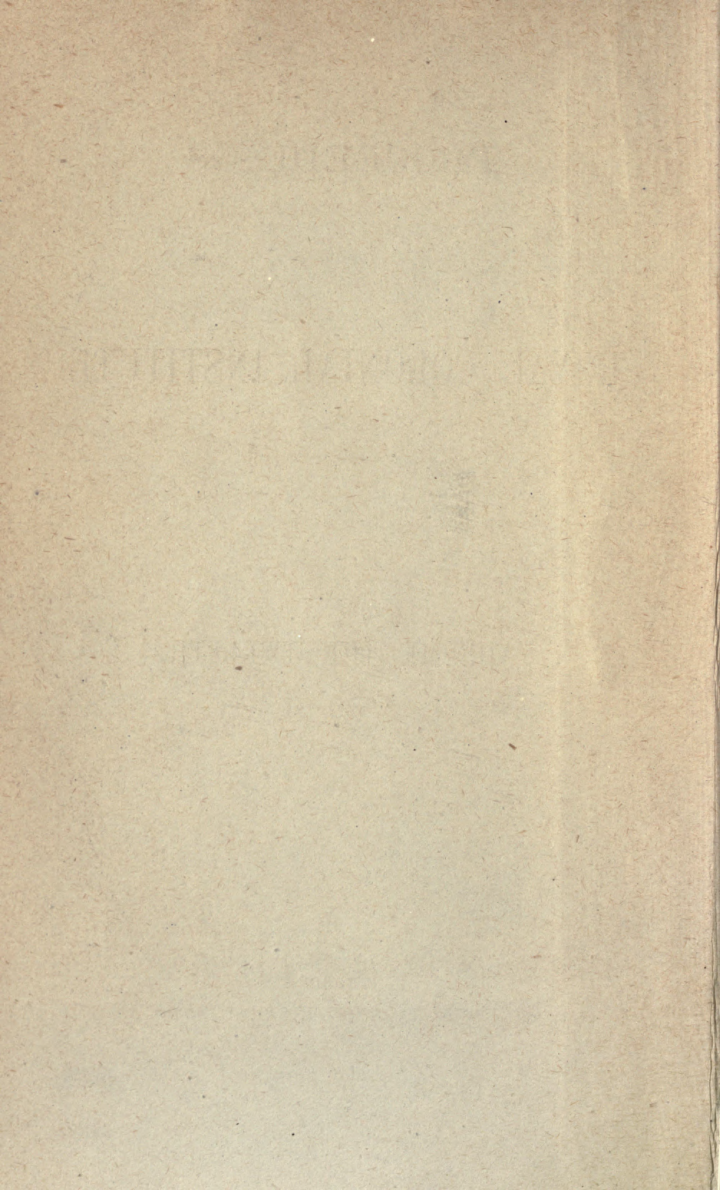


ROYAL
COLONIAL INSTITUTE



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



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Royal Empire Society
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

1880-81.

London :

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON,
CROWN BUILDINGS, 188, FLEET STREET.

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FREDERICK YOUNG,

Honorary Secretary.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

15, Strand, W.C.,

July, 1881.

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THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, 15, STRAND, LONDON.

ESTABLISHED 1868.

MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

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 two Fellows, one of whom at least must sign on personal knowledge. 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 £20, or after five years' annual subscription on payment of £15; and Non-Resident Fellows on payment of £10.

PRIVILEGES OF FELLOWS.

Use of Rooms, Papers, and Library. All Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies, have a report of each Meeting, and the Annual Volume of Proceedings forwarded to them.

To be present at the Evening Meetings, and to introduce one visitor.

To be present at the Annual Conversazione, and to introduce a lady.

For Fellows requiring the use of a Club an arrangement has been made with the National Club, No. 1, Whitehall Gardens, by which, on the recommendation of the Honorary Secretary, they can be admitted to all the advantages of the Club on payment of £8 8s. without entrance fee, for one year, £5 5s. for half a year, or £4 4s. for three months.

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 cause of its permanent unity.

Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

FREDERICK YOUNG,
Hon. Sec.

TABLE OF CONTENTS,

1880-81.

	PAGE
Council of 1881-82	iii
Objects of the Royal Colonial Institute	iv
List of Fellows	vii
Ordinary General Meeting: The Leeward Islands: Their Past, Present, and Future. By the Hon. T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G.... ..	1
Ordinary General Meeting: The Statistics of the Indian Empire. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.	51
Ordinary General Meeting: The Future of the Dominion of Canada. By Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G.... ..	85
Ordinary General Meeting: The Union of the Various Portions of British South Africa. By the Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.	130
Ordinary General Meeting: Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emi- gration. By W. M. Torrens, Esq., M.P.	175
Ordinary General Meeting: Adjourned Discussion on "Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration." By W. M. Torrens, Esq., M.P.	213
Ordinary General Meeting: Queensland: Her History, Resources, and Future Prospects. By Thomas Archer, Esq.	261
Ordinary General Meeting: The Principles which ought to regulate the determination of the Political and Municipal Boundaries and Divisions of the Colonies. By Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L.	309
Ordinary General Meeting: The Political Organisation of the Empire. By F. P. Labilliere, Esq.	343
Conversazione	392
Annual General Meeting	402
General Index	424

LIST OF FOLLOWERS
TABLE OF CONTENTS

These names are given in the order in which they were received by the Secretary of the Board.

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LIST OF FELLOWS.

(Those marked * are Honorary Fellows.)

(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of
Election.

- 1872 ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1875 ACTON, ROGER, 198, Strand, W.C.
 1877 A'DEANE, JOHN, 7, Cambridge Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.
 1874 ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 46, Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.
 5 1879 AITKEN, ALEXANDER M., 3, Temple Gardens, E.C.
 1868 †AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.T., 36, Chesham Place,
 S.W., and Brookes' Club, S.W.
 1879 AITCHISON, DAVID, 5, Pembridge Square, Bayswater, W.
 1872 ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 22, Somerset Street, Portman Square, W.
 1878 ALEXANDER, JAMES, jun., 14, Astwood Road, South Kensington, S.W.
 10 1877 ALEXANDER, JOHN CASSELS, 49, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1869 ALLEN, CHARLES H., 1, West Hill, Highgate, N.
 1880 ALLPORT, W. M., Coombe Lodge, Camberwell, S.E.
 1879 ANDERSON, A. W., Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
 1875 †ANDERSON, EDWARD R., care of Messrs. Cargills, Joachim & Co.,
 1, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
 5 1875 ANDERSON, W. J., 34, Westbourne Terrace, W.
 1874 ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle
 Street, E.C.
 1881 ARCHER, THOMAS, 147, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1873 ARBUTHNOT, LIEUT.-COLONEL G., R.A., 5, Belgrave Place, S.W., and
 Carlton Club, S.W.
 1868 ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden
 Hill, Kensington, W.
 0 1878 ARMITAGE, FRANK L., 1, Kensington Villa, Blackrall Road, Oxford.
 1873 ARMYTAGE, GEORGE, 59, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1876 ARNEY, SIR GEORGE A., 17, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.
 1874 ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S.W., and 2, Hare
 Court, Temple, E.C.

	Year of Election.	
	1879	ASHWOOD, JOHN, care of Messrs. Cox & Co., Craig's Court, Charing Cross, S.W.
25	1874	ATKINSON, CHARLES E., Algoa Lodge, Beckenham, Kent.
	1879	ATLEE, HENRY, 10, Billiter Square, E.C.
	1880	BADCOCK, PHILIP, 4, Aldridge Road, Bayswater, W.
	1879	BADEN-POWELL, GEORGE, M.A., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., 8, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, S.W.
	1880	BAILLIE, THOMAS, The Australian Land and Mortgage Company, 123, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.
30	1878	BALFOUR, JOHN, 13, Queen's Gate Place, S.W.
	1881	†BANKS, EDWIN HODGE, High Moor, Wigton, Cumberland.
	1878	BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C.
	1880	BARCLAY, COLVILLE A. D., C.M.G., 34, Avenue Montaigne, Paris.
	1874	BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., Bt., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
35	1877	BARKLY, SIR HENRY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., 1, Bina Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
	1868	BARB, E.G., 76, Holland Park, Kensington, W.
	1879	BEALEY, SAMUEL, 7, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
	1879	BEAUMONT, JOSEPH, 2, Terrace House, Richmond, S.W.
	1870	BEDINGFELD, FELIX, C.M.G., Pilgrim, Lymington, Hants.
40	1876	BEETON, H. C., 2, Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.
	1879	BELL, D. W., 14, Milton Street, E.C.
	1878	BELL, JOHN, 5, East India Avenue, E.C.
	1878	BELL, ROBERT BRUCE, C.E., 1, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and 203, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
	1874	BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 39, Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W.
45	1868	BENNETT, C. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.
	1868	BIRCH, A. N., C.M.G., Bank of England, Burlington Gardens, W.
	1878	BISCHOFF, CHARLES, 23, Westbourne Square, 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.
50	1868	BLAINE, HENRY, 11, Gledhow Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
	1877	BLYTH, SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
	1873	BONWICK, JAMES, 2, Balmoral Terrace, Mill Hill Park, Acton, W.
	1878	BOOKER, JOSIAS, Wessington Court, Ledbury.
	1881	BOULNOIS, CHARLES, 19, Russell Road, Kensington, W.
55	1872	BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.
	1878	BOURNE, STEPHEN, F.S.S., Statistical Department, Her Majesty's Customs, Thames Street, E.C., and Wallington, Surrey.

Year of
Election.

- 1868 BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
 1878 BOWLES, THOMAS GIBSON, Cleeve Lodge, Kensington, S.W.
 1881 BOYD, JAMES R., Devonshire Club, St. James' Street, S.W.
 5 1881 BOYLE, LIONEL R. C., Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.,
 and Army and Navy Club.
 1869 BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1878 BRASSEY, SIR THOMAS, K.C.B., M.P., 24, Park Lane, W.
 1881 BREX, JOHN GEORGE, 59, Grasham Street, E.C.
 1869 BRIGGS, THOMAS, Bela House, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, S.E.
 5 1869 BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.
 1874 BROGDEN, JAMES, Seabank House, Porthcawl, near Bridgend,
 Glamorganshire.
 1880 BROOKS, HENRY, Grove House, 40, Highbury Grove, N.
 1879 †BROOKS, HERBERT, 9, Hyde Park Square, W., and St. Peter's
 Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
 1874 BROWN, CHARLES, 248, Wool Exchange, Coleman Street.
 0 1869 BROWN, J. B., F.R.G.S., 90, Cannon Street, E.C., & Bromley, Kent.
 1880 BROWNE, LENNOX, F.R.C.S.E., 36, Weymouth Street, Portland
 Place, W.
 1876 BROWNE, COLONEL SIR T. GORE, K.C.M.G., C.B., 7, Kensington
 Square, W.
 1879 BROWN, W. J., St. Stephen's House, 74, Gloucester Road, S.W.
 1877 BROWNING, S. B., 38, Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, W.
 75 1876 BRUCE, J., care of Messrs. Davis and Soper, Bury Street, St. Mary
 Axe, E.C.
 1876 BUCHANAN, A. B., 49, Thurloe Square, S.W.
 1868 BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, G.C.S.I.,
 Athenæum Club.
 1878 BUGLE, MICHAEL, Kaieteur, Hollington Park, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
 1871 BURGESS, EDWARD J., 32, Great St. Helens, E.C.
 80 1872 BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill St., Hanover Sq., W.
 1868 BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate, S.W.
 1878 BUXTON, SIR T. FOWELL, BART., 14, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
 1880 CAIRD, R. HENRYSON, 6, Petersham Terrace, S. Kensington, S.W.
 1881 CAMPBELL, ALLEN, 44, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
 85 1880 CAMPBELL, FINLAY, Kitemore House, Faringdon, Berks.
 1869 CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Princes Street, E.C.,
 and Buscot Park, Berkshire.
 1874 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, A. R., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., 84, St. George's
 Square, S.W.
 1868 CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.

	Year of Election.	
	1877	CARGILL, EDWARD BOWES, 1, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
90	1880	CARGILL, W. W., Lancaster Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.
	1879	CARLETON, HUGH, 8, Grove Place, Pont Street, S.W.
	1868	†CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 4, Hamilton Place, W.
	1868	CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Bruton Street, Berkeley Square, W.
	1875	CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
95	1881	CARTER, ROBERT F., 19, Addle Street, E.C.
	1876	CARVILL, P. G., J.P., Benvenue, Rosstrevor, Co. Down; 23, Park Crescent; and Reform Club, S.W.
	1881	CHAMBERS, ARTHUR W., 10, Addison Gardens, Kensington, W.
	1879	CHAMBERS, SIR GEORGE H., 4, Mincing Lane, E.C.
	1877	CHAMPION, CAPTAIN P. R., R.M.L.I., New Park, Athlone, Ireland.
100	1880	CHATTERTON, BOHIN.
	1872	CHESSON, F. W., 172, Lambeth Road, S.E.
	1880	CHEVALIER, N., 5, Porchester Terrace, W.
	1879	CHADWICK, OSBERT, C.E., Park Cottage, East Sheen, Mortlake, S.W.
	1868	CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, C.E., M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
105	1873	CHOWN, T. C., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, 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.
	1881	CHURCHILL, CHARLES, Weybridge Park, Surrey.
	1872	CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.
110	1875	†CLARKE, HYDE, D.C.L., 32, St. George's Square, S.W.
	1881	CLARKSON, DAVID, 28, 29 & 30, Paternoster Row, E.C.
	1877	CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E. (Messrs. Robey & Co.), Lincoln.
	1868	CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.
	1881	COBB, ALFRED B., 34, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
115	1879	COCKS, REGINALD T., 29, Stanhope Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.
	1879	CODY, BRYAN A.
	1881	COLLEY, CHARLES C., 4, Lombard Street, E.C.
	1872	COLOMB, CAPTAIN J.C.R., R.M.A., Droumquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, Ireland, and Junior United Service Club, Charles St., S.W.
	1869	COLTHURST, J.B., 38, Elgin Road, Kensington Park, W.
120	1880	THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT COMBERMERE, Combermere Abbey, Whitchurch, Salop, and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
	1876	COODE, SIR JOHN, 35, Norfolk Square, W., and 2, Westminster Chambers, S.W.
	1880	COODE, J. CHARLES, C.E., Mecklenburgh Lodge, Grange Road, Ealing, W.

Year of
Election.

- 1874 †COODE, M. P. (Secunderabad, Madras Presidency, India).
- 1874 COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART, K.C.M.G., 6, De Vere Gardens, Kensington Palace, W.
- 1879 COOPER, EDWARD, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- 1874 *CORVO, H. E. SUR JOAO ANDRADA, Portugal.
- 1874 COSENS, FREDERICK W., 16, Water Lane, Tower Street, E.C.
- 1872 CRANBROOK, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.S.I., 17, Grosvenor Crescent.
- 1880 COWAN, JAMES, M.P., 100, St. George's Square, S.W., and 35, Royal Terrace, Edinburgh, N.B.
- 1873 †CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 6, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.
- 1881 CRAWFORD, J. COURTTS, Overton House, Strathaven, Lanark, N.B.
- 1869 CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, Wool Exchange, E.C., and Granard Lodge, Roehampton.
- 1876 CROSSMAN, COLONEL W., R.E., C.M.G., 30, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W., and Junior United Service Club.
- 1874 CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1878 CURLING, GEORGE S., 27, Brunswick Square, Brighton.
- 1874 CURRIE, SIR DONALD, K.C.M.G., M.P., 13, Hyde Park Place, W.
- 1877 CURREY, ELIOTT S., M.I.C.E., 7, Sumner Terrace, Onslow Square, S.W.
- 1875 CURWEN, REV. E. H., Plumbland Rectory, Carlisle.
- 1868 DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1880 DANGAR, F. H., 7, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1881 DANIEL, E. MORTON, 2, St. Mary's Road, Westbourne Park, W.
- 1881 DANIEL, HENRY J., 22, Bedford Row, W.C.
- 1872 DAUBENEY, GENERAL SIR H.C.B., K.C.B., 36, Elvaston Place, S.W.
- 1873 DAVIS, STEUART S., Spencer House, Knyverton Road, Bournemouth.
- 1881 DAVIS, PHILIP D., 4, Stafford Place, S.W.
- 1881 DEARE, F. D., 19, Coleman Street, E.C.
- 1881 DELMEGE, EDWARD T., 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1880 DE COLYAR, HENRY A., 24, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
- 1881 DE PASS, ALFRED, 88, Kensington Gardens Square, W.
- 1880 DE POIX TYREL, JOHN, 3, Argyle Road, W.
- 1876 DEVERELL, W. T., 6, Blenheim Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- 1879 DIBLEY, GEORGE, 19, Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, E.C.
- 1878 DICKSON, JAMES, Palace House, Croydon, and 25, Milk Street, Cheapside, E.C.
- 1878 DODGSON, WILLIAM OLIVER, Manor House, Sevenoaks.
- 1879 DOMETT, ALFRED, C.M.G., 32, St. Charles's Square, North Kensington, W.

	Year of Election.	
	1873	DOMVILLE, LIEUT.-GENERAL J. W., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
	1879	DONALDSON, ALEXANDER, Kenmure, Kenley, Surrey.
	1879	DONNELLY, HARRY WALTER, C. E., 10, Holles Street, Merrion Square, Dublin.
	1871	DOUGLAS, STEWART, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
160	1878	DOYLE, GENERAL SIR HASTINGS, K.C.M.G., 18, Bolton Street, W.
	1875	DU CANE, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., 16, Pont Street, Belgrave Square, S.W., and Braxted Park, Witham, Essex.
	1868	†DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Portman Square, W.
	1868	DU-CROZ, F. A., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.
	1868	DUDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.
165	1868	DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.
	1869	DUNCAN, WILLIAM, 83, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
	1879	DUNCKLEY, CHARLES, 15, Coleman Street, E.C.
	1872	DUNN, JAMES A.
	1878	†DUNRAVEN, THE RIGHT HON THE EARL OF, K.P., Coombe Wood, Kingston-on-Thames, and White's Club, S.W.
170	1874	DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 10, St. Mary Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
	1881	DURANT, AUGUSTUS, 89, Gresham Street, E.C.
	1876	DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 1, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.
	1872	DUTTON, F. H., Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
	1880	DUTTON, FRANK M., Hanover Square Club, W.
175	1880	DUTTON, FREDERICK, 3, Drapers' Gardens, Throgmorton Street, E.C.
	1876	†EDWARDS, STANLEY, Box 199, Christchurch, New Zealand.
	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	ELLIOT, ROBERT H., 38, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso, Roxburghshire, N.B.
180	1874	ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place, W.C.
	1880	ERRINGTON, GEORGE, M.P., I.6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.
	1881	EVISON, E., Blizewood Park, Caterham, Surrey.
	1878	EVANS, RICHARDSON, 2, Homefield Terrace, Wimbledon, S.W.
	1879	EWEN, JOHN ALEXANDER, 20, Philip Lane, London Wall, E.C.
185	1872	FAIRFAX, T. S., Newtown, St. Boswell's, N.B., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
	1869	FANNING, WM. BOZEDOWN, Whitechurch, Reading.
	1873	FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.

Year of
Election.

- 1880 FARMER, JOHN, Weavers' Hall, 22, Basinghall Street, E.C.
 1878 FASS, A., 70, Queen Street, Cannon Street, E.C.
 1873 †FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of
 Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C.
 1879 FELL, ARTHUR, 5, Pembroke Road, Kensington, W.
 1876 FERARD, B. A., Hazelhurst, Freshwater, Isle of Wight.
 1875 FERGUSSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G.,
 Governor of Bombay, Carlton Club; and Kilkerran, N.B.
 1873 FIFE, GEORGE R., 29, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
 1879 FITT, JOHN H., Bartica, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, S.E., and
 Barbados.
 1876 FOCKING, ADOLPHUS, 106, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1878 FOLKARD, ARTHUR, 20, Clifton Villas, Maida Vale, W.
 1876 FORSTER, ANTHONY, 5, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1875 FORSTER, THE RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P., 80, Eccleston Square,
 S.W.
 1868 FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY F., 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
 1881 FRASER, JAMES, Newfield, Blackheath Park, S.E.
 1870 †FREELAND, HUMPHRY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum
 Club; and Chichester.
 1881 FRERE, RIGHT HON. SIR H. BARTLE E., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., 42,
 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, W., and Athenæum Club,
 Pall Mall, S.W.
 1868 FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.
 1872 *FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
 1881 FYERS, MAJOR-GENERAL W. A., C.B., 19, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
 1880 GALT, SIR ALEXANDER T., G.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Canada,
 10, Victoria Chambers, and 66, Lancaster Gate, W.
 1869 †GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor
 Place, S.W.
 1881 GARDNER, EDWARD J. DENT, Sherwood, Eltham Road, Blackheath,
 S.E.
 1879 †GARDNER, STEWART, 7, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
 1880 GERVERS, FRANCIS H. A., Kimberley Lodge, New Malden, Surrey.
 1873 GIDDY, R. W. H., 6, Kensington Gardens Square, W.
 1879 GILCHRIST JAMES, 11, Pembridge Villas, Bayswater, W.
 1875 GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 81, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
 1880 GLOVER, COLONEL T. G., R.E., Stapen Hill, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
 1879 GODFREY, FREDERICK R., care of Messrs. Shuter & Co., 47 Basing-
 hall Street, E.C.
 1869 GODSON, GEORGE R., 8, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 GOLLAN, DONALD, care of Messrs. Sinclair, Hamilton, & Co., 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1876 GOODWIN, REV. R., Hildersham Rectory, Cambridge.
- 220 1869 GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.
- 1880 GRAHAME, W. S., Abercorn, Richmond Hill, S.W.
- 1868 GRAIN, WILLIAM, 50, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1869 GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. EARL, K.G., 18, Carlton House-Terrace, S.W.
- 1880 GRAY, AMEROSE G. WENI WORTH, 31, Great St. Helen's, E.C., and 21, Queen Anne Street, W.
- 225 1881 GRAY, ROBERT J., 12, Charterhouse Buildings, E.C.
- 1877 †GREATHEAD, JAS. H., C.E., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
- 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.
- 230 1879 GRAY, GEORGE, Hanover Square Club, W.
- 1879 GREIG, HENRY ALFRED, The Eaves, Belvedere, Kent.
- 1876 GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, 57, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.
- 1877 GRIFFITHS, MAJOR ARTHUR, 59, Belgrave Road, S.W., and Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1879 GUILLEMARD, ARTHUR G., Eltham, Kent.
- 235 1874 GWYNNE, FRANCIS A., 15, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W., and Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.
- 1879 †HADFIELD, ROBERT, M.I.M.E., Ashdell, Sheffield.
- 1879 HADLEY, ALDERMAN S. C., 5, Knightrider Street, E.C.
- 1876 HALIBURTON, A. L., C.B., 2, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
- 1873 HALL, ARTHUR, 35, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
- 240 1875 HALL, HENRY, 4, Glynde Terrace, Lavender Hill, S.W.
- 1881 HAMILTON, JAMES BAILLIE, Greenwich Park, S.E.
- 1890 HAMILTON, P., Lewisham Park, S.E.
- 1881 HAMILTON, ROBERT, G.C., Accountant General to the Navy, Admiralty, S.W., and Brefray House, Tulse Hill, S.W.
- 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 12, Bloomfield Street, E.C.
- 245 1878 HARBOTTLE, THOMAS, Strawberry Hill, Chessington, Surrey.
- 1868 HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1877 †HARRIS, WOLF, 197, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1879 HARSTON, E. F. BUTTEMER, Bank Chambers, 38, Throgmorton Street, E.C.

Year of
Election.

- 1878 HART, MONTAGUE P., 28, St. Luke's Road, Westbourne Park, W.
 1879 HARTINGTON, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, M.P., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, W.
 1869 HAUGHTON, JOHN, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W.
 1880 HEALEY, EDWARD C., 86, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1876 *HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G. (Colonial Museum, Wellington, New Zealand).
 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, East Neuk, Blackheath.
 1877 HERRING, REV. A. STYLEMAN, B.A., 45, Colebrooke Row, N.
 1876 HILL, REV. JOHN G. H., M.A., 2, St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, N.W., and Quarley Rectory, Andover, Hants.
 1869 HILL, JOHN S., 32, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
 1880 HILL, MATTHEW, Downside House, Chilcompton, Bath.
 1879 HILL, THOMAS DANIEL, 21, Grosvenor Place, S.W., and 4, Mincing Lane, E.C.
 1872 HODGSON, ARTHUR, C. M. G., Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1879 HODGSON, H. TYLSTON, M.A., Harpenden, Hertfordshire.
 1879 HOFFNUNG, S., 38, Redcliffe Square, S.W.
 1874 †HOGG, QUINTIN, 4, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.
 1875 HOLLINGS, H. DE B., M.A., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1879 HORA, JAMES, 103, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1869 HOUGHTON, LORD, M.A., D.C.L., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1876 †HOUSTOUN, G. L., Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.
 1881 †HUGHES, JOHN, F.C.S., Holmdale, Forest Hill, S.E., and 79, Mark Lane, E.C.
 1880 IM THURN, EVERARD F., 4, Turl Street, Oxford.
 1881 INGRAM, W. J., 65, Cromwell Road, S.W.
 1880 IRVINE, THOMAS W., 10, Austin Friars, E.C.
 1869 IRWIN, J. V. H., 13, Hensbridge Villas, St. John's Wood, N.W.
 1877 ISAACS, MICHAEL BABEL, 35, Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.
 1869 JAMIESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1872 JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1880 JOHNSON, EDMUND, F.S.S., 3, Northwick Terrace, N.W.
 1877 JOSHUA, SAUL, 27, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
 1874 JOURDAIN, H. J., 1A, Portland Place, W.
 1868 JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G., C.B., Cornwall House, Brompton Crescent, S.W.

- | | Year of Election. | |
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| 280 | 1876 | KARUTH, FRANK, 17, Oriental Place, Brighton. |
| | 1881 | KAYE, WILLIAM, 102, Cromwell Road, S.W. |
| | 1881 | KENDALL, FRANKLIN R., 1, The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E. |
| | 1881 | KENNEDY, D. C., St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W. |
| | 1877 | KENNEDY, JOHN MURRAY, Knockralling, Kirkcudbrightshire, N.B. and New University Club, S.W. |
| 285 | 1879 | KEY, ADMIRAL SIR ASTLEY COOPER, K.C.B., F.R.S., 13, New Street, Spring Gardens, S.W. |
| | 1874 | KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C. |
| | 1869 | †KINNAIRD, LORD, 2, Pall Mall East, S.W. |
| | 1880 | †KIRKCALDIE, ROBERT, Villa Rosa, Potters Bar, N. |
| | 1875 | KNIGHT, A. H., 62, Holland Park, Kensington, W. |
| 290 | 1873 | KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. |
| | 1878 | KOUGH, THOMAS W., Eastnor Cottage, Reigate, Surrey. |
| | 1869 | †LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C., and Hillingdon House, Harrow. |
| | 1878 | LIAING, DR. P. SINCLAIR, 28, Claverton Street, St. George's Square, S.W. |
| | 1879 | LIAING, JAMES R., 7, Australian Avenue, E.C. |
| 295 | 1880 | LIANDALE, ALEXANDER, care of Messrs. Dalgety, Du Croz, and Co., 52, Lombard Street, E.C. |
| | 1881 | LANGTON, JAMES, Hillfield, Reigate. |
| | 1881 | LANYON, JOHN, C., Birdhurst, Croydon. |
| | 1876 | †LARDNER, W. G., 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W. |
| | 1878 | LARK, TIMOTHY, 9, Pembridge Place, Bayswater, W. |
| 300 | 1878 | LASCELLES, JOHN, 4, Percy Road, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, W. |
| | 1881 | LAUGHLAND, JAMES, 85, Gracechurch Street, E.C. |
| | 1881 | LAWRENCE, THE HON. CHARLES N., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C. |
| | 1875 | LAWRENCE, W. F., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W., and Cowesfield House, Salisbury. |
| | 1877 | LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER M., 17, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W. |
| 305 | 1880 | LEGGE, CAPTAIN W. VINCENT, R.A., Aberystwith, Wales. |
| | 1879 | LETHBRIDGE, WILLIAM, M.A., 71, Portland Place, W. |
| | 1869 | LEVESON, EDWARD J., Cluny, Anerley, S.E. |
| | 1874 | LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W. |
| | 1881 | LITTLETON, LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. EDWARD G. P., C.M.G., 55, Warwick Square, S.W. |
| 310 | 1874 | LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire. |
| | 1881 | LITTLETON, THE HON. WILLIAM F., C.M.G., Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire; and Travellers' Club, S.W. |

Year of
Election.

- 1874 *LLOYD, SAMPSON S., Moor Hall, Sutton-Coldfield, Warwickshire ;
and Carlton Club.
- 1878 LONG, CLAUDE, H., M. A., 50, Marine Parade, Brighton.
- 1878 †LORNE, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, K.P., G.C.M.G. (Governor-
General of Canada).
- 5 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, Bank of New Zealand, 1, Queen Victoria
Street, E.C.
- 1880 LOWRY, MAJOR-GENERAL R. W., C.B., 25, Warrington Crescent,
Maida Hill, W. ; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1877 LUBBOCK, NEVILLE, 16, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1871 LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1872 LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 11, Down Street, Piccadilly, W.
- o 1879 †LYELL, FRANCIS H., F.R.G.S., Nettlestone, Bickley, Kent ; and
Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1878 MACALISTER, ARTHUR, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), 1,
Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1869 McARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.
- 1873 McARTHUR, ALDERMAN WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwyder Houses, Brixton,
S.W.
- 1878 McCALMAN, ALLAN C., 27, Holland Park, W.
- 5 1874 MacCARTHY, JUSTIN, M.P., Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W.
- 1880 McCLURE, SIR THOMAS, BART., M.P., Belmont, Belfast ; Reform
Club, S.W. ; and 21, The Grove, Boltons, S.W.
- 1878 †McCONNELL, JOHN, 65, Holland Park, W.
- 1868 McDONALD, H. C., Warwick House, South Norwood Park, S.E. ; and
116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1869 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER J., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
- o 1877 MACDOUGALL, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR PATRICK L., K.C.M.G. (command-
ing Her Majesty's Forces in British North America), Halifax,
Nova Scotia.
- 1874 MacEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE.
- 1873 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.
- 1869 MacFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W. ; and Dreghorn, Colinton,
Edinburgh, N.B.
- 1879 McILWRAITH, ANDREW, 34, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 5 1881 †McIVER, DAVID, M.P., 34, Lancaster Gate, Hyde Park, W.
- 1881 MACKAY, A. MACKENZIE, 85, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1880 McKELLAR, THOMAS.
- 1874 McKERRELL, R. M., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 MacKILLOP, C. W., 14, Royal Crescent, Bath.
- o 1869 MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.

- | | Year of
Election. | |
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| | 1872 | MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. |
| | 1869 | MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey; and Athenæum Club. |
| | 1875 | †MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W. |
| | 1878 | MALCOLM, A. J., 27, Lombard Street, E.C. |
| 345 | 1879 | MALLESON, FRANK R., Camp Cottage, Wimbledon, S.W. |
| | 1879 | MANACKJI, THE SETNA EDULJEE, Hanover Square, Club, W. |
| | 1868 | †MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.P., 1, Great Stanhope Street, W.; and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neots. |
| | 1881 | MANN, W. E., 1, Aldermanbury Avenue, E.C. |
| | 1869 | MANNERS-SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM, Arthur's Club, St. James's Street, S.W. |
| 350 | 1878 | MARCHANT, W. L., Crow's Nest, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey. |
| | 1879 | MARE, WILLIAM H., 15, Onslow Square, S.W. |
| | 1877 | MARSHALL, JOHN, F.R.G.S., Auckland Lodge, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey. |
| | 1879 | MARTIN, WILLIAM, 20, Philip Lane, London Wall, E.C. |
| | 1880 | MATTERSON, WILLIAM, Endsleigh, Streatham, S.W. |
| 355 | 1875 | MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W. |
| | 1877 | MAYNARD, H. W., St. Aubyn's, Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W. |
| | 1875 | MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin. |
| | 1878 | MEINERTZHAGAN, ERNEST LOUIS, Belmont, Wimbledon Common, S.W. |
| | 1872 | MEREWETHER, F. L. S., Peacocks, Ingatestone, Essex. |
| 360 | 1877 | MERRY, WILLIAM L., Wool Exchange, Coleman Street, E.C. |
| | 1877 | †METCALFE, FRANK E., Highfield, Hendon, N. |
| | 1878 | MEWBURN, WILLIAM R., 1, Bank Buildings, Lothbury, E.C. |
| | 1874 | MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W. |
| | 1879 | MILLER, WILLIAM, 67, Queen Victoria Street, E.C. |
| 365 | 1869 | MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C. |
| | 1878 | MOCATTA, ERNEST G., 58, Kensington Gardens Square, W. |
| | 1881 | MOFFATT, GEORGE, 6, Lime Street, E.C. |
| | 1868 | MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C. |
| | 1869 | MONCK, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., Brooks's Club, S.W.; and Charleville, Enniskerry, Wicklow. |
| 370 | 1869 | MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset; and 51, St. George's Road, S.W. |
| | 1869 | MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 85, Hyde Park Square, W. |
| | 1878 | MONTEFIORE, J. B., 36, Kensington Gardens Square, W. |
| | 1877 | MONTEFIORE, J. L., Kerr Bank, Upper Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E. |
| | 1878 | MONTEFIORE, LESLIE J., 28, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W. |

Year of
Election.

- 1879 MONTEFIORE, SIDNEY B., 50, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1868 †MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
- 1873 MOORE, WM. FREDK., 6, Cambrian Villas, Queen's Road, Richmond,
Surrey.
- 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington,
S.W.
- 1876 *MORGAN, HENRY J., Ottawa, Canada.
- 1877 MORT, LAIDLEY, Endrick, Epsom, Surrey.
- 1869 MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
- 1879 MOSENTHAL, HENRY DE, 1, Beer Lane, E.C.
- 1880 MOULES, HENRY, English, Scottish, and Australian Bank, 73,
Cornhill, E.C.
- 1875 MUIR, HUGH, 30, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1880 MURRAY, W. M., 12, 13 & 14, Barbican, E.C.
- 1881 NATHAN, ALFRED N., 39, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1877 NATHAN, HENRY (late M.L.C. British Columbia), 110, Portsdown
Road, Maida Hill, W.
- 1874 †NAZ, SIR VIRGILE, K.C.M.G. (M.L.C. Mauritius), care of Messrs.
Chalmers, Guthrie & Co., 39, Lime Street, E.C.
- 1881 NEAVE, EDWARD, 2, Billiter Square, E.C.; & 39, Bryanstone
Square, W.
- 1880 NEILL, G. J., D.A.C.G.
- 1881 NELSON, EDWARD M., Hanger Hill House, Ealing, W.
- 1875 NELSON, WILLIAM, 2, Jury Street, Warwick.
- 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., The Grange, Totteridge, Herts, N.
- 1881 NIHILL, PAUL H., 37, Charterhouse Square, E.C.
- 1881 NOVELLI, L. W., 8, Hyde Park Square, W.
- 1868 NORTHCOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., G.C.B., M.P.,
30, St. James's Place, S.W.; Carlton Club, S.W.; and The
Pynes, near Exeter, Devon.
- 1880 NOURSE, HENRY, Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 NUTT, R. W., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.; and
Paris.
- 1878 OAKLEY, WILLIAM, 29, Charles Street, St. James's, S.W.
- 1876 OHLSON, JAMES L., 9, Billiter Square, E.C.
- 1875 O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH (Agent for Quebec), 2, Park Villas, Wimble-
don Park Road, Wandsworth, S.W.
- 1875 †OPPENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.
- 1875 OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH, 52, Brown Street, Manchester.
- 1872 OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, M.P., 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.

- | | Year of Election. | |
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| 405 | 1880 | OWEN, SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., 2, The Residences, South Kensington Museum, S.W. |
| | 1875 | PAGET, JOHN C., 79, Woodstock Road, Finsbury Park, N. |
| | 1879 | PALLISER, CAPTAIN EDWARD, 6, Charleville Road, West Kensington, S.W. |
| | 1878 | PALLISER, CAPTAIN JOHN, C.M.G., National Club, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W. |
| | 1879 | PALLISER, LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WILLIAM, C.B., M.P., 21, Earl's Court Square, S.W. |
| 410 | 1876 | PALMER, HENRY POLLARD, 66, Dale Street, Port Street, Manchester. |
| | 1880 | PARBURY, CHARLES, 3, De Vere Gardens, Kensington, W. |
| | 1879 | PARFITT, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, 18, Cromwell Place, South Kensington, S.W. |
| | 1880 | PARK, W. C. CUNNINGHAM, 25, Lime Street, E.C. |
| | 1881 | PARKER, GEORGE G., 103 & 104, Palmerston Buildings, E.C. |
| 415 | 1877 | PARKINSON, THOMAS, Crossley Street, Halifax. |
| | 1879 | PARTRIDGE, FREDERICK J., 35, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W. |
| | 1869 | PATERSON, J., 7 & 8, Australian Avenue, E.C. |
| | 1874 | PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W. |
| | 1879 | †PATTINSON, JOSEPH, 12, Bow Lane, E.C. |
| 420 | 1876 | PAYNE, EDWARD J., 23, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. |
| | 1880 | PAYNE, JOHN, 34, Coleman Street, E.C.; and 3, Alexander Villas, Finsbury Park, N. |
| | 1881 | PEACE, WALTER (Natal Government Emigration Agent), 21, Finsbury Circus, E.C. |
| | 1877 | PEACOCK, GEORGE, 74, Coleman Street, E.C. |
| | 1877 | PEACOCK, J. M., Clevedon, Addiscombe, Surrey. |
| 425 | 1878 | †PEEK, CUTHBERT EDGAR, Wimbledon House, S.W. |
| | 1879 | PELLY, LEONARD, Loughton Rectory, Essex. |
| | 1875 | PERCEVAL, AUGUSTUS G., 13, Sibella Road, Clapham, S.W. |
| | 1875 | PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., 32, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W. |
| | 1879 | †PETHERICK, EDWARD A., 8, Gilbert Villas, Brixton Rise, S.W. |
| 430 | 1880 | PFOUNDERS, CHARLES, F.R.G.S. |
| | 1879 | PHARAZYN, EDWARD, Hanover Square Club, W. |
| | 1875 | PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 3, Abchurch Lane, E.C. |
| | 1878 | †PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., Leaside, Kingswood Road, Upper Norwood, S.E. |
| | 1880 | PLANT, GEORGE W., Halewood Villa, Westdown Road, Catford Bridge, S.E. |
| 435 | 1878 | PLEWMAN, THOMAS, 3, Lexham Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W. |

- | Year of
Election. | |
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| 1869 | †POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Newton Toney, Salisbury, Hants. |
| 1878 | POPE, WILLIAM AGNEW, Merrington House, Bolton Gardens, S.W.;
and Union Club, S.W. |
| 1875 | PORTER, ROBERT, Westfield House, South Lyncombe, Bath. |
| 1873 | FRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C.; and Frognal,
Hampstead, N.W. |
| 440 1881 | FRANKERD, PETER D., The Knoll, Sneyd Park, Clifton, Bristol. |
| 1868 | PRATT, J. J., 79, Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C. |
| 1881 | PRICE, EVAN J., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C. |
| 1873 | PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, W. |
| 1874 | PUGH, W. R., M.D., 3, Fairfax Road, South Hampstead, N.W. |
| 445 1879 | PUNCH, JAMES W., Denmark House, Forest Rise, Snaresbrook,
Essex. |
| 1871 | QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham, S.W. |
| 1868 | RAE, JAMES, 32, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W. |
| 1869 | †RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C. |
| 1876 | RAE, JOHN, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., 4, Addison Gardens West,
Kensington, W. |
| 450 1881 | RALLI, PANDELI, M.P., 17, Belgrave Square, S.W. |
| 1872 | RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings,
Old Broad Street, E.C. |
| 1872 | RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Woldringfold, near Horsham. |
| 1880 | †RANKIN, JAMES, M.P., 35, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.; and Bryngwyn,
Hereford. |
| 1881 | †REAY, LORD, 6, Great Stanhope Street, W.; and Carolside,
Earlston, N.B. |
| 455 1879 | REID, GEORGE, 79, Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C. |
| 1880 | REID, W. L., 19, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W. |
| 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. |
| 460 1872 | RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, Arts Club, 17, Hanover Square, W. |
| 1881 | ROBERTSON, CAMPBELL, 2, Billiter Square, E.C.; and 34, Addison
Gardens, W. |
| 1880 | ROBERTSON, ROBERT M., 12, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W. |
| 1881 | ROBINSON, JAMES SALKELD, Roachbank, Rochdale. |
| 1878 | ROBINSON, SIR BRYAN, 18, Gordon Place, Kensington, W. |
| 465 1879 | ROBINSON, MURRELL R., M.I.C.E., 95, Philbeach Gardens, South
Kensington, S.W. |
| 1869 | ROGERS, ALEXANDER, 38, Clanricarde Gardens, W. |

Year of
Election.

- 1877 ROGERS, COLIN, 9, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1876 RONALD, R.B., Pembury Grange, near Tunbridge Wells.
 1878 ROSE, B. LANCASTER, 1, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.
 470 1879 ROSE, CHARLES D., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C.
 1869 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., G.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C.; and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1881 †ROSEBERY, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 107, Piccadilly, W.; and Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, N.B.
 1874 ROSS, HAMILTON, 22, Basinghall Street, E.C.
 1880 ROSS, JOHN, Morven Park, Potters Bar, N.
 475 1879 ROUTLEDGE, THOMAS, Claxheugh, Sunderland.
 1879 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN A. H., Montriond le Crêt, Lausanne, Switzerland.
 1879 RUSSELL, P. N., 66, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1875 RUSSELL, PURVIS, Warroch, Milnathort, Kinross-shire, N.B.
 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, Haremare Hall, Hurstgreen, Sussex.
 480 1878 RUSSELL, THOMAS, C.M.G., 59, Eaton Square, S.W.
 1876 RYALL, R., 24, Warwick Lane, E.C.
- 1881 SAILLARD, PHILIP, 85, Aldersgate Street, E.C.
 1874 SAMUEL, SAUL, C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales), 5, Westminster Chambers, S.W.
 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.
 485 1880 SANDFORD, COLONEL SIR HERBERT BRUCE, R.A., 1, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
 1868 †SARGEAUNT, W. C., C.M.G., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
 1880 SARGOOD, FREDERICK T., Rybal Mount, Champion Hill, Surrey.
 1873 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 12, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1879 SAUNDERS, H. W. D., Brickendon Grange, Hertford.
 490 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 36, Sackville Street, W.
 1869 †SCHWARTZE, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.
 1879 SCLANDERS, ALEXANDER, 10, Cedars Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
 1872 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 4, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.E.
 1868 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.
 495 1881 SELBY, PRIDEAUX, Benton Holme, Chepstow Road, Croydon; and 4, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
 1879 SHAND, SIR C. FARQUHAR, d4, The Albany, W.
 1880 SHAW, JOHN, 103, Holland Road, Kensington, W.; and 48, Bedford Row, W.C.
 1879 SHEPHERD, WILLIAM LAKE, 30, Talbot Road, Westbourne Park, W.
 74 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

- | Year of
Election. | |
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| 500 1868 | †SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C. |
| 1881 | SIM, ALEXANDER, Harrow Weald Park, Stanmore. |
| 1869 | SIMMONDS, P. L., 85, Finborough Road, South Kensington, S.W. |
| 1881 | SIMPSON, COMMANDER H. G., R.N., New Lodge, Worcester Park,
Surrey. |
| 1881 | SINGH, THE RAJAH RAMPAL, 35, Colville Square, W. |
| 505 1879 | SMITH, ARTHUR, The Shrubbery, Walmer, Kent. |
| 1879 | SMITH, CATTERSON, 18, Wood Street, Cheapside, E.C. |
| 1878 | SMITH, DAVID, 5, Laurence Pountney Lane, E.C.; and 11, Arundel
Terrace, Brighton. |
| 1880 | SMITH, JOSEPH J., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C. |
| 1873 | SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.P., 3, Grosvenor Place,
S.W.; and The Greenland, Henley-on-Thames. |
| 510 1874 | SOPER, W. G., Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, E.C. |
| 1873 | SPENCE, J. BERGER, F.R.G.S., &c., 31, Lombard Street, E.C. |
| 1874 | SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C. |
| 1879 | STAFFORD, SIR EDWARD W., K.C.M.G., 48, Stanhope Gardens,
South Kensington, S.W. |
| 1872 | STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W. |
| 515 1878 | STARKE, J. GIBSON, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), Troqueer Holm, near
Dumfries, N.B. |
| 1878 | STEELE, WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, National Bank of New Zealand,
37, Lombard Street, E.C. |
| 1875 | STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W. |
| 1879 | STERN, PHILIP, 3, Pump Court, Temple, E.C. |
| 1875 | STEVENSON, L. C., 73, Courtfield Gardens, South Kensington, S.W. |
| 520 1881 | STEWART, GEORGE, 47, Mark Lane, E.C. |
| 1873 | STEWART, ROBERT, Mimosa Dale, Lordship Lane, East Dulwich, S.E. |
| 1881 | STEWART, ROBERT M., Hawthorne, Bickley, Kent; and 12, Redcross
Street, E.C. |
| 1881 | STIRLING, J. ARCHIBALD, 38, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square,
S.W. |
| 1874 | †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART., Glorat, Milton of Campsie, N.B.;
and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. |
| 525 1877 | STONE, F. W., B.C.L., 7, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. |
| 1881 | STORER, WM., 128, Leadenhall Street, E.C. |
| 1872 | STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W. |
| 1875 | STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 2, Cambridge Park Gardens, Twickenham,
S.W.; and 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C. |
| 1880 | †STREET, EDMUND, Millfield Lane, Highgate Rise, N. |
| 530 1878 | SUTHERLAND, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., Stafford House, St.
James's, S.W. |

Year of
Election.

- 1868 SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
 1875 SYMONS, G. J., F.R.S., 62, Camden Square, N.W.
- 1873 TAIT, SIR PETER.
 1880 TAYLER, FRANK, F.R.G.S., 156, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 535 1876 TAYLOR, CHARLES J., 61, Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.
 1879 TAYLOR, JAMES BANKS, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1881 †TAYLOR, THEODORE C., Westfield House, Batley, Yorkshire.
 1881 TAYLOR, W.P., 179, Upper Thames Street, London, E.C.
 1881 TEMPLE, SIR RICHARD, BART., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., The Nash, near Worcester; and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 540 1873 *TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., Haslemere, Surrey.
 1879 THOMAS, T. J., 138, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 1875 THOMSON, J. D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
 1877 THRUPP, LEONARD W., 10, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1869 TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 34, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 545 1872 TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
 1875 TOOTH, FRED., care of Messrs. Mort & Co., 155, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1872 TORRENS, SIR ROBERT R., K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1881 TORRENS, W. M., M.P., Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1881 TRAVERS, MARCUS, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 550 1874 TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W.; and 41, Botolph Lane, E.C.
 1878 TURNBULL, ALEXANDER, 118, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.
 1878 †TURNBULL, WALTER, Mount Henley, Sydenham Hill, Norwood, S.E.
 1879 ULCOQ, CLEMENT J. A., 22, Pembridge Gardens, W.
- 1874 VANDER-BYL, P.G. (Consul-General for the Orange Free State Republic), care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie & Co., 39, Lime Street, E.C.
- 555 1879 VOGEL, SIR JULIUS, K.C.M.G., 135, Cromwell Road, S.W.
 1880 VOSS, HERMANN, 15, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1881 WADE, CECIL, 13, Seymour Street, W.
 1881 WADE, PAGET A., 34, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1879 WAKEFIELD, CHARLES M., F.L.S., Belmont, Uxbridge.
- 560 1878 WALES, H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF, K.G., K.P., K.T., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., Marlborough House, S.W.
 1869 WALKER, EDWARD.
 1873 WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Uplands, Taunton.
 1868 WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hilldrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
 1877 WALLACE, HENRY RITCHIE COOPER, of Busbie and Cloncaird, 21, Magdala Crescent, Edinburgh.
- 565 1879 WALLER, WILLIAM N., J.P., The Grove, Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Year of Election.	
1878	WALTER, CAPT. EDWARD, Tangley, Wokingham, Berkshire.
1878	WARD, ALEXANDER, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
1880	WARREN, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, R.E., C.M.G., Brompton Barracks, Chatham.
1877	*WATSON, J. FORBES, M.A., M.D., LL.D., 5, Versailles Road, Anerley, S.E.
1881	WATTS, H. E., 15, Bath Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, S.W.
1879	WEATHERLY, DAVID KINGHORN, 9, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1869	WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.
1881	WEBSTER, ROBERT G., 67, Eccleston Square, S.W.
1870	WELLINGS, HENRY, Hanover Square Club, W.
1877	WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 117, Cannon Street, E.C.
1875	WESTERN, CHARLES R., Chaddesden Hill, Derby.
1868	WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, 28, Cornhill, E.C.; and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
1878	WHEELER, CHARLES, Park House, Addlestone, Surrey.
1881	WHITE, LEEDHAM, 44, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1873	WHITE, ROBERT, Mildmay Chambers, 82, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.
1877	WHITEFORD, WILLIAM, 3, Temple Gardens, E.C.
1876	WHITEHEAD, HERBERT M., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1874	WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N.; and Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.
1874	WILLIAMS, W. J., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1879	WILLIAMSON, JAMES, Norris's Hotel, Russell Road, Kensington, W.
1878	WILSON, ROBERT, St. Mary's Chambers, St. Mary Axe, E.C.
1876	WILSON, EDWARD D. J., Reform Club, S.W.
1878	WILSON, JOHN GEORGE HANNAY, 49, Thurloe Square, South Kensington, S.W.
1880	WILSON, WILLIAM, 5, Earl's Court Square, South Kensington, S.W., and Queensland.
1874	WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., Arthur's Club, St. James's Street, S.W., and 66, Portland Place, W.
1868	†WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W.; and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants.
1873	WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
1868	WRAY, LEONARD
1875	YARDLEY, S., 5, Westminster Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
1868	YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.
1874	YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., 55, Davies Street, Berkeley Square, W.; Reform Club, S.W.; and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks.
1869	†YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queenberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of Election.	
1880	ABDUR-RAHMAN, ABUL FAZL M. MOULVI, M.R.A.S., &c., Tolollah, Calcutta, India.
1878	ABDUR-RAHMAN, MOULVIE SYUD, F.S.S., Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple), 42, Toltollah Lane, Calcutta, India.
600 1878	ACKROYD, EDWARD JAMES, Substitute Master of the Supreme Court of Mauritius, Port Louis, Mauritius.
1878	ACLAND, HON. J. B. ARUNDEL, M.L.C., Christchurch, New Zealand.
1881	ADAMS, JOHN L., Sydney, New South Wales.
1877	ADOLPHUS, EDWIN, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
1881	AGLEN, CAPTAIN A. T., Richmond, Natal.
605 1881	AGNEW, HON. J. W., M.D., M.L.C., Hobart, Tasmania.
1881	AGOSTINI, EDGAR, Barrister-at-Law, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
1876	AKERMAN, J. W., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1879	ALEXANDER, A. H., Immigration Agent-General, Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	ALEXANDER, DOUGLAS, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
610 1881	ALISON, JAMES, F.R.G.S., Union Club, Sydney, N. S. Wales.
1872	ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.
1873	†ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.
1880	ALLEN, ROBERT, J.P., Colworth, Ladysmith, Natal.
1879	ALLEYNE, GEORGE H., Barbados, West Indies.
615 1880	†ALLPORT, WALTER H., C.E., The Repp, Newmarket P. O., Jamaica.
1880	ANDERSON, F. H., M.D., Government Medical Officer, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1873	†ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.
1881	ANDERSON, JAMES F., Bel-Air, Grde. Savanne, Mauritius.
1878	ANDREWS, WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
620 1879	†ANGAS, J. H., J.P., Collingrove, South Australia.
1880	ARCHER, WILLIAM, Gracemere, Queensland.
1879	ARCHIBALD, HON. ADAMS G., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1880	ARMBRISTER, HON. WM. E., M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas.
1877	ARMYTAGE, FERDINAND F., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
625 1881	ARMYTAGE, F. W., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
1881	ARMSTRONG, HIS HONOUR JAMES, C.M.G., Chief Justice, St. Lucia and Tobago.
1875	†ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1877	ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS, South Sea Islands.
1880	†ATKINSON, NICHOLAS, Solicitor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.
630 1880	ATHERSTONE, EDWIN, M.B., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1876	ATHERSTONE, DR. W. GUYBON, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).

- | Year of Election. | |
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| 1880 | †ATHERSTONE, GUYBON D., A.I.C.E., Grahamstown, Cape Colony. |
| 1872 | AULD, PATRICK, Auldana, Adelaide, South Australia. |
| 1878 | †AUSTIN, CHARLES PIERCY, Assistant Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1877 | AUSTIN, THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PERCY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Guiana, Kingston House, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1881 | AUSTIN, HIS HONOUR H. W., Chief Justice, Nassau, Bahamas. |
| 1878 | AUVRAY, P. ELICIO, Kingston, Jamaica. |
| 1881 | BALL, CAPTAIN, R. N. R., s.s. "Blenheim." |
| 1878 | BALL, FREDERICK A., Queen's Park, Toronto, Canada. |
| 1876 | BALDWIN, CAPTAIN W., Chingford, Dunedin, New Zealand. |
| 1875 | BAM, J. A., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony. |
| 1880 | BANBURY, GEORGE A., Assistant Colonial Secretary and Treasurer, Sierra Leone. |
| 1879 | BANNERMAN, SAMUEL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony. |
| 1880 | BARROW, H., Colmar House, Kingston, Jamaica. |
| 1875 | BARRY, HIS HONOUR SIR JACOB D., Grahamstown, Cape Colony. |
| 1880 | BARKWORTH, HAROLD A. S., 1st West India Regt., Sierra Leone. |
| 1875 | BARTER, CHARLES, Durban, Natal. |
| 1879 | BARTLEY, ARTHUR H., B.A., Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1880 | BARTON, WILLIAM, The Upper Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand. |
| 1875 | BAYNES, HON. EDWIN DONALD, C.M.G., President of Antigua, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies. |
| 1877 | BAYNES, THOMAS, Antigua, West Indies. |
| 1878 | BEAN, GEORGE T., Adelaide, South Australia. |
| 1880 | BEARD, CHARLES HALMAN, St. Kitts, West Indies. |
| 1872 | BEERE, D. M., Thames, Auckland, New Zealand. |
| 1877 | BEETHAM, WILLIAM H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand. |
| 1879 | BEIT, HENRY, Sydney, New South Wales. |
| 1880 | BELMONTE, B. C. CALACO, M.A., D.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1880 | BENNETT, GEORGE, M.D., Sydney, New South Wales. |
| 1878 | BENJAMIN, DAVID, Cape Town, Cape Colony. |
| 1880 | BENNETT, SAMUEL MACKENZIE, Immigration Department, Kingston, Jamaica. |
| 1879 | BENSON, GEORGE C., Superintendent of Government Telegraphs, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1875 | BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape Colony. |
| 1880 | BERKELEY, CAPTAIN J. H. HARDTMAN, Shadwell, St. Kitts, W. Indies. |
| 1878 | BERKELEY, HON. HENRY S., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies. |
| 1879 | BERKELEY, HON. T. B. H., C.M.G., Vice-President of the Federal Council, Cedar Hill, Antigua, West Indies. |

Year of
Election.

- 1878 BERRIDGE, A. HAMILTON, M.L.A., St. Kitts, West Indies.
- 1880 BERRIDGE, W. D., Colonial Bank, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1880 BERRY, ALEXANDER, Kingston P. O., Jamaica.
- 1877 BIRCH, A. S., Fitzherbert Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 670 1873 BIRCH, W. J., JUN., Stoneycroft, Hastings, New Zealand.
- 1874 BLYTH, CAPTAIN, C.M.G., Governor's Agent, Ibeka, South Africa.
- 1879 BOMPAS, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Panmure, East London, Cape Colony.
- 1878 BOOTHBY, JOSIAH, C.M.G., J.P., Under-Secretary, Adelaide, South
Australia.
- 1881 BOLTON, JOHN G. E., M.R.C.S., Savanne, Mauritius.
- 675 1880 BOSWORTH, ARTHUR, 1st West India Regt., Sierra Leone.
- 1879 BORMAN, EDWIN H., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1879 BOUCHERVILLE, A. DE, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1874 BOURINOT, J. G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1879 BOURKE, WELLESLEY, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 680 1878 †BOUSFIELD, THE RIGHT REV. E. H., D.D., Lord Bishop of Pretoria,
Bishop's Cote, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1874 BOWEN, EDWARD C., Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.
- 1881 BOWEN, SIR GEORGE F., G.C.M.G., Govt. House, Mauritius.
- 1881 BOYLE, MOSES, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1879 BRADFIELD, JOHN L., M.L.A., Dordrecht, Wodehouse, Cape Colony.
- 685 1878 BRANDON, ALFRED DE BATHE, M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1881 BREWER, H. MOLYNEAUX, Wanganui, New Zealand.
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., Fairfield, Ruataniwha, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1880 BRIDGES, W. F., New Amsterdam, British Guiana.
- 1880 BROADHURST, JOHN, M.L.C., Sierra Leone.
- 690 1881 BROOKS, HON. J. W., M.L.C., Bengal, India.
- 1874 BRODRIBB, W. A., Buckhurst, Double Bay, near Sydney, N. S. W.
- 1878 BRODRIBB, KENRIC E., Burnett Street, St. Kilda, near Melbourne,
Australia.
- 1875 BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Ham-
ton, Ontario.
- 1881 BROWN, HON. ALFRED H., M.L.C., Baralon, Queensland
- 695 1880 BROWN, JOHN, M.B., J.P., Fraserburg, Cape Colony.
- 1872 BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.
- 1880 †BROWNE, C. MACAULEY, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1881 BROWNGER, SYDNEY G., C.E., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1879 BRUMMEL, JOHN, Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 700 1880 BUCHANAN, E. J., Judge of the Supreme Court, Grahamstown,
Cape Colony.
- 1881 BUCKLEY, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., Christchurch, Canterbury, New
Zealand.
- 1880 BUDGE, WILLIAM, Waterloo, Sierra Leone.

Year of
Election.

- 381 BULLER, DR. WALTER L., C.M.G., F.R.S., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 881 BULT, C. MANGIN, Dutoitspan, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 879 BULL, JAMES, Rangitiki, New Zealand.
- 877 BULLIVANT, WILLIAM HOSE, Avalon, Lara, Victoria, Australia.
- 869 BULWER, SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G.
- 880 BURGER, HENRY J., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 876 BURGERS, HON. J. A., M.L.C., Murraysburg, Cape Colony.
- 879 BURKE, HENRY LARDNER, B.A., Gordon Terrace, Port Elizabeth,
Cape Colony.
- 871 BURKE, HON. SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, M.L.C., Assistant Attorney-
General, Jamaica.
- 879 BURNSIDE, HON. BRUCE L., Queen's Advocate, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 879 BURROWES, A. A., Colonial Receiver General's Office, Georgetown,
British Guiana.
- 872 BUTLER, LIEUT.-COLONEL W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).
- 872 BUTTON, EDWARD, Newcastle, Natal.
- 878 †CAIRNCROSS, JOHN, J.P., Member of the Divisional Council, Mossel
Bay, Cape Colony.
- 879 CALDECOTT, HARRY S., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 878 CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.
- 873 CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1880 CAMPBELL, COLIN T., Auditor-General, Kimberley, Griqualand West,
Cape Colony.
- 1879 †CAMPBELL, GEORGE, Duntroon, New South Wales.
- 1873 CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1880 CAPPER, THOMAS, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1879 CARFRAE, JOHN, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1872 CARON, HON. ADOLPHE P., M.P., Quebec, Canada.
- 1879 CARPENTER, FRANK W., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1878 CARTER, GILBERT T., R.N., Collector of Customs and Treasurer,
Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1880 †CARTER, WILLIAM HENRY, B.A., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape
Colony.
- 1878 CASEY, HON. J. J., M.P., C.M.G., 36, Temple Court, Melbourne,
Australia.
- 1881 CASTELL, REV. H. T. S., Incumbent of St. Philip's, Georgetown,
British Guiana.
- 1879 CASTOR, CHRISTIAN F., Assistant Surgeon, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1876 CHADWICK, HON. F. M., Treasurer of Grenada, St. George's,
Grenada, West Indies.
- 1881 CHAMNEY, ROBERT WM., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1878 CHAPMAN, EDWARD, Sydney, New South Wales.

- 735 1879 CHAPMAN, JOHN, M.D., 212, Rue de Rivoli, Paris.
 1873 CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
 1874 CHIAPPINI, DR. P., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1881 CHARPENTIER, GUSTAVE, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1881 CHASTELLIER, PIERRE, L., Barrister-at-Law, Mauritius.
- 740 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).
 1880 †CHISHOLM, W., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
 1876 †CHRISTIAN, H. B., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1880 CHRISTIE, L. S., Melbourne, Australia.
 1878 CLARK, JAMES McCOSH, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 745 1880 CLARK, WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1868 CLARKE, COL. SIR ANDREW, R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B.
 1880 CLARKE, THOMAS F., Halfway Tree P.O., St. Andrew, Jamaica.
 1875 CLOETE, HENRY, Barrister-at-Law, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1874 CLOETE, WOODBINE, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 750 1879 †CLOSE, EDWARD CHARLES, Morpeth, New South Wales.
 1877 COCHRAN, JAMES, Widgiewa, Urana, New South Wales.
 1880 CODD, JOHN A., Dominion Bank, Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada.
 1879 COGDON, JOHN, Barrister-at-Law, Melbourne, Australia.
 1872 COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Hobart, Tasmania.
- 755 1876 COLLINS, J. WRIGHT, F.S.S., Colonial Treasurer, Stanley, Falkland Islands.
 1880 COLLYER, WILLIAM R., Acting Chief Justice, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 1879 COLTHIRST, HON. HENRY F., M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1881 COMPTON, LIEUT. J. N., R.N., Commanding Colonial Steamer "Prince of Wales," Sierra Leone.
- 760 1879 COOKE, WILLIAM FRANCIS, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
 1880 COOTE, AUDLEY, M.L.A., Hobart, Tasmania.
 1879 CORNISH, HORACE H., Colonial Bank, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
 1880 COURTNEY, J. M., Deputy Finance Minister, Ottawa, Canada.
 1877 †COX, HON. GEORGE H., M.L.C., Mudgee, New South Wales.
- 765 1875 CRAWFORD, JAMES D., Montreal, Canada.
 1876 CRESWICK, HENRY, Hawthorne, near Melbourne, Australia.
 1880 CRIPPS, THOMAS N., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1869 CROOKES, HON. ADAM, M.P., Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
 1880 CROSKERRY, DR. HUGH, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 770 1873 CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
 1874 CURRIE, JAMES, Port Louis, Mauritius.
 1879 CUTHBERT, SIDNEY, Melsetta, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
 1879 DA COSTA, D. C., Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies.

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- 379 DA COSTA, HENRY W., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 378 DALE, LIANGHAM, M.A., LL.D., Superintendent-General of Education, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 379 DALTON, E. H. G., Registrar of the Supreme Courts, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 379 DALY, THOMAS, Lamaha House, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 379 DALZIEL, J. A., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 380 DAMPIER, FREDERICK E., Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 374 DANGAR, W. J., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 381 DARBY, JAMES C., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 377 †DAVENPORT, SAMUEL, Beaumont, Adelaide, South Australia (Corresponding Secretary).
- 380 DAVIDSON, JOHN, J. P., Sherwood Forest, Jamaica.
- 381 DAVIS, B. S., St. Kitts, West Indies.
- 373 †DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Postmaster-General of British Guiana, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 375 †DAVIS, P., JUN., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 380 DAVISON, CHARLES F., M.A., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 378 DAVSON, GEORGE L., British Guiana Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 378 DAVSON, HENRY K., Berbice, British Guiana.
- 380 DAVSON, JAMES W., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 381 DE LA MARE, F., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 374 DENISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T., Commanding the Governor-General's Body Guard, Toronto, Canada.
- 381 DE PASS, ELLIOT A., F.R.G.S., Turf Club, New York.
- 381 DE PASS, FREDERICK, Kimberley, Cape Colony.
- 381 DE PASS, JOHN, Kimberley, Cape Colony.
- 380 DES VŒUX, G. W., C.M.G., Government House, Levuka, Fiji.
- 381 DILLET, THOS. WM. HY, Clerk of the Supreme Court and Keeper of the Records, Belize, British Honduras.
- 381 DISTEN, JOHN S., Tafelberg Hall, Middleburg, Cape Colony.
- 380 †DOBELL, RICHARD R., Quebec, Canada.
- 373 DOMVILLE, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES, M.P., St. John, New Brunswick.
- 379 DOUGAL, JOSEPH, Melbourne, Australia.
- 374 DOUTRE, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
- 375 DOUGLASS, ARTHUR, Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 379 D'OYLEY, JOHN, St. Vincent, West Indies.
- 381 †DRURY, EDWARD R., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 380 DUDLEY, CECIL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
- 372 DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G. Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, Constantinople.

- | | Year of
Election. | |
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| | 1879 | DUNCAN, CAPTAIN A., Superintendent of the Pilot Establishment, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| | 1881 | DUNLOP, REV. R., M.A., Nassau, Bahamas. |
| 810 | 1880 | DUNLOP, CHARLES E., Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon. |
| | 1880 | DUPONT, EVENOR, Port Louis, Mauritius. |
| | 1879 | EAGLESTONE, WILLIAM, Doveton Street, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia. |
| | 1880 | EAST, REV. D. J., Principal of Calabar College, Jamaica. |
| | 1880 | EASMON, J. FARRELL, M.D., F.R.C.S., Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast Colony. |
| 815 | 1881 | EBDEN, JOHN W., care of Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape Colony. |
| | 1879 | EDGECOME, JOHN T., Ceylon. |
| | 1878 | EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada. |
| | 1878 | EDWARDS, ARTHUR ELLIOTT, M.R.C.S.E., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies. |
| | 1877 | EDWARDS, HERBERT, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand. |
| 820 | 1874 | †EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Port Louis, Mauritius. |
| | 1879 | ELDRIDGE, HIS HONOUR C. M., President of Dominica, Government House, Dominica, West Indies. |
| | 1880 | ELLIOTT, HON. A. C., Victoria, British Columbia. |
| | 1879 | ELLIOTT, COLONEL JOHN, C.B., Inspector-Gen. of Police, Barbados. |
| | 1876 | †ELLIOT, WILLIAM THOMAS, Rockhampton, Queensland. |
| 825 | 1874 | ERSKINE, HON. MAJOR D. |
| | 1874 | ESCOMBE, HARRY, Durban, Natal. |
| | 1880 | ESTOURGIES, LEOPOLD, Royal Observatory, Brussels, Belgium. |
| | 1880 | EVANS, FREDERICK, Accra, Gold Coast Colony. |
| | 1878 | FAIRBAIRN, GEORGE, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. |
| 830 | 1880 | FAIRFAX, JOHN A., Sydney, New South Wales. |
| | 1879 | FAITHFULL, ROBERT L., M.D., Springfield, Goulbourn, N. S. Wales. |
| | 1876 | FALLON, J. T., Albury, New South Wales. |
| | 1877 | †FARMER, WM. MORTIMER MAYNARD, M.L.A., J.P., Maynard Villa, Wynberg, Cape Colony. |
| | 1881 | FARRAR, S. H., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony. |
| 835 | 1880 | FARRAR, THE REV. THOMAS, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| | 1877 | FAUNTLEROY, ROBERT, J.P., Slipe Penn, Kingston, Jamaica. |
| | 1881 | FAUCETT, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Sydney, New South Wales. |
| | 1880 | FEGAN, J. C., Kingston, Jamaica. |
| | 1880 | FELTHAM, H. J., Cape of Good Hope Bank, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony. |
| 840 | 1878 | FENWICK, FAIRFAX, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand. |
| | 1879 | FERGUSON, J., Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon. |

Year of
Election.

- 1880 FERGUSON, JAMES, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
 1880 FEURTADO, ALEXANDER, Kingston Post Office, Jamaica.
 1880 FIELD, WM. HENRY, J.P., Montserrat, West Indies.
 5 1879 FIELD, EDMUND, J.P., Great Diamond, British Guiana.
 1881 FINLAYSON, H. M. MACKAY, Queensland.
 1880 FINLAYSON, J. FINLAY.
 1876 FINLAYSON, J. H., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 †FINNEMORE, ROBERT I., Resident Magistrate, Durban, Natal.
 0 1880 FINNISS, J. H. S, M.D., Rose Hill, Mauritius.
 1877 FIRTH, HENRY ALOYSIUS, Emigration Agent for British Guiana,
 8, Garden Reach, Calcutta.
 1878 FISCHER, C. F., M.D., F.L.S., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1881 FISHER, WM, Esquimalt, British Columbia.
 1876 FITZGERALD, HON. NICHOLAS, M.L.C., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 5 1874 FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 38th Foot and 1st West India Regiment).
 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., Town Clerk of Melbourne, Australia.
 1869 FITZHERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New
 Zealand.
 1880 FLEMING, JOHN, Charlotte Town, Grenada.
 1878 FLEMING, SANDFORD, C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the New-
 foundland Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways,
 Ottawa, Canada.
 0 1875 FLOWER, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1879 FOLKARD, ALFRED, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1879 FORD, DR., Melbourne, Australia.
 1881 FORREST, W., Brisbane, Queensland.
 1878 †FORSHAW, GEORGE ANDERSON, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 5 1878 FORSSMAN, CHEVALIER, O.W.A., M.L.C., Consul-General for Portugal,
 Potchefstroom, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1869 FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.
 1876 FORTESCUE, G., M.B., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1879 FOWLER, WILLIAM J., Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1876 FOX, SIR W., K.C.M.G, M.H.R., Crofton, Rangitiki, New Zealand.
 0 1878 FRASER, HON. MALCOLM, M.L.C., C.M.G., Surveyor-General, Perth,
 Western Australia.
 1879 FRASER, ROBERT S., Kandanevewa, Elkadua, Ceylon.
 1879 †FRESSON, WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1881 FRITH, CHARLES, Brisbane, Queensland.
 1878 FYNNEY, F. B., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 75 1878 FYSH, HON. P. O., M.H.A., Hobart, Tasmania.
 1879 GADD, JOSEPH, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.

