonctions sans être molestés, et il en sera de

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\* A more correct but lengthier account of the matter is to be found in "Pritchard's *Polynesian Reminiscences*."

même pour tout autre culte; personne ne pourra être molesté ni contrarié dans sa croyance.

A cette condition, la Reine Pomare et ses grands-chefs demandent la protection du Roi des Français, laissant entre ses mains ou aux soins du gouvernement français, ou à la personne nommée par lui et avec l'approbation de la Reine Pomare, la direction de toutes les affaires avec les gouvernements étrangers, de même que tout ce qui concerne les résidants étrangers, les règlements au port, etc., etc., de prendre telle mesure qu'il pourra juger utile pour la conservation de la bonne harmonie et de la paix.

(Signé) POMARE,  
PARAIRA, *Régent*, UTAMI, HITOTI, TATI.

Je, soussigné, déclare que le présent document est une traduction fidèle du document signé par la Reine Pomare et les chefs.

(Signé) ARI TAIMAI, Envoyé de la Reine.

#### APPENDIX (C.)

THE *Moniteur*, of February 14th, 1853, contains the following note concerning the taking possession of New Caledonia :—

“ Le gouvernement français était désireux depuis longtemps de posséder dans les parages d'outre-mer quelques localités qui puissent au besoin recevoir ses établissements pénitentiaires.

“ La Nouvelle-Calédonie lui offrait toutes les conditions désirables.

“ En vertu des ordres de l'Empereur, les ministres de la Marine et des Colonies a prescrit, le 1<sup>er</sup> mai dernier, à M. le contre-amiral Febvrier-Despointes, commandant-en-chef des forces navales françaises dans l'Océan Pacifique, de se diriger vers la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

“ Conformément aux instructions qui lui avaient été transmises, le contre-amiral Febvrier-Despointes, après s'être assuré que le pavillon d'aucune nation maritime ne flottait sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie, a pris solennellement possession de cette île et de ses dépendances, y compris l'île des Pins, au nom et par ordre de S. M. Napoléon III., Empereur des Français.

“ Aussitôt que le pavillon de la France a été arboré sur les terres de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, il a été salué de vingt-et-un coups de canon, et des cris répétés par l'état-major de l'équipage de : ‘ Vive l'Empereur ! ’

“ Les rapports officiels constatent que cette prise de possession s'est effectuée non-seulement avec les formalités légales usitées en pareille circonstance, mais sans résistance aucune de la part des naturels.

“ Toutefois, l'on a dû prendre provisoirement des mesures défensives en cas d'attaque, et jusqu'à présent l'occupation de l'île est toute militaire, en attendant qu'elle puisse être soumise au régime ordinaire de nos autres colonies.

“ Voici la copie des procès-verbaux de la prise en possession de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et de l'île des Pins, en date des 24 et 29 septembre 1853 :—

“ Je soussigné, Auguste Febvrier-Despointes, contre-amiral, commandant-en-chef les forces navales françaises dans la mer Pacifique, agissant d'après les ordres de mon gouvernement, déclare prendre possession de l'île de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et de ses dépendances, au nom de S.M. Napoléon III, Empereur des Français.

“ En conséquence, le pavillon français est arboré sur ladite île (Nouvelle-Calédonie), qui, à partir de ce jour, 24 septembre 1853, devient ainsi que ses dépendances, colonie française.

“ Ladite prise de possession est faite en présence de MM. les officiers de la corvette à vapeur *le Phoque*, et de MM. les missionnaires français qui ont signé avec nous.

“ Fait à terre, au lieu de Balade (Nouvelle Calédonie), les heure, jour, mois et an, que dessus.

“ Ont signé: E. de Bovis, L. Candéau, A. Barazer, Rouizeyron, Forestier, J. Vigouroux, A. Cany, Muller, Butteaud, Mallet, L. Dépériers, A. Amet, L. de Marcé, le contre-amiral Febvrier-Despointes.

“ Ce jourd'hui, jeudi, 29 septembre 1853.

“ Je soussigné, Auguste Febvrier-Despointes, contre-amiral, commandant-en-chef les forces navales françaises dans la mer Pacifique, agissant d'après les ordres de mon gouvernement, déclare prendre possession de l'île des Pins, au nom de S.M. Napoléon III., Empereur des Français.

“ En conséquence, le pavillon français est arboré sur ladite île des Pins, qui à compter de ce jour, 29 septembre 1853, devient, ainsi que ses dépendances, colonie française.

“ L'île continuera à être gouvernée par son chef, qui relèvera directement de l'autorité française.

“ Ladite prise de possession faite en présence de MM. les missionnaires français, des officiers du *Phoque*, et du chef Ven-de-Cyon, qui ont signé avec nous.

“ Fait à terre en double expédition, les jours, mois, et an, que dessus :

“ Ont signé: E. de Bovis, A. Barazer, L. Candéau, A. Cany, L. Dépériers, Mallet, Muller, Chapuy, Goujon, A. Gellé, A. Amer, le chef de l'île, V. X., le contre-amiral commandant Febvrier-Despointes.”

#### APPENDIX (D.)

##### RESOLUTION OF THE KING AND CHIEFS OF FIJI TO CEDE THEIR COUNTRY TO ENGLAND.

Resolution of Thakombau, Tui Viti, and Vunivalu, and other high chiefs of Fiji, in Council assembled, handed by them to His Excellency Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, at an interview held at Nasova, on Wednesday, September 30th, 1874.

Unto Her Majesty Queen of Great Britain,

We, King of Fiji, together with other high Chiefs of Fiji, hereby give our country, Fiji, unreservedly to Her Britannic Majesty, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland; and we trust and repose fully in her that she will rule Fiji justly and affectionately, that we may continue to live in peace and prosperity.

And we, desiring these Conferences may terminate well and satisfactorily, request Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador unto us, Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, will confer with our advisers who have our confidence in these matters.

(Signed) CAKOBAU R.  
D. WILKINSON, Chief Interpreter.

## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Dr. MULLENS, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, said he was sure the audience would all be of one mind as to the unusual excellence of the paper read to them by Mr. Young. It was something marvellous that Mr. Phillips had been able to include the vast amount of information he had gathered on his subject into one paper. He had told them about the races of Polynesia, and had given them a geographical lecture, while at the same time he had spoken upon their relation to the religious world, and to the commercial enterprises of the Australian Colonies. There was not one of those subjects upon which he had touched without throwing light upon it; indeed, he had left very little for anybody else to say. Interested largely, however, in a number of these Polynesian islands through his connection with the London Missionary Society, perhaps the audience would kindly permit him to say a little respecting them. Mr. Phillips had mentioned the names of several missionaries who had gone to the Pacific—men connected with the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society—and he was glad to hear him bear testimony to their usefulness and to the importance of their work. In one part of his paper Mr. Phillips said: "I do not think these Polynesians are capable of receiving much higher education than they have received;" but he (Dr. Mullens) hoped that as days went on attempts would be made to increase very largely the general knowledge of these interesting tribes. The introduction of a larger number of honourable merchants throughout the Pacific would be most welcome. For several years past very friendly relations had subsisted between the natives of the Hervey Group and some merchants in the province of Auckland. Whalers were in the habit of running up to the islands for refreshment after the hard work of their whaling life, to get coffee, tea, fresh beef, and the like, and to be reminded of their English friends and English homes. The natives of the Austral Islands also sent their produce to Auckland in return for timber, which they used for building purposes; and he could assure the company that some of the buildings in those islands were of a very superior kind, and greatly to be admired.

In connection with the present discussion, it was interesting to notice the number of the Pacific groups which had been Christianised during the last eighty years in the East. Tahiti and its neighbours were the first to receive civilising influences. The

Paumotu group are coral islands connected with them ; and they and the Austral Islands were the next that were Christianised. The Hervey Islands, including Rarotonga, followed next, and they have been Christian for fifty years. The Marquesas were up to the present only partially so. The French tried their hands at civilising them a little while ago, but they only partially succeeded. There was, however, a hope that the 3,000 or 4,000 natives still living in the Marquesas would at no distant date yield to the influences of civilisation, under the teaching of native missionaries from Hawaii. Turning to the west, the Samoan Group were thoroughly civilised. The Messrs. Godefroy, a German firm, by their trading operations had done a great deal of good in those islands, also in the Ellice Group and the Gilbert Islands. Their trade was so good that not only did they have vessels running to the Australian Colonies, but also to England and Germany. The Friendly Islands, which had for a long time been under the government of one king, were highly civilised through the teaching of the Wesleyan missionaries. The Fijis, he trusted, would make progress, though they had been very backward, owing to the superstitions of the natives and the inveterate habit of cannibalism. The intelligence from Sir Arthur Gordon that the Fijians would now relinquish their cannibalistic practices and come under order and law as administered by him in the name of the Queen, must be considered as highly satisfactory. Looking beyond Fiji, their eyes alighted upon places which were as yet dark and uncivilised. The Loyalty Islands were all Christian ; but the French would not allow missionaries in New Caledonia, and the people in that great island were to this day barbarous. The New Hebrides were occupied by Presbyterian missionaries ; the Banks and the Solomon Groups were the sphere of Bishop Patteson. The inhabitants of the Caroline Islands were under the instruction of American missionaries, who were connected with the Sandwich Islands, and everyone knew the great progress which the latter had made since they had accepted Christianity from American missionaries. They had a King, a Parliament, a Prime Minister, a Chief Justice, and a great many other pleasant institutions, for the benefit of about 55,000 people. It was impossible to look, except with pleasure, at the change which had been effected in the Pacific during the last eighty years. One thing he must notice here. The author of the paper seemed rather scandalised that the natives of the Pacific did not like to work twelve hours a day ! Now working twelve hours a day was a very English institution, and "the hard drive" and competition among the English might be considered the cause of it. The natives

thought life not worth having at such a price ; and probably many present would say that they were in the right. Mr. Phillips thought the remedy for the present state of things was to be found in the coming generation, which he would have taught to labour six or eight hours a day of its own free will, and no doubt all would like to see them more diligent. Passing to another question—the exchange of commodities—much good had been done by the introduction of new articles amongst the natives. For instance, a considerable orange trade was at the present time being carried on between Tahiti and San Francisco, by schooners built in Tahiti. These oranges had been introduced all over the Pacific by the missionaries. It was from them that the natives had learned ship-building, navigation, carpentry, smiths' work, and the like. It was the missionaries who had first written and printed their many languages. In this way the resources and the comforts of the Polynesian Islands were constantly increased and developed. Mr. Phillips thought that a trade of £700,000 a year was a small one ; but he (Dr. Mullens) considered that for £700,000 worth of goods to go out to the Pacific in a single year was highly satisfactory. But Mr. Phillips was rather ambitious. He would stimulate them to build towns, to construct roads, bridges, docks, water-works, gas-works, and what not. He seemed altogether to forget the famous lines—

“ Man wants but little here below,  
Nor wants that little long.”

But time would show what was in store for these interesting races, and he was sure that everyone would wish to see them take an honourable place in the future history of the world.

Mr. ALEXANDER MACARTHUR, M.P., thought that Dr. Mullens had misunderstood what Mr. Phillips said about the education of the islanders. He would read the author's remarks on the subject. He said: “ The education of the islanders has been principally confined to religious teaching. Nothing else could possibly have been expected, nor anything better imparted. Whilst, however, perfectly agreeing with what has already been done, I think it will be found absolutely necessary to pay more attention to secular and industrial education, especially in those islands which have been Christianised. The Melanesian Mission in Norfolk Island and the Wesleyan training-schools in Tonga and Fiji combine the three : an extension of the system is alone required.” Now he (Mr. MacArthur) thought the author was quite right when he said the natives were capable of receiving higher

education, and should have it. He remembered looking over a report of an examination of a school or college in one of those islands not long ago, and he noticed with pleasure that mathematics and the higher branches of secular education had been successfully studied. With reference to the civilising influence of missionaries in those islands, he might mention that some years since, while traveling, he had the gratification of seeing Rarotonga, where the agents of the London Missionary Society were, and he was told by a gentleman on board the vessel who had visited the island, that "there was not a single child, unless those of very tender age, in Rarotonga who could not read and write." In proportion to the population, in fact, the state of education in those islands was much better than it was in this country. He had the pleasure of seeing King George in Sydney, and he must say he considered him highly intelligent. As a ruler he had been very successful. He hoped when the King died, the civilising influences of mission work in Tonga, largely encouraged by him, would prevent the evil consequences which the author feared might then occur. With regard to the state of affairs in Tahiti he could endorse all that Mr. Phillips had said. Of its present position it might be said that—

"Every prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile."

Previous to 1844 Tahiti was in a very moral state, the natives were being educated, and, in fact, they were as much civilised and Christianised as they well could be under the circumstances. But when the French went there the natives became demoralised. He was glad to learn, however, from Dr. Mullens that affairs in Tahiti were now in a much better condition. He had heard statements made respecting the French authorities, to which he could not give expression in a meeting like that. With regard to the trade of the Pacific, he thought with Dr. Mullens that £700,000 a year was a very considerable amount, but it must be remembered that that trade was gradually increasing. He was sure the natives would welcome merchants who would deal honourably with them. Unhappily, many had gone there for the purpose of swindling, and by introducing spirits had, by deception and unfair dealings, irritated the natives and greatly embittered them against Europeans. In conclusion, he trusted that missionary work would be extended throughout all the islands of the Pacific. He felt sure they had a bright future before them.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG (Chief Justice of Nova Scotia) said he had been much interested in the discussion and in the many curious and striking facts that had been brought out and given its value.

There was one principle that lay at the root, which, as he thought, should never be lost sight of when contemplating the missionary labours that had done so much for the Pacific. Both in the early history of the East India Company and in the Western hemisphere there had been, as they all knew, a great jealousy of missionaries. But this feeling had passed away, and now they attracted admiration in place of scorn. The principle he sought to enforce was that science, commerce, and Christianity were no longer to be accounted as hostile powers, but should move in harmony, supporting each other, and effecting by their combination results which neither of them could achieve unaided and alone. He desired to mention also some facts unknown to the essayist, and which showed that British-America had not been indifferent to the progress of Christianity in the Pacific. Missionaries from his own and the adjoining provinces had done a great work in the Hebrides. One enthusiast and his helpmate had set a noble example in founding churches and schools among a savage race, and two or three devoted men had fallen victims in the cause. There was one little incident, too, that was worth preserving, A missionary vessel had been built and equipped mainly by the Sunday-school children, and as she sailed for the distant shores of the Pacific, with her flag fluttering at the fore, he could not help thinking that she reflected a purer glory on the people than a ship carrying in her bosom the instruments of destruction and armed with all the panoply of war.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON remarked that while doing honour to the paper they had heard read, they ought also to do honour to the magnificent map exhibited. It had been so stimulating to his imagination that he felt quite surprised at the vastness of the future which was there exhibited. Some little misgiving naturally came across one's mind in times like the present, and that was, supposing they carried out the idea of the author to the letter and annexed the whole of those islands, what effect would it have upon the Queen's title, now such a topic for discussion. They must be a little on their guard in that respect. The subject of the civilisation of the Pacific had for long been an exceedingly interesting one, and a very exciting one to the imagination, since Sir Julius Vogel startled the world with his lion-hearted proposition to annex the whole lot. When one came to consider the details of that proposition it was found that there was a great deal that was very well worth looking at. We dwellers in a northern country, with very limited sources of production, had some difficulty in realising the capacity of those tropical regions heated by a vertical sun, watered

by frequent rains, many of them of volcanic origin, possessing very rich soil, and capable of producing such a large variety of material as to puzzle even those bred and born upon the land. Some few years ago he remembered reading a statement of an American captain—a man of science and a competent authority—who, speaking of some almost unknown island of the Malay Archipelago, differing in no material respect from several of the islands so admirably described by Mr. Phillips, startled his audience by stating that if all mankind were starving they might come to that one island and be fed. The article to be supplied in such profusion was not one of a particularly tempting character : it was sago. Still, such a statement was something astounding, even if sago should be all they had to look to. Whilst listening to the author's remarks on the future of the Polynesian Group, he was reminded of a conversation with which he had been much impressed at the time with a very intelligent man—a travelled soldier—some years ago. The discussion was upon Australia and its future, and the gentleman remarked : “I have long since come to the conclusion that the time will come in which Australia will be the great naval power of the world. I say this for many reasons. Her immense coast line will rapidly develop great activity in shipping, steam communication, &c. The Colonies, steadily developing in trade and resources, will become like some other new country, audacious and aggressive. After a while you will annex the whole of the islands in the Pacific, and developing them you will become a very potential empire.” Then he added : “Never having any need to fear military aggression, your efforts at defence will all be directed towards the sea, and you will become the greatest naval power in the world ;” and he wound up by saying, “and the future mistress of India.” Well, to say the least, here was a man of large imagination. There was no doubt the resources of the Pacific were very great, and under the guidance of our intelligent race they might be almost indefinitely developed. He thought that they were all very much obliged to Mr. Phillips for his paper, and he only hoped that it would make an impression upon the minds of people here, and cause them to consider what the Polynesian Islands were capable of doing for us, for themselves, and for the world at large.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE said it might be as well to add as a foot-note to the author's remarks on the Samoan Group that Colonel Steinberger had signally failed in his endeavour to set himself up as monarch of those islands. His navy, in the shape of a small schooner, had been seized by the British and American Consuls, and the islands had reverted to their former state.

Mr. LABILLIERE said that considering the interest which the question of the annexation of New Guinea had excited in the Institute, it was undesirable that the remarks upon that subject of the author—with whose views he (Mr. Labilliere) was disposed in almost every other respect to agree—should go unchallenged. Important, as it no doubt was, that England should acquire possession of all the Polynesian Islands, he thought they only had to look on the map to see that the position of most consequence to us was New Guinea. The new route discovered by Captain Moresby, which shortened the distance to China by 300 miles, was of itself a sufficient reason for annexation, and it was still more important to British interests that we should have the entire control of Torres Straits. Besides, whereas the other Pacific Islands comprised only 98,000 miles, New Guinea covered an area of 260,000 square miles, only about one-half of which—130,000—comprised the territory which had been claimed by the Dutch. Again, Mr. Phillips had stated that there were not very many valuable harbours in the Pacific, whereas Captain Moresby had told them that there were several very important harbours in New Guinea, besides those previously known. Whatever the extent of country available for European settlements in New Guinea—be it little or much—it was of the utmost importance that England should secure every available part of the coast, and all the valuable harbours. He therefore thought the author's idea in placing more importance on the Pacific Islands than on New Guinea was altogether erroneous. With respect to the defences, it was quite evident that England would require to keep up a larger force in the Pacific if the Polynesian Islands were taken possession of by other Powers, than if she owned the whole of them herself.

Mr. KERRY-NICHOLLS described the various islands he had visited in Western Polynesia with much exactness. The author, he said, had pointed out that New Caledonia was discovered by Cook in 1774. He might add that the French first formally took possession of it in 1853, landing at a place called by the natives Balade, where Cook first sighted the island. Cook endeavoured to circumnavigate the island, but was baffled in his attempts by the numerous outlying reefs which encircle it. Sailing to the southward, he discovered the small isle called by the natives Kunaie, twenty-eight miles distant from the mainland, and named it the Isle of Pines, from the number of pine-trees he found growing there. New Caledonia was two hundred miles in extent from north to south, with an average breadth of thirty miles, giving an area of 6,000 square miles. Although one of the least fertile, it was one of the

largest islands in the western part of Polynesia. It was traversed from north to south by a high mountain range, and although the country was generally mountainous, there was some good land in the vicinity of the coast. When the French took possession of New Caledonia they formed a convict settlement at Port de France, on the south-west coast, now called Noumea. The present population of New Caledonia consisted of about 40,000 natives, 3,000 free colonists, 1,400 officials, 600 soldiers, 4,000 *déporté*, or political prisoners, and 7,000 convicts. The Loyalty Islands, to the eastward of New Caledonia, from which they were separated by a fine channel of forty miles in width, also belonged to the French, and possessed much the same natural features as New Caledonia. The New Hebrides, to the north-east of New Caledonia, were a fertile group of volcanic islands, about 400 miles in extent. The largest of them was first discovered in the sixteenth century by the Spanish navigator Don Quiros, when in search of the Great Southern Continent. He named the island Australia del Esperitu Santa-Australia of the Holy Spirit, believing that he had in reality discovered the long looked-for Continent of Australia; but he made no further explorations to satisfy himself as to the truthfulness of his conjectures. In the different narratives which had been brought to light on this important voyage, no mention was made of any other island. Quiros spoke of only one "Big Land," and in his memorial to Philip III. on the colonisation of the supposed new continent, he described it as abounding in gold, silver, and pearls. These visions, which seemed to shadow forth to the adventurous Spaniards the prospect of a new Eldorado, were soon after dispelled by the French navigator Bourgarville, who discovered many of the northern islands of the Archipelago, and named them the Great Cyclades. Captain Cook, after discovering the Friendly Islands in 1774, sailed to the northward, and sighted one of the southern islands of the New Hebrides, called Tanna, and found a fine port on its eastern side, which he named after his vessel Port Resolution. Cook afterwards circumnavigated most of the other islands, and gave to them the name they now bear. Mr. Nicholls described the New Hebrides as being exceedingly fertile, possessing high mountain ranges, fine harbours, and spacious bays, and inhabited by a very warlike race. The islands were separated from each other by navigable straits. Banks' Islands, a small group to the northward of the New Hebrides, were discovered by Captain Bligh in 1789, during his remarkable voyage in an open boat from Tefooa to Timor, after the mutiny of the *Bounty*. The Santa Cruz Group, to the northward of Banks' Island, would long be remem-

bered as the scene of the most disastrous events connected with the history of the Pacific Islands. The two discovery ships under La Pérouse was wrecked there in 1788, and most of the crews murdered. Captain Carteret, an English captain, also had a boat's crew murdered there. Bishop Patteson was shot on the island of Mikapau, and the brave Commodore Goodenough fell a victim to the treachery of these savages only a few months since. He might add that before Bishop Patteson went there he narrowly escaped being murdered himself. The Solomon Islands somewhat resembled the New Hebrides in appearance, but were, if anything, more beautiful and attractive to the eye. The natives there were very warlike and treacherous. With regard to New Guinea, the value of that country both in a commercial point of view and as a strategic position, when considered in relation to our Australian Colonies, was now fully recognised. He had visited the southern end, and found the country much as it had been described by other travellers. Something had been said about the labour-trade, for which the islands had become notorious. His own opinion was that great advantage had resulted to the islanders by being brought into contact with civilisation, and he was confident that the efforts of the missionaries would be more successful as the natives were brought further to the centre of civilisation, and one of the first steps in that direction had been the introduction of them into the Australian Colonies. In conclusion, he said he had no doubt that the proposed canal through the Isthmus of Panama would be of great commercial value to the Pacific.

The PRESIDENT said: I do not propose to address you at any length. I have not had the advantage of being nearly murdered in Santa Cruz, and I am not in a position to give you any information upon the Polynesian Group. I am glad to hear, however, that the island which the French hold is not one of the best of the Eastern Archipelago. I am sure I only express the feeling of every one present when I propose that Mr. Young should convey our best thanks to Mr. Phillips for his most able and interesting paper, and our admiration of it. I think we might also thank Mr. Young for the labour he undertook in reading so lengthy a paper. I have only further to state that it is proposed that the next meeting of the Institute should take place on Tuesday, the 25th of April.

Mr. FREDK. YOUNG, in announcing the subject for the next meeting, remarked that it would afford him the greatest pleasure to convey the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Phillips in New Zealand, and he hoped many more non-resident Fellows would send home such papers as he had the honour of reading that evening.

## FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting took place at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on the 25th April, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER in the chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting having been read by Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Honorary Secretary, and confirmed, the Right Rev. Dr. PERRY, Lord Bishop of Melbourne, proceeded to read the following paper, entitled

### THE PROGRESS OF VICTORIA.

The subject on which I have undertaken to read a paper this evening, is "The Progress of Victoria;" but it may be well for me, before speaking of the *progress*, to describe briefly the position, extent, and chief physical characteristics of the Colony. Some of my hearers are perhaps as well acquainted with them as I am; but many probably have a very imperfect knowledge of them, and will be glad to receive more exact information. If I may judge from the remarks which I have frequently heard, very few persons who have not visited Australia realise the great size of this southern island, and its consequent variety of climate and the diversified features of its several parts; so that Queensland, which is the northernmost Colony, and Victoria, which is the southernmost, are usually regarded as having the same near resemblance to each other as two adjacent provinces of France or Spain. This latter Colony, Victoria, of which I am going to speak, is only about one-thirty-fourth of the whole island; and, although some part of what I shall say may be applicable to all, much will be true only of that small portion of it.

Victoria, as you will see from the map, borders on one side upon N.S.W., from which it is separated by a straight line from its south-easternmost point, Cape Howe, to the source of the Murray, and thence by that river as far as the 141st degree of east longitude, which separates it on its western side from South Australia. On the south it is bounded by the ocean. Its extent is estimated at about 3,000 square miles less than Great Britain. Its climate is salubrious, and, except during the hot winds, pleasant. These frequently occur during the summer months, and are certainly very disagreeable to those who are exposed to them; but they are not unhealthy, and very seldom last more than three days. They are

always followed by a cool breeze, and sometimes by rain from the south—a most acceptable relief from the suffocating dust which usually accompanies them. The deficiency of water for a large portion of the year throughout almost the entire country is its great natural drawback. Very few of the rivers marked upon the map are perennial. During the summer they in most cases become a series of pools, or, in Colonial language, water-holes; and in these the water is generally brackish. Springs are very rare, and the water, obtained by sinking, like that of pools in the beds of rivers, is generally unfit for use. The supply of rain, however, in most years is on the whole plentiful, so that water may be stored up in tanks and reservoirs, and thus the injurious consequences of droughts be in a great measure prevented.

A remarkable peculiarity in Victoria is, that it contains no indigenous plants or fruit-trees, nor, with the exception of waterfowl and a few other birds and fish (the kangaroo can hardly be considered an exception), any native animals, fit for the sustenance of Englishmen. But all the best fruit-trees and vegetables of the temperate zone, and all useful domestic animals which have been introduced, thrive exceedingly. The Colony is estimated to contain upwards of 40,000,000 of acres of land available for pastoral or agricultural purposes, and much of this is exceedingly rich. In some districts the climate and soil are favourable for the cultivation of the common cereals, wheat and oats; in others for that of maize, hops, and arrowroot. Besides apples and pears and other English orchard fruits, apricots and peaches, grapes and melons, and even oranges and olives, ripen freely on standard trees in the open air. So likewise, besides roses and pinks and other flowers, which are commonly seen in gardens here, the cottage gardens there exhibit the geranium, the myrtle, the oleander, the azalea, the cactus, and other choice plants, which usually require for their preservation in England the warmth of a conservatory in the winter, and a sheltered spot or sunny wall in the summer. Hence the difference between the gardens and orchards of the two countries is very marked, and the more so from the rapid and luxuriant growth and the profuse blossoming of all flowers and shrubs, and from the abundant crops and large size of fruit in Victoria. I have been particularly struck with mulberries which I have seen, each equal to at least two of any that I ever saw in England. And here I may mention that recently, through the enthusiastic exertions of a lady (enthusiasm in a good cause is a very valuable quality), the white mulberry, with a view to the breeding of silk-worms and manufacture of silk, has been largely planted, and found to flourish. As I have

already intimated, sheep and cattle and horses, together with poultry of every kind, breed prolificly, as in a congenial home, in Victoria.

If the country contains scarcely any native animals fit for the food of man, on the other hand it contains none, except snakes, which are dangerous to the life of man. No carnivorous quadruped larger than the native dog, which is destructive only of sheep, and now almost extinct, is to be found there. Snakes, I believe, are objects of terror in the imagination of most Englishwomen, if not most Englishmen; but they seldom cause alarm to the Colonist. They are not often seen, except in out-of-the-way places. In all my journeys through the length and breadth of the Colony I do not think that I saw a dozen alive. Nor, unless under provocation of some kind or other, will they ever attack you. They are always as glad to get away from you as you can be to get away from them. It has been remarked that "the insect world is nowhere so variously and widely distributed" as in Australia; and this is certainly true of Victoria. Flies and mosquitoes, spiders, moths, caterpillars, and *hoc genus omne* abound. Some of these in particular seasons are very destructive of the crops, and others, *e.g.* the mosquitoes, are exceedingly annoying, especially to newcomers.

Victoria is diversified by mountains and lakes, forests, open plains, and tracts of lightly-timbered, park-like, undulatory land. In many parts the scenery might be described as beautiful, were it not for the dull, monotonous foliage of the trees. These are for the most part of the Eucalyptus family, and are distinguishable from one another, not by their leaves, which are all alike, long and narrow, and of a dull, dry green, but by their bark, which is exceedingly various, and in some species of a very peculiar character. Many of the forest trees grow to an enormous size. Mr. Trollope, in his truthful and interesting work upon Victoria, alludes to one which the Inspector of State Forests met with lying prostrate across a river-bed, and found by measurement to be 435 feet in length to the top of the trunk, where it had been broken by its fall, and to be in diameter 18 feet at five feet from its root, and three feet at its smaller end. Its height before it fell he estimated to have been not less than 500 feet, which is greater than that of any other known tree in the world.

From this brief description of the country, you will perceive that it is well fitted to become the home of millions of the British race; but its distance—a ten or twelve weeks' voyage in a sailing ship from England—would have prevented it under ordinary circumstances from

being, for many generations to come, thickly peopled. Already however, although little more than forty years have elapsed since the first Englishman built his hut there, it has become one of the most populous and wealthy provinces of the British Empire; and I will now proceed to describe to you the stages and causes of its progress.

The first settlers in this south-east corner of Australia were adventurers, who crossed over with some sheep and cattle and a few horses from the adjacent island, then known as Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, in 1834 and 1835. These were shortly after followed by others from the Sydney side of the Murray, and thus gradually a number of squatters, as they were termed—*i.e.* persons sitting down upon unoccupied and previously unknown land—established themselves with their flocks and herds. For importing the various goods which they required, and exporting their wool, &c., the seaport towns of Melbourne and Geelong on Port Philip Bay, and Portland, about 225 miles to the westward, were founded, at each of which a few merchants established themselves, and opened commercial relations with England. In 1836, the Government of New South Wales, in which Colony it was situated, sent a magistrate to preside over the settlement, which received the name of the District of Port Philip. The climate and land proving favourable for the breeding and feeding of their stock, the squatters, as a body, although subjected to some reverses, greatly prospered, and spread themselves further and further over the interior; and the progress of the district was such that the population, which in 1836 numbered only 234, had in January, 1848, when I first landed in Melbourne, increased to upwards of 30,000. Melbourne itself then contained about 12,000 inhabitants, Geelong about 8,000, and Portland and Belfast, another seaport town which had risen up about 45 miles east of Portland, a few hundred each. There were, besides, two or three suburban villages round Melbourne, and one in the midst of a small agricultural district about 40 miles inland. During the next three years and a half the population and wealth continued gradually to increase, and in the beginning of October, 1851—*i.e.* fifteen years after the settlement had been first officially recognised—its inhabitants amounted to nearly 80,000. This progress, though rapid, was not very extraordinary, and while it afforded a reasonable ground for demanding its separation from New South Wales, and constitution as a distinct Colony, gave no reason to expect that it would speedily reach any high degree of prosperity. Its western neighbour, South Australia, with its rich copper mines, seemed likely to leave it far behind. But in that month an event

occurred which produced, in the course of the next twenty-five years, the most remarkable change ever I believe known within so short a space of time in any part of the British Dominions. How great that change has been the following statistics will serve to show you.

In 1851 the population was under 80,000: it now exceeds 800,000. Then the city of Melbourne contained about 20,000 inhabitants, now, with its suburbs, it contains upwards of 130,000: Whitaker's Almanac for 1875 says 200,000; but I think that is an exaggeration. Geelong, also, has greatly increased, as have likewise Portland and Belfast; and Warrnambool, another seaport on the same coast, has grown into an important town. Moreover, in addition to these, there have sprung up the large inland towns of Ballarat, Sandhurst, and Castlemaine, together with a number of smaller size, and scores of villages and hamlets scattered through the whole extent of the Colony. In 1850 the exports amounted to somewhat less than £1,000,000. I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the amount of the imports, but may assume that they did not greatly, if at all, exceed that sum. In 1873, the last year for which I have seen the returns, the exports had reached £15,000,000, and the imports £16,500,000. The revenue, which in 1850 was less than £260,000, in 1873 amounted to about £4,000,000. During this period the quantity of land under tillage increased from, it might be, a few thousand to nearly 1,000,000 acres. I might multiply particulars of a similar kind, but perhaps I shall convey a more vivid idea of the greatness of the change by narrating some circumstance of my own experience.