Year of
Election.

- 1879 †GALLAGHER, DENIS M., Assistant Government Secretary, and
Assistant Receiver General, Berbice, British Guiana.
- 1877 GARRAN, ANDREW, LL.D., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1880 †GEARD, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 880 1879 GIBBONS, C. C., British Vice-Consul, Porto Rico, West Indies.
- 1875 GIBBS, S. M.
- 1876 †GILBERT, WILLIAM, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1879 GILES, THOMAS, J.P., Adelaide Club, South Australia.
- 1880 GILLIES, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 885 1877 GILLMOR, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES T., Clerk of the Legislative
Assembly of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 †GILMORE, CAPTAIN G., Launceston, Tasmania.
- 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, Manchester, Jamaica.
- 1861 GLENNIE, THOMAS H., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1880 †GOLDNEY, HON. J. TANKERVILLE, Attorney-General of the Leeward
Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
- 890 1880 †GOLDSCHMIDT, ANTHONY, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1880 GOLDSCHMIDT, LUDWIG H., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1880 GOLDSWORTHY, HON. R. T., C.M.G., Government House, St. Lucia,
West Indies.
- 1878 GOODE, CHARLES H., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1868 GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 895 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Durban, Natal.
- 1869 GOODRICKE, D. G., Durban, Natal.
- 1879 †GORDON, CHARLES, M.D., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 1876 GORDON, JOHN, Toronto, Canada.
- 1879 GORDON, J. MACKENZIE, M.B., Hay, New South Wales.
- 900 1878 GOYDER, GEORGE WOODROFFE, Surveyor-General, Adelaide, South
Australia.
- 1873 GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1881 GRAHAM, JOSEPH, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1880 GRANT, DR. C. SCOVELL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
- 1879 GRANT, E. H., Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 905 1877 GRANT, LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS HUNTER, Stadacona Bank, Quebec,
Canada.
- 1880 GRANT, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1880 GRANT, WILLIAM, Durban, Natal.
- 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BULLEW.
- 1881 GRAY, SAMUEL W., Kiama, New South Wales.
- 910 1879 GREEN, CHARLES DE FREVILLE, District Commissioner, Accra, Gold
Coast Colony.
- 1881 †GREEN, MORTON, Durban, Natal.
- 1877 GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.

- Year of Election.
- 1880 †GREENACRE, B. W., M.L.C., Durban, Natal.
- 1880 GRIBBLE, J. D. B., Madras Civil Service, care of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Madras, India.
- 1879 †GRICE, J., Messrs. Grice, Sumner & Co., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1880 GRIEVE, DR. ROBERT, New Amsterdam, Berbice, British Guiana.
- 1881 GRIFFITH, HON. S. W., Q.C., M.L.A., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1875 GRIFFITH, HON. T. RISELY, Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1877 GRIFFITH, HON. W. BRANDFORD, C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, Lagos, West Africa.
- 1875 GURNEY, FRANK, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1878 GUTHRIE, CHARLES, London Chartered Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1877 †GZOWSKI, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. S. (A.D.C. to Her Majesty the Queen), Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 HALCOMBE, ARTHUR F., Manager of the Manchester Block, Feilding, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1872 HALIBURTON, R. G., Q.C., Ottawa, Canada.
- 1879 HALL, E. HEPPLER, Canada.
- 1878 HALL, HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas.
- 1878 HANCOCK, HON. HENRY J. BURFORD, Chief Justice, Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1880 HALKETT, CAPTAIN F. CRAIGIE, Levuka, Fiji.
- 1875 HARDY, C. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1878 HARLEY, COLONEL HON. R. W., C.B., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of Grenada, West Indies.
- 1880 HARVEY, A. F. A., Indian Civil Service.
- 1881 †HARSANT, SIDNEY B., Kimberley, Cape Colony.
- 1875 HART, LIONEL, British Sherbro, West Africa.
- 1879 HAWDON, C. G., Christchurch, New Zealand.
- 1878 HAY, WILLIAM, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1880 †HAY, HENRY, Collindina, New South Wales.
- 1879 HAYTER, H. H., Government Statist, Melbourne, Australia (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1881 HAWTAYNE, GEORGE H., Stipendiary Magistrate, East Coast, British Guiana.
- 1878 HAZELL, HON. JOHN H., M.L.C., St. Vincent, West Indies.
- 1878 HEATON, J. HENEAGE.
- 1869 HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, D.D., Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood House, London, Canada.
- 1869 HENDERSON, JOSEPH, C.M.G., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 1875 HENNESSY, SIR JOHN POPE, K.C.M.G., Governor of Hong Kong.

- 945 1873 HETT, J. ROLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 HEWAT, CAPTAIN J., Superintendent of the Cape Town Docks, Cape Colony.
- 1873 HIDDINGH, DR. J., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1873 HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1880 †HILL, JAMES A., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 950 1872 HILL, HON. P. CARTERET, Colonial Secretary, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1876 HIND, PROFESSOR HENRY Y., Windsor, Nova Scotia.
- 1880 †HODGSON, EDWARD D., Eton Vale, Cambooya, Queensland.
- 1880 HOLMESTED, ERNEST A., Adelaide Station, Falkland Islands.
- 1879 HONIBALL, OSCAR D., M.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 955 1879 HOOD, ALEXANDER, Merrang, Hexham, Victoria, Australia.
- 1881 HORTON, A. G., Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1879 HOWATSON, WILLIAM, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1877 HUDSON, JOHN FRAZER, Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.
- 1875 HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near Toronto, Canada.
- 960 1879 HUGGINS, HASTINGS C., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law, Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1880 HUGHES, COMMANDER R.J., R.N., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1873 †HUGHES, SIR WALTER W., Wallaroo, South Australia.
- 1873 HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart, Tasmania (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1880 HUMPHREYS, OCTAVIUS, Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court of the Leeward Islands, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
- 965 1872 HUNTINGTON, HON. L. S., Q.C., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
- 1879 HUTTON, WILLIAM P., Master and Registrar of the High Court, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1879 HYDE, FREDERICK W., British Kaffraria.
- 1879 IBBOTSON, CHARLES, Geelong, Victoria, Australia.
- 1879 INNISS, JAMES, Barbados, West Indies.
- 970 1874 IRVING, SIR HENRY T., K.C.M.G.
- 1879 IRVING, DR. J., Christchurch, New Zealand.
- 1880 ISHAM, ARTHUR C., Ceylon.
- 1879 JACKSON, DR. ANDREW C., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1881 JACKSON, CAPTAIN H. M., R.A., Inspector-General of Police, Sierra Leone.
- 975 1871 JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1880 JACOBS, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., Ostrich Kraal, Cook's River, near Sydney, N.S. Wales.

- | Year of Election. | |
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| 1879 | †JAMESON, JULIUS P., King William's Town, Cape Colony. |
| 1881 | †JAMESON, DR. L. S., Kimberley, Cape Colony. |
| 1872 | †JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service. |
| 1874 | JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada. |
| 1876 | JOHNSON, ALFRED W., Warleigh, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia. |
| 1876 | JOHNSON, G. CUNNINGHAM, St. Kitt's, West Indies. |
| 1876 | JOHNSON, H. C. ROSS. |
| 1881 | JOHNSTON, THOMAS G., Dunedin, New Zealand. |
| 1881 | JONES, B. HOWELL, Plantation Hope, British Guiana. |
| 1879 | JONES, ALBERT H., Kingston, Jamaica. |
| 1873 | JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town, Cape Colony. |
| 1879 | JONES, W. H., Bridgetown, Barbados. |
| 1875 | KEEFER, SAMUEL, C.E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada. |
| 1872 | KELSEY, J. F., F.S.S., Port Louis, Mauritius. |
| 1880 | KEMP, HON. G. T. R., M.D., M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas. |
| 1877 | KEMSLEY, JAMES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony. |
| 1880 | †KENNEDY, SIR ARTHUR E., G.C.M.G., C.B., Government House, Brisbane, Queensland. |
| 1869 | KER, ROBERT, Victoria, British Columbia. |
| 1880 | KERR, THOMAS, Governor of the Falkland Islands, Stanley. |
| 1869 | KINGSMILL, NICOL, Toronto, Canada. |
| 1878 | KNEVETT, J. S., British Columbia. |
| 1880 | KNIGHTS, B. T., Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony. |
| 1878 | KNOX, EDWARD, Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Sydney, New South Wales. |
| 1877 | KORTRIGHT, C. H., C.M.G., Government House, Georgetown, British Guiana. |
| 1876 | †KRIEL, REV. H. T., Ladysmith, Natal. |
| 1878 | LABORDE, W. MELVILLE, British Sherbro', West Africa. |
| 1878 | LA MOTHE, E. A., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies. |
| 1880 | LAMPREY, J. J., Surgeon, Army Medical Department, Sierra Leone. |
| 1875 | LANDALE, ROBERT, Melbourne, Australia. |
| 1876 | LANDALE, WALTER, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia. |
| 1880 | LANGLOIS, JULES, Port Louis, Mauritius. |
| 1881 | LANYON, COLONEL SIR W. OWEN, K.C.M.G., C.B., 2nd West India Regiment. |
| 1878 | LARK, F. B., Sydney, New South Wales. |
| 1878 | †LARNACH, HON. WILLIAM J. M., C.M.G., The Camp, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand. |

Year of
Election.

- 1880 LAYTON, A. L., Airy Hall, Essequibo, British Guiana.
 1881 LAWRENCE, EDWARD, Barbados, West Indies.
 1875 LEEB, P. G., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1015 1877 LEES, JAMES, care of Messrs. Lees & Moore, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
 1879 LEES, JOHN, Wanganui, New Zealand.
 1880 LE MIÈRE, HIPPOLYTE, JUN., Port Louis, Mauritius.
 1877 LEMBERG, P., Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 1880 LENNOCK, G. R., King William's Town, Cape Colony.
 1020 1878 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, C.M.G., Melbourne, Australia.
 1877 LEVIN, W. H., Wellington, New Zealand.
 1880 LEVY, AMOS D. C., Maua P.O., Jamaica.
 1878 LEVY, GEORGE, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1876 LEWIS, HON. ALBERT, Q.C., Attorney-General, Tobago, West Indies.
 1025 1880 LEWIS, N. E., Hobart, Tasmania.
 1881 LEWIS, LOUIS LUCAS, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1880 LEWIS, SAMUEL, Barrister-at-Law, Sierra Leone.
 1880 LITTLE, GEORGE, JUN., Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1879 LIVERSIDGE, PROFESSOR A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1030 1881 LOCKHEAD, W. K., JUN., Newcastle, New South Wales.
 1880 LOGAN, FRANCIS H., Newport P.O., Jamaica.
 1875 LONGDEN, SIR JAMES R., K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon.
 1881 LORD J. LEE, Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1876 LOUGHNAN, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
 1035 1878 LÓVELL, DR. FRANCIS H., Port Louis, Mauritius.
 1879 LYELL, ANDREW, M.L.A., 46, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Australia.
 1880 LYNCH, EDWARD B., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1879 LYNCH, JAMES A., Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies.
 1868 LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
 1040 1879 LYONS, FRANK B., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1880 MACDONALD, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A., K.C.B., Ottawa, Canada.
 1880 †MACDONALD, JOSEPH, Kilfera, New South Wales.
 1875 MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1873 MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Ottawa, Canada.
 1045 1869 MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada.
 1879 MACKENZIE, FRANK, Royal Mail Steam Ship Company.
 1873 MACPHERSON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HERBERT, V.C., K.C.B., Commanding at Allahabad, India.

Year of Election.	
1881	†MACPHERSON, WILLIAM ROBERT, Devon Villa, St. Andrew, Jamaica.
1881	MACPHERSON, HON. J. A., Victoria, Australia.
1880	MCADAM, HON. ALEX., M.L.C., St. John's, Antigua.
1880	MCCARTHY, JAMES A., Barrister-at-Law, Sierra Leone.
1879	MCCARTHY, JAMES D., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Lagos, West Africa.
1881	MCCLURE, HON. W. M. G., M.D., M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas.
1879	MCCULLOCH, WILLIAM, Melbourne, Australia.
1880	MCFARLAND, THOMAS, Nap Nap, Murrumbidgee River, New South Wales.
1880	MCFARLAND, ROBERT, Barooga, Deniliquin, New South Wales.
1881	MCILWRAITH, HON. THOMAS, M.L.A., Brisbane, Queensland.
1877	†MCGIBBON, JAMES H. C. (Superintendent Cape Town Botanical Gardens), Holly Lodge, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1878	†MCLEAN, DOUGLAS, Marackakaho, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
1878	MCLEOD, CAPTAIN MURDOCH, Provost-Marshal, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1875	MCMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikaura, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
1871	MCMURRAY, J. S., Barrister-at-law, Toronto, Canada.
1877	MCNEILY, ALEXANDER J. W., M.H.A., St. John's, Newfoundland.
1880	MAIN, GEORGE, Adelaide, South Australia.
1879	MALABRE, WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
1880	MALCOLM, HON. O. D., Q.C., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Nassau, Bahamas.
1878	MANFORD, WILLIAM, Acting Auditor, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
1878	MARRAST, HON. LOUIS FERDINAND, M.L.C., Grenada, West Indies.
1880	MARTIN, THOMAS M., Kingston, Jamaica.
1875	MARAIS, HON. P. J., M.L.C., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
1879	MARESCAUX, OSCAR, Manager of the Colonial Bank, Kingston, Jamaica.
1875	MARTIN EDWARD, care of J. G. Dougalty, Esq., Burke Street, Melbourne, Australia.
1880	MARTIN, THOMAS M., Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	MARTIN, JOHN E.L.L.D., Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	MASON, E. G. L., Colonial Bank, Berbice, British Guiana.
1869	MASON, HENRY SLY, Victoria, British Columbia.
1881	†MASON, F. A., Manager of the Demerara Railway, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1881	MATHEWS, DR. W. J., M.L.A., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1879	MAWBY, A. M., Standard Bank, Calvinia, Cape Colony.

	Year of Election.	
1080	1880	MEIN, GEORGE A., M.D., Moolpan, New South Wales.
	1880	MELVILLE, GEORGE, Assistant Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1876	MENDS, W. FISHER, Colonial Bank, St. Kitts, West Indies.
	1878	MERCER, WILLIAM JAMES, C.E., Elmina, Gold Coast Colony.
	1878	MERRIMAN, THE RIGHT REV. N. J., D.D., Lord Bishop of Grahams-town, Cape Colony.
1085	1876	MEURANT, LOUIS HENRY, J.P., Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Riversdale, Cape Colony.
	1880	MILES, GEORGE, Stones Hope, Manchester, Jamaica.
	1878	MILLER, JOHN LINDSAY, M.D., F.F.P.S., F.R.C.S., c/o Messrs. Clarke & Co., 86, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne.
	1874	†MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, C.M.G., Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1090	1879	MILNE, SIR WILLIAM, Sunnyside, Adelaide, South Australia.
	1876	MILNER, HENRY, Durban, Natal.
	1878	MITCHELL, LIEUT.-COLONEL HON. C. B. H., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
	1877	MITCHELL, HON. SAMUEL, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
	1879	MOLONEY, CAPTAIN ALFRED, Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
1095	1873	MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
	1873	MOODIE, G. P., Pretoria, Transvaal.
	1875	MOODIE, THOMAS, M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
	1878	†MOORE, WILLIAM H., St. John's House, Antigua, West Indies.
	1880	†MORGAN, M. C., The Bamboos, Kingston, Jamaica.
	1881	MORKEK, A. H., Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.
1100	1881	MORRISON, JAMES, J. P., Guildford, Western Australia (Corresponding Secretary).
	1875	MORTLOCK, W. R., Adelaide, South Australia.
	1881	MOSELEY, C. H. H., Nassau, Bahamas.
	1880	MOYLAN, HON. E. K., Attorney-General, Grenada, West Indies.
	1878	MUGGERIDGE, ARTHUR L., General Post Office, Buenos Ayres, South America.
1105	1881	†MULLIGAN, THOMAS, Plantation Vire la Force, British Guiana.
	1877	MURPHY, SIR FRANCIS, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
	1880	MURPHY, ALEXANDER D., Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	MUNRO, ARCHIBALD, Kingston, Jamaica.
1110	1876	MUNRO, J. P. G., J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
	1880	†MUNRO, JOHN, J.P., Bank of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
	1877	†MUSGRAVE, SIR ANTHONY, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.
	1875	NAIRN, CHARLES J., Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.

Year of Election.	
1875	NAIRN, JOHN, Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
1881	NAPIER, MAJOR THE HON. J. SCOTT, 92nd Highlanders, Cape Colony.
1879	NATHAN, D. P., Kingston, Jamaica.
1881	NEEDHAM, SIR JOSEPH, Chief Justice, San Antonio, Trinidad.
1880	NEEDHAM, RODERICK FRASER, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
1875	†NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Napier, New Zealand.
1880	NESBITT, MAJOR RICHARD A., C.M.R., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1875	NICHOLLS, KERRY, Queensland.
1879	NIGHTINGALE, PERCY, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Fraserburg, Cape Colony.
1876	NIND, PHILIP HENRY, Auditor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	NITCH, GEORGE H., Manager Standard Bank, King William's Town, Cape Colony.
1878	NIVEN, LIEUT.-COLONEL KNOX ROWAN, Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	NOBLE, JOHN, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1873	†NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
1868	NORMANBY, THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., Governor of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
1880	†NORTH, CHARLES, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1878	NORTH, FREDERICK W. W., F.G.S., Cape of Good Hope.
1879	NORTON, EDWIN, J.P., Grenada, West Indies.
1874	NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.
1880	NUNDY, E., M.D., Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast Colony.
1877	O'BRIEN, MAJOR W. E., Barrie, Ontario, Canada.
1880	O'GRADY, THOMAS, Alderman, Town Hall, Melbourne, Australia.
1876	O'MALLEY, HON. EDWARD L., Attorney-General, Hong Kong.
1875	ORGIAS, P., M.D., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
1881	ORMOND, GEORGE C., Napier, New Zealand.
1879	†ORMOND, FRANCIS, Melbourne, Australia.
1879	ORPEN, FRANCIS H. S., Surveyor-General, Kimberley, Griqualand West, South Africa.
1879	†ORPEN, J. M., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
1880	ORRETT, JOHN, Halfwaytree Post Office, St. Andrew, Jamaica.
1881	OSBORNE, HAMILTON, Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
1869	OUSELEY, LIEUT.-COLONEL RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.
1879	†PADDON, JOHN, Barkly, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1872	†PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1872	PARKES, SIR HARRY S., K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
1881	PARKER, GEORGE B., Christchurch Club, Canterbury, New Zealand

Year of
Election.

- 1875 PARKER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Chief Justice, British Honduras.
- 1881 PARKIN, HERBERT, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1150 1879 †PARSONS, CECIL, Bloomfield, Hamilton, Tasmania.
- 1880 PAUL, F. W., Khyber Pass, near Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1880 †PAYNE, FREDERICK W., JUN., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 PAYNE, T. B., Maritimo, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1878 PEACOCK, CALEB, J.P., M.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1155 1877 †PEARCE, E., M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1878 PEARSE, BENJAMIN W., Fernwood, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1880 PELLEREAU, ETIENNE, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1880 PEECH, GEORGE, Colonial Bank, Bridgetown, Barbados.
- 1879 PERHAM, GEORGE W., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1160 1880 PERRING, CHARLES, Canterbury, New Zealand.
- 1878 PETERSON, WILLIAM, 6, Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 PEYNADO, GEORGE J., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1879 PHARAZYN, ROBERT, The Poplars, Wanganui, New Zealand.
- 1878 PHELPS, J. J., Qualmby, Tasmania, and Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1165 1871 PHILLIPPO, HIS HONOUR GEORGE, Chief Justice, Gibraltar.
- 1879 PHILLIPPO, J. C., M.D., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1875 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Dry River Station, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1878 PHILLIPS, HON. J. H., M.L.C., Belize, British Honduras.
- 1879 PIKE, CHARLES, Treasurer of Lagos, West Africa.
- 1170 1871 PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
- 1875 PINSENT, HON. MR. JUSTICE, D.C.L., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1878 PLUNKETT, EDMUND W., C.E., Digby, Nova Scotia.
- 1880 POGSON, EDWARD, St. Kitts, West Indies.
- 1877 †POLLARD, WILLIAM B., C.E.
- 1175 1879 POOLE, J. G., Messrs. Poole Bros., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1876 POTTS, THOMAS, St. John, New Brunswick.
- 1880 POWELL, WILFRID, F.R.G.S., Agent B.I.S.N. Co., Thursday Island, Torres Straits, Queensland.
- 1876 PRAED, ARTHUR CAMPBELL, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1870 †PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, F.S.A. (Scot.), F.R.G.S., Montreal, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1180 1872 PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1880 PRITCHARD, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Beaufort West, Cape Colony.
- 1879 PROWSE, D. W., Q.C., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1881 PURLAND, C., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1879 QUIN, GEORGE, Worcester, Cape Colony.

Year of Election.	
5 1880	RADCLIFFE, REV. JOHN, Kingston P.O., Jamaica.
1881	RAHMAN, M. LUTFUR, Barrister-at-Law, Bar Library, Calcutta, India.
1880	RANKIN, WILLIAM H., M.I.C.E., King William's Town, Cape Colony.
1880	RANNIE, D. W., St. John's, Antigua.
1880	RAWSON, CHARLES C., The Hollow, Mackay, Queensland.
o 1880	READ, HOBATIO, Assistant Immigration Agent, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1880	REDPATH, PETER, Montreal, Canada.
1881	REID, J. STUART, Wellington, New Zealand.
1877	REID, ALEXANDER.
1878	REID, WILLIAM W., Member of the General Legislative Council, Leeward Islands, St. Kitts, West Indies.
5 1876	REINECKER, BERNHARD HENRY, B.A., Auditor-General, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
1879	REVETT, RICHARD, Commodore of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's Fleet.
1881	REVINGTON, ALFRED, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
1874	RHIND, W. G., Bank of New South Wales, Adelaide, South Australia.
1880	RHODES, CECIL J., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
o 1881	RICHARDS, ROBERT, Barrister-at-Law, Natal.
1881	RICHMAN, WALTER, Adelaide Club, South Australia.
1880	RICHMOND, CAPTAIN H. F., Sierra Leone, West Africa.
1878	RICHMOND, JAMES, New South Wales.
1880	†ROBERTS, RICHARD M., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
o 1879	†ROBERTS, WILLIAM, Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
1876	ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER W., Ottawa Toorak, Victoria, Australia.
1881	ROBERTSON, GEORGE P., Colac, Victoria, Australia, and Melbourne Club.
1876	ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
1880	ROBINSON, SIR HERCULES, G.C.M.G., Government House, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
o 1879	ROBINSON, SIR WILLIAM C., K.C.M.G., Governor of Western Australia, Government House, Perth.
1878	ROBINSON, WILLIAM, C.M.G., Governor of the Windward Islands, Government House, Barbados.
1879	ROBINSON, C. A., Kingston, Jamaica.
1869	ROBINSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. W., Rifle Brigade (Staff).
1872	ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.
15 1869	ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal.
1881	ROGERS, HENRY M.D., F.R.C.S.E., Mauritius.
1878	ROGERS, MURRAY, Raymond Terrace, Hunter River, New South Wales.

	Year of Election.	
	1879	ROLLAND, ADAM, Blackstone Hill Station, Otago, New Zealand.
	1876	ROLLESTON, CHRISTOPHER, C.M.G., Auditor-General, Sydney, New South Wales.
1220	1877	ROMILLY, ALFRED, Christchurch, New Zealand.
	1878	RONALDSON, JOHN J., J.P., Clarendon, Jamaica.
	1875	ROWE, SIR SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast Colony.
	1880	ROWSELL, FRANCIS WILLIAM, C.B., C.M.G., British Commissioner of the Egyptian State Domains, Cairo, Egypt.
	1881	†RUDALL, JAMES T., F.R.C.S., Melbourne, Australia.
1225	1881	RUDD, CHARLES D., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
	1871	RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.
	1881	RUSHTON, MARK W. B., King William's Town, Cape Colony.
	1877	RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
	1877	RUSSELL, GEORGE, Sydney, New South Wales.
1230	1875	RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South Wales.
	1876	RUSSELL, HON. HENRY ROBERT, M.L.C., Mount Herbert, Waipukurau, Napier, New Zealand.
	1875	RUSSELL, G. GREY, Dunedin, New Zealand.
	1873	RUSSELL, LOGAN, D. H., M.D., F.R.C.S., Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
	1875	RUSSELL, PHILIP, Carngham, Victoria, Australia.
1235	1873	RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister-at-law, Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
	1877	RUSSELL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM R., M.H.R., Flaxmere, Napier, New Zealand.
	1878	RUSSELL, WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1881	SACHSE, CHARLES, Queenstown, Cape Colony.
	1873	†ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.
1240	1874	ST. JEAN, LE VISCOMTE SATJÉ, Castel-Nou, Py-Or, France.
	1872	SANJO, J., Tokio, Yokohama, Japan.
	1876	SARJEANT, HENRY, Wanganui, New Zealand.
	1879	SARL, A. J., Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1877	SAUER, J. W., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
1245	1880	SAUNDERS, JOHN, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
	1881	SAUNDERS, JAMES R., M.L.C., J. P., Natal.
	1881	SAUNDERS, REV. RICHARDSON, Rector St. Matthew's Church, Nassau, Bahamas.
	1881	SAUNDERS, S. P., M.L.A., Nassau, Bahamas.
	1878	SAWERS, JOHN, Manchester, Jamaica.
1250	1878	SCHOOLLES, HENRY R. PIPON, Attorney General, Belize, British Honduras.

Year of Election.	
1881	SCOTT, CALEB E., Dutoitspan, Cape Colony.
1876	SCOTT, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
1868	†SCOTT, SIR J., K.C.M.G. (late Governor of British Guiana).
1879	SEGRE, JOSEPH S., J.P., Savannah La Mar, Jamaica.
5 1880	SEMPER, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Georgetown, British Guiana,
1881	†SERVICE, HON. JAMES, Melbourne, Australia.
1871	SEROCOLD, G. P., Montreux, Switzerland.
1879	†SEWELL, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., Trelawny, Jamaica.
1880	SHAND, CHARLES ARTHUR, Titches Creek, Antigua, West Indies.
0 1879	SHAND, JAMES WIDRINGTON, Henrietta House, Vacoas, Mauritius.
1876	SHARPE, HENRY, Provost-Marshal, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
1876	SHAW, MAJOR E. W., Indian Staff Corps, care of Messrs. King, King & Co., 6, Church Lane, Bombay.
1869	SHEPSTONE, SIR THEOPHILUS, K.C.M.G., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1869	SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, C.M.G., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
5 1879	SHERIFF, HON. R. FRENCH, Attorney-General, Gibraltar.
1875	SHERIFF, HON. W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, Nassau, Bahamas.
1879	SHERLOCK, R. J., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1880	SHIPPARD, SIDNEY G. A., M.A., D.C.L., Judge of the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1881	†SHIRLEY, HON. LEICESTER C., Hyde Hall, Clarks Town P.O., Jamaica.
70 1880	SHORTRIDGE, SAMUEL, J. P., Plantain Garden River P.O., Jamaica.
1877	SIMMS, W. K., J.P., M.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
1880	SIMPSON, J. M., Armidale, New South Wales.
1880	SINCLAIR, J. E., New South Wales.
1880	SLOANE, ALEXANDER, Mulwala Station, New South Wales.
75 1875	SMIDT, ABRAHAM DE, Surveyor-General, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1873	†SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
1872	SMITH, SIR FRANCIS, Chief Justice of Tasmania, Hobart.
1880	SMITH, HIS HONOUR E. T., District Judge, Jamaica.
1880	SMITH, JOHN S., Sydney, New South Wales.
80 1881	SMITH, ROBERT, F.R.C.S., Sierra Leone.
1877	SMITH, HON. W. F. HAYNES, LL.D., Attorney-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1881	SNELL, GEORGE, New Amsterdam, Berbice, British Guiana.
1877	SOLOMON, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.
1876	SOLOMON, HON. MICHAEL, M.L.C., Seville, St. Ann, Jamaica.
85 1879	SOUTHGATE, J. J., Victoria, British Columbia.
1877	†SPENCE, J. BRODIE, Adelaide, South Australia.
1870	SPENSLEY, HOWARD, F.S.S., Chartered Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.

	Year of Election.	
	1880	SPOONER, JOHN C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
	1881	SPROULE, JAMES H., Badulla, Ceylon.
1290	1873	STAHLSCHMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.
	1875	STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.
	1874	STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Kimberley, Griqualand West, South Africa.
	1880	STEIBEL, GEORGE, Devon Penn, Kingston Post Office, Jamaica.
	1880	STENT, SIDNEY, C.E., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1295	1880	STEPHENS, HARROLD, F.R.G.S., Attorney-at-Law, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
	1873	†STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.
	1879	STEPHENS, COLONEL W. F. (India), Post Office, Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	STERN, M., F.R.C.S.E., Kingston, Jamaica.
	1879	STIRLING, J. LAUNCELOT, M.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
1300	1881	STOCKWELL, FRANCIS W., Quebec, Canada.
	1881	STONE, R. SIDNEY, M.D., Port Louis, Mauritius.
	1879	STOTT, THOMAS.
	1881	STROUSS, CARL, Victoria, British Columbia.
	1880	STRUBEN, H. W., Pretoria, Transvaal.
1305	1880	STRUTT, DR., Melbourne, Australia.
	1875	STUDHOLME, JOHN, Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand.
	1879	STURT, E. P. S., Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	STUART, M. V. D., Collector of Customs, Sierra Leone.
	1881	STURRIDGE, GEORGE, J. P., Mandeville, Jamaica.
1310	1881	SYMON, J. H., Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide, South Australia.
	1876	SULLIVAN, A. F., Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
	1879	TAIT, M. M., Great Westerford, Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
	1877	†TANNER, THOMAS, Riverslea, Napier, New Zealand.
	1879	TAYLOR, HON. E. B. A., Colonial Secretary, Nassau, Bahamas.
1315	1880	TAYLOR, FENNINGS, Ottawa, Canada.
	1872	†TENNANT, THE HON. SIR DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
	1874	THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.
	1879	THOMSON, JAMES, Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1873	THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.
1320	1881	THOMSON, S. BELMONT, Clarks Town, Jamaica.
	1880	THOMSON, WILLIAM C. E., E. de F. Don Pedro II. Estacao de Cruzeiro, Rio de Janerio, Brazil.
	1874	THOMPSON, THOMAS, Lorenzo Marques, Delagoa Bay, South Africa.
	1872	THORNE, CORNELIUS, Messrs. Maitland & Co., Shanghai, China.
	1875	TIFFIN, HENRY H., J.P., Napier, New Zealand.
1325	1879	TOBIN, ANDREW, Wingadee, Balaclava, Melbourne, Australia.

Year of Election.	
1879	TOBIN, P. J., Wingadee Station, Coonamble, New South Wales.
1881	TORBOT, W., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1879	TOSWILL, CAPTAIN R.G.D., Canterbury, New Zealand.
1869	TRUTCH, HON. J. W., C.M.G., Victoria, British Columbia.
1877	TRAFFORD, G., Chief Justice, St. Vincent, West Indies.
1880	TRIMMINGHAM, WILLIAM P., The Grange, St. Michaels, Barbados.
1878	TRIMMER, FREDERICK, Adelaide, South Australia.
1872	†TURNER, WILLIAM S., Chief Commissary of Taxation, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1881	TURNBULL, EDGAR, Montego Bay, Jamaica.
1881	TWEED, ARTHUR, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Cape Colony.
1881	TYSON, THOMAS G., Kimberley, Cape Colony.
1873	UNIACKE, A.M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1881	USHER, HENRY CHARLES, Belize, British Honduras.
1879	VARLEY, JOHN, Stipendiary Magistrate, Kapunda, South Australia.
1875	VEITCH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.
1881	†VEENDAM, DR. J. L., Essequibo, British Guiana.
1880	VENDRYES, HENRY, Advocate, Kingston, Jamaica.
1869	VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Melbourne.
1877	VERLEY, LOUIS, Kingston, Jamaica.
1881	VILLIERS, HON. FRANCIS JOHN, C.M.G., Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1880	VOHSEN, ERNEST, Sierra Leone.
1880	VON BRESSENSDORFF, ARTHUR B., J.P., Postmaster-General, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1880	VON MUELLER, BARON FERDINAND, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Government Botanist, Melbourne, Australia.
1879	VRIES, MAURICE DE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
1881	WAITE, PERCIVAL, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1880	WALDRON, GERALD G. H., H.M. Treasury, Harbour Street, Kingston, Jamaica.
1880	WALDRON, JAMES L., J.P., Falkland Islands.
1876	†WALKER, HON. EDWARD NOEL, M.L.C., Assistant Colonial Secretary, Kingston, Jamaica.
1873	WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.
1874	†WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., British Sherbro', West Africa.
1881	†WALTER, HENRY J., Dunedin, New Zealand.
1881	†WANLISS, THOMAS D., Ballarat, Victoria, Australia.
1879	WANT, R. C.

	Year of Election.	
	1879	WARD, CHARLES J., Kingston, Jamaica.
1360	1875	WARD, J. H., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
	1881	WARD, WALTER, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
	1878	WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.
	1879	†WARE, JOHN, Tatyoon, Yalla-y-Poora, Victoria, Australia.
	1880	†WARE, J. C., Yalla-y-Poora, Victoria, Australia.
1365	1878	WARREN, FREDERICK WILLIAM, King Street, Kingston, Jamaica.
	1879	WATSON, E. G., Melbourne, Australia.
	1875	WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).
	1879	WATT, EDMUND, Civil Commissioner, Cape Coast, West Africa.
	1879	WATT, GEORGE, Urana Station, Urana, New South Wales.
1370	1880	WATT, J. PATON, M.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1876	WATTS, HORACE, M.D., Stanley, Falkland Islands.
	1880	†WATKINS, WALTER, District Medical Officer, British Guiana.
	1880	WEBB, GEORGE H. F., Q.C., Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	WEBB, HENRY B., London and South African Exploration Company, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1375	1881	WEBB, HON. J. H., M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas.
	1880	WEBSTER, EBEN, Messrs. Arthur & Co., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
	1880	WEGG, DR. JOHN A., J. P., Colreville, Spanish Town, Jamaica.
	1868	WELD, SIR FREDERICK A., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements, Singapore.
	1878	†WESTBY, EDMUND W., Pullitop and Buckaginga Station, New South Wales.
1380	1876	†WEST-ERSKINE, W. A. E., M.A., Adelaide, South Australia.
	1879	WESTRUP, MAJOR CHARLES, Gisborne, New Zealand.
	1880	WHARTON, HENRY, Highfield Station, Amuri, New Zealand.
	1881	†WHEELER, EDWARD, F.R.G.S., United Empire Club, Toronto, Canada.
	1881	WHITE, THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON H. MASTER, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1385	1878	WHITE, ARNOLD.
	1880	WHITE, M. W., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
	1876	WHITEHEAD, PERCY, care of Messrs. Grant and Fradd, Durban, Natal.
	1875	WHITMAN, JAMES, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
	1878	WHITMORE, HON. COLONEL, C.M.G., The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
1390	1881	WHITEWAY, SIR WILLIAM V., K.C.M.G., St. John's, Newfoundland.
	1878	WHYHAM, WILLIAM H., Antigua, West Indies (Corresponding Secretary).
	1878	WIGLEY, JAMES F., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.

Year of Election.	
1881	WIGLEY, WILLIAM H., Adelaide, South Australia.
1879	WILKS, JOHN, J.P., Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.
95	1879 WILLIAMS, THE REV. FREDERICK H., D.D., Dean of Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1881	WILLIAMS, CHARLES, Bel Air, British Guiana.
1881	WILLIAMS, H. WYN, Christchurch, New Zealand.
1879	WILLIAMSON, GEORGE WALTER, Grenada, West Indies.
1879	WILLIS, EDWARD, Koolonurt Nareen, Victoria, Australia.
00	1880 WILMAN, HERBERT, M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1876	WILMOT, ALEXANDER, J.P., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
1875	WILSON, HON. JOHN N., M.L.C., Napier, New Zealand.
1879	†WILSON, S:R SAMUEL, Melbourne, Australia.
1880	WILSON, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., Melbourne, Australia.
05	1879 WILSON, W. W., Barrister-at-Law, Dunedin, New Zealand.
1877	WING, EDGAR, Clairmont, Clarence Plains, near Hobart, Tasmania.
1880	WINTER, CHARLES T., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1876	WINTON, ROBERT, St. John's, Newfoundland.
1879	WOOD, GEORGE, JUN., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
10	1879 WOOD, JOHN EDWIN, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1878	WOOD, READER GILSON, M.H.R., Auckland, New Zealand.
1881	WOOLFORD, J. BARRINGTON, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	WRENFORDSLEY, HIS HONOUR HENRY T., Chief Justice, Perth, Western Australia.
1881	WRIGHT, ERNEST E., Georgetown, British Guiana.
15	1881 WYATT. THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON F. J., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1872	WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles).
1879	YOUNG, C. BURNEY, Adelaide, South Australia.
1878	YOUNG, JESS, Adelaide, South Australia.
1878	YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
20	1878 †YOUNG, HON. WILLIAM, A.G., C.M.G., Government Secretary and Lieut.-Governor of British Guiana, Georgetown.
1881	ZOCHONIS, GEORGE, Messrs. Randell & Fisher, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
1881	ZWEIFEL, JOSUA, care of C. A. Verminck, Esq., Sierra Leone, West Africa.

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THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION 1880-81.

FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session 1880-81 was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library, 136, New Bond Street, W., on Tuesday, 23rd November, 1880. Before reading the Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting, Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Honorary Secretary), in referring to the Chairman for the evening, said the Duke of Manchester was not present to occupy his usual place, because he was undertaking a tour in the Australasian Colonies, where his Grace was gaining, as they might expect he would, golden opinions in every direction, and doing very good work in the cause which the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute were united to promote. (Cheers.) Under those circumstances it was necessary for them to obtain the services of some gentlemen to preside over their meetings. He was happy, therefore, to be able to announce that a very distinguished gentleman, who had served Her Majesty with great credit and *éclat* in many parts of the British Empire, had consented to preside at the present meeting, and that gentleman was Sir Henry Barkly. (Applause.) Amongst those present were the following:—

The Right Hon. Sir Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Sir Henry T. Irving, K.C.M.G.; Sir Stephen Hill, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Sir Henry E. L. Bulwer, K.C.M.G. (Governor of the Windward Islands); Sir Benjamin Pine, K.C.M.G.; Hon. Edward Newton, C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary, Jamaica); Hon. Mr. Justice Semper (British Guiana); Mr. R. T. Goldsworthy, C.M.G. (Lieutenant-Governor of St. Lucia); Hon. W. F. Haynes Smith (Attorney-General of British Guiana); Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Captain Mills, C.M.G.; Sir Samuel Rowe, K.C.M.G. (Governor of the West African Settlements); Messrs. Wm. Walker, J. D. Wood, Captain Beauvais, Messrs. Henry S. Berkeley (Antigua), George Duddell, F. E. Dampier (British Guiana), Robert McFarland (New South Wales), H. A. de Colyar, A. C. McCalman (British Guiana), John McConnell (British

Guiana), P. N. Bernard, H. E. Montgomerie, Joseph Beaumont, Alex. Rivington, A. D. Wedderburn (Jamaica), W. M. Allport (Jamaica), Peter Redpath (Canada), William Whiteford, R. H. Jones, Stephen Bourne, W. Agnew Pope, D. M. Gallagher (British Guiana), Frederick Greene, J. N. Hollway, S. W. Silver, J. S. Keltie, Colonel Beales, Dr. Murie, F.L.S.; Messrs. A. R. Gray, F.R.G.S.; Jacob Montefiore, J. G. Montefiore, R. H. Prance, Murrel R. Robinson (Cape Colony), Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G.; James A. Youl, C.M.G.; G. Molineux, E. A. Petherick, Captain Wilkin, Mr. Frank Newton, Miss Eleanor Newton, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Young, Mrs. Fred. Thomas, Messrs. B. Williams, J. S. Ilsley, H. Liggins (Antigua), John Ross, Wentworth Thurston, Robert White (Cape Colony), Alan Kerr, G. Humphreys, Setna Eduljee Mannockjee (India), W. Poor, Archdeacon Hunter and Mrs. Hunter, Mr. and Miss Wace, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Messrs. J. G. Daly (Immigration Agent-General, British Guiana), Daly, jun., W. H. Trinder, Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, Mrs. Henry Berkeley, Miss Berkeley (Antigua), Mr. Cecil W. Robertson, Miss Dobson, Mrs. Carey Hobson (Cape Colony), Miss Roberts (Cape Colony), Miss L. King, Messrs. S. Dorman (Jamaica), E. Fitzgerald, J. W. England, James Burton, Peter B. Hutchings, E. H. Gough, Miss Skeffington, Mrs. Coxe, Messrs. W. S. W. Vaux, C. Reginald Poole, Hollings, James T. White, F. W. Armytage, E. S. Lampriere, J. J. Bourne, J.R. Robertson, James Philip, Mrs. Davoren, Miss Ada Mary Young, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), Miss Gwynne, Messrs. Claude H. Long, M.A.; C. Halman Beard, F. A. Gwynne (Victoria), W. H. Field, Henry K. Davson (British Guiana), Edmund Sturge, J. Spencer Hollings, G. J. Symons, F.R.S.; J. W. P. Jauralde, C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), W. L. Shepherd, Arthur L. Young, E. A. Wallace, F. W. Carpenter (British Guiana), F. E. Metcalfe, George Dibley (Cape Colony), R. H. Jones, E. Heppel Hall, Edwin Ransome, F. P. Labillièrre, Arthur Fell, William Ford, George Humphrey, C. Hooper, T. Daniel Hill (British Guiana), E. K. Moylan (Attorney-General, Grenada), J. Banks Taylor, Hasseril, Horace Watts, M.D. (Falkland Islands); Allen Woodroffe, Alexander Turnbull (Jamaica), H. Townsend Ronaldson, Miss Young, Mr. and Mrs. Holborrow, Messrs. W. S. Wetherell, C. Thwaites, T. M. Harrington, T. F. Quin, J. S. O'Halloran, Fred. Dutton (South Australia), Walter Müller, J. L. Ohlson, H. Voss, E. S. Neott, J. D. Ewing, H. C. McDonald, J. B. Colthurst, E. G. Barr, and E. H. G. Dalton (British Guiana).

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the minutes of the Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of Session 1880-81, which were confirmed, and announced that since that meeting, held on the 8th June last, 144 Fellows had been elected, viz., 23 Resident and 121 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows:—

Thomas Baillie, Esq., R. Henryson Caird, Esq., Finlay Campbell, Esq., Bobbin Chatterton, Esq., N. Chevalier, Esq., Arthur C. Clayden, Esq., Frank M. Dutton, Esq., Fred. Dutton, Esq., George Errington, Esq., M.P.; Francis H. A. Gervers, Esq., W. S. Grahame, Esq., Robert Kirkcaldie,

Esq., Captain W. Vincent Legge, R.A.; William Matterson, Esq., Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.; Charles Parbury, Esq., John Payne, Esq., Charles Pfoundes, Esq., W. L. Reid, Esq., John Ross, Esq., Colonel Sir H. Bruce Sandford, R.A.; Frederick T. Sargood, Esq., John Shaw, Esq., late of Madras.

Non-Resident Fellows:—

Abul Fazl Abdur Rahman, India; Robert Allen, Esq., J.P., Hon. Wm. E. Armbrister, M.L.C., Bahamas; William Archer, Esq., Queensland; Edwin Atherston, Esq., M.B., Cape Colony; Guybon D. Atherston, Esq., A.I.C.E., Cape Colony; N. Atkinson, Esq., British Guiana; George A. Banbury, Esq., Sierra Leone; William Barton, Esq., New Zealand; Charles H. Beard, Esq., St. Kitt's; S. M. Bennett, Esq., Jamaica; John Broadhurst Esq., M.L.C., Sierra Leone; Sidney G. Brownger, Esq., C.E., Cape Colony; E. J. Buchanan, Esq., Cape Colony; William Budge, Esq., Sierra Leone; H. J. Burger, Esq., Jamaica; Thomas Capper, Esq., Jamaica; W. H. Carter, Esq., B.A., Griqualand West; W. Clark, Esq., British Guiana; T. F. Clarke, Esq., Jamaica; J. M. Courtney, Esq., Canada; J. G. Daly, Esq., British Guiana; C. F. Davison, Esq., M.A., Cape Colony; J. W. Davson, Esq., British Guiana; J. S. Distin, Esq., Cape Colony; R. R. Dobell, Esq., Canada; Cecil Dudley, Esq., West Africa; Evenor Dupont, Esq., Mauritius; J. Farrell Easmon, Esq., Gold Coast; Hon. A. C. Elliott, British Columbia; Leopold Estourgies, Esq., Belgium; Rev. T. Farrer, British Guiana; James Ferguson, Esq., Alexander Feurtado, Esq., Jamaica; W. H. Field, Esq., J.P., Montserrat, West Indies; Finlay Finlayson, Esq., British Guiana; J. H. S. Finnis, Esq., Mauritius, John Fleming, Esq., Grenada; Hon. John Geard, M.L.C., Cape Colony; Mr. Justice Gillies, New Zealand; Hon. J. T. Goldney, Antigua, West Indies; Anthony Goldschmidt, Esq., Griqualand West; Ludwig H. Goldschmidt, Esq., M.L.A., Cape Colony; Hon. William Grant, M.L.C., Sierra Leone; B. W. Greenacre, Esq., M.L.C., Natal; Dr. Robert Grieve, British Guiana; Captain F. Craigie Halkett, Fiji; A. F. A. Harvey, Esq., Indian Civil Service; Edward D. Hodgson, Esq., Queensland; E. A. Holmested, Esq., Falkland Islands; Commander R. J. Hughes, R.N., Cape Colony; Mr. Justice Jacobs, Cape Colony; Hon. G. T. R. Kemp, M.D., M.L.C., Bahamas; Sir Arthur Kennedy, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of Queensland; Hon. Thomas Kerr, Governor of the Falkland Islands; Jules Langlois, Esq., Mauritius; J. J. Lamprey, Esq., Sierra Leone; Hippolyte Le Mière, Esq., jun., Mauritius; G. R. Lennock, Esq., Cape Colony; A. D. C. Levy, Esq., Jamaica; Samuel Lewis, Esq., Sierra Leone; Francis H. Logan, Esq., Jamaica; E. B. Lynch, Esq., Jamaica; Hon. Alexander McAdam, M.L.C., Antigua; J. A. McCarthy, Esq., Sierra Leone; The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., Canada; R. McFarland, Esq., New South Wales; Hon. O. D. Malcolm, Q.C., Bahamas; Thomas M. Martin, Esq., Jamaica; George Melville, Esq., British Guiana; George A. Mein, Esq., M.D., New South Wales; George Miles, Esq., Jamaica; Hon. E. K. Moylan, Grenada; A. D. Murphy, Esq., Melbourne; Roderick F. Needham, Esq., Trinidad, West Indies; Major R. A. Nesbitt,

C.M.R., Cape Colony; Charles North, Esq., Griqualand West; E. Nundy, Esq., M.D., Gold Coast; Etienne Pellereau, Esq., Mauritius; Charles Perring, Esq., New Zealand; Edward Pogson, Esq., St. Kitt's, West Indies; Hon. Charles Pritchard, M.L.C., Cape Colony; Rev John Radcliffe, Jamaica; W. H. Rankin, Esq., Cape Colony; D. W. Rannie, Esq., Antigua, West Indies; Peter Redpath, Esq., Canada; Cecil J. Rhodes, Esq., Griqualand West; Richard M. Roberts, Esq., Griqualand West; Dr. Charles Roe, West Africa; John Saunders, Esq., Cape Colony; Mr. Justice Semper, British Guiana; Samuel Shortridge, Esq., J.P., Jamaica; Mr. Justice Shippard, Cape Colony; J. M. Simpson, Esq., New South Wales; J. E. Sinclair, Esq., New South Wales; E. T. Smith, Esq., British Guiana; Robert Smith, F.R.C.S., Sierra Leone; Hon. W. F. Haynes Smith, British Guiana; John L. Spooner, Esq., Grenada, West Indies; Sidney Stent, Esq., C.E., Cape Colony; M. Stern, Esq., Jamaica; H. W. Struben, Esq., Transvaal; Dr. Strutt, Melbourne; M. V. D. Stuart, Sierra Leone; Fennings Taylor, Esq., Canada; William Thomson, Esq., Cape Colony; William P. Trimmingham Esq., Barbados; Henry Vendreys, Esq., Jamaica; Ernest Vohsen, Esq., Sierra Leone; Arthur B. Von Bressensdorff, Esq., J.P., Griqualand West; Baron Ferd. Von Mueller, K.C.M.G., Melbourne; J. C. Ware, Esq., Victoria, Australia; Walter Watkins, Esq., British Guiana; George H. F. Webb, Esq., Q.C., Melbourne; H. B. Webb, Esq., Griqualand West; E. Webster, Esq., Cape Colony; Dr. J. A. Wegg, Jamaica; Henry Wharton, Esq., New Zealand; Herbert Wilman, Esq., M.L.A., Cape Colony; Charles T. Winter, Esq., British Guiana; M. W. White, Esq., Antigua, West Indies.

The HONORARY SECRETARY also announced that the following donations to the Library had been received since the last Ordinary General Meeting:—

From the Government of British Columbia :

Statutes of British Columbia, 1880.

From the Government of British Guiana :

Blue Book, 1879; Court of Policy Ordinances, 1880.

From the Government of Canada :

Journal of the Senate, 1880; Sessional Papers, 1880; Debates of the House of Commons, 2 vols., 1880; The Dominion Annual Register, 1879; Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books, 1880; Appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons, 1880; The Loyalists of America and their Times, by E. Ryerson, D.D., LL.D., 2 vols., 1880.

From the Government of Cape of Good Hope :

Blue Book, 1879; Speech of the Colonial Secretary on the Disarmament of the Basutos; Financial Statement for 1880-81.

From the Government of Ceylon :

Sessional Papers, 1879.

- From the Government of Mauritius :
Report of the Cattle Plague Commission ; Report of the Protector of Immigrants, 1879.
- From the Government of Natal :
Laws of Natal, 1879-80 ; Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council.
- From the Government of New South Wales :
Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80 : Parliamentary Papers, 1879-80.
- From the Government of New Zealand :
Parliamentary Papers and Debates.
- From the Government of South Australia :
South Australian Aboriginal Folklore, 1 vol., 1879.
- From the Government of Tasmania :
Statistics of Tasmania, 1879.
- From the Government of Victoria :
The Aborigines of Victoria ; by R. Brought Smyth, 2 vols., 1878.
- From the Government of the United States :
Foreign Relations of the United States, 1879 ; Commerce of the World, Letter from the Secretary of State transmitting the Annual Report upon the Commercial Relations of the United States, 1879.
- The Legislative Assembly of Ontario :
Statutes of Ontario, 1880 ; Sessional Papers ; Journal and Appendix of the Legislative Assembly.
- The Legislative Assembly of Quebec :
Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1879-80 ; Statutes of Quebec, 1880 ; Municipal Code of the Province of Quebec, 1875.
- The Agent-General for New South Wales :
Moore's Australian Almanac, 1880 ; Registrar-General's Report, April and July, 1880.
- The Agent-General for Victoria :
Statistical Register of Victoria, Parts I., II. and III., 1879.
- The Cape Government Agent :
Cape of Good Hope Blue Books, 1878-79.
- The Crown Agents for the Colonies :
Western Australia—North West Exploration—Journal of the Expedition from the De Grey River, to Port Darwin, by Alexander Forrest, 1880.
- The Government Statist, Victoria :
Second Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Government Statist in connection with Friendly Societies, 1879 ; Agricultural Statistics, 1879-80 ; Statistical Register of Victoria.
- The Anthropological Institute :
Journal of the Institute, No. 4, Vol. IX., 1880, No. 1, Vol. X.

- The Chamber of Commerce, Port Elizabeth :
Fifteenth Annual Report of the Chamber, 1880.
- The East India Association :
Journal of the Association, No. 1, Vol. XIII.
- The Free Public Library, Birmingham :
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual Reports of the Free
Library Committee.
- The Free Public Library, Sydney :
Report of the Free Public Library, 1880.
- The Mechanics' Institute, Toronto :
Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Institute.
- The Philosophical Society, Adelaide :
Transactions and Proceedings of the Society.
- The Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham :
Occasional Papers, No. 12, Vol. IV., 1880.
- The Royal Geographical Society :
Proceedings of the Society, July, August, September, October,
November ; Journal of the Society, Vol. XLIV., 1879.
- The Royal United Service Institution :
Journal of the Institution, Nos. 105, 106 and 107, Vol. XXIV.,
1880.
- The Social Science Association :
Transactions of the Association, Manchester, 1879.
- The South Australian Institute :
Proceedings at the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the
South Australian Institute, 1879.
- A. de Boucherville, Esq., Mauritius :
Annuaire de L'économie Sociale.
- J. G. Bourinot, Esq., Canada :
Illustrated Guide to the House of Commons and Senate of
Canada, Vol. II., 1879 ; "The Canadian Monthly,"
"The Bystander."
- Stephen Bourne, Esq. :
The Social Aspect of Trade Depression, 1880.
- Charles Calosani, Esq., Malta :
The Sanitary Question in Malta :
- Dr. John Chapman :
The Westminster Review, July and October, 1880.
- Arthur Clayden, Esq. :
The England of the Pacific, or New Zealand as a Middle-
class Emigration Field, 1879.
- Hyde Clarke, Esq. :
On the Languages of Australia in their Connection with
those of the Mozambique, and of the South of Africa,
1879.
- Messrs. Dalgleish and Reid, New Zealand :
Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.

- Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart. :
Federation (a Pamphlet); A Federal British Empire, 1880.
- Charles Decker, Esq. :
Annual Report of the Transvaal Chamber of Commerce,
1880.
- J. S. Dennis, Esq. :
Maps of Canada.
- J. T. Eustace, Esq. :
Letters addressed to the Secretary of the Aborigines Protec-
tion Society, 1880; Reply to the Electoral Address of the
Aborigines Protection Society, 1880.
- E. R. Fairfax, Sydney :
Eighty-one Photographs of Sydney.
- Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., New Zealand :
New Zealand, West Coast Commission, 3rd Report, 1880.
- H. A. Firth, Esq., India :
Statement of Money Savings brought by Return Emigrants
from British Guiana to India, 1857 to 1880.
- W. Fresson, Esq., British Guiana :
Temperature and Rainfall of British Guiana :
- Lieutenant-Colonel Gillmor, Canada :
Sessional Papers of Ontario, 1875-76, Vol. VIII.
- W. Grain, Esq. :
Law of Succession &c. of Chili, by the donor, 1880; Ley
Hipotecaria of Spain, by the donor, 1867.
- Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Harley, C.B., C.M.G., Grenada :
Grenada Blue Book, 1879.
- Dr. Emil Holub :
Catalogue of Exhibition at Vienna, 1880.
- Hugh Munro Hull, Esq., Tasmania :
District Surveyor's Reports, Tasmania, 1880; Catalogue of
Exhibits in the Tasmanian Court in the Melbourne
Exhibition, 1880.
- Hugh Jamieson, Esq. :
Expeditions to North West and Western Australia, by Geo.
Grey, 2 vols., 1841; Expedition into Central Australia,
by Captain Sturt, 2 vols.
- T. B. Jamieson, Esq. :
Forty Years' Service in India, by Sir George Lawrence,
1 vol., 1875.
- Malcolm McLeod, Esq. :
The Problem of Canada, 1880.
- H. E. Montgomerie, Esq. :
Allan Line, Illustrated Tourist's Guide to Canada, &c., 1880.
- Hon. Virgile Naz, C.M.G., M.L.C., Mauritius :
Report of the Acting Procureur-General on the Constitution
of the Supreme Court of Mauritius, 1880.

- N. Nelson, Esq. :
Poets and Prose Writers of New South Wales, 1 vol., 1866-
- Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart. :
University of Sydney, Chancellor's Address, July, 1880.
- John Noble, Esq., Cape Colony :
Proclamations of Laws for Native Territories annexed to the Cape Colony, 1880 ; Reports and Correspondence connected with affairs in Damaraland, and amongst the Tribes north of the Orange River, 1879-80.
- J. L. Ohlson, Esq. :
Review of the Paper entitled "Jamaica: Now, and Fifteen Years Since," by Sir A. Musgrave, K.C.M.G., 1880.
- E. A. Petherick, Esq. :
Twelve Views in Adelaide and its Vicinity, 1845.
- J. Stuart Reid, New Zealand :
Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand, June to October, 1880.
- George Robertson, Esq., Melbourne :
The Melbourne Review, April and July, 1880.
- H. C. Russell, Esq., New South Wales :
Climate of New South Wales ; Descriptive, Historical and Tabular, 1879 ; Results of Rain and other Observations made in New South Wales during 1878-79.
- J. S. Segre, Esq., Jamaica :
Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette, 9th September, 1880.
- Hon. W. A. M. Sheriff, Bahamas :
A Manual for the guidance of Justices of the Peace in the out Islands of the Bahamas.
- Dr. Schomburgk, South Australia :
Report on the Progress and Condition of the Botanic Gardens, Adelaide, 1879.
- Messrs. Smith and Hannaford, Indiana, U.S. :
First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Geology of Indiana, 1879.
- Baron Ferd. Von Mueller, K.C.M.G. :
Select Plants for Extra Tropical Countries, 1880 ; Eucalyptographia, sixth decade.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. White, Canada :
Canadian Blue Books, 1880 ; The Mines of Nova Scotia.
- James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G. :
Chambers's Journal, November, 1880, containing an account of the acclimatisation of salmon at the Antipodes.

Sir HENRY BARKLY then said he had very great pleasure in introducing to the meeting the Hon. T. B. H. BERKELEY, Vice-President of the Federal Council of the Leeward Islands, who had kindly consented to read a paper upon that portion of the Colonial Empire.

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS :
THEIR PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION.

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—Our excellent Hon. Secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, has done me the honour to request me to read a Paper this evening on the Leeward Islands. It is a subject which, I believe, has never been touched upon at any of the meetings of this Institute, and as a representative man from the Leeward Islands, I have felt that it is my duty to respond to the honour which has been conferred, however unable I may be to do justice to the subject. In doing so, I shall labour under two serious disadvantages : first, the difficulty I find in condensing within the limits which are allowed to such a Paper all that should be said in fairness to each island ; and, second, I feel very apprehensive that I should fail to inspire my audience with sufficient interest in a subject which is so full of interest to myself. If I fail on this point, however, I believe I shall secure your sympathy, and meet with that kind consideration which is ever accorded at meetings of the Institute to those who stand in this place to perform a duty.

The Leeward Islands, comprising Antigua and Barbuda, St. Christopher and Anguilla, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis and the Virgin Islands, though they rank amongst the earliest Colonial possessions of Great Britain, and possess a salubrity of climate, beauties of scenery, and natural advantages of soil, equal to any in other Colonies, are, I believe, comparatively little known to the majority of people in this country ; but the distance from England is now so much shortened by the quick passages that are made by the Royal Mail steamers, and the excellent accommodation and comforts of travelling which those magnificent vessels offer make the voyage, which is barely a fortnight, so agreeable, that I hope the example which has been set by distinguished gentlemen in this country who have lately visited these islands, and returned with pleasing reports of their travels, may lead to greater intercourse, and that the bond of union may in that way be more closely drawn, and that greater interest may be taken in the welfare of the Colony, which is an excellent field for young men with moderate capital in this country, and might be an agreeable winter resort for persons of delicate health.

In the course of this Paper I shall endeavour to attract your attention to a short outline of the chief features of interest in each island, its climate, soil, products, cultivation and manufactures, and proceed with a passing sketch of the condition of the people, their

habits and education, and conclude with a condensed history of the past and present forms of government, and the results thereof. I have coupled Antigua and Barbuda, and St. Kitts and Anguilla together, because the smaller places are respectively attached to the larger islands ; and before dealing with the more important islands, I will proceed, upon court-martial principle, to dispose of the small cases first.

BARBUDA.

BARBUDA was granted by the Crown to the Codrington family, and held by them until recently, when it was given over to the Antigua Government. It is now held by two English gentlemen, who breed horses, mules, and other stock there. There is a resident magistrate and a clergyman of the Church of England, and these four comprise the white inhabitants, the total population in 1871 being 813. The black people are singularly well made and muscular, and are a quiet, orderly race. Guinea corn and vegetables are grown in abundance. The island abounds in deer and wild guinea birds, which afford good sport to those who visit the island for shooting. The land is very flat and dry, and is much covered with brushwood.

ANGUILLA.

ANGUILLA is also very flat and dry ; it is about sixty miles from St. Kitts. There were formerly sugar estates exporting sugar ; now, not a single pound of sugar is exported, the principal staple being salt, which is produced in considerable quantities. There is a resident magistrate and a Protestant clergyman, with a vestry, who manage the affairs of the state. The population is under 3,000, of whom not more than 100 are white ; they live chiefly on pigeon-peas, fish, and the flesh of goats, and as they are a singularly athletic, well-made race, it would seem that that kind of food is well suited to the West Indies. Among them the more serious crimes are unknown, and they are quiet and well-behaved. I have been told an anecdote (for the correctness of which I am not responsible), that at one time, and it may be so now, there was no prison in this island, and a visitor, taking a stroll one day, met a man sitting under a tamarind-tree, who saluted him as he passed with the usual "How d'ye, massa." The traveller passed on, and returning some hours later, again saw this man sitting in the same place, and inquired why he sat there all day, when to his amazement he answered, "I da ar jail, Massa," meaning thereby that he was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment.

Dismissing these small places, I now proceed to speak of Antigua.

ANTIGUA.

ANTIGUA was first settled by a few English families in 1632. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, the founder of St. Kitts, but it was chiefly owing to the enterprising spirit and extensive views of Colonel Codrington that Antigua was indebted for its growing prosperity; and it is a remarkable fact that the finest estate in that island at the present time, after a lapse of nearly 250 years, is still owned by a descendant of that illustrious man: Sir Gerald Codrington, Bart., now owns that magnificent estate known as Betty's Hope, of the successful management of which at the present time I am able to bear personal testimony.

From the earliest record of its history this island has borne the reputation of being subject to drought, and the absence of high mountains may probably account for it, but my own knowledge of Antigua leads me to say that it is not so dry a place as it is supposed; and the soil, which is very rich in some parts, is equal to any in the West Indies, and can do with less rain than some of the other islands. It is said that the geological formations of Antigua present remarkable features, involving some of the most curious and puzzling problems in the world; the island is partly calcareous and partly of trap rock formation, and there are various marine and fresh water strata furnishing interesting facts and problems; it abounds in fossils and curious specimens of petrified wood and other substances, some of which are exceedingly pretty and take a fine polish. What is called the valley district is intersected by beautifully romantic valleys running along the abrupt sides of the hills, which are clothed with the verdant foliage of a variety of herbs and trees and twining shrubs, forming most lovely and picturesque scenery. There are several streams, which are rarely, if ever, dry, and afford water for cattle, though not used for drinking purposes; but the island abounds in large ponds in which rain water is caught, and the villages and sugar plantations are supplied by these and stone tanks with drinking water. Most of the estates, too, have wells, from which an ample supply is obtained for the sugar works, by means of pumps worked by wind or steam power. Through the exertions of Colonel Sir Stephen Hill, whose rule as a popular Governor from 1863 to 1869 is affectionately remembered by the people of Antigua, an abundant supply of pure water was brought into the city of St. John's from a long distance by iron pipes, and a magnificent reservoir was built above the town from which the whole city is freely supplied, and hydrants are placed in every part of it for the extinction of fires. This great work necessarily cost a large sum of money, but the

requisite funds were raised by a loan, at a moderate rate of interest, the repayment of which was guaranteed by the Government, and spread over a considerable time, so that no oppressive taxation arose from it, but a small house tax in the town and on the estates was imposed for the purpose of repaying the loan.

The city of St. John is of considerable size, and is better laid out than most West Indian towns. The streets lie at right angles, and there are many fine buildings, but it bears the impress of a prosperity which is unfortunately of the past, and now many of these buildings are falling into decay. The Government House is a large building, with fine public rooms and pleasant, well-kept grounds, which are used for lawn tennis and croquet by the present Governor, Mr. Berkeley, whose weekly social gatherings will always be remembered, as well as the abundant hospitality for which Government House has been celebrated during his term of office.

The cultivation of sugar is now the one industry that is pursued, though some years ago, during the American Civil War, when cotton was scarce, an attempt was made to supersede sugar by cotton, and some over-sanguine planters even went the length of dismantling their sugar works, and for a time this staple of industry appeared to give good promise of success, and those who entered the field first actually made a good deal of money by it; the soil seemed admirably adapted to its growth, the plant required less moisture than sugar canes, and less labour and outlay was required for tillage and reaping; but, alas! too many of these sanguine gentlemen had cause bitterly to repent the faith they had placed in cotton; for no sooner was the American war at an end and the growth of cotton resumed in the States, than the price fell so low as to make it impossible to grow it as a paying crop, and it was abandoned. This was a severe crisis for the planters of Antigua, for when a sugar estate is allowed to go out of sugar growing, it takes considerable time and capital before it can be restored to its former condition, besides it was found that the fields where cotton had been grown had become so impoverished and covered with devil's grass, that they required to be heavily manured and tilled to get them fit for canes, and years of difficulty ensued. All that has, however, happily passed away, and a succession of seasonable years has followed, so that at the present time Antigua is in as prosperous condition, so far as good crops are concerned, as it has been for many years, and if a fair competition were open for the sale of sugar in this country, and the planters were not so heavily handicapped as they are by the bounty on foreign sugar,

Antigua might hold its own against all comers. Guinea corn flourishes in Antigua, and is grown a good deal for feeding stock; it is an admirable food for horses, mules, and poultry, and if labour could be relied upon there is no reason why it should not be produced in sufficient quantity to supply the local market, and save those heavy bills which unfortunately make so large an item in the estates expenses for the purchase of Indian corn, which is largely imported from America. I have never seen in any country corn grow in such grand luxuriance as in Antigua. Yams, too, are admirably suited to the soil, and might be largely grown, were it not that there is not sufficient labour to spare from the sugar. It is an exceedingly delicious and wholesome vegetable, and it has the advantage over the sweet potato that it will keep for a long time if stored in a dry place, while the sweet potato will not keep more than a few days. Antigua has long been celebrated for its pine-apples, which I believe are the finest in the world, and the black pine of Antigua has a well-known reputation in this country. Some time ago an enterprising gentleman in that island tried the experiment of shipping some to England, which was so successful that he went in for producing pines on a large scale, and shipments were made by the Royal Mail steamers. The fruit, however, suffers on the voyage, and seldom reaches here in perfection. So abundantly is this delicious fruit produced, that in the season, from June to September, a fine pine-apple, such as a nobleman might be proud to place on his table in this country at the cost of a guinea, might be bought in Antigua for a penny. The cultivation of the soil in this island receives great attention, and is equal to any that I have ever seen. Through the enterprise of a few proprietors steam ploughs were introduced some years ago, and there are now a greater number at work in Antigua than in any other island in the West Indies; they have proved a great success, and have done an increasing amount of good to the heavy clay soils, which, before the use of these ploughs, it was almost impossible to till; the cost of working them is no doubt a drawback, but it is one which I believe is fully made up by the benefit obtained; the general flatness of the fields and their freedom from boulders, of course makes Antigua especially adapted for the use of steam ploughs.

The manufacture of sugar is, with one exception, conducted on what is known as the ordinary process, that is to say, with open pans, and the crushing of the canes on the majority of estates is accomplished by means of windmills, as in Barbados, some of which are very powerful horizontal mills, and when the wind blows

there is no cheaper or better power ; but though Antigua, from the absence of high hills, has more generally a trade wind blowing than is the case with St. Kitts, still, wind being an uncertain power, has been found in these days of uncertain labour not to be the best, and on most of the large estates windmills have been superseded by steam-engines, and the clarification of the cane juice is effected, as it is in St. Kitts, by steam.

The one exception to which I have referred in the manner of manufacturing sugar is the method adopted by the "Fryer's Concrete Company, Limited." This company was started about fifteen years ago by Mr. Alfred Fryer, a clever, intelligent gentleman, who is the patentee of the apparatus known as "Fryer's Concretor," the object being to convert all the saccharine contained in the cane into a concrete mass, thereby avoiding the conversion of any of the crystallisable matter into molasses. The idea was well conceived, and, I think, worthy of greater success than it has obtained, but in a pecuniary point of view I fear it has not been satisfactory to the shareholders ; I, however, hope that the new tenure of existence which it has received may show what I believe to be the case, namely, that Mr. Fryer's principle, with some modifications, is not only practicable, but capable of being very efficient.

The chief trade of the island, as is the case in all of the Leeward Islands, is with the United States and British North American Provinces ; they supply all the timber for building and making casks, oil-meal, corn, flour, beef, pork, cheese, and salted fish, and, in fact, nearly everything that is consumed ; and in return they buy the molasses from the planters ; and, lately, a considerable trade has sprung up in sugar, for which a better price can be obtained in the island for that market than can be got in this country. Why this should be, or how long it will continue, is a problem I am not able to solve.

There are in Antigua several cattle and sheep farms ; these were formerly sugar estates, but during bad times these estates ceased to be cultivated, and on most of them the sugar works have fallen into decay or been dismantled, and, as I have previously remarked, the outlay required to restore a dismantled sugar estate is too great to admit of its being done by men of limited capital. These properties have therefore been turned into cattle farms and sheep runs, and in some places with success. The breed of cattle has by this means been improved, and the cross between the Senegal and the native cattle has produced a useful class of working oxen. Antigua mutton has a great celebrity, and is equal to the best Welsh. I have seen saddles of mutton upon the hospitable tables

of Antigua gentlemen which were worthy of a Lord Mayor's banquet. Poultry of all kinds is plentiful and good, and the Guinea fowl is equal, if not superior, to pheasant, the flesh of which it resembles.

Antigua is the seat of Government, and in this respect has a great advantage over the rest of the Leeward Islands, as the Governor and all the officers of the general government reside there. The benefit of this is, of course, obvious, for not only are the salaries of these officers, which are contributed to by the other islands, spent there, but there is no doubt that it suits their personal convenience to remain in Antigua and visit the other islands as little as possible. This accounts in a great measure for the frequent and loud complaints one hears from St. Kitts and other places of the mal-administration of local affairs, and it is one which the Colonial Office would do well to attend to, if the success of the confederation of the Leeward Islands is desired, in order that other groups of islands may follow the example set; but, unfortunately, the present mode of working that form of government is contrary to the principles which were clearly defined and held out as an inducement to those who were led thereby to support the scheme.

The population of Antigua is under 36,000, of whom about 2,100 are white. It is a remarkable circumstance that the number does not increase, indeed I believe it is the other way; this has been attributed chiefly to the mortality among children, and from time to time the matter has been brought to the notice of the Government, and was taken up seriously by Sir Henry Irving during the short time he was Governor. Last year a Commission of Inquiry was appointed, and a carefully-prepared report was drawn up and submitted to the Government, but I am not aware that anything further has been done since. It is an important question, and one that must affect the future prosperity of this island to a very serious degree. District doctors are paid to attend the children of the labourers, and nearly every estate has a medical man retained for attending the labourers when they are sick; it is therefore to be presumed that the fault does not lie in the want of medical care.

During the last two years the island has suffered very much from the want of steady and continuous labour in the crop season. This no doubt was owing in some measure to the crops being larger than usual, and consequently more hands were required to take them off; another reason, too, was that heavy and frequent rains fell during the reaping season, which caused the weeds to grow more rapidly, and the fields therefore required constant attention.

I am inclined to think that if the labourers would work regularly and steadily on the cultivated fields, there would be sufficient labour in the island, but the fact of their knowing that their services are indispensable, and that if they do not work there are none to compete with them or take their places, has the effect of making them indifferent and indolent; and increased wages, so far from stimulating increased labour, has the contrary effect, for not being thrifty or provident, nor caring to put by money, when they find that they can earn as much in four days through increased wages as in six, they will not work more than four. This is a characteristic of the black man, and the result has been during the last two seasons that on Mondays, and often on Tuesdays as well, they have been in the habit of leaving the plantation gaily dressed, and, accompanied by drums and flags, going to the towns and villages, some to play cricket and other sports, and the others to stroll about and look on, while all work on the estate was stopped. This state of things caused a considerable loss in reaping the crops of the last two years, and compelled the planters to go to great expense in importing foreign labour, and a cargo of immigrants is now on its way from Hong Kong to Antigua.

The good moral effect which a moderate supply of regular labour has upon the natives on a West Indian estate is very extraordinary, and the fact of seeing others working, and the knowledge that if they themselves do not come to their places there are others who will supplant them, and that their work will not, as it has done for some time past, wait until they choose to do it, stimulates them to industry. A similar state of things existed in St. Kitts some thirty years ago, but the introduction of Portuguese labourers from Madeira, many of whom are now well-to-do, thriving citizens, and some liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, had the effect of making the native labourers industrious.

The education of the labouring classes in Antigua is abundantly provided for out of the general revenue, and is under the superintendence of the Inspector-General of Schools, who also lives in Antigua. Subsidies are granted upon a fixed scale, according to results, to all religious denominations, and the salary of the Inspector-General is paid by all the islands. There is, besides, the Mico School, as it is called, which was endowed many years ago by Lady Mico; it is admirably conducted, and most of the teachers in the Government schools are taken from this establishment.

There is a commodious harbour at St. John's, and another at English Harbour, where there is a well-built dockyard belonging to the Admiralty (now, alas! falling to decay), where large ships of

war can be docked for repairs and cleaning; either of these harbours might be made available as the depôt for the Royal Mail steamers, which now go to the Danish island of St. Thomas. A good deal might be said on this subject, but it would occupy too much time in a Paper like this.

Antigua is the seat of the Bishop of that Diocese, and has a fine cathedral, built in place of one that was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1843; it is a substantial and commodious building, built without regard to any particular style of architecture, but it nevertheless presents an imposing appearance as the harbour is approached.

Recently an Act was passed to disestablish and disendow the Protestant Established Church, but reserving the vested rights of the then existing incumbents; what the ultimate effect of this will be upon the future of that Church remains to be proved.

There is also a Roman Catholic church and an ambitious-looking convent, which must have cost a great deal of money; not long ago a good ladies' school was kept there, but I believe it has lately been abandoned.

The sects of the Moravians and Wesleyans have a large following in Antigua, and, I believe, do much good work among the labourers. Some of the Moravian settlements are founded on the prettiest spots in the whole of the island.

The scenery of Antigua is less tropical in its character than that of any other of these beautiful islands; the white cliffs and low undulating land remind one very much of some parts of England; and from some points of view there are bits of scenery as lovely as can be found in any part of the world.

As I have promised to give a sketch of each of the Leeward Islands, I fear that the time at my disposal will not admit of my referring to numerous other subjects of great interest in connection with Antigua, and I must therefore pass on to the island next in importance of the group.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.

THE Island of St. Christopher, or, as it is usually called, St. Kitts, was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493. It was first settled in 1623 by an English gentleman named Warner, who afterwards, as Sir Thomas Warner, was the first Governor. This eminent gentleman, to whose enterprise the colonisation of the Leeward Islands is due, died at St. Kitts in 1648, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Thomas, Middle Island, where there is still a monument and tomb to his memory,

which, I am happy to say, through the exertions of some gentlemen of the island, was restored a few years ago. The early history of St. Kitts is one of varied vicissitudes, owing to the trouble caused by the native Charibs, and the frequent invasions of the French, who appear to have been very anxious to possess the island, and it changed hands several times; and some bloody fights occurred until the general peace of 1783, when it was finally ceded to Great Britain.

In the times of the early settlers the chief products of this island were tobacco, indigo, and ginger, but these after a time gave place to the sugar-cane, which was found to be suitable to the soil, and more profitable. This product has ever since had no rival as a staple in St. Kitts, and has held the position of its sole industry to the present time. Bryan Edwards, who wrote his history of the West Indies nearly a century ago, says that the average production of sugar for a series of years was 16,000 hogsheads of 16 cwts. each, which is about the same as the average weight now of a hogshead of sugar when sold in this country; but the average number of hogsheads is not now more than 10,000. In speaking of the products of this island, I only refer to those which form the items of trade, but sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, plantains, eddoes, cassava, and other vegetables are grown in abundance as articles of food; and the bread-fruit tree and other fruits are also plentiful.

The soil is peculiarly suited to the growth of the sugar-cane; it is light and porous, and easily worked by the hoe; it is a black ferruginous pumice, finely incorporated with a pure loam. The under stratum varies a good deal; in some places it is a hard yellow tarras, and in others it is grey, dark brown, and almost black gravel. The extreme lightness of the soil makes it more apt to suffer from drought than the heavier soils of Antigua, though the average rainfall is greater. This is especially the case in those districts where the subsoil is of the gravel I have described. Bryan Edwards seems to have been much struck by the fertility of the soil of this island. He says: "By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the production of sugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. The circumstance is, however, unquestionable." The friable nature of the soil, however, makes the manuring of the land in St. Kitts a large item of the annual expenditure, because, in the first place, the plant more easily reaches and appropriates the manure, and also because it is more easily evaporated by the rays of the sun and washed through the soil by the heavy rains which sometimes

occur. This fact appears to have been as well known a hundred years ago as it is now, for Bryan Edwards adds: "I am informed, however, that the planters of St. Christopher are at great expense for manures." In the days when he wrote artificial manures were unknown in the West Indies, but a good deal of labour was expended in collecting bush from the mountains, and other substances, to make compost heaps for manuring the land; now, however, in addition to this means of enriching the soil, large quantities of expensive manures are imported, so as to enable the planters to get the greatest amount of sugar out of their estates. There is also a mode of enriching the land which may be said to be a speciality of the St. Kitts planters, namely, what is called there 'green dressing,' which means that so soon as the early fields of the crop are cut off (and they are usually the ratoon fields, or the poorest of the plant canes), the land is planted with pigeon peas, or Bengal beans. These grow up very rapidly, and in about four months cover the land thickly and heavily with a mass of foliage, which is cut down and ploughed in, and rapidly decays. This exceedingly cheap method of adding fertility to the soil enables the planters to restore the manure which I have said so rapidly passes through the soil.

The cultivation of St. Kitts is admitted to be of the very best kind; indeed, to use the words of a noble lord who visited his estates in that island a few years ago, and who is a practical farmer himself in this country, "it is like the best market gardening in England." This no doubt is due to a certain extent to the nature of the soil, which is easily tilled, but very much is also due to the industry and skill of the planters, who are a very respectable class of men; and something is still due to the labourers, who are intelligent and obedient. Steam ploughs are not required, and are therefore not used in St. Kitts, and the land is chiefly ploughed by oxen and by the hoe; and horse-hoes, or weeding machines as they are called, are employed for weeding and keeping the soil in a good state of tilth. A very good system has been for some years adopted for keeping the fields that are in preparation, or under young canes, free of weeds. It is called "farming," and it means that as soon as a field is ploughed and banked it is given out, usually to some woman with one or two children, to be kept clean for a given time at a fixed rate per acre, payable weekly, which she is entitled to receive so long as it is in good condition. This is a good system, inasmuch as it provides easy employment for a class of labourers (mothers of families perhaps) who could not do more laborious work; and it also enables the planter to have

all of his fields under control at the same time. As a rule now every planter endeavours to get his land for his growing crop prepared, planted, and put out to "farm" before his reaping begins, so that one operation might not interfere with another; in short, I may say that, so far as cultivation of the soil goes, St. Kitts stands as well as any country in the world.

I am not able to speak in the same terms of praise of the manufacture of sugar in St. Kitts as I have of the cultivation of it, for, with the exception of the extensive introduction of steam engines and mills for crushing the canes, and the entire discarding of the old-fashioned windmills, very little has been accomplished in the manufacture of the sugar, and the quality scarcely any better than it was fifty years ago. This is probably owing to the doubt which exists as to whether the capital required for establishing vacuum-pans and centrifugal machinery, and the employment of the requisite skilled labour upon small or medium size estates, would be repaid by the higher price the sugar would fetch. And men with limited means do not like to run the risk of the experiment, and "rather bear the ills they have than fly to those they know not of." But concentration of estates and centralisation of the works are steps perhaps in the direction of an improvement in the manufacture which has been taken in many instances within the last few years.

The south-eastern part of St. Kitts stretches out in a narrow neck of land towards Nevis, from which, at its nearest point, it is only a little more than two miles. The land at this part is sterile, and only used for grazing sheep and cattle, but there is a large salt lake, supposed to have been formed by an extinct crater, which in some seasons yields a large crop of salt, but through want of capital, or some other cause, it has not prospered of late.

It affords me pleasure to be able to say that I do not believe there exists in any part of the world a better disposed or a more orderly and well-behaved race of people than the negroes of St. Kitts. They are essentially a sober people, and with the exception of a few confirmed drunkards, who are seldom seen, a drunken man is rarely to be met with, and a drunken negress hardly ever.

The great evil amongst them is immorality; and the unhappy results are telling injuriously upon the labouring population. Such matters do not receive sufficient attention, unfortunately.

It is the nature of the black race to be unthrifty and improvident; they seldom make the slightest provision for the time of sickness or old age, and the result is that when overtaken by one or the other, they rely upon charity or the public hospitals. They cannot

be said to be lazy, but they are certainly indolent, which seems to be a distinction without a difference ; but it is not so, for if you can inspire a negro with an interest in what he is doing, or stimulate him by the force of example, he can and will do as much work and as well as any man in the world ; but whether it is natural to him or whether it is the enervating effect of the climate, he is undoubtedly indolent, and requires urging and stimulating. The black-man can perform long and continuous labour with surprisingly little food, and that of the simplest kind ; he is hardy, and can bear the heat of the sun on the hottest day with indifference, and in fact he seems to delight in basking in the sun. His wants are few, and these are easily and cheaply obtained ; during crop season sucking the sugar canes and drinking "beverage," which means a mixture of the partly boiled sugar and water, which they get for nothing, with sweet potatoes, bananas, plantains, and bread-fruit, is the chief source of food ; and a shirt and trousers, of the cheapest and coarsest fabric, is the everyday dress of a working man. Shoes and boots are never worn except on Sunday, when a good deal of finery is displayed, and men and women who during the week were clad in the simplest garb, may be seen going to church or chapel, the women with muslin, and sometimes silk frocks, and morocco shoes, and the men with cloth frock-coats, shining silk hats, and patent leather boots, both enjoying the luxury of an umbrella. Though the love of dress leads to improvidence and has been disapproved of by some writers, I do not think it should be altogether discouraged, for it shows a tendency towards civilisation and the refinements of life, and inspires a feeling of self-respect, which should be fostered.

Besides the wages which the labourers earn, which in crop season comes to a good deal of money in a week, and the provision grounds and fruit trees which they enjoy, in almost every case they keep one or more cows and some sheep, goats, and pigs, which they feed on their employer's property free of charge, and many of the men own ponies, on which they ride to their work in the morning, and on the back of which when returning home is carried a bundle of grass or cane tops, or a bag of cut chaff, which they obtain sometimes by permission and sometimes without, which is the supper of the pony and cow, so that altogether they are very well off. A disadvantage under which these people exist is their great desire to live in the towns or villages ; their ambition is to have a house of their own, however small or imperfect, and they attach little value to it unless it is in a town or village, often going to considerable expense and

trouble to remove it there. They do not care to live upon the estates, even in better cottages—they prefer a miserable hut in town, with hardly room to move about in; and into these wretched huts numbers of both sexes are crowded together at night, sometimes in a single room, and to this promiscuous herding together is to be attributed the immorality I have referred to; it is highly objectionable, too, from a sanitary point of view, and it was through the crowding of these miserable huts, which are often built upon posts planted in the earth, that the great loss of life in the flood in January last is due. The population at the present time is under 30,000; it has not increased in ratio since the census taken in 1871, but I believe that the statistics of the births and deaths, which are carefully kept, show that there is a slight increase of the former; and though it has been ascertained that 240 persons were drowned in the flood in January this year, it is thought that the census next year will show a slight increase of population. Ample provision is made for medical attendance to the children and the destitute of the labouring classes, by the appointment of district doctors, who are paid out of the public treasury, and each estate employs a doctor to attend its labourers. There is besides an admirable public hospital (which was founded some years ago by the late Lieut.-Governor Cunningham), supported at the public expense; and also a district hospital in the town of Sandy Point.

Basseterre, the chief town, was destroyed by fire in 1867, and with it the beautiful church of St. George, which had only been built a few years before. The town, or rather, I should say the principal and business part of it, has since been rebuilt; the streets have been widened, and a better and more substantial class of houses built; and the church was restored through private contributions. The town is said to contain 8,000 inhabitants, which is too great a number in proportion to the entire population of the island. There is an abundant supply of water brought by iron pipes from the old Road River, a distance of six miles, and a large reservoir to contain a reserve supply was built about a mile out of the town. Hydrants are laid in all the streets as a protection against fire, and for flushing the canals in the streets. Basseterre is a busy town, and in the crop season the crowded state of the Bay and Piers gives one an idea of energy and activity. Like Antigua, the chief trade is with the United States and British North America; but there is also a good trade with this country, where nearly the whole of the sugar is sent.

A large sum of money is granted annually out of the general revenue for elementary education to the children of the labouring

classes, and it would, I think, be difficult to find a child of twelve years of age who cannot read and write. This is so far satisfactory, but I have long felt, and endeavoured to impress upon the Government, the necessity for providing a middle class or secondary school, where the sons of managers, overseers, and tradespeople might receive education at a trifling cost, to enable them to take their places in due time as merchants' clerks and overseers of estates. The parents of these children have not time, and in most cases not the ability, to teach them; they are too poor to send them to this country for education, and they are perhaps too proud to let their children mix with those they would meet at the elementary schools, so they grow up in ignorance. Encouragement should therefore be given in the shape of subsidy to a school to supply this want, under such regulations as may be deemed necessary. It is from the class I have mentioned that we mainly look to recruit the ranks of the managers, overseers, and merchants' clerks, and it would be good political economy to encourage a little higher education amongst them.

Some years ago, while Sir Benjamin Pine was Lieutenant-Governor, and Sir Stephen Hill, Governor-in-chief, a grammar-school was established in St. Kitts, in which Sir Benjamin took great personal interest, and under his direction and guidance, aided by two able and efficient masters from this country, the school flourished and was creditable to the government of the island; the number of pupils increased, and I could name many of the most prominent young men in the Colony at the present time, some members of the bar, some in the public service, and others in business, who owe their position in life to the education and training they received at that school. After a time, unfortunately for the Colony, the services of those masters were lost, and another was appointed, who, as a member of an English University, was presumably competent for the post, but, whatever may have been his own attainments, he proved to be unable to impart knowledge to others, and eminently unfit to command respect or enforce discipline. The result was, the grammar-school languished, and was ultimately abolished. This school was established in the prosperous days of St. Kitts; the cost of the master's house, the school-room and fittings, and the grounds, was about £1,500, but the school itself was, to a certain extent, self-supporting, through the fees paid by the parents of the boys; and as the permanent way and the rolling stock, so to speak, had been laid down, the school, one would think, might have been fostered, and continued under good management again, but the remedy applied was the abolition of the

school, a pension to the schoolmaster who brought about its ruin, the sale of the house and grounds for £300, and the removal of the school-room to the hospital, to be used as an auxiliary ward. This may seem a sad story of the retrograde movement in this island, but, unhappily, it is not a solitary case of the progress the island is making in that direction.

St. Kitts is, undoubtedly, one of the most healthy of the West Indian Islands; the climate is temperate, and, owing to the high mountains that range throughout the island, it is cooler than most of the islands. It is well suited to Europeans, who thrive and flourish there, and yellow fever, as an epidemic, has not been known for many years, though there are occasionally sporadic cases, just as there are sporadic cases of typhoid or scarlet fever in this country.

As a place of residence it is as desirable as any in the tropics. The scenery in some parts is lovely beyond description; there are few sights more beautiful than the Valley of Basseterre, with the surrounding mountains and hills, as it is seen from the deck of a vessel approaching it in the early morning, and it is worth a visit to the West Indies to view that alone. Above all, it has within itself the elements that constitute the prosperity which once belonged to it, and which only wait to be restored.

DOMINICA.

THIS island was so named by Columbus because it was discovered on a Sunday. It is said that when Queen Isabella of Spain asked the great circumnavigator to give her a description of it, he crumpled a sheet of paper in his hand in order to give her some idea of the jagged appearance of its conical mountains.

Roxan is the chief town, and is built on the banks of the river of that name, which is spanned by two handsome iron bridges erected some years ago. The island abounds in rivers, of which there are thirty of considerable size, besides smaller rivulets; it is of volcanic formation, and one of the volcanoes is still alive—a fact of which it gave the inhabitants of Roseau a proof some months since, when a slight eruption took place.

The soil of Dominica bears signs of its volcanic origin in all parts of the island; in some places it is of a light brown colour, but in the valleys it is darker and of richer quality, well adapted for the cultivation of all kinds of West Indian produce. The area of cultivated land is, however, not very great, and the difficulties in the way of working or using implements upon it are much greater

than in Antigua or St. Kitts. Coffee at one time was grown in considerable quantities, and formed one of the principal articles of export, but its production has greatly fallen off, owing, it is said, to a white blight which appeared after the hurricane of 1834; it is now, however, again being planted, and I believe a new kind has been introduced. Cocoa of an excellent quality is also produced, and I only wonder that it has not been grown to a greater extent than is the case, for it seems to me that the fine shady slopes of the Dominican mountains are the very places where the cultivation of cocoa might be brought to perfection. Sugar is still, however, the chief staple, and the abundant supply of water available for the purpose of working water-mills makes that method of grinding the canes the cheapest and most in use, but there are nevertheless steam-engines on some of the estates where water cannot be obtained. The cultivation of limes as an industry has made great progress within the last few years, and if the demand for lime-juice should continue in this country, it bids fair to make Dominica a prosperous island. I believe that the scheme of growing limes as an industry is due to the late Dr. Imray, and by his enterprise and great intelligence he succeeded in making the export of the produce a very profitable trade. During a visit to the Government House in 1874, when Sir Henry Irving, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, was living there, while the Federal Council was sitting at Dominica, I was much struck with the beautiful hedge of lime-trees in the garden; it was kept nicely trimmed, like a holly hedge in this country, and was quite as pretty and impenetrable. The island abounds in fruit trees of various kinds, and oranges, shaddocks, and mangoes of unequalled quality may be had for the trouble of picking them.

Travelling in Dominica is difficult, the roads being very bad, and to this cause is partly attributable the fact that the island is not so prosperous as it might be.

The inhabitants of Dominica are shrewd and intelligent, and are possessed of a refinement which reminds one of their French origin; French, or more strictly speaking, a kind of French patois, is the language chiefly spoken, but all of the better class speak English fluently.

Of the hospitality and polite attention of the gentry I can speak from personal experience, as well as of the beautiful scenery of the country, some of which is equal to that of Switzerland. The mountains are certainly the grandest in the Leeward Islands, one of them rising to a height of 5,600 feet above the sea level. I was struck by the similarity in appearance of the mountain facing

Government House to Mount Pilatus, as seen from the Hotel National, on the opposite side of the Lake of Lucerne. Among one of the mountain ranges is a boiling lake, which is sometimes violently agitated, and at others remains perfectly quiet. This lake I believe was discovered not long ago, and is supposed to be of recent formation.

The Roman Catholic religion prevails, but there is a Church of England belonging to the Diocese of Antigua, and also some Moravians and Wesleyans. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is a fine building, and Roseau is the seat of the Roman Catholic bishop of the Leeward Islands.

There is constant communication with the French Island of Martinique, and considerable traffic is carried on with that island, which is only about four hours distant by steam. The Royal Mail steamers call here regularly, and the island is in telegraphic communication with Europe.

NEVIS.

NEVIS was discovered at the same time as St. Kitts, from which it is separated only a few miles. It was first settled by Sir Thomas Warner, in 1628. It consists of one mountain or cone, about 3,000 feet high, from which the whole island slopes in more or less steep descents to the sea. The soil is a stiff clay, and is in some places very stony, which makes its cultivation difficult and expensive; in spite of that, the natural richness of the soil is so great that several crops of rattoons can be taken off one planting of canes, which is a great advantage. The numerous fine mansion houses which are to be met with in all parts of this island, but which are fast falling to decay, and becoming things of the past, are evidences of the former prosperity of this island, and it makes one desire to know why it has so fallen off. An American captain went to that island sometime ago with a cargo of what is called "notions," and placed himself and his cargo in the hands of an agent in Charlestown, and desired him to dispose of the goods, and provide amusement for himself in the meantime. The merchant lent him his horse and buggy, and sent a servant to show him the way. Some hours later the captain returned, and being asked what he thought of Nevis, he replied, "I guess I could write a book about the wornoutedness of the place." This is what strikes a casual observer, but I am perfectly certain, under a condition of things different to what exists at present, the island might become prosperous again. It has the misfortune to be the most heavily taxed and the least looked after of any other islands, and this and St.

Kitts are, I believe, the greatest sufferers through the mismanagement of the present form of government. What these places want is the continuous influence of a vigorous and energetic government. Give them that, and they may again be prosperous, but if left as they are they must go from bad to worse, year after year, until they are utterly ruined, for capitalists are losing confidence, and the want of confidence will be followed by a withdrawal of capital. Nevis has many natural resources; its soil is fitted more than any other for the growth of limes, and coffee, cocoa, and cinchona might be grown there, and probably be more profitable than sugar. There are sulphur beds that only wait to be worked, and there are sulphur springs, which possess medicinal qualities of unsurpassed efficacy, with the substantial remains of a grand stone building on the site of the springs, which was built for an hotel and watering-place. If some enterprising American would take it up as a speculation, Nevis might become the sanatorium and fashionable watering-place of the West.

The mail steamers do not call at Nevis, though they pass within two miles of the town; it is a disadvantage, which would probably be removed if, like Montserrat, it had some persons in this country sufficiently interested and influential to remonstrate against the hardship. It is also excluded from the benefits of the telegraph, though the cable passes from St. Kitts to Antigua, within gun-shot distance of the land.

This island has the honour of being the place where the illustrious Nelson was married to the widow Nisbet, who was a native of that island; and in one of the parish churches may now be seen the entry of the marriage, at which William, Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William the Fourth of England, was best man.

MONTSERRAT.

MONTSERRAT was first planted in 1632 by a few Irishmen who were discontented with St. Kitts. And it is said that the Irish element and language can still be detected there, though I have not heard of there being any "Fenians" or "Land Leaguers." Like most of these islands, it has had its day of traditional prosperity and its years of known adversity, but its present condition is decidedly improving. It has also the enviable notoriety of having the prettiest women in the West Indies.

The improved condition of Montserrat is due to Messrs. Sturge, of Birmingham, for the capital they have invested and circulated there, and for the direct and controlling influence they have main-

tained over its affairs from this country. To these gentlemen is also due the introduction and development of the lime juice industry, which has of late years become an important and profitable trade. The cultivation of sugar is, however, not abandoned, and on one of their estates they have recently put up a powerful steam plant, on which Mr. Fryer's concreter is worked, with an improvement invented by Messrs. Sturge's intelligent attorney, Mr. J. Spencer Hollings.

Montserrat lies to the south of Antigua and St. Kitts, and though the distance is not more than fifty miles from either place, it is sufficiently to the south to escape the centre of the hurricanes which sometimes pass over these islands. The appearance of the island in passing it is beautiful, and there are many pretty bits of scenery on the island. The difficulty of making roads is very great, and travelling is therefore difficult. It abounds in fruit and vegetables, and living is cheap. The island is of volcanic origin, and there are indications of a crater which is not extinct. The soil more nearly approaches that of St. Kitts than any other.

It has no connection with telegraph cable, which is a great inconvenience, but through the remonstrances of Messrs. Sturge, the Royal Mail steamers call at Plymouth, the chief town. A considerable trade is carried on between Montserrat and Barbados.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

The VIRGIN ISLANDS are a group of numerous small islands, of which Totola and Virgin Gorda are the largest. Except for picturesque scenery and danger of navigating among these islands there is nothing of interest to relate. The British portion came into the hands of the English Government about 1666. At one time, when sugar-growing was a profitable trade, there were sugar estates exporting that article, but at present I do not think that there is any exported. Cotton is grown to a small extent, but rearing stock is the principal business, and turtle and fish are also articles of commerce. The chief and almost only trade is with St. Thomas, where a ready market is found for supplying the numerous steamers and other vessels that are constantly there. The working classes, too, find remunerative employment in that way. At Virgin Gorda there is a natural harbour, which might be made to accommodate a fleet of ships.

There are some copper mines at Virgin Gorda, which unsuccessful attempts have been made on more than one occasion to work profitably, but from what cause I am unable to say.

GOVERNMENT.

I come now to the concluding, but by no means the least important portion of my Paper, namely, the government of the Leeward Islands, its original Constitution, and the changes it has gone through to the present time. This I will endeavour to deal with as distinctly and briefly as possible.

At an early period of the history of the Leeward Islands they were accorded the right of Representative Government, and Legislatures, based upon the principle of the British Constitution, were created in each Island, composed of a Board of Council appointed by the Crown, and a House of Assembly elected, the qualifications for electors being fixed by law; the Council, or Upper House, was about one-third less in number than the Assembly, or Lower House. All Bills were required to be passed by both Houses, and to receive the sanction of the Crown before becoming law. And to quote the words of the Colonial Office List, page 97: "It may be mentioned, as of historical interest, that the Leeward Islands possessed a Common Legislature as far back as the reign of William and Mary. Some Acts passed by that Legislature are still in force in the several Islands, notably one 'to provide for the want of fines and common recoveries,' under which entails and settlements of real property are effected, and which is considered creditable to the sagacity of the colonists of the day, as having anticipated by nearly a century and a half a very beneficial reform only effected in this country in the year 1833." The ministerial duties of those Legislatures were performed by joint committees selected from both Houses.

In 1856, while Sir Hercules Robinson was Lieutenant-Governor, an Act was introduced creating a responsible form of Administrative Government, with an Executive Council and an Administrative Committee (but in no way interfering with popular representation), the former to be a Council of advice, or Privy Council, and the latter, to whom salaries were paid, were charged with the responsible management of duties which were previously performed by unpaid and irresponsible joint committees. This measure was regarded at first as an innovation, but it was passed, and its successful working compelled its opponents to admit that it was an indication of the enlightened statesmanship and great administrative talent of a Governor, whose subsequent eminent career in some of the largest Colonies is regarded nowhere with greater satisfaction than among his friends and admirers in the Leeward Islands.

In 1865 and 1863 the Constitution underwent a complete change.

The then existing Legislatures were abrogated, and in their places a single Chamber in each Island was formed of a limited number of members, half nominated by the Crown (including three paid officials to perform the ministerial duties) and half elected by the electors, a double vote being given to the President, who was one of the nominees of the Crown. This new Constitution was begun upon liberal principles; the nominated members were chosen chiefly from among the most independent and influential gentlemen resident in each Island, who were expected to give a consistent support to the Government in matters of policy, but were otherwise unfettered in their legislative action. Unfortunately for the good of the Colony that principle has since been discarded, and no man of independence is now nominated, as an example of which I quote the way in which the Legislature of Dominica has lately been treated; it was dissolved, and in re-nominating every independent member was excluded, and the Colonial Secretary of Antigua, his son, a clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office of Antigua, and the Auditor-General, also of Antigua, were nominated. These all reside in Antigua, and never are in Dominica, unless when sent there to give a vote. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Dominica people are dissatisfied. It is in such ill-judged things as these, which might readily be avoided, that discontent is occasioned.

In 1869 an agitation was begun for another change in the Constitution of the Leeward Islands. The scheme then proposed was a confederation of all the Islands under a Federal Government, with a general Legislative Council composed of members from each of the Island single Chambers. This measure met with very great opposition, but with consummate ability, energy, and tact, Sir Benjamin Pine, who was then Governor, succeeded in securing the support of the leading men, and eventually resolutions were passed by the local legislatures which formed the basis of the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament, known as the Leeward Islands Act of 1871, creating those Islands into one Federal Colony. By that Act the total number of members to compose the Federal Council, the number to be nominated and elected from each Island Council, and the mode in which they were to be elected was fixed, as was also the subjects which the General Council was authorised to make laws upon. This form of Constitution, after a good deal of consideration and delay, was inaugurated in May, 1872, with great pomp and state, and an able address was delivered by Sir Benjamin on the occasion in the presence of a crowded and attentive audience; and assurances were freely given of the inestimable

benefits that would flow to the Colony and to each individual Island through this measure. It is true there were some doubting hearts and unbelieving sceptics on that occasion, but these were pacified and told to "have faith, and all things shall be given unto thee."

In favour of the *theory* of Confederation there is much to be said, and was said, which cannot be gainsayed; and to the objections which were raised at the time by its opponents as to the disadvantages that would accrue to those Islands not under the direct supervision of the Governor, who might prefer to remain at ease in Antigua, and leave the local affairs of the other Islands to the mercy of incompetent subordinates, the answer was—"The policy of the Colonial Office is to make the confederation of the Leeward Islands so successful that it will be an example for other places to follow, for this is only the beginning of a larger Federation, and no Secretary of State would permit anything to exist which would imperil its success." How this prophecy has not been fulfilled will appear hereafter.

Several meetings of the Federal Council followed in succession; the delegates from the Islands attended; they took well to their work, and seemed bent upon doing their duty to the Colony; all measures submitted to them received careful consideration, and were subjected to shrewd criticism, sometimes resulting in useful amendments; and the new Constitution seemed settled upon a lasting foundation. But it was not destined to remain so.

In 1878 the Island of Nevis was turned into a Crown Colony, and the people were disfranchised. This rendered a change in the Constitution of the Federal Council (which had been fixed by Parliament in 1871) necessary; and the number of members was reduced, and Nevis was deprived of its right to have an elective representative in the Federal Council.

Shortly after that St. Kitts was also made a Crown Colony, and a most curious arrangement was made, whereby five members of the local council *nominated* by the Governor were made *electors*, to elect *three of themselves*, to be *elected* members in the Federal Council to represent St. Kitts. Anything more confusing, or more inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Act of Parliament, it is impossible to conceive, and the impropriety of its effect was pointed out.

The object of these changes, it was said, was to abolish Representative Government altogether in the Leeward Islands, and to reconstruct the Federal Constitution upon the Crown Colony system, which, it was alleged, was the new policy the Colonial Office was bent upon effecting. A serious check to this was, how-

ever, sustained in Antigua, which was the next Island destined to be disfranchised ; but the attempt to do so there was met by such a violent popular demonstration that the Governor prudently yielded to the advice of some of the chief citizens, and did not urge it. This half success and half failure has completely disfigured the form and symmetry of the " august body " (as Sir Benjamin Pine designated the Federal Council in his inaugural address), which, under the direction of the Secretary of State, Sir Benjamin expended so much time and ability in forming and shaping. And it was a remarkable instance of want of prudence and good judgment to interfere with the Constitution of individual islands, which would necessarily involve changes in the Constitution of the General Council, without first ascertaining beyond a doubt whether those changes could be accomplished throughout the Colony. Whether this was sanctioned or approved by the Colonial Office, or whether it was an unauthorised blunder arising out of the meddling with edge tools by unskilful hands, is not known, but whatever it may be, it discloses the dangers that surround, and the unfair risks these Islands are subjected to by the excitement which frequent changes cause, and the want of a fixed policy towards them.

If the confederation of the Leeward Islands has not been a successful experiment, it is not due to any defect in the principle of Federation, it is not owing to the neglect or unwillingness of the members of the Federal Council to legislate for the benefit of the Colony neither is it, in my opinion, due to its being unsuited to those islands, as some people still maintain. Its failure is quite distinct from any of those causes. It is attributable, in the first place, to its being allowed to run off the line upon which it was started, and the want of a direct control over the executive machinery, and also to the manner in which personal feelings interfere with public policy, and the absurd desire to narrow all power and influence within the radius of an oligarchy. It would be out of place here, and would occupy too much time, to enter upon matters of detail to show how prejudicial this state of things is, and how widespread is the feeling of dissatisfaction ; it is enough to say that the people are patient and long-suffering, and the remedy is in the hands of the Secretary of State ; and it is to be hoped that those officers of the Federal Government who, from long residence, and from connections and associations there, may have, imperceptibly to themselves, contracted the prejudices and the narrow views which are incidental to small communities, may receive the reward of long service by promotion to more lucrative employment elsewhere, and that the Colony may be benefited by

the appointment of others not labouring under such disqualification.

With respect to the alleged desire of the Colonial Office to deprive the people of these islands of free institutions and the right of suffrage, it must seem strange to men of liberal views in this country, that at the present time, when such rapid strides are being made everywhere in the direction of an extension of the franchise and widening the doors of free institutions, that the policy pursued in one of the oldest and most loyal Colonies should be to take from the people the right of the franchise, which they have enjoyed for a century and a half, and which they have never been charged with abusing. The question naturally occurs, what is the cause of it? Are the people less civilised now, less intelligent, or not so well educated as they were a hundred years ago? Are they less loyal, and therefore not to be trusted? I have anticipated answers to most of these questions in the account I have given of the education, intelligence, and condition of the people of these islands, and I repeat that they are as civilised, as well educated, and as generally intelligent as any similar class in this country, and corrupt practices at elections, such as have been divulged by the Election Commissions in England lately, are unknown in the Leeward Islands, nor does a spark of disloyalty exist there. But admitting that special circumstances, or the convenience of the Government, renders it expedient or desirable to conduct the affairs of the Colony by an absolute form of government, it is certainly due to the people who surrender their rights that the rule of the Crown should be exercised in the same way there and with the like advantages as it is in other places. In Jamaica and Trinidad and in other Crown Colonies the Governor presides at the meetings of the Council, and he has an opportunity of hearing the opinions of members for or against any measure that is brought forward, and he may sanction its being amended or withdrawn if he should be convinced by the arguments that are adduced; but in St. Kitts and Nevis the Governor never presides at the regular meetings, though he might easily do so by summoning the Council at any time that suits his own convenience; the consequence is, that measures are sent from Antigua with a covering despatch from the Colonial Secretary of the Leeward Islands, stating that they must be passed by the Council without any alterations, and the Governor has no opportunity of hearing any opinions that may be expressed by the members, whether worthy of attention or not; they never reach the Governor's ears till the measure is passed, and even then he only gets the views of members as they appear after they have passed through the

obscurities they encounter by being filtered through the President. This is a serious impropriety, and it ought not and probably would not be allowed if it were known at the Colonial Office ; but there, again, a small Colony is at a great disadvantage, for the Secretary of State is necessarily much engaged with State affairs, and with matters involving larger questions in more important Colonies, and he can ill spare the time to listen to these seemingly small things, so the approach to the Colonial Office is not always easy ; and when a memorial or protest is forwarded from the Colony through the official channel, the tendency of the report that accompanies it is usually to discredit the statements made, or the persons by whom they are made. These disadvantages are no doubt due to the little interest that is taken in its public affairs by people in England ; and, unfortunately, the time may still be far distant when the promised importance of the Leeward Islands will be increased by the extension of the Federation to the whole of the British West Indies, and even to the Dominion of Canada, as was prophesied in the concluding sentences in the Blue Book Report on Federation, page 24, in June, 1870.

It cannot be denied that much of the success or failure of any country depends upon its Government, and if that be the case in large countries possessing representative forms of government, and where the voice of the people and public opinion makes itself heard and felt, how much more must it be so in small Colonies like the Leeward Islands, where the first is extinguished and the other is treated with disdain. That these beautiful islands I have described are endowed by nature with all that renders them suitable to life and profitable to man, I have shown by the hasty sketch I have drawn, but that they labour under the disadvantage of being of small importance as compared with others of Her Majesty's Colonial possessions, and receive but scant consideration from the Government, is, I fear, too true. This is most seriously and prejudicially felt, and those persons who reside in this country and possess property in those islands, or those capitalists who risk their capital to support and encourage the cultivation of the soil and the growth and manufacture of its products—upon which every soul in the country, from the proprietor on his estate to the pauper in the hospital relies for subsistence—should co-operate with those who live in the Colony to bring into prominent notice in the proper quarter the defects of the local Government, against which no individual or collective remonstrance on the spot has any regard paid.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I ask you to allow me to tender my most sincere thanks for the patient manner in which

you have listened to my Paper, for the length of which I apologise, but if in the course of my subject I have succeeded in attracting your attention and secured your interest in the welfare of the Leeward Islands, I shall feel satisfied that I have performed a substantial service to the Colony of which I am proud to be a representative.

DISCUSSION.

Sir B. PRINE: I have listened with great attention and pleasure to the very able discourse to-night, and with the greater part of that address I cordially agree. There are, however, some remarks with reference to the government of these islands, as to which I would offer a few observations. I was the instrument by which the Leeward Islands were federated, but I was not the originator of the scheme. To seek for its origin you must go centuries back. When the Leeward Islands were first of all established upon their present system of having the Governor at Antigua, and Lieutenant-Governors at the other islands, there was a Council provided by which every island should be represented in a general Federal Council. The Federation was at that time an established fact; and, as Mr. Berkeley has said, it was in existence as far back as the reign of Queen Anne. That Federal Council passed some important laws, among others one for abolishing fines and recoveries. The Federal system was, however, allowed to fall into decay, and every island seemed to assert for itself the right to legislate upon every subject. The result of that was that there was most divergent legislation upon every important question—questions involving everything that people hold most dear to them. Among other subjects I may mention the law as to wills, which was in one island one thing, but quite another thing in another island, so that if a man had made a will respecting property in St. Kitts, the same will would not hold good as to property in Antigua, or *vice versa*. In 1833 another change took place in the Government of the Leeward Islands, and Sir Edward Macgregor was appointed with a Commission, in which Commission were these words: "That he will use his endeavours to bring about and restore that Federation of the Islands which had existed two hundred years ago;" and these words were put in: "You will take care to visit each of these islands at least every year, and to be present at the opening of every Assembly;" that is to say, that the Governor himself was to take charge of the government of every island. In after years it was found expedient to revive this. The first gentleman who

sounded the note of Federation in modern times was Mr. Kerr Hamilton, who was formerly Governor of the Leeward Islands, but whose services have been anything but adequately appreciated. I remember his words in one of his despatches were: "It is a political cruelty to make a small island like Nevis contribute to the support of a King and Lords and Commons, with a responsible Government." In 1869 I was sent out by the Colonial Office to endeavour to revive the scheme of Federation, and again federate the islands. As Mr. Berkeley has properly said, I met with an enormous amount of opposition. I had to carry the same series of resolutions through every Assembly of these little islands. It may be thought a very easy thing to federate little islands like these, but it was a very difficult matter indeed. There was so much personality introduced. The man who is a big person in his own island becomes a much smaller personage in the Federation of a large number of islands; but all difficulties and personal matters were overcome, and at length, with the assistance of my distinguished friends, and among them Mr. Berkeley, we have succeeded in carrying this Federation through. The basis of the Federation was this: that the general Legislature was to be composed partly of representative members, and partly of nominee members, and the elective element was to be distinctly felt and heard. From every island the members of the Federal Council who were to be *elected*, were to be elected not by the island Council as a whole, but simply by the *elective part* of that Council; that is, the elective members of the Council of the island who had been elected previously by the people were to send their representative to the general Council. The Legislature, as Mr. Berkeley said, met and passed some very important laws—laws as to wills, weights and measures, &c.—of very great importance were all assimilated throughout the islands. I, unfortunately both for myself and, perhaps, the Leeward Islands, was called away in 1873, and Mr. Berkeley has omitted to state the fact that I was so called away; and it would look as if I were responsible for all the mischief—and I must call it mischief—which has been done since. Mr. Berkeley's objections and criticisms apply to the bad working of the system. Any system, however good, must be badly worked if it is done by incompetent men. It seems, however, that there has been interference with the constitution itself. This is utterly unjustifiable. St. Kitts and Nevis, having partly representative and partly nominated Councils, not only affected those islands themselves, but affected the whole Federal system. (Hear, hear.) For instance, when St. Kitts was represented in the Federal

Council by members chosen by the elective members of the Local Council, and the same with Nevis—I say, by turning those Colonies into Crown Colonies you deprive the people of St. Kitts of a voice, or any representation whatever, in the Federal Council; and further, you in point of fact alter in the most important point the whole constitution of the Leeward Islands as I left it. Another thing Mr. Berkeley hit upon is that the Governor of the Colonies, whoever he may be, does not sufficiently visit the minor islands. He has not followed the example of Sir Edward MacGregor, to visit those islands before they were federated to open the Assembly. That was the system I instituted, that there should be *one* Governor for the Leeward Islands, and that the Presidents in the particular islands should be simply his mouthpiece, his secretary, to carry out the views which he ordered to be executed. And I think that to that is due the fundamental departure from the original principles on which this Federal scheme was promulgated and a great deal of the mischief to which Mr. Berkeley refers. (Hear, hear.) Doubtless it may be due to neglect on the part of the officials themselves, and as to that point I myself was particularly anxious, and I represented to the Colonial Office as strongly as I could the necessity of changing the officers as much as they could when they changed the system; for the same men, do what you could, would go back into the old groove. (Hear, hear.) It was a very difficult thing for the Colonial Office to do this; their patronage was very limited, and it was difficult indeed to exchange their men. I would not have spoken to-night if I had not felt a deep interest in these Colonies, and all Colonies with which I have had to deal. I think people in this country do not know enough of these Colonies; the people of England are too apt to express opinions about the Colonies without knowing anything about them. They expressed opinions not knowing anything about it in the case of Sir Bartle Frere, who is one of the ablest men who ever went out to our Colonies. (Cheers.) It was not the Tory or the Whig Government who turned him out of office; it was the people of England, who, especially in relation to Colonial and Foreign Affairs, are not fit for the franchise. (Laughter.) I take such an interest in the Colonies that if ever there should be a struggle between Old Britain and what some have called Greater Britain, I will throw my destinies in with Greater Britain. (Applause.)

Mr. Justice SEMPER (British Guiana): I had not intended to take part in the debate this evening, but in deference to the wish so graciously expressed by the Chairman, Sir Henry Barkly, I feel bound to say a few words. I have listened with great attention

and pleasure to the remarks made by the Vice-President of the Federal Council of the Leeward Islands. There is no one connected with the Colony that was better fitted to have given us a history of the transactions in connection with the legislation of the Colony during the last twenty years. (Hear, hear.) He has played a prominent part in most of the measures brought forward. It is true there were some he had adverted to as having met with marked opposition, but which, with characteristic generosity, he now admits are most successful. One of these, with which one of the ablest Governors, Sir Hercules Robinson, was associated, is the one he has specially alluded to. I was one of three who supported that measure. When Sir Hercules Robinson first put it forward, it was ignominiously turned out of the House. But we were not disheartened even by the uncompromising opposition which my honourable friend gave to it; and during the next session we had the gratification of carrying it by a large majority, and it is most gratifying to me to hear him testify, as he had good reason to do, to the success of that measure. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Federal scheme, there is no doubt that if he had not given his able and powerful support to it its success would have been most uncertain. There is no doubt also that it is, in a great degree, due to him that the representative principle was secured; and he has reason to complain if the principle on which that measure was based has been interfered with, unless the necessity for change was clearly demonstrated. I remember when I first spoke to him on the subject. It was when the Governor-in-Chief honoured me with his confidence. I conferred with him (before I accepted the office of Attorney-General) as to the manner of carrying out the measure generally; and he agreed, after some consideration, to give it support, provided it was guaranteed that the representative portions of the Colonies were not swamped; and he obtained a guarantee that half of the members should be chosen not only by the people, but by the representatives of the local councils. He also induced the Governor to agree that the President of the Federal Council, who is appointed by the Crown, should have a single, and not a double, vote. If, therefore, there were an equal number of votes on either side, the measure was considered as having been lost. This was no doubt a very important provision, and if the principle of that Bill has been unnecessarily interfered with, the Vice-President of the Federal Council has reason to complain. Of course, of the policy of that change it is impossible for me to say one word. I have left the Colony now for many years, but I can say that during the time I was there, when I had the

honour of serving under two Governors who are in the room to-night, Sir Benjamin Pine and Sir Henry Irving, they both most faithfully adhered to the principles on which the measure was based. I can also say that they gave much personal attention to the affairs of each island, and constantly visited each portion of the Colony, opening the various legislative bodies, and that they constantly sat in council with the local representatives of the people. There is no doubt that when the Federal measure was first passed, I for one should not have taken a part in it if it had been intended to destroy the representative element; and I do not say so to-night for the first time, for I think the hon. gentleman who has read the paper will bear in mind that, when leaving the Leeward Islands a few years ago, I stated, in a lecture I gave on the subject of those islands, that I had supported Federation with a hope that it would restore to the whole Windward and Leeward Islands a representative system, which in many of them had been lost, owing to the want of material to form representative bodies. (Hear, hear.) I had hoped, when the measure spread and more influential Colonies joined it, that they would take care not only to see that the entire system was kept unimpaired, but that each island, if unable to supply a separate representative body, would insist upon having a body of electors created that would have a right to send a member or members to the Federal body, and so we should have had indeed an important Colonial Parliament representing the people of the West Indies. (Cheers.) I can only, therefore, deeply regret if any circumstances interfered with that institution, which, if carefully nurtured, would have flourished not only in the soil in which it was planted, but would have spread its benefits to other Colonies. (Hear, hear.) With regard to a matter adverted to by Sir Benjamin Pine, as to divergent legislation, I can only say that so great were the difficulties felt in the path of justice, that in Nevis, for instance, which is only about three miles from the larger island of St. Kitts, if a prisoner escaped from St. Kitts to Nevis, or if a criminal were fleeing from justice, it was impossible for the police to arrest him unless the warrant of the judge from the island from whence he had fled was backed by the chief justice of the place in which he had taken refuge; and in that way prisoners escaped, and justice was frequently baffled. Not only was that the case, but the Attorney-General, who before the Federal Union might be the Attorney-General of different islands, visited one island where there prevailed one form of law, and in a few hours' voyage he would go to another where they had another and totally different form of legal procedure. This complex system gave rise to endless

difficulties ; and there has been more correspondence with the Home Government with relation to the anomalies in the Leeward Islands than I dare say even now takes place in regard to the Cape of Good Hope. (Hear, hear.) Not only was that the case with the criminal law, but the other branches of the law were also exceedingly defective. There was a comparatively extensive trading community, and in the large Colonies men were induced from time to time by special representations to give credit to persons carrying on business in the smaller islands, and they had no protection whatever. If a difficulty arose, and a man was not able or not willing to pay his debt, his creditor had to send down at considerable cost a special power of attorney, or an agent to look after his interests ; and when he did get to the island in which the debtor resided, he often found that probably the only member of the Bar resident there had been retained on the other side, and the hope of collecting anything too often vanished into nothingness. (Laughter.) Not only was that the case, but a writ issuing from the judge (this was before Federation was established) only operated in the place where he had issued that writ ; and the creditor by removing to another island rendered himself quite independent of legal process. Now a creditor remains in Antigua, where he may consult his attorney and give credit all over the Colony ; and the moment a party allows judgment to go by default, or an adverse verdict is obtained, the process of the court, though granted in one island only, operates throughout the whole Colony. The greatest protection is thus given to capitalists and the commercial body of the Leeward Islands, and, indeed, to all classes. These changes have given encouragement to trade, and led to the outlay of capital ; and if other circumstances have arisen to interfere with the success of the Federal Union, I for one deeply regret it, and I sincerely hope that those difficulties will soon be removed, and Federation prove entirely successful, and as permanent a benefit to the people of the Leeward Islands as it certainly was intended to be. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. L. OHLSON : We have heard hitherto this evening what might be called the purely official view of Federation. It is necessary, before this meeting closes, to express what might be called the Colonists' view of it. (Hear, hear.) To statesmen in this country, accustomed to take broad views (occasionally rather superficial, perhaps) of Colonial policy, the idea of Federation is no doubt an attractive one. It can be quite understood that in new countries, with a large extent of territory and with a thin and scattered population, where there is a single interest, and where all classes would be equally affected by a common tariff, Federation

might possibly work well. But where you have a number of islands separated by sea, all of them old countries with a history, all of them having had for many years past—some of them, perhaps, for centuries—their own representative institutions, their own system of laws and government; each of them, as it were, a centre in itself, to take away their individuality, and to attach them by purely artificial means to another centre, such a scheme of Federation must contain within itself the very elements of failure. (Hear, hear.) And this has proved, I think, to be the case with the Federation scheme of the Leeward Islands. (No, no, and hear, hear.) Now when Sir Benjamin Pine (whose presence here to-night lends such an interest to this meeting) began his work in the Leeward Islands, he was almost staggered with the difficulty of the task. He reported to the Secretary of State that it was impossible to make a complete measure. Of course, one main element of Federation is a common tariff. But Sir Benjamin Pine reported that the tariff suitable for St. Kitts would not do for Antigua. Even the same system of managing the public roads would not apply to both Colonies; while it was generally felt, not only by the Imperial and Local Governments, but by everyone interested in these Colonies, that the consolidation of treasuries would involve a grievous and cruel wrong. (Hear.) In fact, it was found that no steam roller ever invented was heavy enough to macadamise the Colonies into one dead level. (Laughter.) Sir Benjamin Pine and Mr. Semper have spoken of the opposition presented to the scheme. I knew something of the proceedings at the time; I was aware of the strong feelings that were aroused, but there was every disposition to give the scheme a fair trial, and I think both Sir Benjamin Pine and Mr. Semper will admit that there was no disposition on the part of the West India body in this country to oppose or to put any undue obstacle in the way of Federation. But after the lapse of ten years the time has come to estimate the result. What did the scheme promise? Better laws, swifter means of justice, better and sounder administration of government. We were promised decreased taxation and expenditure, and an elastic revenue coincident with increased production and improved trade. We were promised all these things; what do we see? With regard to facilities for justice and the circuits of the judges, I have frequently heard complaints of vexatious delays, and I am told there is not that confidence in the judicial courts of the Leeward Islands which ought to exist. And with regard to finances, Sir Benjamin Pine was in the habit of quoting in his official addresses to the legislatures a sentence from Mr. Bright, as follows: "There is no

better test in the long run of the condition of the people, and the merits of the Government, than the state of the finances." Well, all I can say is, if this is to be the standard by which the merits of the Government during the last ten years are to be judged, those merits are not particularly distinguishable. (Laughter.) There is no doubt that expenditure in all the Colonies, except perhaps, Antigua, has increased. In Nevis, between 1870 and 1878, it had actually nearly doubled, while the value of exports had gone back almost to the same extent. The expenditure of Dominica, too, has largely increased. It is upon these two Colonies I wish to say a word. I hold in my hand a copy of a petition to the Queen, signed by 760 of the principal inhabitants of Nevis in 1876. In this it was complained that the surplus which existed at the credit of the island in 1872 had been entirely absorbed—(hear)—that expenditure in several years had exceeded income, and that this expenditure represented an amount of taxation which was absolutely crushing. A long list of additional taxes are given, imposed between the years 1874 and 1876. The petitioners further complained that the unofficial Members of Council, who might be presumed to have some stake in the country, were always outvoted by the official Members, while the casting vote made the Governor absolute, and the Governor-in-Chief knew nothing whatever of what was going on, and had no means of ascertaining the views and wants of the Colonies nominally under his government. (Hear, hear.) I thought this petition was so important that I induced a Member of Parliament to put a question about it in the House of Commons. In reply, the facts were admitted—they could not, of course, be disputed; but it was stated that the reason why this state of things had arisen was probably because Federation had not been carried far enough. (Laughter.) It struck me that that was one of the most illogical statements ever made in that most illogical of all legislative assemblies, the British House of Commons. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) It seemed to show such a misapprehension of the gist of the question. I should think the true logical result would be that if these things had arisen under a partial system of Federation, the completion of Federation would have completed the ruin of the Colonies. (Laughter, hear, hear, and no, no.) In saying this, it must be perfectly understood I do not blame in the slightest degree, or cast any reflection upon, the Colonial Office. I believe everybody at the Colonial Office is sincerely and anxiously desirous to do what is best for the Colonies, and promote those measures best calculated for their improvement. No one can help admiring the great ability which is brought to

bear upon all Colonial questions in Downing-street; no one can help appreciating the unfailing courtesy with which every representation is received there. But the fact remains that under the present system the Colonial Office does not always get at the real wants and condition of the Colonies. Now with regard to Dominica. Sir B. Pine, in addressing the Legislature of that island, used most eulogistic terms in describing its material resources and its natural beauty. Indeed, the mere mention of Dominica makes one instinctively inclined to rush into poetry. Its hill-sides were formally covered with a forest of coffee-trees. Its soil is marvellously fertile. It has a splendid harbour (or bay), capable of being made the rendezvous of Her Majesty's ships, and it is a wonder that it has not been utilised for this purpose before. (Hear, hear, and no, no.) I speak, of course, under correction. It is a matter of fact which might be discussed afterwards. And this harbour, I am told, has the advantage of an unfailing supply of the best drinking water in that part of the world. (Hear, hear.) This is Dominica. But a large proprietor of estates there has put into my hands, for the purposes of this discussion, a correspondence he has had with the Secretary of State upon its condition. He complains of the want of labour, that he cannot get his crops taken off the ground, that there was no proper vagrancy law, and that there was a deterioration both in justice and in government, and that as he could not sell his estates for want of a buyer, he thought of giving them up to avoid further loss. The Secretary of State replied to him, admitting the fact, but saying in effect that the island had gone so far that it was beyond any remedy or redress that could be provided by the Government. And yet I am reminded that Dominica is between two French islands that present a great contrast to it. In Martinique and Guadeloupe production is carried on, crops are reaped, labour is regulated and introduced, machinery is imported, capital is derived from France for the erection of large central factories. We see, in short, a population industrially employed. But in Dominica this is not the case. There seems to be a feeling of hopelessness about the Colony, against which I would desire most earnestly to protest. No one should despair about the future of these Leeward Islands. But it is no use standing here discussing their condition, without proposing some practical remedies. First, there should be a good vagrancy law. It is no use putting the people into villages by themselves, as has been done in Antigua. The negro, when left to himself, and cast entirely on his own resources, always goes backward. It is said he is dying out in Antigua, whereas in Colonies

where he is brought into direct contact with Europeans, and engaged in work (as in Barbados), he thrives, increases, and multiplies to such an extent as to overflow and feed other places with labour. Then, again, a good system of compulsory industrial education is wanted. The question of the juvenile population is one of the most important that a statesman at home or in the Colonies could take up. It deserves immediate consideration, for these boys and girls will be the men and women of the future, having in their hands the destinies of these countries. Another thing we want is an enlargement of the unofficial element in the Council, and greater weight to be allowed by the Colonial Office to local and unofficial representation, so that practical knowledge, information, and experience might be brought more directly to bear upon the discussion and settlement of questions of such vital interest to the colonists. Once more, means of communication by the electric cable are essential, especially for any purposes of Federation. As you know, the cable is at present in a most deplorable state. Time after time this matter has been brought before the Government, and I believe another and serious effort is to be made to influence the Home and Colonial Governments in support of this means of communication. Well, these are some of the points calling for attention ; and it would be a good thing for any English statesman to be able to say that he had taken part in the promotion of measures likely to induce a prosperity in these Colonies proportionate to their resources of material wealth and natural beauty—a prosperity all the better and sounder and more likely to be permanent because of the happier conditions and the brighter auspices under which it has been brought about. (Loud applause.)

Sir HENRY IRVING : I think it is to be regretted that the discussion on this Paper should have taken the form of a discussion on Federation alone, to the exclusion of its other topics, which are, perhaps, of greater importance, and more calculated to attract an English audience. The West India Islands have indeed on several grounds a claim to the attention of this Institute, but I venture to think that it is the fact of there being fields for the profitable employment of capital on a scale which is now very considerable, and which is unquestionably susceptible of large development, that these islands mainly owe their importance. No doubt, if the West India Islands should from any cause cease to afford a field for the employment of capital, they would continue to support a considerable population, and one which would probably make considerable advance in civilisation ; but the islands would occupy a very different position from that which they have hitherto held, and they would

practically cease to be factors in the great aggregate of reproductive labour of the Empire. It would seem, therefore, to be of vital importance to these islands that the capital-employing industries should be maintained, and to be the interest and duty of the Government to do all that can legitimately be done to foster and encourage them. In the larger islands of Jamaica and Trinidad, important industries exist in the breeding of stock and the cultivation of cocoa and coffee, in addition to the main industry of sugar manufacture; and I think I may claim for the Government of Trinidad that a good deal has been done to encourage and assist all branches of industry. In the Leeward Islands, or rather in the principal islands of Antigua and St. Kitts, with Nevis, there is but one staple cultivation, that of sugar; and the circumstances of these islands are such as to leave very little in the power of the Colonial Government to do in the way of helping the planter. The prosperity of these islands must of necessity depend on the price of sugar, and on the question whether it yields an adequate return to capital. Whether it does so or not is a point on which difference may exist, and on which I am, perhaps, not very competent to express an opinion; but I apprehend that if conducted on a sufficiently large scale, and with adequate capital, the cultivation of sugar is at least as profitable as any other form of agriculture in the world. With regard to Federation, Sir B. Pine and Mr. Justice Semper have explained some of the evils and inconveniences which it was designed to remedy. That each one of these small communities should have its own separate code of laws and system of legal and judicial procedure was an anomaly which clearly called for remedy, and the obvious remedy lay in the creation, or revival, of a central legislature. This has been done. Whether the form of legislature adopted was, or was not, the best possible one, is a question into which I do not propose to enter. It is possible that, in the first instance, the powers delegated to it by the island legislatures were somewhat too restricted. But a central legislature has been created which is competent to do, and which I believe has done or is doing, the work for which it was created, viz. of establishing uniformity of statute law and procedure throughout the Colony. As regards the civil administration, the practical difficulty is to provide an efficient machinery with the limited funds at the disposal of the Government. It is obviously difficult and costly to provide for the civil government of a population scattered over a group of six or seven islands many miles apart from each other. This geographical subdivision necessitates the maintenance of six or seven separate establishments, and six or

seven sets of public institutions, such as gaols, hospitals, poor-houses, &c. &c. It is perhaps not surprising that with such a system of multiplication as this there should be a tendency on the part of the Administration itself to run to sixes and sevens. I do not think that this difficulty would be removed by the adoption, at one time suggested, of a common treasury, though I think something might be gained if the several islands were to contribute to a common civil list on a more extended scale than the existing one. The real difficulty is that the revenues of the several islands are not more than sufficient to defray the cost of their small and poorly paid local establishments. The remedy is, I think, to be sought in an improvement in the island finances through better collection of the revenue and by the gradual correction of any defects which may exist in the composition of the civil service of the Colony. Improvements of this sort can be the result only of careful and painstaking government, and of time ; but I see no reason why in time Federation, which has secured to the Leeward Islands uniformity of law and procedure, should not also secure to them the advantages of efficient civil administration. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. H. PRANCE : We have heard to-night a very interesting paper about the wants of the Leeward Islands, and, among other things, the progress of the people, the nature of the black man, &c. Allow me to rather generalise the subject by saying that, among other things, the lecturer stated that the trade of the Colonies was with the United States and British North America, by which I understood him to mean the Dominion of Canada. Now I should like the lecturer to give us some more definite information really to illustrate this point. I believe that there is no trade more valuable to Great Britain than the commerce of its several Colonies. (Hear, hear.) I also believe that free-trade, as between the Colonies and the British Islands, even if we are unable to obtain reciprocal trade between ourselves and other European countries, would be of itself a sufficient basis for the encouragement, not only of the home trade, but of the commerce of the United Empire. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the concluding passages of the paper relative to the Confederation of the Leeward Islands, it carries me back to the time when Lord Carnarvon made efforts to obtain in the Cape Colonies a similar scheme of Government, which, although it is at this moment not successful, I am still hopeful may yet prove a success. (Cheers.) There is one in this room, Sir B. Frere, who can tell you much more than I can upon this subject. I wish he could speak to-night. (Cheers.) But the Confederation of the Colonies, if I

understand aright the meaning of our Society, is one of the great objects that we have in view. (Hear, hear.) The Dominion of Canada has already carried out their scheme of Confederation, and we hope that the other several groups of Colonies may in due time obtain their respective Confederations—(hear)—when one and all, as a united Empire, we should, like the sticks in one fascine, become the greatest Power in the world. (Hear, hear.) If I understand our function rightly, we hope to assimilate our Colonies, and thus to obtain for Great Britain and her Dependencies and Colonies the right to call ourselves a united Empire. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. LIGGINS : At this late hour it is impossible for me to say one-tenth of what I desire on the able Paper we have just heard read. As an Antigua proprietor I have been personally acquainted for the last forty-years with the Leeward Islands. I have also visited the magnificent Colony of Demerara, the large island of Trinidad, the French and other foreign and British West Indian Islands. I think, highly as Mr. Berkeley has coloured his paper, I should be inclined, if I possessed the ability to do so, to use the brilliant colours of a Turner to give full force to the natural beauty of these islands. They are magnificent to look upon as scenery, equal to any in the world ; their soil is as fertile as the most ardent agriculturist can desire ; a climate as healthy as the Isle of Wight, but more pleasant and congenial, and inhabited by European settlers as well educated, as refined in their manners, and as honourable in their habits as the better class in the mother-country ; with a black working population more advanced in education than similar classes in this country. Antigua was the first island to throw overboard that intermediary state of apprenticeship established by law between slavery and freedom ; and they deserve credit for boldly saying at once, "The time has arrived when we will give up possession of men as our property, and we will rely on our own efforts and exertions to improve the position of our working class, and look forward with hope to a prosperous future." The people of Antigua and St. Kitts, and the other Leeward Islands, are quite as intelligent as the labouring classes of these favoured islands. I wish all the actuaries of our insurance offices in London could hear me declare that there is no climate more healthy, and which you can enjoy more thoroughly, than that of these islands. It is all very fine to talk of yellow fever. Of course it exists occasionally—once, perhaps, in twenty years—just as more fatal typhoid and other fevers occur among us. I think it is upwards of twenty years since I knew of any person who died of yellow fever. These islands obtained in times gone by a bad reputation in consequence

of the fever being deadly among the troops from England ; but it arose from causes of so exceptional a nature that I cannot at this late hour explain the reason. These Colonies present fine fields for the intelligent English gentleman with capital. The islands have been under a cloud through the serious mismanagement of the Colonial Office and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—(laughter)—and the too frequent alteration of the laws and duties in this country. Now you laugh ; but I remember the time when we complained of the want of prosperity, and were met with this remark : “ You are behind the times. Why don't you improve your manufacture ? Why don't you make lump sugar, and send out the best machinery you can buy ? ” What was the result ? We were induced to do so. I myself have sent out thousands of pounds' worth of English machinery, the best apparatus from Belgium and France, and boiling-pans that had proved successful in the Mauritius. But what was the result ? Why, the next year the Chancellor of the Exchequer altered the mode of arranging the sugar duties, thereby casting aside the better sugar our improved machinery was intended to make, and making it desirable to manufacture bad sugar as weighty as possible to enter our ports at the lowest rate of duty leviable, leaving to the superior skill of the refiners here to make the lump sugar demanded by the public. The outcome of this is the most ingenious device of Mr. Friar's concretor, which sends home to his refinery at Manchester and others the whole saccharine in the cane to be improved here. I wish to point out to the people of England that this year one-third of the crop of Antigua has gone to the United States. I take it for granted that many in this room are not West Indians at all, but are connected with other Colonies of this great Empire. (Hear, hear.) Now I ask, can it be for the good of our shipowners and merchants or proprietors of the soil, or for the Church establishments which have done so much at great cost to humanise the people, that the trade of our islands should slip away to a foreign country, an antagonistic foreign country ? It is not one which befriends us in any way ; they oppose our Free Trade with the strongest possible Protection of every kind, and prevent us having free and fair intercourse with our commodities, and the more prosperous they become the more will they succeed in excluding us from the markets of the world. (Hear). I believe every other West Indian Colony, during recent years, sent a large portion of their produce to that great country, the price being more congenial to the sellers than that which they could obtain by sending their produce to this country in competition with foreign bounty sugar. Our merchants and shipowners

are all sufferers here ; nevertheless, it is the only bright star I can see in the future, and, painful as it is to English colonists, it becomes a necessity to cultivate this foreign friendship. We are thrown off by this country, and we must therefore cultivate a connection with the United States, and hope in future that the high prices which for the last few years they have been able to offer may be continued. But, as an Englishman, I say it with pain and regret that I should have any desire whatever to belong to that great Republic. About Confederation : I have the honour to be a vestryman, and have been for many years, of the great parish of Kensington, and I ask you whether it would be for the interest of gentlemen living in the magnificent mansions of that district to be confederated with Poplar and Whitechapel, Jersey, or the Isle of Man—islands as far from Kensington as the West Indian Islands are apart ? (A laugh.) I do not think that delegates would come from all those distinct places to make the laws for Kensington, particularly as all these parishes would necessarily require their own local wants to be specially cared for. The Confederation scheme was to supplant a system of government that had worked fairly and well for all classes for two hundred years. No one wanted change except the Colonial Office. Sir Benjamin Pine, our then Governor, tells us that he received his instructions from the Colonial Office. No one knows better than he does that he met with every opposition that was fair and reasonable from the inhabitants, and he deserves every praise for his energy in accomplishing his object ; and I, for one, am pleased to hear him state this evening that he does not approve of the manner in which this scheme is being worked. Not one of the brilliant promises held out to us has been found a reality in practice ; but the constant worry of the Colonial Office is most irritating to those loyal subjects of our Queen who have to bear it. Barbados used good judgment in watching its workings, and, on finding it to be a failure, displayed courage in resisting its introduction into the Windward Islands. It has been the most expensive, disastrous, and complete failure ; and if there are any Colonies in other parts of the world except Canada, I give them warning that they had better not attempt to introduce it, for it would, besides being found costly, prove a great failure. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN : You are all agreed, I am sure, that the thanks of this meeting are due to Mr. Berkeley for the interesting Paper he has read to us. (Hear, hear.) It has produced a very lively discussion as to the working of the Federal system, and, as we always desire at the Royal Colonial Institute, all sides have been

heard, though perhaps not fully enough to enable any definite conclusion to be arrived at. I ask you all to join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Berkeley. (Applause.)

Mr. BERKELEY: I rise to offer my thanks for the kind way in which you have received the endeavours I made this evening to bring before you the views I entertained about the Leeward Islands. That I have done so efficiently I fear I have not—(yes, yes)—and I regret that the subject has not been handled by someone better able to do it than myself. (No, no.) But I have gained one point if I have succeeded in securing your kind attention, which I believe will be of great advantage to the Leeward Islands. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen have spoken on this occasion who are able, from their experience and intercourse with the islands, to deliver very valuable opinions. At this late period of the evening it is impossible for me to answer a few of the remarks which have been made, on which something might be said. I will only say I regret that the term of office of Sir Henry Irving—a gentleman whose earnest attention to details of the government was most valuable—was not prolonged enough to enable him to form a more pleasing impression than he seems to have left with; but I am sure that a more intimate acquaintance with those islands would have induced him to believe that they are not unworthy of consideration. I thank you all for the kind manner in which you received my Paper. (Prolonged cheers.)