In October, 1851, my wife and I could mount our horses in Melbourne and take our afternoon ride in whatever direction we pleased, without meeting any obstacle, over miles of unenclosed country whereas in February, 1874, when we left Victoria, all the land around and in the vicinity of the city was occupied, either by public parks or gardens, or by suburban towns, or by private mansions or villas. Before the discovery of the gold-fields, when I made a visitation tour—which I was accustomed to do every autumn (driving my wife in a Whitechapel cart, with a shaft horse and an outrigger, then the safest and most convenient mode of travelling), whatever course I took I drove along bush roads or no road at all, unimpeded by fences, but obliged by the nature of the country or want of bridges to deviate continually from the direct route; not seeing for hours together any living creature except a flight of parrots or cockatoos, or a herd of kangaroo, with now and then, at rare intervals, a shepherd and his sheep, or a bullock-driver and his team of oxen. No dwelling or trace of cultivation indicated the

presence of man until the squatter's hut, where we were to make a meal or spend the night, and its wool-shed and little garden and cultivation paddock (the name given to the piece of enclosed land where the oaten hay for the horses was grown) appeared in the distance. There we were always sure of a kindly welcome from the inmates, and the best accommodation which their rough and homely mode of life admitted of. Sometimes, but not often, we were obliged to take up our abode at a bush inn, such as I will not undertake to describe. Very different was the character of these same journeys before we left Victoria. Then we travelled in a comfortable carriage, driven by a London coachman, along macadamised roads, over substantial bridges, between fences, which were often the boundaries of extensive corn-fields; passing from time to time some farmer's comfortable homestead, going through small villages and occasionally a considerable town, until we reached our home for the night at a substantial parsonage, or the comfortable house of a country gentleman, or perhaps a bank manager's hospitable apartments, or, if none of these were to be had, at rooms in a well-furnished and well-managed inn, or, as it was called, hotel. This was our experience when we travelled in our own carriage; but we were able to visit many of the inland towns by the various railways, which now connect them with Melbourne and one another, and thus journeys, which formerly had occupied several days, could be accomplished in a few hours.

In reviewing the progress of Victoria, the construction of these railways deserves special notice. There is now one from Melbourne to Geelong (45 miles), thence in a north-westerly direction to Ballarat (55 miles), and on to Ararat (52 miles further), a total length of 152 miles. There is another from Melbourne northward through Castlemaine and Sandhurst to Echuca upon the Murray—the river which, as I have mentioned, separates Victoria from New South Wales—a distance of 156 miles; and a third, 187 miles in length, in a north-easterly direction to Wodonga, a village at another point of the Murray, opposite to Albury, a town of New South Wales, which is the centre of a rich wine-producing district. One has also recently been completed, connecting Castlemaine with Ballarat, and passing through the towns of Maryborough, Clunes, and Creswick. Another has, I believe, already been commenced from Melbourne to Sale, the chief town of Gippsland, which is the eastern district of the Colony. Besides these, one branches off from the Geelong railway to Williamstown, the chief port of Melbourne, and another belonging to a private company connects the city with Sandridge, its other port, and also with its various suburban towns and villages.

The facility of conveyance, both for persons and goods, afforded by the formation of macadamised roads, the erection of bridges, and above all the construction of railways, is to those who can remember the difficulty of transport in the early days of the Colony as astonishing a change as any that they have witnessed.

Another particular, in which the progress of the Colony has been very remarkable, is the multiplication of post-offices and the establishment of telegraphic communication. During the early years of my episcopate, when we were upon a journey in the interior, we had often no opportunity for many days together of sending or receiving letters; whereas now "Bradshaw's Guide," a Colonial imitation of the well-known English monthly publication, contains the names of about 800 places at which there is a post-office, and 120 at which there is a telegraph-office. I well remember the feeling produced in me by the first sight of a straight line of telegraph posts, extending for many miles along an opening cut for them in a primeval forest, which had never previously been traversed by man.

I might speak of the transformation of Melbourne by the improvement of old and construction of new streets, the erection of various public edifices, the laying out of gardens and parks, the building of handsome private residences, and the multiplication of banks, mercantile houses, and all kinds of shops; also of the increase of shipping in the bay, the formation of docks at Williamstown, the establishment of steam communication with England and the neighbouring Colonies, and many other particulars. But I should probably weary you if I were to dwell any longer upon such material statistics.

I pass on, therefore, to a change of another kind, viz. that which has taken place in the character of the people. I know that in England the Colony is generally supposed to have suffered from, instead of benefiting by, the discovery of gold in this respect, and that some old colonists share in that opinion; but in my judgment it is altogether erroneous; for, whereas before the gold-fields were discovered the educated class consisted only of the superintendent of the district, a single judge, a few officers of Government, magistrates, and military men, a few clergymen, half a dozen lawyers, two or three bankers, three or four medical men, a few—very few—merchants, and some score or two of squatters, together with their wives and families, the proportion of ladies, especially in the interior, being very small; now, besides the Governor and his staff, there are a Chief Justice and four other judges of the Supreme Court, a large number of county court judges, police magistrates, and

officials of every description, a numerous bar and body of solicitors, an abundant supply of physicians, surgeons, and general practitioners, together with bankers, merchants, and country gentlemen (no longer squatters), clergymen (both of our own and other Churches), and, not least valuable, university professors and masters of public and other schools. Nor is there any longer a manifest disproportion between the sexes. The society which we enjoyed in Melbourne before we left the Colony was not inferior, either in quantity or quality, to what one in our rank of life can ordinarily enjoy, elsewhere than in London, in this country; and I should not have been at all afraid to ask an English friend to join a company, not specially selected to meet him, at my table at Bishopscourt. Besides this upper, there is a large, intelligent, and, speaking generally, upright middle class, consisting of shopkeepers and others, who need not fear comparison with those of a corresponding class in England. And, lastly, whereas before the discovery of gold many of the working men were expirée convicts (no convicts were ever transported to Victoria itself), and those who were free immigrants were largely addicted to intemperance, now artisans and labourers of all kinds, including the miners, are, as a class, equal if not superior, intellectually and morally, to their fellows in England.

One class, however, and that perhaps the most influential in England, is lacking in Victoria, viz. that of intelligent, highly-educated men of fortune, living upon their incomes, who, having their time at their own command, can devote their attention to public affairs, and, being perfectly independent, are not liable to be biassed by any personal pecuniary consideration. It is to be remembered that almost all above 25 years of age now in the Colony were born in the British Isles, and that either they themselves or their parents emigrated thither for the purpose of making money. As yet, therefore, scarcely a single individual (I cannot recollect one) is living quietly upon his own private means. All are engaged in business of one kind or another. Men of property without any special employment are almost, if not altogether, unknown, and the want of them is greatly felt. Such men, whatever may be said against them, constitute a most valuable class in any country.

Such has been the marvellous progress of Victoria since October, 1851. I now proceed to mention the causes to which it is to be ascribed. It is owing, as you all know, to the discovery of the gold-fields; but that discovery, considered by itself, does not afford a sufficient explanation of the results which followed. None such were anticipated when it was made. Most thoughtful men then foretold nothing but evil from it. In a conversation which I had

with an old friend, a clergyman, who had just come to labour with me in the ministry, he contended that in no gold-producing country could there exist the domestic virtues, the social order, the moral and religious principles which are essential to the real prosperity and happiness of a people. I argued against his gloomy prognostications upon the ground that the purpose of God in originally storing up the metal in the earth, and afterwards bringing it to light, must be for good, and not for evil. At first, however, he seemed likely to turn out the truer prophet, for the immediate results of the discovery were all confirmatory of his apprehensions.

On its announcement in Melbourne there was a sudden, complete upturning of society. So great was the excitement that men of all classes, lawyers and medical men, merchants, clerks, and officers of Government, as soon as they could free themselves from their existing engagements, abandoned their previous employments, and started for what was not improperly called "the diggings." Passing through the city one day shortly afterwards I did not see in it, I believe, more than a dozen men, and most of these were packing drays for Golden Point. This first effect of the discovery is well described by Mr. Trollope.

A few weeks afterwards a number of successful diggers returned to town to keep their Christmas holidays, which they did in a very different manner from that in which this holy season ought to be observed. Having suddenly acquired sums of money far beyond what they had ever dreamed of possessing, they knew not how to spend their riches except in rioting and debauchery, and the most foolish and useless extravagance. It was reported at the time, and very probably with truth, that one man lighted his pipe with a pound note, and that another put a five-pound note into a lady's hand in the street, bidding her go and buy a new bonnet with it. In consequence of this influx of wild holiday-makers, the city was for a time a scene of the wildest intemperance and confusion.

And this was not the worst; for, so soon as the news reached the neighbouring Colonies of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, there began to pour in from these a stream of men and women of a character by no means such as to improve the social and moral condition of Victoria. Of this immigration the result, as might be expected, was a large amount of crime. Robbery and murder, before almost unknown, became common. Even in the immediate vicinity of the city, on the public road, a gentleman known to have money with him was fired at and wounded as he was on his way in the morning to his office. The Superintendent, Mr. La Trobe, and

his wife, narrowly escaped being, in Colonial language, "stuck up," with a number of others, during an afternoon's drive.

Nor was the prospect encouraging when, upon the arrival of the intelligence in England, a multitude of people of various classes and characters and habits, all hoping in some way or other, if not to make large fortunes, at least to obtain a comfortable maintenance, flocked to the land of promise. In 1852, and each of the following years, tens of thousands—50,000, 60,000, and even 70,000 in one year—men, women, and children, poured out of the British Isles into Melbourne. Very grievous was the disappointment that they experienced on their arrival. Men with wives and families, and with only a few pounds in their pockets, instead of procuring at once, as they expected, lucrative employment, could obtain nothing suitable to do, and were obliged to pay the most exorbitant prices for the necessaries of life. As no accommodation for such numbers could be found in the city, leave was given them to pitch tents, which many had providentially brought, on a waste piece of suburban land. Thus there grew up what was known as Canvas Town, an encampment of hundreds of families, crowded together without any order or sanitary arrangements, and consequently the scene of much disease and suffering, and of many deaths.

At this time also there prevailed a great scarcity of the necessaries of life. The exorbitant prices of all agricultural produce may be judged of from the fact that hay was sold at £40, £50, and in one instance that I heard of, £70 a ton; even in Melbourne the price was as high as £30.

Gradually, however, and almost imperceptibly, these evils disappeared. Murders and robberies were, by the exertions of a numerous and efficient police, so far put a stop to that life and property became as secure in Victoria as in England. Immigrants of all classes found employment suited to their respective qualifications and former habits of life. Agriculture, trade, and commerce flourished, and the Colony grew up to its present height of prosperity.

The providential circumstances by which all this has been accomplished are very remarkable. I have often when in Victoria directed public attention to them, and I will now relate them to you.

(1) The first is *the time at which the gold-fields were discovered*. Herein was very manifestly displayed the over-ruling providence of God. For, if the discovery had been made some years earlier, before the squatters with their sheep and cattle occupied the country, the thousands of immigrants who poured into it must have perished for want of food. But, in consequence of it being deferred for a

period of fifteen years, an abundance of beef and mutton was provided for their sustenance. Moreover, during those years commercial relations had been established with Europe and America, so that supplies of all other articles that were required could speedily be imported. Nor, although the new population were very inadequately supplied with the ordinances of the Church, was the restraining and sanctifying influence of the Gospel altogether wanting; for a bishop and a small body of clergy of our own Church, and some clergymen of the Presbyterian Church, together with ministers of other denominations, had arrived, and were engaged in the duties of their sacred office.

The delay in the discovery during all these years is the more remarkable, because no reason, except the will of God, can be assigned for it. In some places the ore was actually lying upon the surface of the ground. I have myself seen a nugget coated with moss. It had also been found, as I have been assured by trustworthy persons (and the fact is mentioned in the "Life of the late Sir Roderick Murchison") in small quantities, some years previously, in different parts of the country. Nay, in the preceding year, 1850, a large nugget, weighing several ounces, of which a piece was shown to me by Mr. La Trobe, had been brought into Melbourne. Yet, although it was known with tolerable certainty whereabouts this had been found, and a rich field was afterwards discovered in the vicinity, the crowd who flocked thither "to prospect," as the phrase is, returned unsuccessful. I mention this last circumstance, because the delay of a single year was at that time a matter of great importance. Not until July 1st, 1851, did the separation from New South Wales, so long desired and urgently demanded, take place, and the Colony of Victoria come into existence. Up to that time all the revenue of the district was paid into the Treasury at Sydney, and the Superintendent received all his orders from the Government there. Hence, if the gold-field of Ballaarat had been discovered in the previous year, the promptitude of action and large expenditure, which the emergency required for the maintenance of order and settlement of the many difficult questions that arose, would have been impossible. Seeing, then, how needful this delay in the discovery of the gold-fields was for securing a supply of food for the crowds of immigrants, and for the maintenance of law and order, and the preservation of religious principles, the time of the discovery is a providential circumstance, which, when we are considering the progress of Victoria, ought to be especially noticed.

(2) The second remarkable providential circumstance deserving of notice is *the character of the gold-fields which were first discovered.*

They were literally gold-fields; tracts of alluvial soil, in which the gold lay at depths of a few feet below the surface, and whence it could be extracted without any mining skill or costly machinery; merely by the use of a common pickaxe, a shovel, a cradle (*i.e.* a wooden trough, sloping downwards, with ledges in it, which could be rocked like a cradle, and was something like one in shape), and a shallow tin dish. The ore found in the fields was also so abundant that a party of diggers, usually consisting of three or four men, almost invariably succeeded in obtaining an ample remuneration for their labour. At the same time the work was very laborious, and the life, without any shelter but a miserable tent, and with no one to cook for them or perform other domestic duties, was one of much hardship and privation.

The beneficial results of this divine arrangement will be apparent, if you call to mind the condition of the Colony at that time, and for several years afterwards. Immigrants, as I have said, were pouring into it at the annual rate of 50,000 or 60,000; and a large number of these were husbands and fathers, and were unable to obtain employment in the trades and professions in which they had been engaged in their native land. What was this multitude to do for the support of themselves and their families? The only course open to them was to go to the gold-fields, and accordingly crowds flocked thither, leaving their wives and children behind in Melbourne or Geelong. But if skill in mining or costly machinery had been required for extracting the ore, it would have been useless for them to go; for they had neither skill nor money. All that they had was bodily strength and a will to work. The character of the gold-fields, however, was such that these were sufficient. Three or four could form a party, get a tent, tools, &c., select a piece of ground and have it marked out for them (there was enough for all applicants, and the Government wisely put no hindrance in their way), and proceed to work. Digging down until they came to the "wash dirt," the stratum containing the ore, and laying this carefully aside on the surface, they had afterwards only to wash away the stones and greater part of the earth with which the gold was mixed by rocking it in the cradle, taking out any nuggets which showed themselves in the process, and then, by means of the tin dish with a little water in it, held in a sloping direction and gently shaken, get rid of the remainder of the earth. The grains of gold left at the bottom were the reward of their labour.

In this manner the mass of immigrants were enabled on their arrival to obtain enough to support themselves and their families, until they found an opportunity of betaking themselves to some

more congenial occupation. This the greater number were very glad to do ; for, as I have observed, gold digging was laborious work, and entailed upon those engaged in it great hardships and privations. This was not then generally known in England, and I had once a very amusing instance of the extent of misconception which might exist upon the subject. One morning an elderly gentleman called, and told me that he had come to Melbourne with his son, who was bent upon going to the gold-fields, and that they had brought with them a landing-net, for the purpose of fishing out nuggets from the streams, in which he fancied they were to be found, and bringing them to shore like a salmon which had been hooked by a fisherman.

Such an idea was probably entertained by few, if any, besides this gentleman and his son ; but a belief that the gold was attainable with very little trouble was certainly prevalent, and hence it was supposed that the digging population was an idle, lawless class. This character, as a body, they never deserved. Undoubtedly there were upon the gold-fields, especially when first discovered, many ruffians and dishonest men, but these were seldom diggers. Digging was too hard labour for them. The keeping of sly grog-shops and stores of various kinds was an employment more suited to their habits and tastes. The unattractive nature of a gold digger's life was a providential safeguard against it being adopted by lazy, profligate fellows ; and if such were not always deterred from entering upon it, they were prevented from continuing in it. Hence the diggers soon became, on the whole, an honest, hard-working, orderly class. The only outbreak which ever occurred among them was caused by the licensing system—a mode of taxing them exceedingly irritating in itself, and the more so from the means used by some officers of Government to prevent its evasion. After that obnoxious system was discontinued, and a duty on the exportation of gold substituted for it, no further resistance was ever offered to the administration of the law on the gold-fields.

Before passing on I would mention another thought which has occurred to me in connection with those early rich alluvial fields. Often formerly, when I looked upon a large tract of land with scores of pits of a few feet square or round, as the case might be, at just such a distance from each other as to allow of the earth dug out being heaped up between them, I have inwardly lamented the enormous waste of labour which the scene before me indicated, and regretted that the work had not been carried on in a scientific manner, and no more of the surface been disturbed than was requisite for obtaining the ore from beneath. But one day it flashed

upon my mind that that very waste of labour—the working with simple implements by small parties, who appropriated to themselves the gold which they severally found—was the very means of producing the beneficial results of which I have already spoken. If machinery had been employed, the multitude of immigrants would have been deprived of their only remunerative occupation. Thenceforward I always looked upon an old worked-out alluvial gold-field and its multitudinous pits and heaps of earth, a most desolate spectacle in itself, with a feeling of thankful satisfaction.

(3) A third remarkable providential circumstance, which has greatly promoted the progress of Victoria, is *the manner in which the gold-fields and gold-mines are distributed*. I have already observed, that after a little while the great majority of the new immigrants, abandoning the work of digging for gold, resumed in their new country the various occupations which they had pursued in the old; and it will readily be perceived how the opportunity for so doing occurred. For a gold-field, and still more a number of contiguous gold-mines (which, as I shall hereafter explain, are to be distinguished from gold-fields), becomes almost immediately the centre of a mixed population. The diggers and miners require to be fed and clothed, and to be supplied with tools, and, when sick, with medicine and medical advice. Hence arises a need for all kinds of tradesmen, and for artisans and other workmen. Very soon also, if the gold digging or mining continue, there will be transactions in business and disputes, wherein the aid of lawyers will be wanted. Books and amusements of all sorts will likewise be desired, and thus a town, larger or smaller, according to the abundance and permanence of the ore, will spring up. Moreover, the agricultural land in the neighbourhood will be brought under cultivation, and the adjacent country become occupied by a rural population. In this manner the various inland towns have been formed. Ballaarat, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst, with the smaller towns of Creswick, Clunes, Talbot, Maryborough, Dunolly, and others, in the centre and northern part of the Colony, Beechworth and other small towns in the north-east, Ararat and others towards the west, with others eastward in the mountains of Gippsland, and some small ones near to Melbourne and Geelong, have all been centres of alluvial gold-fields, and are still centres of more or less important mining districts; while Kyneton in the centre, Wangaratta in the north-east, Sale in Gippsland, and Hamilton in the west, together with a number of small towns and villages, are centres of agricultural districts, and owe their existence and growth to the farmers around them.

Now what I wish you to observe is that, if gold had been found only at or near to Golden Point, in the vicinity of Ballaarat, where it was first discovered, the great mass of the people would have been crowded together there; Ballaarat would have been the only large inland town, and the land in its neighbourhood alone would have become valuable for cultivation. But a few weeks afterwards another gold-field was discovered at Forest Creek, in the vicinity of Castlemaine, and another at Bendigo, near to Sandhurst, whence the origin of these two towns. Then, at intervals during the next few years, gold-fields or mines were found at all those places along the whole length of Victoria, from the mountains of Gippsland on the east to the foot of the Grampians on the west, where the several mining towns to which I have referred are situated. Owing to this providential distribution of the gold the population, instead of being crowded around one spot, is spread over the whole Colony, and the produce of every part is within a convenient distance of some inland market. To this also is to be ascribed the comprehensive character of many of the improvements of which I have spoken, the extension of metal roads, followed afterwards by railways, from Melbourne and other seaports in all directions, and the construction of them from one inland town to another, together with the erection of bridges in every part of the country. Very little reflection is required to perceive how greatly the wealth of the Colony has been increased, and the prosperity and comfort of the people promoted by its entire area being in this way made available for the various uses for which the soil and climate of its several parts render them suitable.

(4) One other providential circumstance remains to be noticed, *viz. the manner in which the gold-fields, when they had served the purpose of providing a maintenance for the thousands of newly-arrived immigrants, were gradually worked out, and their place occupied by the gold-mines.* In a few years after its discovery each alluvial gold-field ceased to yield a remunerative amount of ore, and therefore was deserted, or taken possession of by the Chinese. The consequences of this, if the precious metal had not been discovered elsewhere, would have been most disastrous. For, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil and excellency of the climate, agriculture and pasture would not alone have supplied adequate occupation for the thousands whom the gold had attracted to Victoria; nor would wool and other articles of export have sufficed for maintaining its commercial prosperity. The revenue must have fallen off, trade must have declined, professional men must have lost their practice, and the artisan and labourer, from want

of employment, sunk into destitution. No such evils, however, occurred; for, before the yield of the gold-fields began to diminish, gold mines had been discovered, and the failure of the former was more than compensated by the increasing number and richness of the latter.

Nor has this been the only benefit resulting from the discovery of gold-mines. Another, and one of great importance, has been conferred upon the Colony by the altered mode of obtaining the ore. For enabling you to understand this, I will briefly explain the character of these mines. They are of two kinds, deep-sinkings and quartz-reefs. In the former the gold is found in the earth at great depths, sometimes several hundred feet below the surface; in the latter it is found in its matrix, the quartz. Both require for their working capital and skill. For deep-sinkings shafts must be sunk, the sides boarded up to prevent the earth from falling in, the water pumped out, and then, when the auriferous soil has been reached, the lead followed by galleries underground. For reefs the rock must be quarried, the auriferous stone, which often lies at a great depth, taken out, burnt, and crushed to powder; then the mass of quartz-dust washed away, and the gold-dust, by processes which I need not stop to describe, separated from the residue. Thus gold-mining has become, like other mining in this country, a business, in which men of capital may invest their money, for which steam engines and other machinery are required, and which furnish regular employment for a number of both skilled and unskilled labourers. The men engaged in it have not to endure any peculiar hardships or privations. They receive wages, and go to their work and leave off at fixed hours, living usually with their wives and families at the towns or villages which the mines have brought into existence; and if they differ in any respect from the corresponding class in this or other countries, I believe it to be in their greater desire to improve their condition, and raise themselves in the world. Such is the opinion which my observation has led me to form of the present mining population of Victoria.

The commercial progress of the Colony, and the growth and improvement of Melbourne and its suburbs, have been only the natural results of the enormous increase of the population, the general prosperity of all classes of the people, and the large revenue derived from the export duty on gold, and the sale of the public lands. I need not therefore occupy your time by describing the operation of these causes in the crowding of the Bay with shipping, the multiplication of banks and insurance offices, the establishment of mercantile firms and various houses of business, the erection of

great public buildings, such as the Houses of Parliament, the Government offices, the Library, and Post-office, the construction of docks and piers for the landing of goods and passengers, the opening of railway communication between the city and its ports, the foundation of hospitals, benevolent asylums, and other charitable institutions, the establishment of a university, together with public and private schools adapted to the various classes of scholars; and, lastly, the springing up around the city of large suburban towns, together with a multitude of detached villas, the residences of officers of Government, professional men, and others. All this you can picture for yourself. I may, however, mention that, although Melbourne cannot be compared with Sydney or Hobart Town for beauty of situation, yet in its vicinity is much pretty scenery, and many pleasant sites have been and still may be found for such villas as I have referred to. Also that, when it was laid out, through the foresight of Mr. La Trobe, a large quantity of land was reserved and permanently set apart, as in London, for public gardens and parks, and thus every facility is afforded to the people for the enjoyment of fresh air and healthful recreation. Another advantage which the city possesses is an abundant supply of excellent water. This is furnished by underground pipes from a reservoir constructed at a distance of twenty miles, and usually designated from the place in which it is situated, the Yan-Yean. The comfort which this affords for laying the dust in the street, and for the use of gardens, as well as for household purposes, is unspeakable.

In this description of the progress of Victoria and its causes, I have expressed freely my own views both as to the character of the people, and as to the remarkable combination of providential circumstances, by which the Colony has attained to its present height of prosperity. Some of my hearers will probably think the picture I have drawn is too highly coloured, and that neither do the people deserve the commendation I have bestowed upon them, nor is the condition of the Colony really so prosperous as I have represented it. In support of their opinion they may refer to the unseemly proceedings which on several occasions have disgraced the Legislative Assembly; to the charges of corruption, which have been formerly current against certain members of Government; to the unwise restrictions upon commerce, and the successive impotent attempts to prevent capitalists from investing their money in the land. They may point also to the recent diminution of the revenue (I am glad to see by the papers that there has been an increase during the past year), the prevalent complaints of the

stagnation of trade, the emigration which has been going on to the neighbouring Colonies, and other evidences of retrogression. Nor do I deny that there is a dark side of the picture; and upon this, although I do not intend to dwell upon it, I will, before concluding, make one or two remarks.

In the Act of the Imperial Parliament, by which a Constitution was given to the Colony, a clause was introduced, authorising the local legislature to modify it from time to time without reference to the mother country. This always appeared to me very unwise. For the possession of such a power by a young community naturally excited a desire to exercise it, and within a little while the right of manhood suffrage was demanded and conferred. Now, bearing in mind that, as I have noticed, the class of educated men with independent fortunes and their time at their own disposal, which exercises so great an influence in England, does not exist in a young country like Victoria, you will easily understand how the other classes, and especially the labouring classes, are liable to be led away by mob oratory and specious arguments. Hence men, utterly unworthy of such a position, frequently have been elected to sit in the Legislative Assembly, and sometimes succeeded in obtaining high offices in the Government. The consequence is, that not only has the character of the Colony greatly suffered in the estimation of the English public, but also a line of policy has been pursued greatly detrimental to its interests. While residing at Melbourne I deemed it right, in the position I held, to abstain altogether from the discussion of political questions, which did not affect the religious or moral welfare of the community; but now, having ceased to exercise any episcopal functions, and being permanently settled in England, I do not feel myself under any obligation to continue silent. I therefore do not hesitate to express my opinion that unwise, not to say unjust, legislation as to the land has wasted the public estate, driven away some and ruined other valuable colonists, and, by inducing men who were utterly unfitted for the work to betake themselves to farming, has subjected many families to want and misery. Neither do I doubt that the legislation as to commerce has greatly retarded the growth of the Colony, and operated very injuriously upon its material prosperity.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these drawbacks, which are owing to the infirmities of human nature, the progress of Victoria has not been, so far as I can judge, seriously interrupted. Although many have been disappointed of acquiring wealth so rapidly as they expected, and some have been subjected to privation and suffering which they did not anticipate, yet it may, I believe, be said that

in every class of the community uprightness, diligence, and sobriety, have been generally rewarded with an adequate measure of success. I entirely concur with Mr. Trollope in the opinion that, "As to the substantial prosperity of Victoria, no one who has visited the Colony can entertain a doubt. It is to be seen in the daily lives of the colonists, in the clothes which they wear, in the food which they eat, in the wages which they receive, in the education of the children, and in the general comfort of the people."

One circumstance certainly does cause me apprehension for the future—the establishment of a system of public education by the State, which seems to me to combine in it almost every possible evil. The instruction, up to the standard of an ordinary English parochial school, is given gratuitously, which is quite needless in such a Colony as Victoria, and puts the country to an enormous expense. The schools are entirely under the control of the Ministry for the time being, and thus constitute a Government monopoly, which, according to the principles of political economy, is most objectionable. Worst of all, the law positively forbids not only all religious instruction, but all recognition of such a being as God and such a thing as religious obligation. The necessary result of such atheistic education would seem to be that a large proportion of the young will grow up in absolute ignorance of Christianity, and without any moral principles to restrain them from giving way to every passion, and indulging to the utmost every sensual and covetous desire. I can only hope—but I do confidently hope—that somehow or other, in the providence of God, the pernicious effects of this system may be counteracted, and Victorian children trained up to lead that godly, righteous, and sober life, which is essential for the enjoyment and the imparting of true happiness. This hope I confidently cherish from the several instances which I have brought under your notice of the good providence of God in the history of the gold-fields, and yet more from the harmony which subsists among the ministers and earnest members of the several branches of the Church of Christ in the Colony, and which must ere long make their influence effectual for the remedying of so flagrant an evil.

I may venture therefore to close this Paper with the favourite motto of the Colony—

ADVANCE, VICTORIA!

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR, M.P.: I have been waiting in the hope that some gentleman from Victoria would rise. I have never had the privilege of being an inhabitant of Victoria; but I have

visited that Colony frequently, and have been there before the Lord Bishop arrived in the Colony, and can endorse his description of that time. I think there was, when I first visited Melbourne, the stump of one of the old forest trees standing in one of the streets of Melbourne. There were no footpaths; and to show what the condition of the streets was, I may say I remember making the observation to a friend of mine, that it was a capital place to learn to ride, for you frequently had to jump over a chasm in the roadway. We must all feel grateful to the Lord Bishop for the history he has given us in the interesting paper he has read. He has traced the history of the Colony of Victoria from the commencement, and in everything he has said, gentlemen connected with that Colony will fully agree. There is one thing to which I may refer, and that is, to his remarks on the want of men of intelligence and position who have time to devote to the work of the government of the Colony. It is quite true that such a want exists, and it is true that mistakes have been made; but I think, taking the Colonies as a whole, and taking into account that the gentlemen engaged in the work have had no previous experience with regard to legislation, and must have been engaged in active business even while devoting some of their time to legislative duties, I think on the whole the legislation has been very satisfactory. (Cheers.) It has been as good as we could have expected, notwithstanding there have been some mistakes. Mistakes are made in older countries on the Continent of Europe, and mistakes have been made even in England. (Cheers.) Allowances must be made for men who have not been used to legislation in this country, and who are therefore comparatively new to the work. We must congratulate ourselves that so many of our own people have gone out to Australia; and we cannot help regretting that we could not direct into the Australian Colonies that stream of emigration which has been flowing to America. (Cheers.) In the first place, we send out numbers to America (I will not say to a hostile country, but where those who go out, from Ireland especially, often become bitter enemies of England), whereas, if we could send them to our southern Colonies, they would not only increase the prosperity of those Colonies, but would strengthen the British Empire. (Cheers.) There is another remark of the Lord Bishop's which I fully endorse, and that is, what he has said as to the mistake made in legislation, which, I believe, has retarded the progress of the Australian Colonies, and especially the Colony of Victoria—I mean the departure from the principles of free trade. (Cheers.) I believe it has retarded them much; but they have begun to see their error

at length, and I hope no very long period will elapse ere they return to the principles of free trade. The Bishop has referred to the difficulty of travelling in the early days of the Colony. I recollect going up to Castlemaine, and going over to Bendigo, where I was invited to take tea with a party of diggers. We had mutton chops, a cake called "damper," and tea, and we had but one knife among the whole party; this happened to be my own pocket-knife, and with this and a wooden skewer, which did duty for a fork, we made a capital meal, after which I returned to Castlemaine and spent the night, for the first and last time in my life, under a bullock-dray, where I slept very comfortably. At that time, at Bendigo, the gold was found, as described by the Bishop, at the depth of about two feet under the surface, and the nuggets were about the size of small beans or peas. Now, gold-mining has become a work for capitalists, and the gold reefs of Victoria and New South Wales are likely to last for ages to come. I endorse, too, to a great extent the sentiments expressed as to education. It is a difficult matter to deal with even here, and more difficult there; but I think a system like that adopted by the London School Board would be the best, by which, though religious education may be given, no one is compelled to receive sectarian education; and I think if such a system had been adopted in Victoria, it would have been better for the Colony than the present system there. The Bishop has also referred to the harmony existing between the different ministers of religion in the Colony. I have frequently observed this, and I believe a great deal of that harmony arose from the conduct of the Lord Bishop himself—(cheers)—for he was always ready to join with the ministers of other denominations in any good work, and ever ready to promote and maintain a Christian spirit of love and charity. I beg to propose a vote of thanks to his Lordship for his highly interesting and valuable paper. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. CRESWICK (of Melbourne): I rise to second the vote of thanks to the Lord Bishop, and at the same time say that I have felt the greatest regret at hearing that the Bishop has almost separated himself from Victoria, which is largely indebted to him for its position as one of the first of our Australian Colonies. Having grown up with Victoria, I can say that his Lordship has given us a most comprehensive paper on that Colony. There is no question on which he has not touched, and that in such a mode as to make us all feel obliged to him. Our southern Colonies have experienced a growth which is not only important to themselves, but which is also an additional glory to this country, (Cheers.)

I think we are not altogether done justice to in England; we are not sufficiently considered as an integral part of the mother-country. We hand into it month by month our produce of gold and of other valuable commodities. I do not think the question of free trade has been altogether fairly considered with reference to Victoria. While in England I am a free trader; I am not so in the Colony. This may seem a contradiction, but protection to a young Colony is that which free trade is to England. We have a beautiful climate, and we have a very mixed rising population, which has to be directed in industrial pursuits, and I am in favour of protection for that reason. I ask you to consider to what extent protection may be beneficial for a rising country before condemning it. I now come to the question of education, which is a very important one. I think the secular system is sound. (Cheers.) If the clergy want to influence the young, as they should do, let them do it by means of Sunday-schools, and by religious classes and lectures. I certainly would force the Bible upon everyone if I could, but not any special dogma. Let each denomination support its own religious instruction. It would be impossible for me to add much to what his Lordship has said, and I am delighted that he has been able to devote so much time and thought to our interests. Doubtless, it will do us good. We ought to be considered a part of England—(cheers)—and I do not see why we should not, nor why we should not be represented in Parliament. Some gentleman near me says there is not room; but there is room enough. Why should not the House of Commons contain 1,075 members as well as 675. I have children born in the Colony who care little for the mother-country; but feeling myself an Englishman, I wish to do all that can be done to promote and maintain in my children, and in the Colonies generally, the English feeling, and we ought to consider to what extent some representation at home would further and strengthen such a feeling. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. W. FREELAND: I plead guilty to having made the remark that there is not room enough for representatives of the Colonies in the House of Commons. (Cheers and laughter.) I believe that my honourable friend the Secretary entertains a different opinion. He is entitled to hold and to express his opinion; but I am equally entitled to hold mine, which I wish to express, upon this question, as to whether it is desirable or very feasible to associate the Colonies in this way with the mother-country. I hold the opinion that there is not room. We are all, no doubt, liable to make mistakes; but, if you look at the work of the House of Commons, you will see that it is overburdened with work already. I don't

mean to say that the House, of which the noble Duke in the chair is a member, is overburdened with work—(laughter)—and if any means could be devised to make that House the representative of the Colonies, I think that there might be then an opening through which the Colonies might find a mode of making their voices heard in the Legislature of the mother-country. I think this is a plan which may be considered Utopian, and all such ideas may be called Utopian ; but the House of Commons is at present burdened with work which it is incompetent to discharge, and unless you reduce the work of the House of Commons by expanding our small and frequently corrupt municipalities into district parliaments, and in this way disburthen Parliament of duties and local business, which it is now incompetent to discharge, I can hardly see how you can make room for Colonial representatives in the House of Commons. As regards the representation of the Colonies in Parliament, we must consider that they can only have a few members—

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG ; No, no.

Mr. FREELAND : If you take representatives according to numbers, where will England be ?

Mr. YOUNG : In her proper place.

Mr. FREELAND : But will she consent to this ?

Mr. YOUNG : The Colonies are English too.

Mr. FREELAND : And I hope they will remain English ; but the further you go into this question, the further you get into difficulties and confusion. Again, it seems to me that at present there is no Colony where they are asking for representation ; and not only do they not ask it, but England would not at present consent to give it. That being so, I do not see the practical utility of discussing this question at present. I should not have gone into it had I not been challenged on account of my hasty remark. As to the progress of Victoria (and everyone will thank the Lord Bishop for his able and exhaustive paper), I can only hope that, whether the Colony be represented in Parliament or not, its progress may continue to be such as he has represented it at present to be. And now, turning to a subject on which difference of opinion is strong, and which is a subject of great importance, I hope that in the Colony of Victoria education will continue to be conducted upon the broadest and the most unsectarian basis that the advocates of School Boards and the heads of Government Departments can by any means devise. My blood boils when I hear people talk of godless education, as if any education which leads a man to study the God of nature in His works could be godless ; as if what leads us to look at astronomy, and the wonders of the heavens, and of orbs sustained

in space, could be godless; or as if what leads us to look at the works of nature, at the material universe, and at its infinite perfections, could be godless. When I hear the words "godless education," they call forth a feeling which I cannot find words in the English language to give adequate expression to. Science is godly; the works of nature are godly; and the education which men call godless, because it is unsectarian, is godly, because it is the true way of leading up the mind through the works of nature to nature's God.

Mr. F. P. LABILLIERE: I rise to call attention to the fact that the subject of the evening is the progress of the Colony of Victoria, not that of the representation of Colonies, nor the interesting question of Imperial federation, nor even sectarian education. (Laughter and cheers.) I am rather tempted to follow Mr. Free-land, but shall resist the temptation. (Laughter.) The fact that my friend, who has so often twitted me with being an enthusiast on the question of Imperial federation, should have gone out of his way to drag the subject into this discussion, shows to what a great depth it has settled in men's minds. Federal government does not mean representation of the Colonies in the House of Commons by a few members who could be counted on one's fingers, it means the creation of a distinct federal Parliament, like that of America, or like that of Germany or Switzerland. I have been so far led astray from the subject by the last speaker, but must now return to it. Having been born in Victoria, I am, of those present this evening, almost, if not quite, that very veritable and extremely venerable person, the oldest inhabitant. (Laughter.) My recollection cannot, however, extend as far as that of some gentlemen who did not come to the Colony until after I was born there. I first distinctly remember Melbourne just this time twenty-nine years ago—shortly before the Bishop's arrival—and also two circumstances connected with a visit to the town a year or two years previously. I can just remember seeing the boys riding the goats, which at that time used to browse about Collins-street; and I recollect seeing for the first time soldiers in the British uniform—a sight which, by the total withdrawal of the red-coats, Colonial children can now no longer see. I think it might have been well to have left a few troops in our Colonies, that at least the uniform of the Imperial army might be familiar to native-born colonists. I don't know how far my very strong Imperial feelings may have had their origin in the fact of my having seen these soldiers marching through the streets of Melbourne. I was speaking as recently as Saturday to Mr. Stead, one

of the last, if not the only, survivor of those who landed at Port Philip Bay about the same time as Batman, and he said that he remembered Melbourne when it consisted of two sod huts—one sheltering Mr. Batman's party, and the other the party of Mr. Fawkner. I think it is desirable that the early history of Colonies which have made such progress should be recorded in our transactions. There is one gentleman I see opposite who will, I hope, give us some account of his experience, that is Mr. Henty; he is identified with the early history of Victoria, for his family founded the first settlement in the Colony at Portland in November, 1834, some months before the other parties arrived at Port Philip Bay. I most heartily concur with everything that has been said in praise of the zeal, energy, and wisdom with which, during his episcopate of a quarter of a century, the Right Rev. Prelate devoted himself to develop the social, moral, and religious progress of Victoria.

Mr. JAMES A. YOUL: My Lord Duke, in compliance with the request of the previous speaker, Mr. Labillièrre, that he would be glad if there was anyone present who knew personally anything connected with the first settlement of Victoria, to state it for the information of the Fellows, I may say that Mr. John Batman, who no doubt was the founder of Melbourne, was once my overseer, afterwards rented a small farm of mine, but at the time he crossed Bass's Straits for Port Philip was living on his own freehold property in Tasmania. But it should not be forgotten that previously to Mr. Batman's party taking possession of the country where Melbourne now stands, that part of the Colony of Victoria had been occupied by some members of the family of Henty, one of whom I now see before me in this room. They at first formed a whaling establishment at Portland Bay, about 100 miles west of Melbourne, and afterwards a sheep station in the interior, which they called Merino Downs. When Sir Thomas Mitchell made his famous journey from New South Wales, and passed some fifty miles inland from where Melbourne now stands, on his way to the sea-coast, to his astonishment, on approaching Portland Bay, he saw at some distance huts and cottages, and supposing the inmates to be runaway convicts, he approached them with great caution, when he was agreeably surprised to find the head of the establishment was a perfect gentleman, and by name Henty. It is rather singular the circumstances which led to Mr. Batman's going over to Port Philip. While Col. Arthur was Governor, Tasmania was overrun with bushrangers, and a very alarming attack having been made by a large party of armed men on a gentleman's residence

near Launceston, and that town threatened by them, the Governor thought it his duty to leave Hobart Town, the seat of Government, and proceed to Launceston to organise more efficient parties of military and police to go in pursuit of these marauders. It so happened that Mr. Batman, then a tenant of mine, succeeded with a party under his command in capturing the leader, Brady, and some of his gang; hearing the Governor was crossing the country, he met him, and was the first to tell the good news. The Governor was so very much struck with his intelligence and enterprising character, that he frequently afterwards employed him in pursuit of the aboriginal natives, in which he was most successful. Tasmania becoming, as was then thought, pretty well stocked with cattle and sheep, Batman determined to make an expedition over to Port Philip, to see if there was plenty of good land to be found there. He chartered a small schooner for this purpose, and succeeded in finding the river Yarra and plenty of good land on its banks. Returning to Tasmania, he made his discoveries known to a few capitalists and to the Governor, and by the latter's influence succeeded in forming a company, with Batman at its head, who chartered vessels and conveyed sheep, cattle, horses, stores, &c., &c., with servants, in fact everything necessary to found a new Colony, which they did on the river Yarra, where the city of Melbourne now stands.

MR. FOSTER FITZGERALD: I had hoped that Mr. Henty would have been induced to give us an account of his political experience. I shall only make one remark on the Imperial question, which is to corroborate the statement of the Bishop of Melbourne, as to the great want of men of education and leisure, who could turn their attention to the Government of the Colony. It strikes me, however, that in his remarks he has not sufficiently brought forward, that there is a large number of highly educated men, and that the intellectual culture of the place has reached a higher standard than perhaps would be inferred from his Lordship's remarks. He also had omitted a subject of great interest, which I can state of my own knowledge: when the Bishop first arrived in his diocese there were only two Church of England clergymen in the whole of it; at the present time the diocese had been divided into two, and in the two divisions of Melbourne and Ballaarat there were 120 clergy of the Church of England. I quite agree with what Mr. Creswick has stated as to the conciliatory character of his Lordship's conduct, and as to his readiness to co-operate with other denominations in the promotion of laudable objects. My chief reason for making these remarks was, that from the omission

of any observation of his Lordship to the intellectual progress of the country (he had only referred to primary education) an impression might be left on the minds of those who did not know the Colony, that society was less advanced than was really the case.

Mr. WILLIAM HENTY: I belong not to Victoria but to Tasmania, and when I went out there emigration from England was not what it is now—it was going to an almost unknown sphere, when separation from English friends was supposed to be almost for ever. Our family represented for those days a good type of family colonisation, consisting of father, mother, sister, and seven brothers. I am not able to give much information as to the Colony of Victoria. Mr. Youl has told you of my brothers having settled at Portland Bay, close to the region which Sir Thomas Mitchell passed through. Sir Thomas came out at Portland in high spirits at the discovery of such a rich country, and then said he should name that district Australia Felix. Hearing from one of the farming men the name of Henty, he searched for them, and riding up to the blacksmith's shop, where my brother Edward happened to be engaged mending some bullock chains, he addressed him, "My man, can you tell me where I can find Mr. Henty?" "Yes," said my brother, "I can; he is in the blacksmith's shop mending bullock chains." Many stories are told of the time of the gold discoveries. For instance, so universal was the rush of the labouring classes, that it was said Geelong was almost denuded, only one man being left, and he had but one leg, and that had to be tied to a post by a rope, and at the last the rope broke. There is one point worthy of note, which may be added to those so well introduced in his Lordship's interesting address: I mean the way in which the courts of justice were administered; and though I don't want to reflect on another country, I must point to the contrast in this respect which Australia offered to California, where the judges were bribed and justice became a mockery, till the scandal led to the organisation of vigilance committees. Nothing of the sort ever occurred in Victoria, where order was constantly maintained and justice regularly administered.

Mr. KERRY-NICHOLLS remarked, that the very able paper read by the Bishop of Melbourne treated of a settlement which stood foremost amongst the rising Colonies of Australia. Tracing, as his Lordship had, in a very lucid way, the rise and progress of Victoria from its earliest history up to the present time, they had been able to form a very accurate idea of the rapid, and he might say unparalleled, strides which the Colony had made towards that political and social advancement which had secured to it such a marked

pre-eminence, not only in the southern hemisphere, but likewise in this part of the world. (Cheers.) In fact, it was impossible to contemplate the progress made by the Australian Colonies generally, within the past thirty years, without wonder and admiration. At the beginning of that period the white population of Australia was considerably below 200,000. The vast interior of the country was unexplored, New South Wales, the parent Colony, possessed two settlements, the one of 2,500, the other of 2,000 souls; these were now known to the world as the flourishing and important Colonies of Victoria and Queensland. South Australia was at this time a mere baby of eight years old. But if they looked at these countries now, they saw at once how great had been the change. Australia had been explored from its nearest to its farthest shores. Its vast coast line of 8,000 miles was encircled with thriving towns and prosperous communities; railways had been laid down, and the interior of the country, which was at one time supposed to be a desert, was now traversed by a telegraph line nearly 2,000 miles in length, while the *gunyah* of the savage had given place to magnificent cities, which for wealth, beauty, and commercial importance, might rank with many of the foremost cities of the old world. (Cheers.) When, in 1851, Victoria was proclaimed an independent Colony, the inhabitants found themselves the undisputed possessors of a vast and magnificent territory, well watered, fertile beyond comparison, endowed with resources of the most varied order, and possessing every bounty of nature that could give the assurance of national greatness. How Victoria had profited by those advantages both politically, socially, and in a commercial point of view, had been abundantly shown in his Lordship's exhaustive paper. But notwithstanding all that rapid advancement and commercial prosperity, which at one time bid fair to make Melbourne the capital of Australia and the emporium of Colonial trade, he believed that the first and most dangerous step towards retrogression made of late years by the Colony had been the mistaken policy of protection. (Hear, hear.) Whatever the advocates of protection might say to the contrary, it must be conceded that the principle, when applied to a new country where labour was scarce, was a mistake from beginning to end. In setting up that policy Victoria had aimed to become the great producer of the south, and although she might have the capital and the material resources within herself, she had not the labour, and what, he would ask, were the two former without the latter; and, furthermore, he believed that a great deal of valuable labour had been diverted from the Colony by the protective policy, which had caused

many of the ordinary necessities of life to become dearer than they otherwise would be, for it should not be forgotten that the 10 and 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty imposed by Victoria upon imported articles, became as 50 and 100 per cent. to the needy immigrant, and to the man who had to support a family. (Cheers.) If they considered protection as embodied in the present tariff of Victoria, the principle was both unsound and indefensible—firstly, by causing the country to pay a higher duty than the exigencies of the public service required; and, secondly, by compelling the individual to pay a higher price for every article he purchased than it was actually worth. That such a policy might suit the views of a few wealthy capitalists was probable—(cheers)—for it enabled them to make experiments in local industries which might or might not thrive; but, on the other hand, it was incontestably proved by the Customs Returns, that the people of Victoria were at that moment actually paying at the rate of £500,000 a year for this costly incubus of protection. (Hear, hear.) Now it was a well-ascertained fact that the industry, and therefore the labour of a country, thrives most when capital was employed to the greatest advantage; if, therefore, it could be proved that the prosecution of profitable industry had reached its maximum in the Colony, and that there was still surplus labour unemployed and in distress, perhaps a protective policy of a judicious and discriminating character might become tolerable as the best form of a poor-rate; but it would be a ridiculous libel on Victoria to assert that, while yet in her infancy, there was any necessity to devise means for the relief of distress, owing to the want of employment for a population that numbered only eight individuals to the square mile, which possessed one of the finest countries in the world as yet comparatively undeveloped, which had over 12,000,000 head of live stock on its pastures, whose yearly exports amounted to over £15,000,000, and whose mines had yielded, in less than a quarter of a century, gold to the almost fabulous amount of 168,000,000 pounds sterling. If such a country, whose present population was considerably under a million, and which was capable of supporting with ease the whole population of the British Isles, and whose policy should be to attract population to its shores, raised a stockade, or might he say a “stone wall” of monopoly and protection against the free trade of the outer world, they could not be surprised if they saw that country lose ground in its struggle for Australian supremacy. But another of the grave evils attending protective tariffs of the strongest kind imposed by Victoria, was to lessen the chances of a united confederation of the Australian Colonies. If the Colonies were kept in

a constant state of ebullition by commercial jealousies, and divided against themselves by hostile tariffs, slight provocation would convert diplomatic disputes into lasting quarrels, whereas a liberal free trade policy and the establishment of a uniform system of tariffs throughout Australia, would be the first and most lasting step towards confederation, by sweeping away existing intercolonial jealousies, and extending that friendly intercourse and interchange of commodities which ought to exist between these young and rising communities. But setting aside the drawback of protection, and considering the past history of Victoria, they could not but admire that spirit of industry and enterprise which had characterised the Victorians in most of their undertakings. To any one who had visited their magnificent country, who had seen their fine cities and rising towns, who had travelled on their network of railways, and become acquainted with their vast pastoral, agricultural, and mining industries, that spirit of progress must have become strikingly apparent in many ways, and he considered that it behoved Victoria to endeavour to maintain her superiority by entering upon that free trade policy pursued by the neighbouring Colonies. In conclusion, he might add, that it must be a matter for congratulation, not only to all Australians present, but more especially to Victorians, when they found in the foremost minister of their Church a gentleman so able and so willing to come forward and bear testimony to the prosperity and greatness of their country; and he could not conceive that there was anything more calculated to foster and develop the friendly feeling which ought to exist between the mother country and the Colonies, than the reading of such a paper as that to which they had had the privilege of listening to at that meeting. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT, the Duke of Manchester: I may now, I think, make a few remarks before conveying your thanks to the Right Rev. Prelate to whom we must all feel indebted for the excellent paper we have heard. I would remark that, referring to the want of birds and animals in Australia, I am led to hope that Mr. Youl will take note of that remark of the Bishop, and will extend to the birds that process of acclimatisation which he has extended to the salmon in Tasmania. (Laughter.) This is not a joke, as I am disposed to think that this very want of balance, arising from the absence of small animals and especially birds, has much to do with the great abundance of insects in Australia. Mr. Henty made some remarks which were most complimentary to the miners and to the population of Victoria, with regard to their conduct during the mining fever, and showing a strong contrast as compared to the conduct

of the miners in California, which gave rise to the saying that "gold was of use to the country in which it was found, but not to the men who found it." This was, because finding the gold was likely to make the men desperados, and they became turbulent and lawless. I am glad to find that this was not the case in Australia. I may, perhaps, relate an anecdote of this period; it concerns a man who had been employed by my father in Ireland. He was a mason, and had emigrated to Australia; he was engaged in building a house when the gold discovery was announced, and his comrades all went off to the diggings. He went to the quarry, quarried a load of stones, loaded them and drew them to the house, made up mortar, used the load of stones, then went back for another, and persevered in this way till he had completed the house. He then built another, and so on, and ultimately became proprietor of a whole street in Melbourne. His name is Bennett, and he was mayor of Melbourne at the time when the Prince of Wales came of age. He was from Tanderagree. Mr. Labillière disclaimed the idea of discussing the subject of representation, "vowing he would ne'er consent, consented." (Laughter.) I agree with Mr. Freeland that there would not be room in the House of Commons, but I do not agree with what he said about the House of Lords. I have said before now, that I thought it a fault in the House of Lords that there is no representative of the Colonies in that House. There are representatives of the Colonial service, but there are no colonists. But if we are at any time to have representation of the Colonies here, I hope the Colonies will give their representatives the power of voting money. They cannot be thoroughly efficient as representatives unless they have the power of the purse. This leads me to remark upon what we have heard from the Right Rev. Prelate about the want of men of sufficient independence to devote time to politics without having to attend to business. I have noticed that in Canada this is also the case, and there a person who has not any active business pursuits is pitied by his friends as having nothing to do. While I was over there, I only heard of two persons in this condition. This is not from any want of means, for there are many enormously wealthy men there in business, and it would seem as though they cannot well exist without work. So that there may well be men who could afford the leisure to give their time to the representation of the Colonies in this country, if ever such a scheme should be carried out. Mr. MacArthur spoke of a scheme to divert emigration to our own Colonies, which seems to be very desirable if it could be effected. I have long thought some such thing should be done. It was tried

by one who has lately passed away from us too soon, the late Lord Lyttelton. I believe that colonisation on a small scale may be made profitable, and I myself with some others entered into a scheme of that kind some years ago. We got a grant of land in the Northern Island of New Zealand, and I am told that our shares are now selling at a profit of 60 per cent. Our plan was that of selling the land to settlers in lots chequerwise, to be paid for by instalments. As these lands were cultivated the adjoining lands became very valuable, and rural lands which we bought from Government for 15s. per acre were sold at £3 10s., while town lots sold at £20, and one lot at as high as £224. With regard to the want of people of independent means, one remark struck me, that it is evident that they are not without culture and intellect, and this report coming from the bishop, a man who, as you are aware, obtained the highest distinctions in his college—(cheers)—is no small praise. I may now thank him in your name for his sympathies no less than for his services. (Cheers.)

The BISHOP, in reply, said: Of the representation of the Colonies in Parliament, or any system of confederation, I shall not speak, as I do not think these subjects have any relation to that of my paper. (Cheers and laughter.) Nor will I discuss the general question of education. I will only repeat, that I think the system introduced into Melbourne to be a very bad one; and will add, that Sunday-schools cannot supply the want of religious instruction in day-schools, and that the clergy have too much to do in the ministry of the Word, and other duties attendant on it, to be able to devote sufficient time for the education of children. With respect to any scheme for promoting emigration, I would observe that some valuable export is essential for the prosperity of a Colony. The success of the Canterbury settlement arose from the pastoral district behind it. If it had not been for the country at the back of Christ Church, that Colony could not have succeeded. Hence in planting a Colony you must always consider what will be the exports, for unless there be some, you cannot expect the people to be able to obtain a livelihood. Mr. Henty landed, I think, at Portland Bay in the year before Mr. Batman went to Port Philip. My friend, Mr. Fitzgerald, appears to have misunderstood what I said about intellectual culture. What I remarked was, that there was a want of men of intellectual culture who were not engaged in business, and so had leisure for attending to the affairs of the Colony. Most men who have been brought up to business are unwilling to retire from it, and hence Victorians, even when they have realised considerable property, are not content to live upon it. I used to

think it a pity that there were so many men in England who have nothing to do, but I have learned to change my opinion on that point, for I now feel that it is this class which gives its peculiar character to our country. (Cheers.) Mr. Fitzgerald also appears to have thought that I had given an unfavourable idea of the social condition of Victoria. Now I meant to do just the contrary; for I regard the social condition to be very much higher than people here generally suppose it to be. My reason for not saying anything respecting the growth of the Church of England in the Colony was, that I could not properly speak of its growth without also speaking of the growth of other Churches. The Church of England has certainly grown very greatly, and yet the proportion of clergymen to the population is less than it was at the time of the discovery of the gold-fields, and a much larger number of its people are now destitute of its ministrations. I did speak of the absence of lawlessness among the people, but I did not think it necessary to notice the regular and upright administration of justice; for our English judges may be assumed to be above all temptation to receive bribes, and free from all suspicion of a wilful maladministration of the law.

## SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting took place at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on Tuesday, 23rd May, the President, the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, in the chair.

MR. LABILLIERE said : In the absence of Mr. Young, which we must all regret, I am acting for him this evening. Mr. Young looked forward with much interest to hearing Mr. Fox upon New Zealand, as he takes particular interest in that Colony ; and I am sure we must be sorry for the cause of his disappointment in not being present to-night.

MR. LABILLIERE read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

MR. WILLIAM FOX then delivered the following address on

## NEW ZEALAND.

MR. FOX, referring to the intimation which had been given, that he would read a Paper that evening, apologised for not having prepared one. He had been too much engaged, and even if he had had the time, he could not have compressed his thirty years' experience into the requisite space. He therefore preferred to address the Institute orally, and would confine himself to such salient points as might be likely to interest those who listened to him ; a few words on the past history of New Zealand—its present condition—and perhaps a suggestion or two as to its future.

The most remarkable feature connected with the origin of the Colony was that it was one of the only two which had been established on what was known as the Wakefield system—a system which some forty years ago excited considerable controversy, and had vehement opponents as well as supporters. It was only carried out in South Australia and New Zealand. As regards the former, he would leave it to others to describe the undoubted success of the system in that Colony. As regarded New Zealand, his verdict was that it had there also been a great success. In the North Island it was true its operation had been greatly impeded, and the result less favourable than in the Southern. The opposition which the New Zealand Company met with at the hands of the Imperial Government, and other bodies unfriendly to the colonisation of the islands ; the long and exhaustive feuds which resulted ; the difficulty of obtaining sufficient land from the natives on which to carry out the experiment ; and the refusal of the Imperial

Government to confirm the title to such lands as were obtained—these circumstances disturbed the conditions necessary for success, and nearly destroyed the Colony in its infancy. But in the Southern Island it was different. The feuds between the British Government and the Company had ceased before operations were commenced there; there were no native difficulties; and every facility existed for fairly trying the experiment in the settlements of Otago and Canterbury. And though unforeseen causes had there to some extent diversified the expected features of the new communities, yet it might be safely asserted that the very remarkable success of those provinces—the most remarkable of any instance of modern colonisation—had resulted mainly from the adoption of the principles of the Wakefield system.

Mr. Wakefield's idea was that a Colony ought to be, as far as possible, a reproduction of the old society from which it "hived off"—a selection of what was good, and a rejection of what was bad, in the parent state. He had observed that the greatest impediment in the way of creating such a community was the dispersion of the colonists, which prevented mutual help and that "co-operation of employments" called by Adam Smith division of labour, which lies at the foundation of the progress of all civilisation. This fatal dispersion Mr. Wakefield attributed to the reckless and improvident distribution of the waste lands, which led every colonist to aim at becoming a large land-owner, whether qualified to use land or not. He had had the recent example of Swan River before him, where the dispersion was so great that capitalists were unable to find the labourers for whose passage to the Colony they had paid, or if they found them, it was probably not as labourers available for hire, but as independent owners of vast territories wastefully thrown away by the Government without any return. Mr. Wakefield proposed to get rid of this evil by abolishing free grants of land, and charging for it what he termed "a sufficient price," that is, a price to be regulated by and to vary with the circumstances of each case, and which, he hoped, would prevent the acquisition of land by those who could not use it, and at the same time provide the funds necessary to import the labour by which it might be cultivated, and to construct the roads and other public works by which it might be made accessible. Though in some particulars the system has not been fully carried out, yet on this fundamental point New Zealand has adhered strictly to the leading principle; and to this day in it alone of the Australasian Colonies the proceeds of the sale of the waste lands is treated as a sacred fund for the purposes of immigration and public works, and never placed, as

in the Australian Colonies, to the credit of the general revenue, or expended for the purposes of the general administration of the Government. The result of the system on the whole (allowing for its very imperfect trial in the North and some disturbing causes in the South) has been to secure concentration of population, and to promote the execution of public works, the opening up of difficult country otherwise inaccessible, and its preparation for settlement by the immigrants whose importation has been largely provided for from the Land Fund.

The opponents of the Wakefield system seem to be placed on the horns of this dilemma—either they must contend that it is better to undertake a great work like that of founding a new Colony, and annexing a new province to the Empire, in a mere haphazard way and without any system or method whatever; or they are bound to offer some other plan better than that of Mr. Wakefield. They have had forty years and upwards to do this, and have not done it, and it may be fairly inferred that no better can be devised. It may be supposed that the question is not now one of practical consequence, for we have ceased to colonise. The Imperial Government, at all events, from the time of the Stuarts, has never colonised. It has what it calls a Colonial policy; but that only means a policy of interference, after someone else has founded a Colony and given it to the Empire, whether systematically as in New Zealand, or without system as in the Fiji Islands. It is, however, hoped that a broader view is taken of his functions by the noble lord now at the head of the Colonial Office, and there are some who would fain see that institution taking the initiative in colonising New Guinea and the countless island groups of the Pacific, which may otherwise slip through our hands, and become the appendages of foreign and perhaps hostile Powers. America may not care to go south of the line, but France and Germany are there already, and probably aiming at further acquisition; and it will be a national calamity if the apathy of what ought to be the Colonising—not the Colonial—Office should prevent the extension of the Empire by the acquisition of the noble heritage of the Pacific, so admirably suited for the establishment of English-speaking communities and the habits of English life and civilisation. The existing inhabitants will not long occupy them. The certain decay and annihilation of the Polynesian races is a problem full of interest to the ethnologist, the philanthropist, and the statesman. It is pitiable to note that these fine races seem destined to disappear at no remote period; not owing to the advent of other races, but to causes inherent in their own social systems and apparently constitutional physical

degeneration. Mr. Fox did not believe in the trite maxim that "the foot of the white man trod out the life of the red." He was satisfied that these races, particularly that of New Zealand, were in rapid decadence when Captain Cook first visited them. Their communistic habits of life, their habitual cannibalism, not for luxury or revenge, but as a matter of daily diet, and the incessant wars carried on to obtain this unnatural food, were quite sufficient to destroy any people; and he had no doubt the process of extinction attributable to these causes had been going on long before Cook's arrival, and the decadence once commenced continued, though the causes might have been modified. When the Colony was commenced in 1840, it was estimated that the population of natives was 114,000; it is now, by census, not more than 50,000, and many believe this to be a great exaggeration, and place it at no higher than 35,000. At this pace it is certain that, unless some entire change of habit and life can be brought about, of which there seems little hope, the days of the Maori are numbered: a very few years will see the last of them, and many now in this room may live to see the event.

The progress of New Zealand has been greatly retarded by wars with the natives. Altogether they have had not less than fifteen years' war—nearly half the existence of the Colony's life. It is difficult to say what had caused them. He would not like to say that it was because the Colony had had military Governors. That might be a case of "*causa pro non causa*," but he simply stated the fact. The first two Governors were captains in the Navy, and it was during the term of office of the second, Captain Fitzroy, that hostilities commenced—hostilities by which we gained little credit, and which greatly destroyed the prestige of the British soldier, before believed by the natives to be invincible. Governor Grey, who followed Captain Fitzroy, had three wars in his first term of office. Colonel Sir Gore Brown, who succeeded him, got into the big war which lasted upwards of ten years, employed Governor Grey during great part of his second term, and was only brought to an end when the Colony obtained the luxury of a civilian Governor in the person of Sir George Bowen. He repeated, he would not say these things were cause and effect, but he knew the natives thought so. He was talking with a chief not long after Sir George Grey's return to the Colony, during the truce of 1861, and he was pointing out that the Queen had sent out Sir George as a man to make peace. "We don't think so," said the Maori; "we have always regarded him as a man of war. Did he not fight at the Bay of Islands, at Wanganui, at Heretonga? Is he not a soldier by profession? He'll fight, you will see." He then asked

“It is to make a road,” I replied; “he had no civilians.” “All that is very well,” answered my astute friend; “but I have often observed that when a man builds a gaol, it is never long till somebody is put into it.” It is quite clear that the chief had heard the story of the tanner who thought that for defending a city there was nothing like leather; and he inferred that soldier-governors would solve political difficulties by the short method of the sword. Mr. Fox had no doubt the Governors of New Zealand had all acted conscientiously, but they might have erred notwithstanding, and some at least of our wars might have been avoided by better judgment. But this he was bold to affirm, that the colonists were not in any case responsible for the wars. The Home Government had, till long after the commencement of the last of them, most jealously kept in its own hands the administration of native affairs, of purchases of native lands, and the direction of all military operations. These, even after responsible government was given to the colonists in other matters, were retained exclusively in the hands of the Colonial Governors, who acted without the advice of the colonists and entirely without their control. There was an impression in England that all these wars had been brought on by the rapacity of the colonists to get land. He denied the imputation. The first war, in 1843, was attributable to the imposition by the Governor of taxes which drove away a large fleet of whalers from the Bay of Islands, with which Heke, the local chief, had carried on a not creditable trade. He defied the British authorities, cut down the Queen’s flag, and burned the town of Kororarika. The second war was caused by a midshipman of a Queen’s ship “skylarking” with a pistol, which accidentally went off and wounded a chief in the cheek. The young men of his tribe, to avenge the indignity of wounding a chief’s head, massacred the family of a neighbouring settler. The military commander of a neighbouring post caught five of the murderers, subjected them to a process which military lieutenants call trial by court-martial (a process unknown to English law), and hung them on the spot, as they no doubt richly deserved. The tribe rose, and a war of some months followed. The two other wars—that of the Hutt under Governor Grey, and the Taranaki war under Governor Brown—did involve disputes about land; but the land purchasers were the Governors, the wars were of their commencing, they carried them on chiefly with Imperial troops and the British Navy, and no colonist was in any way responsible. It is hard that the burden of a heavy war debt should be imposed on their shoulders for the acts of the representatives of the Imperial Government.

Talking about Governors was a delicate topic, particularly for him (Mr. Fox), who had been in very close relations with so many. He might observe, however, that their position had been greatly changed of late. They could not now initiate wars or carry them on without the consent of the colonists. It is not very long since a Governor—not of New Zealand, however—could, and did, order men and women to be flogged for walking over the Government House grass-plot.\* They could not do that now. Their position in self-governing Colonies is now analogous to that of Her Majesty in this country. The business of governing is done by the Ministers, and it is only in extreme cases, where a Governor may dismiss his Ministers (subject to the control of Parliament), or cases where Imperial rights are involved, and perhaps in the prerogative of mercy in cases of life and death, that the Governor can act independently of his Ministers. Still, the Governor is not reduced to a mere “Amphytrion ou on dine,” the mere dispenser of vice-regal hospitalities, which I am bound to say they do dispense with a very liberal hand. If a Governor is an educated man, has common sense, and is familiar with political principles and precedents, he may be of much use in advising with his Ministers, though it would be highly improper for him to take a side in party politics, or engage in political intrigues. It is his duty also to set a high social example, and to interest himself not only in the general progress of the Colony, but as far as possible in the personal welfare and prosperity of the colonists, engaged in the great battle of Colonial life. And they generally do exhibit much sympathy in these matters. They make periodical “progresses” through the Colony over which they rule, and are hospitably entertained in the centres of population. Of course they are expected to admire a good deal and make laudatory speeches. There is a story of one of them (for the truth of which, however, he, Mr. Fox, would not vouch, nor would he say in which Colony it happened), who, being on a tour of that sort, had been entertained at a certain place for several days, when, before the ship arrived which was to take him away, the programme of sight-seeing ran out. An ingenious member of the Entertainment Committee suggested an exhibition of men with wooden legs: there was nothing else left to be shown. The exhibition took place, and the Governor proved quite equal to the occasion. He made an excellent speech, declaring “he had travelled all the world over, but had never seen such a fine lot of

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\* The fact is stated, with particulars, in a book of good authority—“Clarke's Colonial Law.”

wooden-legged men, and didn't believe there was another Colony in the British dominions which could have produced them." Colonists are like Americans—they always like to have the "biggest" show of the biggest wooden legs, wooden nutmegs, or anything else.