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting was held on Tuesday, the 14th December, 1880, at the Grosvenor Gallery Library; the Right Hon. Viscount Bury, K.C.M.G., Vice-President, in the chair. Amongst those present were the following:—

Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G. (Governor of the Cape Colony), Lord Clifford, Sir Charles Clifford, Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir Edward W. Stafford, K.C.M.G.; Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Major C. Euan Smith and Mrs. Smith, Major Marshall, R.H.A.; Messrs. John S. Hill, J. D. Wood, James A. Youl, C.M.G.; G. R. Godson, E. T. Smith (Stipendiary Magistrate, Jamaica), E. Hodge Banks, W. Moore Bell, H. A. Silver, William Forster (New South Wales), Edward A. Petherick, S. V. Morgan, Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., and Mrs. Rae, Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., the Setna E. Manackji (India), Messrs. Alexander Rivington, Jacob Montefiore, H. Deighton, W. P. Clarke (Barbados), Darnley C. Da Costa (Barbados), D. C. Da Costa (Barbados), James Farmer, Hermann Voss, John Shaw (late of Madras), Edmund Trimmer, Barrington Brown, W. G. Lardner, H. A. de Colyar, B. F. Williams, William Bellasis, S. W. Silver, Dr. A. Beattie, Messrs. G. Molineux, E. Hepple Hall, T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G. (St. Kitts); Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G.; F. L. Hutchins, H. C. McDonald, H. M. Hyndman and Mrs. Hyndman, Colonel George L. Fraser, the Rev. Canon Cazenove, Messrs. J. W. Arbuthnot, F. W. Fox, A. H. Reid, F. Clark, H. W. Gilbert, H. H. Ross, R. C. Allen, Colonel Ratcliff, Mrs. Parkes, Miss Anford, Mr. Bruce, Miss Campbell, Mrs. Farmer, Miss Farmer, Miss A. F. Farmer; Messrs. J. H. Farmer, John Saunders, F. Newman, J. W. P. Jauralde, Edward Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlan (Sydney), J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), George Peacock (Cape Colony), A. J. Bruce, William Clark (British Guiana), Charles Pfoundes, Robert Porter, F. B. Lyons (Jamaica), Mr. and Mrs. W. Westgarth, Messrs. H. C. Beeton, W. Jackson, W. O. Sutcliffe, W. Matterson, J. W. Irvine (Cape Colony), W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), F. A. Gwynne (Melbourne), W. R. Malcolm, W. T. Deverell, Colonel Ratcliff, Sir John Coode, Mr. and Mrs. F. Ormond (Victoria), Messrs. Alexander Rogers (India), C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), Geo. Main, E. Alex, W. Storr, E. Ransome, F. P. Labillière, T. Rockfort, Capt. W. V. Legge, R.A.; Messrs. J. V. Irwin, C. Colvin, R. H. Davies, J. Banks Taylor, Miss E. Skeffington Thompson, Surgeon-Major Wood and Mrs. Wood, Messrs. W. H. Burton, John Henderson, A. P. Mathison, Frank M. Dutton (South Australia), George A. Tomkinson, Fred. Dutton (South Australia), W. de Müller, H. B. Halswell, J. Macpherson, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Evans, Miss Carpenter, Miss Alexander Fowler, Messrs. Charles Griffith, W. Manley, W. C. Manley, Wm. Lindsay, J. R. Boyd, J. W. Thurston, Paget A. Wade, A. M. Anderson, Ernest H. Gough, Lieut.-Col. Reid, Messrs.

Thomas Rochford, J. E. Nowain, Miss Young, Miss Ada Mary Young, Messrs. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.), N. Nelson, Wm. Cousens, Colonel Sir Charles Rye, K.C.B. ; Rev. J. Long, &c.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Honorary Secretary) read the Minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected :—

Resident Fellows—

The Right Hon. Viscount Combermere ; B. H. Darnell, Esq. ; Ambrose G. Wentworth Gray, Esq. ; Robert G. C. Hamilton, Esq., Accountant-General of the Navy ; Frank Tayler, Esq. ; Hermann Voss, Esq. ; William Wilson, Esq. (Queensland).

Non-Resident Fellows—

Harold A. S. Barkworth, Esq., 1st West India Regiment ; Arthur Bosworth, Esq., 1st West India Regiment ; Hon. R. T. Goldsworthy, C.M.G., Administrator of St. Lucia ; Thomas O'Grady, Esq., Melbourne ; F. W. Paul, Esq., New Zealand ; Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Cape Colony ; Francis William Rowsell, Esq., C.B., C.M.G., British Commissioner of the Egyptian State Dominions ; John S. Smith, Esq. (New South Wales).

The following Donations to the Library were also announced :—

The Agent-General for New South Wales :

Fisheries Inquiry Commission Report, 1880.

Vital Statistics of New South Wales, 1879-80.

Vital Statistics of Sydney and Suburbs for August and September, 1880.

The Leeds Public Library :

10th Annual Report, 1879-80.

The Manchester Free Library :

28th Annual Report on the Working of the Free Public Library.

The Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, Vol. II., No. 12, 1880.

The South Australian Institute :

Annual Report, 1879-80.

J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :

Belcher's Farmers' Almanac, 1881.

Stephen Bourne, Esq. :

Trade, Population and Food, 1 Vol., 1880.

J. Wright Collins, Esq. :

Laws and Ordinances of the Falkland Islands, 1853-73.

Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G., C.E. :

Queen's College Journal, Kingston, Canada.

W. Fresson, Esq., British Guiana :

Temperature and Rainfall of British Guiana, September and October, 1880.

H. H. Hayter, Esq. :

The Statistical Register of Victoria for 1879, Part VI.

Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B. :

Report on the Progress and Condition of the Royal Gardens,
Kew, for 1879.

J. V. H. Irwin, Esq. :

The Van Dieman's Land Almanac, 1833.

Henry Jordan, Esq., Registrar-General, Queensland :

Queensland Vital Statistics, 1879.

Alexander Robertson, Esq., M.A. :

Two Speeches on our Home and Colonial Affairs, delivered in
Dundee, by the donor, 1880.

Messrs. S. W. Silver & Co. :

Handbook to Australia and New Zealand, 1880 (3rd Edition).

Handbook to South Africa, 1880 (3rd Edition).

The CHAIRMAN then called on Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., G.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., late Governor of Bombay, to deliver his address on

THE STATISTICS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I hope you will kindly understand that I am not about to read a Paper ; I am only about to deliver to you an address orally, if you will allow me to do so. (Hear, hear.) As this is the first occasion of my appearing before you, I have felt at the outset somewhat doubtful as to what form I should clothe my remarks in ; but I trust, if I should ever have the honour of again appearing before you, that I shall appear more at home. But I hope that from the title of the address I am about to deliver, viz. on the Statistics of the Indian Empire, that you will not judge that I am about to deliver any very bare dry-figured statement. I shall have, no doubt, occasionally to allude to figures, but I trust that such allusion will only be just sufficient to elucidate the grave and important considerations which I am about to press upon your attention. Well, then, I understand, subject to correction, in the first place that I have the honour at this moment of addressing a large number of gentlemen who have been taking part in the Government of the various Colonies and possessions which make up the British Empire of the world. (Hear, hear.) Also I believe that I have the honour of addressing many gentlemen who have been or still are engaged in the numerous affairs and various kinds of businesses in which the British Empire is concerned. (Hear.) Well, then, gentlemen who have governed our dependencies, gentlemen also who have taken part in the concerns commercial and industrial for those dependencies, you are, as I understand, anxious to hear something

regarding the Government, and the affairs, industrial and commercial, of what I venture to think is the greatest dependency of them all—(hear, hear)—in fact, perhaps, the greatest foreign Empire which has ever been seen in ancient or modern times. Now, in the first place, we often hear in our days that this splendid dependency is verging upon insolvency. I am far—and those who think with me are far—from complaining of gentlemen in this country, learned and accomplished both in statistics, economy, finance, and administration—we are far from complaining of those gentlemen making observations of this character, because such observations constitute warnings of the danger which lie before an Empire—a distant alien Empire like that of India—and warnings also against the pitfalls into which administrations of that Empire are likely to be betrayed. But still the effect of such observations is to throw us back, as it were, upon our haunches, and make us consider whether the finances of India are sound or not. (Hear.) Now, in the first place, let me assure you that they are sound. (Hear, hear.) You hear a great deal about the error which has recently been made, or the miscalculation which has been made, regarding the estimate of the expenses of the Afghan war; but I need not detain you for a moment by showing that estimate, if it be right or if it be wrong, does not in any way concern the substantial finances of the Empire. Whether, for instance, the Crimean War has cost eighty, or ninety, or 160 millions sterling would not have affected the substantial finances of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Whether the Civil War in America cost so many hundreds of millions of dollars, more or less, makes no difference to the substantial finances of the Government of the United States. (Hear, hear.) So, in the same way, the question of whether the Afghan War has cost eight millions, or fourteen or sixteen millions. I do not disparage the gravity of this; all I say is, that it does not affect the substantial finances of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I say that you will find that Indian finances are sound; they are sound for these reasons. You hear of deficits, annual deficits, year after year. Now these are technical nominal deficits, but they are no deficits at all in the proper sense of the word. These merely arise because the sums spent by the Government upon the improvement of the country, upon canals and railways, are included in the ordinary finances.

Now, in no other country in the world are such charges included in the ordinary finances. By every other country on the face of the earth those items are excluded; and that being so, there is in India no deficit whatever, on the contrary there is an exact

equilibrium established between income and expenditure. Upon the finance of the last twelve years there has been actually a slight surplus; and thus it goes on, a little deficit one year with a little surplus another; and, when you come to draw out the threads of a series of years, there comes out a slight surplus. Then the revenues are said to be inelastic; well, they are inelastic as compared with the elastic revenues of England; but, nevertheless, they are growing and increasing. (Hear, hear.) Their incidence of taxation is excessively low. I have hardly time to go into the details of it, but when you come to per head of population, it is as low as taxation can possibly be if there is to be any taxation at all. Then, the army expenditure is not excessive; it does not amount to about one-quarter of the annual receipts. It bears a proportion of about one-third, accordingly as you choose to take the total of the revenues proper or the total receipts of all kinds. It does not exceed the proportion of the defence expenses which any one of the great Powers of Europe bears to the general finance of those Powers. Therefore the army in India costs about as much as it costs in all other civilised countries—that, and no more. The civil expenses are not overrunning the constable; they are kept well in hand, and, as they are rather diminished in all those respects which affects Europeans, they are slightly increased in other respects, but merely for the sake of giving the natives better pay and better preferment. But even then, so correct has been the management, that there has been no real increase on the whole, savings being balanced against augmentations. Then public works have, no doubt, been carried out to a great extent; it is perfectly true that the Government have invested £125,000,000 sterling upon railways, of which about £93,000,000 have been expended by guaranteed companies, and the rest indirectly by the State, the total being about £125,000,000. Upon the whole of that concern taken together—some railways paying more and some paying less—upon the whole they are paying about five per cent., and this notwithstanding the many new railways which have just been opened now, or not quite completed, and which have not yet got their traffic developed. You hear a great deal about canals. Well, we have beyond question simply the finest canal system to be seen in the world. (Hear, hear.) Whether it is equalled by the canal system of the Babylonian in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, or of Alexander the Great, I hardly know; but even in Mesopotamia there could hardly have been canals to surpass the canals to be seen in India. There have been £20,000,000 sterling spent upon them, and upon that six per cent. is being paid now; and if that is so now, you can judge what

will obtain a few years hence. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, about the Public, or National Debt. The debt is about £150,000,000 sterling. But that includes all that has been spent upon the State railways which I have been describing, and also upon the canals; it likewise includes large sums of money which have been spent for the relief of the recent famines. So that if you deduct this sum, and take the debt which has been really spent upon actual war, upon military operations, and the like, which corresponds to the great Public Debt of the European Powers, the Indian Debt is just about equal to two years' revenue. (Hear, hear.) That is not an excessive incumbrance; that will not sink the Imperial boat, nor drag the Empire into ruin. (Hear, hear.) Further, what is the condition of that debt? The rates of interest have been repeatedly reduced of late years. They have been reduced from five to four and a half, and even four per cent., and the Fours once rose to 105, or five per cent. premium, though they have since fallen. The Fours and a Half, however, still command a premium; and, altogether, if you look at the quotations—the financial quotations of the world—you will find that the Indian Government is now borrowing at a rate which is the most favourable in the world—next after that of England itself. (Cheers.) Well, then, you hear also that this Public Debt is not raised locally—not in the country, not from the natives, but in England. It is perfectly true that the debt for the guaranteed railway was entirely raised in this country; but exclude that, and exclude also the debt that has been raised in this country, and you will find that the remaining debt, which has been raised in India, of which the interest is payable there, about 60,000,000 sterling, one-third of that is held by natives. About 20,000,000 sterling is invested by the natives of India in British securities—that is, securities of the Indian Government. (Hear.) That is not a bad sum for the natives to have invested; and particularly it is to be remembered that they would have invested much more if it had not been that the Government have been constantly reducing the rates of interest on account of the increase of competition. The natives lent us money at five or five and a half per cent. but, as you know, money can be raised at four and four and a half per cent. in London, and therefore the Government raise it here. Otherwise the natives would have held still more stock than they do now. (Hear, hear.) Still they have subscribed about £20,000,000 sterling, and are still lending us about £2,000,000 a year on an average for carrying on our public works; and the other day, when a sum of £2,000,000 was wanted for the service of the year, no less than £23,000,000 was tendered—that is to say, people

offered to lend us £23,000,000 when we only wanted £2,000,000 ; and out of that £23,000,000, £9,000,000 were offered by the natives of India. (Cheers.) Well, then, you are told that we must add to that £149,000,000, which I mentioned as the National Debt of India, the debt for the guaranteed railway. Well, add that, and that makes another £93,000,000. But what is the effect? The effect you will find will be, that upon the total of what I may call the debt thus consolidated the interest would not be above two and a half per cent. upon the whole. (Hear, hear.) Well, I should like to know whether there is any other Government upon earth that is paying such a little as two and a half per cent. on its National Debt. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps the Dutch Government is not paying more than this, but its debt is limited. So that, on the whole, if you take the debt in that way it is one of the most favourable positions in the world, if not actually the most favourable. Well, then, so much for the finances. (Cheers.) If these propositions which I have stated are correct—and I say that you will find that they are absolutely correct in all essentials (I have recently verified them all)—then you can judge for yourselves, gentlemen, regarding the great dependency of India, as to whether the finances of India are in a sound state or not. (Hear, hear.) Then perhaps you would like to know next the condition of the people of India. It is said that they are gradually starving, and are gradually becoming poorer and poorer every day. Well, of course they are poor upon an average of the entire population. But the wealth of India is vast ; in the abstract relatively it is not vast, because the population itself is so vast. The trade is in one sense great, but it is not really so very great ; indeed, relatively to the mighty population it is somewhat small. Nevertheless, the progress of the nation can only be measured or gauged by a reasonable comparison of the people at one time in reference to another—(hear, hear)—at one age or one era in reference to another age or another era. Then, according to that standard, I say the people are advancing. The population is being, no doubt, at times reduced by famine ; nevertheless, after making abatements for that, the population will be found to be increasing. The population is increasing and the cultivation is increasing. The trade is increasing immensely, both in the foreign or external trade, and the domestic or internal trade. (Hear, hear.) The houses of the people are being improved ; the interior of their homes is being made brighter, and their condition happier. The people have better houses—better built—better furniture, and better domestic materials than formerly. Their industries—their ancient industries—are, at least, on a par with the

industries of the palmiest days of the Mogul Empire. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, a number of new industries never known before are being introduced by the aid of steam and machinery. Their property is secured to them in a degree never known before. Formerly it was doubtful whether the land belonged to the people or not. It was generally considered to belong to the Government; but now a proprietary title, from one end of India to the other over this vast area of the country, has been created or recognised for their benefit by the British Government. (Hear, hear.) Justice is administered in such a manner that every man feels secure of reaping what he has sown, and of enjoying the fruits of his labour, and a sense of moral independence is growing up among the people. The food supply is said to be sometimes deficient; but it is impossible to understand an abstract proposition of that nature in face of the known facts that people are storing food to the extent of millions of tons annually for their sustenance in time of drought; and, besides that, are exporting hundreds of thousands of tons annually to Europe and the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Wages are rising. There are no doubt many poor; there are many beggars pursuing mendicancy as a profession, I am sorry to say, in India, and statistically it is known that there is, at least, a million of them, taking the whole Empire together. Still, they are all sustained without any poor-rate or any poor-law organisation for that purpose; and in that respect I consider India sets a good example to even the most civilised nation. (Hear, hear.) Then, as to the people being starved or impoverished, would you be surprised to hear that there are many millions of them that are on an average broader, taller, and stouter than we are? (Laughter.) There are many millions also who are somewhat gaunt, somewhat thin; and there are some hundreds of thousands that are stunted in growth. I want to know whether that description does not apply to some of the most strong and robust nations of Europe. (Hear.) And remember, pray, that the Government of India—if you take military inches in the ranks as at all a test of the stature of the people—could be backed to put into the field more tall battalions, both as regards inches and chest measurement, probably than any other Government under the sun. (Hear.) If all these economic facts are demonstrable, as I conceive they are, then on the whole the material condition of the people is tolerably satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) I am far from saying it is perfect; but I say that their finances are sound and the condition of the people is as good as can be expected, considering their past history, their climate, and their physical surroundings. (Cheers.)

Now I do not pretend to give you a rose-coloured picture. I admit that, notwithstanding these considerations, there are at least four or five dangers which always overhang us, and which we see no immediate chance of removing. First, no doubt, and foremost of these difficulties, is the periodical recurrence of famines. Beyond question we do have famines at least once in every decade. Secondly, there is a constant liability to financial derangement by reason of the exchanges. Silver, as you know, fluctuates in value so much. Just now it is very low as compared to gold; that is a great trouble to the Indian Government, which has to make large payments to this country in silver which is measured by a gold standard. (Hear.) This fact does seriously derange the calculations of Indian financiers, and we cannot help it. Then with respect to the death-rate of the Indian population, it is no doubt high—there is no denying that. That is to say, if 2 per cent. or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or something under 3 per cent. of population is to be considered a favourable or a normal death-rate according to the statistics of the most civilised countries, then it must be admitted that the death-rate of India is something over 3 per cent. I say something over—I know it is over 3 per cent.—but how much no one can say, because our vital statistics are imperfect, and therefore I can only say that the death-rate is something over 3 per cent. There is no doubt that the people or their surroundings are insanitary, that there is a great deal of infantile mortality, and a great many diseases amongst the adults. There is no question that impure drinking water and want of proper sanitary arrangements near their dwellings do affect the health of the people. Fourthly, there is this constant political agitation and ultimate financial arrangements caused by the war cloud which is always overhanging our Afghanistan frontier. Until that cloud shall disappear, if it ever will—but I must not enter into that subject now—but until that disappears we have constant danger or trouble from that quarter. Fifthly, in a foreign country, and an alien and a distant Empire like India, you must expect that there are elements of political danger. (Hear, hear.) The mass of the people, I state without hesitation, are very contented and loyal. (Cheers.) I cannot say anything too good of the people of India in that respect. (Hear, hear.) Considering that they are aliens, and that we are foreigners, I do not think any other people on earth would behave as well as they do. (Hear, hear.) Nevertheless, I do not want to land you—I was going to say in a fool's paradise—I do not want to land you in what the natives call "a green garden," which is an expression that is equivalent to

the chateau in Spain. I do not want you to suppose that there is no danger at all; on the contrary, there are many dangers. We, by our system of education which we have introduced, and our Western ideas, and various other influences of the nineteenth century, are indirectly causing their religion to be undermined, and that of course sets the priests against us. They are an ancient feudal aristocracy which flourished in the days of war and revolution, which cannot get on and flourish equally well under a settled and civilised Government like ours. So there is another class against us. Thus in our own British territory, which I need not stop to describe, we have many classes against us. On the other hand, I beg you to understand that I am not alluding to native States as being in any way disloyal; on the contrary, I say that India is an Empire—in the sense in which Rome was—that is to say, there are vast British territories, and there are a number of feudatories and native allies scattered throughout the Empire which are loyal to the backbone; and it was partly owing to that fact that we got through the war and Mutiny as well as we did. We owe our victory at that time to our strong right arm, no doubt; but even the British bayonets would not have been efficacious if there had not been a great Conservative party in the country, which mainly centred in the native States. (Hear, hear.) So that I have now put that part of the case fully before you. (Cheers.) You can see the dangers, you hear the objections, and you hear the answers to them, and you see what are the elements of security. So much for my brief discourse, addressed to those who, I understand, have been concerned in government and administration.

I will now offer a few remarks to the gentlemen—my Colonial fellow-countrymen—who are concerned in industry and commerce. Now, you will naturally ask me to give you some idea of the products, the industries, and the commerce of India; also some idea as to what sort of field it offers for the employment of young Englishmen. (Hear, hear.) I take it that one of the burning questions of the day to the British fathers is, What are we to do with our sons? I say that India will help very much if the subject is approached in the right way. First, let me remind you that you cannot colonise India in the way you have Australasia, Africa, North America, and the like. And if you say, granted you cannot colonise the plains of India, but you can the Himalayas—I am afraid not. A certain experience shows that the European race will not survive more than two or three generations in these eastern longitudes, or in these southern latitudes, whichever you like to call them. It is the latitude and the longitude together which

produce certain climatic effects which are absolutely fatal and inimical to our Anglo-Saxon race ; and therefore, if you were to send father and mother and family to India, or a number of families constituting a small population of that kind, in the course of two or three generations it would become nearly extinct. That is a physical fact in the first place ; and secondly, if it were otherwise, it is quite impossible in such a climate for a European as a labouring man to compete with the natives, because he would be undersold and underbid in every way, and in the end he would find nothing to do. Therefore you cannot colonise in that sense ; but in another and equally good sense you can settle in the country. You must no doubt come home during the evening of life, and, above all things, a man, woman, boy, or girl, must spend the morning of life in this European climate. But the middle of life may be spent perfectly well in India, and you may bear the brunt and heat of the day, and come back tolerably fresh to your country, and address your countrymen as I address you this evening. (Hear, hear.) Well, now, although a man cannot work with his hands alone—I understand, first of all, that some men work—I may remind you, to make the subject clear, that some men work with their hands and others work with their heads, and others work with both together. I say a man cannot work with his hands alone in that country ; but he can work to a great extent with his hands and head together as a skilled labourer. More particularly he can work well with his head, can direct, control, and exert authority, and he can exercise over the natives in industry and commercial pursuits that power of command which has never failed an English man in any calamity where they were tried. (Hear, hear.) But in order to do that his habit of mind must be suited for his business. (Hear, hear.) He must, as a European, if he is to live in India at all, live more or less as a gentleman, but he cannot afford to live as a prince. (Hear.) His habits must not be grand, but simple—that is to say, he must manage to live cheaply and economically ; that is the main thing. That you will think is a truism. It is no truism at all ; it is a sad warning which has to be given. No doubt hundreds of commercial and industrial enterprises have failed because our young friends have forgotten that principle. (Hear, hear.) They have gone out—having been brought up in simple homes in this country, they were taught economical habits, and to work—they go out to India, where they think they are to live entirely as gentlemen. They build fine houses, or the firms out there build the houses for them ; thus great personal expenses are incurred, and then, of course, the concern is found not to pay. But it would

have paid right enough if it had been administered in the frugal manner in which similar concerns would have been administered at home. (Hear, hear.) Then their education must be good, of course ; but still I venture to say it must be practical. (Hear, hear.) I do not disparage classical, literary, and artistic education ; it is the only education I ever received myself ; but I say that something different from that is wanted for the affairs with which I am now dealing. It may have answered formerly, but it will not answer for all time. For, in future, in these lines of life, every man's education must be technical and practical ; and he must not only be taught the theory of a business or trade, but must have learnt something of the working of it in this country before he proceeds to India. (Hear, hear.) You may think that that is a truism, but it is no truism at all. It is a solemn fact that scores of concerns that I will mention in a minute have failed simply because men have thought it required no particular training or professional education to become a planter of tea, coffee, or indigo. Afterwards it is found that the tea does not fetch a good price because it has not been properly prepared for market. The coffee similarly fails, or the plants wither. But why ? Simply because gentlemen went out from this country to undertake those difficult businesses without any previous proper training, or that sort of education which would qualify them for such kinds of trade. (Hear, hear.) Thus you understand that a man who has had merely a classical education, or learnt to write Latin verses, would not have had that education which enables him to take to agriculture in India as a planter. Thus the sort of man to go out to India is he who has had a plain practical industrial education. Now, as regards the general trade of the country, as you probably know, it is very considerable. So rapid is the increase of trade in Australia that you could not many of you be surprised to hear that the trade of India is computed to be 100 millions sterling in value per annum ; one year it got up to 120 millions ; but in good average years it has been 105 to 110 millions, and the greater part of that trade might be in the hands of Europeans, as it was once in their hands. This is the trade which belonged to the East India Company ; but it is fast falling into the hands of natives. They are outdoing us, no doubt, for the reasons I have described. They are becoming better educated, they are establishing their branches in London, in New York, and many other cities—(hear, hear) ;—and they are gradually getting their share of the trade. So that I say, in the first place, there is a great opening still for young men—a much larger opening than they avail themselves of—for employment in the general business

of commerce. I say almost the whole of this great trade which I have described to you might be in the hands of Europeans if they could only manage to outstrip the natives in the competition. It is rather, perhaps, an extraordinary thing to have to hear that natives are so rapidly competing with us in that respect. Remember I am not talking of manual industries, but of regular mercantile business, and of natives who establish themselves at the centres of trade at the principal parts of the presidential towns, exactly in the same way as Englishmen might settle themselves down; the natives organise, buy produce up country, and arrange for its being brought down to the coast, and for its being sent to England. All this class of business is now done immensely by the natives, and much more year by year in an increasing degree. So that if this is a fact—and I say it is a demonstrable fact—you will see, in the first place, there is a great opening for young Englishmen in that branch of business. (Hear, hear.) Then, with regard to the productions; they are most enormous, as you are aware. (Hear.) The natural products of the woods and forests and the wilds of India are multiform and various. The agricultural produce is some of the most extensive in the world. The manufactured produce is also very considerable. We suppose that we have a monopoly of manufactures. Would you be astonished to hear that there are scores of articles which India makes and exports to other countries? Now I deliberately say, without exception, that there is not one of these things in which the management and direction might not fall into the hands of Europeans if they were qualified; and that, in every instance where the European got the command, there would be an improvement in the staple and in the manufacture. Nevertheless, almost the whole of this trade, or a greater portion of it, is in the hands of the natives. The trade, also, is not only very extensive externally, but it is most extensive internally. Why, the railways alone carry backwards and forwards 8,000,000 of tons of produce annually from one part of the country to the other.

The boat traffic, the river navigation of the interior of India, is simply the most extensive in the world. The boats are to be numbered by tens—almost by hundreds—of thousands. (Hear, hear.) It is excessively difficult to state the number of boats, as they go backwards and forwards from one station to another, up and down the rivers. But the river kingdom of Eastern Bengal, and the navigation of the great River Ganges and the like, is superior, I believe, to that of any other river in the world—the Mississippi hardly excepted. Therefore, you see what an important field there must be in all this for the employment of Europeans,

if they would only set to work and assume the position which they might in that country. Land holding might be attempted to a limited extent only, because the natives are not a little unlike the Irish in that respect; they are clinging very much to their homes, and it is difficult to find any land to be purchased. But, even then, land might sometimes be purchased to a considerable extent, providing always it was done in an economic spirit. I have known many estates in Bengal which have been held by Europeans, and, afterwards, the European families have fallen into poor circumstances, and their property has passed into other hands. But it is due to the old complaint. They begin by building a fine house, large enough for an English nobleman, with very nice parks, and all that sort of thing; and then the estates will not pay for all that. But if they had lived as small squires do in England, their estate would have kept them in tolerably easy circumstances.

But let us turn for a moment to some of the great products of India. In the Eastern Himalayas, Eastern Bengal, in the Panjab, and all those places, you will see beautiful tea-gardens most picturesquely situated, the houses high up and well placed; although the gardens are low down and in rather hot valleys, still the houses are nice and cool up above. They are the most charming places in the world in every sense of the word. There are hundreds of your countrymen practising the profession of tea planters there; and these gardens may yet be indefinitely multiplied. There are upwards of half a million of acres growing tea now in those regions, and the export of tea alone is thirty-four million pounds annually, and all that has been the work of only the last few years. You see, therefore, what an opening there is for young men, providing they learn their work and practise their profession. Then, let me ask you to turn your eyes to the Western Mountains on the Malabar Coast, down towards the southern part of the Indian Peninsula, especially to the southern part of that range, including the hilly district of Wynaad, the mountains of the Nilgiris, to the hills of Curg and Mysore, there you will find what are now almost the finest coffee-gardens in the world. Perhaps I may hardly say the finest in the world, because they are equalled by those of Ceylon, but still as fine as any in the world, producing a coffee which has superseded the old Mocha coffee of Arabia, and which are fields of labour to young Englishmen. But here, again, the number of tea and coffee companies that have gone into liquidation and broken up, with hopes blasted and fortunes wrecked, is something painful to contemplate, and the reason is that men undertake to manage these affairs who have no proper professional education for the

work. (Hear, hear.) Before I pass from that I may remind our Australian friends that many of the Indian coffee-planters believe that they will, before long, be emigrating to Australia, and they will make fresh coffee plantations there; and as regards tea, it is the hope of all the tea-planting interest of India that before long they will have a great market for tea in Australia.

Now, another industry is that of sugar. The sugar of India, if well refined, would be inferior to no sugar in the world; but the cultivation is not all that it might be, and the manufacture—and the refining especially—of the sugar is anything but good. Nevertheless, some European firms have established themselves in India, and do a very prosperous business by sugar refining. There, again, is an opening for young men.

Well, we hear a great deal of the wheat of India, which is large in the total quantity produced. Take the produce of the United Kingdom at 10,000,000 quarters—well, then, the wheat crop of India is not less than 40,000,000 quarters; and in good years it is as much as 50,000,000 quarters—five times the yield of the United Kingdom. Then the quality is extremely good; the upper valley of the Ganges, the valley of the Nerbadda river, in the centre of India, these are wheat-producing countries, and the export is undoubtedly developing itself.

Then there is rice, as a staple produce of India, and more particularly that of British Burmah, since the annexation of that country within the last twenty years, and the delta of the Irrawaddy, where trade has sprung up wonderfully. That is almost entirely at present in the hands of Europeans. But it is to be apprehended in the course of a short time that it will be the old story—the natives will find out the ways and the habits of the trade, and will begin to elbow the Europeans out of it; but at present the Europeans have got it all their own way. Then there is the produce of the cinchona, that produces the famous febrifuge. Considering you have an immense population of 250,000,000, living in a very feverish and malarious country, you can imagine what a market there is opening for the consumption of the bark, which is a prophylactic against fever. The Government has established plantations in the South, in the Himalaya, in the North—beautiful plantations, and in most picturesque localities, all requiring European management. Tobacco in India is extensively grown; but the old story is repeated—it is inferior to that of Manilla and South America, because it is not skilfully cultivated in India nor properly prepared. That manufacture really awaits the entry of Europeans into the business. The Government itself

is so alive to this that they have been making experiments, and subsidising one or two European firms, in order to see what they can effect in this matter.

So, again, with malt liquors, we flatter ourselves that we are the best beer-producing community in the world; but would you be surprised to hear that barley is sent out from this country, turned into malt out there, the yeast is obtained locally, and the beer manufactured in the Himlayas? Then carry your minds for a moment right up the north-eastern portion of India, and bear in mind the boat traffic which I have described to you in the upper valleys, where is produced this *Corchorus capsularis*, as botanists call it, commonly called jute. Thence it is sent down in boats throughout these great arterial rivers and their branches right down to Calcutta. There it is manufactured along the banks of the Hughly at Calcutta; here you may see rows and rows of factory chimneys towering into the skies like forests on both banks of the river, and they manufacture the jute. Formerly the jute used to go to Dundee to be manufactured, now it is largely manufactured at Calcutta. Lately the Indians are beginning to get a share of the manufactures into their own hands; but in the main the companies, directors, managers, and foremen are Europeans. And the concerns may continue to be guided by Europeans unless the natives acquire knowledge of the business, and thus virtually carry off the chief prize in the competition. Now, where is this jute going to? Why, to Australia, to Eastern Asia, to Siam, to China, but more particularly to Australia; and, what is most interesting of all, going to the United States of America. It goes now past China and Japan, right across the Pacific to California and to San Francisco. At this time there is probably no foreign name more familiar to the inhabitants of Calcutta than San Francisco. So much for jute. The same may be said of flax. India is essentially a flax-producing country; that is to say, it produces the linseed plant, which is grown almost entirely for the sake of the seed, not for the sake of the stem or the fibre, because it requires a great deal of culture of management and manufacturing skill to arrange all that; and there is no European in the business; and if Europeans do take to the business, there is nothing to prevent India competing with Russia and other flax-producing countries. (Hear, hear.) Exactly the same story may be told of hemp and coir, which latter is a most important fibre, which makes the very strongest cables and most unbreakable sort of rope; and there is no country on earth that can compete with India in that respect, for this reason—the fibre is got from the husk of the cocoa-nut. Ceylon, no

doubt, produces cocoa-nut, but nothing surpasses the cocoa-nut of the delta of the Ganges and the coast of Malabar, and the quantity is immense. Next, silk is produced from two kinds of worms: one feeds on the mulberry, which is the best kind; the other feeds upon various other trees which grow wild in the forest. The mulberry-fed silkworm was the worm which was most esteemed in Bengal in the days of the East India Company, but latterly China has successfully competed with us in India; and so has, until recently, Italy. Our silk exportation mainly depends upon whether there has been a good crop in China and Italy; whenever there is a failure of crops in those two countries we have a good export trade of silk in India. At present our silk trade is somewhat precarious. But there is a new silk trade coming up—viz. that of the silk produced by the worms which feed upon the trees that grow wild in the forest, which is called “tusser;” and there is no country in the world which can compete with us in that respect. There are specimens of it being made and sent to Paris and other principal centres of art and industry in Europe, and it is found to produce very beautiful fabrics at a cheap cost; and if this should succeed, there will be another industry opened out for young men from England. Well, leaving the fibrous substances which I have touched upon, and the agricultural produce also, may I say a word or two upon the dyes? (Hear, hear.) Let me ask you to carry your imagination back for a moment to the fine estates and properties belonging to your countrymen in Behar. Formerly, indigo was produced from Bengal; and it has been ruined there for the last twenty years because it could not be produced at prices which would prove remunerative in Europe. You see all sorts of chemical blues are being discovered in Europe—beautiful blues, of course, but not very lasting—whereas nothing in the world equals in richness and in durability the blue of the Indian indigo. Well, this competition of what I may call these meretricious chemical blues kept down the price of the indigo. Then the prices of rice and the like rose. So the cultivators of Bengal refused to cultivate indigo at unremunerative prices, and the indigo planters could not afford to give better, and no longer grew it, so that in the course of half a dozen years there fell to the ground what was once a great European industry. But the indigo of Behar still thrives, and scores of young Englishmen may continue to find employment in it, provided that such concerns be economically conducted. If the indigo planters are to be like fine old country gentlemen of the olden time, and are to have estates and fine houses and the like, then the indigo may not suffice to

keep them. As the time is getting short, I must run rapidly over the remaining products. The subject is extensive and interesting. There is the oil, the common oil of India, that will not employ Europeans; but the cocoa-nut oil of India is largely exported to Europe, and I believe when it gets here it is called olive-oil. (Laughter.) But the mineral oils of India may largely employ Europeans, if what I hear is correct regarding the mineral oils in America, which are said to be on the decline. Then up jumps the kerosene-oil of India. Thus there are mineral oils springing up in Assam and Burma, of course, under European direction. Then the cattle of India. Notwithstanding what may be said about their destruction by famine, there are still untold numbers of cattle in India, and the consequence is that there is an immense trade in hides and skins, of which enormous quantities are exported abroad. Then comes the question of curing the skins, which is one of the things that Europeans will understand better than the natives, and which Europeans might teach natives to do. Then there rise up tanning concerns in Northern India, employing Europeans, so there springs up a great leather trade. At present, you perhaps imagine that England is the only country that can make harness properly. Would you be astonished to hear that the harness for the cavalry and artillery is now being made by Indians from Indian leather, of course, under European direction? Then the wool from India is not of course an article of export. We get our wool from Australia; but there, again, is a trade in which Europeans may be most advantageously employed. But there are certain wools in India which can only be only produced there; they are peculiarly beautiful kinds from the Himalayas and the great uplands of Central Asia. That wool trade ought to be in the hands of Europeans. So with camel's hair; that is an article in which hardly any country, except Arabia, can compete with us; an article also which might afford excellent employment for Europeans. Then you come to minerals; I have not time to mention to you all the coal mines, but you are aware that there are most extensive coal mines in India now—not indeed having a great output, like those of the collieries of England, but still extensive coal mines—up to which railways are being made in the western parts of Bengal, in the Panjab, in the Nerbadda valley, in the Nagpore province—all those countries produce coal; and here an extensive number of natives are employed, of course under European direction. Then the iron trade of India. The iron manufactures are extensive; and now that European companies are being raised for carrying on of iron works, that business is beginning to prosper.

One word as to gold: great hopes are, of course, entertained by many people about that, but I do not wish to lead you to entertain expectations in that respect which may not be realised. There are most interesting gold formations which have been discovered on the western or Malabar coasts, and the surveys have been extremely favourable. But it remains to be seen whether the gold is in great quantities, or whether it can be extracted in a manner that will make it pay. (Hear, hear.) There is every reason to think that it will not be extracted easily, and there will not be gold diggings as there were in Australia in the manner which you understand. The extracting of the gold will be done, if done at all, by a comparatively delicate process, which requires a good deal of capital. There will also be many difficult questions regarding the royalty and the rights in respect to these minerals. There will be a good deal of trouble and negotiation, and all that, so that, one thing taken together with another, it is, as yet, extremely doubtful whether these gold discoveries will come to much. Of course, we in India hope they will lead to success—a matter of great importance to the country, as it might affect favourably this difficulty about silver. Then I might say a word about chemicals. Saltpetre is one of the most important. That is produced extensively all over India; and I believe nearly all the saltpetre used in this country comes from India; and you will see that that is a matter in which Europeans might be employed. Borax, also, can be got as well from the Himalayas or the countries beyond as it can from Italy. Then there is forest produce; and I believe, if any of our naval friends were present, they would say that the teak of the Indian forest is not to be surpassed by any wood in the world, and that will be confirmed by the highest authority—namely, the British Admiralty. There are the sandal wood and the ebony of India, which are almost among the best in the world. There are the nuts called myrobalans, which are most useful in commerce, and are largely produced in the forests of India. There, again, are fields for the employment of Europeans. The india-rubber of India is probably superior to that of any other country; it is very imperfectly developed, merely from the want of such skill as Europeans can bring into play. Then, again, the art products are most numerous—such as shawls, carpets, pottery, inlaid wood, together with horn, ivory, and the like. The opinion has been gaining ground in Europe, especially since the last Exhibition at Paris, that nothing can be made in Europe that exceeds in beauty and real merit these art products of India. (Hear, hear.) Then, if these sorts of products are to find

their way into all the markets of Europe, manifestly there ought to be Europeans in the business ; and young Englishmen, before going to India to join the business, ought to be up in all these things, and see what are the best articles of the kind in India, and send them to the markets of the world. A word might be said about modern farms, only time does not permit. Agriculture and education are amongst the burning questions of India, and as soon as education spreads there will be modern farms everywhere under European direction. Wherever European skill has been applied to cattle-breeding in India, under the direction of Government, marked success has been obtained, as might be expected from the aptitude which Englishmen always show in this work. Horse-breeding I am afraid we shall not make much of in India, for the conviction is gaining ground that we cannot compete with the beautiful horses which are coming by many hundreds every year from Australia and from Persia and Arabia. I have not said anything about cotton—there is hardly time ; but you are well aware that there are cotton factories for cleaning, weaving, and spinning ; and that these Indian-made cotton fabrics are, in some respects—not in all respects, but in limited respects—competing with the fabrics of England. Here, of course, is much employment for Europeans. As to the mechanical arts, why, imagine all the different factories I have described ; imagine, also, all the various workshops which exist—the workshops for the railways, the workshops for the canals, and the public works for the Government. Imagine, also, that there are many hundreds of locomotive engines in India, and there are many thousands of carts and trucks, and the like ; all these requiring repairing, or putting together, or making up, and all these things give employment to large numbers of Europeans. (Hear, hear.) Then, with regard to public works, we have 10,000 miles of railways open ; we have 8,000 or 9,000 miles of principal canals, with branches, making up, in all, 15,000 miles of canals. Take those two kinds of works alone. Imagine, also, the number of roads, and bridges, and barracks, and public buildings, and all the magnificent structures arising up in the Presidential towns and the like ; and imagine what important public works are springing up in India, the whole of which must give employment to European engineers, assistant engineers, overseers, artisans and mechanics. (Hear, hear.) True there has been a sudden reduction of establishments which have thrown some young men—I will not say thrown anybody out of employment, but induced the Government to retire many officers, and that, no doubt has thrown rather a damper upon the spirits of engineers ; nevertheless, we

have an excellent college at Cooper's Hill, near London, near London, for training civil engineers for India, and it is not likely that that great profession will be seriously diminished in India; for, no sooner has the Government discharged some of its engineers than fresh requirements have arisen, and they are sorry that they have discharged them; so that, the fact is, there is and always will be a great demand for European engineers in India. Then, to conclude, you see now in all these various respects—and I dare say I might multiply instances—if I have given you as many instances as your attention can bear this evening—you can see in various ways what an immense field there is for industrial persons, and which has been open, is open, and will yet open for young Englishmen in India. But, in conclusion, remember there is this competition of the natives. There is a great system of State education going on in India. (Hear, hear.) I have not time to touch upon the moral progress and the mental advancement of the natives, though there I might also show as favourable a picture as I have shown regarding the finances and the material condition of the country. But, irrespective of the moral progress of the natives, their intellectual and mental progress is considerable. They are becoming clever, handy little fellows, and are learning all the arts and industries which have made England as great as she is. All that science which has placed England in the van of the nations of the world we are offering to the natives—*not* only offering, but pressing upon them—and making them adopt the ways of science and civilisation. (Hear, hear.) So you must expect—if any of my young friends are present who are thinking of going to India—you must be prepared for competition from the natives, and you must be prepared to meet them on their own grounds, otherwise you cannot possibly succeed. (Hear, hear.) There will be a cry raised of India for the Indians. Well, you would not wish a counter cry to be raised of India for the English. (Hear, hear.) The true cry, which cry alone the Government will follow, is this—India both for the Indians and the English alike. Let them run a race which is to be the swiftest, and let them fight the battle of emulation in which the victory will go to the strongest—not the strongest physically, but the strongest intellectually and morally. There is no fear that the result of such competition will do any harm to the natives; it may do good to the English—God grant that it may! But if it does good to the English, that good will, in return, benefit the natives; for, invariably, experience has proved in India that wherever Europeans have gone and settled and flourished, those are the places where the natives have also prospered and flourished

the most. (Hear, hear.) So that in going to India, and following all the industrial and commercial pursuits I have indicated, you will not only be benefiting yourselves, and raising the status of your country, but you will also, by the blessing of Providence, be the indirect means of helping those who, although they are not your fellow-countrymen, are your fellow-subjects, and, like you, live under the shadow of the gracious sway of our Sovereign Lady the Queen-Empress of India. (Loud and continued applause.)

DISCUSSION.

Mr. H. M. HYNDMAN: In rising to make a few remarks on Sir Richard Temple's able address, which we have listened to with great attention and profit, I should not wish to say a single word that would reflect on the accuracy of his statements. I am confident that he has put them before us in the fullest good faith, and that Sir Richard is thoroughly convinced himself that the work which he has so well done in India is beneficial to the country; and that the work which is being done now will be more beneficial in the future. I am also aware that in taking what may be called the pessimist's view of our Indian Government, I am taking up at the same time what is the unpopular side of the subject. It is only natural that the human mind should dwell on what is pleasant in a country under our rule, rather than consider what is unpleasant and disagreeable. But whether we are living in England, or whether as residents in the Colonies, no matter in what part of this great Empire we live, any difficulties that arise in India will be more or less seriously felt by us all. I venture, therefore, to put forward very diffidently a few brief remarks upon Sir Richard Temple's able address. Now, one of the points which struck me most particularly in what he said was this—that in estimating the progress of a country you must necessarily compare one age or period with another. I think that is fair, reasonable, and right; and when you consider the justice, law, peace, and order which prevail throughout that great country, there can be little doubt that no comparison can be made in these respects between the present and any previous generation; except, perhaps, that of the great Emperor Akhber. Sir Richard Temple is of opinion that in other matters India has equally advanced under our rule. But another gentleman, equally familiar with statistics, equally versed in Indian affairs, and equally distinguished in his own way—I mean Dr. Hunter—recently delivered two lectures on the subject of India; and he pointed out that for 170 years in succession the

Mogul-Emperors of India raised yearly by taxation no less than £60,000,000 sterling of net revenue, and did not exhaust the country. The net revenue we derive from taxation in India at present is £34,000,000, and this taxation we cannot increase. Yet we do exhaust the country. What can be said to such a comparison like that? Sir Richard Temple says that the revenue, although not elastic, is gradually increasing. That is true to a small extent, but the land revenue is increasing because of the increase of assessments over large districts. It is also the fact that within the last 120 years the salt-tax has been raised from time to time, notoriously of late in Madras, the province which could least afford it. Therefore to say that the revenue is growing—I put it with all deference—bears a different signification from that which Sir Richard Temple attached to it. It is, however, a remarkable fact that in the controversy which is going on about the effects of our rule in India, the optimist side is taken by officials of India, and by them alone. I have never met a Mahomedan, Sikh, Mahratta, Bengalee, or Parsee, who has held the opinion that the India of to-day is in a prosperous condition—not one single man. Now, that is a noteworthy fact. Not only so, but I am in correspondence with members of the Indian Service, and from them I get the same statement, that India at this moment is not progressing in the manner in which Sir R. Temple has put forward to-night. There is still stronger evidence. A gentleman was chosen—Mr. James Caird—who is well known for his great skill in all matters connected with agriculture. He was selected by the Conservative Government to go out to India to examine into the condition of our Indian Empire. It so happened that before his departure I had some correspondence with him in the *Times* newspaper, and he put forward exactly the same views as those we have heard this evening. Mr. Caird went through India from one end to the other, surrounded throughout the whole course of his journey by officials. But Mr. Caird returns, and tells us that unless we alter our course, change our policy, and take some of the Europeans out of the country instead of introducing more into it, we are on the eve of an inevitable catastrophe. (Hear, hear.) An “inevitable catastrophe”—those are Mr. Caird’s own words, not mine. All I ask, then, is this—is it not an extraordinary thing that there should be this wide discrepancy between one man exceedingly able and another man exceedingly able, and both equally honest? (Hear.) Is it not certain that there must be something here which requires explanation? I ask this question, because the facts must tell one way or the other. Both opinions

cannot be right. India cannot be approaching an inevitable catastrophe, and at the same time be prosperous and wealthy. If Sir R. Temple is wrong in the view which he has laid before us so ably, we must ask that question again and again until we have it answered. Sir Richard Temple has stated that there is great improvement in many directions, but he added that there were dangers in the shape of recurrent famines, loss by exchange, excessive death-rate, war-clouds on the north-west frontier, and political troubles within. He omitted, however, the most serious danger of all, and that is this—during every year, no matter whether there is famine or not, we take out of India in excess of anything we put in not less than twenty millions sterling, without any return whatever. That is the calculation of Sir John Strachey, who until recently was Finance Minister of India. This drain—amounting to more than one-half the net revenue—must eventually be ruinous to India. Another point. The Guaranteed Railways, on which Sir R. Temple has told us no less than 95 millions have been expended, have sent to this country, in interest alone, 20 millions sterling which had never been earned. That is to say, that we guaranteed 5 per cent on the money which was expended upon these railways, and, although the interest was not earned, we took from the natives of India 20 millions sterling, and brought it here to use. I venture to say that such financing as this has never been carried out by any Government at the expense of a subject community since the days of the Romans in Sicily or the Spaniards in South America. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, I will only say again that such discrepancies as those which I have noted being found to exist between the statements of a man so able as Sir Richard Temple and another man particularly sent out to advise and take counsel on the work on which Sir R. Temple has been himself engaged, I do honestly think that before accepting the optimist view we have heard this evening, we ought to examine more closely into the facts which Sir Richard Temple has laid before us. (Applause.)

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS : I came here without the least idea that I should be called upon to speak, and having no Paper before me—Sir Richard Temple having addressed us orally—I cannot pretend to follow him through the numerous subjects he has brought before us this evening. I will therefore content myself with noticing two points in the speech of the gentleman who has just addressed the meeting. He talked of the increase of taxation in the shape of assessment—that is, the assessment on land, and an increase of taxation in the shape of an increase of salt revenue. I have been

engaged for a great part of my time in India, in the land assessment, and can safely say that the great increase that has taken place is partly owing to increase of cultivation, and partly to the actual rise in prices. (Hear, hear.) The people are in a far better condition than they were formerly. Rent is increasing, and the real reason for the increase of assessment is that the people are better able to afford more rent from the increase in prices and the opening out of the communications of the country by railways. He mentions also an increase in the salt revenue. No doubt when we look at the statistics relating to the salt revenue in the mass for the whole Empire of India, they do strike us as something enormous; but when you come to the details of the matter, and consider what percentage of taxation falls upon the population, this tax, which seems so enormous, presents a very different view when its actual weight per head is considered. Having no figures before me, I am not in a position to say what is the rate per head of the population, but I dare say Sir Richard Temple may have it amongst his figures; I am certain it is extremely small.

Sir R. TEMPLE: Of the salt, it is 7d. per head of population per annum.

Mr. ROGERS: It is not merely an increase per head of population, but, I believe, that salt manufactured in British territory is becoming more extensively used by both British and native territories, and therefore a greater number of people consume the salt than did so formerly, and that is one great reason for the increase of revenue from salt. As to taxation generally, I am quite certain that, as a whole, the people of British India are as lightly taxed as any people in the world. (Hear, hear.) With regard to one point mentioned by Sir Richard Temple, it will be as well if I make one remark. He talked about, I think, a million of beggars in India, and that there were no Poor Laws to support them. It is perfectly true that there are an immense number of beggars in India, but we must not put that down to the poverty of the country. The fact is that these beggars are not beggars at all; they are religious mendicants, who live upon their beggary. I hope, therefore, that people in England will not run away with the idea that the country is poor because of the existence of these beggars. They are religious beggars living upon the people, who are compelled by their religious prejudices to support them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. PROUDS: I rise to briefly announce an interesting fact with regard to one portion of Sir Richard Temple's address, and I think one most important to all here at home—that is the prepara-

tion of young men for their future career in the East has practically already been taken up. And I am sure when I tell you that the late occupant of the Civic chair "fully recognised the great importance of the subject" to me personally (and offered the Mansion House for a meeting), I need hardly say more as to there being some practical outcome of my efforts in this matter. I hope before another year is out that I shall be able to announce to this Institute that this "subject of the inefficiency of preparation of young men sent abroad, and the insufficiency of special training for the part they have hereafter to play in life," has been practically taken up, and a remedy found for the evil. During a long experience in Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, &c., I have too often found our countrymen by no means fitted to struggle with the difficulties and responsibilities of their position, owing to the deficiency of previous special preparatory training—that proper education which they ought to have had given them before they left the old country. (Hear, hear.) Periodical visits might partly remedy this, it is true, but that is not enough. And I must say that since my early experiences in the East to the present I have not always had reason to be proud of my countrymen, principally on this account. I hope to see this matter taken up, and that not only the Civil but also the Mercantile Service of Old England will be properly represented in the future by efficiently trained persons. (Hear, hear.) A large amount of good material has gone adrift for this necessary preliminary, that might have been a credit to Old England.

Mr. SHAW: I should like to draw attention to two points in Sir Richard Temple's address. When he was recommending young men to go out to India, there has always been present, to my mind, what I think is perhaps a misconception of what he said before of the heavy death-rate. My own experience of India is that the death-rate among Europeans contrasts favourably with that of England.

Sir R. TEMPLE: I meant the death-rate of natives, not Europeans.

Mr. SHAW: I thought that was your meaning, but I was afraid that to others it would appear that it was the death-rate of Europeans as well as natives. I have no doubt that it is correct with regard to natives; they are not such long-lived people as Europeans generally under the most favourable circumstances. There is another matter that Sir R. Temple can tell us about, and that is the salt-tax. Mr. Hyndman said that there had been a great increase in the assessment, and notably in Madras. My attention was directed to that (in a superficial manner) because it was taken

up by the late Lord Hobart; but my impression is that it was only in Madras that the tax was increased, and that there was a very considerable decrease of the rate of taxation on the other side of the country. I do not recollect well how that is, but perhaps Sir Richard Temple can tell us something about it.

Major EVAN SMITH: I should like to say one word with regard to Mr. Hyndman's criticism of Sir Richard Temple's speech. Mr. Hyndman as a writer on Indian subjects is so well known in India, and his extreme interest in everything connected with India is so much appreciated by the natives, that everything he says is sure to be noticed. Now, he made a statement to the effect that "no Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh, or Buddhist whom he had met in this country, had expressed himself as being satisfied with the administration or prosperity of the Indian Empire." I have for the last twenty years of my life been in India, and seen a great deal of the natives of India, and I think Mr. Hyndman's remarks, as above quoted, ought not to be received without some reservation. Is it not natural that young native gentlemen coming to London for the first time, and being there suddenly brought face to face with civilisation in its highest forms, should be apt to look back at the partially-developed civilisation of their own country, which they have just left, with some degree of dissatisfaction, and perhaps of discontent? I think that is certainly natural. But I do not think that such an expression of feeling should by any means be taken as being typical of the feelings with which the great mass of the educated natives of India regard our administration, and who, indeed, would be the first to disclaim the first impressions of their young countrymen on arrival in London as really indicative of the state of native opinion. Another point to which I would draw attention has reference to Mr. Hyndman's remark concerning Mr. Caird's unfavourable impression of India in contra-distinction with what Mr. Hyndman terms the optimist views of Sir Richard Temple. Now, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Caird at Hyderabad, and of going about with him among the natives. Mr. Hyndman made a sort of insinuation that Mr. Caird was "put through" his tour by the officials in India. But I can assure you that all who know Mr. Caird know that he is not the man to be "put through" by anybody; he sees with his own eyes, hears with his own ears, and judges for himself. But I would ask you all to say whether even the most clever man—the man who brings the greatest European experience to the test—is more likely to be right on subjects connected with such a vast Empire as India, than is Sir Richard Temple, who has for twenty-eight years served the

Government there with the greatest administrative ability—(cheers)—and whose name is a household word throughout the land? I ask whether the conclusions at which he has arrived after his long service are not more likely to be sound and well founded than the deductions of Mr. Caird, after an experience derived from a three months' tour? (Loud applause.)

Lord Bury: It is fortunate I think for the chairman that he has not to decide when doctors, as on the present occasion, disagree. He has to perform a much more simple but still a useful task. I ask you to join with me in most cordially thanking Sir Richard Temple for the able and instructive address which we have listened to to-night. (Cheers.) I must say that I am astonished, when I remember that Sir Richard Temple addressed us extempore, that he had before him the whole range of Indian politics, finance and administration, and that he had to present to us, in the short space of an hour and a half, an epitome of the vast stores of information at his command. Under these trying circumstances he never for one moment either lost the thread of his discourse, never repeated himself, and never from the beginning to the end told us one thing that was not deeply interesting. (Hear, hear.) I, for one, have seldom heard a discourse of equal length into which so much solid matter was closely packed. (Hear, hear.) I think I shall express the feelings of all present when I express our admiration for the orator and for the knowledge possessed by the statesman. (Hear, hear.) In the discussion which followed we had also much that was suggestive; and though I do not pretend for one moment to follow Sir Richard Temple through his most able address, there are one or two remarks which I should like to make. He told us—and he gave us good reason for saying it—that India was an ample field for European civilisation; that European young men were wanted there: he told us under what circumstances they were wanted there, and what was the preparation which they must undergo before they could make themselves useful. He told us that they must go armed (as common sense would also tell us) with ordinary prudence; he told us what sort of prudence and education they ought to have. But I should like to ask one further question on a point which occurred to me during the time he was speaking, and which I had hoped he would have touched upon, and it is this: How is a young man living in his English home, or receiving his education at an English school, to ascertain in what part of India his services can be made available? To whom is he to address himself? Who has the giving away of these good situations of which Sir Richard told us? A young man cannot go out to India,

hoping vaguely to find employment when he gets there ; he must have previous information. Whom is he to apply to, and where is he to find that information ? Will Sir Richard do the English people the further favour of answering that question, and of telling young men not only what they are to learn, but to whom they are to go. Another point : he was talking of coal in India ; he says that in various parts of India coal has been found. I think I am right in saying that Indian coal, geologically speaking, is of the Tertiary period. Perhaps he will tell us whether this is so as regards all the coal found in India, or whether it only applies to certain districts ? It used to be supposed that there was no true coal in the Tertiary strata. Now, is this coal in India true coal, or is it merely a superior kind of lignite ? Is it available for steam purposes and all purposes for which true coal is employed ? Of course, if we talk about the modern prosperity of India depending upon its coal, that point would be one of the most important factors in the argument. There is another point, I think, in his address, which I am sure we all heard with pleasure—(hear, hear) ;—that is, the remark which he has made upon the general loyalty of the people of India, especially, as he says, of the Native States. Now we in England hear a great many conflicting accounts of that point, and I confess that I am extremely glad to hear from such an authority as himself the account which he has given of the feelings of the Native States. But of all the subjects which he touched upon, I think really the one that comes most home to us, and is most important at the present moment, is the subject of finance. Sir Richard Temple speaks with an authority on the subject of finance which is possessed by no other man. We have heard accounts varying in detail, from the pessimist account just given by Mr. Hyndman, up to, perhaps I might say, the optimist account of Sir Richard Temple ; but I think it is extremely valuable that a society like ours should have, by its invitation to Sir Richard Temple, elicited from such a man so authoritative a statement as he has made to-day. Without presuming to go deeply into the matter, I think he has made good one great point. I think we must all agree with him that a nation whose debt amounts only to about two years of its income, and which can borrow, taking it on an average, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as he told us India could do, gives *prima facie* evidence of prosperity. (Cheers.) A nation which, in spite of increased taxation, finds its material prosperity increased in a still greater ratio, may certainly be considered prosperous. If he establishes that as a fact, and I confess I think he gave us good reason for agreeing with him to-night, he undoubtedly establishes

his point—that India is in an advancing, and not in a retrograde condition. (Hear, hear.) I think you will agree with me that the Society has been fortunate in eliciting from so great an authority the exposition on India which we have heard to-night. (Cheers.) There was one statement in which I did not exactly agree with him; but it is quite possible that I may have imperfectly apprehended his meaning. I understood him, when speaking about the expenses of the Afghan War, to say that it did not matter to the general finances of the empire whether that war cost a certain number of millions, which he named, or double that amount. I could not follow that statement, and, indeed, I feel confident that he did not accurately, in that one instance and that one only, convey his whole meaning. I am sure he could not mean to say that it did not matter to the finances of the Empire whether that war was administered with due economy or not. But I think he must have meant that whether the cost was more or less we should not be ruined by it. (Hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, you will join with me in giving him our most cordial thanks for the address with which he has favoured us. (Loud cheers.)

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE: I am afraid I can hardly accept the kind invitation of our Chairman to do what is virtually to inflict another speech upon you. But I hope you will not, when I say so, deem me insensible to the extremely kind and too flattering terms in which our noble Chairman has been good enough to allude to my speech. I will not call it a speech, I did not trouble you with an oration, I have only been offering you what may be called a conversational address. I will try to answer, in the briefest manner, the questions which the noble Chairman put. He asks me to specify the sources of information to which young men intending to go to India might resort. I am afraid, at this late hour, it would be impossible for me to go into that question, for I should have to give an analysis of what is a very extensive literature. Gentlemen, there are really publications, official and non-official, upon every one of the subjects on which I have touched. Volumes have been written by private individuals, and reports without end have been published by the Government. I might have explained, if time permitted, that there are public bodies—non-official bodies. I speak of them as public, for they are in the nature of Corporations, although they are non-official, consisting of private gentlemen. I allude to the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, which are amongst the most important Chambers of Commerce in the world. They are second to none in their knowledge, in their intelligence, and in the vast store of information at their command. But, besides that,

would you be surprised to hear that there are extensive Trade Associations both at Calcutta and Bombay? If time had permitted I might have alluded to the great tradesman class of India,—I mean tradesmen in the same sense in which tradesmen are mentioned in England. The tradesmen in India are really so numerous that they form associations and give annual dinners, which are, in a small way, like the civic feasts of London. They entertain there the principal officials. Annual speeches are made by the highest officers in the country, which correspond to speeches made by Ministers in London. So that these associations have the very best information, which they would be happy to place at the disposal of young men visiting the country. So that, from what can be given by these associations and the literature of India, I imagine no man would have any difficulty in learning all that he could be expected to learn in England. What I should more particularly say about education is this, that it should be of a more practical kind, that a man should have what may be considered to be a general education as regards business and industrial affairs. A man receives an education which is suited for the law or the public service, or for any of the learned professions; but quite a different kind of education is required for official life to that for trade and industries. We admit, and I am afraid all Englishmen must admit, that what is called technical or commercial education of that kind is much less followed in England than in any other of the great nations of the world. (Hear, hear.) Many Englishmen think that it is this deficiency which will cause Englishmen ultimately to be worsted in the competition of the world. Heaven grant these anticipations may not prove true! but there is no doubt that technical education in this country is not like what it is in Switzerland, Germany, and other continental countries; and if young men cannot get this technical education in England, they may get it at Berlin, Zurich, and other places, and may go on to India when they have received it. (Hear, hear.) About the coal, I think I could give you the geological definition of it, but it is a point that one would like to verify scientifically before stating it; but I will state the conclusion arrived at, which is, that the Indian coal is much more than lignite: it is a real coal; but it is what you may call coal of a second class; it is second rate; it is really good coal, but not equal to the best English coal; but still it is coal upon which steamers and railways can work, and the like. But as it is not quite equal to the English coal, the consequence is that in many parts of the country which are nearest to the coast, and at those ports to which English coal can easily come, in those places

English coal is preferred. For instance, Bombay gets coal cheaper from England than it can be got from the local mines. With regard to the expenses of the Afghan War, what I meant to say, and still say, is this, that the fact of the war costing ten or fourteen millions does not affect the financial soundness of the country. (Hear, hear.) I did not mean in any way whatever to disparage the importance of four or five millions, more or less, being added to the public debt, because that means an addition of two or three hundred thousand a year for ever to the expenditure and taxation. (Hear, hear.) I did not mean to disparage the importance of that, because I am an old financier myself; but what I meant and still mean is this, that that fact does not affect the essential soundness of the finance. That soundness depends upon other things. It hangs upon the question whether a permanent equilibrium is maintained between ordinary expenditure and income. Whether the National Debt is excessive or moderate as compared with the revenue of the country, whether the revenue is flourishing, and whether the expenses are kept well in hand—these are the points which concern the national finance. All this is irrespective of whatever error or miscalculation may have been made in the estimates of the Afghan War—I don't say a word about the nature of the error: it may have been as grave a miscalculation as people say—I do not pronounce upon that point. If I did I should be as it were sitting in judgment upon my brother officers; all I say is this, that it does not affect the essential financial soundness of the Indian Empire. In reference to the remarks of my friend Mr. Hyndman, all I have to say is this, that if you bear in mind all he said you will find that it comes to matter of opinion; his opinion is very able and valuable, and the opinion of his native friends, whom he consults, is also valuable; but after all they are but opinions which may differ from ours, and you don't expect every Englishman and native to agree about the affairs of India, any more than you can expect Englishmen to agree about the aspect and condition of England. I hope, however, that my address consisted of facts rather than opinions. (Hear, hear.) I stated to you a body of facts; every finance and economic statement I made is a fact; bear that in mind kindly, gentlemen. They are facts irrefragable, indisputable, demonstrable, unquestionable. And if these are the facts, it is for you to judge whether there is prosperity or not, and whether the country is in a safe, sound condition or not. Having stated those facts, I leave you to judge whether they are consistent with the adverse opinions of the native gentlemen whom Mr.

Hyndman mentions. I will not repeat them ; I only ask you as you go away home to remember that I claim for my statement an absolute foundation of fact. (Hear, hear.) You may draw your own conclusions ; Mr. Hyndman's conclusions may be one, mine may be another, and yours may be a better conclusion still. Just a word on one or two points which Mr. Hyndman alluded to. He thinks that the land revenue has been raised by increasing the rate of assessment. There is indeed an increase, but that increase has arisen, not from an increase of assessment, but it has arisen from an increase of cultivation. The rates of assessment have not increased, but have been lowered from time to time. The Government share in the proceeds of the land has diminished from one generation to another, nevertheless there is an increase in the revenue because the cultivation has increased. With regard to an increase in the salt tax, it is true the rate has been increased, but the point is this—that when the rate has been increased the revenue goes up to a certain point, and having risen to that point, it goes on increasing, and, as I said before, there is a slow, natural spontaneous augmentation of revenue owing to increase of consumption. This brief statement is as much as I have time to make, and I hope you will excuse the conversational manner in which I have addressed you. I am aware that, had I been speaking in a very large room at one of these very great public meetings, I should have adopted a more oratorical style, but I hope you will excuse the easy and conversational style which I ventured to adopt this evening. (Hear, hear.) I have done my best to condense my statement on the subject, and I hope my mode of speaking has not been too rapid for the reporters ; and I am greatly obliged by the patient manner in which you listened to me, and I am still more thankful for the kind manner in which the noble Chairman has alluded to my statement. (Cheers.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : It is not our custom to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman of the evening, because his Grace the Duke of Manchester, who usually presides on these occasions, feels that from the beginning to the end of the session we always in our minds pass a unanimous vote of thanks to him for his kindness in presiding over us. But while we miss him very much, it is one of the fortunate compensations we have during his absence in Australia that from time to time we are able to have distinguished gentlemen in the chair to occupy his place. This evening you have all witnessed how able and admirable a Chairman we have had in the noble lord who occupies it : and the interest to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute is more particularly felt

on this occasion, when we have the pleasure of welcoming again among us Lord Bury, who was the first president among us, and to feel that, since his more frequent absence for some years past from our meetings, he finds that the Royal Colonial Institute is still flourishing, and is progressing in the most satisfactory way. I beg to propose a hearty and unanimous vote of thanks to Lord Bury for his kindness in taking the chair. (Loud applause.)

The NOBLE CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged to you. I was one of the two or three originators of this Society, and had the honour of being its first president. (Cheers.) I have not sat in the presidential chair since the day I left it, because I always felt that when a man once left that chair he ought not in any way to interfere with the perfect freedom of action of his successor; therefore I have not been very much near the Society. But the traditions of my reign have now disappeared, and there is not the slightest reason why I should not be frequently among you again—(hear, hear)—which I shall have very great pleasure in doing.

THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library, on Tuesday, the 25th January, 1881. Sir JOHN ROSE, Bart., G.C.M.G., occupied the chair, in the absence, through illness, of the Right Hon. Viscount Bury, K.C.M.G., who had been announced to preside. Amongst those present were the following:—

Lieut.-General Sir E. Selby Smyth, K.C.M.G.; Hon. Saul Samuel, C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales); Hon. W. A. G. Young, C.M.G. (late Administering the Government of Trinidad); Sir Edward W. Stafford, K.C.M.G.; Mr. George Anderson, M.P.; Messrs. L. E. S. Boyle, H. W. Pemberton, George Melville (Assistant Government Secretary, British Guiana), Josias Booker, John M'Connell, William Miller, E. A. Prentice (Montreal), R. G. C. Hamilton (Accountant-General to the Navy), James A. Youl, C.M.G.; R. H. Prance, the Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Major C. Carpenter, R.A.; Messrs. Colville A. D. Barclay, C.M.G.; W. G. Lardner, J. Comyns Carr, J. Standish Haly, Alexander Rivington, William England, W. E. Dalrymple, F. W. Carpenter (British Guiana), Dr. J. E. Carpenter, Major Frederick T. Sargood (late Commanding 1st Brigade Artillery, Victoria), Count Garowsky Wezele, Messrs. William Whiteford, A. M. Aitken, J. L. Renaud (Canada), Charles Sachse (Cape Colony), Wade, Franklin B. Gowen, Jas. Bonwick, Hy. Hay (New South Wales), Lieutenant-Colonel T. H. Grant (Quebec), Messrs. John Renton, James Rice, Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G.; Henry Brooks, Hugh Muir, John Payne, G. H. Rennie, Beaufort, George Chater, S. W. Silver, J. S. Keltie, E. Hepple Hall (Canada), A. Samson, C. E. Fryer, F. W. Delamere, F. J. Dore (Canada), A. Folkard, Dr. J. Rae, Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Colonel Martindale, Dr. Stone (Canada) Messrs. Robert Giffen, Richard R. Dobell (Quebec), H. A. de Colyar Edward Bellasis, E. Handcock, William Lethbridge (Canada), Charles Bischoff (Canada), J. D. Wood, H. E. Montgomerie (Canada), F. P. Labillière, G. Molineux, Dr. Alfred Pope, Messrs. James Walker, Turnbull, Robert G. Biggs, W. Peace (Emigration Agent for Natal), Mrs. Darley Bentley, Mr. Walter Paton, Miss Webster, the Brazilian Consul-General for Canada, Messrs. James Bancroft (Canada), G. Moffatt, Mrs. Robertson, Hon. T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G. (St. Kitts); Mr. and Mrs. Westgarth, Messrs. F. W. Stockwell, R. Biggs, Richard Moore, A. G. Dallas, Hambrough, Henry Yates, A. N. M'Lean, Henry K. Davson (British Guiana), C. Wheeler (Sydney), J. B. Taylor, J. Ware, J. C. Ware (Victoria), Miss Ware, the Venerable Archdeacon Wright, Colonel Sir John C. McNeill, K.C.M.G., V.C.; Major Anderson, R.E., C.M.G.; Lady Galt, Miss Galt, Miss Kate Galt, Master Galt, Mrs. Parkinson, Miss Parkinson, Messrs. J. Colmer, J. C. Mitchell, H. Moodie, Robert Fisher, William M. Torrens, M.P.; A. B. Fraser, J. R. Boyd (Ceylon), John Bland W. Macandrew

C. Corner, W. Man'ey, W. C. Manley, W. Lane (Toronto), Hon. Mr. Justice Hensley (Prince Edward Island), Mrs. Rae, Mrs. Saul Samuel, the Misses Samuel, Messrs. J. Samuel, Jno. Hay Chas. Boulnois, Wm. Jackson, J. Manson, W. Wesson, E. Henry, A. St. John, Jno. S. Lord, Alex. Sim, M. Burdein, Wm. R. Bowman, Locock Webb, Q.C.; Claude H. Long (Canada), James Langdon, G. Labalmondiere, Edward Chapman (Sydney), E. Shirley Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlan, A. F. A. Harvey (India), J. Brace, Mr. and Miss Southgate, Mr. H. Yates, Dr. J. Sinclair Laing, Major Tovey, R.E.; Messrs. J. Munro (Melbourne), E. H. Gough, Robert Gillespie, Samuel Cobell, A. Thibaudeau (Canada), C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), J. Buller Colthurst, J. W. P. Jauraulde, R. Jauraulde, F. W. Fox, D. C. Kennedy, George Dibley, H. Mainwaring Douglas, W. Fraser Rae (Canada), W. R. Mewburn, P. Badcock, Molyneux St. John (Manitoba), H. C. Beeton (British Columbia), A. C. Beeton (British Columbia), W. M. Fraser (Ceylon), E. Mackenzie, Alfred C. Pope, M.D.; W. S. Wetherell, J. Palliser (Montreal), J. Beaumont (British Guiana), J. Philip, S. Thomson (Jamaica), Alexander Turnbull (New Zealand), George Parrack, J. V. Jewin, Clement S. Cohin, Arthur E. G. Rhodes (New Zealand), G. A. Tomkinson (South Australia), F. A. Gwynne (Victoria), Colonel C. S. Gzowski (Toronto), Colonel Lawrie (Nova Scotia); Messrs. J. Finlay Finlayson (British Guiana), A. G. W. Grey, G. Adams, F. Ormond (Victoria), Albert Pell, M.P.; Clare Sewell Read, W. U. Heygate, Lieut-General Bradford, Messrs. W. L. Shepherd, F. W. Stone, B.C.L. (Canada); George Main (South Australia), Stephen Bourne, W. N. Waller, Esq., J.P.; Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.), Miss Young, Miss Ada M. Young.