And, now, what sort of people were the New Zealand colonists? How did they live—what did they do? A very eminent member of Her Majesty's Government had stated the other day that colonists were men who went abroad to get rich, came home to spend their money, and get made High-Sheriffs. As there were about eight million British colonists and only forty High-Sheriffs, this was rather a flight of imagination. There was another idea of what colonists were. He had read an advertisement in the *Times*, in which they were asked for "old clothes for the Colonies." He could assure them they never wore other people's cast-off clothes in the Colonies; they dressed, class for class, better than in England; and he did not believe there was an old-clothes' shop in any of the Colonies—at all events in New Zealand. It was a pity that these gentlemen, whether Prime Ministers or advertising old-clothes' men, did not restrain their imaginations and give us facts. The wealthier classes of colonists—merchants, landowners, sheep-farmers—lived very much as the same classes did here. They had good houses; well-furnished, pretty gardens, full of fruit and flowers; drove carriages or rode on handsome horses; and generally lived as comfortably as large means would enable them. If his hearers were transplanted to Christchurch, Dunedin, or Auckland, they would in this respect scarcely know they were out of England. The humbler classes were relatively still better off. High wages soon enabled large numbers to purchase estates and become independent. Men who, if they had remained in England, would inevitably have died in the workhouse, were to be found owners of fine freehold estates of hundreds and even thousands of acres, cultivated and stocked, living in good houses, and their sons and daughters swarming off in similar positions. These men might, and often did, become magistrates and members of the Legislature, and occupied positions to which no ordinary, and few extraordinary, labourers in England could by possibility aspire. The secret of it all was that Colonial life was progressive, and every man, if he was industrious and sober, rose as the surrounding society did. Nothing grieved him so much, on his return to England, as to see nearly all the philanthropic and religious energy of the country struggling in a death-throe with the enormous burden of vice, pauperism, ignorance, and misery which crushed it almost to the ground, and engaged it in a perpetual war with social evil. Mr. Bright said, on

one occasion, that every working-man carried another man on his back. A friend of his (Mr. Fox's), a merchant in Liverpool, had calculated that he walked to his office every morning with seven paupers on his back. During the thirty-two years he had known New Zealand he (Mr. Fox) had never seen a street beggar. He did not say there were no social evils in a new country, but they were in a comparatively very small proportion. Whatever energy a man had he could expend in promoting the progress of good, and need not be consumed in grappling with corroding evil. In walking among the population of England's manufacturing or mining districts, he seldom saw a smile on the faces of the working classes. He saw brutalised faces, scowling faces—the nearest approach to a smile, the drunkard's leer. In the Colonies it was not so—people were bright and cheerful, and he was greatly struck with the contrast in many parts of England. There was a feeling of what he called "elbow-roomishness" in New Zealand. Mankind were not treading on each others' heels. There was not the harassing competition there is in England. There were only 400,000 Europeans in a country as big as Great Britain and Ireland. For further particulars of Colonial life he might refer them to Lady Barker's book and others. Lady Barker's book left a pleasant taste in the mouth, but her experience was limited to a particular phase of Colonial life and a particular locality: the Government handbook, edited by Sir Julius Vogel, and one by Mr. Silver, contained more information, and would repay perusal.

They would like to know something about the climate of New Zealand. It was difficult to describe a climate which was 1,000 miles long. It was like describing the climate from London to Rome. He had heard the climate of England was the best in the world, but he had not found it so by experience—very much the reverse. The New Zealand climate had great varieties. In the extreme north it approached the tropical: snow was never seen there. The banana grew and fruited, but he believed did not ripen. Citrons and lemons ripened; he was not sure about the orange. At Otago there was snow in the winter, and they had fine crops of English fruits—currants, strawberries, gooseberries, and so forth. On the whole, the climate was one of the most equable and healthy in the world. This was attributable to the fact that the islands were surrounded by sea, which tempered the winter cold; and there were mountain ranges running through the centre up to 13,000 feet high, covered with perpetual snow, which modified the summer heat, so that no extremes were known. Anything that will grow and flourish in England will do so there, and many

things that will not grow here are quite naturalised there. Peaches grow as standards; he counted 480 large grafted ones on a single tree in his garden—one of a row of eight—on the shore of Cook's Strait, in the middle of the Colony. After a windy night, seven wheelbarrowfuls of those fine peaches were given to the pigs. His neighbours had their own supply. The natural forests were very beautiful; except in Ceylon, he had seen none to equal them anywhere. There was the Rata, a gigantic forest tree, covered all over with large bunches of scarlet myrtle flowers, making whole valleys the colour of a soldier's coat. There were the exquisitely graceful tree-ferns, and the grand Nikau palm. Their forests were not quite so lofty as the groves of Calaveras or Mariposa, where the trees were so high that the Americans said it took two men and a boy to see to their tops. But they were very grand, and nearly all evergreen; only a few of the smaller ones were deciduous: so they had no fall of the leaf and no naked boughs in winter. But though their forests were of great size in some parts, they were already finding it necessary to protect them, so great is the destruction of timber in a new country. The present Prime Minister, Sir J. Vogel, had taken up the question with great ability, and inaugurated a Government department of forestry, for purposes of conservation and reproduction. There was an able article on the subject, reviewing the New Zealand Parliamentary papers compiled by Sir Julius Vogel, in the *Edinburgh Review* for October last. The question was of vital importance. Destruction of forests means an entire change of climate—floods and droughts—and a fertile country possibly rendered uninhabitable; to say nothing of the desirability of not being dependent on other countries for a necessary life.

There is some of the finest scenery in the world in New Zealand. There is in the Southern Island a chain of gigantic mountains, ranging from 8,000 to nearly 14,000 feet high, their bases washed by the waves of the Pacific, their shoulders clothed with magnificent forest, their sides furrowed with gullies bearing huge glaciers, and their summits covered for some thousands of feet with perpetual snow. Of these Southern Alps, Mount Cook is the crowning peak. The glaciers on its western side are perhaps the most remarkable anywhere. They descend from the usual "nevé," or solidified snow region, at 8,000 or 10,000 feet high, almost to sea level, their bases being not more than 600 to 700 feet above the sea. For hundreds of feet up the sides and alongside of these great frozen masses grows the semi-tropical forest of New Zealand—a feature not known in any other glacier he (Mr. Fox) had seen. There is nothing in Switzerland either grander or more beautiful than the

western faces of Mount Cook and the adjacent ranges. He hoped some member of the Alpine Club, or other person of prehensile propensities, would come out and try to scale their lofty peaks. He doubted if Mount Cook would not baffle the best climbers, at least if approached from its western side. The Northern Island also had its peculiar scenery. The great central Lake of Taupo, and the volcanic region which extended on either side of it for nearly 200 miles, was full of beauty and wonderment. There were hot lakes, in which the inhabitants of whole villages bathed all day; there were the exquisite White Terrace and Pink Terrace, formed by silicious deposits from the active geysers which intermittently burst from their highest steps and flowed down their delicately-coloured marble sides, the top of each step containing a bath of hot water, with the choice of almost any temperature from 200 downwards. There were mud volcanoes, sputtering wells, fumeroles, solfaterras, and every variety of volcanic action; lakes of cerulean blue, and of brightest emerald green. The traveller needed no blanket: the ground he lay on was almost too warm, and he might hear beneath his head the thundering of what seemed some gigantic Nasmyth hammer, pounding away in the subterranean workshop among the fires which were but a few feet, perhaps inches, below. Every now and again there would be the hiss and roar of some fierce geyser sending out columns of boiling water and clouds of steam a few yards from his sleeping-place. Nothing could inspire the soul with a feeling of greater awe than to stand face to face with these great works of the Creator, and become conscious for the first time of the existence of those great internal forces which shake the world, and to know that they are but a few inches from your feet. The dweller in the black country of Lancashire or the flats of Norfolk could not conceive how solemn and how grand a thing it was to look nature in the face among such surroundings.

He should now say a few words about the sources of the material prosperity of the Colony. They had two or three great staple products. The first confirmed the truth of the famous proverb about "the golden foot of the sheep." Sheep had been a great source of their prosperity. Twenty-four years ago they had barely sheep enough to afford mutton chops for their then small population. Now, there are about 12,000,000 sheep in the Colony, among 400,000 people. He believed New Zealand was destined to own more sheep some day than all Australia, because it had a greater capability for growing the English grasses, which, generally speaking, could not be grown in Australia. The export of wool from New Zealand already amounted to about £2,000,000 worth

per year. Another great source of wealth was gold. The gold-fields had been worked for about twenty years and had exported in that period gold to the value of about £30,000,000 sterling, or nearly 7,000,000 ounces. There were probably hundreds of miles long of auriferous mountains, with gold-bearing sea beaches and alluvial flats.

The Colony had also great agricultural capabilities. There were vast alluvial plains, particularly in Otago and Canterbury, and various other parts of the Colony, on which there were already several millions of bushels of grain grown every year. In 1874 the Colony exported to England not far from a million bushels of wheat alone, after having provided for the food of its own population.\* Large quantities of other cereals (oats and barley) are also grown; and very large tracts annually broken up by the plough, and laid away with English grasses. The capacity for carrying live stock is increased by this operation in the proportion of about five to one.

The Colony has other exports, as Kauri gum, flax, timber, and other things, which bring up the total exports to the amount of more than £5,000,000. It is balanced by a considerably larger amount of imports, which, however, has been unduly swelled during the last three years by importation of railway plant. The amount of imports and exports is very large for a population of 400,000 Europeans and, say, 40,000 natives.

Coal and iron exist in large quantities. Of the former there are large fields in both islands, of two sorts—common bituminous, and German, or brown coal. The seams are of great thickness, varying from ten or twelve feet to between fifty and sixty, and averaging probably quite twenty-five. These are chiefly accessible from the surface or horizontally; what may lie below is not yet known. The iron ores are also of two sorts: the titanitic, which is similar in appearance to sportsmen's gunpowder, and lies in millions of tons along the sea-coast generally with, but easily separable from, the sea sand; the other is the ordinary carbonate. Not much progress has yet been made in working either, for want of spare capital and from other causes. The titanitic iron-sand is difficult to smelt, and hitherto experimenters have failed to give it a commercial value. But he (Mr. Fox) was assured in America that a similar ore, which is found in Labrador and New York, is successfully smelted at

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\* The latest statistics I have access to are for 1874. The exact amount of wheat exported that year was 933,314 bushels, of which 779,332 went to Great Britain and 151,913 to other places, chiefly Australia, some of the latter possibly being reshipped for Great Britain. (Government statistics for 1875.)

Chicago and Albany. Lead and silver ores of very great richness are reported to have been recently discovered at Hoketika.

Now a few words about railroads. Some eight years ago the Colony was involved in a native war, and its condition was very discouraging. Entire stagnation prevailed. In ten years little or no immigration had gone to the Colony, in some parts the population was even leaving; there were few public works in execution, and little money to execute them with. There seemed to be only one way out of the difficulty, and that was to re-create the spirit of colonisation, and to restore permanent peace with the native race. The Government (of which I had the honour to be a member) adopted a plan, devised by Sir Julius Vogel, then the Colonial Treasurer, for borrowing in England a loan of £10,000,000, to be expended over a term of ten years, on the construction of rail and ordinary roads, and the revival of emigration. We thought this might yet pull the Colony out of the abyss into which it appeared to be falling. The Colonial Parliament endorsed the plan, and the greater part of the money has been borrowed and expended in the way intended. Great part of the railways is completed, and as soon as any portion is open it has so far proved remunerative, and doubtless will be much more so when the connections are finished. It is hoped that in less than two years more, about 1,200 miles (chiefly trunk line) will be finished substantially, uniting the two ends of the island. He (Mr. Fox) was occasionally asked if the Colony were not going too fast. He could only say that, though the plan was originally intended to be executed in ten years; it would be evidently all the better for the Colony if it were done in less time. If a ready-made railroad could have been imported at once it would have been the best thing, and next to that it will be best to get the work completed as fast as possible, so as to get the quickest possible return. Friends, therefore, need not fear the rapidity with which the Colonial borrower has been recurring to the Imperial lender. The money has been all expended in reproductive work, and remains an asset which will justify the Colony if it wants more to borrow more on the security of its increased return. He held that as long as a road remained to be made, or an emigrant to be imported for whom work could be found, the Colony would be justified in borrowing, and English capitalists find advantage in lending. They had better lend their money to New Zealand colonists than to Sultans and Khedives. Let them trust men of their own flesh and blood, their own religious faith and commercial principles, and they need not be afraid of never seeing their money again.

Two questions were often put to him, and he would now conclude by answering them. Gentlemen and ladies who had got a "dear boy" (such boys often "*very dear*") would say, "Our dear boy has been in his father's office, and he does not like it; and he has tried so and so, and doesn't like it; but he thinks he would like New Zealand: would you advise us to send him?" I always refuse (said Mr. Fox) to answer that question categorically. I don't know the "dear boy," and whether he has any qualification for a Colony or not: New Zealand may not suit him, or he may not suit New Zealand. His parents may send him out with pocketsful of money, and he may come back in a year or two with his hands in his pockets, and nothing else. He would refer papa and mamma to general results. Thirty-five years ago, a little band got together under the auspices of the Wakefield system: himself and his friend Sir Charles Clifford, who was present, were among them. In round terms, they were nobody and had nothing. Now they had grown to 400,000 people, with an annual revenue of nearly £2,000,000, exports and imports of £5,000,000 each: these figures only the indicators of a vast amount of accumulated wealth; and to whom did it belong? Why, to the little band he had mentioned, and the rest of the 400,000 who had followed in their tracks with no greater advantages. They were farm labourers, small tradesmen, mechanics, young lawyers, doctors, parsons, everybody and all sorts. They were the owners of all that fine property. Success had been the rule, and failure the exception. If, therefore, the "dear boy" came back and declared the Colony was "no good," pray don't believe him; it is he that is "no good" and not the Colony.

The remaining question is, How about the future of New Zealand? He (Mr. Fox) was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, and he could not predict the future, but he might refer them to the past. He had told them what the Colony had done; why should it not continue to do the like? They had a fine fertile country, and though the population at present was not much bigger than that of Birmingham, there were 70,000,000 of acres with vast resources in them, all of which had to be developed. Could that country stand still? In a very few years it would, under Providence, have a million of people in it. Humanly speaking, it must grow, it must increase in prosperity, and it will reward those who have faith in it. In conclusion, he begged to thank the Institute for the patient hearing it had given him, and trusted that neither his time nor theirs had been altogether wasted by the hour's occupation.

## DISCUSSION.

SIR CHARLES CLIFFORD: I can only interpret the telegraphic signs which I see his Grace the Chairman making to mean that he wishes me to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Fox for the admirable and instructive address we have just listened to. It is, perhaps, hardly proper that I should be the one to do this, not having gained much information from that address, and therefore not having so much to be thankful for as many others in this room. I had the pleasure of landing in New Zealand with Mr. Fox from the same vessel, in the very earliest days of the Colony. We were five months making the voyage from Portsmouth to Wellington; we could now make the voyage there and back again in little more than half the time. From that period to the present I have been intimately acquainted with him, have witnessed all his exertions, and well know how much the country is indebted to him, both socially and politically, for the position it has since attained. There is no one who could arrive in England from New Zealand more capable of giving you a full and truthful history of the past, or of prognosticating the prospects of the future of that country. You may, therefore, with confidence yield your belief to everything you have just heard. Mr. Fox commenced by discussing the question of Colonial government. I perfectly well remember the first ten years of New Zealand's political existence, when the leading strings were held in Downing-street. During that period the energies of the people seemed to flag, few things seemed to prosper, and the general dulness was such that many of the leading colonists formed plans for re-emigrating to what they thought might be more favoured regions. At the end of that time the Colonial Office and the British Parliament, thinking the Colony might manage its own affairs better than those who were 16,000 miles away from them, did us the honour of intrusting to us the first constitution ever granted to a British Colony. Within two years from the day of gaining the power of governing ourselves, you would not have

known the country. It sprung suddenly into energy and life. It commenced those efforts and began that career which has now developed itself in the manner with which you are all acquainted. From not being able to borrow ten million shillings, it can now easily obtain ten million pounds; and the justifiable belief of the public in its resources and its honesty is such as to enable it to borrow any reasonable amount for the purpose of still further developing those great resources with benefit to it and advantage to England. Nothing shows so clearly the capacity of the English race for self-government. The more the Colonies are left to manage their own affairs, the stronger will be the tie to the mother country, and greater the strength of the British Empire. Mr. Fox has alluded to the decay of the native race. He was perfectly correct. There is not time now to go into that argument, but it can be clearly shown that they had been rapidly decreasing long before we took possession of the islands, from causes over which we had no control, but which have lessened in intensity since our occupation. If anything can save the remnant now existing, it will be the fostering care of the present Government. You have had described to you the social and material resources of the country with a vividness and reality that I trust you will not easily forget, and that your knowledge will be imparted to others as widely as possible. Not only those present, but your friends will then know there are few places in the world where they can obtain more useful amusement, real profit, and individual information than in the islands of New Zealand. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the other day strongly advised all those of his countrymen who could afford it to visit India, whether in search of health, pleasure, or profit. I would not be so disloyal as to interfere with His Royal Highness's advice: I would simply recommend those who have tried all that Hindostan can offer them, to extend their journey to New Zealand, convinced that my country would, at any rate, suffer nothing by the comparison. I beg to propose that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Fox for the admirable and interesting address he has favoured us with.

The Rev. PAHTAQUAHONG CHASE, chief of the Ojibbeway Indians, said it gave him great pleasure to have the honour to speak to such an intelligent audience. He felt greatly embarrassed after hearing such an eloquent speech from Mr. Fox, at being able to convey his feelings to them. He hailed from British North America, one of Her Majesty's dominions. He belonged to the Ojibbeway nation of Indians, and was chief of the natives of that country. His forefathers were the chiefs, and when the British Government, in 1812,

recognised his grandfather, who was chief in possession, he was received by King George III. at Court, and acknowledged by that King as chief of the nation, and he then wore the plate given by that King in 1812, which had descended from that time in the male line. His grandfather exerted his powers for the welfare of his own nation and the community at large; and the medal he wore had descended to him (Mr. Chase), which his son would eventually succeed to as the hereditary chief. His nation were not people of letters. They had no institutions of learning, and no laws like other civilised nations. His forefathers lived by hunting, and clothed themselves with the skins of the animals, and lived upon their flesh alone, without such other luxuries as bread, &c. He had mingled in the society of Englishmen during the last six months, of whom he had heard and read when a youth. His people were sitting under a cloud of darkness. They had no laws, no justice, no authority, excepting the authority of the chief. He had come to this country for the welfare of his community. They had what was called a grand Indian council in the two Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, which were partially civilised and surrounded by a French community and people from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and his people were learning to speak the English language. He was the President of that Council. No British white man's blood had ever been spilt by his people. They had always lived in peace and goodwill with the English nation. They had spilt the blood of the foreign white man, owing to imperfect understanding of treaties, when they had taken the laws into their own hands, especially as regarded those of the United States; but he was happy to say it had not been the case in the British possessions. He was present, empowered and authorised by his people, to come to England to visit the Queen, and he had had the honour of seeing Her Majesty, which he should tell the Grand Council on the 28th of June, which would then meet, as it did every three years. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and had been in holy orders thirteen years. Before being ordained he was in the Civil Service of Canada for thirteen years, but desiring to minister to the spiritual welfare of his people, he resigned his position, and he had been preaching the glorious Gospel as a missionary—the Gospel which had elevated England, and which had raised it so high that the world looked upon it as the city upon the hill whose light could not be hidden, as a glorious example to benighted nations. He had three different languages, the Mohawk, the Iriquois—that of the Indian people—and the Ojibbeway language. He had territory ten miles square, with a population

of 1,400 souls. He had been appointed to take charge of the Delawares and the Mohawks, and he had succeeded in building up a new church for the Mohawk people, and by means of the Gospel had enabled them to live in peace and blessedness. He had three congregations, with 260 communicants out of 1,400 souls, and he spoke with pride of the reformation he had effected amongst his people. He had come to England to endeavour to get subscriptions for building a third church, and he would return in a few days to his country and tell his Council that he had succeeded in obtaining the required amount, and had found a Christian people in England. If spared, his life should be devoted to the teaching of his people to follow the English example of civilisation and Christianisation.

Sir RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL, K.C.M.G. and C.B., said he had not intended to have spoken, but could not refrain from making some observations on a matter of extreme interest connected with a subject to which Mr. Fox had more than once adverted. He should not like Mr. Fox's observations recorded amongst their proceedings without some explanation. He understood Mr. Fox to claim for New Zealand a special merit in adhering to the Wakefield theory of expending the money received for sale of public lands in the Colony on the introduction of emigrants.

Mr. Fox: Yes; and on public works.

Sir RICHARD MACDONNELL: Quite so; public works to be carried out by emigrants imported with the Land Fund. Mr. Fox, however, had implied that New Zealand had attained her special prosperity by treating her Land Fund as entirely sacred and devoted to those objects, and he had also implied that other Colonies, who had not done so, had gravely erred. Now that was a subject of extreme importance; and no such broad statement was really correct, because circumstances beyond their control had necessarily shaped the policy of some of the Colonies. He would, however, confine himself now to what had occurred with the Australian Colony, which he knew best—South Australia, whose government he had administered for nearly seven years. South Australia had been in a very peculiar position as regarded importation of emigrants. If they would look at the map before them they would see that New Zealand was protected by a continuous seaboard, and emigrants once imported there would find it difficult to escape from it. The very contrary was the case with South Australia. When he arrived there in 1855, the *furor* of the gold-fields excitement had scarcely abated. Moreover, South Australia was separated from Victoria by merely an imaginary border-line; whilst there were many easy means, chiefly by sea, of

going from Adelaide to Portland or Melbourne. At that time the temptation was, in fact, almost irresistible; and the emigrants who would otherwise have tilled their lands and carried on their public works, left them. Therefore the money expended on their passage was in this way almost wholly applied to the advancement of the neighbouring Colony. When he first arrived the Land Fund had been and was then being used for its legitimate purposes as completely as ever it was in New Zealand. All of it which was not forestalled by the Emigration Commissioners in England, was entirely in the control of the Governor, but he asked them to consider what occurred during the first year of his government, 1855-56. The Land Fund had proved most prolific; and the Emigration Commissioners in England actually sent out in that year more than 12,000 emigrants, whilst unfortunately the population of the Colony was at that time less than 80,000. It was impossible, evidently, that so scanty a population could assimilate and utilise such a sudden influx of strangers. Nothing could be more wholesome than good beef as diet for a working-man, and if suitable time were allowed he could get with advantage through a ton of it; but an attempt to force him to eat a stone weight of it at once might kill him. This was precisely what had occurred in South Australia. The great want of that and of all new Colonies was of course people—people settled on the land and working the land; but when they were sent out in such numbers there was neither time nor opportunity to settle them; and probably not more than 4,000 out of those 12,000 emigrants, who had cost so much (about £16 per head) became finally an addition to the permanent population of South Australia. They might fancy, moreover, how much the difficulty of the position was augmented when he told them that of the above number no less than 4,004—for he had good reason to recollect the exact figures—were able-bodied single ladies. Now he questioned whether any other man than himself ever had previously such a number of single women thrust upon him. He saw that they sympathised with him, and he owned that he had never been so embarrassed. He did what he could for them—built them barracks, offered to pay their fare and all expenses to any employers willing to take them off his hands, for he was sorry to have to add that they were occasionally very unruly. Now, as women in a state of rebellion were not so easily dealt with as men, he might mention that, by a “happy thought,” they were on one occasion reduced to obedience by the cooling effects of water from a fire-engine. Surely he might put it to Mr. Fox’s candour to say whether, with such experience, the Colony which soon afterwards obtained control over all the Land Fund

was not justified in using part of it for other purposes than importing emigrants in such numbers as to embarrass them or desert them for the neighbouring Colony. The meeting must, however, not suppose because Mr. Fox was so eloquent, that all the talent and energy of that part of the world was centred in New Zealand. On the contrary, despite the special difficulties which, as he had shown, were connected with emigration in South Australia, he could inform Mr. Fox that in proportion to its population the progress of that Colony had been more marked and more rapid in the most important points, than that of New Zealand. Take, for example, the number of acres reclaimed and tilled, as given in the latest statistics (those for 1874), presented by Mr. Hayter to the Victorian Parliament, and they would find that whilst the 320,000 inhabitants of New Zealand had only about 550,000 acres under cultivation, the 200,000 settlers of South Australia had cultivated no less than 1,330,000. In other words, whilst there were nearly seven acres of cultivated land to every man, woman, and child in South Australia, there was barely one acre and two-thirds of an acre per head to the population of New Zealand. Moreover, whilst the limited population of South Australia raised nearly ten millions of bushels of wheat in 1874, New Zealand raised less than three millions, though it exceeded South Australia in other cereals. The total trade, or imports and exports, per head in South Australia is, however, perhaps, much the same as that in New Zealand, viz. between £41 and £42 per head, but, unlike New Zealand, with a large healthy balance in South Australia in favour of the exports. They might perhaps think that these results have been obtained by extravagant expenditure, and that they may, therefore, have been too dearly purchased, and cannot be regarded as durable. Now, he did not want quite to overwhelm Mr. Fox with figures, but it was very remarkable that the taxation in New Zealand—viz. more than £4 per head—is considerably more than double that in South Australia, which is only £1 16s., whilst New Zealand's debt at the end of 1874 was more than treble that of South Australia. He had, however, said already quite enough to prove that the management of the Land Fund in any Colony must, to a certain degree, be shaped occasionally by the special circumstances of the Colony; and as an old Governor in Australia, he had felt much pleasure in pointing out that (despite of many adverse circumstances at starting) the results of a departure for a time from the excellent Wakefield theory had not made South Australia less prosperous than New Zealand. On the contrary, British energy had proved quite as sufficient in the former as in the latter Colony to develop its

resources, and uphold its favourite motto of "Advance, Australia." (Applause.)

Colonel THOMPSON wished to offer a few words of protest against Mr. Fox's suggestion that the frequent wars in New Zealand were "attributable possibly to the fact of the majority of the Governors having been members of the naval or military services." He (Col. Thompson) did not think men who knew what war was, and what it entailed, more likely to rush into it than those who had no such practical experience. Under Capt. Hobson, the first Governor, no war took place. Under Capt. Fitzroy, the aggression was entirely on the side of the natives, who commenced the war—an equal, if not the greater, portion of the tribes siding with *us* in the contest. Capt. Grey, the next Governor, found the war going on when he arrived in the country, and brought it to a close at the earliest possible period. This was the war in the north of New Zealand alluded to by Mr. Fox, and having served through it he was personally acquainted with the facts. The hostile tribes (probably through a consciousness of being in the wrong) bore no malice to their foes at its close: in proof of which he might mention an incident which occurred at a feast of peace given to the enemy by our allies, at which one of the former called out to the European officers present to point out to him which of them it was who aimed the gun that cut their flag-staff in two. Being asked why he wished to know, he said, "Because the shot that struck the flag-staff also cut my wife and child in two; and he thought the least that officer could do was to come and shake hands with him." He did not consider the wars in New Zealand were the fault of either the Governors or the colonists, but were almost inevitable in a country as large as Great Britain, occupied by a comparative handful of natives, owning vast tracts unused by and therefore useless to them, but of which they are as proud and tenacious as any duke could be of his valuable possessions in this country; while an enterprising race had left their native land with the sole purpose of occupying and cultivating these hitherto unused and uncultivated tracts. What Mr. Fox had said of the decrease of the native inhabitants was perfectly true; but he did not think it was owing to the advent of Europeans, as they were manifestly decreasing in numbers before the country was colonised; one cause he had heard assigned being, that when the influence of missionaries had induced them to give up their tribal feuds, they ceased dwelling on the heights before then selected as defensible positions against their foes, and built their villages for greater convenience on the low, and often damp and swampy, grounds, bordering their rivers and

lakes, causing thereby consumption, scrofula, and other diseases. He thoroughly endorsed all that had been said by Mr. Fox in praise of New Zealand as a place to settle in, having served in that country for fifteen years. In proof of the estimation in which it was held by those who served in it, he might mention that fifteen officers and nearly one thousand men of the regiment he belonged to left the service to settle there, and when leaving the Colony he was beginning to fear there would not be a man left in the regiment to carry the colours on their arrival home. Mr. Fox had spoken with favour of different works upon New Zealand, but had modestly omitted one of not less interest than the others, namely, the "History of the Wars in New Zealand," by Mr. Fox.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON said, before the last speaker addressed them he was rising to call his friend, Sir Richard MacDonnell, to order, upon a little discrepancy in his eloquent remarks. He was rather severe about the Colony which used to be a good neighbour to him while in South Australia, and charged Victoria with running away with his emigrants in a selfish and hungry manner. But he had afterwards favoured us with particulars of a large assortment of "able-bodied females," and said that with so large a tribe had he been encumbered in a single day, that he did not know what to do with them. He (Mr. Wilson) thought at that critical period of his existence the Colony referred to might have lent him some assistance, of which he ought to retain some grateful recollection. But now to pull Mr. Fox a little to pieces in view of the interesting speech he had made them—for they must recollect it was not a paper he had read, but it was something which he had favoured them with *vivà voce*, and with a great degree of eloquence. Mr. Fox held a very sanguine opinion of the future of New Zealand, in which he (Mr. Wilson) most heartily and most gladly participated, but on one point he thought Mr. Fox allowed his zeal for his adopted country a little to override facts and observations of adjacent countries. He did not know what experience Mr. Fox may have had of the large continent within a few days' sail of New Zealand, when he favoured them with the idea that English grasses would not grow in Australia. Where did he get that evidence? He based on this fact his conviction that the time was coming when flocks of sheep in New Zealand would quite outnumber the whole of the group of Colonies on the continent. A little examination into facts would scarcely justify that statement. He (Mr. Wilson) had been a squatter and an experimental farmer in those Colonies, and he could only say he never saw English grasses grow better than they did there. Mr. Fox was deceived if he imagined he had a monopoly of English.

grasses. Mr. Fox had favoured them with questions of emigration as mixed up with the very important scheme of that grand old colonist, Gibbon Wakefield, and he was interested to note the points of difference in Mr. Fox and Sir Richard MacDonnell on that point. He (Mr. Wilson) was talking to an experienced man on emigration the other day in reference to Mr. Wakefield's bust, which had recently been executed, and which was to be placed in the Colonial Office, and he was much struck by the remark, that he had no hesitation in saying that if they had had the sense to adhere to that magnificent scheme introduced by that excellent man, the Australian Colonies would have been much more prosperous than they are even without all the gold they have since found. That being the case, it seemed dreadful to think of the way in which they had given up that system, and with what a sort of incomprehensible spirit they had never found a better. Had that system been maintained, and had they been in the way of improving the population which that scheme would have given, they might draw in vain on their imaginations as to what the present state of those Colonies would have been. Mr. Fox had favoured them with an admirable dissertation upon the plucky and spirited way in which New Zealand had gone into the money market—to the terror of a great many weak-minded people, who preferred Turkish bonds or Egyptian securities—and borrowed large sums, and was now prepared to justify what it had done, was doing, and intended to do, by the result they saw accruing from such a scheme. There was an important point in dealing with the whole question of emigration, as to what is the real money value of a man. He had often tried to elaborate the price of a man—a good hard-working man, who could do a good many useful things in all the forms of farm labour—and he had lately come across a paragraph in an American newspaper in which they had worked out the price of a good, healthy, vigorous man. With great accuracy they had valued him at exactly £166 13s. 4d. Well now, New Zealand gets this man for about £20. Where did the capitalist ever make better investment than that? Not in Manchester cotton, in Leeds woollen goods, or Birmingham ironware, or any other staple commodity. On that point he heartily congratulated New Zealand, and when he saw those ships going out full of those £20 people, he was delighted.

Mr. FITZGIBBON observed that amongst the physical features of New Zealand which Mr. Fox had described and credited with the effect of elevating the soul, there were some that had yet another property, that of restoring health to the body. He referred to the

hot springs, which—and he had excellent reason for being satisfied with them—furnished a powerful remedy for rheumatic affections, and which, being now easily and conveniently accessible, were certain to prove of great medicinal benefit not to the inhabitants of New Zealand only, but also to those of the Colonies of the mainland of Australia suffering from such complaints, and for whom otherwise such a means of cure could scarcely be obtained, except at the trouble and cost of a visit to some of the older used hot-springs of Europe.