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the minutes of the Second Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed; and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected:—

Resident Fellows:—

anks, F. J., James R. Boyd, Esq., Arthur W. Chambers, Esq., E. J. Dent Cariner, Esq., J. Standish Haly, Esq., D. C. Kennedy, Esq., John C. Lanyon, Esq., R. W. Murray, Esq., A. N. Nathan, Esq., Edward Neave, Esq., Peter D. Pranker, Esq., the Right Hon. Lord Reay Campbell Robertson, Esq., the Rajah Rampal Singh, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Marcus Travers, Esq., Cecil Wade, Esq.

Non-Resident Fellows:—

George Buckley, Esq., M.L.C., New Zealand; James C. Darby, Esq., Jamaica; B. S. Davies, Esq., St. Kitts; T. W. H. Dillet, Esq., British Honduras, Joseph Graham, Esq., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony; Morton Green, Esq., Natal; G. Hammond Hawtayne, Esq., British Guiana; Thomas G. Johnston, Esq., New Zealand; Charles Sachse, Esq., Cape Colony; Molyneux St. John, Esq., Canada; R. Sidney Stone, Esq., M.D., Mauritius; J. H. Symon, Esq., South Australia; S. Thompson, Esq., Jamaica; J. Webb, Esq., Bahamas; Edward Wheeler, Esq., Canada; the Venerable Archdeacon H. M. White, Cape Colony; the Venerable Archdeacon F. J. Wyatt, British Guiana.

It was also announced that the following donations of books, &c. had been presented to the Institute since the last Meeting :—

By the Government of British Guiana :

Ordinances of British Guiana, 1880.

By the Government of Canada :

Blue-Books, 1880, and Parliamentary Papers.

By the Government of Natal :

Natal Blue-Books, 1879.

By the Government of New Zealand :

Parliamentary Papers and Debates, 1880.

By the Government of New South Wales :

The Statutes of New South Wales, 1879-80.

By the Government of South Australia :

Acts of Parliament, 1880.

By the Government of the United States :

Commercial Relations of the United States, Reports, &c., No. 2, 1880.

By the Public Library, Swansea :

Sixth Annual Report, 1879-80.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, Vol. III., No. 1.

By the Society of Arts :

Journal of the Society, 1880.

By the Free Public Library, Dundee :

Report of the Committee, November, 1880.

By J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :

Canadian Monthly, December, 1880.

By John Chapman, Esq., M.D. :

Westminster Review, January, 1881.

By Thomas Cripps, Esq. :

Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette, November 4th, 1880.

By H. H. Hayter, Esq. :

Australian Statistics, 1879.

By George Hughes, Esq. :

Chemical Report to the Agricultural Society of Barbados.

By J. Stuart Reid, Esq. :

Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.

By Messrs. S. W. Silver & Co. :

Map of the Transvaal, 1880; The Colonies and India, bound Vol. 1880.

By Baron Ferdinand Von Müeller, K.C.M.G. :

Eucalyptographia, Seventh Decade, 1880.

Sir JOHN ROSE, in introducing the reader of the Paper, said : Ladies and gentlemen,—I regret that the indisposition of Lord Bury, who in the absence of the Duke of Manchester was to have presided at this meeting, should have entailed upon our Secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, the duty of finding so unworthy a substitute

as myself to occupy the chair to-night; but fortunately the attractive nature of the subject for discussion, and, above all, the well-known name and high reputation of the gentleman who is to read the Paper, and who occupies an important position in connection with Canada, have made my duty a very light one. (Hear, hear.) I am conscious that it requires no words of recommendation from me to commend both the subject and the reader to your notice. (Hear, hear.) I have no misgivings but that they will command your earnest and appreciative attention, and I will not therefore detain you by any prefatory remarks. I will only observe that those untoward accidents to which I have referred, the absence of the Duke of Manchester and Lord Bury, are not without some compensation to myself; for it enables me to have the pleasure of introducing to you this evening, in the person of Sir Alexander Galt, an old and valued friend—(cheers)—and I would bespeak for him a cordial welcome at the hands of the Society. I have, therefore, great pleasure in asking him to read the Paper, which I feel confident will commend itself to your earnest and close attention. (Cheers.)

THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

In selecting as the subject of this paper the Future of the Dominion of Canada, I have no intention of discussing possible changes in its Constitution, or in its political relations to Great Britain. Those points have lately formed the subject of two articles in the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Clarke, and may be safely left to the judgment of their readers. My object is to place before you the present condition of the Canadian Dominion in its material aspects, and to direct your attention to that future upon which it is now entering. It may be necessary in the course of my remarks to refer to some of the statements and opinions in the articles referred to, but it is not my desire to speculate upon eventualities and changes that may be very distant, but rather to accept the relations which now happily exist, under the admirable Constitution established at the Confederation of British North America, and to point out the benefits that must arise, both to Great Britain and Canada, by steadily pursuing and extending that career of progress and usefulness upon which England's greatest Colony has now entered.

I shall not detain you by reference to remote historical events, but will briefly recapitulate the order, in point of time, when the several Provinces became united in the present Confederation—

their condition at the date of the complete union—the position in which they now stand—and then refer to the hopes and aspirations with which they regard the future.

By the Queen's Proclamation the two Provinces of Old Canada, now designated Ontario and Quebec, were, on the 1st July, 1867, united with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada. On the 15th July, 1870, the vast territories in the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company were incorporated with the Dominion, which extinguished the title of the Company by a considerable payment, and assumed the former Imperial responsibilities attendant on the management and control of the numerous Indian tribes of the interior. On the 20th July, 1871, British Columbia entered the confederation; and on the 1st of July, 1873, Prince Edward's Island joined her sister Provinces, thus finally completing the consolidation under one Federal Parliament and Government of the entire British possessions in North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with the single exception of the Island of Newfoundland, which thus far has maintained its separate political existence.

Only seven years have, therefore, elapsed since the Dominion of Canada became territorially complete; and I think we may prudently await the events of the next few years before proposing any serious changes in its organisation or constitutional status. It may be very safely asserted that the statesmen of Canada are more likely to judge wisely of the steps required for the progress and civilisation of this vast domain than even those of the mother country; while it is certain that all the ability and zeal the former may possess can be more profitably devoted to their own land, rather than expended upon other and less familiar portions of the Empire.

It may not, in this connection, be inappropriate briefly to notice the powers granted to the people of Canada, and the system under which these powers are exercised. By the Imperial Act constituting the confederation, the complete control of everything pertaining to their internal affairs is conferred upon the people, subject only to their allegiance to a common Sovereign and their duty as members of the British Empire. These powers are exercised under the Federal system, by which the United Parliament, consisting of the Governor-General as the representative of the Queen, with the Senate and the House of Commons, enact all the laws, in which the public at large may be said to have a common interest; such as trade and commerce, navigation, fisheries, indirect and direct taxation, postage, criminal law, and the establishment of suitable

government for the vast and as yet comparatively little known regions of the interior. The members of the House of Commons are elected under a most liberal franchise by ballot, and the Government of the day continues in office, as in this country, by the possession of the confidence of the House of Commons.

While the Federal Parliament is, in fact, the supreme authority on all subjects of common or extra-provincial interest, Local Legislatures exist in each Province under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Federal Government, with Legislative Councils and Legislative Assemblies elected by the people, to whom is entrusted all legislation of a purely local and Provincial character. These powers are of a very extensive nature, embracing all civil rights of property and cognate subjects, respecting which I may pause for a moment to explain that, apart from its propriety in other respects, the cession of Quebec by France secured to that Province its existing civil laws and language; and though full power exists to change or modify these laws in Quebec itself, still their preservation became a necessary condition of Confederation.

Anterior to Confederation, and now subsisting under past legislation, both Ontario and Quebec, especially the former, possessed an extremely perfect system of Municipal Government, which is being rapidly extended to the other Provinces. While in regard to education, no part of the world can boast a more perfect system, beginning with elementary or common-school education, which is free to all, continued next by grammar schools at a minimum of cost, to colleges, and ultimately universities, conducted by men of European reputation in science and letters.

In all, therefore, that relates to political freedom and self-government, Canada has nothing to envy in the condition of any other country; while in fitting her people for the wise administration of those powers, she possesses in her educational and municipal systems, advantages that can be surpassed nowhere.

In the composition of her existing population, Canada is also peculiarly favoured. Commencing as a French colony, Quebec has now over a million of the descendants of the foremost nation of the Latin race—a people distinguished, like their ancestors, for industry and thrift, combined with a natural courtesy and *bon-homme* which endear them to all. If the French Canadian is not, perhaps quite on a par with his Anglo-Saxon brother in enterprise, he is certainly more than his equal in those amenities which beautify life and cast a charm over even the hardships of the backwoods; while in devotion to his country, and loyalty to the sovereign under

whom his condition has risen from serfdom to freedom, none can excel him.

In the rest of the Dominion the population is almost exclusively English, Irish, and Scotch, though in the western prairies we have now settlements from Russia, Norway and Sweden, Iceland, and notably of Germans. In this respect but little difference exists between Canada and the United States, both being alike in progress of settlement from the same sources. The very difficulties attendant on overcoming the forces of the wilderness naturally impart great energy and courage to such a population, and bring about those wonderful results of successful progress which excite the envy and admiration of the world. Perhaps I should with proper modesty confine this last remark to the United States, but really the conditions are the same in both countries, and if they do not, as yet, show equally striking results in Canada, it arises from the fact that the resources of the latter country have only been brought under one central government within less than ten years, while in the former case one hundred years of united effort have been expended.

Prior to Confederation, the British Provinces in North America were suffering from the absence of all combined action ; their trade was hampered by numerous tariffs ; their intercourse more or less restricted by provincial jealousies. They were taught to look more to the mother country and less to their own exertions than they should have done ; their mental, and even their material, growth was dwarfed by a sense of Colonial dependence. Now, they have assumed most, if not all, of the attributes of national existence. Not one shilling has the British taxpayer disbursed on account of Canada for many years past ; and even the military forces of the Empire, which are usually the symbol of power, have been wholly withdrawn since Confederation, while the defence of that vast country, with the preservation of law and order, not only in its civilised districts, but in the remote recesses of the interior still occupied by the native tribes, is entirely committed to the care of the people of Canada.

England has thus, by wise and timely concessions of liberal self-government, gradually educated her Colonial offspring to a state of such stability, that she has felt she could safely commit to their care the guardianship not only of her own interests, but the higher and nobler cause of civilisation and progress in the whole of that vast territory conquered by the genius and prowess of her sons.

Let me now very briefly endeavour to convey to you some partial idea of the magnitude of the trust that has been assumed by

Canadians in undertaking the colonisation and government of the northern half of the continent of North America.

Picture to yourselves a domain nearly as large as Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with its southern extremity in the same latitude as the south of France, and its northern boundary along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Possessing the finest forests in the world, widely spread coal-fields, most extensive and productive fisheries, watered by the most remarkable natural distribution of lakes and rivers, enriched with all varieties of minerals, and now known to possess an enormous area of fertile prairie-lands destined to become the future granary of England; this vast country reaches, as the crow flies, from ocean to ocean, four thousand miles, with an area south of the latitude of St. Petersburg of at least two million of square miles capable of cultivation, and of which fully one-half produces every crop grown in Great Britain.

The Dominion of Canada, thus roughly sketched, is naturally divided into three great divisions—the Atlantic, the Central, and the Pacific.

The Atlantic division is that which comprehends the older settled Provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. It contains almost the entire present population of the Dominion, about four millions, and has, until very recently, been the only part of the British possessions in North America to which emigration has been directed. It may be described as the Forest section of Canada, and stretches from the Atlantic to the head waters of the great river St. Lawrence, west of Lake Superior.

The Central, or prairie division, containing the new province of Manitoba, extends from the densely-wooded Atlantic region to the Rocky Mountains. Commencing with the valley of the Red River, of unsurpassed fertility, the prairie extends westward over a gently undulating country, clothed with the most luxuriant grasses and beautiful flora, for a distance of a thousand miles to the base of the Rocky Mountains, by a varying width of from four hundred to six hundred miles. This magnificent district, watered and rendered accessible in its eastern section by the great Winnipeg and Manitoba lakes, is in its central and western portion traversed by the mighty river Saskatchewan, with fifteen hundred miles of steamboat navigation, and fertilised by many beautiful tributaries issuing from the recesses of the mountains. With some comparatively insignificant exceptions the prairie division of the Dominion contains probably the largest continuous tract of country in the

world adapted to the growth of wheat and other cereals, and peculiarly fitted also for cattle raising, especially on the western plateau; where cool and abundant water is combined with an exceptionally moderate climate.

The Pacific section, known as British Columbia, comprehends the volcanic region west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, with the magnificent island of Vancouver. Possessed of a climate much more temperate than that of Canada proper, British Columbia has an immense extent of land fitted for agriculture, while the mountain ranges which traverse the country are replete with minerals of every variety, and are no doubt quite as rich as the similar districts of California and New Mexico. Gold to the value of eight millions sterling has already been extracted from the gravel washing alone, without the introduction of scientific mining. Vancouver's Island has, so far as known, exclusive monopoly of the coal supply of the entire Pacific coast, from Behring's Straits to Cape Horn; her coal-fields are inexhaustible in extent and excellent in quality, and in the future must make this island the emporium of the China and Indian trade, while its importance in connection with the naval supremacy of England in the Pacific Ocean can scarcely be exaggerated.

I will now shortly summarise the past progress of the Provinces included in the Atlantic division of Canada. Commencing in 1825 with a population of about 837,400, they have now attained at least four millions in number. Their revenues, which were then perfectly insignificant, were last year nearly five millions sterling, besides the large local receipts of the respective Provinces.

Their trade, notwithstanding it has been seriously curtailed by the universal depression, amounted in

Imports to	£17,500,000
Exports ,,	18,000,000

in addition to the extensive interchange of products between the several Provinces. Their sea-going tonnage registered and owned in the Dominion itself, independent of tonnage registered in Great Britain, but owned in Canada, amounted in 1879 to 1,332,094 tons. The fisheries along their coasts yielded nearly three millions sterling, and with their shipping gave employment to a seafaring population of men and boys, including Newfoundland, exceeding forty thousand, a number greater, it is believed, than is possessed by any other country in the world except Great Britain herself. Their defence by land is entrusted to forty thousand Active Militia in a fair state of preparation, and officered from one Military College and six Infantry Schools, while under the

Militia Law every able-bodied man is liable to serve when called upon.

The Atlantic coast of the Dominion is nearly twice as extensive as that of the British islands, and all its important headlands and harbours are efficiently supplied with lighthouse service.

The whole country is provided with a well-organised municipal system, and, as I have already stated, education of the most thorough description extends throughout the length and breadth of the land. Religious liberty and equality prevail everywhere; and in the case of Quebec, the feudal system, which descended from the French, has been peacefully and thoroughly abolished.

The statement I now make respecting the present position of Canada, would, however, be incomplete if reference were omitted to its Public Debt. And in this connection I may be permitted to notice and correct certain allegations in the article contributed by Mr. Anderson to the *Contemporary Review*, which are calculated to lead to the belief that in some form or other Canada has failed in her obligations to the Imperial Exchequer. On this point it may be sufficient to state that no engagement either of the Dominion, or of any of the Provinces, has ever been in arrear for one day; nor has the Imperial Exchequer ever advanced one shilling on account of such engagements. They have consisted in guarantees granted by the Imperial Government for various objects in which an Imperial interest was admitted to exist; but in no case has delay, nor even an extension of time, ever been asked by Canada, much less has the British taxpayer ever been required to contribute to the payment of either principal or interest. The first guarantee of three millions sterling was paid in full many years ago, and the others, still current, amounting in all to £4,800,000, are in course of liquidation by the Sinking Funds of which Imperial officers are the trustees.

The whole debt of Canada, at 30th June last—and it has not since been increased—amounted to forty millions sterling, diminished by Sinking Funds and other assets to thirty-two millions, or equal to £8 per head, bearing an average rate of 4·51 per cent. Compared with the Revenue, it represents six and one half years' purchase, and the interest constitutes about one-fourth of the annual Revenue of the country.

The debt is not, however, as is the case in every other country excepting always the various British Colonies, the melancholy record of blood and treasure squandered in foreign or intestine wars; but, on the other hand, registers the peaceful progress of a people conscious of the vast resources of their country, and

earnestly devoting themselves to its development. Canada has spent

On her magnificent Canal system.....	£7,500,000
On her Railways	12,500,000
On Lighthouses and Navigation	1,000,000
On the acquisition and development, thus far, of the Great North West	4,000,000
Government Buildings and Miscellaneous ...	2,000,000
Assumption of Provincial Debts	4,000,000
	£31,000,000

Her annual revenue in like manner is employed usefully and for the benefit of the people, In 1879

The Interest (Sinking Funds and Charges) on the Debt absorbed	about £1,700,000
The Government Legislation and Judiciary ..	630,000
The Subsidies to the Local Governments in lieu of the Revenues assigned by them to the Dominion	700,000
The Postal Service	360,000
Public Works and Navigation	930,000
Militia and Defence	200,000
Indian Service—connected with the Native Tribes	170,000
Miscellaneous	200,000
	£4,890,000

Permit me, now, to give you what must necessarily be a very imperfect sketch of the work already achieved, and to show you the persistent and determined efforts your fellow subjects in Canada have made and are making towards the development of that great country. I will speak first of our canal system, of which a statement of expenditure conveys but a very inadequate idea. The object contemplated by this outlay has been the perfection of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence to the farthest extremity of the Great Lakes, overcoming the obstructions offered by the Rapids and the Falls of Niagara, so as to permit large vessels to be employed direct from Chicago and Lake Superior to the ocean. These works consist, first, of the deepening of the channel between Quebec and Montreal from eleven feet six inches to twenty-two feet, and ultimately to twenty-five feet, whereby steamships of four thousand tons can now proceed one hundred and eighty miles above Quebec to the quays of Montreal. At Montreal

the Canal system commences to overcome the several Rapids and consists of in all forty-one miles, with locks two hundred feet long by forty-five feet wide, and passing vessels drawing ten feet of water. Lake Ontario is then reached; and to surmount the Falls of Niagara, the Welland Canal has been built, twenty-eight miles, having at present locks one hundred and fifty by twenty-six feet, with ten feet of water. These canals being insufficient, new works were commenced five years ago, and will be probably completed within two years, whereby a uniform enlargement of the whole system will be established to locks two hundred and seventy by forty-five feet, with a depth of fourteen feet, allowing the passage from Lake Erie to the ocean, *viâ* Montreal, of vessels of one thousand five hundred tons. From Lake Erie westward to Chicago the navigation is uninterrupted through Lakes Huron and Michigan; while to Lake Superior access is had by an American canal of one and a half miles in length, of similar capacity to the Canadian system. Thus, within two years propellers of one thousand five hundred tons, laden with the produce of the Western States and Canada, will be able to proceed to tide-water *viâ* the St. Lawrence from any port on the Great Lakes, and by the Canadian Pacific Railway, to be opened next year, Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, with the fertile valley of the Red River, will be brought within four hundred miles of this magnificent water route.

In addition to these grand works, Canada has constructed a canal to connect the St. Lawrence with Lake Champlain and the Hudson river to New York; and also two large canals for the improvement of the Ottawa river in connection with the vast lumber trade of that region.

Passing next to the railway system of the Dominion, it permeates the older Provinces from Halifax to Lake Huron, and with its ramifications covers nearly 7,000 miles in length. Of this mileage about 1,250 is the property of the Government, and operated by them; for the remainder, though largely aided by public grants, Canada gratefully acknowledges her debt to British capital and enterprise. Any notice of the progress of the Dominion would certainly be incomplete which omitted reference to the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways; the former especially, which is not merely the arterial line in connection with the Government roads from Halifax to Detroit, but now, through the energy of its management, has conferred on Canadian trade the inestimable advantage of a through railway from Chicago and the great Prairie States to Montreal, our principal shipping port. Long

enduring has been the faith of those who invested their capital in the Grand Trunk Railway; and from my own early connection with it no one can rejoice more truly than myself in the unmistakable signs that it is now emerging from the depth of depression in which it was so long sunk. The progress of Canada in the continued settlement of the older Provinces, and in the speedy colonisation of her own great West, cannot fail to make the future of all Canadian Railways, and especially of the Grand Trunk, one of great and early development.

But while speaking of the present railway system, it would be unpardonable in me were I to omit mention of the Canadian Pacific Railway, upon which the hopes and fortunes of the country so largely depend. I shall not detain you by lengthened reference to the ultimate grand results expected from this undertaking; ten years are allotted for its completion throughout, and before that time arrives I feel assured some other speaker before this Institute will find occasion to point out the widening sphere of the future usefulness of Canada, and to dwell on the advantages to Great Britain of this new route to her Eastern possession through a country inhabited by her own people, and governed by her own laws. I shall now confine myself simply to the main features of the enterprise to which Canada has committed herself. A subsidy in work already undertaken and in cash of about eleven millions sterling, and a land grant of twenty-five million acres of most excellent prairie land, may testify to the public importance of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In length, when complete, it will be 2,600 miles; of this 260 are now in operation, 500 additional will be finished in a year, and the Government are assured that within four years from this day the communication by water and rail will be complete through Canada from England to the Rocky Mountains, opening up about one thousand miles in length of the North-Western prairies, and, with branch lines and the river navigation, practically bringing the whole district for 400 miles in width within the reach and occupation of civilised man.

Already, though Winnipeg has only had railway communication with the United States for less than two years, it has sprang from a population of a few hundreds to upwards of ten thousand. Manitoba, without roads, without capital, and in spite of every possible misrepresentation as to its climate, has gone forward by "leaps and bounds," within the last four years, and now counts its 75,000 inhabitants. Settlers, eager to press on to even more favoured regions, are now dotting the trail across the prairie with their farms in every direction. Villages are springing up many

hundreds of miles west of Winnipeg; churches are being built; mills to grind the future crop are having their steam-engines wearily dragged across the plains. Even at the very base of the Rocky Mountains, herds of cattle are now being raised on the rich pastures of the affluents of the Saskatchewan, for which a market is to be found in the advancing tide of settlement. From one end of the country to the other there is the evident commencement of one of those great movements of population that have from time to time signalised the progress of the American continent.

The gigantic efforts now being made to further the colonisation of the Canadian Far West are promoted and seconded by the wise and liberal public policy in respect to the land. By Act of the Dominion Parliament, one-fourth of the whole public domain in the North-West Territories is devoted absolutely to free grants to actual settlers, another fourth is held at their option for three years at one-half the Government selling price, and the remaining one-half is to be sold at prices varying from 4s. to £1 per acre to reimburse the cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When it is remembered that the district thus being opened up exceeds in area 250,000,000 of acres, it will be seen that the free grant lands alone are nearly twice as extensive as the whole of England.

Let me pause for one moment to answer the objection that I have seen occasionally urged against the policy England has pursued in transferring her territorial rights to her Colonial subjects. This very territory that I have endeavoured most inadequately to describe was for upwards of 200 years within the jurisdiction of England herself, and has only been made over to Canada within ten short years. Admitting that its capabilities were then unknown, Canada can at least claim the credit of diffusing this knowledge; but if this be denied her, let me ask whether English taxpayers would ever have consented to do what Canadians are cheerfully undertaking? What Chancellor of the Exchequer would have ventured to propose a vote of £11,000,000 sterling for a railway to open up such a remote country? What English Government would for years have sustained the burden of introducing government and law and order? And even in the case of the Indian tribes, what statesman would have been bold enough to tell the people of England that for years to come they must provide £200,000 a year to save these wretched natives from starvation? Yet all this, and far more, has been done by Canadian statesmen, and cheerfully acquiesced in by the Canadian people, while one-fourth of the whole domain, acquired and developed at

the sole charge of the Canadian taxpayer, is now offered free to all their English brethren who choose to come.

Nor must I confine myself to these records of successful progress. Already Canada is among the first of the great carriers of the world; her ships are found in every sea, from every frequented seaport they bear the produce of other lands to market. Her trade is no longer with England and the United States alone, but extends to the East, to Australia, the West Indies, and South America. Within the present year a steamship line, jointly subsidised by Brazil and Canada, will open the markets of that vast Empire to the products of Canadian industry. Similar arrangements, it is confidently expected, will result from negotiations now in progress with Spain for trade with the Spanish West Indies. And if further evidence be asked of the growing importance of the Dominion, it will be found in the fact that both the late and present Governments of England have recognised the propriety of making exceptional arrangements in future Treaties of Commerce with foreign countries for the Colonies; and in the negotiations now proceeding with France and Spain, the interests of Canada will be watched over by her own representative and determined by her own Government.

Such, in brief, is the position of Canada to-day, and such the population and resources with which she is about to address herself to the stupendous task of colonising the whole interior of North America lying north of the United States and stretching for upwards of 2,000 miles from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. May I be forgiven if, with such a task before us, I think it unwise to discuss the future of the Canadian Dominion with reference to possibilities that may never arise? Mr. William Clarke, in the article referred to, belittles the present position of the country. He alleges it has no national life, is entirely provincial, and assumes a state of discontented feeling with their present status, which my acquaintance with public sentiment there enables me absolutely to deny. He assumes that the "present relations of England and Canada are essentially transient, and cannot be maintained beyond a few more years;" and upon this assumption Mr. Clarke proceeds to argue that Canada must accept one of three alternatives—Independence, Imperial Federation, or annexation to the United States; and of the three he comes to the conclusion that the last is the best.

What may be the destiny of Canada ultimately, and even what may be that of the United States themselves, no one can foretell. We have certainly seen the great Union on the very verge of

dissolution within the last twenty years; and, though, with enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure, its unity was preserved, it would be rash to allege that its varied interests, spread over a country as large as Europe, can always be maintained in harmony. Equally must it be admitted that as Canada increases in population and wealth, her interests may diverge from those of the mother-country so as to produce separation. But this is not the case to-day; and, on the contrary, I trust to be able to show that the interests of Canada are at this moment most intimately blended with those of Great Britain, and that the maintenance of the connection may with sagacious statesmanship be fraught with the greatest benefits to both countries.

Many writers are inclined to depreciate the condition of Canada, and marvel over the superior progress and energy of the United States as likely to form an irresistible attraction for us. Suffer me to examine this position for a few moments. First, taking contentment as the best general standard for comparison, I venture to assert that the Canadians are fully as well satisfied with their condition as their Republican neighbours. Our attachment to our Sovereign and to our institutions is quite as great as theirs; under our system of Parliamentary Government, copied from that of England, the people possess a much more direct control over their Executive than do the United States; our taxation in every respect is very greatly less. It is true emigration to Canada is much less in actual numbers than to the United States, but in proportion to populations it is relatively greater. Again: the prairie lands of the Union have been accessible since 1830—fifty years ago; they have been opened up in every direction by railways, and have thus attracted hundreds of thousands of English and foreign emigrants, who shrank from the hardships of life in the forest. Our prairie provinces have only had birth within six years; and have been accessible by railway for less than two years; and the measures are only now being taken to inform the over-crowded people of Great Britain and of the continent of the great country that holds out its arms to receive them.

I must apologise for what you may deem a digression, but I wish you to understand that Canadians are not disposed to expend vain envy upon their neighbours. We all recognise the greatness of the United States, their wonderful rapidity of progress, their many estimable qualities as citizens; but we are unwilling to admit that we are so greatly their inferiors, and wishing to sink our individuality in theirs, we rather desire to show that under

British institutions that part of the continent consigned to our charge can be made to rival them in every respect. We now wield the combined resources of all the formerly disunited elements of British power. We have now discovered that we possess natural resources as great as theirs; our determination to use them is equal; and Canada asks nothing from England that cannot be shown to be unmistakably for her own interest.

And what, it may now be asked, is the true interest of Great Britain in the future of her greatest Colony? Is it not true that, while portions of the same Empire, all that belongs to Canada belongs equally to England—the vast forests, the boundless fertile prairies, the mineral wealth of Canada? Are they not the common heritage of every British subject—differently administered, but yet the same? Has England no interest in the prolific fisheries on the coasts of her American possessions, and should she not feel how largely her naval strength may be augmented from the thousands of hardy fishermen who earn a precarious livelihood on the stormy shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia? Should she not desire to share in establishing a new route to India, Australia, and China through her own possessions, free from all risk of interruption by foreign hostilities? I might answer one and all of these questions affirmatively, by saying that her interest is truly an Imperial one; that by the possession and speedy development of Canada, England most surely maintains her power, and widens and strengthens her influence. But in these days Imperialism is at a discount; strangely enough, I find in many quarters that the material interests of the mother-country are supposed to be more connected with foreign nations than with her own Colonies; and I must try to find within the admitted necessities of Great Britain and Ireland some reason which shall supply an adequate motive for her aiding Canada in the great work that has been devolved upon her by British statesmen.

The reason is to be found in the over-population of the United Kingdom, and in the absolute necessity of providing against the evils—ever increasing, and daily becoming more threatening—which are traceable to this cause. Emigration, continuous, progressive and systematic, is the only certain remedy, and forms, at the same time, the only boon Canada asks from the mother-country. Rarely, indeed, can any remedial measure be applied which does not involve some painful sacrifices on one side, or perhaps on both; but here the blessing will rest both with the giver and the receiver.

The history of emigration from Great Britain and Ireland is

most interesting and instructive. It has been wholly voluntary, and shows the readiness with which the mass of the people resort to it, either as an escape from suffering at home, or in consequence of those qualities which seem naturally to have made this country the great centre from whence the uninhabited portions of the earth are being colonised.

Between the termination of the great European war in 1815 and the close of 1852, no less than 3,463,592 persons left our ports as emigrants. But as the nationalities were not then distinguished, I think it may be safely assumed that upwards of 3,000,000 were British subjects. From 1853 to 1879, inclusive, a further emigration, of British origin only, took place, amounting to 4,335,889. Of these vast numbers a certain proportion returned, especially during 1876-9, and probably reduced the nett result to about 4,000,000.

We thus have, since 1815, a total removal of population from the British Islands to other countries of the enormous number of seven millions, distributed very nearly in the following manner:—

United States	4,400,000
British North America	1,350,000
Australia	1,200,000
Elsewhere.....	50,000
	<hr/>
	7,000,000

The official returns to which I am indebted for these figures show the singular circumstance that until 1841 the actual emigration to British North America was absolutely larger year by year than to the United States. After 1841 two causes operated to turn the flow of emigration more largely to the United States: the first was the condition of Ireland up to and succeeding the famine, the other was the contemporaneous opening up of the vast prairie States of the Union, which began to attract general notice after 1840.

The latter cause was, I think, much the more important, and to it, I believe, the United States are indebted for the rapid strides they have made in population and wealth, and the great attraction they have offered to the emigrating class of the United Kingdom, of Germany, and of Scandinavia. If I am correct in this view, the Dominion of Canada may well look forward with great confidence to the effect to be produced by the speedy opening up of the North-West Territory—a district probably quite as extensive as the prairie region of the Union, and certainly as well fitted for the maintenance of a large population. The resources of the Dominion may be wisely and profitably devoted to the Pacific Railway,

and other works opening up their distant lands, when we have before us the vast results achieved within the last forty years under circumstances precisely similar. The most available lands of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Wisconsin are now largely occupied; Iowa and Minnesota are also rapidly filling; and I do not see in the United States to-day any district that for extent, fertility, and availability for settlement can compare with the North-West of the Dominion. My conviction therefore is, that the tide of emigration which turned so strongly after 1840 to the United States, will soon resume its former direction to British North America, as, other material advantages being equal, I cannot think that a British subject would prefer a Republican form of Government to that happy blending of freedom and law which he can enjoy under his own flag.

I have already stated the emigration to have reached seven millions, of which at least four millions have left the United Kingdom since 1852. It will probably interest you to know that, notwithstanding this immense outflow, the reproductive powers of the population have more than supplied the gap. In 1853 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was

In 1853	-	-	27,542,588
In 1879	-	-	34,156,113
			<hr/>
Increase	-	-	6,613,525
			<hr/>

Considering this enormous increase of the resident population, coincidently with an emigration of 4,000,000 since 1852, it will scarcely, I think, be disputed that no more important question can permanently occupy attention here, than the best mode of systematising and directing the outflow of the people. Had these four millions remained at home, it is probable that the position of affairs here would have been much more critical, and might have been even seriously dangerous. As an illustration of this, I will refer to the state of Ireland, as connected with emigration.

From 1861 to 1870 it averaged	81,858
1871 „ 1875 „	65,893
1876 „ 1879 „	29,898

It does not appear an unwarranted deduction to assume that the comparative cessation of emigration has intensified the evils in that country, which evidence clearly shows, in the West at least, to be traceable to over-population. When we plainly see that congestion of population has attended the stoppage of emigration, it appears to me that the simplest and most speedy cure will in many districts be found in the systematic encouragement of voluntary

emigration. I use the term "voluntary" because it is the only principle upon which any Government could act; and past experience abundantly proves that when the knowledge is brought home to even the most ignorant class that a happier fate awaits them across the ocean, and the means placed within their reach of getting there, no difficulty is raised by them.

While speaking of Ireland and the Irish, I may say, with much satisfaction, that in Canada we have never experienced any serious difficulty in dealing with them. Whatever may have been their lot or their failings at home, they find in Canada the most fair and equal treatment in every respect, and in return they love and support their new country and its institutions. Their religion is respected; its clergy rank as high as any other; they are honoured and looked up to by their communicants; and I venture to allege that, man for man, the Irish in Canada are better off, and are better citizens than their compatriots in the United States.

It is shown by official returns that since 1815 no less than 7,000,000 persons have emigrated, of whom only 2,550,000 have gone to the Colonies, while 4,400,000 have for ever abandoned their allegiance and become citizens of a foreign country. I think this is a most deplorable statement, and becomes the worse if we regard them in the light of helpers of their former fellow-subjects at home. Were the question only that of relieving the congestion of population in the United Kingdom, it would certainly be immaterial where the emigrant went, provided he went at all. But beyond this point arises the most important inquiry of how can the exodus be made serviceable to the mother country in other respects? to which the reply is manifest: As consumers of the products of British labour at home. I might instance the Australian Colonies, which offer an infinitely stronger illustration, but as I may be told that their distance forbids their being chosen by the mass of poorer emigrants, I will take Canada and the United States, whose conditions are in many respects equal as fields for emigration, and it will be seen by the Board of Trade returns that on an average of the last three years, notwithstanding the recovery of prosperity was more early, every person, and therefore every emigrant in the United States, has consumed only 8s. 4d. worth of British manufactures, while in Canada he has consumed 32s.; it is therefore in the interest of British labour at home, in the proportion of 32 to 8 that emigration should go to Canada rather than to the United States.

I cannot leave this question of the material value of the Colonies as consumers of British products without offering for your considera-

tion certain figures which I have collated from the Board of Trade Returns, and which appear to me eminently suggestive. Comparatively little is said about the importance of the trade with our own possessions, and yet these Returns prove that the United Kingdom exported more goods to her own possessions in 1880 than to France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Denmark—in fact, to all Continental Europe combined. The figures are as classified in the December returns:—

British Possessions	-	-	-	£50,367,000
United Europe	-	-	-	45,180,801

Surely these figures point significantly to the direction Imperial trade policy should take, and to the material advantages that must flow to England herself by the speediest development of her Colonial empire. Especially is this the case when we perceive how year by year this country is becoming more dependent upon other nations for food. The food must be had, and must be had cheaply, and therefore the more rapidly the resources of the Colonies generally, and Canada especially, can be developed, the better it must be for England.

The commercial classes are, I observe, pressing upon the Government the necessity of making Treaties of Commerce with foreign nations, and I sometimes wonder why they never urge them to make commercial conventions with their own Colonies. In the latter case they content themselves with complaining of the Colonial tariffs as not favouring the mother-country; but they are probably not aware that under existing treaties the British Possessions are explicitly debarred from admitting British goods on better terms than foreign. It is almost amusing to see the precautions which have been taken by your own negotiators to prevent the Colonies extending the slightest favour or discrimination to England. I do not hesitate to say that the Colonies generally would only be too happy to give British labour exceptional favour in their markets; but unfortunately England has nothing to offer in return. Still, it does seem most absurd that if Free Trade cannot be had with all the world, the effort should not be made to have as near an approach to it as possible within the limits of the British Empire. Much might be done in this direction, greatly, I believe to, the benefit of all; but some antecedent conditions must be complied with, and of these the most important is to afford proof that the Empire can furnish its own food. This problem we shall speedily solve through the settlement of the Dominion.

The conquest of countries already occupied and civilised we can

readily understand may be undertaken from motives of ambition and lust of power ; but it seems self-evident that the occupation of regions of enormous extent, roamed over by a few scattered tribes, must be a most uncalled-for and irrational policy, unless the principle be admitted and acted upon that the citizens of the occupying nation are intended to colonise and people them. Without such motives, and unless it be clearly seen that the interests of the mother-country are to be served by such emigration, it is plain that all Colonies are a mistake, and for England not to take this position is practically to say that her whole past policy in appropriating so large a portion of the earth's surface has been a gigantic error. Her past career is absolutely indefensible, unless she is prepared to allege that she became the greatest colonising nation the world has ever seen, because she saw that the transfer of her citizens to new lands to be civilised and governed by her laws, was the wisest course, as well for those who went as for those who stayed at home. Is it conceivable that any nation, which has with such infinite labour, watchfulness and care succeeded in planting her own people in almost all the most productive regions of the globe, shall, at the very moment when their condition of development promises the fruition of generations of preparation and effort, be prepared calmly to admit that she knows not how to utilise the resources so hardly won, and now at length seen to be so abundant ?

I allege that to have acquired Colonies, and not to proceed resolutely in peopling them, is the most contradictory policy any nation can pursue. What shall we say, then, of Great Britain, overflowing with population, and having possessions in every portion of the world, and yet viewing with perfect indifference the transfer of millions of her subjects to foreign lands ? I would not complain, if it could be truly said that in any one particular the condition of the emigrant would be better under a foreign flag ; but this is not so. I speak now not of Canada alone, but of her sister Colonies as well, when I affirm that within the limits of the British Empire everything required by civilised man can be produced as well as in the whole of the rest of the world ; while if facility of access be taken into account, Canada stands on more than an equal footing with her great rival, the United States.

During the last fifty years, the policy of each successive Government has been to give their sole attention to proper provision for the departure of the emigrant. No influence has ever been attempted to be exercised upon him in regard to his destination, and we see the result in the fact that nearly four and a half millions

have gone to the United States, while only two and a half have reached the British possessions.

It may not have been possible in the past to have prevented the outflow of people to the United States, attracted as they were by the wonderful accounts they received of the advantages offered by the prairie States. But this is all changed now. Canada offers the struggling poor of this country advantages fully equal to those ever dreamt of in any foreign country. She offers them free farms of fertile prairie soil for nothing; she is now constructing railways to open up the entire country to the Pacific Ocean; she offers the protection of law to all advances that may be made to settle poor emigrant families; she gives them free schools, religious liberty and equality, good laws, and good government.

Is it, then, too much to ask that the policy of this country should be changed?—that both the Executive and the people of the United Kingdom should recognise the common duty as well as common interest which unites them with their greatest Colony, as compared with the United States, and should share in the efforts which Canada is making in fulfilment of her portion of the Imperial task of colonising the world? Let this be once recognised as the manifest duty of England, and the day is not far distant when the development of the resources of the Great North-West will yield an abundant return for all the labour expended, and the future of the Dominion of Canada be a proud testimony to the wisdom and energy as well of the mother-country as of the Colony, beneficial alike to both.

In these remarks I do not wish to be understood as advocating any legislative interference with the free choice by any emigrant of his future home. But I contend that the moral influence of the people of this country should be exerted in directing the tide of emigration towards their own widely-extended Colonial possessions; and if, as I firmly believe, public assistance must be given in some form to relieve the existing congestion of population in many districts, especially in Ireland, then I have no hesitation in asserting that it should be confined to the Colonies exclusively.

I have, in the foregoing remarks, endeavoured to place before you the present position and resources of Canada, and the extent to which, through a wise policy, they can be made to exercise an early and beneficial influence on the fortunes of the mother-country. Permit me now, in conclusion, to attempt a summing up of the whole subject. The past is beyond our reach, but the present is our own; and as we wisely or ignorantly deal with the

circumstances that surround us now, so will inevitably be the future our own action will have created.

Canada, to-day, presents herself before you with an enterprising and intelligent population of four millions, enjoying the fullest measure of civil and religious liberty, guaranteed by her connection with the British Empire, and rejoicing in her allegiance to the best constitutional sovereign who has ever reigned. Canada controls and shapes the fortunes of a boundless extent of territory: the future grand wheat-field of the world. She is now making these vast regions open to civilised man by immense works of inland navigation, and by the construction of a complete railway system, to reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To these objects she is devoting all the husbanded resources of her past efforts; and, entering upon her task with untarnished credit, and conscious of her own strength, she has full assurance of success. But in no spirit of selfish aggrandisement do her people address themselves to their work—they recognise most fully that the bounties they enjoy constitute a sacred trust, to be administered for the good of others as well as of themselves. They say to the struggling industrious millions of their fellow subjects here, crippled and overborne by causes which can never be removed, "Come, and freely share all we have. Free farms await you in the far extending prairies of the West—leave behind you the cares and troubles of the past, and accept the reward of honest labour, a happy, contented home, free from anxiety for the children growing up around you. Come to a land where taxation is unknown, except for the development and benefit of yourselves. Enter upon a new career, where you will feel that all the progress you yourselves are making reacts in good to those you have left behind, reducing the competition of labour in Britain, and at the same time increasing the markets for its products."

Nor does Canada confine her invitation to the United Kingdom; her country is wide enough to form a refuge equally for the millions of Continental Europe, who wait with almost hopeless despair for some escape from the painful penury in which they now exist. To all such Canada tenders her aid, and offers them an equal interest in her career of progress. It is true that millions of British subjects have in the past unfortunately renounced their allegiance and gone to swell the power of another nation, but Canada hopes to repair this error, by attracting to her shores the hardy Scandinavian and honest German, and thus soon to give to our beloved Queen, as Canadians, a full equivalent for the subjects she has lost.

Canada is now doing her part in the effort to colonise British North America, and it rests with the Government and people of England to do theirs. Steady co-operation will not only secure an early and successful result, but will draw still more closely the ties of mutual affection and interest, perpetuating that sympathy of feeling which is the surest and most lasting bond of union. I will not permit myself to doubt that the public mind will soon be thoroughly awakened to the importance of the new era which is opening in the North-West prairies of the Dominion, not only for Canada but for England, and to the vast development that will be thus given to the power and resources of the Empire; and I confidently believe we shall soon see a thorough and systematic plan for removing from the over-crowded fields of labour in Great Britain and Ireland those tens of thousands of honest sons of toil, whose labour alone is wanted to fulfil the most sanguine aspirations of Canada.

I know not what fate may, in distant years, be reserved for my country, but of this I am well assured, that a people capable of calmly and resolutely devoting their entire energies to such a high and noble work as the colonisation of British North America, with its attendant blessings to the suffering poor of Europe, cannot fail to achieve a destiny, which will make "The Future of the Dominion of Canada" worthy of the great nation from which it has sprung.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure there is no member of this Institute who will not appreciate most highly the able and instructive Paper just read—a Paper which, I venture to think, will have its influence far beyond the limits of this Institute. Not only this Society, but the Colonies at large, must feel grateful to Sir Alexander Galt for the Paper he has read—(cheers)—and I now invite discussion upon it.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I am sure that everyone must have listened with the deepest interest and attention to the valuable Paper just read. In his own glowing language the distinguished individual on my right has depicted what will be the future of the Dominion of Canada. He has pictured to us the vast amount of work which the four millions of people in that great Dominion have been able to accomplish within the last few years, since the territorial consolidation of that country has been effected. He has referred to her great system of canals, her wonderful progress in the development of her railways, her commerce, her trade, and

most particularly her maritime trade ; so that she has now become one of the principal countries of the world. All these things show what vast strides Canada has taken during the last few years. In the few minutes allowed to speakers here it is impossible to touch but slightly upon the various important points referred to in this able Paper. It is quite clear that all Sir Alexander Galt has said on the future of Canada leads up to the consideration of that most important question which has occupied so large a share of the Paper, viz. the policy which this country may adopt in the future with regard to emigration. (Hear, hear.) Now, it has long been the opinion of many of us who have paid attention to this subject, that the question of emigration either to Canada or the other portions of our Colonial Empire has not received the adequate consideration of the Home authorities that it ought to have had. (Hear, hear.) We have never pursued a national policy of emigration. I entirely concur with what Sir Alexander Galt said, that as we have become possessed, as we know we have, of so large a portion of the earth's surface under the British Crown, we have hitherto followed out a very narrow, isolated, and somewhat parochial mode of dealing with that fact. (Hear, hear.) I hope and trust that in the future we may take a wider and more comprehensive view of such things, and inaugurate a policy of emigration which may be more consistent with the national obligations which we ought to perform with regard to it. It was suggested not long ago by one of the present Cabinet Ministers that a sum of, say, ten millions, might be spent upon the reclamation of waste lands in Ireland ; and yet, such is our narrow mode of looking at these matters, that if one-half of this sum was proposed for purposes of emigration it would be met with cries of " We never heard of such a thing," " It is quite impossible," " It is out of the range of practical politics," and " We could not recognise it for a moment ;" although such a suggestion might be infinitely better for the nation at large, because it might take a large population from a somewhat inhospitable soil and unfavourable climate to a region far more healthy and salubrious, and a soil more fertile. (Hear, hear.) This is one of the unsatisfactory modes in which we have been accustomed to deal with this question. I have always been a great " emigrationist " myself, and I hope and trust we may yet see that those who rule in the State may grasp this question in the way in which this country and those who direct its destinies ought to grasp it. (Hear, hear.) I cannot sit down without making a passing allusion to a question in which I feel the deepest interest, and which forms the subject of the opening paragraph of Sir Alexander Galt's important Paper. He says he should

not trouble himself with any reference to what may be the future career of Canada with regard to the mother-country ; and he alludes to two gentlemen who have recently written articles in one of the current reviews on that question. I wish he had also alluded to a third gentleman, who is a Canadian, and a connection of one of the leading statesmen of Canada, who wrote some very able articles in the *Westminster Review* the year before last on the same subject, which I strongly recommend to the attention of everyone present. But without saying—as it is not likely Sir Alexander Galt would say—what his own views were on this subject, I think we may read a little between the lines of what he said ; and instead of coming to the conclusion which, it appears, Mr. Clarke has arrived at, that out of the three courses open to Canada—either to have a future career of independence, of Imperial federation, or to join with the United States—that the latter was the most advantageous to Canada, we may infer, as far as Sir Alexander Galt is concerned, that the second of these courses is the more likely to find a favourable response from him. (Hear, hear.) I could not resist saying a few words on this occasion in opening the discussion, because I have been very much struck and impressed with this most valuable and important Paper, which I think will be of the greatest use and benefit both to all in this country and throughout the British Colonies also. (Cheers.)

Mr. MOLINEUX : Sir John Rose, ladies, and gentlemen,—Connected as I have been all my life with Canada, I feel loth to let the present occasion pass without offering a few remarks upon one or two points in connection with the admirable Paper with which Sir Alexander Galt has favoured us this evening—a Paper to which I have, and I am sure all present have, listened with very great interest and pleasure. (Hear, hear.) In estimating the past relative progress of the Dominion of Canada and the United States, it should be borne in mind that, up to the year 1870, Canada lay under considerable disadvantages, as compared to the United States, in three important particulars. The chief factors in the unexampled progress of the United States lay, first, in the abundant field of labour afforded by her great system of canals and railways ; next in the immense expanse of fertile prairie territory in the Western States of the Union, to which the railways afforded cheap and ready access, and which carried off the superabundant labour after the railways were completed, and which was up to that time employed upon them ; and, thirdly, the attractive homestead law and the easy terms upon which the public dominion was offered to emigrant settlers. (Hear, hear.) It is true that, as far back as

1825, the Welland Canal—that great link in the magnificent system of canals in Canada—was commenced; but the main object of that system was not so much the promotion of settlement in the interior of Canada as to secure a portion of the great external carrying trade from the West to the Atlantic seaboard. Canada at that time presented but a long, thin frontier; and it was not until 1870 that she acquired possession of the great North-West Territory, through its transfer by the Government at home from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion. The acquirement of that splendid and fertile tract, coupled with the construction of the great Pacific Railway, and the adoption—which did not take place, I think, till 1868—of the Homestead Law and the Free Grant system, have now put the Dominion upon a par with the United States. (Hear, hear.) I have not the smallest doubt that the grand results which have excited the envy of the world as regards the United States will be witnessed in Canada, and that she has as great a future before her. Sir Alexander Galt has referred with considerable emphasis—but not a whit too much, considering the importance of the subject—to emigration, and to the trade relations between Canada and the mother-country and with foreign Powers. I hope that these questions, and the remarks with which he introduced them to us to-night, will go far beyond the limits of this audience, and that they will engage the attention and excite intelligent discussion in all the manufacturing and agricultural centres of industry throughout the kingdom. (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that they are questions which very speedily will take their place within the range of practical politics; and it is important in the interim that public opinion should be formed respecting them, so as to be brought to bear upon the Government of the day when the time for action arrives. We all know very well what a salutary stimulus a little external pressure is to all Governments, of whatever party they are composed. (Hear, hear.) In looking at the rapid strides which the Colonies have made, and are at this moment making, in material progress and in political power and importance; and, turning again to those social problems which are at the present time confronting us at home, arising from foreign competition, over-production, and redundant population, it is, I think, quite clear that the time has arrived when the Colonial policy of this country must take a fresh departure. (Hear, hear.) That the questions which have been adverted to by Sir Alexander Galt in his Paper, as well as others, such as national defence and federation questions, which are already looming in the near future, will have to be taken up and dealt with in an Imperial spirit—(hear

hear)—and form part and parcel of Imperial policy—by that term I mean a policy co-extensive with the limits of the Empire. (Cheers.) I am glad to think, from what fell from Sir Alexander Galt, that the Government of the day appears to be awakening to a sense of what steps are necessary with regard to some of these questions ; but I think it is important that public opinion should be aroused, and that one and all, whether dwellers at home or dwellers in the Colonies, should act together on these questions as fellow-subjects of a United Empire. (Cheers.) If that course is taken, England will have nothing to fear either from foreign competition, foreign invasions, or external combinations inimical to her interests—(hear, hear)—for, as the old adage says :—

“Nought shall make old England rue
If England to herself remains but true.”

(Loud applause.)

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB : I feel some hesitation in offering any remarks so early in the discussion, and I should not have risen to do so in the presence of so many important personages around me more competent to deal with the case of Canada than I can pretend to be, had I not now been called upon. There are many points in—I will not call it a lecture or an address, for it seems to me to take the character of a State Paper—the Paper that we have just listened to ; and I can only wish myself, important and large as this audience is, that it could have been heard within the walls of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Well, I must abandon all idea of referring to more than one point raised by the Paper, one in connection with the defence not merely of Canada, but the whole of our Imperial interests, and particularly with regard to the defence of the United Kingdom. A second point is one on which, if time permitted, I should feel bound by personal circumstances to have a special and more direct interest in referring to. It is the emigration question in connection with Canada, taken in connection also with Ireland. Now, I am not going into any details, nor into many of the difficult questions that arise in connection with the defence question, but I think it is our duty, and I take it to be Sir Alexander Galt's intention and what he wishes to do most of all, to make Englishmen at home look upon their present position, and the opportunities which are afforded to them by the work of men like himself and of our forefathers, who have handed down to us this Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it is with that view that I would just first say one word in connection with the defence question. Now defence—and in speaking of it I include that of the United Kingdom—does not mainly consist of bayonets, torpedoes,

and guns, it consists of something more; and your preparations for the defence of any garrison cannot, in the first place, be considered apart from the question of supplies. When you talk of the defence of the United Kingdom, the first thing every Englishman should consider is this, that you are dependent for supplies of your food from over the sea. Now, five-sixths of that food is the produce of foreign countries, and only one-sixth comes from your own possessions. Now, you have the food supply passing over eighteen different lines of the ocean—north, south, east, and west. Therefore in war you will have, under existing circumstances, to protect by your fleets eighteen different food lines. But you have, as Sir Alexander Galt has shown us, in Canada the means—and capable of development—for supplying all you want in the way of food. (Hear, hear.) And, therefore, when once the resources which are pictured so fully to us and the capacity and fertility of Canada are properly developed, instead of relying upon foreign countries for your food, and having to provide for the defence of eighteen different lines of supply to England, you would have only one food line across the North Atlantic Ocean to protect. (Hear, hear.) That, in my opinion, is a question for practical statesmanship; and consequently we arrive at this conclusion, that the necessity for developing the food resources by the Pacific Railway, and attracting our population to Canada, is a practical question for statesmen, and vitally concerning the people of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) I now come to another point in connection with this subject: it is the remark of Sir Alexander Galt with reference to the question of the coal supply of Vancouver Island. Now, I suppose it will not be thought that I am departing from the question when I say that the supremacy of the sea is dear to all Englishmen; more than that, that we in England cannot live without it. But that supremacy at sea in days of steam depends upon your coal supply; and, as Sir Alexander Galt tells us, from the districts in the north of the Pacific, down to Cape Horn, there is no real coal supply, except on the northern seaboard, and that this seaboard belongs under present circumstances to the British Empire—(cheers)—and when he says that our supremacy of the sea is vitally concerned in that matter, he is not overstating the case. Our important maritime interests in the whole Eastern Pacific depend upon whether the coal supply of that district is under the British flag or not. And I would remark that, if anybody has any doubt of the Imperial importance of British Columbia, there is one in this room more capable than I of enlightening him. We are honoured to-night by the presence of Sir Selby Smyth, who for

years has been the Lieutenant-General commanding in Canada, and who has been the organiser of the defensive system of Canada; and I am sure, in saying what I do about the supremacy of the sea in relation to Vancouver coal, that if anybody doubts it, he would be prepared to justify what I have said. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ANDERSON, M.P.: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—I have listened with very great interest indeed to the admirable Paper that has been read by Sir Alexander Galt. Of course it would be very unpatriotic in Sir Alexander Galt not to take an optimist view of everything connected with the Dominion, and I certainly am not disposed to take a pessimist view. The object of the article to which he alluded, which I wrote in the *Contemporary Review*, was to call attention to the possibility of an attempt being made by the United States to have a Customs Union with Canada, to abolish 3,000 miles of customs-houses, and in that way to bring the two countries so closely together that I was afraid it might tend towards future annexation. The object of my article was to deprecate annexation, and the object of Mr. Clarke's was to advocate it. I was pleased to hear from Sir Alexander Galt that the feeling in Canada is against annexation—(hear, hear)—and that the Canadian people desire to maintain their connection with us. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir Alexander Galt did me the honour to allude to my article, and find fault with some of the figures in it. He spoke of the Three Million Loan as having been paid for long ago; but he did not tell us where he got that information. I will tell you where I get the information that it is not paid yet. (Laughter.) Expecting that that point would be raised to-night, I turned up the finance accounts of the British Empire as published in March, 1880, and therein the Three Million Loan appears as outstanding on March 31, 1880, in full. With the exception that there is security held against it of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Bonds to the extent of £358,000; in fact, there are what are called "Securities" held against it to the extent of one-tenth the original amount; but practically not one penny of it has been paid. The figures are not mine; I tell you where I get them, and I will leave the great authorities—the Dominion Government and our own Government at home—to settle which of the two is right in the matter. (Laughter.) Well, there is only one other point I would allude to—that is, emigration. Sir Alexander Galt has told us that the only thing he asks from this country is abundant emigration. Well, we would be well pleased to give it him. He complains that twice as many of our emigrants go to the United States as go to Canada. I am sorry it should be so, but there are easily-

explained reasons for it. The United States offer advantages—they have a better climate, a very much better climate. (No, no; Yes, yes.) Well, if the thermometer falls to 50 or 60 degrees below zero I can only say I would not think it a good climate. Well, besides this, their country is much better covered by railways than Canada, and therefore accessible. Now, to compensate for those advantages let Canada offer something else to our emigrants, and she will get them. Let her offer them free imports of British goods into Canada. (Hear, hear.) The United States tax our goods even more heavily than Canada does. But let Canada bring down her tariff much below what it is now, and she will get our emigrants. Let her admit British goods something like free, and she would do more good in that and other directions, and she would make Canada of much greater value to this country than she is now. (Hear.) Because when Sir Alexander Galt spoke of the large amount of British exports to our possessions, he did not remark how very small the proportion going to Canada is. It is very small, and I should like to see the amount made greatly larger; but it is only to be done by reducing the tariff upon British goods going into Canada, and thereby promoting trade and making that Colony of more value to us than it is now. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TORRENS, M.P.: I was not aware that I should be called upon to speak on the present occasion. I came here, like many others, to listen to Sir Alexander Galt, and certainly when I tell you that I left a certain place, which must be nameless—(laughter)—for the purpose of hearing the Paper read, I need not say that I have had the best hour or two of enjoyment which I have had for some time; and my mental condition at present reminds me of what I heard Lord Palmerston say before a committee of diplomatic affairs." He was asked, "What is the difference between the duties of a Minister going to Washington and a Minister going to Paris?" He said, "Why, the two things are quite distinct: Washington is a place of business, and a man must have a good head to go there and take things as they occur; but when we send a man to Paris, he has to think of things which probably may never occur." (Laughter.) I am sorry to say at Westminster, at present, beating the air and wasting valuable time is the order of the day. I presume, from his presence here, that my friend Mr. Anderson, like myself, has escaped for a few minutes this evening, and has come like a business man here, with a definite object in view. The last thing I did on leaving the House to-day was to correct proofs of a Paper which I had written to promulgate the notions which I have heard from Sir Alexander Galt—(hear, hear)

—and I met, for the first time since Parliament assembled, the noble member for Middlesex, who seconded a motion of mine in favour of assisting systematic emigration—I mean Lord George Hamilton—and I said, “Where are you now on the question?” and he replied, “Just where I was.” (Laughter.) “I believe we were right,” he added; and I said I thought so too, and we had better begin again. With such stimulus as I see here around me, I shall certainly support here to-night with reassured resolve the bold endeavour to recall the House of Commons again, after a long interval, to the Imperial duty of considering emigration in the greatest Legislature in the world—(loud cheers)—instead of breaking its heart over theoretic questions and communistic schemes—(hear, hear)—open its eyes to the reproachful, but not immutable fact, that while there is abundance of profitable and useful work in the Colonies to be done, multitudes of people in the old country stand waiting because there is no man to hire them. Colonial lands are not half tilled, while labourers at home are half starving. (Hear, hear.) Do not listen to the oft-repeated excuse for neglect and inertia, that people doomed to dwell on the verge of pinching want would rather remain as they are than make their escape to a region of comfort and plenty if the way were opened before them. That is the hollow and heartless pretence of men who either do not know the real feelings of the people, or who would sacrifice their interests to their own. If you will only compel Government, whoever may be in power, to transplant instead of transporting the people, and treat them as children who are to be cared for, in place of culprits who are to be put down, you will do yourselves infinite good and those you represent; and, above all, you will have the satisfaction of contributing, while it is yet time, to the consolidation of the greatest Empire of the world by ever-strengthening ties of mutual and inseparable union. (Cheers.) For my part, I thank Sir Alexander Galt most sincerely for the words he has spoken here to-night. I will not enter into the cash question raised by my friend Mr. Anderson—(a laugh)—nor will I touch upon the question of the tariffs. I suppose Canada knows best what suits her. (Hear, hear.) When we gave Canada responsible government we parted with the power to overrule her Legislature in fiscal affairs. (No, no.) I say, yes, yes. I say that if hereafter we are to gather together in one great Federated Empire, including North America, Australia, and New Zealand, it must be as admitting our sons as junior partners in the old firm, and not as mere subordinates or clerks. (Cheers.) I am ready, for my part, to welcome the senators and statesmen of Canada as fellow-workers here. I have

known many of them, and found them in every respect our equals in all that concerns public business. Why, we have the Lord Mayor, who made his fortune in Australia, at the head of the City Corporation to-day; and we have Sir John Rose filling the chair to-night, and he is a statesman from Canada. (Hear, hear.) I wish that we should have a thorough brotherhood, and forget the old pretensions of exclusion and ascendancy, and hold out the hand of friendship freely to all English-speaking Colonies. But if we are to have a really Imperial policy permanently established, we must guide and direct emigration from the United Kingdom to the United Colonies, instead of allowing it to drift and drain, as now, to the United States. I say this in no spirit of jealousy or envy of our great rivals, with whom I wish there should ever be the peaceful competition only of industry and freedom; I say it not because I value our republican descendants less, but because I value more those who trust and love the authority of the Queen. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM MILLER: I have been delighted with the able Paper which has been read by Sir Alexander Galt. I am proud to claim Sir Alexander as a friend, almost as a fellow-countryman—the distinguished son of a distinguished Scotch father; and now that we see colonists, like Sir Alexander Galt, rising to occupy the most prominent positions in those great Imperial dependencies which are scattered all over the earth, I hope the day may soon come when politicians of this country will cease to look down upon the politicians of the Colonies, and will consider them fit for the highest posts that Her Majesty can offer to their acceptance. But I am sorry to think that time has not yet come. (No, no.) It is not long since, in conversation with one of our greatest and most popular statesmen, he wound up the conversation by saying, “Do you mean to tell me you would make one of those Canadians a Cabinet Minister?” (Cries of “Name, name.”) No name shall be given. I was particularly delighted to find Sir Alexander Galt had the courage in this assembly to make what I should call a downright Home Rule speech. (No, no.) Why, yes. Why, I never listened to a more thorough Home Rule speech. (Oh, oh.) Sir Alexander came here as a Canadian—what I myself am to a certain extent—on purpose to talk to us about the future of Canada, not thinking of its importance to the people of this country so much as regarding its importance and its benefit to the actual people of Canada—to those four millions of Canadians who have virtually resolved, as Mr. McCullagh Torrens, in his ultra-revolutionary Home Rule speech, told us—(cries of “No, no”)—those four millions of

Canadians who have resolved firmly to appropriate to themselves the whole of this greater half of the great North American continent. But I would now ask you, Sir John Rose and Sir Alexander Galt, to consider what is the actual value of Canada to her mother-country? Captain Colomb has told us, and he appears in his views to agree in the main with Sir Alexander Galt, that the chief value of Canada to this country is as a wheat-growing country—(a laugh; expression of dissent from Captain Colomb)—and, moreover, as a great coal-producing country, since Canada is, in fact, that part of the world from which we are to be fed, and to be warmed too, probably, when the grain and coal-fields of Great Britain perhaps no longer exist. Indeed, I would venture to ask you, Sir John Rose and Sir Alexander Galt, what definite amount of real benefit to the people of this country is Canada? (Cries of "Order, order.") Gentlemen who interrupt me are not aware that I am more directly interested in Canada than almost anybody in this room. Mr. Anderson has noticed the cogent fact that the importations of Canada from Great Britain are very trifling. They average only between five and six millions a year. Now, the gross income of this country is about one thousand millions, and of this income two hundred millions of pounds sterling are derived from foreign trade. That foreign trade suffices for the support of five or six millions of our population. The part which Canada's trade supports of our population is therefore equivalent simply to a small country parish, or at most to a town of about the size of Dundee. Such a part is all that Canada actually does for supporting the people of this country; while Australia, with a population of but half that of Canada, takes twenty millions' worth of our manufactures annually, and supports at least half a million of our population. (Hear.) I do not blame Sir Alexander Galt or the politicians of Canada that they consult their own interests, and that, in their so-called national policy, they do what they consider best for themselves and their own people. I do not altogether, to the same extent as our English politicians appear to do, believe in Free Trade, that one-sided Free Trade we have, nor would I, as some of them would do, cram any kind of Free Trade down Sir Alexander Galt's throat in the discussion of such a subject (prolonged interruption—cries of "Time, time"); but I wish to call the attention of this audience to the fact that our statesmen have in regard to the Empire's—both England and her Colonies—commercial relations with foreign countries, thought so very little about the benefits that we should derive from a legitimate reciprocal and genuine common material interest, that they have finally allowed

all the commonwealth to get into a state of utter disintegration, both commercial and political. (No, no; hear.) Look at Ireland, the Cape, Natal, Australia, and Canada! are they not exercising "Home Rule" more and more, in every direction, commercially as well as politically, and is it not time that we should consider as to whether we cannot and should not take a view of the Empire more befitting the real interests of this country, and less befitting those of that *dilletante laissez-aller* school of narrow-minded, party-spirited politicians, which during the last fifty years has ruled the commonwealth? For instance, in criticising a Paper I wrote some little time ago about the unification of the Empire, an eminent noble legislator gave his very thoughtful and candid opinion, but what was it he said? Why, that he did not suppose Mr. Miller's ideas about the unity of the Empire, through an Empire's Parliament, could be carried out, because the roughness of Colonial politics were utterly distasteful to English statesmen, and the politicians of this country would never be willing to divide the spoils of Imperial office with Colonial politicians. (No, no—"Name, name.") I must not give names, but I tell you these things are so; I wish merely to state facts, and, moreover, to draw this conclusion from them, that unless we entirely discard such notions about Canadian, Australian, and South African politicians not being fit to be entrusted, as fully as English statesmen, with Imperial interests, this Empire of ours must, as it is now doing, ere long become a formless and disintegrated mass.

Captain COLOMB: Will you allow me to say that my friend, Mr. Miller, has mistaken entirely my remarks by saying that I thought the chief value of Canada to us was her coal and food? If I had had three more minutes to continue my remarks in connection with Ireland and emigration to Canada it would have been clearly seen that they were not my views. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel J. HUNTER GRANT: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—As a Canadian it has afforded me very great pleasure indeed to have listened to the exceedingly able and interesting Paper which has been read by our High Commissioner. I think you will agree with me that there is no gentleman connected with public life in Canada more thoroughly competent to speak of the country and its resources than the gentleman who occupies the high position which Sir Alexander Galt does to-day in England. (Hear, hear.) It has been exceedingly gratifying to me, and I am sure it is to the audience present, to have heard the general approval of the Paper itself and of the sentiments which he expresses in it. I think it is my duty to take some notice of the remarks made by the last two

speakers. The great object which the Royal Colonial Institute has in view is to bring members of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain together, and to discuss the various questions connected with the welfare of the Colonies; and therefore the free discussion which takes place here enables not only people living in Great Britain, but those from the Colonies, to correct erroneous impressions and to substantiate facts. (Hear, hear.) But the two gentlemen who have spoken last have fallen into very serious error indeed. (Laughter.) Mr. Anderson, who complained about the indebtedness of Canada and its accounts not being regularly attended to, I think should have more closely observed the statement made by Sir Alexander Galt, which was to this effect, that there never has been a single shilling of debt contracted by Canada that has not been paid to the very minute, interest and principal alike. He should have been satisfied with the statement, and certainly ought not to have quoted his Blue-book as he did as a counter-statement to that made by the High Commissioner. The facts stated by Sir Alexander Galt are strictly correct. Canada has never failed in any particular, either as regards the Government of the Dominion, or the Provinces of which the Dominion is composed, to meet its obligations, both as regards the principal and interest, in every respect; and, from what I know of the country, she never will fail. (Hear, hear.) The gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Miller) attacked us with reference to our trade and our tariff. Now, I would have been much pleased if Sir Alexander Galt had devoted a paragraph to that important question, because there is no gentleman connected with Canada who would have more thoroughly and satisfactorily explained it to this meeting. (Hear, hear.) And I think it is a subject on which some Canadian might, at some early date, very properly and instructively read a Paper which would have the effect of putting the question in its true light—(hear, hear)—as it is not properly understood in England. (Hear, hear.) The “editorials” which have appeared from time to time in the newspapers of London show most clearly that those who write them, and those who speak on questions connected with the internal policy of Canada, have not correct information to enable them to judge as aptly as they might with reference to these important questions. (Hear, hear.) I would say this in regard to it, that in discussing that subject we must not forget that we have to the south of us a population of over forty millions of people. (Hear, hear.) That our trade relations with them are of such a character as to demand from us the wisest policy and the most careful watchfulness. That in order to develop the resources of our country, to build it up, to

make our people prosperous and happy, we have so to regulate our commercial and fiscal tariffs as to promote our own trade with various parts of the world, and at the same time build up our manufacturing interests. (Hear, hear.) Now, what are the facts? For several years past the United States have been taking our money to the extent of fifty or sixty million dollars for products which, we discovered, could be manufactured in our own country; and the people of Canada decided that they would adopt a tariff that would enable them to produce them in their own country, for the purpose of developing their own manufactures and employing their own people. (Hear, hear.) There is an impression existing in England that the object of that policy was the destruction of the trade between Canada and Great Britain. A greater fallacy could not possibly exist. (Hear, hear.) The facts prove it to be a fallacy. The tariff which has been in existence in Canada for the last eighteen months, and which is called a protectionist tariff, has resulted in diminishing our trade with the United States to the extent of between 20 and 30 per cent.—and it will be further diminished—which sum has gone into the manufacturing interests of Canada; it has tended to employ our people and increased their wages and their comfort. But as far as the trade with England is concerned, the official returns published by the Government quite recently actually show that there has been an increase of 18 to 20 per cent. between the trade of England and Canada within the last eighteen months. (Hear, hear.) I hold in my hand the latest official report of the trade of Montreal, which is the largest city in Canada, and has a population of 180,000 people; and these returns show an actual increase between the port of Montreal and Great Britain of over two millions of dollars within the last eighteen months, and a decrease between Montreal and the United States of over three million dollars in imports, and in exports a gain upon the last year of 150 per cent. I think a discussion of this question, with all its details, would show conclusively that the policy of Canada has been this—to build up the Dominion, provide employment for the people, to decrease our trade with the United States, and at the same time to extend our trade with Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) That has been the actual result. Discussions lead to many practical conclusions; and in referring to Canada it must not be forgotten, as Sir Alexander Galt properly stated in his Paper, that we are not a warlike people. We are not engaged in revolutions or disturbance of any kind: our object is simply to consolidate our country, and to open up the great resources which we possess; and we can only do that by pursuing a policy such as that which

has been inaugurated and carried out by our Government. You must remember, gentlemen, that we have ceased to be children, that we have left the nursery long ago, that we have grown into the vigour, energy, and the vitality of manhood—(hear, hear)—that our borders to-day extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific—(hear, hear)—that we have a geographical area greater in extent than that of the United States; and that the policy of the statesmen who govern our country is to colonise and people it, and to do that successfully we look to these islands of Great Britain. We appeal to them as our friends. We derive from them all the lessons of the past. We look to their inspiration to support, to help, and guide us in the future. (Hear, hear.) And in connection with that matter I would just say this, that it has been, and is to-day, a subject of very great regret, that the Press of this country do not seem to appreciate the position in which we stand, and the objects that we have in view. (Hear, hear.) For some years past there has been an unfriendliness of tone on the part of a portion of the Press of this great city towards Canada—(“No, no,” and “Yes, yes”)—that is keenly felt; and if ever anything such as a thought of separation from Great Britain is brooding in Canada, it will be owing to the action and the conduct of the Press in this country. (“No, no;” “Yes, yes.”) I say it with a full knowledge of the power and the value of the Press; but I am bound to state, in the presence of this large and influential meeting, that if Canada is to be preserved as an integral portion of the British Empire, it must be by the exercise of kindness and goodwill on the part of the Press and people of this country. We have, it is true, in Canada no Irish and no Turkish question to trouble us; we have no Afghans to conquer, or Zulus to subdue; but we have a higher mission to fulfil than that. We have to develop the great and varied resources of half a continent; we have to people it, as we hope we shall, with loyal and intelligent populations from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, devoted to the Queen and the Empire; and in carrying out that work peacefully and wisely, we feel that if we look to England as our mother-country, that whilst we are desirous and willing to be corrected and reproved whenever that is done in the kindest spirit, that we are prepared to come here for words of wisdom, counsel, and advice, but we are not inclined to be told that we are incapable of knowing our own interests or of doing deeds which are not characteristic of men of honour and of virtue. Reprove us if you will, and correct our errors in every way you think right and proper, but let it be done in a kindly spirit; and you will produce an effect that will be beneficial to us all, and

help us in every possible way. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied, if these feelings would only prevail, that Canada will grow in strength, and remain for ever one of the right arms of the Empire. I am certain that, under the genius of the British Constitution—satisfied as we are with her rule—we would be prepared to work out our own destiny with that success which I am sure it is the desire of every gentleman present should attend our efforts, resulting, as I hope it may, in placing us in the position to enjoy all that happiness and prosperity which it may please the goodness of Providence to give us. (Loud cheers.)