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD thought, in the first place, the meeting might congratulate itself on the fact that Mr. Fox had been so busy that he had been unable to commit his thoughts to paper, because he was sure that the racy and humorous remarks he had made were in some respects an agreeable contrast to the long statistics with which they were often regaled. There were one or two points on which he ventured to differ from him. Mr. Fox had said that the advent of the white race in New Zealand had had nothing whatever to do with the diminution in the number of the Maories, which proceeded from internecine wars and from their habits of cannibalism. As far as they knew, the New Zealanders had always been cannibals, and were always fighting with each other, and if it were those habits of fighting and eating each other which were leading to their extinction, how did it happen that if, according to tradition, New Zealand was peopled by a few canoe-fuls of Maories, who landed in the North Island, at no very distant period their descendants had increased before the English landed on the islands to 60,000? If those habits always prevailed among them, how was it that the New Zealanders, who at first were only a few hundreds in number, had reached as many as 60,000? Another point on which he differed from Mr. Fox was with regard to the opinion that the prosperity of New Zealand was in great measure owing to the Wakefield system. One of the principal features of that system was that there should be a sufficient price for land; the definition of a sufficient price being a price so high as to prevent people from becoming landowners too rapidly. As far as he knew, the price of land had varied in New Zealand from 5s. to £2 an acre. What was the sufficient price, 5s. or £2? Mr. Fox stated that the system had been in continuous operation, and yet at the end of his discourse he stated that for a number of years there had been no emigration going on at all. How was it that there was such a cessation of emigration for so long a time while yet the Wakefield system still continued, for it was an essential part of that system that a great portion of the proceeds of the land should be applied to bring out

emigrants? No doubt it was a good thing to apply a portion of the Land Fund to public works and to emigration, but he apprehended that that would have been done had Mr. Wakefield never been born. What had been the operation of the system in Australia? for he apprehended that fixing the price of land in that country at £1 per acre was carrying out the Wakefield system. Did that lead to the concentration of the population of Victoria? On the contrary, it was dispersed all over the Colony. When he (Mr. Dennistoun Wood) first went out to Victoria, Mr. Wilson, who had that evening professed himself an admirer of the Wakefield system, was continually exclaiming, "Unlock the land!" What brought the population to Victoria? Not the Wakefield system, but the discovery of gold. The whole system had been in operation for years, and the whole population was only 70,000, whereas it was now upwards of 800,000. The same thing could be observed in other Australian Colonies. If there was one thing more than another which he detested, it was the arrogance and self-sufficiency of a man who thought that he knew better how a man should conduct his own business than the man himself did. The Government, forsooth, was to prevent a man going away to some remote part of the Colony where his labour would be unprofitable; but if a man found his labour unprofitable, did he need Mr. Wakefield, or anybody else, to prevent him from following an unremunerative occupation? That was in another form the idea which now prevailed in some of the Australian Colonies—in Victoria especially. The Governments there had taken it into their heads that they knew better what occupation the people should follow than the people themselves did, and they tried to bolster up some occupations at the expense of others, and imposed duties upon certain articles in order to get people to betake themselves to particular branches of industry instead of to those which, if the State had not interfered, they would have found most profitable. Was the Wakefield system ever heard of in California? What raised the population of that country from a few hundreds to tens of thousands, and made it a great country, with large cities, railways, and all the appliances of civilisation? The American Government never attempted by its land system to dictate to the people how they should employ themselves, and whether they should scatter themselves over that State or not. New Zealand had prospered, not because of any theories of Mr. Wakefield, but because of the enterprise of the inhabitants and its good government, which inspired the people of this country with such feelings of confidence, that they sent their money to be invested in a land where they knew it would yield them a good return.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON: Mr. Wood has made personal reference to me, and I would say, in reply, that although I raised the echoes in a vigorous style on the topic, "Unlock the land," yet Mr. Wood may search any writing of mine, but he will never find a single word directed to the unlocking the lands upon anything but the Wakefield system. My cry of "Unlock the lands" was with reference to the fact that at that time there was not sufficient land in the market; but it always inculcated the idea of bringing out emigrants with certain percentage of the proceeds.

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, before I express your thanks to Mr. Fox for his most eloquent speech, I would call your attention to one circumstance which seems to me very interesting. We heard, first, speeches from two of the pioneers of New Zealand—that flourishing Colony of Great Britain at the Antipodes—and those speeches were followed by one from a chief of the ancient race, which were our predecessors in North America. It reminds you of the extent of the Queen's dominions and the grandeur of the British Empire. Mr. Fox alluded to the "dear boys." I am sorry to say that a good many ladies fancy I may be able to assist them in providing for their "dear boys." They seem to forget that the Ministers of the day have not many vacancies to which they can appoint the "dear boys," and that they have friends of their own and their own colleagues who would probably have a better claim than any "dear boy" that I might recommend. But I have always found it a very convenient answer to give to those ladies, when they have asked me to help them in that way, to suggest that they should go and try their fortunes in the Colonies; and certainly among those I have not omitted to mention New Zealand, with which I have been in a certain degree connected for a quarter of a century, and although I have not yet seen it as I should like, yet I have received favourable accounts of it, both in a literary and a pecuniary sense. Another point Mr. Fox referred to was received almost with a laugh, when he talked about the possibility of coals being brought from New Zealand to England. He also mentioned a fact which struck me would have been thought thirty years ago quite as impossible, that is, that the New Zealand wheat should keep down the price of wheat in England to such an extent that it is not worth while to grow it in England. He mentions that last year 1,000,000 bushels of wheat were sent from Canterbury and Otago into England. I find my Colonial papers show how much has been sent during one month from other parts. I intend shortly, when I meet my tenants, to call their attention to the fact that wheat in England now fetches no more than 40s. a

quarter, and they tell me it would not pay them if they could get 45s. for it, and that with the quantities grown in the Colonies there is no chance of our being able to grow wheat in England at a profit. The supply of breadstuffs to the manufacturing districts of Europe is an opening for the colonists, of which they have availed themselves, and would tend to their advantage, although, perhaps, not to that of the English farmer. The latter must learn to accommodate himself to altered circumstances. I was glad to hear Mr. Fox's defence of the colonists of New Zealand against the attack that used to be made upon them, but which I am happy to say is of late years quite forgotten—accusing the colonists of giving rise to the native wars, as you all, who are connected with New Zealand, know to be unfounded. I do not think the Europeans are to blame for those wars. In the same way the colonists of South Africa were blamed for the Kaffir wars—I believe, as unjustly as the colonists of New Zealand; and I am glad to have heard so eloquent a defence for the colonists as Mr. Fox gave. He began his speech by apologising for not writing a paper to read to us, lest the information he possessed being so full, he might be tempted to write many large volumes of the history of New Zealand. I was almost inclined to hope some day that he might do that, and write at length his experience of the rise and progress of New Zealand, of which he may say, "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" I am sure I am only expressing your feeling in thanking Mr. Fox for his most interesting address on a most interesting Colony.

Mr. Fox, in reply, thanked the meeting very much for the manner in which they had passed the resolution which had been proposed to them. He was bound to reply to one or two remarks which had been urged, in the best possible temper and with the utmost courtesy, by gentlemen who criticised some portions of what he had said. Sir Richard MacDonnell appeared to misunderstand him; but he was glad to hear the statement which Sir Richard made with regard to the prosperous advancement of South Australia, because to his mind it was exactly a case in point. He (Mr. Fox) stated, when he spoke of New Zealand, that South Australia was one of the two Colonies founded on the Wakefield principle; and the more prosperous Sir Richard showed it to be the more it supported his (Mr. Fox's) view, that that system was the most satisfactory for establishing a Colony upon. As to the remarks which fell from Mr. Wilson with regard to his (Mr. Fox's) ignorance of the English grasses, he must stand corrected, because Mr. Wilson's experience of Australia, he presumed, was greater than his own. What had led him (Mr. Fox) to entertain that view—which to a great

extent he still persisted in—was, that when in South Australia he did not see one blade of English grass, and a very experienced English farmer told him that it could not be grown there. In the parallel latitudes of New South Wales and Queensland, English grasses, he thought, could not be grown to advantage. However, he would be glad to find, for the sake of his sister colonies, that he was mistaken, if it were so. Mr. Dennistoun Wood appeared to doubt the facts stated restricting the decrease in the native population, and its being attributable to their cannibalistic and communistic habits. Mr. Wood had asked when did that decrease commence?—how did the race increase with that habit prevailing to the extent alleged since the arrival of the canoes from some other part of the Pacific? But that raised questions of extreme difficulty, and was a problem which he (Mr. Fox) could not solve. There must have been a period during which the New Zealand race was an increasing race; but they could not fix the termination period nor trace the causes of it, but he contended that with the habits of life in which they indulged, and which were common to them when Captain Cook discovered them—they could not have been an increasing people then, but must have been already on the decrease. With regard to Mr. Dennistoun Wood's remarks on the Wakefield system, he must leave him on one of the two horns of a dilemma, he (Mr. Fox) had spoken of: either he thought it better to commence a great undertaking, like that of establishing a new Colony, without any system at all, or he must come forward and tell them what was a better system than that of Mr. Wakefield. He (Mr. Fox) thought they must accept that system, or have no system at all. He did not think the instance of California and Victoria with their gold-field a very happy illustration. It was precisely to prevent such conditions that the Wakefield system was proposed, and by means of it that New Zealand avoided Vigilance Committees and other organisations of the sort. He hoped when they went about founding another Colony, that they would proceed not upon the haphazard system, but upon the wiser system, which would give them all the advantage of combined capital and labour, which would make them a happy and a civilised community.

## SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

§ THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on the 13th of June, 1876, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, Honorary Secretary, having read the minutes of the last meeting, which were duly confirmed, Lieut. CAMERON read the following paper :—

## COLONISATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

I have been asked here to speak to-night on the subject of the Colonisation of Central Africa. Perhaps people would think Central Africa, through which I have travelled, is not a place to be colonised, but before we arrive at any such conclusion we must remember first that the word "colonisation" bears different interpretations. The idea of European population (new populations) replacing the aborigines, is not the original meaning of the word colonisation, nor what I mean by colonisation. The real meaning of colonisation is that at present exemplified in our tenure of India. The Romans were the greatest colonists of the whole world. They did not send citizens out to take possession of new countries, but they sent out governors, soldiers, and sailors, to take a country and rule it for the benefit of the people themselves. That is the way I hope and believe Central Africa will be colonised. I do not believe that any large portions of Africa can at any time be profitably worked by the manual labour of white men, especially of the Anglo-Saxon race, but I believe the Anglo-Saxons may direct the course of labour in that country, and employ it so as to make it of great use to the British Empire. The country which I traversed in Africa lies between the latitudes of 18° and 4° S., and stretches from the east to the west coast. The questions to be looked at in talking on this subject are, What can be got out of that country? What does it produce at the present time? What can it produce under a wise Government? What is the state of the country, and how can it be benefited by the colonisation of the Anglo-Saxon race?

With regard to the country generally, first of all, on leaving Zanzibar on the east coast, we pass through a country close to the

sea, of great richness, between the mountains which form the boundary between the low-lands of the coast and the plateau of the interior, where sugar-cane and the most tropical products can be grown. The island of Zanzibar itself produces more cloves than any place of equal extent in the world. Passing those mountains we come to Ugogo, Unyamirwe, &c. from which districts a great portion of the ivory which we have at present is exported. Of this ivory, only a small portion comes to England, the Chinese and Hindoos taking a very large proportion of that exported *via* Zanzibar. At Ujiji I struck a country comparatively new, the previous portions of my route having passed through districts explored by Burton and Speke, and through which Mr. Stanley and Dr. Livingstone had also travelled. All these travellers have brought back reliable descriptions of the country which I had seen up to this point. On the Tanganyika I struck new ground, at the south end, and surveyed the southern portion of the lake, being about two-thirds of its whole extent. A large portion of the country on the shore of Lake Tanganyika is now depopulated, but stories are told of it having produced great crops in days gone by. In one country in particular, on the S.E. portion of the lake, cotton grows wild, and is also cultivated to a great extent. The cloths imported from the coast are of little or no value, as the people make the cloth themselves, which they use for their clothing. All round Lake Tanganyika there are large mountains, some of them rising to enormous altitudes. The Tanganyika itself is 2,760 feet above the level of the sea, while the mountains surrounding it rise in places to the height of 3,000 feet above the lake, on which mountains admirable *sanitoria* might be formed in case of the country being occupied. Passing on from Tanganyika, I went up to Nyangwe, on the Lualaba, the farthest point reached by Dr. Livingstone on his last journey. On my way to Nyangwe, I passed places where coal and iron are to be found. The people were industrious, though in some places rather uncivilised, and they kept down the surplus population by the practice of cannibalism. At Nyangwe I tried to get boats to go down the river Congo, and as I failed, I then struck south, and went down to the country of Urua, of which Kasongo is chief. Passing through there I saw immense quantities of oil palms, these trees in places growing like grass, and I found Urua to be a great country, under the rule of one sovereign—a country which might be compared in extent to the Austrian and German Empires. From there I struck away through new countries, some of them fertile, and some on the watershed, where they are flooded every year, produce very little but fish;

and I came to Kibokwe, where the greater portion of the wax imported into this country is produced, and from there I struck down to Benguela, passing through Bihé on my way. The whole of this country I traversed, and is one of enormous richness, in which there are gold, and iron, and other mines. There is no one of these natural products developed to its true extent. The mines are of various sorts, and are such as to render it one of the richest countries in producing metal in the world. They have gold; they have copper; they have iron; and last, but by no means least, they have coal mines. The people are very fair smiths, and in many places I have seen their work turned out equal to much that is turned out in a country village in England, and it must be remembered they have none of the means or the appliances that Europeans have. This country, westward of the Lake Tanganyika, is a marvellously well-watered fertile country, and a country also which is by no means unhealthy. Before leaving Tanganyika, I had been down with fever oftener than I care to remember, but since leaving there I have only had five or six attacks of fever. And then one must remember in saying this that in travelling as I did one never gave the climate a fair chance. One had not got enough to eat, or proper shelter, or many necessaries; and therefore the climate always had the best of us. We were not fighting at fair odds. I believe that to Europeans with proper means, appliances, stores, and food, the climate would not prove by any means so unhealthy as the centre portion of British India, and there are many spots which might be formed into admirable *sanitoria*. Close to the coast (within 100 miles of the West Coast of Africa) I was at a height of 5,580 ft. above the sea, with a comparatively cool climate, and there is no reason why anybody who has lived in the south of Europe could not live and work in the high and elevated countries of Bihé and Bailunda. With regard to the social state of this country, at present it is one of the most lamentable things on the face of the earth. The whole of Africa is one vast slave field. We can look north at Morocco; there the Arabs of the desert go travelling to purchase and sell slaves. They travel up all through the country near Lake Ichad, and from there they export slaves. Khartoum is a vast depôt for slaves. We go south, where we find all the Kaffirs on the frontiers of the Cape Colony are owners of slaves. Slaves are taken from Zanzibar to Muscat, and other Arabian ports. People trading from the west, and going to the east, buy and sell slaves in Central Africa, and wherever one travels in Africa the slave trade is going on, and increasing from day to day; and I have passed through whole districts which have been

utterly and entirely depopulated, and rendered desolate by the traffic in slaves. Now this country, if not taken in hand, one day or another must become simply an overgrown wilderness, and its valuable products will be lost. It will become more difficult day by day to prevent the growth of these crimes, until the country is taken in hand by a strong and determined Government, or by some great company, like the East Indian Company, which would have the power of governing, and be able to carry on its work in a perfectly upright, independent, open manner, and in a way such as would defy the cavillings and the evil speaking of anybody and everybody in the world. Fortunately for the country there are the great water systems of the Zambesi and the Congo intersecting it in many directions. From the coast up to the falls of Yelala is a distance of 160 miles, and large steamers, if they have sufficient speed, can go up to within ten miles of these falls. The river has an enormous current at its mouth, and differs from all others in Africa in not having any bar. From the point to which steamers can go from the coast, a tramway of thirty miles in length would be sufficient to carry the materials of the steamers to navigate the upper waters of the rivers. From there a good steamer could easily travel to a vast distance. I know by the levels I have taken myself that any ordinary steamer could navigate the upper portions of the river. We need not seek those American steamers that can go anywhere where there is a heavy dew—we do not want one of those; we can get a decent boat to go up this river, the Congo, with the exception of one small rapid, and that rapid has been shot by native canoes, and therefore any steamer can go up or down it, one can go to Lake Mocra; one can go to Lake Lanji and lake Kassali; one can go by three branches of the river to latitudes 8° or 9° south before coming to any important rapids. By navigable affluents of the Congo we can reach within twenty miles of the river Zambesi, which debouches at Kilimāni. The Zambesi also communicates with Lake Nyassa, which, from the investigations of Mr. Young, we have now discovered overlaps in latitude the southern end of the Tanganyika, and by a land journey of 150 miles the navigable waters of the Congo will be brought into communication with Lake Nyassa. The Zambesi also comes over nearly to the west coast. Some of its branches, close to Bihé, are navigable for steamers drawing two or three feet of water. Indeed, the two rivers nearly cut the Continent into two halves, and those two rivers can be joined by a canal twenty miles in length at two or three places, so as to make an uninterrupted water communication from one coast to another. My idea in opening this country is, that we

should take possession of the country at the mouth of the Congo. It belongs to nobody at present, except the natives, who are mostly pirates, the English Government allowing nobody else to have a claim to that territory. The Portuguese under one treaty were allowed up as far as the mouth of the Congo. I think there was a slave treaty of Vienna, which Lord Liverpool was mainly instrumental in carrying, whereby they had a sort of right over it; but the Portuguese not fulfilling, but contravening, those treaties, our Government would not allow the claim of the Portuguese as the mouth of the Congo being Portuguese territory.

I believe that by putting steamers on the river Congo, above the falls, we can go over almost the whole of Africa. Now the river coming from the North into the Congo would bring us into close communication with the traders who come down from Egypt. Here we shall have open to us the greatest ivory country in the world—and a country which besides produces spices, pepper, sugar, metals, and minerals of all sorts and descriptions—by an easy communication with the West Coast. For traders from Alexandria it is a distance of 3,000 or 4,000 miles up the Nile to get to this country; but we should only want a journey of 700 or 800 miles by water (being a quarter of the distance), and a much finer river to do it by. The same is the case with the Zambesi, which, however, unfortunately is in the hands of the Portuguese. Another means of opening up the country is by entering it from the East coast, and acquiring a concession and running tramways from Mombassa, which seems to be a very good harbour, and then passing a depression in the mountains. We could run tramways to communicate with the Tanganyika, and also to bring in the Victoria Nyanza, thus making one great road right across the Continent. If we are ever able to get this part of Africa opened up to us, there are many political considerations which may prove of great utility in the future to the great empire of which we are proud to be members. Cape Colony and Natal are all at present talking of Confederation, which we sincerely hope will come about. But behind them are the Boers and the Kaffirs. These fellows, as they are now placed, defy us. They say they can do what they like. "We can depart with our flocks and our waggons, and 'trek further a-field,' and we can go into a country where every man can whack his own niggers, and if the English like to follow us, we can fight them." But the moral influence of the English in Central Africa behind the Boers and Kaffirs, to use a Yankeeism, would be that "they would cave in" at once. The moral influence of the British flag behind those fellows would prevent them giving our Colonies in South Africa any

trouble whatever. Then the Mahomedan power of Egypt is spreading south. It has reached Albert and Victoria Nyanza Lakes, but what is that power doing, notwithstanding its extension is being partly carried out by British officers? Those officers have worked unselfishly and for the best. A man can only answer for what he has done there while he remains there. Directly they leave, their labours, except for the acquisition of territory, are rendered of no effect. As to their exterminating the slave trade, what they have done is little or no good. Whilst they have been there they have done marvels; but directly their backs are turned, the disease breaks out afresh. Thus, by bringing that country into easy communication by trams with the West, we should take away all the trade from those fellows, the Levantine Greeks, who carry on the slave trade, and who are the greatest scoundrels on the face of the world. They are the renegades and offscourings of all nations. Many of them go travelling there apparently to get what ivory they may, but really their object is to get as many slaves as they possibly can. That is the great thing they go for. Portuguese officials have treated me remarkably well, and I want to render all due thanks to them for what they have done. But the Portuguese on both coasts are simply a mere block to the civilisation and the opening up of Africa. The other day there was a dispute about Lorenzo Marques, a place to which we have an undeniable right. The decision was given against us by arbitration. From Delagoa Bay—that is the southernmost point on the West Coast to Cape Delgado—the Portuguese claimed the right of sovereignty over the whole coast. What are those rights of sovereignty? Ten years ago the Portuguese, though then they had no guns in their forts, which were not honeycombed, had lots of slaves waiting the chance to export them. I went into Ibo; there were no guns fit for use. I went a little farther north, and there no foreign ships could trade, inasmuch as there were Portuguese orders to prevent any foreign trade. What power had the Portuguese there? None whatever. They built a fort, about the size of this room, at Pomba Bay, and put a garrison in it of ten or twelve men. I do not know what became of the garrison, but I saw the fort in ruins; and that is what they call having possession of a coast line. At the little colony of Nyumbani they have got a garrison of twenty men, and twenty or thirty black fellows, which takes the sovereignty of the coast. On the West Coast it is rather better, as they have regular custom-houses. Instead of having prohibited the trade, they have differential duties favouring their own flag in the custom-houses. The Government of Lisbon are doubtless honest in their

ideas, but they do not go the right way about matters, and their officials are so badly paid on the West Coast, that in order to get the means of living they are obliged to resort to bribery and corruption. I know that if they paid their officials ten times as much as at present, and charged half the duties, they would get about twenty times the revenue that they do from the African colonists. Now a nation whose affairs are carried on in that way can never do anything to open up a country, or do any good for it. Another thing is, that from the West Coast the traders have penetrated the interior, flying the Portuguese flag, and calling themselves Portuguese. Some are whites, some mulattos, and some blacks. These people are not under the control of the Government of Lisbon. They have a little country, not quite as big as this country, and on the whole they have not got the men or the energy to work as Englishmen work. They have not got the men to send out to look after these traders, and these traders, who go out without any restraint, are far worse than people who have a little idea of civilisation. They go into the interior and procure slaves by the greatest cruelty, murder, and rapine, and there is no crime of which they are not guilty. And then the slaves are smuggled away from the East Coast in the same way that they were smuggled away from the West Coast. I cannot speak positively, but the ivory that is brought to England is tainted with the blood of thousands and thousands of these unfortunate wretches murdered in the centre of Africa. Now this country of Africa—the country known as Africa—we have heard it so called to-day, is a country which I hope some day will belong to England, a country of which the races, many of them, have very many good points. There are many of them who, I believe, have a great deal of pith in them, especially the women, because they are forced to be industrious. You see large plantations carefully cultivated; their huts well built; their villages arranged in order; their trees planted alongside of the streets, and, in fact, to think that people who have been shut off entirely from the outer world for the number of years which they must have been, to arrive at such a state, proves that there must have been a good deal in them. But those people, by their constant internal wars and squabbles, fermented by the various traders, instead of advancing in the race of civilisation, are going back, and will go back, until the country is opened up; and it can only be done by means of colonisation. The way I have sketched out by the river and by the tramway, I believe to be the most effectual methods for effecting it. To do that, a company is required with large powers—such powers perhaps as those held

by the East India Company, or something of that sort—a company that would work and find men to go there and work thoroughly for it. There is another question which may interest some here, which is the missionary side of the question. I will allow that an enormous amount of work has been done by missionaries, but, at the same time, the best friends of the missionaries, if they will speak candidly, must allow that there has been a great deal of harm done by some of them. On the other hand, of course such men as Bishop Steer, Bishop McKenzie, Bishops Patterson and Selwyn, and others; the Church Missionary Society at Moubasa, have done a world of good; but the best and most perfect working mission I ever saw was the French Jesuit Mission at Bagamoyo. Other missionaries I have seen of various denominations. I do not want to pass a sweeping condemnation at all on them. For instance, there is Bishop Crowther: I would honour him for his worthy efforts—a man who, once a slave himself, now a Bishop of our Church, has gone up country 500 miles to establish his Mission Stations on the Niger, and has trained his sons up as gentlemen and clergymen of the Church of England; but there are many men who go there who think they are going to do a great deal, but who are totally unfit to be missionaries at all; and the fact is, the black man knows a gentleman when he sees one, just as well as anyone else would, and a man who goes out as a missionary to Africa should be a thorough gentleman by birth, breeding, and education. The man who goes out to trade, you do not expect to be looked at like a gentleman. But it is no use sending out as missionaries half-bred men, or men who have been disappointed as haircutters, or one who has been seventeen years a cobbler, or one who has been apprenticed to a carpenter, and who suddenly felt the spirit of missionary work moving within him. It is no good their going. They write home (I have seen ridiculous things written by them) ludicrous letters, which talk of giving up everything for the poor negro, and that his forlorn condition touched their hearts. No, they go out there and have a wife sent out to them by contract. They have £300 or £400 a year, a comfortable house, not only fire and fuel found them, but they have their champagne and their luxuries, and then write home of the hardships they are undergoing, and their suffering, and after being five or six years out there, they come and retire, and make a sensation in England by talking of what they have been undergoing for the poor dear negro. I think the poor dear negro would be better if these cobblers, carpenters, and haircutters, would return to their original occupations of boot-

mending and haircutting. I only want now to say that that country, Central Africa, can be easily colonised, as the term colonisation was used by the Romans; that we may establish our stations here and there, wherever we may find it most healthy; and that by steamers on the rivers, and by tramways on the land, we could form the means of communication which would surpass or be done as cheaply as those of any other country in the world. Perhaps in order to do this we may call upon our other Colonies to assist us in an united empire; every one part should help the other. We may go to India for troops before we have disciplined the natives of Africa. We may draw upon some of the fellows I have seen working in Ansley Bay, hard-working fellows, not above taking a load upon their shoulders, and working with the pickaxe and shovel, as well as carrying a musket. I believe those men can be made intensely useful in Africa. I have seen many Balooches men in Africa, who are the worst people in the world to ill-treat slaves, but under the proper control I believe they could be put to great use. You may go to China to get a superabundance of population to cultivate the land and cotton; and you may go to Natal to get Kaffirs to drive the mules, but on the whole, the British Empire contains all that is necessary to colonise Central Africa, and it can be done, and should be done; and I hope the day is not far distant when we shall see the Union Jack flying permanently in the centre of Africa, and not merely passing through it, as when I carried it there. (Cheers.)

#### DISCUSSION.

Dr. ATHERSTONE: After the highly-interesting remarks we have heard from Lieut. Cameron, I think there can be no necessity for me to dwell upon the advantages of colonisation for Central Africa. It must be obvious to all, inasmuch as I believe it will be found to be the only feasible plan for effectually preventing that inhuman traffic in slaves which the British nation has contributed such an enormous amount to abolish. There is no other practicable mode of abolishing slavery than by neutralising its causes at its source and centre; by dealing with it at its very cradle amongst those vast productive lake-regions which we have just heard so graphically described. It appears that the whole of the interior of the African continent—with the exception of some parts near its western coast—instead of being, as originally supposed, a desert, is teeming with life, animal and vegetable, capable of supporting a dense population; in fact, as populous as any part of the world.

Some forty years ago the British nation granted twenty millions sterling for the purpose of buying up and freeing the slaves in its own colonial empire, by which munificent act the nation stands publicly pledged to carry out the total abolition of slavery. The British people, therefore, are clearly the most proper people to carry out this scheme of African colonisation; and I hope, as Lieut. Cameron has said, that the day is not far distant when we shall see at least the commencement of this grand national undertaking. Supposing that part of these twenty millions voted by the nation towards suppressing the slave trade had been spent in reaching these productive lake regions of Central Africa, by means of a railway from the fertile and healthy colony of the Cape of Good Hope, where you have an elevated plateau and level prairie-lands extending almost the whole of the distance without any break, and with scarcely a mountain intervening from the diamond-fields, at Kimberley, to the Zambesi, and on to the lakes, what would have been the results at the present time? We should have had the commerce of England extending over the whole of Africa; slavery would have been extinct; and we should have had an Anglo-African Empire on the type of our British Indian Empire, governed, not as Lieut. Cameron advocates, on the old Roman military system, but on British principles of conciliation and kindness, where mutual confidence and trust supersedes and renders unnecessary Roman military rule. That I believe to be the only possible way of colonising Central Africa. You will say that the idea of a railway from the Cape of Good Hope is Utopian—perhaps so—but it will, I think, be found far more practicable to reach the central lake regions through the healthy and comparatively level plateau which I have described, than by either the Congo route, with its unhealthy swamps and hostile tribes, or by the Zambesi from the East Coast, with its “tsetse fly,” fever, rapids, and all kinds of obstructions. It is quite clear that we cannot remain much longer without electric communication with the Cape of Good Hope, the only Colony at present unconnected by cable with the parent country. There are at present two lines under consideration by the Home Government—one an eastern line from Aden, *viâ* Mauritius to Natal, the other on the west, *viâ* Madeira and St. Helena, to Capetown. Along the line which I propose for a railway to open up to our commerce the lake districts of the interior, we have already 500 miles of telegraph laid down and completed, extending from the coast to Kimberley; from the north also the Khedive of Egypt has 500 miles from Cairo to Khartoum. (A VOICE: He has 1,000.) Now, if instead of the ocean cable

lines, either of which will cost at least a million and a half sterling, these already existing telegraph lines were connected, by continuing the telegraph from Khartoum down the Nile and through the lake districts over tracts now well known, and from thence to the Zambesi to the eastward of lake 'Ngami, through peaceful native tribes, on to Kimberley, I believe it would not cost more than one-fifth of the sum required for the sea cable. The actual distance between the two points is not much more than 2,500 miles, but say 3,000; our Cape telegraph cost on an average about £45 per mile, but say £100 per mile to give the fullest estimate for deviations, &c.; we have thus £300,000 for the whole line, or one-fifth of the estimated cost of the cable line. Here, then, is a practicable scheme for connecting the Cape with England, and also the little nucleus of civilisation just established on the lakes, named "Livingstonia." In time of war the cable may be picked up by an enemy; the over-land line would be more secure, and might easily be protected by subsidising the native chiefs through whose territories it passes. Perhaps Lieut. Cameron can give us some idea of the number of chiefs we shall have to subsidise from Khartoum to Zambesi. South of this there is no necessity at all for this protection, it would not be interfered with. If these chiefs were paid in Manchester goods, blankets and goods, the money they best like and understand, say £2 2s. a month, or £25 a year, and if there are fifty of them, the charge for protection would be only £1,000 a year, and payment might be made contingent on the line being kept free from obstruction. This, I think, may be considered a reasonably practical commencement of the colonisation of Africa, and not so Utopian as at first sight it may appear. In Australia nearly 2,000 miles of telegraph have been successfully carried from south to north, over a totally unexplored country; and when we consider that the line I propose has been travelled by several travellers, and is now known through its whole length, it cannot, I think, be deemed impracticable. Of one thing we may be well assured, that no system of permanently checking slavery and abolishing the slave trade will prove effectual, except that of civilising and raising them out of the depth of barbarism, by giving them wants and making them labour to supply those wants, for labour is the first stage of civilisation, and when labour is value, the chiefs will find it to their interest to keep and not sell their working subjects. What, I would ask, has been the practical effect of blocking up the outlets on the coast by war steamers, and shutting out the markets? Do not the chiefs, in order to maintain their power and prestige, knock these poor creatures on the head,

butcher them by thousands at their annual "Customs" along the coast and elsewhere?

Lieut. CAMERON: I beg your pardon, there you are wrong: I have been on the coast and seen it.

Dr. ATHERSTONE: I quite agree with Lieut. Cameron that civilisation is the only means of effectually removing slavery, by destroying its cause. Instead of damming up its outlets, let in trade, I say, free commerce and free thought, and so stamp out heathenism and its institutions, ameliorate the condition of the people, and render their minds fit to receive the truths which the Evangelical party are anxious to cram down them without previous preparation. Thus only shall you succeed in your object, the abolition of slavery. (Cheers.)

Mr. ALEX. McARTHUR, M.P.: I had no intention of saying a word on this occasion, but some remarks that have fallen from Lieut. Cameron have induced me to do so. I am sure we have all listened with great attention to the interesting description he has given of his travels. I am sure we all honour him very highly for the work he has done, and we are all happy to meet him here this evening. With respect to the remarks he has made in reference to Christianity in Africa, and to missionaries and missionary reports, I venture to think he has not seen a very large extent of this missionary work. I also think he has not seen the most successful part of missionary work there, or I believe he would have formed a different opinion to that which he has formed. I recollect hearing a few years ago a celebrated traveller from Africa take precisely opposite ground. He argued that the men sent to Africa were too highly educated, that they were not the right class, that we wanted men to be sent there who could build their own houses, erect their own fences, and teach the natives a great many useful things. I believe the Bush missionaries were very successful in doing that kind of work, and I have heard them highly extolled for it. But I would ask Lieut. Cameron what he thinks of such a man as Dr. Moffat. He was a working gardener. He became a Christian man, and went out as a Christian missionary, I believe from as pure motives as ever influenced any man. He laboured in Africa for forty or fifty years, and a statement made by him a few weeks ago, when a deputation waited on Lord Carnarvon to remonstrate against the proposed cession of Gambia to France, will be sufficient to show that missionary labour has done a great deal towards extending civilisation and commerce in Africa. Dr. Moffat stated that when he first went out to the part where he laboured there was no civilisation, no Christianity—not a pound's worth of British manufac-

tured goods were sold there ; but that now there are hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth sold annually. I have no hesitation in saying that that great result was due to the devoted labours of Dr. Moffat. Then I would ask Lieut. Cameron what he would say of Livingstone, who was a man of comparatively humble origin, but who was a man of great energy, indomitable courage and perseverance, and a man of honour, of whom this country is justly proud. Again, I would ask him what he thought of Wm. Shaw, who for forty or fifty years laboured in Kaffirland, and who not only accomplished a great deal of good there in regard to Christianity and civilisation, but who was of great use to the British Government, and received their thanks, I believe, no less than three times for the services he rendered there during the Kaffir wars. I might give other illustrations, but I think I have said sufficient to show that whilst it is desirable to have the best men, the most highly educated, and the most gentlemanly men you can, still men may have all these qualifications, and may not be good missionaries. On the other hand, you may have men whose educational and other advantages have not been so great, but who are Christian men, who go out there from Christian motives, and who are doing a great deal of good Christian work. Lieut. Cameron has not condemned all missionaries. He has qualified his statements, and I am glad he did so ; but I think whatever we may do for the extinction of slavery or the extension of commerce, we shall find that missionary labour is a valuable auxiliary, and that without it you will never extinguish slavery or carry on commerce successfully as you might otherwise do. The two must go hand in hand together in Africa ; and I believe that just in proportion as they do, so will you succeed. But I do not think we shall accomplish that work by disparaging the labour of missionaries, or by trying to produce the impression that many of them go out there because they cannot live in this country. I have known many men who went out there, and I never knew a man who went out from pecuniary considerations. I may also observe, that while I give Lieut. Cameron credit for pure motives and truthful statements, as far as his experience has gone, yet he has not had all the experience in the world. I was last week conversing with a gentleman who has been through a great part of Kaffirland and that part of Africa, and who gave a very high character of the good missionaries have done and are doing in that country. I should therefore be sorry that this large and influential audience should go away with the idea that they are impostors, or that they went to Africa with the intention of doing nothing but living in idleness and luxury. I think our policy should be to encourage them by

every means in our power, and by doing so we shall but promote commerce, civilisation, and Christianity in Africa. (Cheers.)