The Venerable Archdeacon WRIGHT: I came here this evening to be instructed, and in no way have I been disappointed. I heartily thank Sir Alexander Galt for his valuable lecture. It would be a poor return on my part, nay, it would be presumptuous, were I at this late hour to speak at any length. Still, I feel called upon to support the suggestion made by Captain Colomb, inasmuch as it bears upon a very important matter, and also to make one or two remarks with respect to the climate of Canada and the way Canada treats its immigrants. I cannot but consider that Mr. Anderson makes a serious mistake when he maintains that the climate of the United States is superior to that of the Dominion. I know them both well, and especially that of the region of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, and am quite ready to uphold that the varied climate of the United States is, on the whole, far less salubrious than the bracing climate of Canada. As a man-producing country Canada rises very superior to the United States, and in support of the assertion I bring forward the severe criticism which declares that were it not for immigration it is considered that the population of the United States would decrease rather than increase. One thing is certain, their families are very small, and the death-rate large. And again, as a proof of the capacity of Canada as a man-producing land, I ask anyone to look around this room. I have only just remarked to the friend who brought me here to-night that, after having visited many parts of the world—very little of it have I not visited—I never in my life saw a finer body of men than now assembled in this hall. They evidently exceed in height and physique men in England, and I believe this gathering is composed chiefly of Canadians. I will venture to say that they possess also a very marked intelligence, self-reliance, and determination, the incarnation of which is fully set forth in the lecturer, who has so greatly interested and instructed us this evening. With respect to emigration from England to Canada, it will, I feel sure, be a source of satisfaction to all interested in that vast Colony to know how

highly Canada is valued by the great Philanthropic Farm at Redhill. I have been now for some years closely connected with that valuable and ably-managed Institution, from which a large number of youths, early addicted to vicious habits, has been sent to Canada, there to gain an honest livelihood and to prove valuable members of society. I can bear testimony on the authority of those who conduct the Redhill establishment that 88 per cent. of those who have gone out to Canada have turned out, not the reprobates they promised to be in early life, but honest, upright, hard-working colonists. (Some one in the room corrected the Archdeacon by calling "97 per cent.") So much the better—let us then say 97 per cent.—and that result is from the great care taken of emigrants by the Dominion authorities. But I must not forget the suggestion of Captain Colomb. It is, I hold, of the highest importance, and I speak as one who has lived upwards of seven years in British Columbia. I may almost consider myself a pioneer of that Province. I allude, of course, to the island railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt. The interests, Imperial and Dominion, are closely connected with such a communication. A very able politician has stated "that life, when viewed by a man who thinks, is a comedy, but when viewed by a man who feels, it is a tragedy." Most assuredly this applies forcibly to British Columbia when we call to mind the bearing of Canada towards her in the matter of confederation and the great Pacific Railway. Canada arranged with British Columbia that, if the great western Colony would join the Dominion, a railway should be constructed within ten years from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was an undertaking which, had Canada reflected calmly, the impossibility of carrying out the bargain would have at once appeared. In 1874, when nothing was being done, Lord Carnarvon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, delivered a very decided judgment. He stated that, to repudiate a contract was, on the part of Canada, a most ignoble course. Act up to it, he said, as best you can, and if you cannot carry it all out do the best in your power. Upon this a distinct and solemn agreement was made to construct a railway forthwith from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, and a belt of land along the line of twenty miles in breadth was taken by the Dominion Government to aid the construction. The affair to the thinking man now became comic indeed. It reminds one of the foreigner who went to the opera, and, when highly delighted, tried to express himself forcibly. He exclaimed, "Bravo! Bravissimo! Magnifique! Pretty well!" Canada, instead of attempting to produce a railway between the Pacific and the Atlantic; Canada, instead of producing a railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, offered

the indignant British Columbians the paltry sum of about £100,000 to be off the railway bargain. Let us allow in charity that Canada throughout meant well, and "may he who means well fare well." This much I gladly admit, and I am sure Sir Alexander Galt will agree with me, that at least the Canadians have acted bravely. They have undertaken one of the noblest schemes known to the present century—the "floating" a Pacific Railway—and great is the credit due to Sir John Macdonald and the Administration over which he so ably presides. But the scheme is, I fear, even yet imperfect, yea, very imperfect. The mistake has been, as Captain Colomb so truly remarked, in not including in it the Island Railway of only some seventy miles. I speak earnestly, because I feel deeply as an old British Columbian. Put, I say, without delay a railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt; connect the coal-fields of Vancouver Island—upon which remember, the very existence of our power in the Pacific largely depends—with the magnificent naval harbour at Esquimalt. Then, and only then, will the scheme be complete, for then the highest interests of the Province of British Columbia, of the whole Dominion, nay of the British Empire at large, will have been duly and thoroughly furthered.

MR. W. FRASER RAE: I do not rise at this late hour to prolong the discussion, but simply to contribute a fact which I consider important, and which will serve to correct Mr. Anderson's assertion that the climate of the United States is superior to that of Canada. I have traversed the greater part of the North-American continent. Last October I was at Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, which is commonly supposed to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the North Pole. I was detained there for two days owing to a fall of snow, to the depth of from six to twelve feet, which stopped railway traffic two hundred miles to the South in the State of Minnesota. In Winnipeg itself there was no snow, nor any cold more intense than in London at the present moment. I would supplement that piece of personal experience with the remark that to speak of the climate of Canada as being worse throughout the old country than that of the United States, is to imply that a mere geographical line causes a marked variation on the climate on either side of it, and that, by stepping over an imaginary line, a person passes into a different climate as well as into a different country. As a matter of fact, the climate for some distance on either side of the boundary line between the two sections of the North-American continent is nearly identical from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If the climate were uniformly better throughout the United States than in the conterminous country of Canada, this would

be the most remarkable occurrence in the geographical history of the world.

The CHAIRMAN : With regard to the statements of Mr. Anderson as to the Canadian Loan, it would be a great misfortune if a wrong impression of so important a fact should be allowed to prevail ; and I am quite sure that no one would like to be put right on it more than Mr. Anderson himself, and I will ask Sir Alexander Galt to explain the true state of the case.

Sir ALEXANDER GALT : I think if I am not really committing a breach of the rules of the Institute, I should like to say one or two words beyond the reference to Mr. Anderson. I think I ought first of all to express to this audience my thanks for the reception given to my Paper to-night ; at the same time, I wish to add, with regard to the criticism of it, that I have nothing to complain of. It has been made in a spirit which showed that the feelings of those who heard me are in the subject. Discussion is always useful as bringing out the truth ; and I am glad to say that on this occasion I think it will in the end prove to have done so. (Hear, hear.) With regard to what fell from Mr. Anderson, he took occasion to question the statement which I made in the Paper I read, that the three millions of the original guarantee granted by the Imperial Government had been paid off in full—(hear, hear)—and I understood him to read from a paper, which he stated was official, that the same was outstanding, according to the Blue-book, and that the sum of three or four hundred thousand pounds was all that was held against it. Either Mr. Anderson is mistaken, or the Blue-book is. (Laughter.) There were two guarantees. The first guarantee was paid off partly under my own administration, and the last payment happened to be made by my friend who is now acting as chairman. It was invested in East Indian Bonds, and paid off at the maturity of the loan. (Loud cheers.) I do not think it is necessary for me to bring forward my own personal testimony as Finance Minister of Canada during the currency of the loan, for there is the testimony of my friend, Sir John Rose, who, as Finance Minister of Canada, ultimately paid it off. (Hear, hear.) It was paid off before maturity, and therefore I think Mr. Anderson will not desire to impute a mistake to me on that subject. (Hear, hear.) At this late hour it would not certainly be proper for me to attempt to go into any discussion on the several important subjects adverted to with reference to the Canadian tariff, or with reference to the possibility of free imports. If Canada admitted the goods of England free, it would be necessary then to admit the goods of all other countries free, which she is not pre-

pared to do. (Hear, hear.) I did not quite catch Mr. Miller's meaning when he said I made a Home Rule speech. I made a speech in this sense, that I thought the Canadians were able and willing to manage their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Rev. Mr. Wright, and the remarks he made that he thought Canada had not quite fulfilled her engagement to British Columbia, I think that the mouth of every British Columbian might with great propriety be closed at a moment when the inhabitants of Canada have undertaken the great expenditure of eleven millions sterling in connection with carrying out that engagement; and at this time there is, and has been, an expenditure going on in British Columbia on a portion of the Pacific Railway, which is in that province, from Yale to the westward, of upwards of ten millions of dollars. (Hear, hear.) I was glad to hear the remarks of my friend Mr. Rae, and his personal testimony in reference to the climate of the western portion of Canada, and I do not think it is necessary for me to say one word upon the subject. I once more beg to thank you for your kindness towards me. (Applause.)

Mr. ANDERSON: The Blue-book states that there are two loans, each of three millions. On one of the loans of three millions the securities are held for £358,600. On the other loan for three millions for the Pacific Railway, the improvement of canals, a more recent one, there is £86,400 of Canadian Bonds held; so that, according to our Blue-books, there is no mention of its being paid off. I shall certainly take steps to ascertain from the Treasury whether they are correct or not.

The CHAIRMAN: This is how it stands. The original loan in aid of the canals in the old province of Canada, obtained through Lord Sydenham, was paid off before maturity. Since then two further loans—one of some £300,000, for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay territories, and another, in aid of the Pacific Railway and the improvement of the navigation, amounting to three millions odd—have been guaranteed, but neither of these have matured. The Imperial Government have, in fact, merely endorsed the bills; and a sinking fund has been invested in securities designated by the Imperial Government.

The CHAIRMAN: I have one duty left; it is short, but pleasing, and one which requires no words of mine to commend it to your hearty approval; and that is, that we should unite in giving a cordial and warm vote of thanks to Sir Alexander Galt for the interesting and comprehensive Paper which he has read to-night. (Loud and long-continued applause.) It is a Paper which, as I said before, will have its influence far beyond these walls and far

beyond the limits of this Institute. I therefore propose that you all unite in according to Sir Alexander Galt thanks for preparing so admirable a Paper.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG then proposed a vote of thanks to Sir John Rose for his great kindness in taking the chair, which having been unanimously responded to, the meeting terminated.

FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library, on Tuesday, the 22nd February, 1881, the Right Hon. Lord ELCHO, M.P., presiding. Amongst those present were the following:—

Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir David Tennant (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Cape Colony), Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Sir Charles Clifford, Sir John Coode, Sir George H. Chambers, Sir G. C. Strahan, K.C.M.G. (late administering Government of Cape Colony); Lady Frere, Miss Frere, Miss Edith C. Frere, Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Captain Chas. Mills, C.M.G. (Under Colonial Secretary, Cape Colony); Mr. Arthur Moore, M.P., Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Major Euan Smith, Messrs. H. A. de Colyar, W. Wilberforce, Ball, S. W. Silver, H. A. Silver, Jacob Montefiore, G. Molineux, Alex. Sim, Dr. Mann (Natal), Messrs. Godfrey Turner, R. W. Murray (Cape Colony), Morton Green (Natal), Charles Fraser, Robert White, Daniel Mackenzie, John Holmes, Captain Matterson, Messrs. R. Cust, A. J. Malcolm, W. G. MacGregor, H. E. Montgomerie, Henry Kimber, J. H. Durham, J. H. Brodie, James Williamson, George Peacock (Cape Colony), J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), James Bigge, D. P. Blaine (Cape Colony), A. J. Macdonald (Cape Colony), Thomas Plewman (Cape Colony), James Bruce (Cape Colony), Joseph Graham (Cape Colony), H. R. C. Wallace, Norman White, John Banks, Hugh Jamieson, D. C. Da Costa (Barbados), Darnley C. Da Costa (Barbados), K. D. Ross, G. Hughes, W. H. Mare, Colonel Philpotts, R.E., the Rev. John Kilner, Major Taunton, Messrs. J. Duncan Thomson, J. H. Watson, Bryan H. Darnell, W. G. Lardner, Captain F. W. S. Grant (32nd Light Infantry), Messrs. F. W. Yeates, J. R. Boyd (Ceylon), H. C. McDonald, Stephen Bourne, F. Debenham, S. V. Morgan, Major W. V. Morgan, Dr. G. A. Mein (Victoria), Hon. W. A. G. Young, C.M.G., Messrs. Douglas Young, J. D. Wood, Harley Bacon, Alex. Donaldson (South Australia), Evison, Hon. W. F. Haynes Smith (Attorney-General, British Guiana), Dr. John Rae, Messrs. A. M. Kingsmill, F. A. Du Croz, James Farmer, G. Fisher, Lowry, J. Standish Haly, J. Comyns Carr, Arthur N. Birch, C.M.G., C. Birch, John McMermell, J.P., H. S. Northcote, Lady Victoria Buxton, Mr. F. Marfleet, Miss Marfleet, Captain John Davis, Messrs. H. B. Halswell, A. E. Jay, F. W. Fox, E. H. Halswell, Philip Goldsmith, Frank W. Behrens, Gale, George Houghton, R. J. Larking, E. Toche, Robert Manuel, J. A. Harragin (Trinidad), H. C. Bowen, Mr. G. and the Misses Moffatt, Messrs. George Harrison, Saul Samuel, C.M.G., and Mrs. Samuel, the Misses Samuel, Miss Garren, Mr. E. Samuel, Mrs. Shipster, Mr. and Mrs. John Laing, Miss Green (Natal), Messrs. G. J. Labalmondière, Tollemache, Lieut. Hailstone, R.N., and Mrs. Hailstone, Messrs. R. Richard, Dion Courtney, R. De Rutzen, Lady Driscoll, Messrs. George Mitchell, Trelawney Saunders, John W. Rattenbury, Walter Peace (Natal Emigra-

tion Agent), C. W. Thies, Mrs. Morrison, Messrs. B. L. Fearnley, C. Birch, S. A. Durgan, Christopher Thwaites, A. St. John, A. Montaiaba, Mrs. Hutchinson, Messrs. Burdekin (Sydney), T. E. C. Strutfield, C. Tubb, Mrs. and Miss Plewman, Mrs. and Miss Ronald, Colonel East, Sir W. R. Robinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Elles, Captain McDonald, R.E., Mr. James Langdon, R. H. Pearson, Major-General Dean Pitt, C.B., Mr. J. Bailey, Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Gray, Lady Barkly and Miss Barkly, Miss Fisher, Major-General Sawyer, Mrs. Wyatt, Mrs. Cumberledge, Professor and Miss Branford, Messrs. John Colebrook, W. Manley, William C. Manley, Hartman W. Just, Harry Escombe (Natal), The Misses Escombe (Natal), Rev. E. McKenzie, Colonel J. H. Smith, Colonel Schaw, Mr. F. R. Round, Mr. Douglas Round, Captain Hawtayne and Mrs. Hawtayne, Mr. and Mrs. S. Thomson, Mr. Martin Kirby, Mr. E. H. Gough and Miss Gough, Mr. and Mrs. John Halkett, Mrs. Fortescue, Miss Cochran, Messrs. Fricheville, James A. B. Bruce, G. M. Bradley, Mrs. Carey Hobson (Cape Colony), Miss Veitch (Cape Colony), Mr. W. D. Filliter, Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Haden, Messrs. Collier, Philip Vander Byl, Henry Bates, A. G. Robertson, Colonel Macdonald, Mr. R. Lehman, Dr. Ogg, Captain R. G. Biggs, Messrs. A. G. James, Tennant (Cape Colony), A. Wheeler, Francis Fleming, S. Drummond, R. L. Antrobus, Sydney Hodges, G. Pridham, George Foggo (late M.L.C. Bombay), A. H. Good, J. Colmer (Canada), Mr. A. and Mrs. Robert Topham (Natal), Mrs. and Miss Gall, Dr. J. E. Carpenter, Messrs. T. Staveley Oldham, H. Sharpe Oldham, J. T. Plorner, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Fithian, Messrs. W. L. Shepherd, F. Seymour Hayden, Cecil Small, Charles Rayner, J. H. Greathead, C. J. Bellamy, C. Alexander Hanes, George Parrack, F. W. Stone, B.C.L. (Canada), E. Hepple Hall (Canada), E. A. Petherick, F. Barclay Hanbury, W. J. Anderson (Cape Colony), J. Beaumont, C. Trapstran, Hermann Voss, Mr. C. Pfoundes and Mrs. Pfoundes, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Davson, Mr. and Mrs. William Westgarth, Mrs. Morton Green, Messrs. F. Taylor, J. S. Hill, John Rae, A. J. Malcolm, W. G. Macgregor, Campbell Robertson, R. B. Ronald, J. F. Hawtayne, R. Ryall, W. B. Ryall, W. R. Mewburn, C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), J. Finlayson, A. J. Adderley, C. E. Treherne, J. D. Treherne, H. J. Jourdain, P. E. Jourdain, R. W. Chinnery (Mauritius), F. Greene (Mauritius), T. W. Irvine, W. A. Whiteley, C. Maling (New Zealand), William Matterson, L. Bright, J. P. Ford, Colonel Laurie (Nova Scotia), Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Lowry, the Misses Lowry, Messrs. Thomas Hamilton, W. Miller, H. Isons, R. G. C. Hamilton, R. S. Miller, Myles Patterson, J. Sterling Donald, Michael Bugle (British Guiana), J. F. Kelsey (Mauritius), W. B. Isaacs, Louis Goldsmith (Panama), Philip Goldsmith (Panama), F. Dutton, T. M. Harrington, J. B. Colthurst, Colonel H. Wilkie, Messrs. F. A. Gwynne, E. A. Wallace, James Gilchrist, F. H. Dangar (New South Wales), R. A. MacFie, C. Dunckley (Melbourne), Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Deverell (Melbourne), Messrs. F. H. D. Phillips (River Plate), P. Badcock, Mrs. Richards, Miss Jeffery, Messrs. T. E. Smith, William Fuse, William Reid, E. S. Neave, Robert McFarland, E. Snell, J. Snell, Catterson Smith, Charles Beard, Mr. Francis Ormond and Mrs. Ormond (Melbourne), Mr. George Reid, Mr. and Miss Southgate (British Columbia), Mrs. McRae,

Messrs. J. S. Southlaw (Sydney), E. Chapman (Sydney), F. P. Labillière, J. C. Coode and Miss Coode, Miss Meade, Mr. J. F. Hoffnung, Colonel C. S. Gzowski (Toronto), Mrs. Gzowski, Mr. W. Downes Griffith, Mr. C. Wheeler (New South Wales), Mr. Claude H. Long, M.A., and Miss Long, Lieut.-Colonel T. Hunter Grant and Mrs. Grant (Canada), Mr. George Mitchie, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Matthews, Dr. and Mrs. Pugh (Victoria), Mrs. and Miss Brown, Messrs. A. F. A. Harvey (India), W. C. Cunningham Park, James Orr, M.D., James B. Dunlop, W. S. Wetherell, C. Thwaites (Bombay), S. A. Dingan (Bombay), J. Long (Calcutta), Luke Nomas, T. F. Snow, R. H. Fisher, William Gard, H. C. Beeton, W. Agnew Pope, John Wilson, Molyneux St. John (Canada), Colonel W. Crossman, R.E., C.M.G., Messrs. George Dibley (Cape Colony), A. H. Knight (Melbourne), E. P. S. Sturt (Melbourne), W. J. Smallman, J. A. Fairfax (New South Wales), Charles Brown (Cape Colony), John Payne (Cape Colony), J. W. P. Jauralde, A. Jauralde, W. E. Jauralde, Charles Bischoff, A. B. Abraham, Dr. P. Sinclair Laing, Messrs. W. T. M. Torrens, M.P., F. J. Partridge, Mrs. Rae, Miss Skeffington Thompson, Miss Young, Miss Ada Mary Young, Miss Palmer, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.).

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the Minutes of the Third Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows:—

Resident: Thomas Archer, Esq., Lionel R. C. Boyle, Esq., Charles Churchill, Esq., John Hughes, Esq., William Kaye, Esq., Hon. Charles N. Lawrence, Evan J. Price, Esq., Alexander Sim, Esq.

Non-Resident: Edgar Agostini, Esq. (Trinidad), Gustave Charpentiere, Esq. (British Guiana), J. N. Compton, Esq., R.N. (Sierra Leone), F. de la Mere, Esq. (Mauritius), Capt. H. M. Jackson, R.A. (Sierra Leone), George B. Parker, Esq. (New Zealand), Alfred Revington, Esq. (Sierra Leone), Francis W. Stockwell, Esq. (Canada), E. E. Wright, Esq. (British Guiana).

The following donations of books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last Ordinary General Meeting were also announced:—

From the Government of Canada:

Canadian Pacific Railway—Sir C. Tupper's Speech; Canadian Pacific Railway—Mr. Plumb's Speech; Parliamentary Papers, 1880-81; Parliamentary Debates, 1880-81.

From the Government of Natal:

Natal Almanac and Directory, 1881.

From the Government of New South Wales:

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The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Right Hon. Sir BARTLE E. FREERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to read the following Paper, entitled, "The Union of the Various Portions of British South Africa":—

THE UNION OF THE VARIOUS PORTIONS OF
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.

When I undertook some months ago to read a Paper on South Africa before the Fellows of this Institution, there was a prospect of an early cessation of the war fever which has desolated some of the fairest regions of that continent. In this hope, however, we have been disappointed, and there are obvious reasons why I should not attempt to discuss this evening the future of provinces where the first principles of regular civilised government are still in abeyance. It is impossible, therefore, at present to treat the subject of the union of all the Colonies of South Africa with anything like completeness. But there are some great principles which must at any time, and under any circumstances, be attended to in the future government of the country. To these I will venture now to direct your attention. I therefore propose in the following Paper to sketch briefly some of the conditions which appear to me essential to the future good government of our possessions in South Africa. As a necessary preliminary we must specify what those possessions are, and what are the present conditions of their government.

The whole of the region more or less under the influence of the British Government has been described as "temperate South Africa," and some particulars of its area and population will be found in a Paper I lately read before the Royal Geographical Society (*vide* "Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society for January, 1881"), but the actual British Possessions to which our attention is for the present directed occupy a more limited area.

We have in the first instance the old Cape Colony, which was founded more than 200 years ago, and which has been since in a course of gradual and steady growth to its present dimensions. The original constitution of the Colony was of a very autocratic stamp. The Governor, as the representative of the Dutch East India Company, had practically almost unlimited power; and it was exercised after the traditions of the great commercial companies of the seventeenth century. When the French Revolution broke out, the autocratic severity of the old Dutch Government gave a great impulse to revolutionary doctrines among the small population, which was then clustered in the neighbourhood of Table Mountain; and the first conquest of the Colony by the English in 1798 was hailed by numbers of the inhabitants as a relief from the oppressive rule of the Dutch East India Company. When the Colony

was given back to the Dutch after the peace of Amiens, in 1803, considerable reforms were effected by the Dutch Home Government, which had in the meantime itself been revolutionised. After the second and final cession of the Colony to the English, in 1806, much was done to reconcile the colonists to their new rulers. But it could hardly be said that anything had been effected to make the Cape a really British Colony, up to the advent of the settlers of 1820, which has always been regarded by the English colonists as the starting-point in their history. Some day I hope a good account will be given of the origin, the progress, and the results of this emigration movement of 1820. It was the result of the attempts made to relieve the pressure of population during the first years of the long peace which followed the European settlement of 1815. Among the emigrants of 1820 were representatives of the best blood of England and Scotland, such men as during the previous half-century had supplied both the officers and men of our Army and Navy. There were also large numbers of industrious well-instructed agriculturists, artisans, and representatives of all the strength of our middle classes. They met with unexpected hardships and privations, which were encountered in a becoming spirit, with a determination not to be beaten; and the result has been that the districts in which the emigrants of 1820 settled are at this moment not only peaceable, well protected, and well cultivated, but full of cherished traditions of family and individual progress. The settlers brought with them, among other feelings from the old country, that love of freedom and self-government which is inherent in the Northern nations of Europe, and it was not long before this spirit was found to be in antagonism to the despotic traditions of the then Cape Government. The history of the Colony from 1820 to the present time is one of continual contest between this spirit on the part of the governed, and the natural reluctance of the Home Government to part with any portion of its authority; but the contest has been, though sometimes acrimonious, upon the whole reasonably conducted, and leading to results which are likely to be of permanent benefit to the whole of South Africa as well as to the mother country.

We shall have occasion further on to trace the steps by which representative institutions were followed by the grant of responsible Government, and the present constitution of the Cape Colony finally established.

The history of Natal extends over a much shorter period. The first European settlers in Natal appeared to have aimed rather at

being European chiefs in a native community, than Colonists. Chaka, Cetywayo's uncle, granted leave to settle to English adventurers in 1823. After them came the Trek Boers, who entered Natal in 1835, and were the first to establish anything like a colony of Europeans, governed by laws and customs of European origin. After a brief and stormy existence, the Trek Boer republic made way for the present Colony of Natal.

The Orange Free State dates from 1854, when British sovereignty over the Trans-Gariep was withdrawn. The original constitution of the republic as then established has in no material aspect been altered up to the present time.

The Transvaal was recognised as an independent state in 1852. The Volksraad ceased to meet after the annexation to the British dominions in 1877; and it was not till 1880 that a legislative council was established under the Crown.

Let us now consider what are the elements of the population in these several states. Let us first take the European elements, because it is by them, and to suit their political ideas, that the lines of any constitution must in the main be moulded.

First, we have the old Dutch element, which will require but a very brief description from those who will imagine what our brethren of Friesland and Netherland descent would naturally become during two centuries of existence in a genial climate, and under conditions of comparative freedom from the trammels of European government and civilisation. In physical constitution, the great majority of the Boers in South Africa strongly resemble that portion of our own population on the eastern coasts of England which has most in common with their brethren across the North Sea. It must be remembered that Boer simply means farmer; "Boerhuis," is a "farmhouse," &c. There is much of the same physical character in the large form and somewhat phlegmatic temperament: the Teutonic complexion, varying from flaxen hair with blue eyes to dark brown hair and dark grey eyes, fair complexion, and fair skin. There is an occasional admixture of Celtic element apparent in a more swarthy complexion, and black eyes and hair; but these are the exception amongst South African Boers of pure Dutch origin. The Boer families are not only numerically large, but the climate seems to favour a development of stature, resembling that which has been noticed in America and Australia, but without the falling off in muscle and breadth of chest of which some of our Transatlantic cousins complain. The genuine South African Boer is generally a large-limbed, deep-chested, as well as very tall man, with

abundant hair, and, apparently, all his physical qualities strengthened and developed by the change of climate. In disposition, I know of no changes from the parent type, save those which would be naturally expected from altered conditions of life. The South African Boer loves to live far from his neighbours on a large farm, rivalling in extent most large estates in the old country, and surrounded as far as possible by his own family and their dependents. The conditions of life are essentially patriarchal. As the family increases beyond the limits which the original farm-house contained, the farmer loves to see his sons and sons-in-law settled near him, and as long as the old people live no one questions their supremacy. In the old Colony the Boer has a deep reverence for all established constitutional usages. He is essentially a Conservative, This character is due to many peculiar circumstances under which the Boer lives in South Africa. In the old western province, settled in the same farm-house that was built by his ancestors 200 years ago, the Boer has frequently developed into a very excellent representative of the English squire of Queen Anne's time, and the farm-houses may frequently be found to contain not only all the appliances of modern civilisation, but the refinements to be met with in the country-house of an educated English gentleman. On the other hand, far removed from the society of his equals, the frontier nomadic Boer may often become hard and tyrannical; and it is from the occasional misdeeds of such men that the Boer population has so frequently suffered in character, owing to acts of high-handed violence, which would find neither imitators nor defenders among the settled Boer population of the older districts.

Mixed up with the Boers of Dutch descent is a strong leaven of Huguenot and French origin. The leaven of French influence dates from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes up to the time when the first French Revolution drove many families—some Royalist, some Republican—to seek homes in foreign lands. The Huguenots generally in the first instances emigrated from France to the Netherlands, and were thence moved at their own charges, or that of the Government, to the infant Dutch Colony of the Cape. One emigration appears to have consisted of as many as 200 families at a time, and the descendants of the same families may still be found in the farms where they were first settled along the skirts of the great and the little Drakenstein, and at the Franschoek, where the dark complexions and spirited intelligent manner of the French farmer would frequently arrest the attention of even an unobservant traveller. The French were from the first debarred from all that was likely to induce them to remain as a separate

community. They were required to conform in matters of worship to the Dutch type of Calvinism, it was forbidden to preach to them or teach their children in French, or to keep up in any way their native language, and various subsidiary regulations were made to enforce their amalgamation with the surrounding Dutch population. I have heard touching stories of the mode in which the patriarch of a French Huguenot family, assembling his children, and exhorting them to be good subjects of the Dutch Government, which had befriended them in their extremity, committed to the flames all the books and papers which he had brought from France, in order to obliterate all that might lead his children to regret the new conditions under which they were placed. The influence of race is still to be seen as strongly among our fellow subjects in South Africa as among ourselves here, and just as the moral and intellectual Celtic elements may yet be traced in some of our leading families at home in literature, in politics, and the arts, so in South Africa the characteristic disposition of eminent public men may sometimes be accounted for by their French origin.

Tennyson's Northern Farmer is as nearly an accurate picture of some of the less educated Boers as of the old-fashioned tenant farmers of our own northern counties, and the picture of the good squire described by Addison or Richardson is nearly as much like some of my friends in the Western Colony as it would be like any of the inhabitants of a remote English county.

Of the other European elements of South African population I need not speak at any great length. In South Africa may be found almost every type of Englishman, with the exception of the extremes of the highest and lowest grades of society. There are, of course, few representatives of the old or rich English aristocracy, and quite as few of the lower classes of English society. As a rule the colonists belong to the best of the middle classes of England, and of those who in this country would live by the daily wages of their labour, whether manual or otherwise. English families which have been for four or five generations in the country are rare. The descendants of those who came out in 1820 and since that time, form the bulk of the English population in the midland and eastern provinces. In Kaffraria the majority of European families have arrived within the last twenty years.

So far, these remarks apply more especially to the old Cape Colony. The Diamond-fields population consists mainly of those who have settled there within the last twelve years. A few have come from the old Colony, men of English and Dutch descent; a great majority of the more recent arrivals are Englishmen, Germans,

Frenchmen, and Jews. The Orange Free State population consists of the descendants of families who, within the last fifty years, have migrated from the old Cape Colony, with a very large sprinkling of more recent arrivals, English and German. In Kaffraria proper and Basutoland some of the traders are sons of old colonists, others very late comers, and most of the missionaries are men who have come out from Europe. In Natal the population of European descent may be divided into three classes. First, there are representatives of the earliest settlers, shipwrecked sailors, adventurers, hunters, &c., who entered Natal before the first great Boer immigration. These men too commonly took up the habits and associations of the native tribes, among whom they found shelter, and are sometimes hardly distinguishable from chiefs of pure Kaffir origin, who have learnt English and have adopted English dress. Secondly, next to them come the descendants of the original Voortrekkers, who set up a republican Government after they had defeated Dingaan in 1838. The bulk of this class subsequently migrated to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal after the English Government was established in 1843; but many remained, and are still to be found, especially in those parts of the Colony nearest the Drakensburg. Thirdly, the English who have settled in Natal subsequently to the Colony being declared a part of the British Dominions. Few of these have any recollection of the country further back than 1843. They are mostly representatives of the English middle-classes who are employers of labour, with a very small sprinkling of those who are themselves skilled or unskilled day-labourers. At all the seaports there is a considerable population of English and Germans and other Europeans of the classes who would be naturally looked for in any seat of maritime and European commerce.

Such, then, are the European elements with which we have to deal.

As regards the native population, time only admits of my begging you to bear in mind that the natives of South Africa are by no means a homogeneous population. They belong to more than one entirely distinct family of mankind, and every great division of each South African race has its own peculiar characteristics, requiring exceptional modes of treatment.

Of the coloured races who are indigenous to the country there are two great divisions. First, those of the red or yellow-skinned races, Bushmen, Namaquas, and Hottentots, of which the half-caste races are generally known as Griquas. These appear to have been, as far as we can make out, inhabitants of South Africa (though

possibly not aboriginal inhabitants) for many ages before the first arrival of the great Bantu dark-brown or black races—Kaffirs, Zulus, Damaras, Bechuanas, &c.

In some respects these two families have very widely different characteristics, intellectual and moral, as well as physical. As regards physical development the yellow or tawny-skinned races have a very marked physiognomy, forehead fairly developed, very high-cheek bones, small and narrow chin, very flat nose, and eyes small, with a tendency to the Tartar type, and being sometimes set at an angle to each other. The hair is often in little knots of wool dotted over the skull. The genius of their language is entirely different from that of the Bantu races. In disposition they are reputed to be more suspicious, less truthful, and more apt to bear malice than the Kaffirs; but they have often an extraordinary aptitude both for music and drawing, and a sense of form and colour which is entirely wanting in the Bantu races. It is very rare to see a Hottentot or Bushman who has not a fondness for making and playing upon some sort of musical instrument. Even the most degraded and savage of the Bushmen race, who live on insects, reptiles, and carrion, and through long privation have been reduced almost to the level of the beasts of the field, have a power of delineating and colouring animals, human beings, and other forms with which they are familiar, with a facility and truth which would be wonderful even in a civilised population. The Kaffirs, on the contrary, can hardly ever be taught to draw straight lines, or to attempt any but the most rudimentary kinds of carving, and although by no means wanting in musical ear and love of harmony, they have none of the extraordinary natural aptitude for music which is possessed by the Hottentots and Bushmen.

In intellectual power the Kaffirs appear greatly superior to the tawny-skinned races. For subtlety in reasoning and quickness in perceiving analogies, few among the native races of India are superior to the Kaffirs. I should place them very nearly on an equality with the Bengalees, or Mahrattas, as regards acute reasoning power.

I would wish you to bear in mind the inference I should draw from the points of difference between these various races, which I could multiply if we had time, as showing the fundamental truth, of which we ought never to lose sight in dealing with such people, that all men are not born equal in South Africa any more than in other parts of the world, and that in governing them, whether as individuals or in masses, they all require special treatment adapted to their special peculiarities. There is one other inference which

is, I think, irresistibly borne in upon anybody who carefully studies the habits and characteristics of the South African races, that they are all, without exception, the degraded descendants of races who have once been in a state of higher civilisation. By "degraded," I mean simply men who have lost what their ancestors once possessed of higher culture and more complete civilisation, rather than men who have succeeded an ancestry ruder and less humanised. We find them, in fact, in South Africa, descending in the scale of humanity, and not ascending. This, however, is a matter of opinion, and I only state the result at which, in common with many close observers of these races, I have arrived.

But the more important practical question by far is, what are their present capabilities? What promise do they afford of rising to a higher position among the nations of the earth, as more civilised and more completely humanised than they are at present? In this respect also we shall draw different conclusions as we consider different races. All have very considerable capabilities of improvement. The Hottentots and the Namaquas, and other tawny races, are by no means deficient in capacity when once they apply their minds to any teaching which may be afforded them. But they have, as compared with the Bantu races, less intellectual energy, less desire to learn and to improve, and much less perseverance; though, when they apply their minds, they show at least average capacity for receiving instruction. Their tendency to self-indulgence, to suspicion, and their want of truthfulness and perseverance, are very commonly complained of by their teachers, and they have, apparently, far less natural capacity than the Bantu races for self-control and discipline.

On the other hand, all the Bantu races appear to have a facility in making use of any means of learning which may be afforded them. They are, like all uncivilised people, naturally extremely idle, and disinclined to continuous mental exertion; but when once the desire to learn has taken hold of them they are quick and intelligent scholars, and very rapidly acquire everything which tends to make a difference between civilised and uncivilised man. They have considerable capacity for continuous and sustained bodily labour, and when an adequate motive is afforded them there is no limit to the industry with which they toil, and the perseverance with which they will continue to work until their object is accomplished. To earn the means of acquiring more cattle, more wives, or more guns, almost any of the Bantu races will labour for weeks and months in a way that would not discredit an European navy. It is greatly to their advantage in this respect that it is next to

impossible to treat them as slaves. I was assured, some years ago, by persons who had great experience of everything that related to the slave trade on the Eastern Coast, that although there were no men who could be compared to the Kaffir races for physical endurance and power of work, that they never made what, "in the trade," would be called "satisfactory slaves." They were said to be either extremely unmanageable, or, what was more frequently the case, they were apt to pine to death in slavery, unless they were captured extremely young. Hence men of purer negro extraction, and far inferior in physique, were generally preferred in the slave market to those who had obvious traces of Kaffir origin.

It may at first seem difficult to reconcile this peculiarity with the abject submission of the Kaffirs to the despotism of their chiefs, but the explanation will be found in the inherent difference between the treatment of the European slave-master and his Asiatic or African representative, or the conquering African chief. Both chief and slave-hunter find a common difficulty in dealing with adult male Kaffir captives. When an Arab slave-hunter gets possession of the population of a village, he either shoots or puts to flight most of the grown-up males. But the Kaffir conquering chief under similar circumstances, after distributing the women and children among his own warriors, incorporates the adult males who escape massacre into his own army, and the young male captives become a part of his own tribe. Their servitude may be severe, but there is the possibility of being one day a chief: like the French drummer-boy, who may feel he has the Marshal's baton in his knapsack.

The Kaffirs and other Bantu races are generally good as voluntary servants as long as they remain with their master, and they are often willing to remain for years together as servants to a good master. They can be industrious, intelligent, faithful, and obedient when some over-mastering passion does not take possession of them: such, for instance, as the desire to visit their own people, or to join in a war of races. As servants, one great drawback arises from their habit of taking service for a definite object, to earn money to obtain a particular purchase. Up to the moment when their object is gained they will be faithful, obedient, and industrious, but immediately their purpose is attained they wish to leave.

Much of the friction between European masters and native servants arises from disregard of this peculiarity, and from the European not tolerating a habit common to Kaffirs, as well as to other native servants, of considering a complete holiday as one of

their rights. Employers who understand Kaffirs in this respect have comparatively little difficulty with them; the servant who wishes to leave provides a substitute, it may be for a month or for a year, but the original servant always returns punctually to his agreement, and resumes work at the end of the stipulated holiday.

I have already spoken of the intellectual qualities of the Bantu race, and I have no reason to believe that they are inferior in moral fibre to other races, always remembering that they are men of a sensuous temperament, brought up among everything that develops the animal as opposed to the moral capacities of mankind, that what we should call a pure moral atmosphere is unknown to them until they come within the influence of Christian teachers, and that it is not fair to compare them even with the least favoured of our own population with regard to moral advancement.

The great bane of all classes of natives in South Africa is intoxicating liquor, which few can resist, and which, more or less, speedily ruins all, but especially those of Hottentot race.

Such, briefly, are the kind of people we have to deal with. Let us consider what is our duty towards them either as neighbours, or as the power set over them to rule them.

This question will be answered from different points of view in very different forms. Probably, if we could get at the real sentiments of an unsophisticated native as to what he would consider it our duty, or, at any rate, what he would wish us to do, the answer would be to leave them entirely alone, to go on as they have been going on for the past five thousand years. It is a great, but, I am afraid, a very common mistake among our own people, to fancy that even an educated Kaffir considers our form of life as in itself superior to his own. Some, no doubt, there are who, after considerable experience and teaching among Europeans, would on the whole prefer the life of a civilised European with its subordination to law and morality, as superior to their own life in a Kaffir kraal. But this is certainly not the opinion of the great mass of those who have had some opportunity of contrasting the two modes of life. The Kaffir has intense enjoyment of physical life, free from all restraints of dress or necessity for labour. To bask in the sun, to have a sufficiency of good food, to have very little labour, with the occasional excitement of hunting or of war—this is the real elysium of Kaffir imagination, far preferable in his eyes to the restraints of European civilisation, even with all the advantages, intellectual, social, and political, which may accompany it.

I have heard of many instances of men who have been for years

apparently thoroughly Europeanised, and have visited London and Paris, who, nevertheless, on their return to their own country immediately resumed, with an apparent sense of relief, their blankets and daubing of red clay, and all the habits of uncivilised life in a Kaffir kraal, which shows that something more than a few years of training among Europeans is needed to turn the uncivilised Kaffir into the civilised native of Africa.

It is hardly necessary to point out that such a life leads to nothing beyond what the race has enjoyed for many centuries past. They may, under a good chief, secure the best tracts of country, and the best climate, abundance of cattle, and plenty of game ; but they can never rise above the condition of either pursuing or being pursued by their fellow-man. Every Kaffir, even under the best and most powerful chiefs, lives without security for what he may at present enjoy without any certainty of its being enjoyed by his children. And what we should call improvement of any kind saps the foundation of much of his enjoyment. Peace itself, by putting an end to massacres, leads to over-population. Uncivilised Kaffir life is, in fact, a purely animal and material existence, and depends for its happiness and continuance on the absence of any superior hostile power.

But there is a European view of what should be our duty by these native races, and that is the view, as far as I can understand it, of many people in this country, and of an influential school in South Africa, that we should never meddle with the natives in any way, which would be distasteful to the natives themselves. This view of our duty is an essentially negative one. It does not prescribe what we should do, but what we should abstain from doing. And therefore it is not easy for it to lay down a code of procedure to be followed either by governments or individuals.

We, Europeans, are in South Africa ; and there is no possibility, as far as we can see, that Europeans should be entirely expelled from that country. We *must* come in contact with the natives, and being, as all European races are, men of a more or less energetic, pushing, encroaching temperament, we cannot avoid coming in collision with them, when it becomes a question who shall govern and who shall obey as subjects. I have never been able to find in the writings of the school of which I am speaking, any programme of either action or inaction which would be generally applicable to our relations with the native tribes when we once come in close juxtaposition with them. The advocates of this negative school would probably not object to our teaching the natives such things as they would voluntarily learn. But, if we

teach them nothing else, if we are to be entirely passive in all our relations with them, it is difficult to see how they can improve, or how their existence in the same region with men of European race can be arranged.

There are other European views of our duties which are taken by the missionaries of various denominations, who have been labouring among these races; and here it is necessary to explain that the systems on which the missionaries deal with the natives in South Africa, and on which they proceed in teaching them, are far from uniform.

When first missionaries were established in the country it seems to have been accepted that their best mode of working was to establish a native reserve—a tract of country in which, with the exception of the missionaries and those employed by them, no Europeans were to live, and where everything was to be subordinate to the maintenance and improvement of the native inhabitants under missionary rule.

This system has, practically, not been very successful, except when worked by men of great simplicity of character, content to raise their native pupils to a moderate state of civilisation, and to allow them to rest there. It has been continued at several of the Moravian stations with some success. But as a general rule, the system of native reserves has not, I think, been found to be the best. The more active and intelligent and improvable natives speedily leave the reserves to find a field for labour where they may be less fettered by the rules and regulations which are necessary to the maintenance of the reserve. The less energetic and less improvable remain, and the result is, that the reserve is apt to obtain a reputation for being the resort mainly of the idle and the inefficient. There are considerable exceptions, but I speak of the general result.

Of other missions where the system of a native reserve is less rigidly maintained, there is an infinite variety. Some are missions which aim simply at training the natives to habits of orderly conduct, constant attendance on the ordinances of religion, a small amount of book learning, and a moderate amount of industry. Others are institutions like Lovedale, where an establishment has been created for training the natives in every branch of knowledge and in many kinds of industrial occupations. There can be no doubt that there is ample room for institutions of the Lovedale character, affording a higher education, and such training as would fit the pupils for liberal professions or the ministry of the Church. But this, of course, cannot be the ordinary style of mission teaching

which must aim at the universal conversion of the whole population, and their general instruction in the industrial arts of civilised life.

As a whole, I should say that I have rarely seen or heard of a missionary institution in South Africa which did not by its measure of success justify the means employed to carry it on. There is a great difference of more or less success, but the worst-managed and least efficient missionary institutions I have seen, appeared to me far superior as agencies for civilising and raising the natives to anything which could be devised by the unassisted secular power of the Government.

There is, however, one defect in many missionary institutions beyond the colonial boundary, which it is not easy to supply—I allude to the absence of any provision for the secular rule of the natives. The missionary and his teaching, whether he wills it or not, is inevitably subversive of the power of the chief. I am not speaking now of the missionary as an agent of the British or any other Government, but simply of the effect his teaching has on a purely native population under the rule of a native chief. It was no mistaken instinct which told Cetywayo that “a Zulu converted” was, from his point of view, “a Zulu spoilt.” Whatever effect the missionaries may produce by their teaching, it is inevitably an effect which saps the power of the native chief, which teaches the scholar responsibilities and duties other than those he owes to his chief, and sometimes conflicting with them. Add to this, that whenever a competent, energetic, and faithful missionary makes his appearance in a native tribe, he is sure to draw to himself the best intelligences, the best intellectual and moral powers among the people. Courtiers and sycophants will never be wanting to follow the chief and encourage him in his preference for barbarous ways, connected as he sees them to be with the support of his own power. But the feelings of all the most hopeful young members of the tribe will always be enlisted in favour of the foreigner, who reveals to them new sources of power and new fields of speculation. Sooner or later these antagonisms become apparent to the chief; and, when it is so, he naturally sets himself against the spread of the rule of the new doctrine. It is, however, a vain contest, a strife which can only end in one result: surely, though it may be after many reverses, the new doctrines make their way and the old habits go to the wall.

This is of comparatively little moment; it is in fact an unmixed good, as long as there is another, secular power ready to take the place of the chief. If, for instance, in one of our own Colonies,

or in the Orange Free State, the power of the chief departs from his hands, there is the magistrate ready to take his place, and to substitute the new rule for the old one, and the revolution is a moral and social one, and not a political one. But it is otherwise outside the limits of any settled government. There the missionary, after a generation or two of teaching, finds that the old political *régime* has broken down, without there being any fresh form of government to take its place. A good missionary may for many years do much to supply the defect by advising and leading the native chiefs; but sooner or later this resource fails, because it depends on the life of an individual, and if the neighbouring civilised Government is impressed with the idea that it may limit its responsibilities by declining to intervene, or to take up the task of government, anarchy must sooner or later ensue. We have never yet seen the anarchy obviated by the establishment of a civilised native power. Such a result may doubtless be possible, I can only say it has not yet occurred, and the reason is not far to seek.

When the power of the native chief crumbles away, and when the missionary and the British Government alike refuse to take its place, there are other foreign agencies which for the time assume a part of the powers which the chief has dropped, or direct what may remain in his hands. Sometimes the person who effects this is a European—a man who from love of adventure, or from having made the Colony too hot to hold him, betakes himself to the chief of the kraal, and there speedily acquires a kind of influence which his training as a civilised man has given him. If he is a man of generous and noble instincts, he may become not only a powerful agent in ruling through the chief, but he may be a great blessing to the people; yet he inevitably, however insensibly, saps the power of the chief. Even if he is, as is too often the case, a man of vicious and depraved habits, he is still a potent factor in breaking down the chief's authority. He encourages him in his debaucheries, he gives him bad advice in his dealings with others, while he retains much of the vigour which the discipline of civilised life has given him—much of the knowledge of good and evil which has not been quite destroyed even during the longest course of vicious self-indulgence. This is too often the case in the small states to which we have refused to extend the authority of the British Government, under the vain hope of limiting our own responsibilities. However much we may shut our eyes or turn our backs on what is going on, the result is always the same.

The chief's power dissolves, another power takes its place; and sooner or later some disturbance occurs which renders necessary the intervention of the neighbouring civilised Government. Recollect, I am not now speaking of what is desirable; I am only telling you what is inevitable; and if you will study the history of the growth of every Colony in South Africa, and of every tribe which is now to be found in a nominal state of independence within three or four hundred miles of our frontier, you will find that the picture I have drawn is strictly and invariably true.

The significance of what I have stated will be apparent when I remind you that there are in temperate South Africa, beyond the British boundary, not fewer than 84 fixed stations of missions, manned by more than 400 European teachers of various classes, whose daily work has the inevitable effect I have described. There are probably in the same extra-colonial regions at least double that number of fixed traders' stations, and of traders of European origin.

Let us now turn to what may be called the colonial view of our duty to the native tribes. There is of course the old colonial view, of which some traces may still be found, and which would not have appeared so strange to our grandfathers in the days of Wilberforce as it does now to us—that held by men whose view is that in some way or another the native races were created to be slaves or servants to the white people. There are, as you are aware, various modifications of this view, from that which obtains in Java and other Dutch Colonies at the present day, down to the somewhat indefinite notion which men of white extraction are apt to indulge in, that “it is a mistake to elevate the natives above the position of serfs of the soil.”

But this view is very generally superseded in the Cape Colony, at all events among all the more educated colonists, by what I would call the modern colonial view of our duties to the native races. I am now describing to you the views which I think you will find advocated by the great majority of the Legislature in the Cape Parliament, and generally by the Press throughout the Colony, with more or less variations of weakness or severity according to the peculiar temperament of the speaker or writer. I think most intelligent and well-intentioned colonists would agree that our first duty to the subject native races is to rule them justly; to give them the advantage which we ourselves have possessed for ages in a settled and regular form of government, to protect person and property, enforce the law, and make provision for modifying the law according to the wants of the population. This duty, which is still, I

think, with some remarkable and important exceptions, recognised by the great majority of our fellow-countrymen as the first duty of government, would be followed, in the estimation of intelligent colonists, by systematic arrangements for teaching and civilising all classes of natives, and enabling them to take their part in the commonwealth as industrious, law-abiding citizens.

These are the general outlines, I can safely say, of the native policy which the Cape Colony is now carrying out. We hear much of native disarmament, and some considerable difference of opinion as to whether the measures for disarmament were well timed or well judged. But I think we have lately heard little of objection to disarmament in the abstract, or to the prohibition of the unauthorised carriage of arms *ad libitum* in public, such as we used to hear a few months ago. Experience in our own country has taught us what we were slow to learn from the example of other lands, or to believe of them that it is not possible to uphold the supremacy of law among a population, every one of whom is at absolute liberty to set law at defiance by armed resistance.

Let us now glance for a moment at the agencies at work for improving and elevating the native races in our South African Colonies. There is, I fear, very great and general ignorance among us here in England, respecting the actual political and social status of natives in the Cape Colony. There are many who are quite aware of the excellent work which is being done at particular missionary stations. Everybody can read in any missionary report of the large numbers of natives who are at school, of the numbers from time to time admitted into the Churches of various denominations, of the number of scholars who learn different profitable industries, and of some who having gone through a course of education are enabled to attend the University classes in Europe. But I doubt whether, with the exception of those who have visited South Africa, there is any adequate idea of the enormous facilities which are afforded the natives at present in every part of the old Cape Colony to obtain education and to earn wages which, compared with the earnings of European labour, are most liberal, enabling the labourer after a few months, or even in many cases weeks of toil, to pay his passage home, and carry a large sum of money to his native place. And even in the Cape Colony itself, I found very few who were aware of the great extent to which natives have acquired land of their own, and are now established as substantial landowners and farmers, making more than a living out of the land they occupy. That the natives everywhere throughout the Cape Colony possess the electoral and every muni-

cial franchise, is, I find, a new truth to most of those who, in this country, are interested in the advancement of the natives. That any man possessing landed property to the annual value of £25, or earning regular wages to the amount of £50 per annum and upwards, can claim, and does exercise, the right of voting for his representative in the Legislature, is a truth known possibly to many, but very imperfectly realised by our philanthropists in England; and still less are they aware that in many constituencies, notably those of the capital of Cape Town, the native vote is really all-powerful, if united, to carry any election, municipal or parliamentary. When it is considered that the native already possesses and exercises at will these social and political privileges, it is really difficult to see what more could be done by Government to politically raise them, or to enable them to attain any position in the government of the country to which their personal qualities may entitle them.

We must now glance very briefly at the history of the present Constitution of the Cape Colony. It may be well to remind you that sixty years ago, previous to the arrival of the British settlers in the Eastern Province in 1820, the total population of the whole Colony was estimated at only 110,000 souls, of whom 48,000 were of European origin, 29,000 were Hottentots, and 23,000 were slaves or apprentices. There was little commerce, the Colonial imports in 1821 amounting in value to only £154,000, while the exports, including £82,000 worth of wine, were under £151,000. The public revenue of the same year amounted to £109,000, and the expenditure for civil purposes to £93,000. "The currency was a depreciated paper issue with a rate of exchange seriously against the Colony." Out of Cape Town there were but three churches, and the education of the colonists, as well as the civilisation of the heathen, was neglected. The *Gazette* and an advertising sheet were the only newspapers published, "and the Government possessed in it no element of a representative character." In 1820, 4,000 English emigrants were sent out by British Government, £50,000 being voted by Parliament for the purpose of assisting them; and 90,000 applications for emigrants seeking assistance were registered. Money deposits were required from all the emigrants finally selected, and twenty-three vessels were chartered to convey them to the Colony. I give you these few particulars to show how large, in comparison with the then size of the Colony, was the measure of emigration undertaken by Government, which has had so great an effect on the growth and prosperity of South Africa. The first arrivals anchored in Algoa Bay on the 9th April, 1820. They were settled on a belt of land comprising an

area of about 3,000 square miles between the Sunday's River and the Great Fish River, and southward from Graham's Town to the sea. Notwithstanding some well-considered and well-meant efforts by the Cape Government to assist the emigrants and provide for their first wants, they suffered greatly, during the first years of their settlement, from drought and privations of various kinds; and so difficult was at that time the communication between England and South Africa that we read of men clad in sheepskin jackets and trousers, and women wearing well-dressed sheepskins for skirts, the supply of clothing material received from England being entirely exhausted. Much of this privation was attributed by the colonists to the mismanagement of Government officials, and a commission of inquiry was appointed by the Home Government, who in 1824, and subsequent years, made reports leading to extensive alterations in the government of the Colony. An executive council of seven members was appointed to advise with the Governor of the Cape. A free press was promised, and this step was naturally looked upon by the colonists as a turning-point in their history. In 1824 Mr. John Fairbairn and Mr. Thomas Pringle, the poet, had published in Capetown the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, but after a few months the publication was suspended by order of the Government, and it was not till after the report of the Commissioners of Inquiry was issued, in September, 1826, that the publication was resumed. Among the results of this commission were the establishment of a Supreme Court under a Royal Charter of Justice; the substitution of civil commissioners, resident magistrates, and justices of the peace for the Boards of Landdrost and Heernraden; the Government monopoly for the retail sale of wines and spirits, called the "Pacht," farmed out to the highest bidder, was discontinued; the office of "Vendor Master," or Government Auctioneer, who enjoyed the sole privilege of selling all property by auction, was abolished; and the Burgher Senate ceased to exist.

But though these were considerable improvements, they did not satisfy the desires of the colonists for free representative institutions; and it was not until 1853, after considerable agitation and persistent memorials to the Home Government, that a Legislative Assembly was established at Cape Town.*

Meantime, in 1835, occurrences took place which have materially altered the fortunes of South Africa. From the early days of British sovereignty, and indeed before that time, the frontier

* See Wilmot's History of the Cape Colony.

colonists had been constantly in collision with the Kaffir tribes, which had for some generations before been gradually moving southward and westward from the regions of the interior. The results had been pretty uniform. At first surprise of the outlying homesteads of the white settlers, plunder, and massacre; then a fierce and often prolonged struggle with varying success; and finally a peace of exhaustion, of which an invariable result was an extension of colonial boundary, in the vain hope of interposing a strip of neutral territory between the colonists and the Kaffirs. It should be borne in mind that as the Government of the Colony was at the time practically a military autocracy, it was the inevitable tendency of colonial opinion to attribute to the Government the blame alike of the absence of measures of precaution which might prevent war, and of any fault which might be found with the conduct of the war, or with the terms of peace. There was at the same time a considerable party which took up the cause of the native tribes, as a ground for finding fault with the Government, and, in alliance with the anti-slavery party in England, had powerful influence with the Home Government. Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, reviewing in 1835 the management of the last Kaffir war by the Cape Government, expressed an opinion that "the Kaffirs had ample justification for their attacks on the colonists," and directed the restoration to the Kaffirs of large tracts of country which had been annexed to the Colony. This decision caused extreme dissatisfaction throughout the Colony, partly because the colonists generally believed it to be unjust; partly because it was obvious that the mere act of retirement from the conquered territory could not prevent a recurrence of wars, and all their attendant evils, without some better provision for controlling the native tribes than had been up to that time attempted. It had already become apparent to the colonists that the contest was essentially one between the Kaffir system and the European system of life and government—in other words, between barbarism and civilisation of the modern European type: and that the two could not co-exist in close juxtaposition unless it were first settled which was to be the dominant principle, which race was to rule. It is an old proverb that "when two sit on a horse one must ride first; only one can manage the reins." Unless it were settled which was to ride first, it was but a hollow peace to revert to the *status quo ante bellum*.

Lord Glenelg's despatch, in conjunction with the abolition of slavery, induced many of the frontier farmers to come to the conclusion that the Colony was no longer a place for them to live in.

Piet Retief, a leading farmer in the Winterberg, and Field Coronet of his district, was threatened with dismissal for forwarding a memorial couched in what the Government considered objectionable terms. He replied that if protection were not given to the farmers against the native tribes they would leave the country, and it was calculated that no less than 6,000 people followed him when he started for what was then considered the Desert beyond the Orange River. The Voor Trekkers published a manifesto stating as the causes of their migration, "The unrestrained vagrancy [of natives], the pecuniary losses entailed by slave emancipation, wholesale plunder of the farmers by Kaffirs and Hottentots, and the unjustifiable odium cast upon the inhabitants by interested persons, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in their favour." From this migration may be dated the origin of the Orange Free State and the Trans African or Trans Vaal Republic. The final abolition of slavery at the Cape dates from the 1st December, 1838, in accordance with the terms of a proclamation published in 1834, from which period the slaves were indentured for four years. The 35,745 slaves then in the Colony were valued at three millions of money, but only £1,200,000 was granted as indemnity to the owners, and the payment of the indemnity was so badly managed that claims on Government were often sold at a discount of from 25 to 30 per cent. We must note that at first the Voor Trekkers were treated as British subjects, who had, by their unlicensed emigration, transgressed against the old Dutch laws of the Colony, and it was not till after they had set up the republic of Natalia in what is now Natal, been defeated in their contest with British troops, and had for the most part trekked on to the Trans Vaal, that their right to emigrate and to set up a republic of their own was finally recognised by the Sand River Convention in 1852. For many years after the abolition of slavery and the great "trek" of the Boers, the history of the Cape Colony continued to be a series of Kaffir wars, commencing, as before, generally with some serious disaster, followed by expensive successes, and ultimately ending in an increase of the British territory. In 1848 an attempt was made to transport convicts to the Cape Colony, but was defeated by the steady passive opposition of the inhabitants, who refused to have any dealings with, or furnish supplies to, anyone connected with the Government until the convicts were withdrawn, and an assurance given that the attempt to introduce convicts should not be repeated.

In 1853 the first steps were taken to establish representative

institutions in the Cape Colony. On the 21st April in that year Orders in Council were received, approving the ordinances passed in the Colony for constituting a Parliament for the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Every British-born or naturalised subject of Her Majesty, above twenty years of age, who has occupied landed property for twelve months, at a yearly value of £25, or who receives salary or wages at the rate of not less than £30 per annum, or with board and lodgings at the rate of not less than £25 per annum, has a right to be registered as a voter. There are two Houses of Parliament—the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. For the Council a property-qualification is necessary. The Chief Justice is President. No property-qualification is needed for a seat in the House of Assembly. The members are elected by districts, those of the Council being chosen by the people of certain prescribed territorial circles, or divisions. Parliament must meet at least once in every year, and endures for five years; the Governor having the power of dissolving it at any time. No Bill reserved for Her Majesty's consent is of force until the Governor has signified the Queen's approval of it. The Speaker of the Lower House is elected by each Parliament, and the procedure is generally conducted on the lines laid down by Parliamentary usage in the United Kingdom.

In 1854 the British Sovereignty was withdrawn from the country north of the Orange River, which had been annexed five years before to the old Colony, after a contest with the Vortrekkers, who had occupied it. The territory thus dissevered from British Possessions in South Africa was formed into the Orange Free State—a republic, ruled by a President and Volksraad, or Parliament.

Divisional Councils, for the administration of local affairs in each division, were constituted in the Cape Colony in 1855, and they have since developed a considerable amount of local self-government.

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 led to a large influx of men of European descent into Griqualand West, which, after a period of anarchy and a brief rule by the Orange Free State, was constituted into a separate Crown Colony, under the general control of the Governor of the Cape, and has since been annexed to, and now forms an integral portion of, the Cape Colony.

Responsible government was established in the Cape in 1872, and since then no constitutional modifications have taken place save at the instance of the Cape Parliament.

The question here naturally arises, how does the present constitution suit the peculiar circumstances of the Cape Colony?

I can only speak from personal observation of the working of the constitution during three or four years, and it has as yet been in operation for eight or nine years only. It may appear therefore somewhat premature to speak dogmatically on the subject; but I think anyone who has seen as much of the working of the Colonial government as I have during my term of office would agree with me that, like most constitutions which have gradually grown, it is on the whole well suited to the present wants of the people. It is as free and as completely representative as any constitution which could be devised. It recognises no distinction of race or creed in the qualifications required for political or municipal franchise, and it contains within itself the necessary machinery for well-considered amendment or improvement. I have personally known almost every member of both Houses during two successive Parliaments, and I can safely say that it would be difficult to find in Europe a body of gentlemen better qualified by their intelligence and public spirit to manage their own share of the affairs of the vast region for which they legislate. There was when I first went to the Cape a considerable body of colonists who sincerely doubted whether it was possible to find, among those returned to the legislature, the requisite number of men qualified and at liberty to undertake the duties of responsible ministers. The results of two successive administrations have, however, proved that there is little foundation for this apprehension, and I think I saw during my residence at the Cape a very sensible diminution in the number of colonists who doubted whether responsible Government in the form now known at the Cape would be a success. I do not feel called upon to offer any suggestions as likely to improve the present Colonial constitution; and if I might advise, I would strongly recommend that the Colony should adhere to the sound rule which appears to have been laid down from the beginning of the Constitutional Government, that no attempts should be made to rectify theoretical defects or grievances until they have been proved in practice to have some substantial existence.

I will now say a few words regarding the constitutional history of Natal. It is, as compared with the Cape, a very young Colony, the first European Government having been established there by the "Trek" Boers, who arrived in Natal in 1836. After an ineffectual contest with the British Government, Natal was proclaimed a British Colony in 1843, and annexed to the Cape of Good Hope in 1844. But it was very soon formed into a separate Government from the Cape, under a Lieutenant-Governor and a nominee Executive Council. For a few years the native affairs of Natal continued

subject to the general control of the Governor of the Cape, but this ceased in 1856, and with the exception of a short period while I was in South Africa, no such general control has since been exercised. The Legislative Council of twelve elected members and four official nominees was established in 1856. In 1875 Sir Garnet Wolseley administered the Government for a few months, and introduced a modification in the constitution of the Legislative Council, by which the Government nominee members were increased to the number of thirteen in a House of twenty-eight members.

This alteration was not, however, found to work satisfactorily, and at the end of the five years for which it was provisionally enacted, the Council was, in September last, allowed to revert to its original constitution of five official and fifteen elective members. There is, however, a very strong and prevalent feeling among the colonists in favour of the demand for representative self-governing institutions similar to those enjoyed by the Cape Colony. This claim has been hitherto resisted on a variety of grounds; and as the question is one of the most important which must come up for decision as soon as peace is restored, it may be well to say a few words here on the subject. It is quite unnecessary to dwell on the advantages of a constitution like that of the Cape. No one who has had opportunities for comparing the working of the Government at the Cape with that of Natal can doubt the decided superiority of the former, as far as relates to local progress and the development of all those energies on which the welfare of the Colony must depend. Every kind of public business it seemed to me was better discussed and considered, and settled more in accordance with the wishes and interests of those concerned in the Cape, than in Natal; and, in fact, the objections to the grant of responsible Government to Natal are grounded mainly on two considerations, neither of which would be recognised as of much weight by the great majority of the colonists.

It is said, in the first place, that Natal is too small to furnish a sufficient supply of men to manage public affairs, and that it is a necessity to import from without public servants competent to undertake the administration of affairs. I must say I failed to discover any substantial ground for this opinion. It seemed to me that the settlers in Natal, agricultural as well as commercial and industrial, were fully up to the mark of the best parts of the Cape Colony; and that they were as least as well qualified, by origin, by education, and disposition, for managing their own affairs as the electors and representatives in the Cape Colony.

Here I may note that we have imported into South Africa, and

probably into other British Colonies also, a difficulty in the working of representative institutions, which in our own country is entirely of artificial growth, and which has no necessary connection with representative institutions of the freest character. We have got, by the usage of some generations, confirmed, in this country, in the belief that responsible or representative Government cannot be perfectly carried out except by the operation of two nearly balanced parties in the Legislature. But I think a very little consideration of the question apart from habit and prejudice, would show any impartial observer that party Government is by no means essential to the success of representative institutions. It so happens in this country that, owing to the large numerical strength of the Legislature, our abundant wealth of ability and capacity for affairs and of public spirit, we have always the means of filling up with tolerable efficiency the ranks of two opposite parties in Parliament. But even here in England, where there are so many men able and willing to devote their energies to the public service rather from a lofty ambition to serve their country than for the emoluments of office, we nevertheless find in almost every administration that some difficulty has been experienced in filling important offices in the Cabinet, and still more in those subordinate posts the incumbents of which go in and out of office with the Ministry; and at best the frequent change in the head of the office is in itself an unmixed evil.

To these inconveniences we might the more readily submit if they were in any way essential to the control of Parliament over the whole administration. But this is far from being the case. The only perceptible effect of the constant change in the head of the office is uncertainty in policy and constant vacillation in important branches of administration. Nor can it be said that this party element in administration is in the least necessary to effective parliamentary control. There are other countries with representative institutions which they would certainly not change for ours, where the administration, though subject to the general control of Parliament, is conducted by men who are not parliamentary politicians who do not depend on parliamentary election for their qualification for office, and who do not go in and out of office with the parliamentary ministry. The control of the purse-strings is the real test of authority, and a minister who, although removable at the will of Parliament, holds his office without reference to fluctuations of party, must, in many respects, be a more efficient minister than one who goes in and out of office with his political party.

Hence it seems to me that responsible government in a Colony like Natal would be quite as complete as that of the Cape, if provision were made for heads of departments holding office during good behaviour, able to speak, but not to vote in the Legislature, and only removable by the Executive Government for good cause to be assigned to the satisfaction of Parliament, or on address from the Legislature. Such a system might be combined with a provision for one or more Ministers who should be chosen from the members in the House of Representatives, and be able to command a majority of the Assembly. I feel certain that even in a Colony much inferior in importance and in the character of its population to that of Natal, there would never be any difficulty in finding a leader of the House who would be competent to discharge efficiently the office of Premier of the Colony.

The question of responsible government is a vital one as connected with any union of the South African Colonies. I do not think it likely that a country in the position of the Orange Free State would ever voluntarily confederate with a Crown Colony unless with the assurance that responsible government would be substituted for the autocracy of the governor. I am very certain that in the existing state of public feeling in the Cape that that Colony would never voluntarily assent to a union with an autocratically governed Crown Colony, or with a Colony in which the representative institutions were not practically equivalent to those of the Cape. Whether, therefore, we look to the present efficiency of local colonial government, or to any prospects of future union between two or more Colonies, I regard the grant of responsible institutions to Natal as the key of the whole position.

But it may be said that any consideration of any question of union at the present moment is premature. I cannot think so, for I believe that the past four years have brought home to observant colonists the conviction that in the union of the South African Colonies as regards all questions affecting more than one Colony, is to be found the only security for Colonial progress, and for the same measure of independence which is enjoyed by other self-governed portions of the Empire. There may be much prejudice still to be removed and many practical difficulties to be overcome. But I believe the conviction must daily grow in strength throughout both Colonies that without the union of the various provinces, such as I have above referred to, rapid Colonial progress is out of the question.