Mr. KNIGHT : My Lord,—It is hard that when the people of this country have done a logical thing, it should be called in question. The gentleman (Dr. Atherstone) who so ably began this discussion, says that we forgot that Africa was the cradle of the slave trade when we spent twenty millions on the emancipation of the West Indian slaves. But this was not so. The twenty millions so spent put this country in a position before the world to carry out her present noble policy with regard to the slave trade.

Right Rev. Bishop PERRY : Before the last speaker but one addressed the meeting, I was about to ask Lieut. Cameron, when he made his reply, to have the goodness to explain more fully what he intended to say respecting missionary enterprise in Africa. I am sure he did not mean to cast censure upon it generally; but he used some expressions which were likely, I think, to convey a wrong impression to his audience. I shall therefore be very glad if he will take the opportunity of stating more fully what his views are. I understood him to speak in high commendation of some of the missionaries at the same time that he spoke, apparently from personal knowledge, of others unworthy of their office.

Mr. MICHIE : My Lord Duke,—I cannot presume to dilate on the subject on which Lieut. Cameron has given us so much valuable information this evening; but as the discussion threatens either to go off or to be swallowed up in a sort of collateral issue, I venture, with the indulgence of the audience, to make a few observations. I quite agree with the right rev. gentleman who has just spoken as to the caution necessary to any speaker in approaching the subject of missionaries and their work; and had Lieut. Cameron been as politic in picking his phrases as he had been intrepid in his explorations, he would have escaped the sort of thing he must expect on the present occasion. Some years ago I met in the streets of Melbourne a gentleman, a nephew of a late celebrated Lord Chancellor, this gentleman having just then returned from the Fiji Islands, then in their infancy as a British settlement. On inquiring of him how they were getting on, the answer was, "That they would do very well but for those confounded missionaries"—(laughter)—and, doubtless, there were missionaries and missionaries. Injudicious selections were, of course, sometimes made for this work as for every other; but bad as some of them might be, they could hardly be worse than were many of their critics—in Fiji, at any rate, and probably in Africa; whilst, on the other hand, there were many excellent men engaged in missionary work, and he

might venture to say that the right rev. gentleman they had just heard, and such men as Bishops Selwyn and Patterson, so far from scorning the name of missionary, would feel proud of the title. Coming to Lieut. Cameron's work, I think his views very reasonable as to the future possible and beneficial colonisation of the interior of Africa; and that the cautious and prudent observations which had been made in that room some months back by the Governor of a Colony (quoting a Cabinet Minister), to the effect that we had quite enough black business on our hands, must, like everything else, be subordinated to experience, which in these stirring times modifies our conclusions on the most important subjects almost from day to day. Doubtless there were good emigration fields, as Lieut. Cameron had said, in the interior of Africa; and that being so, all the rest of the business of emigration was merely the application of means to ends. Christianity had been a great means of civilisation, no doubt; but I cannot go all the way with Lieut. Cameron in his contemptuous reference to Roman colonisation. I am glad to see that Lieut. Cameron by a gesture denies this; for certainly a colonisation which brought so large a portion of the world within Roman rule, could not have been without many merits. The Romans brought within their own citizenship the peoples they subjugated, which probably was the secret of their power. They all recollected the expression, "Take heed what thou doest, for this man is a Roman"—an expression which by no means indicated that a man was a Roman by birth, a privilege which he might just as well hold by adoption. The best of all colonisation, doubtless, was that referred to by Archbishop Whately, where contributions from every class of our society, from the highest to the lowest, should go forth into the waste places of the earth, and thus starting in the new society with all the moral and social good which had been achieved in the old, extend human civilisation and happiness by the most effective means to such noble ends. (Cheers.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: If Lieut. Cameron had had as much experience of the delicate touch required in alluding to missionaries as I have had, he would have known better than to make a disparaging allusion to them in this city. He might as well attempt to walk through Donnybrook Fair with the tail of his coat behind him, and not expect to be molested. (Laughter.) I believe there have been one or two instances of bad missionaries; but it is not a good plan, when alluding to a case of that kind, to do as a Cockney sportsman does with a covey of partridges—let fly into the bosom of them: you should mark the old cock-bird, and bring him down, and not

uselessly wound the others. If Lieut. Cameron had done that now, probably no one would complain; but the result of what he has done will be, that very many with missionary tendencies will be down upon him, and he will have enough to do for the next three months in protecting himself. One thing struck me: I should like to know where Lieut. Cameron got his information. How does he know that the missionaries in South Africa had champagne? Did he taste it; and if he did, was it good? (Laughter.) For my part, I certainly say I see no greater objection to a missionary drinking champagne when he can get it than I can to a sailor drinking champagne if he can get it, and I never knew an instance of a sailor refusing it when he got the chance. I will say with respect to missionaries, that unquestionably very many men in the world know that there have been instances in which curious persons have got into the service of the Missionary Societies; but I have seen some uncommon curious persons who have managed to get into Her Majesty's Navy now and then; and I am confident, if you are to compare the missionaries as a body with the Navy or any other service, and take into consideration the class of work they have to do, the result will not be so unsatisfactory. I don't think you can have the one class without occasionally getting the other; though I must confess that when I read some of the reports which come from distant parts of the world, I sometimes have great difficulty in swallowing them. Lieut. Cameron said that a man going out for missionary work ought to be a gentleman by birth, breed, and education. I have no objection to any man in any capacity possessing all three of these qualifications; I think it is an advantage to him if he does. (Hear, hear.) But I would take the liberty of saying that some of the most awful "duffers" I have met with in Australia have been gentlemen by birth, gentlemen by breed, and gentlemen by education—(hear, hear, and laughter)—but they were no good to themselves, no good to their relations, no credit to the country from which they came, and no benefit to the country in which they lived. As missionaries and colonisation have been mixed up so promiscuously this evening, it is almost difficult to separate them. When a missionary got troublesome in Fiji they ate him, and so got rid of that trouble. I remember a man, who had been a missionary in Fiji, being pointed out in Australia as being the only one who had lived there for a given number of years, and had escaped consumption. I am glad to find Dr. Atherstone so warmly taking up the proposal I made in this room some months ago, and in print some twelve months ago—that is, for a telegraph through the centre of Africa. The more I think of

it, the more convinced I am that there is no difficulty in doing it. If Dr. Atherstone will go into the matter, he will find his figures are not sufficiently large: the distance is much greater, and the cost must be larger in amount. But having had something to do with the telegraphs across Australia, which cost some three hundred and twenty thousand sterling, I believe the telegraph wires from Cairo can be brought into communication with the telegraph wires at Capetown at a cost of something like three quarters of a million. When you consider that you are not going through unknown and partly desert country like Australia—and you must remember that in the latter everything had to be carried an average distance of over 300 miles—you will see that there is no greater difficulty in constructing a telegraph in one country than in the other. Energy and perseverance overcame the difficulty in Australia, and the same will overcome the difficulties in Central Africa. I believe that all telegraph engineers now are united in saying, that you should never think of laying a submarine cable when you can lay a land line. The latter you can use at any point by merely attaching an instrument to it; the former you can only use at the termini of the cable; and if a cable does break down, as they often do, many months may elapse before you can bring it into operation again. As to the settlements of Central Africa, I have never been there, although I have some friends who have been in the more southern parts. I believe there is no difficulty whatever in establishing a settlement, and a successful one, in Central Africa. Lieut. Cameron has told us that a large portion is some 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. I believe I am right in that altitude; and experience tells us that Europeans can live in comfort, and keep themselves in good health, even in the Tropics, where the country is at an altitude of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea. There is no reason to think that Africa is very different from other countries under the Tropics; and I believe that a settlement might be made there, and maintained there, without any difficulty whatever. Having paid considerable attention, by reading, to other countries, as a rule I find that where you have a large number of grass-feeding animals indigenous to the soil, there is no great difficulty in Europeans living there as well. The country which grows grasses necessary for feeding large animals, almost invariably will produce food necessary for man. Further than that, I believe there is truth in the Yankee saying that “A country which will grow niggers will grow better things.” (Laughter.) And when we find strong, able-bodied, and intelligent people occupying that country, I believe that, if they have a sufficient number of Europeans to guide

them and show them how to turn things to account, they might form there one of the finest settlements in the world. At the present time English trade is utterly stagnant; men don't know what to do. There are no orders coming in from abroad, and people know not what to do with their money. The miners are not on strike, but the iron and other works are being stopped. But here is a large country available, and it only requires capital and enterprise to develop it. I would separate a statement of facts from statements of opinion. As to the larger portion of the country, Lieut. Cameron's statements are not new; but every statement Lieut. Cameron has made as to the greater portion of the country that is to the east before he struck off for the Congo River, has been corroborated by Livingstone, Stanley, Speke, Grant, and others; so that we may take it as an unquestionable fact that the statements which Lieut. Cameron has made here this evening are not merely individual opinions of himself, but that the country has produced the same impressions upon the other persons that have crossed it; and if that country is as he represents it to be, and the inhabitants are as he represents them, I repeat that I believe there would be no difficulty whatever in forming a successful settlement there. I think we must all feel that whatever may be the results to Lieut. Cameron personally on account of the attack that he has made upon the missionaries as a body, we must all feel exceedingly glad to find that one of our own countrymen is not to be deterred by any difficulties that may come in his way; that he is quite ready to lead a party of natives, or of any other nations, across any unknown tract of country, and we are glad to see him back giving us a good account of the country; and he may be assured that when the time comes, when there are persons to be again led into that country, he will find there are plenty ready to follow his brilliant example. (Cheers.)

Mr. T. B. H. BERKELEY: I really hope, in conjunction with the last speaker, that this will not degenerate into a discussion of missionaries. It is a great deal more interesting to discuss the subject we have heard from Lieut. Cameron independent of what he may have said about missionaries. I did not myself gather from what he said about missionaries that anything so disparaging was meant as seemed to be entertained by some of those that have spoken. We have come here not to discuss Exeter Hall questions, but as a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute to do honour to one of whom the British nation is justly proud; and I am sure I may say, on behalf of the Institute, that we heartily welcome Lieut. Cameron here. Lieut. Cameron has entertained

us to-night with his views on the colonisation of a great continent, and if he has dropped an unfortunate word about missionaries, I am sure we will not take it in a cantankerous spirit. I know very little about the map before me. It is an enormous tract of country, and I have listened with great pleasure to the description which Lieut. Cameron has given us of his travels; and I hope that the day will come when we shall see this vast continent colonised by Britons. I feel sure that we have all listened with great pleasure to Lieut. Cameron's able address. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE: Allusion has been made by Dr. Atherstone to other schemes for the colonisation of Africa, differing from what has been submitted to us by Lieut. Cameron, and he proposes that the continent should be opened from north to south, in preference to Lieut. Cameron's proposal, which is to open it from west to east. The main feature in Dr. Atherston's plan is the establishment of the electric telegraph, but I should hesitate to trust to his estimate of the probable expense, or even to the much larger figure submitted by Mr. Strangways. One serious drawback to the keeping up of a telegraphic line has, I think, been overlooked by Dr. Atherstone. He has certainly made some provision against its destruction by the natives, by the proposal to subsidise, while it remains intact, the various chiefs through whose territories it may pass; but you cannot subsidise the elephants and the giraffes. We know that in India, where the electric wire is carried through jungles frequented by elephants, the posts sustaining it were frequently torn down by these animals, and it became necessary to erect instead strong pillars of stone, and in some instances monoliths, at great expense, as the only mode of maintaining the line in working order. The expense of a line of such pillars along the 3,000 or 4,000 miles intervening between Khartoum and Kimberley would, I fear, render it necessary first to civilise the country and so reduce the wild animals, before introducing the electric telegraph, instead of reversing the process, as proposed by Dr. Atherstone.

Mr. LABILLIERE: There are two subjects to which I would beg the attention of this meeting for a brief space of time: one, Sir George Campbell on Central Africa, and the other, the missionaries. On a previous occasion when I had the honour to address this Institute on the views of Sir George Campbell, I had, unfortunately, to differ with that gentleman. Sir George has recently published an able paper on the subject of the civilisation of Central Africa. I am rather surprised that no notice has been taken of it in the course of this discussion. He points out the importance of these

territories to which Lieut. Cameron has called so much attention. Sir George Campbell speaks of the value of the high lands of the tropics for the cultivation of certain products, and shows that their extent is very limited, and he points out that if we could take possession of this portion of Africa and govern it, as we have governed India, we should derive from it advantages as great, if not even greater, than those we have derived from that portion of the Empire. But Sir George arrives at the conclusion that the work is altogether beyond our power simply because the population of these kingdoms is only some 34,000,000, and that, therefore, we are incapable of undertaking to govern Africa, having already our hands fully occupied with India. That, my Lord Duke, is a very important consideration in favour of the maintenance of the unity of the Empire. The consolidation of the Empire, and the organisation of some central system of government for it, instead of its becoming disintegrated, as Sir George would have it—and the formation and organisation of such a united empire is perfectly attainable—would more easily enable us to hold and govern Central Africa than we have held and governed India. And now a word about missionaries. (No, no.) I shall not attempt to add to the superabundance of jokes of every description which we have heard this evening with regard to them. The whole subject seems to have been treated as a joke; but I must say in fairness to missionaries that it is necessary we should remember what they have done in various parts of the Empire. Who have civilised New Zealand? Is it not the missionaries? (No, no.) According to the testimony which we have upon our records even this session, who was it civilised—(Expressions of impatience at the further discussion of this point). My Lord Duke, the question has already been discussed, and in fairness I feel bound to answer certain observations which have been made with regard to missionaries this evening. We have it upon the records of our proceedings that we are indebted to missionaries for opening up and civilising the Islands of the Pacific. We have the testimony of facts, which may be opposed to these observations, that missionaries have civilised Madagascar. I think that when one view of the question, no matter how unsubstantial it may have been, has been presented to us, as it has been, we are entitled and we ought as fair men to look upon the other side of the question; and if we do so, we shall find the testimony of results in favour of missionaries, in spite of all the superficial sneers that may be uttered against them.

Mr. FITZGIBBON: I understand Lieut. Cameron to advocate a

scheme of colonisation for Central Africa, in which the Government should take the initiative, and for which extensive powers, such as were enjoyed by the East India Company, should be given by Act of Parliament, whilst my friend, Mr. Michie, praises the ancient classic plan, where, in the founding of a Colony, each class of the parent community should have representation from, as we may suppose with us, a prince of the blood royal and members of our highest aristocracy, down through the several ranks to the lowest grade of society. But I venture to think that, if the realisation of either of these schemes be waited for, the great region of Central Africa will never be colonised from Great Britain. It is not the modern practice or policy of the Imperial Government to initiate colonisation; the rule is rather that colonisation takes place without intervention of the Government until the colonists require to be governed. But towards this, the practical aspect of colonisation, it seems to me that Lieut. Cameron is doing excellent service. Some centuries ago a book was published purporting to describe a newly-discovered country of great wealth and interest, named Utopia, and the author was immediately applied to by an enterprising merchant-adventurer for sailing directions by which he might get there. Now, what Sir Thomas More could not do for him as to Utopia, Lieut. Cameron has no difficulty in doing as to Central Africa: he points out the routes by which it can be reached, describes the kind of colonisation for which it is suited—not an entire European population, but, as in India, a sufficiency of Europeans to constitute a governing and guiding class, and develop the productions, vegetable, animal, and mineral, the principal and most valuable of which he has enumerated—its spices, ivory, iron, coal, and greatest of all colonising incentives, gold. In so doing, he cannot fail to attract the attention of the enterprising men of the present day, of those who, as a previous speaker has pointed out, in the stagnation of manufactures and dearth of employment for capital, are in difficulty as to the profitable investment of their money, and of thousands of others seeking a wider field of operation for their personal energies. If the encouraging description, which Lieut. Cameron has given of Central Africa as to climate and otherwise, should induce an organisation of such capital and men, the colonisation of the country and the suppression of the slave trade are certain of accomplishment, still more readily if he can indicate the locality of a payable gold-field, for a community of English or Australian gold diggers would make short work with the Levantine Greeks, vagabond Arabs, and such like, who, as Lieut. Cameron tells us, are the traffickers in slaves.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: Ladies and gentlemen, before I make any reference to Lieut. Cameron, I will make one remark on what Mr. Montgomerie said about telegraphs. Whatever may be the merits of Mr. Strangway's idea, in support of Dr. Atherstone, with regard to a telegraph line from the North to the South of Africa, I scarcely think the question of the posts, on which such a line would have to be raised, is of any importance to the question. I can assure Mr. Montgomerie, if he had lived in the Midland Counties, and seen the constant annoyance and inconvenience arising from the construction of telegraph lines on posts, owing to the high winds and snow-storms, lately experienced, he would be convinced, as I am, that we have been under a total mistake in raising our telegraph lines upon posts, instead of laying them in the ground. To leave that point, I am sure I have only to look around this hall and see such a large gathering, and the fixed attention with which Lieut. Cameron's speech was listened to, to be assured that I entirely express your opinion and your feeling, in offering him, as so many other assemblies of his fellow countrymen have done, a most hearty welcome on his return, and admiration for the pluck, perseverance, and endurance which he has shown upon his noble enterprise. (Cheers.) I have no doubt that it was the same bold and impetuous spirit which led him to do what he has done, which perhaps made him hastily make the remark, which I am sure he regrets; at least, if I had made that remark, I should have most bitterly repented it. For my part, I have heard quite enough of missionaries, and I hope we shall hear no more of them this evening: by that, I by no means wish to depreciate the great and good works they have performed. I congratulate Lieut. Cameron, in your name, for what he has done, and I thank him also in your name for the suggestions which he has made for the further civilisation and development of Central Africa. In reference to that I may perhaps read a letter, which I most appropriately received this morning, which shows that the idea alluded to by Lieut. Cameron has already spread to considerable distance. This letter is dated Cincinnatti, from D. P. Kennedy. I congratulate the members of the Royal Colonial Institute that the name of our body has reached the centre of North America, and that our reputation, as I am happy to see, is spreading.

“CINCINNATI, U.S., *May 26th*, 1876.

“DUKE OF MANCHESTER,

“President of the Royal Colonial Institute, England.

“Excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you. My reason for so doing is the following: I understand, from newspaper authority and other

sources, that there is every prospect of an African Company being organised in your country, for the purpose of a general civilisation of the country known as Africa. What opportunity would there be for a few energetic young men to obtain positions in such an organisation as the above ?

"If not too much trouble, please answer this letter, or refer to the parties more directly interested.

"Respectfully,

"(Signed) D. P. KENNEDY."

This gentleman seems to suppose that on the earth there is a United States, England, and a few other countries, and it is flattering to the British race that he should think so, and I must say there is some ground for his opinion; for when we come to look around the earth and see where the British race has settled itself, where it has possessed itself of dominion, and that where it does settle itself it develops the country and makes it part of England in a way that no other country in the world does, I think Mr. Kennedy is justified in talking of other countries as a "country known as Africa." I need not enter further into this question, but I hope Lieut. Cameron may find, as this Mr. Kennedy suggests, active and intelligent young men, that he will find numbers of them, in this country to carry out his scheme. Mr. Fitzgibbon talked of gold being the great promoter of civilisation. You have many instances of how it has acted. It is what promoted, originally, the colonisation of California and Victoria, and in other countries, where a great quantity of gold has been found, it has promoted the colonisation and the civilisation of them. I hope that with the other merits and advantages that Lieut. Cameron has described as being possessed by Central Africa, he may succeed in some organisation for its colonisation and development. I thank in your name Lieut. Cameron for his able address, and for having paid us the compliment of attending here to night.

The vote of thanks was recorded amidst cheers.

## EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on the 20th of June, 1876, Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN announced that the Duke of Manchester would not be able to take the chair that evening, owing to an unavoidable engagement elsewhere.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and duly confirmed.

Mr. J. T. FALLON then read the following Paper on—

## THE WINES OF AUSTRALIA.

When I had the honour of appearing in the hall of the Society of Arts on the 3rd December, 1873, for the purpose of reading my Paper on "Vines and Wines," I stated that in many favourable districts in Australia pure natural wines, as a rule, range above the maximum strength fixed by the English Customs tariff of 26 per cent. of proof spirit, and I thought it unjust that the Australian producer should be charged for an article made from the pure juice of the grape the maximum duty of 2s. 6d. per gallon, which in effect excludes Australian producers from the English market. A discussion ensued, in which several gentlemen took part. Dr. Thudichum, in reply, entered a protest against the statement that Australian wine was produced from a must which would yield a larger percentage of proof spirit than 26. The must, he said, "had been measured by one of the Australian companies, and the result published in the *Australian Mercury* \* of May 6th, 1865. From the density there given by simple calculations, it was easy to be seen there was no grape in Australia, as there was none anywhere else, which by the ordinary method of vinification could give wine of the strength mentioned. As to the duty, he could not assume that Australian wines were above the standard of 26. If in Australia there were grapes grown which, by a natural course of fermentation, produced a wine with 29 per cent. of proof spirit, that fact ought to be established by a scientific commission and thoroughly authenticated,

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\* There is no such paper as the *Australian Mercury*.

because it would simply upset the whole scientific facts established throughout the world."

In reply to Dr. Thudichum and the other gentlemen who had spoken on my Paper, I said I had no figures to prove that Australian wines exceeded 26 per cent., but I nevertheless asserted most strongly that grapes had been grown on my own vineyard, which in favourable seasons gave a higher amount of alcohol than that mentioned. The grapes mentioned in my paper, Reisling, Verdeilho, Aucarot, Shiraz, Burgundy, Carbinet, I had tested frequently, and found them to yield from 26 to upwards of 30 per cent. of proof spirit in good seasons. The same result could be obtained from many of the vineyards in the country bordering on the river Murray, from the Albury and Corowa district on the New South Wales side of that river, from Wagunyah, the Ovens, and the Sandhurst districts in Victoria, and from the wines of South Australia as a rule. In fact, the wine-producing country in New South Wales and Victoria may be said to be fairly divided by the great Australian Alps, or dividing range. The wines produced on the south side, although possessing rare excellencies of their own which commend them to the public, are of a comparatively low spirit strength, and very few of them, whether grown in New South Wales or Victoria, would contain anything approaching 26. On the north side, the climate, soil, and seasons are different; the rains, which set in early in autumn along the seaboard seldom reach north of the dividing range, which acts as a kind of natural barrier, and as the rain, when it approaches so far inland, expends itself upon the mountain ridges, the vineyards on the north side enjoy perfect immunity not only from rain, but from the chilling influence of the south wind. The grape is exposed for a considerable time before and at the vintage to a warm sun from a cloudless sky. The result is a continuous dry heat, which is considerably intensified by the radiation from the level forest and plains of Riverina. By this means a "must" of far greater density is produced, and consequently wines of a higher spirit strength. Thus it will be seen that although a correct test may be had of the wines produced on the south side of the dividing range, it affords no proof, nor does it even give an idea, of what can be produced on the north side. It would be as unreasonable to expect a similar quality of wine from localities as diverse as Spain, France, Switzerland, or the Rhineland.

Many persons who may have probably had inferior samples of Australian wine put before them, which had been imperfectly made and from an unfavourable locality, condemn Australian wines

generally. I met a gentleman who was a connoisseur of wine, and who said he had tasted Australian wines, but did not like them. I asked him to come and taste some samples which I had. He did so, and went away with a very different impression. We have such diversity of climate and soil, and the extent over which Australian wines are produced is so great, that no wonder that persons not conversant with these facts should be induced to form erroneous impressions. To the Australian the above remarks are quite clear, for he knows that in grapes, as in wheat and other cereals, a far larger amount of alcohol can be obtained than the European article can yield. An English farmer would be surprised to learn that because a bushel of wheat cannot be grown here above 62 lbs., that in Australia a bushel of wheat will turn the scale at 69 and even 70 lbs. Practical experience has often upset theories fixed as a standard for years by the scientific world. Although fully convinced myself of the strength of Australian natural wines, I was unable to place any figures before the meeting to prove what I then most positively asserted. I promised that as early as possible after my return to the Colony I would obtain, through the Governments of the Colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, the proofs of what I then asserted; and that, notwithstanding the doctrine laid down by scientists and theorists, I would prove I was right in what I stated.

Having that object in view, and in pursuance of my promise, I communicated with the Hon. the Commissioner of Trade and Customs in Victoria, and with the Hon. the Colonial Treasurer, who is the head of the Customs department in New South Wales, requesting them to appoint thoroughly competent officers to examine and report upon the must produced from the vineyards in 1875. My request was favourably entertained by the respective Governments, who saw that the interests of an important and leading industry were at stake, and the result was that the chief inspector of distilleries in each Colony was appointed to conduct precise technical examinations, to obtain samples of must and grapes, and by means of the most rigorous tests, ascertain the spirit strength of our pure natural wines, with the view of setting at rest a question of much importance not only to the Australian vigneron, but to the scientific world.

The officers of both Governments met by appointment in Albury, viz. Mr. Lesley A. Moody, chief inspector of distilleries, Victoria; Mr. Heath, inspector; and Mr. H. A. Lumsdaine, chief inspector of distilleries for New South Wales. The better to enable them to certify to tests made by them, they operated upon fruit instead of a must,

reduced to a liquid. They took their own men into the vineyard, and had the fruit picked under their personal inspection, brought to the press, and the juice expressed under their own immediate directions. They had the liquid put into jars which they brought with them for that purpose. The samples collected each day were taken to Albury and placed in charge of Mr. Singleton, the inspector of police, who is also an Inspector of Distilleries for the district of Albury, to be taken care of, and to prevent the samples being tampered with, until Messrs. Moody and Lumsdaine had done their researches, and were ready to leave. While Messrs. Moody and Lumsdaine were selecting samples of grapes from the different vineyards on the New South Wales side of the Murray, Mr. Heath was pursuing his researches among the vineyards on the Victorian side. The result was that samples were thus secured from the principal vineyards in the districts bordering on the Murray and Ovens, in the north-east part of Victoria, and operated upon by the officers above-named. The results I intend now to lay before you. I may here observe how much more satisfactory it was to the public and to myself, instead of having a Royal Commission appointed, with an expensive official staff to superintend the investigation, making a pretence of inquiring into a matter of which they knew really nothing, to have had skilled officers of the highest position and integrity. The appointment of Messrs. Moody, Lumsdaine, and Heath was beyond question the very best that could have been made. Their position places them above the suspicion of having allowed themselves to be influenced by anyone, while to their task they brought not only practical skill, but scientific experience, and the results reported therefore come before the British public in a creditable and authoritative aspect, which conclusively "upset the whole scientific facts" which Dr. Thudichum believes to be "established throughout the world." I submit, therefore, that in this matter experiment has upset a widely-received scientific "fact."

The authority on which I venture to form this opinion is given in the following official reports, viz. :—

THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF DISTILLERIES AND REFINERIES TO THE UNDER  
SECRETARY FOR FINANCE AND TRADE.

Department of Distilleries and Refineries,

Chief Inspector's Office, Sydney,

*September 20, 1875.*

SIR,—I do myself the honour to submit, for the information of the Hon. the Finance Minister, the result of experiments conducted by me on certain samples of Colonial wine made from grape must, personally

collected by Mr. Moody and myself at vineyards in the Albury and adjacent districts.

My instructions being to act in concert with Mr. Moody, I visited, in company with that officer, several principal vineyards in the immediate vicinity of Albury, and procured such samples as were obtainable at the time of our visit. At a later period of the vintage I collected additional samples of must at Albury and at vineyards in the neighbourhood of Howlong and Corowa, conveying the samples to Albury, and leaving them in charge of Superintendent Singleton, of the Police Force, who also holds an appointment as an Inspector of Distilleries in this Colony, for delivery to the Chief Inspector of Distilleries of Victoria.

The arrangement being that the samples should be taken to Melbourne and remain there till fermented and tested by Mr. Moody, that gentleman most obligingly and with much care forwarded to me in the latter part of June ten samples for analysis in Sydney.

Allowing a short interval after the arrival of the wine, I proceeded, with the help of a gentleman who was then in my department and was well qualified by his antecedents to assist in the operation, to submit the samples to very careful analysis—repeating the distillation of each sample three or four times to ensure accuracy.

The experiments have been conducted according to recognised formula, and the results are shown in the accompanying statement. There is sufficient agreement between them and those obtained by Mr. Moody to controvert the opinions which have been pronounced by high authorities as to the limit within which spirit is capable of being naturally developed in grape wines.

The hypothesis that 26 per cent., and in rare and very exceptional cases 28 per cent., is the highest percentage capable of development, is certainly not supported by the recent experiments made in this Colony and in Victoria.

The value of the experiments now reported is enhanced by the fact that they were carried out separately by Mr. Moody and myself, and without the interference of interested persons; and that the wines operated on were unquestionably pure and unadulterated.

The reasonable and sufficient agreement between the tests thus separately and independently made indicates the correctness of the instruments used, and of the procedure adopted. On this point I may observe that I was fortunate in procuring from the Branch Royal Mint in Sydney a newly-imported chemical balance, by Oertling, by which I was enabled to obtain accurately to the tenth of a grain the specific gravity of the several distillates.

In concluding my observations, I consider it not inconsistent with my duty to point out that the determination of a higher percentage than 26 and 28 per cent. of proof spirit in Australian wines having now been, as it appears to me, conclusively established, it will be alike unjust and discouraging to the wine-makers of this and other wine-producing Colonies of Australia if the present tariff be adhered to by the Imperial Government. Such an adherence is tantamount to a differential duty in favour of meagre

Continental wines, and against many superior wines of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, which, though containing more natural alcohol than wines of the Continent, are at the same time richer in other properties which give excellence to the quality of wines generally.

Having communicated with the proprietors of some celebrated vineyards in this Colony with the view of obtaining samples of pure and unfortified wine for the purpose of further investigation, I hope to be in a position to make another report on the subject which has called forth the present communication.

In conclusion, I desire to express my acknowledgments to Professor Liversidge, of the Sydney University, and Mr. C. Watt, Government Analyst, for assistance cheerfully accorded on more than one occasion of reference during the course of my investigation.

I have, &c.,

HENRY LUMSDAINE,

Chief Inspector of Distilleries, &c.

STATEMENT showing the alcoholic strength of the undermentioned samples of wine, made from grape-must, collected at Albury and other Murray River vineyards, during the vintage of 1875, by the Chief Inspector of Distilleries of Victoria and the Chief Inspector of Distilleries, New South Wales, as ascertained by distillation conducted by the latter officer in Sydney.

Name and Mark of Wine.	Original gravity of Must.	Specific Gravity of Wine before distillation.	Percentage of Proof Spirit. Standard <sup>198</sup> @ 60° F.
Pineau F.....	1142.2	990.9	32.4
Muscat F. ....	1132.5	989.0	31.6
Verdeilho F. ....	1123.1	988.8	28.7
Aucarot S. ....	1142.5	1008.9	29.3
Verdeilho S. ....	1132.2	990.1	31.8
Verdeilho B., No. 7 .....	1134.3	1000.1	29.2
Verdeilho R. ....	1135.5	986.1	30.8
Pineau A. ....	1120.0	989.0	28.4
Verdeilho B., No. 2 .....	1120.0	988.5	30.0
Verdeilho C. ....	1125.0	988.7	*28.0

\* This distillate tried by Hydrometer only.

HENRY LUMSDAINE,

Chief Inspector of Distilleries.

Chief Inspector of Distilleries' Office, Sydney,

September 21, 1875.

Office of Chief Inspector of Distilleries, Melbourne,  
*September 4, 1875.*

SIR,—In pursuance of the investigation of the alcoholic strength of Australian wines, a progress report of which was made by me on the 10th June last, I have now the honour to state that, assisted by Mr. George Heath, Inspector of Distilleries, I have completed the alcoholic analysis of 201 samples of must and wine collected from various vineyards throughout the Colony, of which I append a tabulated statement.

Of these, 25 are the produce of musts which were collected in the Beechworth and Murray districts, as stated in my report above-mentioned, and treated in a similar manner to those collected by H. Lumsdaine, Esq., the Chief Inspector of Distilleries, of New South Wales, and myself, in the neighbourhood of Albury. A certificate signed by Mr. Heath is appended. The remaining 165 are from wines sent to me from the various vineyards and persons enumerated; the senders having assured me that the wines were perfectly pure, without any addition of adventitious spirit.

Some few samples forwarded were so exceptional in spirit contents, that, having no written assurance of their not being fortified, I omitted them from the list.

The quality of the wines tested was in general very good, and in many cases might be called excellent.

The speciality of most of the produce of the vineyards situated in the northern portion of the Colony is that it is full-bodied, rich, and fruity, caused doubtless by the greater warmth and dryness of climate there, which ripen the grape thoroughly and give a very high gravity of must. The characteristics of these wines are similar to those of Spain and Portugal, while those made in the southern districts resemble the wines of Germany and the Rhine and the northern and midland districts of France.

The produce of the same description of grape grown in the districts to the north of the dividing range and that grown to the southward or seaward side, makes wine of a distinctive character.

My experience of some years of the vineyards of the Colony leads me to the conclusion that the character of the wine made is improving year by year; and as Victoria possesses soils and climates of such variety, and so suitable for the growth of wines of so many descriptions and of a superior class, I am sanguine of a great future for this produce, when greater experience, knowledge, and capital are brought to bear on it, and vignerons can be induced to see the policy of limiting their vines grown to those only which experience shows to be suitable to the soil and climate of their vineyards.

One or two good wines will find a readier market, be easier and more cheaply manufactured, and therefore more profitable, than a large variety of medium quality.

The return which accompanies this letter shows that the musts collected by Mr. Lumsdaine, Mr. Heath, and myself, which were pressed in our presence and fermented under our charge, and therefore could not have been tampered with by interested persons, contain a percentage of proof

spirits much higher than it has hitherto been supposed a wine would develop naturally; the limit, unless under exceptional circumstances, being supposed not to exceed 26 per cent. (J. B. Keene, Esq., of H.M. Customs, London, considers that the cases in which the wines of Australia are past the strength of 28 per cent. of proof spirit naturally are so rare as to be quite isolated). It cannot therefore be now said that wines which exceed that limit are necessarily artificially fortified.

I believe that the practice of fortifying wines in Victoria is by no means general, and only resorted to to bring up wines of a low and inferior quality and for particular trades; the better class of wines do not require it.

The process adopted in the alcoholic analysis of the wines is similar to that pursued by the Customs in England for ascertaining duty, and laid down by J. B. Keene, Esq., in his work on gauging, and has been carefully followed out, except that the hydrometer has not been wholly depended on; each sample of the distillate having been weighed to the tenth of a grain, and the strengths calculated by specific gravity according to Sykes' tables.

The instrument used were stills, similar to those employed by the Customs in England, thermometer and specific gravity bottles tested at the Melbourne Observatory, and delicate Oertling balance; and in order to ensure the greatest amount of accuracy, the experiments were conducted by Mr. Heath and myself at our respective private residences, where our attention would not be disturbed by our ordinary official work.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

LESLEY C. MOODY,

Chief Inspector of Distilleries.

The Assistant-Commissioner of Trades and Customs.

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Office of Chief Inspector of Distilleries,

Melbourne, 1st September, 1875.

I hereby certify that the distillates numbered 106 to 130 (25) in the accompanying list, are from the produce of grapes collected in the Murray and Beechworth districts of Victoria, in April, 1875, and the juice pressed out before me. The musts, as pressed, were given into my charge, in which they remained till distilled in August of this year, and the percentage of proof spirits, British standard, carefully determined according to the English Customs formula. I further certify that no adventitious spirit whatever has been added to any of the samples referred to.

GEORGE HEATH,

Inspector of Distilleries.

Statement showing the percentage of Proof Spirits British Standard of the following Wines collected in Albury, N.S.W., and various districts of Victoria, and distilled under the supervision of the Chief Inspector of Distilleries, Victoria.

No. of Sample.	Name of Wine.	From whom received.	Name of District.	Name of Vineyard.	Colour of Wine.	Vintage.	Percentage of proof Spirits, British Standard.
1	Pineau F ..	H. Lumsdaine	Albury, N S.W.	Samples of Must, collected by Henry Lumsdaine, Esq. Chief Inspector of Distilleries of New South Wales, and Lesley A. Moody, Esq., Chief Inspector of Distilleries, Victoria, referred to in report of the 10th June last. Copies of certificates attached hereto.	Brown.	1875	34.1
2	Muscatel F	ditto	ditto		White.	1875	33 1
3	Verdeilho F	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	29.7
4	Aucarot S..	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	29.2
5	Verdeilho S	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	32.6
7	Verdeilho B	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	29.9
8	Verdeilho R	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	31.5
9	Pineau A ..	L. A. Moody.	ditto		Brown.	1875	29.2
10	Verdeilho B	ditto	ditto		White.	1875	29.9
11	Verdeilho C	ditto	ditto		do.	1875	31.3
12	Carbinet D	ditto	ditto		Red.	1875	29.6
13	Shiraz.....	E. Greer & Co.	ditto		do.	1875	25.0
14	Aucarot ....	ditto	ditto		White.	1875	30.9
15	Shiraz .....	ditto	ditto		Red.	1872	31.6
16	Malbec .....	ditto	ditto		do.	1872	29.3
17	Verdeilho ..	ditto	ditto		White.	1873	30.4
18	Carbinet ..	ditto	ditto		Red.	1873	27.6
19	Aucarot.....	ditto	ditto		White.	1871	30.7
20	Shiraz.....	ditto	ditto		Red.	1873	30.9
21	Muscatel ..	ditto	ditto		Brown.	1873	29.1
22	Shiraz.....	ditto	ditto		Red.	1871	30.2
23	Tokay.....	J. T. Fallon ..	ditto		White.	1873	27.4
24	Verdeilho..	ditto	ditto		White.	1873	28.

COMMISSION FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

L.S.  
A. MUSGRAVE. } His Excellency Anthony Musgrave, Esquire, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of South Australia and its Dependencies, &c. :

To the Honourable WILLIAM MILNE, President of the Legislative Council ; JOHN WILLIAM LEWIS, of Adelaide, Esquire, Collector of Customs ; RICHARD SCHOMBURGK, of Adelaide, Esquire, Dr.Phil., Director of the Botanic Gardens ; SAMUEL DAVENPORT, of Adelaide, Esquire, J.P. ; and ROBERT DALRYMPLE ROSS, of Adelaide, Esquire, J.P., greeting :

Know ye that I, relying on your prudence and fidelity, have appointed you, and by these presents do give unto you, or any three of you, full power and authority diligently to inquire and report what alcoholic strength is attained by the juice of grapes shown in this Province by or under the

ordinary and natural process of fermentation, and for the purpose aforesaid to examine and re-examine, *vivâ voce* or in writing, or both *vivâ voce* and in writing, all witnesses who shall attend before you for the purpose of giving evidence on the matter aforesaid; and I give to you, or any three of you, full power and authority to do all such other acts and things as may be necessary and lawfully done for the due execution hereof: And I require you, without delay, to report to me the result of your inquiries in the matter aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the public seal of the said Province, at Adelaide, in the Province aforesaid, this eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and in the thirty-seventh year of Her Majesty's reign.

By command,

ARTHUR BLYTH.

Chief Secretary.

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The above Special Commission was appointed by the South Australian Governor, who, after careful examination into this matter, brought up a very elaborate report, showing results as to the proportion of alcohol, corresponding to, if not exceeding, the proportion found in the wines of New South Wales and Victoria.

Notwithstanding the discrepancies which occur in the statements which I now lay before you, they all pretty fairly agree as to the specific gravity of the must, and these alone cannot fail to interest inquirers on this question. They show that Australia is capable of producing full-bodied natural wines of a high order, and that the statement made by me upwards of two years ago, "that Australian wines by the ordinary course of fermentation produced a wine containing upwards of 26 per cent. of proof spirit" was perfectly correct. The figures which I place before you not only support me, but prove that those who differed from me, and held that "there were no grapes produced in Australia, as there were none anywhere else, which by the ordinary laws of fermentation could give upwards of 26 per cent.," were labouring under a wrong impression in adopting the popular theory of the day. The discrepancy in the spirit strength of the samples tested arose partly from some of the grapes not being thoroughly ripe. Other samples may have been grown on low-lying situations, and some of the samples of must were too new, and had not fully generated all the alcohol they were capable of developing, at the time of distillation. My experience in shipping wines from Australia to London is, that whatever may be the spirit strength before shipment, the wine acquires additional strength during the voyage.

It will be seen from the above statement that the great bulk of Australian wines exceed 26 per cent. of natural spirit, and could not be admitted into Great Britain without paying 2s. 6d. per gallon duty, thus exposing the Australian producer to adverse competition in the markets of the mother country equal to a surcharge of one hundred and fifty per cent. The effect of this difference in duty is to exclude almost entirely the colonists from sending their pure, generous, and unadulterated wines to a market where they are so heavily handicapped. I believe it was the intention of the framers of the present Customs Act of 1861, to fix the standard or maximum so as to admit all pure natural wines at the minimum duty; and for the purpose of enabling them to fix the limit, they adopted the report of a Royal Commission which had been appointed to collect statistics from the different wine-producing countries in Europe. Now, by the figures shown above, it is clearly proved that Australian wines exceed the limit stated in that report, and I therefore submit that the Australian vignerons have a right to ask the British Government to alter the maximum from 26 to 30. This would to a great extent meet the case, and would place the Australian product in fair competition with European wines, and afford encouragement to an industry which is doubtless destined to be one of the leading staple articles of produce in Australia, and one which will not only give healthful employment to a number of Australian vignerons, but also open up a large field for the occupation of the surplus labour of Great Britain. In my opinion it would be the interest, if not the duty, of this country to afford encouragement to settle her surplus labour in her own Colonies, when the fact is known that there is a far better field for the industrious labourer there than is to be found elsewhere. In America at the present time, in the centres of population, it is more difficult to obtain employment than it is in England; in Australia there is a wide field, no competition in this industry under notice, and by honest exertion in a few years a man could purchase his homestead and be his own master.

It may here be argued that by altering the maximum from 26 to 30, it would admit brandied Continental wines, and hence would be a loss to the revenue. I believe the quantity of European wines that would come within the range of this alteration would be very small indeed, and inconsiderable as regards revenue. As the wines of Spain and Portugal are fortified to a much greater extent than the limit named, and as the taste is formed in this country to drink those spirituous wines, the producers are bound to furnish the articles they have been in the habit of supplying this market with,

and upon the continuance of the supply of a uniform article their reputation is based : they neither could nor would make any alterations in the articles to be shipped to the English market. The result would be (without any perceptible loss to the revenue), that a pure and unadulterated wine would be placed before the British public, and a taste cultivated for the unsophisticated juice of the grape, instead of strong spirits, thereby encouraging sobriety and morality among the people of this country. It might be put in another way : "Why don't you make your wines so as to come within the 1s. duty?" In reply to this I should say : "In asking us to do so, you ask us to forego the superior advantages which it has pleased Providence to bestow on Australia beyond almost any other country, and instead of the rich, generous, full-bodied wines which we can produce naturally, to reduce the quality to a low inferior standard. This must be done in either of two ways, viz. by pulling the grapes before they are properly ripe, or by adding water to the must, either before or after pressing. Of the two, I should prefer the latter alternative, for although you manifestly reduce the quality of the wine, still the component parts are more evenly balanced, and a better article can be produced than from unripe fruit ; as, in the latter instance, you invariably have a superabundance of acid in proportion to the quantity of saccharine produced, or, in other words, you introduce an adulterated article."

In putting my case forward, it is necessary to point out that the Australian Colonies form a very considerable portion of Her Majesty's dependencies, and afford a profitable field for the surplus labour and capital of this country. Also that the trade, both in imports and exports, is expanding daily, and at present is only exceeded by India with her millions of population. We furnish this country with much raw material, in wool, tallow, gold, copper, tin, wheat, meat, &c., and as a rule take as payment various manufactured articles, thereby to a large extent supporting the artisans and manufacturers of this country, and proving how much it would be to the interest of this country to encourage every new industry which has for its object the advancement of Her Majesty's Colonial possessions. Under these circumstances, I consider the Australian colonists may fairly ask the Government to amend the present Customs law, so far as to alter the maximum strength from 26 to 30, thereby admitting our wines at the minimum duty ; or, if this cannot be granted, that they may be admitted on such a scale as will allow of a *pro rata* advance upon the extra strength.

I trust I have in the preceding remarks sufficiently made it clear

that the alcoholic strength of our Australian wines, in their pure and unfortified condition, really places them at a serious commercial disadvantage in the markets of this country, and I hope that I may rely upon any assistance that this valuable society can render, in giving shape and effect to some practical movement having for its object the readjustment of the Customs duty, which, as I have shown, bears with such peculiar hardship upon our Australian wine industry. I feel sure that the Government and the Legislature only require to be put in possession of reliable information on the subject, to give their serious attention to this matter; and with a view of supplying such information in the most influential quarters, I would suggest, in conclusion, that some of the gentlemen now present be requested to act as a committee for the purpose of bringing the subject under the notice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by deputation or otherwise, and solicit his assistance in getting a suitable alteration made in the Customs' tariff. I feel that a practical step of this kind is essential in order to give effect to the arguments I have brought forward in this paper, and I earnestly invite your co-operation in the matter.

Since writing the above, I have received a copy of the *Melbourne Argus*, of the 18th of April, in which appears an ably-written article fully bearing out the views I have stated, from which I quote the following:—

“Mr. Moody is aware of the objection of the Imperial Customs, that no differential duty in favour of Australian wine is possible; and that if the standard is raised to 34 per cent., the result will be that other countries will be importing brandy in wine casks; and he proposes nothing revolutionary. All difficulties, he submits, would be met by a sliding scale, according to the strength of the wine. For instance, assuming 26 per cent. of proof as the maximum for 1s. per gallon duty, allow wines of the strength above 26 and under 30 per cent. to be introduced at 1s. 3d. per gallon; above 30 and under 36 per cent. to be introduced at 1s. 9d. per gallon; above 36 per cent. and under 42 per cent. to be introduced at 2s. 6d. per gallon.’ As the Imperial law now stands, Mr. Moody shows that it is capable of evasion, for a wine-merchant can take a gallon of wine of 26 per cent. strength, on which 1s. per gallon has been paid, and a gallon of wine of 42 per cent., on which 2s. 6d. per gallon has been paid, and by blending the two together he has a 34 per cent. wine, on which he will have paid a duty of 1s. 9d. per gallon. Thus a manufactured wine can be put upon the English market at a comparatively low duty, but the natural wine of Australia—because it is a natural wine—must pay at a

rate which, if not prohibitive, is at least a serious impediment in the way of an increased demand. And all that is now asked is, that the same facility should be afforded the honest vigneron in putting a 34 per cent. wine on the market as is enjoyed by the judicious blender. This end will be attained by the sliding scale proposed by Mr. Moody, which would leave 26 per cent. as the ordinary maximum, and make stronger and better wines pay in proportion to their superiority, but would free them from a crushing and indiscriminating burden, and from an unmerited stigma. The plan commends itself at once as equitable to the revenue and to the producer; it would appear to shut the door upon the tricks and stratagems of which the Imperial Customs have been apprehensive, and we have Mr. Moody's assurance, first, that it is practicable, and, secondly, that the Australian vigneron asks for no further concession. We hope to hear that this report has been brought under the notice of the select committee (moved for in the House of Commons by Mr. Cartwright), if it be appointed and if the document can arrive in England in time, and that under any circumstances it has been pressed upon the attention of a Government which, we are sure, would not willingly and knowingly do the Colonies a manifest injustice."

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. ALEXANDER McARTHUR, M.P., remarked that he had no intention of taking part in the discussion had he not been asked to do so. He fully corroborated the statements made in the paper with reference to the natural strength of the Australian wines. Australia was placed at a disadvantage with respect to Continental wines, having to pay a higher duty in consequence of their superior strength. Australian wines had also suffered in this country in consequence of inferior samples being sent from different parts of Australia by parties knowing nothing whatever about wine. Some of the wines he had tried tasted very much like sugar, vinegar, and water, and were not likely to commend themselves to the palates of the English people. On the other hand, there were some excellent samples; and were persons making wines to thoroughly understand how to do so, they would really have a very sound and an excellent article. Many persons in this country regarded the superior strength of wines as objectionable; but, inasmuch as the strength of the Australian wines is a natural one, and did not arise from their being fortified by brandy and other spirits, he thought the objection, to a great extent, was lessened. If they were to have wines, it was much

better to have them of natural strength than to have them supplemented by ingredients injurious to health. He had no doubt that the Government were desirous of doing what was fair and right towards the Colonies. He believed they never had a more honourable or fairer Chancellor of the Exchequer than Sir Stafford Northcote; and it was certain that if the Government could meet the views of the colonists they would do so. He thought the proposal for a Committee to be appointed to consider the matter, and, if necessary, to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a desirable step to take. If he could render any service in the matter he would be happy to do so. It was of importance that our Colonies should have fair play. It was not at all right that we could receive Continental wines, sometimes of a very inferior quality, which were able to supplant Australian wines because of the extra duty which the latter were compelled to pay. So far as his experience went when in Australia, there really was not much room for exportation of wines, owing to the consumption of them by the colonists themselves. He had no doubt that in the course of a few years, however, by proper skill and management, that Australia would become an extensive wine-producing country. With regard to the wine question, many medical men of the present day disapproved of wines altogether; but he thought sound wholesome wines were very much better than adulterated wines. Those who have visited the Continent must have been struck with the fact that in wine-producing countries there was very little intemperance. The author of this paper (Mr. Fallon) had informed him there was a similar result in Australia; that in the locality where he resided there had been a great deal of intemperance, but that since wine had become a common beverage there was little or no drunkenness, and it was a rare thing to see a man the worse for liquor. Looking at the matter also in this light, he thought it would be very desirable to encourage the introduction of good sound Australian wines into this country, and he hoped they would be able to do something to promote the object they had in view.

Mr. J. B. KEENE (of Her Majesty's Customs) said: The question of Australian wines had been one of great interest to him for many years. He had had many opportunities of testing wines of various kinds, and from the very first time he saw these wines, under circumstances very much against them, in 1862, in the Exhibition, thought they possessed properties of a very high character. The difficulty of the question of duty lay in drawing a line anywhere. If the duties chargeable on wines could be charged in the manner that would press equally upon them all, they

would not be charged upon strength, but theoretically upon value. The main question at issue was that relating to the actual strength of the wine, and the question of raising the degree at which the duties change, from 20° to a higher point. They could not make a change in the duties on natural wines of a high strength without at the same time admitting with equal freedom wines that had been fortified, and although he felt sure the Australian vineyards produced wines of a far higher natural strength than most other countries, yet the latter were in greater demand. If a line is to be drawn, marking the point at which the wine should be produced by the imposition of a certain duty, it struck him the point at which it should be drawn would be one that would include the bulk of the very best natural wines, but not stretched so as to include those which were rare, and not even always best, or so suitable for general drinking. So far as the report of Messrs. Lumsdaine and Moody went, he did not doubt the *bonâ fidès* of their operations; but he could not help remarking that there must be a great difference between a wine manufactured on the large scale in which it is produced in the vineyards, and the smaller scale in which it would be produced in the chemical laboratory. In the most careful chemical operations it was often difficult to produce actually the special balances of the changes that take place from one organic substance to another. At the same time the change was such that if a grape had a large quantity of sugar in it, it naturally would produce a larger quantity of alcohol. But there were very many instances in which, though the grapes produced large quantities of sugar, the sugar would not complete its conversion into alcohol. That was the case with some Constantia wines from the Cape, which had, in many cases, not more than 18 per cent. of spirit in them, and yet the wines were permanent, though still sweet. On the other hand, the grape that produced the largest amount of sugar would, if its conversion were complete, be perfectly dry, with more alcohol, and free from the taste of sugar. There was another element in the Australian wine question in this way. So far as he could judge, not merely from examination of the wines, but from reports from residents in Australia and from manufacturers themselves, there was a strong tendency to fortify. He did not impute any such thing to Mr. Fallon, some of whose wines were of excellent character; but he remembered a Mr. Bear, from Melbourne, who brought over some wines to this country. One of these had been fortified in order to try the experiment of how it would bear the voyage; but the samples that were left natural were better in every way. Some time ago he had his attention called by the Rev. Dr.

Bleasdale, of Melbourne, to discrepancies between the strengths in his report to the Commissioners of Customs, and those on the same wines as tried by Dr. Bleasdale before they were sent for exhibition. It was found that where the Victorian Commissioners had selected certain wines submitted to them, and left the manufacturers to make up and forward the samples to England, spirit had been largely added in the interim; while, where the Commissioners themselves forwarded the samples, there was no difference between the two tests beyond what might be expected between two operators. The change produced by the voyage here was somewhat over-rated in its action upon the wine. It was possible in some wines, where the sugar had not been entirely converted, and which were sent to England before they had been fully ripened—say under two years old—that the rolling and shaking of the ship produced an effect upon the wine which continued the fermentation, and in the case of a good sound wine would improve it, and although it would arrive here in such a thick and muddy condition that it would be denominated as simply rubbish, yet after a few weeks or months it would become fined and settled, and be more ripened than it would in the same time had it remained in the Colonies. With reference to the question of the duty: to take the separate degrees, after the 26th, would be very difficult to carry out, and, perhaps, would not have as good an effect as some might anticipate. At the same time, he had often thought that the difference between 26 and 40 might be met with an immediate duty; but he should not consider it proper in his position to offer any opinion upon the question of duties, as it was outside his province. He had only to examine the wines for their alcoholic strength and qualities, and his belief was that the Australian wines had a great future before them. He would bear out Mr. Burton's remark as to the great benefit it would be if the bad wines were left out of the market, and a still greater benefit if those who made the wines could be convinced of the bad way in which they made them. He believed the great difficulty arose in the selection of the grape, and in the want of proper judgment in the admixture of spirits. The vines from the continent of Europe transplanted to Australia would produce a different wine. With reference to the question of the names of wines, it had often struck him that it was a great mistake on the part of Australian wine makers that they should call their wines after the names of known wines. Everybody tasting a wine so named judges it from the wines he has been accustomed to. English taste was so formed on port and sherry that there was scarcely another wine to which they could make comparison, and they would ask if it was not like one of them,

or perhaps sometimes it was like Claret or Burgundy. But Australian wines had an individuality of character of their own, which, if properly cultivated and developed, was of great value. Spanish or German wines were valuable for their own special characters, and people would not admire a French wine the more if it had the same character. He therefore urged that they should stop the use of names that could create comparison between known and high quality vintages. The Australian names, or some of them, were highly musical and characteristic, and he liked to see wines named after the vineyards from which they were made. He should also like to see the design carried out of cultivating a knowledge of the vines and of the grape best suited to the various localities. Some of the best wines he had met with in this country were those made in the neighbourhood of the Hunter River and in the Adelaide district, and he had noticed that in some of the finest and most delicate wines, the average degree of spirit scarcely ever went beyond 24°, and many of the finest had not exceeded 21°. The question of the strength had nothing to do with the quality of the wine, nor with the permanent retention of its qualities. He had tested a French wine 111 years old, and though containing only 18·9 degrees of proof spirit, it was sound as possible, though not in the finest drinking order for flavour. This showed that the endurance of wine did not depend upon the strength. Some years ago he had tasted a sample of wine made from Portuguese grapes by Mr. Forrester without added spirit. It was made in 1830, bottled in the April following the vintage, and tested in 1862. It was simply undrinkable, being coarse and astringent, and with a strength of about 28°. It was deep and intense in colour, and anything but like ordinary port wine, which becomes discoloured by age—a sign of the action of added spirit on the colouring matter of the wine. There was a kind of marriage in the case between the spirit which was naturally in the wine and the wine itself. But in the other case, there was a connection which was not so permanent, and which tended rather to its deterioration than to its advantage.

Mr. MICHIE said that although he was prepared to sympathise with the enthusiasm of Mr. Fallon, he could not be blind to the practical difficulties of his case. As a drinker of Australian wines for the last twenty years he could speak as to their merits, but in dealing with the matter in a financial shape he was confronted with many obstacles. Mr. Moody had dealt with that portion of the subject by suggesting a graduated scale of duties, by which they might to some extent be enabled to escape from the difficulty in which they were placed. He had discussed this matter some

years ago with the then Secretary of State, and had very soon discovered, as he thought, that to a considerable extent in questions of this kind the Government must be guided by experts. These experts in England differed altogether with the Colonial growers as to the natural strength of our Australian wines. We were met by the assurance of competent, practical men that the Colonial representations were inconsistent with the facts, and that the producers apparently laboured under a misconception as to the inherent strength of these wines. It was suggested by the growers that the duty of 2s. 6d. upon wines above 26 (being a hard and fast line) should be relaxed by the introduction and adoption of some such suggestion as that of Mr. Moody. But, on the other hand, it was put by those who opposed a change, that even if what they were contending for were conceded, the effect of the concession would only be, unless we were to have differential duties (in this free trade country not to be thought of), to involve us in, possibly, a still greater difficulty. In the proposal to remove the obstacle to the introduction of Australian wines, by raising the maximum of 26 up to 30, they would (it is said) necessarily bring in under that higher standard a number of competing wines from the Continent, which at the present time pay the higher duty of 2s. 6d. Thus in the very act of attempting to remove the disability under which the Colonies labour, they would, it was alleged, expose them to the further and more effectual competition of foreign growers, whose wines, ranging up to 30, would come in under the same duty as that payable by the Australian wines. Mr. Moody was evidently alive to this, and thus had proposed to meet this aspect of the case by the suggestion of the graduated scale. Secretaries of State could not be expected to possess more practical knowledge on such a subject than the meeting. They must be guided, as all Ministers were in matters outside the range of their personal experience, by those who were practically engaged in the business; and if Mr. Keene could not report in favour of the suggestions of Mr. Moody, the committee or deputation, he feared, would be found of very little use. Some twelve months ago he had read a very able and exhaustive report by Mr. Keene, which, he must admit, almost compelled him to the conclusion that there was either a mistake or a want of candour on the part of those gentlemen who had sent protestations from the Colony, to the effect that they were not artificially fortifying their wines. Mr. Keene, however, was not in the position of Messrs. Lumsdaine and Moody, nor disposed to ignore their experience and conclusions, and therefore assuming the facts to be as stated by those two gentlemen, a deputation might possibly

succeed in carrying conviction to the mind even of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But supposing this end gained, there was still another phase of the case, not altogether agreeable to those who were proposing largely to import these wines. It was notorious to consumers that they could get a respectable wine at a far lower price than Mr. Fallon apparently was prepared to accept. The cheap clarets coming to the English market had no prejudices to contend with. They were recommended by long usage, amounting almost to a superstition, which gave them an immense advantage to start with over the Colonial product. There was a great prejudice against the latter, as they all knew. Only that afternoon he had met a gentleman, who had spent many years in the Colonies, who expressed himself in unmistakably unflattering terms about Australian wines. This, doubtless, was an unjustifiable prejudice, but still he must be recognised as a very fair "foolometer." Prejudiced as he was against the Colonial article, such prejudice was shared by tens of thousands of people here. Only five minutes ago the hon. member for Leicester had stated in that very room that much of this wine tasted like "sugar and water." Two or three years ago a sample of the wine was sent to a gentleman holding such a position in this country which would have enabled him to advance the interest in the wines, and from whom he had hoped to receive a favourable report. Whether the wine had suffered in transit, or whatever the cause, his friend rather took him aback by reporting that, although he was averse from looking at his (Mr. Michie's) gift in the mouth, he was equally averse after the first taste from taking it into his own. Unless Mr. Fallon could see his way to putting these wines on the market at a price which would effectually compete with the cheaper Continental products, he would not be likely to find a larger additional consumption of his wines than he had at present.

Dr. THUDICUM said he had listened to Mr. Fallon's paper with mixed feelings of pleasure and dissatisfaction—pleasure at finding that the experimental way of solving the question at issue had, by his advice, been entered upon; dissatisfaction at the manner in which the experiments relied upon had been performed. Without entering into details, he would criticise the experiments at their vital points. Thus it was stated that the specific quantities of the distillates had been obtained with the aid of a balance which enabled the operator to weigh to the tenth of a grain. Specific gravities of alcoholic liquids, however, could not be determined with such a rough balance, but required a balance which could draw at least a thousand grains in each span and turn with the one thou-

sandth part of a grain on either side. The reports given by Mr. Fallon were, therefore, not bulletins of a new science, but records of blunderings in matters of detail, and were not worth the paper on which they were printed. As regarded the report of the Royal Commission at Sydney, alluded to by Mr. Fallon, he (Dr. Thudichum) must animadvert strongly on the fact that the details of that report had been suppressed by the author of the paper. The chemists appointed by the Commission had all three analysed portions of the same selection of grapes, and yet had come to widely differing results. If he (Dr. Thudichum) had been a Commissioner, or the Governor, in this case, he would have declined to receive such a report, which must discredit the chemists who made it, the Commission which published it, and stultify the very object for which the inquiry was undertaken. These chemists must at least have agreed amongst each other, though they might have been uniformly wrong, as were the employers of the balance which could weigh the tenth of a grain. But as their differences amounted to several per cents. in so simple a matter as a sugar determination, one or other, or all, must be wrong. But they were wrong not only in their facts so called, but equally so in their arguments. For they assumed that all the sugar contained in a grape-must would, by fermentation, be transformed into alcohol. This was a great mistake, an erroneous assumption, which they had not supported by a single experiment; and it was, in fact, begging the question, as the amount of alcohol obtainable in Australian grape-must was the question to be determined. Two years ago he (Dr. Thudichum) had made many experiments on must from Spanish grapes, with a view of ascertaining the maximum of alcohol obtainable by fermentation. All arts were tried that could raise the alcohol, such as exclusion of air from the must, fanning of air through the must, addition of active yeast, addition of sugar fermentation with the husks and without the husks, maintaining of the fermentation vessels day and night at the best temperature for fermentation, and so on; no artifice was left untried to produce the strongest wine; and what was the result? In no case out of more than thirty was a wine obtained which contained more than 22 per cent. of proof spirit. These experiments, therefore, supported fully the teaching of science as maintained by him hitherto. Thus he had come to the conclusion that the new matter contained in Mr. Fallon's paper was rather an exposure than a scientific achievement, and contained nothing with which to go before the Chancellor of the Exchequer or a Parliamentary Committee without the risk of damaging the cause to be advocated. He took great interest in Australian wines, and believed many to

have excellent qualities, amongst them, first, that they were not over-alcoholic. He had records of more than 200 Victorian wines, published by the Victorian Government, in none of which the alcohol was above 26 per cent. of proof spirit. The move which brought forth the present discussion seemed, therefore, to have at least a very narrow area even in Australia, and could be controverted easily by Australian data exclusively. He hoped Mr. Fallon would have the experiments repeated by persons who could analyse sugar without differing too widely, who could weigh specific gravities with more accuracy than the limitation of a tenth of a grain; in short, repeated by competent persons, as the term was understood in this country, and then they might again discuss this matter at a future opportunity. By that time, also, Mr. Fallon might perhaps see that "facts" could not be exploded by "experiments," inasmuch as there were many facts, ascertained by observation, requiring no experiments, while "experiments," if properly made, would yield "facts," and could not upset any. But what they would always upset were fallacies and preconceived opinions.\*

Mr. MICHIE, whilst disclaiming any desire to dispute Dr. Thudichum's pretensions in connection with chemistry, must nevertheless take leave to say that he could not defer to him as a reasoner. His argument was only paralleled by those persons of whom they had read, who doubted the existence of ice because it had never come within their experience to see water take that form. The Doctor charged the reader with an attempt to upset all previous reasonings, and "was not going to have his science upset by anything coming from the Antipodes." If Dr. Thudichum had any respect for inductive reasoning, he must be prepared to keep his mind open to all experience, whether coming from the Antipodes or elsewhere. Nor could he or his "minute balances" be admitted to the privilege of putting a limitation upon the functions of nature. The salient facts put forward by Messrs. Lumsdaine and Moody had not been contradicted, nor were they to be disposed of by any

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\* The statement made in a footnote by Mr. Fallon, that there was no *Australian Mercury* liable to be looked upon as an imputing insinuation against me. I therefore beg to state that I have not spoken of an *Australian Mercury* anywhere in my writings. The publication containing the statement concerning the densities of Australian must obtained at Dalwood, on the estate of the "Hunter River Vineyard Association"—a statement, let it be remembered, given in a speech by Mr. Wyndham, at the Annual Meeting of the Association—is reported in the *Maitland (Australian) Mercury*, of May 6, 1865. This full quotation is given in Thudichum and Dupré, "On the Origin, Nature, and Varieties of Wines," p. 642. From his ignoring these and the Victorian observations, it appears that Mr. Fallon is but imperfectly acquainted with the Australian as well as European literature concerning his subject.—(Note by Dr. Thudichum.)

such process as that proposed to them from the laboratory of Dr. Thudichum, or anyone else.