There are, however, two difficulties which ought to be noticed :

one is the question of Colonial defence. But I think the example of the Cape Colony during the Basuto War has conclusively shown that the colonists are fully able, when left to themselves, unhampered by restrictions from distant commanders, to deal with any enemy which may arise in South Africa. And I further venture to think that in the yet greater question of how these outlying possessions are to be defended against an European enemy, that the true solution of our national difficulties will be found in giving every facility to the colonists to develop their defensive forces. It is not to be expected that, for generations to come, any Colony should be able, single-handed, to resist invasion by one of the great European powers. But I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that if the question of Colonial defence against external aggression were taken up here as a matter of national necessity, and in the same spirit in which we should regard the defence of the Channel Islands or of the Isle of Man, the colonists would be found not only able to contribute their fair share to their own defence, but quite as able as any part of the national possessions to contribute their quota to the defence of the nation in any struggle for national existence against a rival great military power. Canada has already shown as far back as the days of the Crimean War that this is no visionary expectation; India has done so more lately; and looking to the position of South Africa and its possibilities of sustaining within a brief period a very large European population, I cannot but think that in case of a great European or Asiatic war, the power of South Africa to contribute its quota to the defence of the national possessions would be found in proportion even greater than that of Canada, which must always to some extent be influenced by the possibility of a misunderstanding with our brethren of the United States.

The other difficulty which has been urged to that more complete self-government to which union in South Africa is essential is connected with the native question. There is still inherent in the English mind a belief that the South African Colonies cannot be trusted with the exclusive management of their native affairs, subject to no greater control from the Home Government than is afforded by the power of veto to any legislative enactment which is possessed by the Crown.

I have stated to very little purpose my opinions regarding the present position of the native population in the Cape Colony, if it is necessary for me here to repeat my conviction that our countrymen in South Africa are not only quite capable of dealing with all native questions as wisely and firmly as we ourselves are in

England, but that the best interests of the natives are quite as safe in the hands of the Colonial Government constituted as that of the Cape is, as they would be if reserved for the exclusive management of the Home Government. It may be difficult to impress this conviction upon those who for more than three generations past have been in the habit of hearing nothing but evil of the colonists in their relations with the Colonial natives, and who consequently disregard at once, as unworthy of attention, all opinions and statements of facts which come from colonists.

But I am convinced that a very few months of sojourn in South Africa would convert any reasonable observer to the conviction, at which I have myself long since arrived, that in South Africa, and especially in the Legislature of the Cape of Good Hope, may be found men as thoroughly conscientious in their dealings with the natives, as influential in their own Legislature, as fully alive to the best interests of the natives, and as determined to secure those interests as far as they can be secured by Government action, as any members of the Imperial Parliament, whilst, of course, they possess an infinitely greater superiority in knowledge of the facts of the case and of the real requirements of all concerned. The popular English misgiving regarding the treatment of natives by Colonists, or by a Colonial Government, is justifiable only on the supposition that all our countrymen who go to the other hemisphere, leave behind them the conscientious sense of moral obligation which guided them in this country. It is surely unnecessary to combat such a supposition. And I will therefore only conclude by once more expressing my deliberate conviction, that the best interests of the natives in the Cape Colony are quite as safe in the keeping of the Cape Parliament as they could be in that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

DISCUSSION.

Sir HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. : Lord Elcho, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Not having received any intimation that I was expected to open the proceedings to-night, and not having been aware until a short time ago of the scope of my friend Sir Bartle Frere's Paper, I rise with great reluctance, especially at this late hour, in obedience to the call made upon me. Of course I had to consider the subject which forms the title of the Paper, "The Union of the South African Colonies," during my sojourn there, so that it is not new to me; but I need scarcely say that at the present moment the relation of those Colonies to each other and to the Empire is a very delicate question to touch upon. Indeed,

as Sir Bartle Frere has rightly told us in the very interesting Paper which he has just read, the title he has given it was suggested to him some months ago; and, fearless as he has shown himself in enunciating his views on South African questions, yet even he has admitted that he could only treat the subject of Confederation to-night very incompletely. For my part, I feel it would be the height of rashness in me to attempt to enter at all into the discussion of a question of such vast importance in so short a space as ten minutes, which I believe is the time allowed to every speaker at this meeting, and my remarks must necessarily be of a cursory nature. When I came from South Africa, four years ago, I believe I was regarded in some quarters as having been but a lukewarm supporter of the Confederation scheme. It was not so in fact; for I had done all I could constitutionally, and perhaps a little more, to induce my Ministers to look upon the project with a favourable eye. Indeed, I had gone out to South Africa with a very high idea of the results which might arise from a united South Africa, and I admired the liberality and trustfulness of the Imperial Government, which had shown its desire to group the Colonies into quasi-independent "Dominions," instead of keeping them separate, as other nations would have done, for the purpose of more easily controlling them. I must own, however, that I had not been long in the country before I became aware of the great and special difficulties which stood in the way of a Confederation of the South African Colonies—difficulties that arose from their geographical configuration, the want of facilities for intercommunication, and, above all, the diversity of races by which they are peopled. I soon perceived that it was a much more difficult question in South Africa than I had found it in the Australian Colonies, where I had tried my 'prentice hand some years before. I was rather amused the other day, sitting at dinner next to a gentleman who had just come from one of these Colonies, where he had held Ministerial office, and who I found to be an ardent supporter of Australian Confederation, by the answer he gave me on my asking him how soon he thought the change could be brought about. "Oh, well, perhaps in twenty years or so." Twenty years, no doubt, though a very long time in the life of an individual, form but a short space in the history of a nation, still I hope certainly that such a union may be brought about in the South African Colonies before that period elapses. At the same time, I will not venture to indulge in any prophecy on that point, for events in South Africa have an awkward knack of falsifying predictions. That the time will, sooner or later, arrive when the measure will be carried out, I have

no doubt; though I cannot help thinking that Lord Kimberley evinced great prudence when, in his instruction to Sir Hercules Robinson, he said, "Do not moot the question of Confederation again until the question is raised spontaneously by the colonists themselves." (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately at the present moment the question is not one which can be so lightly discussed as it was a short time ago. Troubles of an unexpected kind have arisen. By the cruel irony of fate the efforts made to bring about union have resulted in strife, and I am sorry to say in bloodshed; and although I do not credit for a moment all the stories told us as to the ill-feeling and disaffection of the population of Dutch origin at the Cape, who are, I firmly believe, incapable of entertaining the sentiments attributed to them, yet there can be no doubt that there exists warm sympathy for the Transvaal Boers, whom they have been led to suppose badly treated, and for some time to come every political question will be embittered by such feelings, and there is very little prospect of anything like an untried South African Confederation being accomplished. But at the same time I agree with Sir Bartle Frere that, as soon as the present disturbances are over, by far the best course to be pursued by this country is to leave the colonists as far as possible alone, and let them manage their own affairs, which I think they are quite competent to do. It is impossible for us at such a great distance, with the best possible wishes for their welfare, to manage for them as they could do for themselves. It is as with our children, we cannot save them all the ills that flesh is heir to in this world! They must suffer for their own faults, and they must grow wise through their own experiences; and by far the best thing we can do is, after setting them a good example and inculcating sound principles, to leave them to take care of themselves. (Loud cheers.)

Sir GEORGE STRAHAN, K.C.M.G.: Lord Elcho, ladies, and gentlemen,—I was not prepared for the prominent position which, through the somewhat doubtful kindness of my friends, I now occupy in this room. It would be out of place on my part to enter into any discussion upon the various points which have been raised by the able lecturer; and, taking into consideration the circumstances under which I temporarily succeeded Sir Bartle Frere in the administration of the Cape Colony, where my experience extended over only a period of four months, I should not feel justified in entering upon debateable ground. There are, however, two points referred to in Sir Bartle Frere's lecture upon which I consider myself at liberty to express a decided opinion, and on these I am happy to say that I am in entire accord with the views held by Sir

Bartle Frere. The first is the necessity of having one supreme Governor-in-Chief and High Commissioner for our South African Colonies and the countries adjoining them. Divided responsibility I found after only a few weeks'—I might say a few days'—residence did not answer. The other point is connected with the union of the various South African Colonies and Provinces; and, although I am not prepared to express an opinion as to a general union for all purposes, I do not hesitate to say that a union for defensive purposes is necessary for the safety of our South African possessions. As bearing upon this question, and in proof of what I say, I may mention that at a very early period of the Basuto rebellion, the Cape Government found it necessary to apply to that of Natal for permission to raise in the latter Colony two corps for service in Basutoland, and afterwards a similar call was made upon, and responded to, by the Transvaal, so that at the present moment I think I am correct in stating there are nearly 1,000 men—from Natal and the Transvaal now serving in Basutoland and Kaffraria in the service of and paid by the Cape Government. I will only add that from my four months' experience as Administrator of the the Cape Colony, I can with confidence bear testimony to the energy and self-sacrifice which the Cape colonists have brought to bear upon the suppression of a rebellion which has tried its resources to the utmost. (Applause.)

Mr. HARRY ESCOMBE, M.L.C., Natal: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am glad to have an opportunity of addressing this Meeting, if only to give to the distinguished lecturer the thanks of Natal for the services he has rendered the colonists. (Hear, hear.) We abroad complain that we are not understood; we have been even spoken of as the “riddlings of creation;” and it appears to me to be the opinion in some quarters that Englishmen who leave their homes to live elsewhere than in England change their character, and become tyrants and oppressors as soon as they cross the line (No, no, and Yes, yes)—that appears to be the opinion at times expressed in England. Sir Bartle Frere—and I know no higher authority—has been kind enough to stand forward as our champion this evening, and I will take the opportunity of mentioning one or two facts which will support his chivalrous defence. I speak now of Natal. The natives there are in number 400,000; forty years ago they were only 80,000; when our natives were 80,000, the Maoris in New Zealand were also 80,000 in number. The latter are now reduced to 45,000, whilst the aborigines of Natal have increased fivefold. This large increase shows that there is no great terrorism or tyranny on the part of the colonists of

Natal. (Hear, hear.) The question to which the lecture is particularly addressed is with respect to the union of the different provinces of South Africa. They are now four—the Cape, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal. Griqualand West has been absorbed into the Cape of Good Hope, and therefore there are only four; and the question is: Are those four to be subject to one common Government? Everyone admits that it is better to belong to an important Dominion than to an unimportant Province, and everyone admits in principle that a central Federal form of government is best. But difficulties arise the moment the details come to be adjusted, and that is where we want all the help that eminent statesmen can give us; because if these four Provinces have to come under one common yoke, they must be so brought under this yoke by common consent, or the Confederation will not lead to good. If any means can be devised by which those four Provinces can have their fair share of representation in a central Government, then I apprehend there will be little difficulty in making South Africa united and prosperous. The lecture given by Sir Bartle Frere will have, I think, the effect of assisting the solution of these difficulties, for what is wanted is a full discussion of all the circumstances and a better knowledge of the subject. I believe, my Lord, that what Sir Bartle Frere has said this evening, and what has been done this evening, more than anything else, will assist the inevitable union of the States in South Africa. That union may be postponed for a certain time, but it is still as certain of eventual realisation. I ask permission to refer to another charge sometimes brought against colonists in South Africa. It appears to be the impression in certain quarters that we delight in wars which are sustained at the expense of the Imperial Government. I do not doubt that a great many people in England think that colonists derive advantage from these wars; but the answer is that we take our share in them as regards our blood; and where claims have been preferred against us for a contribution to those wars, we have honoured these claims to the uttermost farthing. (Applause.)

Mr. MORTON GREEN: I have simply to support everything that the last speaker said. As a colonist of twenty-two years' standing, I am happy and proud to hear what has been said by him. I also endorse everything that has fallen from the lips of Sir Bartle Frere, and I recognise in him the true friend of South Africa—(loud applause)—and I can only say that he was most beloved by the colonists, and that they were only too sorry for his removal. (Renewed applause.) I recognise this fact also, that the interfer-

ence of the British Government in the removal of Sir Bartle Frere was a most disastrous thing to South Africa. (Hear, hear.) I look upon it in this way, that Sir Bartle Frere had gathered up the reins, and was prepared by his judgment to steer us out of our difficulties, and difficulties were materially increased by his removal. (Applause.)

Mr. R. W. MURRAY: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—After residing for twenty-seven years in South Africa, and having taken a very large part in the movements set going some years ago in favour of Confederation, I should be sorry to-night if I could not by some means endorse one point at least which has been brought forward by the lecturer in support of that much-desired measure for Confederation, for which we have all longed since we first heard of it. The point that struck me in the first place—but perhaps I may not exactly repeat the words—was the one in which the lecturer said that he had never seen any missionary institution that did not prove that missionary enterprise in South Africa was warranted by its success. I can say the same from experience. The lecturer, I understood, added to that, that it wanted some secular effort to give to native civilisation the stimulus which it must have before it produced any practical effect upon the masses of natives. Now, I say, in support of this point put forward by the lecturer, that the best Aborigines Protection Society that ever existed in the world is the society of diggers in the diamond-fields of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) They have taught the native to work for wages—(hear, hear)—taught him habits of industry, cleanliness, and to some extent honesty. (Hear, hear.) They have given him the means of taking care of his family; and when I hear of the cruelty that is practised in South Africa in regard to the natives, I look back to my native home, which I left over a quarter of a century ago, and only wish the protection societies here would try to bring the same sort of cruelty to bear upon the agricultural labourer in England that has been brought to bear upon the loyal native of South Africa. It would hardly be believed when I state the fact, but it can be confirmed by reference to records, that during the last seven years 640,000 natives worked who never in their lives before worked at all in a way that could be called work. They certainly never thought of working for wages. A gentleman speaking in favour of Natal to-night told us that Griqualand had been absorbed into the Colony. It is true, and pity 'tis 'tis true. No doubt Natal has done something towards civilising the natives, but it certainly has not done for native civilisation what Griqualand West has done. Twenty-two shillings is the average amount of weekly wage which

has been paid for over seven years to 640,000 natives; and if the keystone of the Confederation of States is responsible government for Natal, I ask the question of this meeting fairly, whether it is fair that a province which has contributed to the wealth of the whole of South Africa—I mean Griqualand West—should be absorbed into the Cape Colony. It is Griqualand West which enabled the Cape Colony to sustain responsible government, which it never could have carried on successfully without it. To give Natal responsible government, and to deny to Griqualand West the right of having a voice in its own affairs, seems to me unjust. I would like to hear Sir Bartle Frere go a little further into the question, and tell us how that piece of territory between Griqualand West and the Transvaal, known as the Keate Award territory, is to be dealt with. I regard the settlement of our border lines, and the settling of a uniform native policy, to be the keys to Confederation. Give Natal responsible government if you like, but if you don't deal with your land question or native policy, the basis of your Confederation scheme will never be laid. I repeat that the key to the whole question is the native question in South Africa, and the settlement of the land. Since I arrived home in September I have heard a good many strange stories about South Africa, and some may as well be dealt with. Amongst other things I have heard that the Earl of Carnarvon made a great mistake in endeavouring to force Confederation, his own terms and all, down the throat of South Africa. There never was a greater mistake. The Earl of Carnarvon never attempted any force. With a statesman's foresight, he saw that there was trouble ahead with the natives, and, desiring to have a uniform native policy for the country, he asked each of the States and Colonies to appoint representatives to consider that most vital question, adding, "If you should during your conference come to the conclusion that a Confederation of States would be desirable, I shall be ready to give your suggestions practical effect." (Hear, hear.) What forcing was there in that? (Cries of "None, none.") As Sir Bartle Frere observed, political parties are not essential to the success of representative administration; but it was the conflict of parties and the conflict of interests that prevented that conference taking place which the Earl of Carnarvon proposed. If representatives had been appointed to consider a native uniform policy for South Africa, I feel sure that they would have come to the conclusion, that the union of States was necessary, and that union would have been carried out on fair terms. (Hear, hear.) I was rather pained to hear Mr. Escombe repudiating for Natal the charge that the people of that go-ahead Colony like wars

for the sake of the profits of war contracts. It was quite unnecessary to contradict this, as everyone knew that Natal was the last place that would care for money profits of any sort. (Laughter.) I would like to see the conference proposed by the Earl of Carnarvon take place, and then I think we need not wait twenty years for Confederation, as indicated by Sir H. Barkly. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. A. MACFIE: I have two observations to make, which I will do very briefly. In the first place, we have heard a great deal about Natal. I think it has not yet got responsible government; but it has been the custom of this country, as soon as responsible government is established, to transfer the control of the public lands to that Government. Unfortunately it has been done hitherto without any provision for this being brought into play on behalf of the labourers and farmers and gentlemen's sons of this country, and I pray that the same mistake will be avoided in Natal, if it comes into the general Federation and becomes a responsible Government; and even now we should endeavour to throw it open, and gradually increase the British and Irish population in that most promising country, of which we have heard such a glowing account to-night, which would lead many to direct their attention to it. The second observation I would make is this, that I was delighted, and for many years encouraged, by being supported by such high authorities in the idea of the union or consolidation of the British Empire. And the idea has been thrown out to-night that there might be Colonial representatives in the British Parliament; but I am quite sure that they would feel snuffed out there, that they would feel that they had not sufficient weight there; and I would suggest that the British Cabinet should have two distinct functions—one function the government of the British Islands, and the other function with reference to the whole British Empire; and associated with the Cabinet should be the various Colonial agents, or any other delegates which the British Colonies might appoint, and that they should do everything to make it Imperial, for the general honour and welfare of the Empire. I submit that for consideration; and thank Sir Bartle Frere for his very lucid statement, which is free from all party colour.

Mr. LABILLIERE: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—There is one important consideration connected with South Africa, and more particularly bearing upon the question of Confederation, which I think is of interest to a number of persons who do not happen to belong to the South African portion of the Empire, as well as to the colonists themselves—I speak of the opening in that country for British emigrants. Now, it appears to me that the great diffi-

culty in the way of the establishment of Confederation in South Africa is the want of a sufficient European population. (Hear.) You must have two things in order to bring about Confederation. You require an extensive territory and a considerable population. Now, in South Africa we have most extensive territories, but a very sparse European population. The greater part of the European population is concentrated in the Cape Colony, under the control of the responsible government and legislature of the Cape; and what population besides is there to confederate with the population of the Cape Colony? You have abundance of territory in Natal, but you have only 30,000 white inhabitants. Now I do not see how, by confederating the 30,000 European inhabitants of Natal with the European inhabitants of the Cape Colony, you can very materially add to the defensive power of a united South Africa. But if, by emigration from this country, you could increase the British population of Natal to 50,000 or 100,000, then you would have a very considerable element of strength to confederate with the population of the Cape Colony proper, and to form a power sufficient to deal with all those native questions, and to relieve the mother-country from the necessity which from time to time is cast upon her of sending out troops to that country. What was it that enabled New Zealand to dispense with the aid of the Imperial troops in dealing with the native question? It was the introduction of a large European population; and now we find New Zealand perfectly capable of governing the native races; and so I believe that the most effective means of coping with the native questions in South Africa would be the introduction of European emigrants upon an extensive scale; and I have often wondered why South Africa has not turned her attention to that subject, and why her statesmen have not dealt with the question of emigration in the same way in which New Zealand has dealt with the question; why they have not built up the Cape and Natal Colonies by the introduction of a large European population. (Hear, hear.) I am a decided advocate of Federation, both Imperial and inter-Colonial, wherever it can be effected; but, although there are ample territories in South Africa affording abundant scope for the establishment of a Federal Government, we lack the other ingredient essential to the foundation of a Federal Government, viz. a sufficient European population. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. D. Wood: I shall trouble the meeting with only a few remarks, and on two subjects only. First, with regard to what has just fallen from Mr. Labilliére. He asks why a great emigration, such as there has been to Australia and New Zealand, should not set

in towards the South African Colonies? I speak under correction in the presence of persons so much better able to enlighten the meeting on the subject than I can pretend to be; but it occurs to me that the answer to that question is not far to seek. In both Australia and New Zealand the native populations were exceedingly small. (Hear, hear.) And these populations in no way entered into competition with the European labourers; but in the South African Colonies you have a native population which, we have heard from the speakers to-night, does work for wages. (Hear.) These black men would, therefore, be competitors with the white labourers who emigrate to South Africa, and, therefore, the South African Colonies will never furnish such a field for emigration as the Australasian Colonies do. (Hear, hear.) The other subject is one with which, if Sir Bartle Frere has time in his concluding observations, I think he might deal a little more fully than he did in his Paper. He said that the people of this country might feel confident that the natives would be safe in the hands of the colonists. I should hope that generally that would be the case. We find that the Red Indians are safe in the hands of the Canadians—(hear, hear)—and we find that since the people of New Zealand have been left to manage their own native affairs the natives have been safe in the hands of the colonists. (Hear, hear.) And in the Cape Colony Sir Bartle Frere has shown that the natives are safe in the hands of the colonists. But we must think not merely of the Cape Colony (in Natal they have not yet got responsible government), where the natives are sufficiently well treated; but we have to look upon the Transvaal, and the question I should like Sir Bartle Frere to answer is this—does he think the natives would be safe in the hands of the Dutch Boers of the Transvaal? (Hear, hear.) Most of you have probably read the speeches delivered last night in the House of Lords by Lord Brabourne and Lord Kimberley; and what was the justification which the former urged for the annexation of the Transvaal? It was that the Boers had reduced the women and children of the black races around them to a state of slavery. This they disguised under the name of apprenticeship, a system of slavery combined with murder (for they murdered the men to make slaves of the women and children). (Hear, hear.) If that is the case—and Lord Kimberley assented to what Lord Brabourne said—would the natives be safe in the hands of the Boers? (No, no.) If this is a false accusation against the Boers, if they had not reduced the native races to slavery, what was our justification for annexing the Transvaal? If we were justified in annexing it, it seems to me that our justification must rest on the ill-treatment

of the native races by the Boers of the Transvaal. (Cheers.) If we are to hand over the reins of Government to the Boers, they being the majority of the white population, will the natives be safe in their hands? I would like Sir Bartle Frere to answer that question, not merely for my own sake, but because I have no doubt there are many in this room who would be also glad of an answer to it. There are other subjects to which I should have liked to refer, but the hour is too late, and I must not trespass further upon the time of the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Bartle Frere, ladies, and gentlemen,—I said when I took the chair that the duties of the chairman, as I was informed, in opening this discussion were confined to simply asking the lecturer, who happily on this occasion is Sir Bartle Frere, to read his Paper; but I am also told that the duty of the chairman at the close of this discussion is, in your name to thank Sir Bartle Frere for the very able address he has delivered to us, and to convey to him the thanks of this meeting. (Loud cheers.) Personally, I do this with very great pleasure. The position which I occupy precludes, I believe, all reference to what may be termed party politics, and this prevents my speaking of Sir Bartle Frere as under other circumstances I should like to do, or as I have spoken of him in what I may call “another place,” where, if occasion should arise, I am quite prepared to speak in the same sense again. (Hear, hear.) But I think, without trenching at all on party politics, I may say this much—that I believe, myself, and I am sure there are many in this room and in the country who will agree with me—that England has never had a more able, a more honest, or a braver and less self-seeking public servant than Sir Bartle Frere! (Great and long-sustained cheering.) I may further say this much, that one cannot but feel that a man of his character and ability, acting on the spot, with information at his command which those at a distance could not possess, should, I think, be credited with at any rate having acted with judgment and ability, and perhaps on sounder grounds than many people seem inclined to give him credit for. (Renewed cheers.) It was my good fortune not long ago to be present at a great public dinner that was given to Sir Bartle Frere in Willis’s Rooms. It was not a party dinner, it was not a political dinner, it was not parliamentary in any sense; but I never attended any public dinner in my life so remarkable in this respect, that there were then gathered together the *élite*—what I may call the non-parliamentary officials of this great Empire—representative men who have governed provinces and Colonies, and men who are in permanent office in this country;

all these had met together to do honour to that distinguished public servant, Sir Bartle Frere. (Applause.) He had there a great ovation, and he was spoken of on that occasion by Sir Richard Temple in terms such as I had never before in the course of my life—now extending over many years—heard addressed to any public man. (Hear, hear.) I think Sir Bartle Frere has done great service by his lecture to-night; and when it comes to be printed and read, I venture to say it will have upon the general public as much influence as it has justly had upon those who have heard it to-night. (Hear, hear.) I think it will do much to sweep away many cobwebs, and to clear up much that was dark relating to the native character. We have learned that the native in many things does not differ much from the people of this country. Sir Bartle Frere has told us that the native likes to live well, that he tries to get good food whenever he can, and does not care to work more than he need do. That he is quick at learning, but not fond of study; and that he is much given to drunkenness. This is perhaps why Sir Wilfrid Lawson is so much in sympathy with him. (Laughter.) Well, if Sir Bartle Frere has done much to explain the peculiarities of the native character, which does not differ much from our own, and holds out good prospects for the future civilisation of South Africa, he has done much also to vindicate the character of the colonists from the aspersions so freely cast upon them as regards their mode of dealing with the natives. (Hear, hear.) And, so far, he has put the colonists under an obligation to him to-night. He further said something about party government and the evils resulting from it, which I, professing not to be a party man, am not disposed to dispute. (Laughter.) But the great service he has done to-night is in showing that he does not despair of Confederation in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) When I had the honour of being invited to take this chair I did so most readily, because I saw that the title of Sir Bartle Frere's paper was the question of the union of the South African Colonies. Now, when I first joined this Institute, many years ago, I did so because I believed not only in the union of the Provinces in the different Colonies, but in the possibility of a great union of the Colonies of the Empire. (Cheers.) I am glad that Sir Bartle Frere has touched upon that point. Now, there may perhaps be difficulties in the way. There are, no doubt, lions everywhere, but if bold men look them boldly in the face they slink out of the way; and when I look at that map on my left [Mercator's Projection of the World], and see those large red blotches scattered over the world, with those two little red blotches in the middle representing the

British Islands, I feel it to be a libel on statesmanship and a blot on the ability of public men if by some means or other, by hook or by crook, sooner or later—it may be twenty or thirty years—I would rather it were ten, than twenty, years—some means be not found of uniting in an Imperial bond those different red blotches on the map. And I think that the difficulties of this ought to be overcome when we know that the thought of such an Imperial Confederation is uppermost in so many British and Colonial minds, and that it is the earnest desire of so many British and Colonial hearts. (Cheers.) There are, indeed, two views of our Colonies. Some say that the duty of the mother State is only the duty of the hen to its nursling ducklings, and that as soon as these are capable of taking to the water and looking after themselves the mother-country is to let them go, and be thankful that they are gone. (No, no.) I say there are people who have taken that view. (Hear, hear.) Some ten years ago Mr. Goldwin Smith said we ought to abandon our Colonies, “because trade and commerce no longer needed cannon, and because Free Trade had destroyed the only motive for having Colonies.” Some statesmen at that time held language somewhat similar, but I should perhaps be entering upon party politics if I quoted it, and being a prudent Scotchman, and your chairman, I abstain, and forbear from doing so. (Laughter.) But it was this language of Goldwin Smith’s, and it was similar language from great statesmen in this country, that led the Poet Laureate, when the Prince of Wales was restored to health, to publish an “Ode to the Queen” in which he cried shame upon those who would give up our Colonies. I will not quote the passage, but that referring to the Colonies ended with these words:—

“The loyal to their Crown
Are loyal to their own fair sons,
Who love our Ocean Empire
With her boundless homes.”

I hope, then, and trust that by the action and speech of able men like Sir Bartle Frere the day may yet come when there will be a union of the Colonies of Great Britain with the mother-country—I mean, in confederate alliance. (Hear, hear.) I hope for this because nothing would tend more to the safety of the Empire, to the benefit of the Colonies, and the peace of the world, and the consequent happiness of the human race. Now, as a step in this direction, Sir Bartle Frere has pointed out that the Dominion of Canada is already united. There we have got a satisfactory union and confederation of the Canadian provinces; and I have now in your name to thank Sir Bartle Frere for having pointed out to us

how we may eventually look to the Confederation of the Colonies of the British Empire, and for having meanwhile shown us that he does not despair of the Confederation of the Colonies of South Africa. In your name I ask for a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Bartle Frere for the interesting and powerful lecture with which he has favoured us to-night. (Cheers.)

The vote was accorded amidst great applause.

Sir BARTLE FRERE, in reply, said: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—I thank you very heartily for the kind way in which you have received the small contribution I was able to offer to a better knowledge of this most important subject. The observations which have been made on what I ventured to say to you were generally so much in kindly accord with the views I have expressed, that I do not feel called upon to say anything at any length; but there was one observation of the last speaker in which he asked how it was proposed to secure the position of natives in the Transvaal, which I do not think ought to be left unanswered; and I will briefly remind him that, wherever the British flag flies, there the safety and rights of all British subjects, whatever their race or colour, will be provided for. The security of their persons, their property, their chances of rising in the world, all depend upon the support of law and order under the Government. (Hear, hear.) I can tell from experience that there are as kind hearts among the Dutch population of South Africa as in any of our own people. There is no want of natural or of Christian kindness in the race, and it is only when they get beyond the bounds of social restraints that individuals sometimes lay themselves open to the reproaches which have been cast upon them. (Hear, hear.) I believe that whenever the British flag flies again over that territory, whenever the authority of the Crown is re-established, and you can say that law and order, according to the old traditions of England, are secure there, you may without any doubt consider that the interests—the best interests—of the natives will be well looked after. (Hear, hear.) I must thank Lord Elcho most cordially for the kindness with which he has spoken of me in his concluding observations, and I can only say that if there is one feeling which is ever impressed upon those who visit the Colonies, as I have been able to visit them, it is this, that no distance of time or of place lessens the love which the colonists bear to the land of their ancestors. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD: It is generally understood, I think, in the Royal Colonial Institute that any member taking the chair does so as a duty; and it is generally understood that the thanks of the

meeting are not moved on that account; but on this occasion I think that the duties of the chair have been so ably performed, and we are so much indebted for the remarks made, in addition to the admirable lecture received, that I beg to move a vote of thanks from this meeting to Lord Elcho for the admirable way in which he has conducted the duties imposed upon him. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks having been passed with applause, Lord ELCHO briefly acknowledged the compliment.

FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting was held on Tuesday, the 22nd March, 1881, at the Grosvenor Gallery Library; the Right Hon. the Earl of DUNRAVEN, K.P., vice-president, in the chair. Amongst those present were the following:—

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, M.P.; Sir Francis Dillon Bell (Agent-General for New Zealand); Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada); Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Mr. J. A. Blake, M.P., Mrs. and Miss Blake; Messrs. John Ramsay, M.P.; Alex. McArthur, M.P.; W. Findlater, M.P.; H. A. de Colyar; James Rankin, M.P.; V. H. Walsh; J. Orrell Lever, M.P.; Hon. A. E. Havelock, C.M.G. (Governor of the West African Settlements); Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Messrs. W. C. Burnet (Cape Government Agent), S. W. Silver, Jacob Montefiore, Alex. Rivington, G. Molineux, Stephen Bourne, F.S.S.; W. G. Lardner, J. W. Knight, A. J. Adderley, Dr. Ord, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Messrs. Catterson Smith, J. Thomas, James A. Youl, C.M.G.; F. A. Ball (Canada), John H. Fitt (Barbados), J. Cox Fillan, William Storer, James Ferguson (Cape Colony), Joseph Graham (Cape Colony), F. D. Deare (Cape Colony), Paget A. Wade, J. Philip, J. F. V. Fitzgerald, A. Preston, Colonel G. Arbuthnot, R.A.; Messrs. G. A. Lloyd, James Bonwick, Hugh Jamieson, Dr. John Rae, F.R.S.; Sir C. Farquhar Shand, Messrs. F. P. Labilliere, Thomas Archer (Queensland), J. D. Wood, Edmund Trimmer, H. E. Montgomerie, Captain Bedford Pim, Mr. E. Plumstead, Major and Mrs. Gordon, Commander H. G. Simpson, M.L.C. (Queensland); Miss E. Skeffington Thompson, Mr. C. M. Bull, Mrs. Caroline Blanchard, Messrs. J. A. Upton, James Blackwood, Beveridge, Woodall, David Glasgow, Miss Emily Faithfull, the Rev. Mr. Mooney, Messrs. C. S. Di-ken (Queensland), D. T. Seymour (Queensland), Mrs. J. H. Fitt, Miss Appleton, Mr. George Bullen, Mrs. Purves, Miss Spread, Messrs. R. Speedy, Edward Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlaw (Sydney), Claude H. Long, M.A. (Canada); F. A. Gwynne (Victoria), James H. Tuke, F. W. Fox, Morton Green (Natal), E. Hepple Hall, Major C. F. Lloyd, Messrs. Lionel R. C. Boyle, J. G. Colmer, George Hodgkinson, D. C. Kennedy, J. W. P. Jauralde, A. Jauralde, J. Ashwood (West Africa), W. L. Shepherd, G. Moffat (Canada), John Lascelles (Victoria), J. Green, Alexander Sim (Canada), Mrs. Fitt, Miss Appleton, Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G.; Alexander Wilmot, Esq. (Port Elizabeth), Mr. and Mrs. William Westgarth, Miss A. E. N. Bewicke, Miss Gray, Messrs. Arthur Fell, C. Wheeler (Sydney), John A'Deane (New Zealand), E. H. Gough, C. D. Buckler, William Wilson (Queensland), W. G. Wilson, George

Peacock (Cape Colony), A. G. Perceval, William A. G. Woods, Henry K. Davson (British Guiana), J. Banks Taylor (China), Walter Peace (Natal) J. A. Topham, (Natal), John Payne (Cape Colony), F. W. Stone, B.C.L. (Canada); William Hemmant (Queensland), S. W. Griffith, Q.C., M.L.C. (Queensland); W. W. Thompson, Armitage, Mr. and Mrs. A. Focking, Mrs. Rae, Mr. Charles Bischoff (Canada), Dr. P. Sinclair Laing, Messrs. C. Pfoundes, F. G. Stolz, A. B. Abraham, J. S. O'Halloran, Thomas G. Johnston (New Zealand), J. N. Hodsdon, Rev. William Pankridge, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Elkington, Mr. A. G. Walker, Mr. Chapman, Mrs. Parkinson, Miss Parkinson, Lieutenant G. Hodgkinson, R.N.; Messrs. G. M. Bradley, George Houghton, J. V. Irwin, J. Hurley (New South Wales), Wesley Francis (Natal), John Hunt (Natal), Charles Griffith, W. Manley, Crossley, N. Loring, C. J. Follett, Jeffery, Miss Palner, H. Mewburn Walker, Jabez Hogg, Mrs. Colomb, Hon. W. F. Haynes Smith (British Guiana), Miss Young, Miss Ada Mary Young, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.)

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the minutes of the Fourth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows:—

Resident:—

Charles Boulnois, Esq., E. Evison, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. E. G. P. Littleton, C.M.G.; Hon. William F. Littleton, C.M.G.; George Moffatt, Esq., Walter Peace, Esq., Paudeli Ralli, Esq., M.P.; the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, George Stewart, Esq., William Storer, Esq., P. A. Wade, Esq., H. E. Watts, Esq.

Non-Resident:—

His Honour James Armstrong, C.M.G., St. Lucia; F. W. Armytage, Esq., Melbourne; Dr. Walter L. Buller, C.M.G., New Zealand; William Fisher, Esq., British Columbia; Edward Lawrence, Esq., Barbados; Sir Joseph Needham, Trinidad; Carl Strouss, Esq., British Columbia; W. H. Wigley, Esq., South Australia; Charles Williams, British Guiana.

The following donations of books, &c., received since the last Ordinary General Meeting were also announced:—

From the Government of Canada:

Parliamentary Papers and Debates, 1881.

From the Government of Queensland:

Acts of Parliament, 1880.

From the Government of Tasmania:

Walch's Tasmanian Almanac, 1881.

From the Government of the United States:

Commercial Relations of the United States, Report III. 1881.

From the Agent-General for New South Wales:

Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1879.

- From the Registrar-General of Queensland :
Statistics of Queensland, 1879.
- From the Anti-Slavery Society :
The Boers, and Slavery in South Africa, 1881.
- From the British Trade Journal :
The British Trade Journal for 1880, 2 vols.
- From the Geelong Free Library :
Fourth and Fifth Annual Report.
- From the Plymouth Free Library :
Fourth Report of the Committee.
- From the Royal Geographical Society :
Proceedings, March, 1881.
- From the Victoria Institute :
Journal of Transactions of the Institute.
- From Major Ashe :
The Story of the Zulu Campaign, 1 vol., 1880.
- From H. J. Barrett, Esq. :
The Transvaal Boer Rebellion, 1881.
- From A. de Boucherville, Esq. :
Annuaire de l'Économie Sociale.
- From J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :
Starke's Pocket Almanac, 1881 ; The Canadian Monthly and
Bystander, 1881.
- From Dr. Langham Dale :
Cape of Good Hope University Calendar, 1881.
- From C. F. Davison, Esq. :
The Case of the Boers in the Transvaal, 1881.
- From Messrs. P. Davis and Sons :
Natal Almanac and Directory.
- From E. B. Dickson, Esq. :
Weather Report, New Zealand, 1880.
- From Morton Green, Esq. :
Photographs of Scenery in Natal and St. Helena.
- From H. H. Hayter, Esq. :
Statistical Register of Victoria.
- From Hugh Munro Hull, Esq. :
Walch's Tasmanian Almanac, 1881.
- From George Levy, Esq. :
Crown Government in Jamaica, 1881.
- From J. Stewart Reid, Esq. :
Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.
- From Major R. C. Smyth :
The Employment of the People, and Capital of Great Britain
in her own Colonies, 1849.

From Sir David Tennant :

Report on the working of the Education Acts, Cape Colony,
1879 ; Papers on Pondo Affairs, 1880.

From Lieutenant-Colonel William White :

Canadian Blue Books, 1880.

The CHAIRMAN : I have now much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Torrens to address you on what we all feel to be a most interesting subject, viz.

IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PARTNERSHIP IN EMIGRATION.

Mr. TORRENS, M.P. : My Lords and Gentlemen, I assure you I have not the presumption to imagine that I can add anything important on Colonial affairs to the information which I know exists amongst those present in this room. Assembled here to-night are many of the most experienced colonists from opposite points of the compass, who being in London are naturally drawn to this centre of sympathy and association. I hope the day may be long distant—if it should ever come—when the Metropolis of the empire will cease to be looked upon as common ground of patriotism, and as the common centre of intelligence and of interest, and as the common rallying-point for all who love the language of Shakespeare and the faith of Augustine. (Hear, hear.) For myself, I can only say that the experience I have had in public life leads me more and more to deprecate reliance upon individual or sectional motives, and to act upon the conviction that the best service a man can do his kind in these days is to look to the tendency of things and the gravitation of events. (Hear, hear.) I hope one day to see a closer union of all who speak our tongue. (Hear, hear.) I would gladly renounce and sacrifice any object of personal ambition if I were permitted to advance that object in any degree. (Hear.) But I am sure that it is not in your power, my lord, nor in the power of him who sits on your left hand, and who is himself a representative of successful colonisation, our chief magistrate of the City—I am sure it is not in your power to precipitate the progress of society. The best that we can do is to bide the good time coming ; and to build, wherever we can, upon the open ground of closer union, ever seeking where we may find points of mutual interest between the Colonies and the Mother-country. (Hear, hear.) If to-night Canada—represented here by so distinguished a citizen of that Colony as Sir Alexander Galt—(cheers)—if Canada had cause to suspect that we met here on the subject of emigration with the aim or sinister intent to cast upon her any portion of the

burden which it is our own municipal duty to bear, Canada would rightfully and dutifully reject our advance. (Hear, hear.) With our accumulated wealth, our varied enterprise, our mercantile marine, our vast revenues, and the inventive genius of our people, we have no right, in my opinion, to make our younger brethren—for they have passed out of the condition and rank of sons—we have no right to make them subservient to our mere convenience or advantage. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, the Colonies do not need to be under any obligation to us because we are richer and older.

Well, then, on every principle of good citizenship and Christian feeling, on every ground of expediency—to put it no higher—where we can help one another, ought we not earnestly to engage to do so? (Hear, hear.) On the basis of mutuality, and that alone, I would venture to lay before you some few facts which I have no doubt are familiar to many in this room, but which others may not have had time to glean for themselves, and which I should be very happy to find winnowed by the criticism of this evening.

About eleven years ago, some who are here to-night, and others who, I regret, are absent, combined together in an attempt to induce the State to acknowledge the duty of assisting systematic emigration to the Colonies whenever the Colonies desired it. (Hear, hear.) We pressed the matter strongly, and we were met by a strong antagonistic action on the part of men who, in what we conceive to be the recklessness of making haste to be rich, claimed as their right, and did not scruple to exercise their influence for the purpose of keeping what they called a reserve fund of labour—(hear, hear)—for a recurring rush of trade. The times were out of joint just then as regarded employment; but they shrewdly believed that the cycle of adversity would pass away, and that they would want more hands than were meanwhile worth paying for; and deliberately upon that ground too many persons of commercial influence rejected our plea for Imperial and Colonial partnership in emigration. (Hear, hear.) But that is passed, and I hope sincerely that we shall never hear such sad and selfish talk again. (Hear, hear.) Circumstances change, and we have come now to another exigency, caused by agricultural depression. (Hear, hear.) In England we have farmers afraid to take farms, and in Ireland farmers who want and can't get them. Here there is doubt, there distraction. I cannot bring myself to sever, in the contemplation of a national system of policy, the constituent parts of the realm. (Hear, hear.) We know as men of business and men of the world

that it is impossible for one member of the body politic to suffer severely without other portions suffering also. (Hear, hear.) In a well-known passage Cicero describes how "impossible it is for any section of the community to lose its fortune or its means of livelihood without dragging down with it many other classes into similar calamity." And depend upon it, it is wholly impossible that the population of even one portion or segment of the realm can be in a state of perennial discontent, destitution, and despair, without thereby becoming a well-head of danger, of distress, and of deterioration to other more fortunate parts of the kingdom. Although not at first, we soon become conscious of congestion which we do not actually see; and it is wisely ordained that if we neglect to apply suitable remedies betimes, we must endure the pain and prostration which the local plethora brings. Overcrowding, whether rural or urban, is apt to overflow its primary bounds, and to ask the better-to-do portions of society in low but significant accents—what thinkest thou of me? I have before me a return which has been presented only lately to Parliament, which gives an account not of emigration, but of what is called migratory labour. The harvest in many parts of England, as you all know, is got in every year—and has been so every year since we were born—by labourers who do not live on the land. They come across the sea, and come without the semblance of baggage or of comforts. They hire themselves out for whatever they can get; and they endure many hardships and humiliations; and when the summer sun is set they return to their homes in the West of Ireland with almost all the money they have earned. Nearly the whole of the migratory class come from the Western counties that lie between the mouths of the Shannon and the Ban. The eastern half of Ireland sends at present literally none. The bulk of that migration comes from Donegal, Sligo, Roscommon, Galway, and Mayo; and those are exactly the districts which have proved recently the source and fountain-head of all our troubles and distractions—(hear, hear)—because there is the greatest degree of overcrowding and over-competition for land. Instead of deserving the indiscriminate reproach of idleness or laziness, these people, to the extent of thousands, are holders of land and payers of rent. Finding it impossible to eke out existence by what they call farming, when they have planted their potato gardens they betake themselves hither in search of work, and perform what one may call the masquerade of industry for the sake of getting that which is their heart's desire, because of its scarcity in Connaught—good, hard money for a good day's work. I have here a list of the farms held

by these people: From five to fifteen acres, 3,800, and from fifteen to forty acres, some 1,800. Helpless to better their condition permanently at home, would not such men make useful and happy emigrants—men who are so attached to the soil where they have had root, as to come back to it, and to cling to it under all the temptations and allurements they find in the richer country, and, nevertheless, so ready and willing to labour for good pay that they leave it year after year to go and earn money for their wives and children; just the sort of men you want in the Far-West and the Far-South to hold small farms and to work on the railways? (Hear, hear.) They combine two qualifications—readiness for rough work for ready money, and addiction to the permanent possession of land. I purposely dwell on these as constituting what seem to be the least promising type of emigrants. What may we not hope from the farming classes in the rest of the kingdom who are in a state of discontent with their present lot? We need not here discuss the vexed question of rack-rent. After all, rack-rent is the price which too many bidders for a limited article of first necessity create against themselves, and why? because they know no other means of eking out a living than the cultivation of the soil. (Hear, hear.) Give them better alternatives in both kinds beyond the sea—give them a means of occupation worthier and more remunerative—and it is not in human nature that, the burden of industry in that part of the kingdom being lightened, peace and contentment would not be promoted amongst those who remain.

What, then, we desire is this: without prejudice in the first instance to any arrangement that may be made, we desire to see the Government of this great country co-operate upon terms of equality in this matter with the Governments of the Colonies, saying to one another, "We have spare labour, and we have spare gold; you have spare land and room for unlimited enterprise; why should we not lighten the weight of your burden by your lessening ours?" Let us proceed upon the principle of perfect and entire reciprocity; and if the Governments, with such men as occupy places in them at the present time, are not ready to contrive a scheme, then perhaps we may show them the way to do it ourselves. (Hear, hear.) Well, this idea of mutual help is not new to anyone in this room. We have discussed it over and over again. But I confess there was always one difficulty in the way, and I own it frankly—we feared that were a proposition made from this country to any of the Colonies, whether Canada or Queensland, or any other, a suspicion might be engendered in the Colonial popular mind as to our

object; and I long for the day—and I know many in this room share the longing—when some good spirit, whether from all the Colonies or from some of them, would begin the negotiation by making a substantial offer of contributive help and concerted action. (Hear, hear.) Well, here is a proof that the good day has come. To-day, on the table of both Houses of Parliament, has been laid a despatch which I had the honour to move for, a fortnight ago. It is from the Marquis of Lorne, as Governor-General of Canada, and addressed to the Secretary of State, proposing not in diplomatic sentences or pompous generalities, but with deliberation, care, and sagacity, stipulating terms and elaborating plans, for assisting systematic immigration from Ireland into Canada. (Hear, hear.)

On November 5, 1880, the Privy Council of Canada had before them a report from Mr. Côté, their Secretary, enclosing a memorandum upon the subject of the proposal for the organisation of Irish immigration to Manitoba and the North-west of Canada, reciting that, at the instigation of the High Commissioner resident in England, he had submitted a proposition with a view to the advancement of railways in the Dominion to open negotiations with Her Majesty's Government for immigration. The difference of the word is very significant—it is not emigration, but immigration—and he speaks as a Canadian, and that as a Canadian and actuated as a Canadian statesman, for immigration from Ireland into Manitoba. He proceeds in this memorandum, which has become by adoption the Act of the Council and the Governor-General, to say what the expenses and the provisions beforehand must be; putting up temporary homesteads for the people before they arrive, and, if necessary, that there should be a turning over of the soil for the sake of planting one crop before they had the opportunity to do it for themselves. And what do you think is the price of the article offered? A free grant for ever of eighty acres of wheat-growing land on the payment of the "office fee," as it is called. The price of the fee simple of this small but secure estate is just 40s., and thus at last the small Irish farmer will become a 40s. freeholder indeed. (Hear, hear.) I do not think that you will find it easy to persuade people in Mayo, Roscommon, or Donegal to believe at first that this is all in downright earnest; but, when repeated elsewhere, they will soon cease to laugh at it. Long used to high rents and low wages, they never had such a proposition made to them in their lives before; they never thought of having what they would call luck like this; and we should stand in their way if we prevented them from accepting it. But Canada wants the labour, and if Canada is generous of wheat-growing land

she thinks she can afford it—and I have no doubt she does think it wise to make such a practical offer to our struggling and suffering people. Then the experiment is worth being tried by this country. And you, my lord, as a peer of the realm, with the right hon. gentleman who sits near you, the member for Lambeth, and the other members of the House of Commons whom I see in this room, will not, I am persuaded, hold your peace until that most timely offer has been dealt with by our Government.

This is union, indeed; this is something like wisdom. They come of the old stock, these men of Canada, and we may well be proud of them; they are doing for their country what I suppose we should do in similar circumstances for our own; but what a figure we should cut in history and in our own domestic policy with this despatch on the table of both Houses, if our Government were to say we do not know what to do with it, or how to do with it, and have no means whatever for complying with it! We have in this country plenty of spare hands and spare gold. To-day is the cardinal day in this question. On this day this despatch is laid on the table of the British Parliament, and on this day Consols have touched par; so that you have more money in the City than you know how to invest profitably, and more labour and skill in the country than you know how to employ advantageously. How can you do better than by investing in Colonies what they now ask of you, thereby rescuing whole families from discontent and despondency at home? (Cheers.) Of course the Canadian Government have said, "To do this we must each exercise a control." Although they do not use the word, I have no objection to use it; it is the word "veto." It is impossible to conceive that they would allow such a promise as theirs to be abused, even unintentionally, by having the wrong sort of people sent to them; and therefore there ought to be a joint Commission appointed by the two Governments with equal powers of supervision; the Canadian Commissioner in England having the absolute veto as to the persons and families who shall be sent to take these farms, and the British Commissioner in Canada having absolute power and control to see that the enfranchisement is completed in each case, and that lands fertile and arable are given to the people whom we on our part should bear the cost of sending forth to occupy them.

We shall hear talk about difficulties. I am not inclined to underrate the difficulties in this matter. I have never found anything much worth doing that was not difficult. I believe the business of a man in life is to conquer difficulties. When we attempted formerly in Parliament to stir the sluggish conscience of the nation

to take up this matter we always had this difficulty gibbering before us, "How can you deal with the other ends of the earth?—what is the use of talking of emigration? Change very soon follows change, and employment, which is bad to-day, is all vanished by the time your ships get to the Antipodes; and you cannot make a system of emigration for one Colony alone; you must make terms all round."

We have seven great self-governing Colonies, and we could not be parties to any preference for this or the other Colony shown by the English Treasury; and consequently we had to encounter the difficulties of distance; and I own that, arguing as we try to do night after night in favour of an elastic sort of contributive emigration, the one thing I always heard hissing in my ear was that hateful word "distance," and when it was uttered it was hardly possible to answer it. But distance is practically no more. Talk of the age of heroes full of myth and fable; we live in an age of fulfilled miracles. Distance is at an end; we can whisper to friends in Australia, and get answer back unflinching. There is no longer any excuse of this kind available. Science has swept it off its legs; and what a degenerate race we should be if, having a share in the wealthiest realm on earth, having been given this marvellous power of the telegraph, we cannot make all parts of the Empire conscious of a common interest and an undivided social vitality! Separate Colonies, like separate families, are never known to be of the same mind for any length of time; and the different circumstances of the Colonies, you all well know, render it impossible for anyone to suppose or to assume that they are likely to be equally anxious for emigration and the interchange of labour at the same time. On the contrary, my belief is that, from the disparity of conditions, we shall never see the day when they will be all in the same mood on this question. But cannot a wise old country wait for the change of mind when each in succession may be ready to contribute with us to secure an exchange of benefits? What is the good of political economy if it does not teach us this? We have found out the truth of political economy in the supply of food; that as nature did not please the harvests everywhere should be simultaneously good or bad, it was the best policy to have access at all times to the fullest granaries of the world. (Hear, hear.) So with regard to labour; because it is impossible to believe that Melbourne and Manitoba should always be of the same mind—or, if you please, at all—and that New Zealand and South Africa should always think alike about Aborigines on a given day, we argued that an elastic system should be constituted for facilitating emigration.

whither and only whither, when and only when, it was clearly understood to be desirable and desired by each Colony.

But distance is, or ought to be, henceforth omitted in our calculations, and I contend that it is the policy of this country to say to her imperial daughters, "Whenever you want spare labour, and will give our people parcels of free land, we will from our Treasury be glad to contribute the cost of the voyage and outfit." In moving for this despatch, I thought it becoming not to ask for the reply. I wish the Government to have the longest possible time to consider what answer they would send. I have never known anything accomplished of a grave or difficult character by pressing it importunately or impatiently. But let the people of Ireland know what the people of Canada are ready to offer them. Now, up to the present time, this project of a transplantation treaty is simply unilateral—it is simply a proposition which comes from the other side of the water; but I think it is no breach of confidence to say that I do know that Lord Kimberley, in acknowledging its receipt, intimated to Lord Lorne that he had forwarded it to the authorities in Ireland to hear what they would say to it. I do not know what better he could have done: only, as I was once in the service of the Government of Ireland myself, I would venture to hope that he will not let the matter sleep. (Laughter.) The season is advancing; it is no easy matter to send out emigrants with any advantage to themselves at the wrong season of the year; and although there are other places to which they may be sent in autumn, I do not understand that it would be wise to defer the movement very long if it is to be begun this year.

I hope with all my heart and soul that the coming Land Bill will be a safe, a wise, and a permanent measure. Nothing will redound more to the credit of the statesmen now in power, and nothing can redound more to the discredit of men who are called irresponsible—that is, men who are not members of the Government—if they should attempt to stifle any promising attempt to cleanse the bosom of the people from the perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart. (Hear, hear.) But I say without hesitation—and I hope you will not differ from me in the sentiment—that if an angel from heaven were to come and frame a Land Bill, it could not by any possibility be made equally applicable to all the varied wants of the graziers of Leinster, the tenant-right occupiers of Ulster, the dairy-farmers of Munster, and the rack-rented cottiers of Connaught. No change in the incidents of tenure, or in the liability, to compensate for eviction, would rescue these poor people in the far west of Ireland from the deplorable condition of overcrowding. The alternative

offer of means for emigration by families, ancillary to the relief held forth by land reform, would give that measure its best chance of working successfully. (Hear, hear.) Nothing will give confidence in the genuineness of the scheme but the interposition of the Government; and that element ought to be introduced, if it is to be tried at all, that people may have the security that promises will be redeemed, and that they will be freed from their present state of insecurity and want. Well, while the Governor and Privy Council of Canada were engaged in elaborating this minute and speeding it to England, other great folk were engaged in somewhat different work—namely, the Commission which was issued to inquire into the state of agriculture in the United Kingdom, and the second Commission which was issued to inquire particularly into the relations subsisting between landlord and tenant in Ireland. These were separate bodies, one more numerous than the other, but both comprising eminent and experienced men chosen without distinction of sect or party. At the head of one was the Duke of Richmond and of the other Lord Bessborough, and they made reports very different in their recommendations. I don't say that in any carping spirit; it was natural, perhaps, that on many topics they should express different views. Their suggestions have now been made public. Both sets of Commissioners differed amongst themselves. There was a majority and a minority in each, who made separate reports. But only three of the total number dissented from the majority of nineteen, that nothing would be sufficient without emigration from the west of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Well, it is very remarkable that these distinguished persons simultaneously come to the same result; they can hardly be all wrong. (Hear, hear.)

His Grace of Richmond and twelve of his colleagues, after months of investigation, say: "Emigration is a subject too familiar to need explanation here, but it must be noticed that all the witnesses lay a particular stress upon two conditions for its success in Ireland—the one, that whole families should be taken; and the other, that the emigrants should be accompanied by those in whom they have confidence, such as their clergy, and that the places of their future settlement should be allotted to them for their new homes before they leave their old ones. There is reason to suppose that some of our Colonial possessions would co-operate in the necessary arrangements;" while Lord Carlingford and the remaining five who constituted the minority declare that "an effort should be made to relieve, by State intervention, the overpeopled districts, especially of the west, by the methods of assisted voluntary emigration." The O'Connor Don, himself a proprietor in Roscommon, and identified

by sympathy and experience with all that is best worth knowing in the traditions and hopes of his people, truly observes: "There are parts of Ireland in which the condition of things is such that no alteration in the tenure of land or the amount of rent could really accomplish any lasting effect. There are portions of Ireland in which the land is so bad, and is so thickly populated, that the question of tenure and rent are mere trifles. If the present occupiers had the land for ever, and for nothing, they could not in the best of years live decently, and in bad years they must be in a state of starvation. Here we have a totally different problem to meet from that which prevails elsewhere. From these districts there must be either emigration or migration. A very large proportion of the population must go to foreign and more fertile countries, or they must be removed to other portions of this island."

Mr. Kavanagh, with other antecedents and prepossessions, from the garden of South Leinster attests the same truth. "In my opinion, the circumstances of these over-populated districts can only be dealt with by State interference, in the way of a liberal and humane scheme of emigration, by sending the people out in charge of their ministers to the large and fertile districts of unpopulated land in Western Canada, where homes and the means of acquiring their living could be provided for them, such as they could never have in this country, and opportunities would be afforded to enlarge the holdings of those who remain behind."

Finally, I would invoke the authority of one of the few statesmen of our time who happens to be qualified by personal experience to speak with confidence of the actual needs and capabilities of agricultural life on opposite sides of the ocean, and their correlative condition. A man of signal talent, and who will not be soon forgotten in Canada, and certainly not in this country—I mean Lord Dufferin—differs from both Commissions; and after an eloquent and searching criticism of their views, he winds up an able letter by saying how he had seen Manitoba waving like a sea of golden corn, and how he longed for the day when those in Ireland, who had not the power of getting farms fit to live upon, should have a share in the prolific plains of which but the smallest part had yet been brought into cultivation. Without such aid Lord Dufferin believes no Land Bill will suffice. That is the opinion of one who, having had experience in both Ireland and Canada, points to emigration as the bridge over the wants of both. But time would fail to multiply testimonies. I think I have given you enough; at least, if these be not authorities, I know not what are. For my

part, I have the conviction that the plan could be worked out, now, if public opinion willed it.

It may be said that the majority of the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy will not advise their people to go. I believe their misgiving mainly springs from the fact that when younger members of a family, unwilling to be a burden to their friends, go forth singly, they seem to break away from all the moral and social influences which bind people together. We know as a matter of fact that tens of thousands going into a foreign country like the United States, do not in crowded cities always come to good. Therefore it is very natural and reasonable, and I think very right, that the pastors of the people should look with anxiety at the consequences of their uncared-for dispersion. It is not the stalwart youth, it is not the husband or father of thirty years of age that you ought to take from the family, leaving the old people, and the children to be a burden to the country; you should do what Lord Lorne's despatch specifies, what the Duke of Richmond's Commission specifies, what two out of five of Lord Bessborough's Commission specifies, namely, you must take the whole family. (Cheers.) Canada does not want a man to forsake his children merely to become a lodger in the land or a worker by job on the railway, and after he has earned his money to desert to the States. The emigrant is offered not a ladder to climb by, but a homestead to dwell in; 40 acres first to begin with, 40s. freehold acres, and if you show you till them you shall have 40 more at the same price, and if you continue on and settle down and strike root in the soil you shall have the other 80 acres; and at the small market price within limits, you shall have, over and above these, a preferential claim to another 160 acres adjacent thereto. Why, this is letting men have fee-farms, and no mistake. I met a friend the other day who, speaking of the discontented peasantry of the West, said: "What do you call these men, are they labourers or farmers?" I said, "They wished to be called small farmers;" and he said, "Look at the price they offered to pay for this land, which you say is hardly worth cultivating." I said, "The fact is this, that they are farmers in everything except that they cannot get farms deserving the name." Here, then, is a project for giving them what they want, and giving it to them for next to nothing. (Hear, hear.) It must, however, be stipulated that the cost of going out and provision for the first few months, whatever it may be, must be advanced by Government. My friend Mr. Blake, the member for Waterford, is here, who has been all over the country, and puts the cost higher than the Minute of Council of Canada puts it; Mr. Tuke, whose writings are well known to

you all, is likewise present this evening, and he takes the account in a somewhat different way. I have no estimate of my own to put forward in this matter. The outlay in question would be safe if you make it the first charge on the land, and repay the Treasury here by deferred instalments. Is it not better to spend it so than to spend it in poor-rates and prisons? (Hear, hear.) You cannot keep the people as they are without their being discontented, and it is the dearest bargain to proclaim peace and then have to enforce it.

But why, it will be said, not leave the outflow of adventure to find its own unregulated way? More than a quarter of a million quitted our shores last year in search of steadier wages and securer homes, of whom one-third were Irish. Of these no fewer than 83,000, most of them unmarried, went to the United States, and but 10,000 to the Colonies. Whatever else may be deduced from these facts, they prove incontestably that there is no antipathy in Ireland to transplantation; and we know by the experience of many years that those who go forth do not forget their kinsfolk left behind, but that out of their savings they continually send back enough to mitigate their lot, or enable them to follow. Surely a people who act thus are likely to make good colonists. In parable the bees have ever been held up as the worthiest of hardworkers and thriftiest of housekeepers, for human imitation; but our Celtic brethren are better than the bees, for when the young hive off they not only store their own new cells, but help to replenish those they were forced to quit for want of room. Now what we urge is that care should be taken to attract the annual swarms to our own Colonial fields rather than suffer them to stray beyond the confines of the Empire. It is sometimes said that people who are bred in the humid atmosphere of Ireland, and who in that part of the country seldom know what a hard frost means, could not endure the cold, dry climate of Canada. It is stated both in speeches, papers, and conversation over dinner-tables, that Manitoba is too cold for our people to go to. Now, I have taken some pains to ascertain for myself the real truth of this matter, and without troubling you with isothermal calculations, a great many of which are decimals which you would not remember if I were to quote them, nor would you thank me for reciting them, I may tell you generally this, that I don't believe in the invidious comparison made between opposite sides of the frontier that divides the Far West. I believe that a healthier country, if properly cultivated and occupied, not overcrowded with labour, I believe that a healthier country does not exist within the Dominion of the Crown

than Manitoba, with its nine millions of acres, a large portion of which is now lying idle, because no man will come and take possession of it. The place is marvellously fertile, and I believe that mortality there is considerably less than in more southern latitudes. Little time is left me to say what I had intended regarding what may be called the antithesis of the present proposal. From the other end of the world—the very Antipodes—simultaneously with this movement in Canada, there comes a voice from Queensland. Now Queensland, we shall perhaps be told, is as much too hot to go to. (Laughter.) It is not that the objectors care about the “sweat of a man’s brow,” but the deviation from the old system of keeping people here for the rush of labour. There is in this town at the present moment the chief minister of Queensland, and I regret he is prevented by illness from being here to-night; but I know that an independent friend of his is in the room, who will correct me if I state anything inaccurately, or overstate anything about his Colony, and who, without being responsible officially, is responsible as a gentleman of large possessions there. Mr. Archer will, I believe, upon an early day have an opportunity of placing in detail before you the resources and advantages of the great and growing country which stretches from the boundary of New South Wales to the Gulf of Carpentaria—a region vast enough to furnish healthful homesteads for all our over-crowded people who desire them, and rich enough in pasture and in tillage to supply them with all the comforts and necessaries of life. From all I have lately learned I have reason to believe that, notwithstanding what has been said of Australia being indifferent to emigration, Queensland, incited in some measure by the same motives as Canada, would very probably act in a similar manner, because she, too, desires to develop her internal resources by means of railways, constructed on the homestead principle.

Queensland is so extensive, and is comprised within so many varying degrees of latitude, that while portions of it abound in tropical produce, other provinces lying in the temperate zone have a climate resembling that of Madeira, and, like that well-known paradise of invalids, begins to plant vineyards and work the wine-press, as well as cultivate every species of food that is fit for man. On the sea-coast the sugar-cane and the cotton plant thrive abundantly; while on the table-lands of the interior, two thousand feet above the sea, there are millions of fertile acres which have never known any occupants but sheep and cattle; and I am not without warrant in saying that for purposes of settlement tomorrow many hundred thousand acres would be available on

terms even easier than those we have been considering elsewhere.

Westward of the sea-coast district of Moreton lies the salubrious and fertile upland of Darling Downs, as large as Yorkshire, or as Mayo or Sligo, Donegal and Roscommon together, portions of which have already become the healthful abode of industrious settlers. Every cereal crop and garden vegetable with which we are familiar thrives in that hospitable soil, and side by side with them the vine and Indian corn come to maturity. The chief town Toowoomba, has its schools and churches, Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian, court-house and banks, public library and club-house, hospital and railway station, waterworks and gasworks, flour mills and saw mills, and factories for soap and tobacco. Fruits and flowers, native and exotic, brighten its environs on every side, and the traces of poverty and destitution are nowhere to be seen. Of the 3,891,200 acres which constitute the district, not thirteen thousand were under tillage last year; the annual return of stock being 7,831 horses, 24,001 cattle, 801,049 sheep: yet in the whole district there are said to be less than 15,000 inhabitants, and that more than three millions and a half of acres are still tenanted only by sheep. Still further west in the same latitude the railway from Brisbane to Roma is opening out the undulating prairies of Maranoa, now conditionally held under lease for pastoral purposes alone; but the greater part of which is reported to be eminently fit for the production of corn and wine. Here is room enough, and to spare, for all the agricultural emigrants likely to quit our shores during the lifetime of the present generation—a land of refuge and of promise for many a Scotch and English, as well as Irish farmer, heart-sick of bad seasons, dull markets, and heavy rates. To make further railways through its undeveloped provinces, Queensland, like Canada, requires workmen who will settle along the line, settlers willing to earn wages in making it.

When you look at the map, and look at the space that is still untilled, you will see at once that this would be only a beginning. If a man is able to remain at home, God bless him! let him remain. (Laughter.) But if a man wants to bring up his children in a better condition than unfortunately he has been born to; if he wishes to benefit himself and his kind, let him accept the offer if he be a wise man—the offer to go to any of the Colonies where there is a gracious and a ready welcome for him. I have only one word more to say, and that is with respect to New South Wales. You have heard that New South Wales is tired of emigration; and I suppose—I don't know whether people fancy, or whether their

minds have been influenced at all by contiguity with Victoria—but they say she is inclined to shut the doors against new-comers because the labour market might be supposed to be injuriously depressed. I speak in the presence of the Lord Mayor and his brother, the member for Leicester, both of them identified by interest and feeling with that splendid Colony. But its Legislature, in point of fact, has never adopted that exclusive principle; on the contrary, only the other day it sent, as we are told, a message to this country that for this year they would limit their funds for assisting emigration to £40,000. Of course I should be delighted if it was more; but I am very glad that it is so much. The Government of Sydney have said what many have said in this room and elsewhere, and in Parliament, but they think it would be a useful test of the fitness of individuals to emigrate that they should contribute substantially towards the object themselves. In consequence of that idea growing in the minds of the colonists, they now require that their £40,000 shall be laid out by a certain proportion being contributed by the emigrants themselves. (Hear, hear.) I have not a word to say against that, or any other rule being laid down by a Colonial Legislature which, in its wisdom, it may think suitable to its actual condition. (Hear, hear.) But where other Colonies desire to have agricultural settlers and are willing to hold out the inducement of land on easy terms, if emigrant families are not able to provide the whole cost of transit and settlement, let the amount be advanced by the Imperial Treasury, the Colonial Government recognising the claim for eventual repayment. I maintain that it is the best spent money that can be laid out by the State. I say that, having regard to the present condition of multitudes of poor or struggling people. I have not the least hesitation in saying I would go to my own constituents and say, Authorise me to vote whatever funds may be necessary to try this great practical experiment in bettering the general condition of the United Kingdom, and thereby consolidating the Empire. (Cheers.)

APPENDIX.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF CANADA.

*Forwarding a Report of a Committee of the Privy Council on a Proposal
for the Organisation of an Irish Immigration to Manitoba and the
North-West.*

Governor-General the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., G.C.M.G., to the Right
Hon. the EARL OF KIMBERLEY. (Received *November 23, 1880.*)

Government House, Ottawa, *November 9, 1880.*

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information, a copy of a report of a Committee of the Privy Council adopting a memorandum prepared by the Minister of Agriculture containing a proposal for the organisation of an Irish immigration to Manitoba and the North-West.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) LORNE.

Colonial Office.

ENCLOSURE.

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council for
Canada, approved by His Excellency the Governor-General, on the
5th November, 1880.

On the recommendation of the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture, the Committee advise that the accompanying memorandum be adopted as a proposal for the organisation of an Irish immigration to Manitoba and the North-West, and that the same should be communicated to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies by your Excellency and through the High Commissioner for Canada in England, should your Excellency see no objection to that course.

Certified, J. O. COTÉ,

Clerk, Privy Council, Canada.

MEMORANDUM.

On the suggestion made to him by the High Commissioner of Canada in England, Sir A. T. Galt, G.C.M.G., the undersigned has the honour to propose the following as a basis of joint action in promoting Irish immigration, should the Imperial Government entertain the project.

The Canadian Government, sympathising with their fellow-subjects of Ireland in their distressed circumstances, would cheerfully co-operate in a well-considered measure of relief by means of a systematic immigration from Ireland. If such a system of Irish immigration were established it is evidently a condition precedent to obtaining the cordial co-operation of Canada, that the immigrants should not become a burden upon the existing population.

In the case of single men and women no serious difficulty would arise, as employment can readily be found. But in the present distressed circumstances of Ireland, it is manifest that it is only by the removal of entire families that any sensible relief would be experienced from the pressure of a redundant population.

Provision would have, therefore, to be made, not only for the transport of the families to their place of settlement, but also for their maintenance until a crop can be had from the land.

In the older Provinces of the Dominion, where the land is all heavily timbered, the difficulty of managing a large immigration would be very great. But in the vast fertile plains of the North-West the question becomes comparatively easy of solution.

By very simple pre-arrangement any required number of farm lots could be prepared for occupation, in the season preceding the arrival of the immigrants, a small dwelling erected, a certain extent of the prairie land broken up and prepared for seed, and in the case of late arrival, actually sown, so as to ensure a crop the same season that the immigrants were placed in possession. This work could be done by contract under proper supervision, and would give employment on arrival to the new immigrant while his crop was growing, thereby greatly reducing the cost of the undertaking, and really limiting it ultimately to little more than the cost of his transport, as the repayment of advances by the earlier settlers would soon be sufficient to meet the annual outlay for preparing new lands.

The cost of removing an immigrant family consisting of parents and three children from the port of embarkation to Winnipeg may now be taken at about £40, subject to a certain increase for their transport thence to their farm lot. The dwelling and eight acres of land prepared for crop with seed may be estimated at from £35 to £40. Some provision for the family might be required on arrival, but the wages of the man ought to suffice for the support of his family till his crop is harvested, after which the immigrant may be regarded as self-supporting.

The Canadian Government provides each settler with a "free grant" of 160 acres, subject only to a patent fee of £2. The settler can also secure the pre-emption of 160 acres adjoining at the current price and usual conditions.

For the reimbursement of the outlay for transport and for establishing the immigrant upon his farm, it is suggested that the Canadian Government would provide that the total cost, as certified to their agent, and acknowledged by the settler, should form a first charge on the land, payable by certain annual instalments with interest.