Mr. W. H. BURTON, having had great experience in the Customs' Department of London, and being at present deeply interested in Colonial wine, ventured to make a few remarks on the subject. He tendered his sincere thanks to Mr. Fallon for his untiring zeal in advocating the cause of Australian wine. He thought, however, he had directed his energies in a wrong direction when he attempted to get the Government of this country to favour the Australian wines by any sort of special legislation. His conviction was that the wines required no such nursing, they had sufficient merit to make their way in this country, let the alcoholic test be what it might. Indeed, if the proposed change were made, he could only anticipate a like fate to the wines of Australia which happened to the wines of the Cape Colony, when the concession of duty in their favour was removed in 1860. Instead of the colonists asking for a special reduction in the duty on wine which would favour their produce, it would tend more to the permanent benefit of the Colonies, and to the speedy development of the wine interest, if each Colony could appoint an export committee, whose duty it would be to prevent the sending of wines to this country and elsewhere which would bring discredit on the name of Australian wine. It would in the end be cheaper to let the wine run into the sea than allow it to come over here to increase the prejudice which was already too prevalent. With regard to the question of duties, it ought not to be overlooked that wine is now greatly favoured as compared to any other liquid which contains spirit. Wine containing 25 per cent. of proof spirit can now be admitted at a duty of 1s. per gallon, and wine of 41 per cent. of proof spirit can be admitted at a duty of 2s. 6d. per gallon. The duty on British spirit being 10s. per proof gallon, it follows that if 25 degrees of spirit are admitted at 1s., 15 of such degrees pass duty free; or if wine containing 40 degrees of spirit be passed at 2s. 6d. per gallon, it is clear that if the spirit in wine were taxed according to its alcoholic strength, as all other spirituous liquids are, the duty charged should be 4s., instead of 2s. 6d., to place it on a level with British spirit, which is charged at the rate of 1s. for every 10 degrees. Speaking generally, it might be affirmed that were the alcoholic test strictly applied, wine would have to pay 1s. per gallon more than the duty now charged. In the face of such facts, how could the wine importer ask for further remissions? His fear was that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to look into the matter, and that more revenue were required, the wine duties would be increased instead of

lowered. If all articles coming into this country, whether containing spirit or that spirit were used in the manufacture, pay duty to the uttermost tenth of such spirit, why should wine be an exception? If chloroform, ethers, lotions, and all kinds of medicines intended for the alleviation of suffering were so charged; if, for instance, an article known as "Pain Killer" were charged a duty of 14s. per gallon, why should the pain producer—the vile decoctions coming in under the guise of wine—be admitted, because they assume that name, at a duty of 2s. 6d. per gallon? He felt sure that the agitation of this question would not benefit the producer or importer of good honest wine.

Mr. STRANGWAYS said that the question of Colonial wines had presented itself in different aspects: the producers' view, the official, and the scientific; which latter, he confessed, he could not understand. He would say a view words on the most important view of all, *i.e.* the consumers'. Mr. Fallon asked to be allowed to import Australian wines into this country at 30 degrees strength at 1s. per gallon duty. That was too strong. With regard to the Continental wines we are drinking, he referred to a book on the "Adulteration of Food," in which he found this passage on wine:—"Probable adulterations: extracts of the rhatany, logwood, brazilwood, elderberry, the berries of the Virginian poke, purple holyoak, &c.; colum, glucose, cyder, plain spirit, caramel, catechu, and water." In another place he found "beetroot, litumus or orchil, petals of red poppy, privet berries, and myrtle" alluded to. As to the strength of wines, he found the actual strength of the Continental wines as made, not as imported here, from 6 to 23 per cent. by volume, that is, wines as they are made in the country. He was not a wine-maker, though he had often drunk Colonial wine in Australia and at the Cape; but he must say that the Australian wine-makers had nobody to thank but themselves for the bad character the wines got in this country. When he came home he brought some wine with him. When he got to the docks he asked the Customs' officer how much of it would get through, when he confidentially assured him that it was quite safe, adding that the officers had been too often done with such stuff, and he might depend upon it none of them would touch it. He knew from experience that Australian wines had increased in production largely within the past few years, and he was sure that nearly all the best wines made there would do well to send over to this country; but they, until latterly, consumed it all themselves, and it was only the inferior material that had been forwarded to this country. The effect of this he took leave to call attention to. In

a paragraph of a London newspaper, published on the 12th June instant, which professed to be a review of the statistics of South Australia, the following was the opinion of the reviewer on the wines: "Much as we sympathise with Australian energy and progress, we must put in a mild protest against Mr. Boothby's statement that 'the wines of South Australia are, as a rule, of a high character.' Viler and more acrid compounds we have never tasted." He had not seen that any person connected with the Australian wine interest had the public spirit to contradict it. To go to the question of fortification of wines, perhaps Mr. Michie and himself had had something to do with the framing of some of the Australian laws as to distillation and customs, and to hear and receive a great deal of information on the subject of the strength of wine. Every South Australian wine-grower had a still—not a common, old-fashioned still, but generally one with the latest improvements—wherein they put all the old wines and wine refuse at one end, and run the spirit out at the other 60 degrees or more over proof. In making the wine, the wine-makers had told him that they were obliged to keep in their cellars spirits ready for use, in order, if they had a second fermentation of the wine, that they might have the power to check it, and they might consider how much of that added to the natural strength of the wine; and they rinse the cask with spirit, which, owing to the nature of the climate there, became perfectly dry, and not a drop of moisture in it. The casks were frequently rinsed out with a strong spirit, 60 over proof. The dry casks absorb large quantities of the spirit, and when the wine was put in, all the spirit was absorbed into the wine, and of course increased its strength. With regard to the difficulty of getting the wine to England, he had over and over again seen the Australian wines carted along the roads without any protection, exposed to the heat of an almost vertical sun; and he had seen the wines lying on the wharves hours at the time exposed to the sun. The wines were generally not bottled before being shipped on board, and were liable in cask to a further fermentation; they were frequently sent home in a wool ship, and were stowed away in places of 93 degrees and 94 degrees of heat. A delicate wine kept in such a temperature for weeks at a time was likely to get spoilt, unless very strongly brandied. Many of the Australian and Cape wines were exceedingly good, and some no good at all. With respect to the scientific point, his own impression was that the experience of Dr. Thudichum, with regard to fermentation carried on by means of bottles in a laboratory, was utterly valueless in respect of the effect that might be produced upon the large quantities of wine in a wine-maker's cellar.

Mr. FRED. YOUNG: It is my agreeable duty to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Fallon for the interesting paper he has read. In the discussion which succeeded it, I observe that Mr. MacArthur confined his remarks principally to the doubt he considered there was, whether the Australians had done sufficient justice to that important industry by exporting inferior classes of wine. He also stated that he considered it was an important thing that the good natural wines of Australia should be encouraged to be drunk in this country instead of the artificial and impure wines of other countries, because he thought it would produce temperance among the people, and be productive of other great benefits. Mr. Michie, who followed, indulged us with one of his interesting and characteristic speeches, and he called our attention, among other things, to the prejudice which undoubtedly exists in this country, to a large extent probably on every subject, and he very properly alluded to that important personage who occupies such a large amount of attention in this country, the "foolometer," before whom so many of us are too apt to bow. I must confess I felt with him on the subject of Australian wines, as on other subjects, that there is a great deal of undue and unfair prejudice with regard to them. There are Australian wines and Australian wines, no doubt; but there are some which Mr. Fallon can produce in the English market which are very fine wines, and merit much greater appreciation than they have hitherto attained in this country. We have had an important importation into this discussion of two gentlemen having official experience—Mr. Burton and Mr. Keene—and I am sure we are much indebted to them for the testimony they have given, and to the way in which they have treated this subject from a professional and scientific point of view. Dr. Thudichum followed, and it was very natural, as he had been somewhat severely attacked, that he should maintain his side of the question with vigour and confidence. We all know the danger we incur, particularly when we do not happen to be scientific people, if we attempt to upset any of the doctrines of science; and it was quite clear, at all events as far as he was concerned, that there could be no question whatever in his own mind of the truth of his experiments, and that anything militating against them must be, in his opinion, utterly valueless and worthless. I am not here to take one side or the other on such an abstruse question as this; but I must leave it in the hands of those better able to judge than myself. Mr. Strangways followed, and gave some exceedingly interesting information; and I must confess that I have gathered from the whole of this discussion this impression, that we have all talked about the occasional

inferiority of the Australian wines produced in this country, but we have not exactly grappled with the particular point which Mr. Fallon wished to bring before our attention, viz. that there is a natural value in the Australian wines which our national taste prevents our being able to appreciate, and the mode of levying our Customs' duties in this country places them at a disadvantage with respect to other fortified wines. It seems to me that although science has not yet discovered a remedy, still any injustice, if injustice it is, should be removed by some additional means being adopted of levying the duties in a proper way, so as to give the justice and fair play to the Australian wines which their natural merits demand. I cannot see that there is any difficulty as far as the Customs are concerned, or as far as any scientific points which have been brought before us this evening go. Because these wines are only natural wines, and happen to be of a superior quality, that they should be compelled to pay the duties which are levied upon other fortified wines, seems to be unjust. I propose that you should give a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Fallon for his excellent paper of this evening, which is an important one as connected with a valuable industry of the great Colonies of Australia. I will mention that it is quite understood on these occasions that, while we are glad to give a platform to the discussion of any important questions of this kind, we do not promise to take up deputations, or pledge ourselves to any subsequent action. We simply desire at these meetings to give opportunities for gentlemen to ventilate their opinions and views on questions of importance to Colonial interests. But as to whether we shall take any special or particular action afterwards, must be left entirely to those who direct the policy of the Royal Colonial Institute.

Mr. FALLON, in reply: As time is late I will just note the remarks of the different speakers. Mr. Michie, Mr. Keene, and Mr. Burton appeared to be under the impression that we wished to have differential duties with regard to Australia. In my paper I wished for nothing of the kind. We simply wish to have the tariff altered from 26 to 30. The principle on which we seek to have this alteration made is quite clear. There can be no question that it was the intention of the framer of the present Customs' Act in 1861 to embrace within the low rate of duty all wines produced from pressure and fermentation alone, in the usual way from the grape in its natural state, as it is gathered from the vine. For that purpose a special Royal Commission was appointed, and upon their report this Customs' Act of the Government of the day was framed and the limit fixed. At that time Australian wines were scarcely

known; in fact, it is since that period the Australian wine has come into existence; and I simply say now, that as it was then the intention of the Government to include all natural wines within the shilling duty, the Government will merely be carrying out its original resolve by acceding to our wishes. But if this cannot be done, we are willing to accept and pay a pro rata advance up to 30 per cent., but I think it is unfair to the Australian growers, simply because the Australian product naturally gives beyond the 26 per cent., that it should be surcharged 150 per cent. beyond the regular amount of duty. It is too bad that the Australian producer of pure wines should be placed on a level with those who send their brandied compounds measuring up to 42 per cent. of proof spirit. Indeed, it seems to me very hard that because nature has favoured us with soil and climate to produce unusual results, the British Customs should intervene, and practically force us out of the market. As to the alterations of the Customs, we do not want anything of the kind. Differential duties have long been expunged from the British tariff, and it is not our wish that the Government should reintroduce any such measure by adopting a principle applicable to Australia alone. All we ask for is a fair field and no favour. As to the Continental wines, I would not interfere in any way with the Customs, because all the French and German wines are below 26 per cent., and the Spanish and Portuguese wines are far beyond it. With reference to Dr. Thudichum's remarks in reference to the instruments used by the officer who conducted the investigations in Victoria, I maintain that a balance that will measure to the one-tenth part of a grain is quite sufficient for our purpose. Even Dr. Thudichum's balance, that could measure to one-hundredth part of a grain, could produce no perceptible results as to spirit strength, and, if at all definable, would most undoubtedly tell in favour of the arguments I have endeavoured to lay before the meeting. The gentlemen who conducted those experiments are very well known in Australia, at all events, for their ability and integrity. They went, and, instead—as Dr. Thudichum would lead the meeting to believe—of handing the must or the juice to chemists—they did nothing of the kind: they went into the vineyard, and took their men with them, and had the grapes pressed out, carried the juice away with them, and placed in charge of an officer of their department; so that the must had never gone out of their possession until they gave their report; and you have here Mr. Heath's certificate to show that the samples he collected never departed from his possession until he gave his return.

Mr. MICHIE: Are some of the Spanish and Portuguese wines unfortified under 26?

Mr. FALLON: I presume they are. The principle on which I ask for the change is this—that because our wines are pure and natural, that I think we have a right to ask that the change should be made; but if the Government will not alter the maximum from 26 to 30, we are then willing to pay a proportionate advance on the extra strength. It would be highly satisfactory to us if the Government adopted a sliding scale such as that recommended by Mr. Moody. If it is possible to carry on a sliding scale from 42 and upwards, then I cannot see why it cannot be carried from 26 upwards. With reference to Dr. Thudichum's invitation to carry on the investigations, I do not think it will be necessary to follow his advice, inasmuch as the scientific men who have considered this subject, the general public, and all the vigneronns interested, are fully satisfied that pure natural wines can be produced from grapes grown in Australian vineyards, which, by fermentation, will yield a wine possessing up to 80 per cent. and upwards of proof spirit, notwithstanding Dr. Thudichum's opinion to the contrary. And although Dr. Thudichum may still remain a sceptic, I think I shall be perfectly satisfied, and my friends too, to allow him to enjoy his opinions, and I do not think we shall suffer from it. I thank you all very much for your kind vote.

The CHAIRMAN announced it was the concluding meeting.

Mr. BURTON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded and carried unanimously, for which the CHAIRMAN returned his thanks.

The meeting then concluded.

## CONVERSAZIONE.

THE third Annual Conversazione of the Institute took place at the South Kensington Museum, on Wednesday, the 28th June, and was a most successful gathering, every portion of the British Empire being influentially represented.

The receptions took place in the ground floor of the Museum, which was handsomely decorated with choice plants and flowers, and which was, as usual, brilliantly and effectively lighted up.

The band of the Grenadier Guards, under the direction of Mr. Dan Godfrey, played a choice selection of music during the evening.

Refreshments were served in the corridors.

In the Roman Court were exhibited the valuable collection of maps belonging to the Institute, and many objects of interest and value, kindly lent for this purpose by the following gentlemen, viz.: Messrs. N. Chevalier, William Fox, Quintin Hogg, A. Michie, F. J. D. Dore, Frederick Young, Thos. Watson, N. Darnell Davis, J. B. Montefiorie, A. Buchanan, M.D., Thomas Hamilton, &c.

The company were received by His Grace the Duke of Manchester and the Council at 9 o'clock.

The following is a list of those present:—

Sir George Arney and lady (late Chief Justice of New Zealand)	Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Bloxham
The Rev. Bruce Austin and lady (Barbados)	Mr. and Miss Bramwell
Mr. Raees Udden Ahmed	Mr. T. B. H. Berkeley (St. Kitts)
Mr. A. B. Abraham and lady (New Zealand)	Mr. James Brogden and lady
Mr. C. E. Atkinson and lady (Cape)	Mr. E. G. Barr and lady
Mr. and Mrs. James Alexander	Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Bourne and Miss Bourne
Mr. William Annand and lady (Nova Scotia)	Mr. E. J. Burgess and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Aitken	Mr. W. A. Brodribb and lady (South Africa)
Sir David W. Barclay, Bart., and lady (Mauritius)	Mr. and Mrs. Harley Bacon
Colonel Sir Thomas Gore Browne, C.B. and K.C.M.G., and lady	Mr. J. A. Bam and lady (South Africa)
Major W. F. Butler, C.B., and lady	Mr. and Mrs. Lennox Browne
Captain Burgess and lady	Mr. and Mrs. Boyd Browning
Dr. Brace	Mrs. Browning
Mr. and Mrs. Buckler, and Miss Buckler	Dr. Buchanan and lady (New Zealand)
Mr. Henry Blaine.	Mr. S. A. Braithwaite
Mr. and Mrs. Beaumont	Mr. Gamaliel Butler
	Mr. F. Leicester Butler
	Miss Briggs
	Miss Brind
	Miss Bisdee
	Miss Sarah Bisdee
	Miss Constance Bisdee

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 Miss Brimcker  
 Miss Burleigh  
 Miss Louisa Burleigh  
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 Mr. F. W. Chesson and Mrs. Chesson  
 Mr. A. H. Barber and Miss Bessie Barber  
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 Mr. A. D. Bryce  
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 Mr. Thomas Baynes (West Indies)
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 Rt. Hon. Hugh E. Childers, M.P., and Miss Childers  
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 Mr. N. Chevalier and Mrs. Chevalier  
 Mr. and Mrs. Cama  
 Mr. Hyde Clarke and lady  
 Mr. Donald Currie and lady  
 Miss Currie  
 Mr. F. W. Carr  
 Mr. Henry Cloete (South Africa)  
 Mr. J. A. Carfrae  
 Mr. Clifford and lady  
 Mr. T. C. Chown and lady  
 Miss Cay  
 Miss Cowley  
 Hon. F. B. T. Carter (Premier of Newfoundland)  
 Miss Clark  
 Miss F. Croft  
 Miss Croft  
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 Mr. Stewart Douglas and lady  
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 Mr. Fred. Dutton, jnn.  
 Mr. W. L. Docker and lady  
 Mr. and Mrs. Dormett
- Mr. Alfred Dormett  
 Mr. and Miss Daniel  
 Mr. N. Darnell Davis (British Guiana)  
 Miss Dowell  
 Mrs. Deane
- Sir Barrow Elles and lady  
 Major Elles  
 Captain Evans and lady  
 Mr. Passmore Edwards and lady  
 Mrs. Eddy  
 Mr. Herbert Edwards  
 Mr. Stanley Edwards  
 Mr. G. S. Edwards  
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 Miss Evans
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 The Hon. Dudley Fortescue and lady  
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 Hon. William Fox and Mrs. Fox (New Zealand)  
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 Miss Vesey Fitzgerald  
 Miss H. Vesey Fitzgerald  
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 Miss E. Hirst  
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 Colonel MacDonnell and Mrs. MacDonnell  
 Surgeon-General MacKinnon, C.B.  
 Mr. Justin and Mrs. MacCarthy  
 Mr. J. H. MacCarthy and Miss E. C. MacCarthy  
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 Mr. R. W. Nutt and lady
- Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. O'Malley, (Attorney-General, Jamaica)  
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 Mr. John C. Paget and lady  
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 The Hon. J. B. Roche  
 The Hon. Misses Roche (2)  
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 Mrs. and Miss Rudston Read  
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 Mr. William Smith and Miss Smith (Canada)  
 Mr. Allan Spowers and lady (Victoria)  
 Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Symons  
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 Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Stein (South Africa)  
 Mr. Cecil Stein and Mrs. Stein  
 Miss Stein and Miss Lily Stein  
 Mr. Charles Stein  
 Miss E. Summer  
 Mr. R. H. Scott and lady  
 Miss Scott  
 Miss Sturt  
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 Miss Spence  
 Miss Solater  
 Surgeon-Major F. P. Staples  
 Lady Stawell and Miss Stawell (Victoria)  
 Mr. Oscar Schmidt  
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 Mr. P. L. Simmonds  
 Mr. Abraham Scott and lady (South Australia)  
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 Schwartz  
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 Lady Torrens (South Anstralia)  
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 Good Hope)  
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 Mr. Frederick Young and Miss Young  
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 Miss A. M. Young  
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 Mr. J. C. Young  
 Miss Young  
 Mr. S. Yardley and lady  
 Mr. Yeomans  
 &c.                      &c.                      &c.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE eighth Annual Meeting took place at the rooms of the Institute, 15, Strand, on Friday, the 30th of June, 1876. The chair was taken at 8 o'clock by the PRESIDENT, His Grace the Duke of Manchester.

The following Fellows attended :—

Major-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.; Sir Charles Clifford; Sir John Coode; Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G. and C.B.; Sir Robert Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq.; Dr. Buchanan; Edmund Trimmer, Esq.; J. V. Irwin, Esq.; Henry Blaine, Esq.; J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.; Rev. H. J. Swale, J.P.; Myles Patterson, Esq.; F. P. Labillière, Esq.; N. Darnell Davis, Esq.; Thomas Watson, Esq.; W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., C.M.G.; J. B. Brown, Esq.; H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.; Leonard Wray, Esq.; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; Kerry-Nichols, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; Henry Wellings, Esq.; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.; James A. Youl, Esq.; and the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. FRED. YOUNG, Hon. Secretary, read the notice announcing the meeting, which had appeared in two of the daily papers.

The PRESIDENT then nominated Mr. Henry Blaine and Dr. Buchanan, Scrutineers of the ballot for the Members of Council to be elected at the meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read by the Hon. SECRETARY, and confirmed.

The PRESIDENT then read the following Report, which had been previously circulated among the Fellows :—

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council have the pleasure to present to the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute their Eighth Annual Report, which in the number and variety of subjects of unusual interest and importance has not been surpassed during the existence of the Society.

Before mentioning them, however, the Council desire to refer to the satisfactory financial condition of the Institute, as exhibited in the statement of the Honorary Treasurer; and this notwithstanding the increased demand upon the funds of the Society occasioned by the growth and extension of its operations.

Since the last Annual Meeting the number of Members elected has been 101, of whom 40 are Resident and 61 Non-Resident.

Of the questions which, apart from those discussed at the Ordinary Monthly Meetings, have occupied the consideration and called forth the action of the Council, the three following are of conspicuous importance, viz. the Fisheries of Newfoundland, the Cession of Gambia, and the Colonial Museum.

With regard to the first, the Committee, the nomination of which was announced at the last Annual Meeting, duly presented a report, which was adopted and published by the Council.

That report contains a complete sketch of the history of the question, and presents its leading features in a clear and concise form; and the Council feel assured that, whilst it has had the effect of making the merits of the long-standing dispute with France much more generally understood, the knowledge thus imparted ought to further rather than retard negotiations on the subject, and to lead to a more satisfactory settlement of the question than if the public had not been so fully informed respecting it.

With regard to the Gambia, the Council has acted with a similar desire to disseminate such Colonial information and opinion as it was able to collect and impart. With that view it appointed a Committee, consisting of some of its own body and several Fellows of the Institute, possessing an intimate acquaintance with the Gambia. These gentlemen produced a report, which was adopted and published by the Council, expressing conclusions decidedly adverse to the cession of one of the oldest British possessions. The Council also presented a memorial on the subject to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and they have little doubt that these frank expressions of opinion had a most material influence in leading to the abandonment of the proposed cession.

Acting upon the suggestion made at the last Annual Meeting, to consider the best means of forming a Colonial Museum, the Council on the 7th August last waited upon the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to ask him to use his influence to procure a central site for the proposed Colonial Museum. His lordship expressed a warm interest in the subject, and promised to do all in his power to promote it.

A favourable site, in a most central position for a Museum which is intended for the benefit and convenience of all classes, being at present available on the Thames Embankment, on the old Fife House Estate, the Council, in conjunction with the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, have recently applied to the Government to give the site in question for the purpose, and are at present engaged

in actively endeavouring to accomplish this most important and desirable object.

The Council feel bound to recognise the great ability and energy displayed by Dr. Forbes Watson in promoting this movement.

With regard to the Royal Titles Bill, the Council memorialised Her Majesty, suggesting that, as it was proposed to alter Her Royal Title in compliment to India, the Colonies, being equally important, should be similarly recognised. The Council, however, carefully abstained from suggesting any particular form of title, and especially avoided expressing any opinion with respect to the title of "Empress."

The Council regret that as yet no steps have been taken by the Government to annex the Island of New Guinea; but notwithstanding the fact that they are more than ever convinced of the importance, expressed in their memorial to the Colonial Secretary last year—of making "good by actual possession the British claim to the whole of the coast line of the eastern moiety of the island,"—they have not done anything further to press the subject; feeling that the facts and arguments which they urged last Session remain on record as a warning against the danger to the interests of the Empire, of leaving a position of such commanding importance open to any foreign nation or to adventurers who may compromise and embarrass the future relations of Great Britain with the natives.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Session have invariably been attended by large audiences of ladies and gentlemen, and the papers read gave rise to interesting and animated discussions. The subjects have been introduced by gentlemen of distinguished position and ability, and occurred in the following order:—

1. Acclimatisation. By Edward Wilson, Esq.
2. South Africa and her Colonies. By Lieut.-General J. Bisset, C.B.
3. The Civilisation of the Pacific. By Coleman Phillips, Esq.
4. The Progress of Victoria. By the Right Rev. Dr. Perry, Lord Bishop of Melbourne.
5. New Zealand. Address by William Fox, Esq., late Premier of that Colony.
6. The Colonisation of Central Africa. Address by Lieut. V. Lovett Cameron, R.N., C.B.
7. The Wines of Australia. By J. T. Fallon, Esq.

These and other transactions of the year will appear in the Volume of Proceedings, which will be immediately published and circulated among the Fellows.

The Council desire to thank the donors of various gifts which have been kindly presented to the Institute.

Wishing to increase as much as possible the Library, the Council invite donations of money, as well as books, from all those who may take a kindly interest in the promotion of this object.

Many gratifying and encouraging proofs of the appreciation of the efforts of the Institute to promote the great objects for which it was founded have been frequently manifested both in England and the Colonies, where also the Council rejoice to observe abundant indications of the growth of the strongest feelings of affection for the unity of the Empire.

By Order,

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Hon. Sec.

June, 1876.

LIST OF DONORS.

- |   |   |
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 " Aborigines Friends' Association, Adelaide.  
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 Sydney Morning Herald.  
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 Darling Down's Gazette.  
 Hobart Town Mercury.  
 Otago Guardian.  
 Southern Mercury.  
 Toronto Mail.  
 " Nation.  
 Montreal Daily Witness.  
 Manitoba Standard.  
 Weekly British Colonist, British Columbia.  
 Newfoundland North Star.  
 Cape Times.  
 South African Dominion Budget, Port Elizabeth.  
 Beaufort Courier.  
 Fort Beaufort Advocate.  
 Cape Mercury, King Williamstown.  
 Transvaal Argus.  
 Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State.  
 Natal Mercury.  
 " Witness.  
 Royal Gazette, Demerara.  
 Colonist, Demerara.  
 Demerara Times.  
 Nassau Times.  
 Malta Public Opinion. &c. &c.

The PRESIDENT moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Mr. TRIMMER, and carried unanimously.

The HON. TREASURER, in presenting his Report, stated that he had much pleasure in again congratulating the Fellows on the satisfactory financial condition of the Institute; the income last year still showed a steady progress, and was larger than that of any year since the foundation of the Institute in 1868: it amounted for the year ending 11th June, 1876, to £1,250 13s. 3d. On the other hand the gross expenditure was £1,100 2s. 7d., or taking into account the sum of £189 10s. which had been invested, it amounted to £910 12s. 7d., or about the same as last year. Forty-four new Members had been elected between 1st January and 11th June, 1876; 421 had paid their subscriptions since the 1st January; and

only eleven had retired by death or resignation. The Rest Fund of the Institute had been invested in Colonial Government Debentures of the nominal value of £1,200—actual value at current market rates about £1,260. He laid before the Fellows various statistical returns showing the progress of the Institute from its commencement to the present date.

Mr. Strangways, the Hon. Secretary, and some other Fellows drew particular attention to the fact that the financial position of the Institute had decidedly improved since last year.

The following alterations in the Rules, in conformity with the requirements of Chapter XI. cl. 1, were then submitted to the Meeting:—

The HON. SECRETARY proposed, and Dr. BUCHANAN seconded, the following new Rule to be called “No. 4 in Chapter III. of the regulations:” “That all subscriptions shall be due and payable on the 1st January in each year.”

MESSRS. STRANGWAYS, YOUL, BROWN, FREELAND, SIR CHARLES DAUBENEY, DARNELL DAVIS, and SIR CHARLES CLIFFORD having spoken on the subject, the motion was carried unanimously.

It was also moved by the HON. SECRETARY, seconded by Sir JOHN COODE, and carried unanimously, that the following words be added to Rule 3, Chapter I.: “Such *ad interim* appointments or otherwise to be subject to confirmation at the next succeeding Annual Meeting.”

The following new Rule, in substitution for Rule 2, Chapter IV., moved by Mr. MOLINEUX, and seconded by Sir JOHN COODE, was also carried unanimously, after a brief discussion: “Whensoever there shall appear to be cause for the expulsion of any Fellow of the Institute, the subject shall be laid before the Council; and if a majority of the Council shall, after due deliberation, determine by ballot to propose to the Institute the expulsion of such Fellow, the President shall in that case, at a Special Meeting of the Institute summoned for that purpose, announce from the chair such determination of the Council. The Meeting shall thereupon proceed to determine the question by ballot; and on its appearing that two-thirds of the Fellows present have voted for the expulsion of the said Fellow, the President shall proceed to cancel his name in the register.”

Mr. STRANGWAYS raised the question of the power of the Annual Meeting to recommend to the Council alterations in the Rules and to pass Resolutions. After some discussion, in which Sir CHARLES DAUBENEY, MESSRS. YOUL, FREELAND, LABILLIERE, and DENNISTOUN

WOOD took part, the PRESIDENT ruled that no resolution on the subject could be submitted to the Meeting.

The Ballot having remained open for an hour, the Scrutineers reported that the following noblemen and gentlemen had been unanimously elected as Vice-Presidents and Members of Council for the ensuing year :—

## PRESIDENT.

His Grace the Duke of Manchester.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.	The Right Hon. Lord Lisgar, G.C.B. G.C.M.G.
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A vote of thanks to His Grace the President, proposed by Sir CHARLES DAUBENEY, and seconded by Sir JOHN COODE, was cordially adopted.

Mr. LEONARD WRAY proposed, and Dr. BUCHANAN seconded, a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Fred. Young, including one to Mr. Labillière. On the suggestion of Mr. STRANGWAYS, the name of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Sargeant, was also included in the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

The Meeting then terminated.

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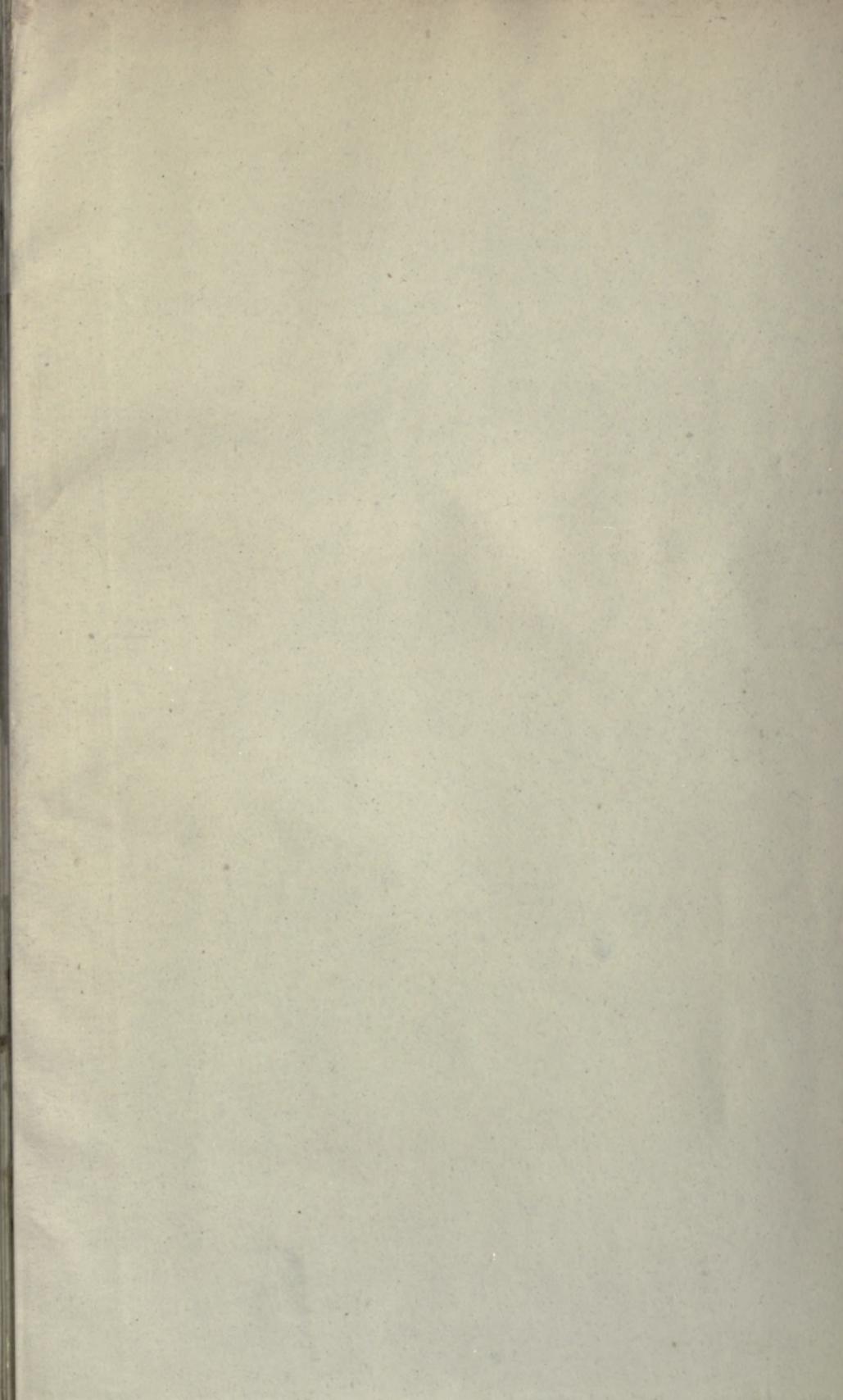
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