To obviate the misconception to which Her Majesty's Government might be exposed in favouring any Canadian system of immigration, two points seem to be important:—

1. Instead of direct action by Her Majesty's Government, it is suggested that the whole movement should be conducted under the auspices of a Commission or of a National Emigration Association, with an adequate organisation, both at home and in Canada, and that the pecuniary aid should be given by the Imperial Government in the form of advances to

such Association or Commission, at a low rate of interest; secured upon the settlers' land.

2. All immigration should be voluntary, and assistance should be equally granted to all who come under the conditions laid down.

Were such a Commission or such an Association established, certain tracts of land would be placed at their disposal for settlement, which, under their officers, would be prepared for the incoming families. The Association or Commission would also charge itself with the dissemination of information at home, and with the selection and shipment of the immigrants, while the Canadian Government would make them participant of any reduction on passages obtained in favour of immigrants, and cause them to be cared for on arrival and forwarded at the expense of the Commission or of the Association to Winnipeg, where they would be met by the Government Land Guides, and shown by them their respective lots; after which proceedings the officers of the Commission or of the Association would take them in charge and see them installed on their land, which would have been prepared for occupation during the previous season.

The whole respectfully submitted.

(Signed) J. H. POPE,

Department of Agriculture,

Minister of Agriculture.

Ottawa, *October 30, 1880.*

IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PARTNERSHIP IN EMIGRATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COLONIES AND INDIA."

SIR,—In closing the adjourned discussion on Mr. Torrens's address, the Earl of Dunraven, in commenting on some suggestions I had made on the subject of a plan for issuing third-class tickets to emigrants at one uniform price for all the Colonies, made the following remarks :—

"Mr. Young has suggested that the emigrant should pay £2 towards the expense of carrying him to any Colony to which he may wish to go, and that the balance should be equally divided between the Mother-country and the Colony. The chief difficulty I see in that would be that it would manifestly be to the advantage of the department dealing with this matter to send the emigrant to the nearest Colony, in order as far as possible to diminish the expense."

I am most anxious that it should be clearly understood that my plan involves no such difficulty as his Lordship suggests. The arrangements for receiving emigrants would be made between all the great self-governing Colonies and the Mother-country on a clear and distinct basis, as to the equitable contribution they would pay towards the passage of each emigrant they respectively received. There would be no Imperial Government machinery at work capable of inducing the emigrant to go to one part of the Empire rather than to another. Having been previously properly instructed, and consequently perfectly acquainted with the different advantages appertaining to each and all of the Colonies, he would make his choice at his own free will as to the one to which he elected to proceed, as affording him the greatest inducements for success. He would go to the

proper department under such a system, and demand his ticket, on the payment of his £2, either for Canada, for the Cape, for Australia or New Zealand. He would be no more influenced in his choice than the passenger, who, asking for a ticket for Dover at the Charing Cross Station, could be persuaded by the ticket clerk that it was far better for him to go to Margate or Ramsgate instead.

There would of course be many details to fill up in such a comprehensive system as I propose; but they would offer no insuperable difficulty of solution if the plan was accepted in a bold and broad and statesmanlike spirit. Sometimes there would be a greater or a less demand for emigrants in Canada, or at the Cape, or in Australia; but this would all be adjusted to meet the requirements of the various Colonies without friction or jealousy, if once undertaken in a wise and generous way all round.

Such, sir, is my idea of the true and right principle of conducting a system of National Emigration. I am, &c.,

5, Queensberry Place, S.W.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

April 11, 1881.

DISCUSSION.

Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT, G.C.M.G.: My Lord, my Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that we all owe, especially those who are directly connected with the Colonies, a deep debt of gratitude to the gentleman who has just completed a most comprehensive address on that question which is so interesting to us. We are, perhaps, most of us, connected with the Colonies, and are more directly associated with this question than the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland; but I think the argument which has been addressed to us to-night shows that it is one of those questions in which our interests are common; and that nothing can be for the benefit of the remote sections of the Empire that will not reflect upon the industry and good of England herself. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that those who listened to Mr. Torrens's description of the state of the population of Ireland must have seen that no legislation could reach the evils that are grinding down the population of that country if it did not aid in transferring them to another and happier field for their industry. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Torrens has alluded in very kind terms to the disposition of the Dominion of Canada to assist in relieving the distress of Ireland. I am quite sure that anything that Canada has proposed or may do in reference to that subject will be done with equal zeal—with an equal desire to serve England—by every one of the other Colonies. (Hear, hear.) It is not because Canada may happen to be the largest and the most populous of the dependencies of the Dominion of the Empire that she takes the lead in this matter. It is perhaps

because she feels from her proximity to this country, from the largeness of her population, that it is from her the first invitation should come; that it is, perhaps, in connection with her that relief can be most easily applied to the poor of this country. But I am sure that in that effort to relieve the distress which exists here among the poorer classes, to help them from the depths of misery and distress in which they must for ever remain here, I am sure that every one of the Colonies would act together with this country. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Torrens has done no more than justice to the Government of Canada in stating that they have made the first proposals to the Government of this country for affording relief to the Irish distress by appropriating the immense domain which has lately come into the Dominion of Canada, and converting it into farms for people who cannot find the means of employment here. I am not at liberty to state the progress which has taken place in reference to the offer that has been made. It is still—to speak with a certain amount of reserve—in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. It is still under consideration, whether, in connection with the amelioration of the evils of Ireland, emigration may not be found to be one available resource. (Hear, hear.) I would not desire to detain you on the subject of the proposals that have been made by Canada after the able and kind way in which Mr. Torrens has referred to them, and the assurance that he has given, that his efforts and those of other able men will be directed to press upon the attention of the Government and Parliament here, and upon the people of this country, the desirability of acting in harmony with Canada in this matter. But there are one or two points that I would like to remark upon. One that struck me as being particularly important was the reference that Mr. Torrens made to the effect that the emigration of the kind required for the relief of distress of the poorer parts of Ireland and other portions of the United Kingdom, that that relief should take the form of the removal of families, and not only the able-bodied men. (Hear, hear.) As far as able-bodied men and women are concerned, they require no assistance from the Government of this country or from anyone else. (Hear, hear.) Their labour is always available in any of the Colonies. It is certainly so in Canada. But it is not fair to this country that they should take the able-bodied from their duties here in the support of their aged parents and young children. It is not fair that you should take them away and free them from their responsibilities towards those helpless ones who would have to live upon the industry of those they have left behind. (Hear, hear.) Therefore the Canadian

Government have recognised that fact, and in the paper which has been laid on the table of the Houses of Parliament to-day it will be found that they do not ask the Government of this country to entertain any proposal for aiding emigration for single men and women; they are willing to take the question up as one of removal of the entire family. That necessarily involves a little expense and greater supervision, both on this and on the other side, in reference to their settlement. It would not do for me to occupy you by discussing the details of the plan, which is only, of course, blocked out in the paper which Mr. Torrens has referred to. The details of such a scheme are subjects for future consideration. It certainly would not do to allow anyone to be under the impression that it was wished to force them out of this land. It is not a punishment that is going to be inflicted upon the poor of this country; it is an advantage we desire to give them—(hear, hear)—if they are willing to avail themselves of it. - If, after it has been explained to them, they are dissuaded from any cause from embracing it, then they will remain here to take their fortune or fate, whatever it may be. But nothing is more certain than that, whatever may be the condition of the poor families who may emigrate, their children will have a future before them of a brighter kind; while, if they remain here, the outlook is poor indeed. (Hear, hear.) I feel, as representing Canada, that we are greatly indebted to the gentleman who has addressed us to-night; that it is by the efforts of himself and those who have for many years given their best attention to this subject that not only a public service is done to this country, but a very great public service to us. (Hear, hear.) I will only say that in any scheme which the Government of England may approve of I feel perfectly certain that the Government and the people of Canada will be prepared to do their part. It is a sort of general co-operative contributive scheme of emigration that we intend. It is not fair to Canada that she should take all the burden upon herself; and it is not fair to this country that Canada should have all the advantages of this transfer of the labour she requires. It is by ascertaining how far each is interested in the result, to weigh the advantages that have to be conferred upon them, that in that way we may arrive at a fair and liberal scheme by which the misery of parts of this country may be in many respects removed. Now, I have said so much in reference to what I may call Imperial emigration from Ireland of those who are of themselves unable to go out. But there are many other parts of the United Kingdom which are quite as necessitous, where the people are quite as anxious to get away as those of the distressed districts of Ireland. The necessities of Ireland at this

moment might enable the Government, and may induce them to give assistance for emigration from Ireland which they would withhold from Scotland or England. But as far as the Colonies are concerned, I do not see that we could with justice to our fellow-subjects confine our offer to any portion singly. (Hear, hear.) We do not desire to transfer to Canada any particular class of settlers; it would be dangerous for us; it would be bad for them; it is by mixing them that you will obliterate the remembrance of the past evils which have made Ireland what it is. (Hear, hear.) It is by bringing the different races together that you will ensure their future prosperity. Therefore, I hope that the efforts which have been promised by Mr. Torrens will be followed by action, and will induce the Government to take up this question, it may be at first as regards Ireland alone, but ultimately it may be made more general. I do hope that the efforts will bear fruit, and that the honest labouring man, whether in Ireland, England, or Scotland, who has no future before him except one of great difficulty and distress at times when employment is scarce, will find encouragement and hope abroad, and I trust that such a scheme will be devised that these men may be able to avail themselves of the assistance of this country and of the assistance of the Colonies. Let them choose for themselves where they will go, let them avail themselves of the best opportunity they can get, and thus secure for themselves a future better than anything that can be held out to them in Great Britain herself. (Cheers.)

Sir ARTHUR BLYTH, K.C.M.G.: My Lord, My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The gentleman who has addressed us this evening made one remark, that there was emigration and immigration, and I think that sank rather deeply into the minds of all colonists present. As representing one of the largest, if not the largest, of the Australian Colonies, the question of emigration when I sat, as I did for upwards of twenty years, in the Lower House of South Australia, was always a delicate one to deal with. I have known it to be a popular and an unpopular question; and dealing, as the responsible Government of Australia does, with the means at its command in spending the money of the people in importing emigrants, the great question has always been, "Let us have those people, and those only, that we actually want." Now during the thirty-eight years that I have been in Australia there has been but one class that has always been in demand, the class of female domestic servants. For classes such as farmers, farm labourers, and every other description of labourers have had a fluctuation of being very much in demand at one time and rather over-supplied at another;

and therefore it has been one of the duties of the Australian Colonies to pay the greatest possible attention to the question of emigration. Nor have they been illiberal in the matter. Mr. Torrens spoke about asking the Home Government to vote £100,000 on emigration. Why, I have voted for that sum many times in South Australia, with the greatest [possible pleasure; but it was under certain restrictions, and they were that the nationality of Great Britain should be kept in view. One of the clauses of the old Emigration Act provided this; and perhaps gentlemen present are not aware that, according to the last census of Great Britain, out of every 100 emigrants that should be sent from Great Britain, 72½ per cent. were from England, 17½ per cent. from Ireland, and 10 per cent. from Scotland. Keep that steadfastly in view, as New South Wales has done in its recent vote of £45,000 for assisted emigration. I say keep that steadfastly in view, and I don't think you will find Australia for very long opposed, as some portions of it now are, to emigration. Then the Colony I represent meets this case in a liberal spirit too. We give to every man under forty-five years of age, of sound health, on his producing a medical certificate and paying his own passage, we give him £20's worth of land the moment he puts his foot in the Colony. Is not that an inducement? We want people of intelligence and industry, who will push forward the Colony as it wishes to be pushed forward. I only wish to speak on the general point of the partnership between the Imperial and Colonial Government in emigration. I do not want to say that the Colony I represent is a better field for emigration than Manitoba. I do not wish to narrow the question down to one as between Canada and England. But ask the Colonies; I am not in a position to speak as to what their view is on this partnership in emigration; they would probably say, we will have no partnership in directing the emigration; when we want emigration we will pay for it, and will have those people exactly fitted for our wants. If any of you want to come here and pay your own passage, we will give you more than the value of your passage money available immediately in the purchase of land, or, if you choose to go into other engagements, we will give you the money for it after two years' residence. Nothing is more liberal than I know of than this law which now exists in South Australia. I am sorry the question seems to be rather narrowed into that of the West of Ireland and the fertile district of Manitoba. It seems to me that the matter is not being kept to the question of Imperial and Colonial partnership, and I wish to say that if the Government of South Australia was asked they would

reply in a frank and fair way; I am much mistaken if they would not say, as I have said, that if we want emigrants we will get them when we want them, and pay for them, to fill our labour market as we require them. If the address had been delivered with the desirability of helping the Government in taking the people from the West of Ireland to the fertile fields of Manitoba, I should probably not have been here to-night, for I never was in Manitoba in my life; but, it being a general question of partnership, I should say that the £100,000 which has been talked about is a very small sum towards it, for the Colonies have year by year voted more than that sum for importing emigrants. (Cheers.)

Mr. ARCHER: Holding an independent position here, I am not connected, I am glad to say, with any Government, but I know a little about the subject that is on hand to-night. I am authorised by Mr. McIlwraith, of Queensland, to say that he is extremely sorry that he has not been able to appear here to-night to take part in the discussion which is going on. But he authorised me, as a personal friend, to say that he endorsed everything that Mr. Torrens had said or intended to bring forward here to-night with regard to emigration to Queensland. As to these 20,000 acres which have caused so much comment and surprise in the meeting, I could not understand the meaning of it, because 20,000 acres is really a very small offer to make by the Colony to secure a lot of emigrants which are very much wanted. Agriculturists are very much wanted in Australia, and they would not interfere to any appreciable extent with the labour which is going on there now; agriculturists are what we are most in want of, and we have some districts so fertile that I do not think they can be exceeded in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, both in climate and richness of soil and general adaptability for farmers, the proof of which is that farmers who have been settled there for a number of years, as a rule, are remarkably well off; and there is ample room in the district of Darling Downs, without mentioning half a dozen others, where the climate is perfectly good for Europeans, and where these people can be settled as agriculturists. As for the 20,000 acres of land, I myself rent from Her Majesty's Government 500 square miles—(laughter)—and that is a very small holding; there are men who rent four times that amount—(hear, hear)—so that the question of 20,000 acres is neither here nor there. Again I have to express Mr. McIlwraith's regret that he cannot be here; he has not yet left his bed, but hopes to attend the next meeting; though when I say he has three doctors attending upon him, perhaps that may be rather doubtful.

Mr. A. McARTHUR, M.P. : My Lord, my Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have in the first place to express my great regret that the Agent-General for New South Wales is prevented from being with us this evening. In his absence, perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words on behalf of New South Wales. I am sure we are all much indebted to Mr. Torrens for the very able address he has given us ; but, like my friend Sir Arthur Blyth, I confess I was rather disappointed at first, and if I had not known Mr. Torrens was above anything of that kind, I should have thought my friend on my right, Sir Alexander Galt, and Mr. Torrens were in league to populate Manitoba. Mr. Torrens further on gave us some reference to Queensland, and some slight reference to South Australia and New South Wales. There is one point Mr. Torrens glanced at ; I suppose he did not like to enlarge upon it, and I don't know that it is wise to say much about it either, but I have always thought it strange, and have always been astonished, that British Governments sit quietly and see the enormous stream of emigrants going out to the United States without, as far as I can judge, endeavouring to direct that stream to our own Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Now, like Mr. Torrens, I have no unfriendly feeling towards the United States ; on the contrary, I believe a great majority of our countrymen, and especially the Irish who go there, do well, and better their circumstances. But I had once the pleasure of visiting the United States, and I endeavoured to obtain all the information I could. When conversing with native Americans I found a most friendly disposition towards this country ; but Irish Americans almost invariably expressed the bitterest feelings towards Great Britain. In the Colonies, however, this is not the case ; loyalty to the British Crown is a prominent characteristic of the people. Therefore I have always been surprised that our Government don't take some interest in directing the stream of emigrants to our own Colonies. I recollect returning from Australia just after the Irish famine, and when I was informed that this country had voted some six or seven millions sterling for the relief of the distress in Ireland, I said, What a terrible mistake ; you have degraded and pauperised the people, and have left them worse than you found them ; whereas if you had spent half the money in endeavouring to send them to our Colonies, you would have placed them in a position to benefit themselves, and you would have benefited the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) Now, my lord, when the cotton famine existed in Lancashire, we in New South Wales, and all the Colonies, contributed largely to the relief of the districts there. I wanted the money given in New South

Wales to be devoted to emigration, but we in our generosity gave it to the general fund for the relief of the distress. I believe still that a great many of those who were assisted would have benefited themselves and the Colonies if they had been sent out instead of being supported at home; but I entirely and heartily endorse the sentiment expressed by Sir Arthur Blyth. We in the Colonies do not want the sweepings of this country, or of Scotland, or Ireland; we want domestic servants and families who will spring up and become useful in the Colonies, and we want, if we can get them, persons who can bring some little capital with them. (Hear, hear.) Well, I don't suppose in this country that there is any great feeling of the necessity for emigration at present, and the objections referred to by Sir Arthur Blyth hold good. Mr. Samuel, the Agent-General of New South Wales, a few days ago read me the instructions he had received, and they were as stated—that we don't think anything of race or creed, but what we want is a fair proportion of emigrants from the three countries; we think that would be the best thing for the Colonies, and we are not prepared to take an indiscriminate number of persons, who may or may not be suitable, from any part of the kingdom. I may also say that for many years New South Wales, like the other Colonies, has offered free grants of land as Canada now does; but as a friend of mine said to me when Mr. Torrens had nearly finished, "But he would have done much better if he had been in the Colonies." Now, I think if he had been in the Australian Colonies he would have given us a little more credit with regard to our climate. I don't want to say a word against Canada, but they have intense cold in winter, while we in Australia have perpetual summer and as fine a climate as any in the world; we are, however, at a great distance, and that is the main objection urged by emigrants; whereas Canada is comparatively near, and the expense of getting to it is very little. But those who go, I am certain, will not find it a better Colony than any of the Australian or New Zealand Colonies. A few years ago, to which reference has been made by Mr. Torrens, when there was great distress in this country, I made a proposal that the British Government should pay a third of the passage money, the emigrant another third, and the Colony to which he went should pay the balance; and I believe this would be a very fair distribution. (Hear, hear.) I think it would be an advantage that the emigrant should pay something; if he has no money to pay, let it be advanced, and let him repay it afterwards; and I believe it would be an advantage for the emigrant to feel he has something to pay—it would make him a more useful man. I

am sure we are much indebted to Mr. Torrens for the interest he has taken in this subject. I sincerely hope that the country will take the same interest, and that Mr. Torrens's efforts will be crowned with success. (Cheers.)

Captain COLOMB: There are just one or two practical remarks I should like to contribute to the discussion. In the first place, I should wish to say that I have travelled in twenty-four hours from the south-west of Ireland in order to hear the address. To learn what I have from the address, and to hear the discussion which has followed, I would travel for double the time willingly. (Hear, hear.) Well, the state of Ireland has largely entered into the question of assisted emigration—or, rather, such a scheme of transplantation as would meet the wants of the Colonies and the wants of the Mother-country. I think there has been some misapprehension, which will be properly cleared up by the lecturer. I did not gather the impression from the address which Sir Arthur Blyth seems to have done. I understood it to be the first principle of Mr. Torrens's address not to lay down a hard and fast line, but as a proposition to co-operate with one another in any way that was possible. He wishes the Mother-country not to hold back upon the question of profits, but to address herself to this large question of her necessities by affording all facilities for meeting Colonial wants. (Hear, hear.) But my object in rising is only to give the practical experience derived from a part of Ireland which I may say is perfectly quiet, though in a proscribed county, and it is in a scheduled union, and one in which our chairman here to-night is a brother-ratepayer. He owns the most beautiful island within the union of which I am going to speak. Now, I would desire to put before this meeting and before the members of both Houses of Parliament, both present and absent, what the law at this moment is with regard to emigration, to which I attach the greatest importance, for I feel that a great many in this room will be surprised after hearing the case as it stands. The first Act of Parliament which dealt with the question of emigration in Ireland is dated 1837 or 1838. That gives the ratepayers in an electoral district (if they see fit and two-thirds agree) power to hold a meeting, and, if they like, to tax themselves; and, subject to the approval of Commissioners and divers other persons, they may tax the district to provide for the expenses of emigration for such persons as wish to emigrate. Further, it was specially provided in that Act that emigration was only to be to the British Colonies. Well, that did not work. In 1843 the Emigration Act which is embraced in the Poor Law Act was modified, and it threw upon the Boards of Guardians

what was formerly on the electoral district, still, however, limiting emigration to British Colonies. Then came the famine; and I can best describe the position of that district during the famine in the words of one who had practical experience of it; and as to his nationality I will leave you to guess it: "One half of the people died and the other half of the people went to America, and two-thirds went into the workhouse." (Laughter.) Then came the pressure of Ireland's distress, over-crowding, caught by famine; and why was it? Because we had steadfastly shut our eyes to the impossibility of doing what our chairman here, in one of his letters to the public journals, described in these words, "You cannot put a quart into a pint pot;" eight millions of people had been trying to live on what was only sufficient for three. You had too many people, but you had nothing to give them as a means of escape; we had been trying to do it, and the result was that thousands of men, women, and children perished in the attempt. Then came the Emigration Act, 1847, which provided that any holder of land of less than five acres who chose to surrender his land might be assisted to emigrate if the landlord contributed two-thirds of the expense; the Board of Guardians, of course, contributing the other third. That became a dead letter. Two years after we had that Act, which still remains on our Statute Book, and which is a disgrace to the Imperial Legislature, and I say this deliberately in the presence of members of both Houses of Parliament. And I will prove it. That Act for the first time gives the guardians power to assist "out of the rates" persons to emigrate to foreign countries instead of only to British Colonies. Thus I am taxed to send my fellow-subjects of the Queen to a land in which their allegiance is lost, and where they go to add to the resources of a foreign country—America. It is a small union; the valuation of it is £2,000 a year, the population being about the same in numbers; while, as for the land to be taxed, it is nearly all rock. (Laughter.) I think Lord Dunraven will bear me out in that, for he owns some of it. (Renewed laughter.) Now what has been the result? The result of that Act has been this. I will give you the exact figures, for it is better to be exact in these matters. Well, I will not take up your time with figures; but you have actually done this, you have taxed me, you have spent my money, and you compelled me to pay it, to send men to America—(hear, hear)—and what to do? Why, to send back sedition. (Hear, hear.) That is what you do, and that is what has happened. The whole of that portion of the Duchess of Marlborough's fund allocated for purposes of emigration—some £700—

was used by the various unions to send people to America to become citizens of a foreign State. We in our union got £100. Naturally I proposed to send those who wished to emigrate to our own Colonies only; but Irishmen say, "Bedad, we don't know where they are or how to get there." Two hundred applicants we turned away of those who wished to emigrate. We could not send them for want of funds. Those we did send we sent to the States, and they are lost to our Empire, being transferred to a foreign State instead of "transplanted" to our own lands—to Canada and Australia. I ask if this is to continue, if we are to be for ever blind to our real Imperial wants by neglecting the question brought before us to-night. (Cheers.)

Mr. HEPPLE HALL: At this late hour of the evening I do not know that I am warranted in expecting the audience to listen to me. But with all deference to our lecturer, and without prejudice to any speaker in this assembly, I think we are travelling rather wide of our mark. It seems to me that the great question of national emigration ought to be discussed in a different spirit from that in which it has been discussed to-night. It seems to me that our Colonial gatherings are held rather for the purpose of giving an opportunity to Agents-General of particular Colonies to vent their particular grievances. (No, no.) I am not a representative of any Colony, but I almost wish sometimes for the sake of the Colonies that I was. I have been mixed up with emigration since I was a youth, and I have arrived at this conclusion, that from a sincere patriotic desire to promote emigration you are gradually overdoing it. There are two points in Mr. Torrens's address on which I should like to say a word. It seems to me that the gist of his remarks turns largely on two points: one selection, the other assistance. Those are the points we have to deal with; and not whether we send the emigrant to Canada or Australia, because the one is cold and the other hot—(laughter)—but simply because we have a large surplus population growing up around us always; it never can be kept under, and it is always on the increase, and, therefore, a broad comprehensive scheme of national emigration is every day growing more imperative. The question of selection is perhaps the most important. No one knows better than Sir Alexander Galt about emigration, and he and Sir Arthur Blyth have told us that the one wants domestic servants and the other agricultural labourers. Does that not give us the key to the whole question, after all—namely, that it is a question of selection, and that the Colonies want people specially adapted to their special needs? Canada wants the farmer for her corn-fields in Manitoba; and as regards

Australasia and all that grand group of Colonies in the South Pacific, they have their special needs, which are largely agricultural, and, therefore, it makes the question one of selection. We have been sending for a long time round posts to fill square holes in respect to emigration. I have been to both sides of the world on emigrant vessels, and I have studied the wants of emigrants for thirty years; and I speak from facts when I say that selection is the important element in emigration. With regard to the other point—assistance—speaking for myself, my desire is to do the emigrant all the good I possibly can. I do think when we look at this question of assistance, that we are treading upon very delicate ground indeed. The great value of all emigration is, that it should be perfectly voluntary; and I look with some distrust, I confess, on State interference—although I am not here as a pessimist of any State scheme of emigration—upon any organised scheme of Government control in regard to emigration; for this reason, that believing, as I do, that selection is the chief point in having men and women, boys and girls specially selected for a special field of labour and for the special kind of work they are to perform; and to move them in large numbers, whether from Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, or any other part of the world, you do a great deal of mischief. I cannot help giving expression to these crude remarks of my own. I have listened with the utmost pleasure to the address, and I think it is most suggestive, and therein consists its value. I think the ideas thrown out are valuable; but I cannot say I concur in any general scheme of Government emigration, for the reasons I have assigned. Congested populations must be dealt with in a broad, philanthropic manner, and that is a question too broad for me to undertake to discuss at this hour. Mr. McArthur has expressed surprise about emigration going to the United States. I can tell you in one word what is the reason. I have studied that subject, and the reason why so large a proportion of our vast population go to the United States, and why the largest part of the skilled labour has gone there in times past, and is still going there now, is that the United States have valuable properties to put the emigrants on, and the Americans themselves thoroughly understand how to work the business. The reason why so many of our people go out there is that they have their broad lands, their homestead laws, and their liberal system of dealing with the people as advantages to offer. Canada is now entering the list. I have seen Canada at her worst and best. I think she is entering upon a period of active commercial and industrial prosperity, such as the American continent has not seen south of St. Lawrence, and few of

the States to-day compare with that great granary of the North-West as fields for emigration. I think that Canada to-day presents a better field for a certain class of our people that desire to emigrate than the United States offer, and it will be our own fault if so large a proportion of our people continue to go there and keep our own Colonies void. (Cheers.)

Major-General LOWRY, C.B.: As one who spent many happy years soldiering from one part of Canada to another, I desire to express the extreme pleasure with which I have heard the lecturer's announcement this evening of the minute of the Government of the Dominion to promote emigration to that country, which, he tells us, has this day been placed before our Houses of Parliament. I think that you, who have heard the Papers given for some time past at our Colonial Institute meetings, will agree with me how singularly fortunate we have been in the men of eminent attainment, experience, and power who have addressed us. We have had the great advantage of the ripe experience and information of our ablest men upon almost every part of these vast dominions, which are the peculiar privilege and glory of the Mother-country. Sir Richard Temple gave us a glowing picture, not alone of the responsibilities and duties, but of the advantages to ourselves, if rightly used, of our great Indian territory. Sir Bartle Frere enchained our interests with his enlightened views of South Africa, its needs and capacities. Sir Alexander Galt, in his most statesmanlike and able Paper, riveted our attention on the present and future of the great Dominion of Canada. And now, as a most fitting sequel, we have had the whole field of emigration and our Colonies discussed in no uncatholic spirit by the lecturer of to-night. For, if the main part of Mr. Torrens's address has been directed to Canada, as perhaps for the present the most pressing field for us to go forth and occupy, he has certainly not left unnoticed those other 'vantage grounds for our use and blessing offered by the other dependencies of the British Empire. If, as I take it, emigration from England, Ireland, and Scotland be about the most pressing subject of this day, this Institute of ours has been keeping true pace with the beating pulse of the nation's heart in thus putting it so prominently before you as each one of these four able lecturers have done in the early months of this year. And I think we must surely see, from Mr. Torrens's eloquent and earnest remarks to-night, that the subject will not be lost sight of by Parliament. To a great extent, it seems to me, emigration to our own Colonies may be a panacea for many of the ills afflicting one portion, at all events, as well as a needed boon to all portions

of these Home lands; and that, like charity, it will bless those that give and those that take. Let us but act towards it in a large and generous spirit, and I dare to say we will experience more and more as years go on that our Colonies—God's best gift to us as a nation—will be, if wisely treated, more and more sources of pride, of strength, and of advantage to us. The gatherings of this Institute in larger numbers from month to month, from every quarter of the Empire, must tend to strengthen our hands, and the hands of whatever Government may be in power, and to weld all together for the true interests of our country, our Colonies, and ourselves. It may be, indeed, this so rapidly-growing Royal Colonial Institute, on the lines on which it is working, is destined to do a great work not only towards consolidating the Empire of England at home and abroad, but towards forecasting and foreshadowing that Empire's—in the deeper and fuller meaning of the words—Imperial Parliament. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think that the opinion I expressed when introducing Mr. Torrens has been fully justified, and that he has delivered a most able lecture on a most interesting subject; indeed, it has proved so interesting that, as I expected, so many gentlemen who ought to be heard are desirous of speaking that it will be impossible to conclude the discussion to-night. It will therefore be my duty to adjourn this meeting to another occasion. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to say that among those gentlemen who have expressed their desire to speak is Mr. James Tuke, whose name I am sure will be familiar to you all as one who has devoted an immense deal of time and labour to the investigation and elucidation of this subject, being well acquainted with Ireland in former days, having visited the distressed portions of that country, and having gone to Manitoba and America to learn for himself what could be done there. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I shall not keep you long now, it being rather late; but I would like to say one or two words on this subject, as it is one which interests me very much. Last summer, having had the pleasure and the advantage of conversing on this subject with Mr. Pope and Sir John Macdonald, the present Prime Minister of Canada, I ventured to make some remarks upon it in the House of Parliament in which I have the honour to sit; and I shadowed forth at the time a good deal that is contained in the memorandum which Mr. Torrens has alluded to. Well, the House of Lords, with that dignity which becomes it, rather sat upon me than otherwise—(laughter)—and I was told that emigration was a very difficult subject, and one that the Government did not particularly care to deal with. But it

appears to me that Mr. Torrens was right in saying that if there are difficulties in the way, that is exactly what the Government ought to grapple with. In fact, that is what the Government is for—(hear, hear); their duty is to overcome difficulties; and it appears to me, if they object to touch a subject because it is a delicate and a difficult one, that they cease to carry out the functions for which they are placed in the position which they occupy. (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. McArthur—who, I fear, has already left—called our attention to what is an important fact, viz. the great advantage of our directing emigration to our own Colonies. There can be no doubt that our own Colonies are the proper places to receive the overplus of our population, because it is more natural that our own children should receive the benefit, than that other people, who are not so closely allied to us in blood, should do so. (Hear, hear.) And it is an advantage to us. There is no doubt that a great deal of disaffection in Ireland is perpetuated by the great enmity felt towards Great Britain by Irish Americans. The fact is that people leave Ireland, having led miserable lives there; they go to the United States, and find a different condition of things. They find, in the first place, that they must exert themselves, for, if they do not, nobody will take care of them; and, in the second place, they find that if they exert themselves they soon become prosperous and well-to-do. They do not stop to reason about it; and they imagine that the cause of their prosperity is due to the fact that they are no longer under the British flag. If they go to Canada, they have equal opportunities, and they make equal use of them; they have the same degree of prosperity; and they become loyal subjects of the Queen. But the conclusion they come to on this subject generates a great deal of enmity to this country. Now, some mention was made of the fact that Canada has come rather prominently forward in this question of emigration as related to Ireland. Well, that is accounted for by the distress and the overcrowding in certain parts of Ireland, which naturally calls our attention to that portion of the United Kingdom where emigration is most needed; and the reason why Canada offers the first inducement to emigration is its proximity to Ireland. As Mr. Torrens says, distance is almost annihilated, still it is not quite annihilated; and if a man has got to leave his native land, it makes some considerable difference to him whether he has to go a journey which will occupy him a fortnight, or three weeks, or a month. (Hear, hear.) Another thing: I think Canada has been specially prompt on this occasion. The Canadians saw this distress coming on, and that

there would be great necessity for emigration ; and, with commendable energy, they stepped in and offered peculiar advantages to persons desirous of emigrating to Canada. They also appear to take a little wider and more liberal view of the subject than some other Colonies. I gather from the suggestions of Sir Alexander Galt, and I perfectly agree with him, that it is wise and well that emigrants, say from Ireland, should more or less be mixed up with the population amongst which they go, and that they should not be settled *en bloc* in their midst. (Hear, hear.) But, as I understood Mr. McArthur and Sir Arthur Blyth, they considered it necessary to obtain an equal proportion of emigrants from the three kingdoms—they wanted emigrants in assorted lots. (Laughter.) Here there is a little difficulty ; because, obviously, if Ireland suffers as it did last year, that is the particular part of the United Kingdom from which the people will go. But, if you have 1,000 or 10,000 families wanting to go from Ireland, you cannot send them if it is necessary to send also 1,000 or 10,000 families from Scotland and an equal number from England, for, possibly, that number of families may not desire to emigrate from the two latter countries. (Hear, hear.) I agree in the main principle about its being undesirable, as a general rule, for the State to occupy itself in matters which can be done without its assistance. But in this matter of emigration I think assistance from the State is necessary and desirable. The State alone, being entirely disinterested, can guarantee proper treatment to emigrants, who should not be dependent upon private individuals and companies, however excellent and honest they may be. The great object appears to me to be that emigration should be made as easy and painless as possible. (Hear, hear.) It is hard enough for any man to leave his native land, unless he does so naturally and willingly. It is hard, I mean, for him to be obliged to do so from distress and poverty ; and the only thing that can be done is to alleviate his suffering, and render it as small as possible. It is necessary to that end that his family should accompany him. (Cheers.) I was glad to hear Sir Alexander Galt say that it is unfair for the bone and sinew of the country to leave it, and the helpless women and children and old men to remain behind. (Hear, hear.) It is only fair that if the bread-winner is obliged to emigrate, those dependent on him should accompany him. (Hear.) It appears to me that this is a matter in which the State may very well interfere, to the extent of seeing, as far as we are concerned, that the Canadian Government fully carry out their promises. The Canadian Government, on their part, will see that we send them material they require. I think

one of the most extraordinary things is the difficulty which people seem to have in grasping details, even where they recognise great principles. (Hear, hear.) The principle of free trade has been conceded long ago in this country; and yet it is astonishing, even now, how difficult it is to persuade some people that where you have a country with an immense population, and a small quantity of land, and *vice versâ*, that it would be a good thing to move that population to the land. If you could move the land to the population it would be better, but you cannot. (Laughter.) I will not detain you any longer now. I am sure you will agree with me in thanking those gentlemen who have spoken to-night, and in moving a most hearty vote of thanks to Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens for his interesting and instructive lecture. (Cheers.) I will now move that this meeting be adjourned to this day week, Tuesday, the 29th inst., as there are already eight or nine gentlemen who wish to speak.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I beg to second his lordship's proposal, as I understand that the Directors of the Grosvenor Gallery Library will permit us to meet in this room on this day week.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library, on Tuesday, March 29th, 1881. The Right Hon. the Earl of DUNRAVEN, K.P., Vice-President, in the chair. Amongst those present were the following :—

Messrs. W. M. Torrens, M.P., J. A. Blake, M.P., Walter Peace (Natal Government Emigration Agent), J. R. Saunders, Mrs. Carey-Hobson (Cape Colony), Miss A. W. Buckland, the Rev. Wm. Panckridge, Messrs. R. W. Murray (Cape Colony), C. D. Collet, Charles Boulnois (India), J. A. Upton, William Taylor, Mrs. and Miss Blake, Messrs. C. J. Whellams (North-West Canada), F. W. Fox, J. V. Elliott Taylor, J. V. Irwin, F. M. Button (South Australia), S. Yardley, C. Donovan (New South Wales), J. Banks Taylor, Mr. Francis Gwynne (Victoria), Miss Gwynne, Messrs. E. Chapman, S. W. Silver, Colonel W. F. Stephens (Melbourne), Major Lloyd, Messrs. J. H. Tuke, F. P. Labilliere, Thomas McIlwraith (Queensland), J. W. P. Jauralde, John Payne (Cape Colony), R. Thylon, C. Pfoundes (Japan), E. A. Wallace, C. T. Wakefield, Alexander Wilmot (Cape Colony), Mr. John Rae, M.D., F.R.S., and Mrs. Rae, Messrs. Howard, Hodgkin, Thomas Archer (Queensland), J. G. Colmer, W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), William Clark (British Guiana), A. B. Abraham, J. D. Wood, E. Hepple Hall, Stephen Bourne, J. Standish Haly, Alexander Rivington, W. Miller, J. F. V. Fitzgerald, James Scully, T. S. Cox, N. J. Synnott, C. D. Buckler, V. Hussey Walsh, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Mr. F. W. Stone, B.C.L. (Canada), Miss E. Skeffington Thompson, Messrs. A. H. Good, E. H. Gough, Robert Irving, Augustus G. Perceval, C. Martin, Miss Young, Miss Palmer, Mrs. Colomb, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.).

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the Fifth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed.

The Noble CHAIRMAN then said: Ladies and Gentlemen, in resuming the discussion we adjourned last Tuesday, I call upon Mr. WALTER PEACE, of Natal, to address you.

Mr. WALTER PEACE: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel I occupy a position to which I am by no means entitled unless it is intended that I should make the preliminary canter to lead into the discussion which is to follow; an adjourned discussion is generally somewhat tame. We have lost the inspiring eloquence of such speakers as we had the pleasure of listening to last Tuesday; and, as I do not think I shall trouble you up to the full extent allowed to speakers—ten minutes—you will have not so much to forgive. In the first place I take the opportunity of expressing my sense of the obligations that Mr. Torrens has placed us under by the time and attention he has devoted to the preparation of the very able Paper which he read—very able indeed—in

connection with the subject on which he treated. (Hear, hear.) I take it as a contribution intended for the education of the upper ten thousand and the upper middle-classes; and on Colonial questions I do not think there is any subject on which those classes are more in need of education. (Applause.) I feel, however, that there is a little misapprehension on the part of Mr. Torrens in bringing in the word "partnership." Partnership presupposes two people who are not already connected; and I think it will be a bad day for the country when it is necessary to take the outside view of partnership in anything which relates to Great Britain and her Colonies. (Hear, hear.) We all know that the British Empire extends over a great portion of the globe, and that none of its members can suffer without the whole body suffering. That the whole Empire has suffered, and is suffering, from want of sufficient attention having been paid to the subject of colonisation in the past, we all know; but I think we shall all know it at a greater cost and a much heavier sacrifice before many years are over. Sir Alexander Galt, in the very able and statesmanlike Paper he delivered a little while ago, called our attention to some facts, two or three of which are present to my memory, that during the last twenty-eight years England has parted with over 3,000,000 of her subjects, who are now aliens to this country, to the United States of America, which is by no means a thick-and-thin friend of England. For the last five years there have been more inhabitants of Great Britain who have left this country and gone to the United States of America—well, nearly twice as many as the whole white population of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) When I mention South Africa, my lord, the idea occurs to me that it is the first time South Africa has been mentioned in this discussion, including the whole of the last meeting. (Hear, hear.) The Paper Mr. Torrens read does not deal (whether it was his intention or not I cannot say) with the question of colonisation and the question of emigration as regards the Empire. As Sir Arthur Blyth very properly pointed out, the Paper was devoted more to certain schemes which are now on foot in connection with the colonisation of Manitoba and the relief of distress in the South and West of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) A few passing words about South Australia and New South Wales—those were the only references made to any portion of the British Colonial Empire. I feel regret, though probably there were reasons present to the mind of Mr. Torrens which made him curtail his remarks to those few points. Mr. Torrens said that he would not favour any scheme which might raise suspicion in the minds of the colonists of favouritism—that he would not be a party to any partiality in

the action of the House of Commons. I am very glad to hear this from the tenour of the lecture to which I have referred; and I only hope that in his seat in the House he will be able and will continue to take a lively interest in the question, which is becoming the most prominent and most important question which the English Parliament will have to deal with; and I also hope the members of the two Houses will themselves realise that the British Empire as it exists is not in a position to be played with with impunity. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Torrens has alluded to the fact, *inter alia*, that we can do with the pith and marrow at home; and so we can. In England we can do with all the pith and marrow—the intelligent, sober, and industrious artizans; but it is no use thinking that under any scheme of emigration any of our Colonies will accept anything less. (Hear, hear.) So long as they can get the best men, they will get them. A gentleman near me, Mr. Hall, implied the other night that Government emigration agents as a rule are troubled with a moral obliquity which does not make it fit that they should carry out the duties entrusted to them. We are not all blessed with the experience of Mr. Hall, for he is interested, I believe, in an emigration scheme for which he is both Government and Emigration Agent. I am sorry to say I did not benefit by his lecture so much as I perhaps ought to have done. (Laughter.) As regards sending out females, it is a regulation in this country; and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies will not give his consent to any married man being granted assistance for passage to any of the British Colonies unless he takes all his family with him—that is, all those who are dependent on him; and I doubt whether any Colony will ever be induced to subscribe to the passage out for more than those. The style of men that are wanted as colonists are men who feel that they are determined to better their condition in life—(hear, hear)—men who will trust in God and their own right arm; and men whom the agents are good enough to think promise well. We do not want men weakened by debauchery, unsteady, and addicted to drink, and, therefore, incapable of performing a good day's work for a good day's wage. We have got in the Colony, I repeat, plenty of good land and plenty of work for those inclined to work, either on the "land" or in following their different trades as artisans. We do not profess to say that we have got 20,000 acres in extent to give to him in Natal, where the conditions of life are too valuable for that; but we can give them the right to take up land and pay for it at 10s. per acre, by ten yearly payments of 1s. per acre; if people do not consider freehold land worth paying that for, we say

we do not want such persons. Ten shillings per acre for the freehold is not a bad offer. The principle of selection I need not deal with here. Mr. Hall objected to the question of assistance. I say it is only to those who are willing to help themselves that any Government could be called upon fairly to render assistance. I have sent off some people to Natal by the *Garth Castle* to-day, and I confidently expect that in a few years' time, when I may hope to meet them again, I shall find them in a different and improved position from what they are in when leaving this country. You will excuse this reference to the small Colony of Natal; but of all Colonies that England possesses, there is not one which at the present time shows such an average of wealth in her people, such freedom from distress—climatic or otherwise—in fact, no Colony which reproduces more thoroughly the best phases of English provincial life than does the Colony of Natal. (Hear, hear.) As Sir Arthur Blyth said with regard to South Australia, when they want colonists they will fetch them and pay for them. I myself should be very glad to see the Mother-country stretching out the hand of sympathy to bring herself more within touch of Colonial feeling—(hear, hear)—and I am sure there is not one of the Colonies of England where the people are not ready and anxious, and have been long looking for such a feeling on the part of the Parliament and people of this country. (Applause.) Mr. Torrens has said that distance has been annihilated. There is one thing of which I am sure, that there is no greater distance can be named than that between the conceptions of Colonial life which obtain in England and the facts. (Hear, hear.) An Englishman is never so good as when he has been transplanted. I consider that the youth of the average Englishman is wholly stunted in comparison with what he attains after he has been abroad into the world and become more thoroughly developed. The noble Lord, the Chairman, spoke the other night of making the separation as painless as possible. His remarks were kindly intended; but the men who require a great amount of coddling and inducing to go to the Colonies, of whose arm we must take hold and say, "Here, my good fellow, come along, it will not be for long; you will make your fortune in a few years, and then come back again!" they are not the sort of men to make colonists. (Hear, hear.) Unless a man feels within himself a desire to improve his position in life, and to make himself a credit to the nation to which he belongs, he is not likely to succeed. No half-hearted work will do in the Colonies; and, if any practical effect should result from this and other lectures delivered in this room, it will be necessary to get at the people of England

to let them realise that they are only going to another part, and a better part, of the Empire. I think a great deal of good will result, and that we shall see the day when the British Empire will be what we used to regard it twenty years ago. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES H. TUKE: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I feel that I ought to offer an apology for presuming to speak in a company like this, when there are so many gentlemen who have had opportunities far greater than my own for becoming acquainted with Imperial Colonisation. My apology for speaking at all must be that, having during the winter and early spring of 1880 been very much engaged in the West of Ireland investigating the condition of the people there, I became very strongly impressed with the importance, if not absolute necessity, of emigration from certain districts of the West of Ireland. Not that emigration is a panacea for the evils of Ireland—(loud cheers)—the panacea for the evils which beset Ireland is *work in Ireland*—(applause)—not emigration. What is wanted is to place the Irishman in such a position that he can most thoroughly and practically develop that which is the staple of his own country—the land. That I take to be the panacea for Irish distress, of Irish want; but, having said so, I nevertheless do most strongly feel that emigration is a most important question in reference to certain districts of the West of Ireland. We can hardly have any conception, without witnessing it, of the dire poverty of certain districts in the West of Ireland. We can hardly have any conception of the small holdings and the small occupations of the people there; and when, in the autumn of last year, wishing to have a tour in the United States, it was suggested to me by my friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that I might visit Manitoba and other districts to which it was proposed by the Canadian Government that emigrants should be assisted by the Home Government, I included these as a portion of my journey. Thus, in the course of one year, I saw perhaps the most distressed population on the face of the earth, and, on the other hand, the most unbounded prospect of benefit and improvement for their condition, in those great, wide, fertile prairie lands in the North-Western territory of Canada. In the one country, tens of thousands of strong men, idle and discontented for want of employment; and, in the other, within reach in fourteen days, millions of acres of prolific land lying idle, and needing these very men to develop their untold wealth. The contrast could scarcely have been greater. When I afterwards saw Irishmen, both in Canada and Minnesota, or other parts of the United States, who had gone there as miserable and wretched as those whom I have referred to, and who, after a

few years, had become thoroughly well-to-do in the true [sense of the word—hard-working, industrious people, with their lands about them—I own it made me feel with still greater force the immense importance which attaches to our Government taking up, as one portion of the remedies for the evils in Ireland, the question of emigration. (Hear, hear.) It will, however, I am afraid, be urged by gentlemen like the one who has just favoured us with some remarks—to which I have listened with very great pleasure—that I am going back to the old rut, the old failing, of speaking exclusively upon Canada and Ireland. Well, it would seem to me that in looking at meetings like the one held the other evening to listen to and discuss a paper on Colonial Emigration, and of which this is a continuation, that this is really what we want—that each individual, from his point of view, shall give us the information which he has. (Hear, hear.) To my own mind, I have no jealousy; I am delighted to hear about Natal and Australia; I am delighted to hear about New Zealand; but, on the other hand, I think it is very desirable and very important that we should also know something about Canada—(hear, hear)—and it would be a pity if any petty jealousy should prevail on the subject. Perhaps I even go further than some of the gentlemen who have spoken; for, whilst I do very strongly contend that it should be the duty of our Government to *assist* and to give information with reference to our Colonies, I do not regret to the same extent that some gentlemen do, to find that a large number of Irishmen have gone to the United States; for, after all, the United States are a great English-speaking people. (“No, no!” and “Yes, yes!”) Well, they are a portion of the great English-speaking people; and I think we may be justly proud that the great United States is an English-speaking people. (Applause.) Let us imagine it to be, for a moment, a French-speaking people or a German-speaking people, instead of an English-speaking people! I own, when I was called upon in the United States to address a company there, I said, “I feel as an Englishman that I am speaking to Englishmen;” and that, I believe, is the true way we want to look at this question. The noble lord who presides over us has shown how deeply he appreciates the United States, having purchased, I will not say a Paradise there, but something next door to it, in that magnificent estate of Estes Park. But having said so much by way of, shall I say guarding myself against some remarks I want to make, I do, on the other hand, most heartily wish that our Government would take up this question of emigration to our Colonies. It is, to my mind, a matter of extreme regret (and I do not hesitate to say so) that looking back for

the past twenty-eight years since this great tide of emigration set in, that of 2,637,000 persons who have left Ireland, no less than 1,715,000 have found their way to the United States, and 370,000 only to all our own Colonies.* And so, again, with the past year, out of 95,000 emigrants, 74,600 went to the United States, whilst not more than 3,052 went to Canada, and 4,000 to Australia and other Colonies. (Hear, hear.) This is much to be regretted; for whilst it is impossible to avoid feeling that the "attractive power," the momentum of some 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 of people in the United States, will always tell against the 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 in Canada, and the 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 in our other Colonies; still, I do not see, if the Government had been alive to the far-reaching importance of emigration, why a large number of these persons might not have been rightly directed into our own Colonies. (Hear, hear.) But, you will say, surely, if 2,600,000 persons have emigrated from Ireland in the past twenty-eight years there is no need for State aid? That emigration which last year amounted to 95,000 people from Ireland, and during the last twenty-eight years has varied from 37,000 to 190,000, that this immense stream does not require to be assisted. Well, in a certain way, I think we must say that it does not need to be assisted, that the numbers are as large as they need to be. (Hear, hear.) When we look, also, at the amount of aid which has been sent over by these people in these twenty-eight years we find that it is no less than £20,000,000 sterling. (Applause.) That large sum has been sent over by the poor people who have gone out to the United States or Canada, in small sums, to their brethren, their fathers, mothers, and sons and daughters at home, and surely it may be said that these people may be left to aid themselves! There is great force in that; but what a noble thought that these people have sent over here year by year such sums of money! that last year £1,400,000 should have been sent over by the immigrants in the United States and Canada to assist their poor brethren in Ireland. It is a very striking and very important fact, and one which should be recognised when we speak of Irish unthrift and Irish idleness. (Applause.) There are, then, three questions which seem to me to arise for our consideration, namely, (1) Is the emigration from the poorest districts of Ireland—the most densely peopled districts, and from the classes which most need help there? (2) Is the emigration now going on the most beneficial to the country—to Ireland, and does it really take those whom it is

* 600,000 found their way to Great Britain.

desirable should leave, or whom it is desirable to have as colonists? And (3) Are the centres to which the emigrants go the best on national and Imperial grounds? I have already gone into the third question, and I need not, therefore, touch upon it further. As to the first, whether emigration is really from the districts which we know want helping, which we had fed last winter in Ireland, to this it is replied that of the 95,000 who left Ireland in 1880, 28,000 went from the rich, prosperous province of Ulster—nearly one-third of the whole from Ulster—whilst from Connaught, the source of the trouble and difficulty, or at least a large portion of it, where last winter and spring a majority of the people had to be helped and fed, only 20,000 emigrated. Look, again, at the emigration from Ulster: if we would divide it into Ulster prosperous and Ulster non-prosperous, we must take for the latter the county of Donegal, where last winter there were 60,000 people being fed with daily rations, and we find that, out of the 28,000 emigrants who left the province, 3,300 only were from Donegal. Thus, we find the smallest number leaving the most impoverished districts. (Applause.) Tally these two facts: does it not appear that, whilst there are as many men and women leaving Ireland every year as we could wish to see as Englishmen, yet they are not the men and women we could wish to see, having regard to the great question of the impoverishment of Ireland. It may be urged that these very poor people are not wanted in the Colonies. I do not think, however, there is any material difference, any radical difference, between those on the west coast and the people of Munster and the other districts. That is my own impression. I have met or heard of hundreds of Mayo men in the United States and in Canada, who would stand the test as well, as thoroughly good colonists, as those from other parts of Ireland. As regards the second question, whether the people who emigrate go in families, I do not know anything more striking than the figures which are published in reference to this in these emigration returns. Out of 95,000 people who left last year, 52,000 of them were between the ages of 15 and 25, and 20,000 between the ages of 25 and 35, whilst 15 per cent. were under 15, and 10 per cent. over 35 years of age. Seventy-five per cent. of the whole were thus between the ages of 15 and 35, and in addition a very large proportion (70 to 80 per cent.) of these people were unmarried; thus the family element was almost entirely wanting. That is, I believe, one exceedingly important matter indeed, and the Canadian Government are very strongly impressed with the necessity of inducing families to emigrate. Much of the mischief which has occurred in reference to emigration

to the United States and other portions of America, has arisen from the fact of single men and single women, in the absence of the family element, remaining in the cities, and not going out at once to take up land, as the Germans and others so largely do. Looking at the important bearing of the various facts I have hastily alluded to, it must, I think, be felt that it is exceedingly important for the Government carefully to consider the whole question of emigration. (Applause.) Upon the third question I have already stated my views, and I will not say any more as to whether the countries selected by the emigrants are the best for the purpose. I believe I should be taking up more time than I ought to do, and I will, therefore, hastily conclude by saying just this in reference to the North-Western Territory and Manitoba, that the result of my inquiries very strongly confirms all that has been said as to the extraordinary resources and fertility of the country, and that there is a great field for enterprise—a great opening there for our surplus population for many years to come. It is of the greatest importance to Canada that the enormous district now called the “North-Western Territory” should have been opened out, and the only wonder is that it has not been opened out before. I think the chief reason why this has not been done is to be found in the circumstance that for nearly seven months of the year access is denied to the Colony except through the United States; and, as you know, very great importance is, therefore, being attached to the Canada Pacific Railway, which will develop this immense territory. It is without doubt a land of very great promise, and I may refer anyone who cares to know more of its advantages and disadvantages, to an article on emigration in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Whilst in Manitoba I met a tenant of our noble chairman, a most intelligent man, with whom I travelled one or two days, and whose knowledge of land was a great assistance to me. He had come to the opinion, which I believe almost everyone else who has visited the country has formed, viz., that there is in the great North-Western Territory a very great opening for British colonists. I must apologise for having taken up so much of your time. (Cheers.)

Dr. JOHN RAE: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It may be from the old love of the country, the great North-West of Canada, in which I have passed many years of my life, that it has a great attraction for me, and that leads me to give a favourable opinion regarding it. As to the soil, I have had large opportunities of judging of its excellence, having traversed the country on three occasions (on one of which I crossed the Rocky Mountains) in

summer and once in winter. On the journey across the mountains above referred to, my attention was particularly drawn to the quality of the soil, and, with one or two trifling exceptions, I found it remarkably fine along the whole line of route from Winnipeg westward. Where lands have been cultivated crops have been consecutively grown for twenty or thirty years on the same fields, yielding large returns, without manure of any kind; in fact, when a farmhouse was near the banks of a river, all the manure from the cattle was sledged out on to the river, to be carried away when the ice broke up in spring. Now, as to the great rush of emigration to the United States instead of Canada, no speaker that I have heard has given one of the chief reasons which has led most of the Irish people and others to go to the United States in preference to Canada. This attraction is the great prairie lands of the United States, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, &c., where they have patches of wood, but the great bulk of the land is prairie, where the buffaloes in former years were to be seen in countless thousands. Those lands are reached by railway very rapidly, and the emigrants had merely to scratch a few acres of this prairie, put in the seed, and raise a crop the first season of their arrival. With the emigrant to Canada the case was different. He was located on a thickly-timbered piece of land, every yard of which had to be cleared. I have tried cutting down trees myself as an amateur, and I can say from experience that to one not accustomed to use the axe, there is no harder or more laborious work. All the young men that go from the north of Scotland to Hudson's Bay, have usually during winter a fixed daily amount of wood-chopping to accomplish, which means felling the trees, cutting them into billets of 2 feet long in sufficient quantity to make an *honestly* put together pile, 12 feet long, 4 feet high, and 2 feet wide. At first this day's task is an extremely laborious one, and it sometimes took years of experience before they could accomplish it easily. The woods have been the greatest enemies to those going to Canada as emigrants. (Hear, hear.) I have seen men not more than 45 years of age prematurely broken down by the great labour in clearing only a very small farm, whereas to their children, brought up to the use of the axe, the work was merely a healthy exercise. We have now for the first time prairie lands in Canada accessible to the emigrant, because they are now to be reached by railway, and our Colony may now have an opportunity of a more favourable competition with her gigantic rival. In speaking so favourably of Manitoba, I am only expressing the sentiments of hundreds of disinterested people who have been there and judged for themselves

as I did. There you have a healthy climate (as exemplified by the Hudson Bay Company's people, who have spent almost all their lives in different parts of the country) and a most productive soil. We have few or no doctors there; possibly someone may think that is the cause why there is little sickness. I was a doctor there myself *at a fixed yearly pay*, but had little or no practice. (Laughter.) It is said that the cold winter is a disadvantage, but it is neither longer nor colder than in the province of Quebec. A good coat of snow over the land fits it for next season's crop, and storms of wind to pack the snow hard and drift it into great heaps are rare. That this is true is indicated by the fact that all along the fertile belt in the valley of the Saskatchewan River domestic cattle can live in fine condition out of doors all winter. Buffaloes and horses scrape away the snow with their feet so as to get at the grass on which they feed; horned domestic cattle have not acquired this habit, but work their noses down through the snow to the grass. This answers very well in winter, but occasionally in spring there is a thaw, succeeded by a sharp frost, which forms a hard crust on the snow, which cuts the noses of the cattle in their attempts to reach food. The farmer must lay up a small stock of hay for such emergency. There is nothing in the climate to prevent people being happy and comfortable in Manitoba, notwithstanding the great cold sometimes experienced. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ALEXANDER WILMOT: I should not have ventured to join in this discussion but for the fact that South Africa has been ignored in the address and in the debate which followed. Now, when we are to consider emigration to the Colonies, I do think it desirable that one or two facts connected with the Cape Colony should be brought forward. (Hear, hear.) The truth is that the Cape Colony has been hitherto the Cinderella of the Colonial children of Great Britain; but, as she has been in the past the Cinderella, excluded from all invitations, so in the future I trust she will be like Cinderella when her true qualities were discovered. She is, if not the best, certainly one of the best, of the great family of the Colonial Empire. Already we know that she has become attractive by means of her riches in diamonds and ostrich feathers, and it is certain that she now forms one of the best fields for emigration. This fact should be recognised on all occasions such as the present. Let us reflect for a moment on what the Cape Colony possesses. It comprises as fine sheep-walks as any in the entire world. She has ground which can be sold as cheaply as any in Canada or New South Wales, and a climate which is equal to the climate of New South Wales, and I should assume quite equal to that of Canada.

We should remember that, however great must be the advantage of the climate in Canada, during the winter, for five or six months of the year, all agricultural operations are suspended, whereas in the Cape Colony two or three crops can be raised in the year. You have the richest copper mines in the world in Southern Africa, and in this respect it may be said that the land has only been scratched, as we know that only one company is at work in a place which the Dutch correctly styled the "Copper Mountains." The company now working pays dividends which prove what sort of mines exist there. The Colony has Griqualand West now incorporated with it, and there are incomparably the richest diamond mines of the world. During my residence of twenty-five years in the Cape Colony, I have known numbers of people who have left the Colony, but have returned again. In my knowledge such people have found the Cape Colony better than Australia, or New Zealand, or South America. I do think that the advantages of the Cape Colony are so numerous and important that it is one of the Colonies of the Empire which ought to be included in any great scheme of emigration. One powerful consideration which ought to influence England in the subject of emigration to South Africa is this—that in South Africa we have to deal with great masses of natives, to whom we have a mission of civilisation under the British flag. To fulfil that mission properly we must have immigration. It is unquestionably the duty of Great Britain to cooperate with the Cape Colony in civilising the natives, of whom there are hundreds of thousands in the Cape Colony and on its borders. They certainly can find no better plan than that of emigration, and that is a plan which puts an end to those wars which are such a source of sorrow and regret to this country—(hear, hear)—and tend so much to hinder the progress of South Africa. In that sense emigration is of great consequence indeed. I do think that Mr. Torrens deserves the best thanks of all colonists for the able and statesmanlike address he has delivered. (Hear, hear.) I was sorry to hear objections to it by some Australian gentlemen—objections based on a narrow basis. The lecturer no doubt meant to include all the Colonies. He takes the class of people in the West of Ireland who require emigration exceedingly, and he proves that class of people to be those who would benefit in the country to which they go. (Hear, hear.) He proved that those he wants to send out are deserving, hard-working people, who would succeed as farmers. I think that class of people ought to be considered first in any Imperial scheme, as their wants are so great. (Hear, hear.) In connection with this subject I may mention that, al-

though few Irish, comparatively, have gone to the Cape Colony, it is my experience that these poor farming men have succeeded admirably. They have benefited themselves and the country to which they have gone. (Hear, hear.) In the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth, Kragakamma is occupied by that class of people—small farmers—who scarcely deserve the name of farmers, very poor men who gained their living by tilling small plots of land. These men were sent out to that district, and as each one has made a competence and fortune, he has benefited himself, his family, and the country to which he went. (Hear, hear.) The two points I wish to bring forward are simply that no scheme is worthy the attention of the Government unless it be a great national scheme, and that South Africa should be certainly included in it. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Torrens deserves the hearty and generous support of every colonist. (Applause.)

Mr. J. A. BLAKE, M.P. : In the few observations that I propose to address to the meeting, it is not my intention either to advocate or condemn emigration. There are certain classes of people who would emigrate, led either by the love of adventure, the desire of change, or forced by circumstances ; and I think it is a duty of all of us who can do so to afford such people the best information as to the best place to go to so as to obtain a good return for their industry. I fully concur with the observations made by that good friend of Ireland, Mr. Tuke, whom I have the pleasure of seeing for the first time this evening, in the desire he expresses that more of the Irish could be kept at home. I have no doubt that, if the resources of the country were properly developed, it would afford a profitable occupation for a much larger number of people than now obtain it. But, my lord, we cannot conceal from ourselves the unfortunate fact of the miserable condition of a large portion of the population of Ireland. It was my duty for some ten years past as an Inspector of Fisheries to become acquainted with the most distressed districts of Ireland—those of Connemara, County Galway, the County of Mayo, and the County of Donegal ; and I can fully corroborate everything that Mr. Tuke has said with regard to the miserable condition of the people in portions of those counties. Even in good times, as my official duties led me there, I found many thousands of people who never ate anything but potatoes, and very often only able to have water with them. They dressed in the most wretched manner. They occupied land which, if I may be excused the bull for a moment, consisted of sub-soil of granite, with about six inches of bad peat soil over it, these people paying for these miserable tracts of land some £3 or £4 a year. It

was always a matter of wonder to me where the money came from; dressed as they were in rags, and living in the way I have mentioned, where they found the money to pay the rent was to me a puzzle. But, as Mr. Tuke knows, a great number of these people were in the habit of going to England during the harvest time, and bringing back sufficient to pay their rent. Now I will give but one instance out of many that I might, to show what a deplorable condition the people of the western portion of Ireland must be in. The late Colonel French told me that he had £1,500 a year from his land, and that he had 1,500 tenants, and that was in good times; but when bad times came, I need hardly tell you that the condition of one-half of the people on such estates as his was that of absolute starvation. Now, my lord, some time since I felt that the question of emigration was likely to be a very important one for Ireland, and that it was quite certain that a very large amount of our people would endeavour to better their position by going to America, and I went there last September chiefly with the object of informing myself about it as a field for emigration. Well, I went over some thirty-two or thirty-three states and territories of North America; I saw the entire of Canada, from the Sangany River to Lake Ontario, and thence went to Manitoba, and another portion of the North-Western territory. Now, as I must on this occasion confine myself to emigration to the British Colonies, I shall only say that the Irish would be very ungrateful if they did not feel indebted to the United States for the home it has afforded to so many thousands of their race. I found many of my countrymen in the United States of America prosperous and happy. (Hear, hear.) While there I visited the Census Office in Washington, and one of the chief officers told me that there were at present sixteen millions of Irish blood in America: that is a pretty good proof of what a home the United States has proved to so many of my poor countrymen. As to Australia, I should be ungrateful if I did not say a word in favour of it also, for I owe a great deal of my own prosperity, such as it is, to successful emigration to that Colony. I am happy to say one of my relations who went there made a fortune, part of which he left to me—(laughter)—and to that Colony I owe a great deal of my independence, such as it is. He made his fortune and contributed to mine by the singular circumstance of getting a paralytic stroke—(laughter)—and there was about it this extraordinary fact of a man lying on his back and doing nothing for a great number of years and making a fortune. After being a long time in Australia he was realising all he could, and was about coming home, when unfortunately for himself, because nothing

could compensate for loss of health, he got a paralytic stroke, and he was obliged to lie down on his back in his log hut in a wood, and could do nothing; and about that time, when he thought himself to be a ruined man, the gold-fields were discovered, and everything he had in the way of sheep and other belongings came to be worth ten times their former value. Now, I will tell you what I saw in Manitoba and the North-West territory, and I feel a diffidence in speaking about it when I feel that a great many of you know a great deal more about it than I do. But there are many here who do not know as much about it as I do, and it is for them that I speak. Before going out there I applied to Sir Alexander Galt for information and introduction, when he strongly advised me to go to the North-West territory and judge for myself. He said, "I shall be happy to give you introductions, but when you go there hear, see, and inquire for yourself." Well, when I was in Canada, from the Governor-General down to the humblest official I met there, each evinced the greatest anxiety to afford me every facility to obtain information. I went to Manitoba to judge for myself, and I went over the whole of it and a portion of the North-West as well. But, as many at this meeting are aware, Manitoba is a very small part of the North-West territory of the Dominion of Canada, something like 340 miles long and 240 miles wide, and the greater portion of the good land has been already taken up, and what remains of the best lands is chiefly in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Railway Company; but beyond that there is a vast amount of territory of almost boundless extent. I stood on and looked with wonder at the great wheat belt which begins in Manitoba and stretches to the Rocky Mountains, 1,000 miles long and 300 miles broad. Beside it there were those mighty grass lands which up to the present have afforded nourishment only to the buffalo, and, as you are aware, Sitting Bull and his 3,000 or 4,000 followers have subsisted on buffaloes for many years past. Now, these grass lands are something like four or five times the size of Great Britain and Ireland put together, so that we could be fed in this country six times over from the North-West territory, if we did not grow a sheaf of corn or raise a head of cattle in Great Britain. Now, the Canadian Pacific Railway is soon likely to be completed from the Rocky Mountains to Thunder Bay, and that will tend considerably to the development of that mighty territory. (Hear, hear.) I had the advantage of seeing some of the old settlers amongst them—the Selkirk settlers, who came out with Lord Selkirk in 1803. I saw many who had come out as children, and also their children's children; and I saw the agents of Hudson's

Bay Company, whose fathers came out before them, and I never beheld a healthier people. Their sons and their daughters were about the finest people I ever met, and the later emigrants who came out told me that they could bear the cold in Manitoba, sometimes as low as 40 degrees below zero, as well as an English winter; in some instances they told me even better than they could the English and Irish winters. I saw many of my own countrymen who came out there in middle life, and they told me that they were as healthy in every respect as they had ever been in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Well, I met some physicians also, and they told me the death-rate was considerably under what it was in the United States, and that the amount of practice they had was exceedingly small. Another pleasing feature is this, that cold as the North-West is in winter, throughout nearly the whole of it it is prohibited to sell wine, beer, or spirits. (Hear, hear.) And the doctors told me that, although they dreaded the results very much when that law came into operation, yet on few occasions had they been obliged to order alcohol for their patients, and that they were infinitely healthier under the total abstinence principle than they had been under the former state of things. Lately, when part of Manitoba was anxious to be joined to the North-Western territory, the latter made it a condition that the former should agree to exclude the sale of liquors; and before I left Manitoba an Act to that effect passed the Legislature in that part of the State. I examined the nature of the land, and it seemed to me a magnificent soil. Part is of the loes formation, same as the basin of the Mississippi, and for forty years they have been taking wheat off it at the rate of thirty bushels an acre, and that, too, without manure, without any diminution whatever in the productiveness of the land. The grass is equally good. This region was the native home, and almost the last home, of the buffaloes; thousands of these animals now roam wild over it. What feeds the buffaloes will feed other cattle as well. At the time I was there, there were some farmers who tried the experiment of breeding a superior description of cattle from the buffalo, and with every prospect of success. Of Canada, we in Ireland have very great reason to speak in terms of very great gratitude, for during the recent distress a very large sum was voted by the Dominion Government for its relief. It was applied by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who disposed of it to promote the sea fisheries, I am happy to say with the best results, as some of the people have been able to remain at that occupation in consequence, which they must have otherwise abandoned. The paper

which I have in my hand, and which has been already alluded to, contains the generous offer which the Dominion Government has made to Ireland, and for which I, as an Irishman, feel under considerable obligation. I speak perfectly independently; I have no interest whatever of any kind, directly or indirectly, in the matter; and I have no hesitation in saying to those of my countrymen who are disposed to emigrate that, without intending to detract from other Colonies, I do not think that they can find a more profitable field for their labour than the North-West territory. They would there have this advantage, amongst others—which is very great to Roman Catholics, as most of them are, and as I am myself, and one that they have not in the United States—that is, if they choose to educate their children according to their views, they get separate grants for that object. In the United States of America, on the other hand, there is only one system of State education; so that persons who may have an objection to sending their children to the Government schools, or wish to combine their religion with secular education, have not the advantages I have alluded to, which they have in Canada. (Cheers.)

Mr. F. W. STONE: I feel quite sorry to trouble you with a few observations I have to make, as they will be on the subject of Canada, and nearly every speaker to-night has praised Canada to such an extent that I, being a Canadian, hardly like to say anything at all about it. I should not have sent my name up to the Chairman had I not been one of Mr. Torrens's constituents. I heard him say that if a vote of money was proposed in the House of Commons with the view of furthering such a scheme as this, he would not be at all afraid of voting for it and meeting his constituents to take their decision upon his vote; and as I happen to be one of them, I wish in a humble sort of way to say that he need not be afraid at all. One point that struck me was the way in which the Agent-General of South Australia threw cold water on the whole plan. He told us that Mr. Torrens's paper might be called a paper for transporting the people from the West of Ireland and planting them in Manitoba, and that in South Australia they only want two classes of people—domestic servants (who are wanted everywhere), and people not over 45 who have a little money. Well, I understood Mr. Torrens referred to people who had no money at all, and the great idea underlying his proposal is that the Government should advance sums of money to enable people who could not otherwise move from their country to emigrate to Australia, the Cape Colonies, Canada, or some other Colony, I care not which, so that they might be able to earn a decent living for

themselves. I have some considerable acquaintance with the rural districts of England, and I have induced a certain number of persons to emigrate for their own good; but I have always found the greatest possible difficulty in getting them to move because they have an intense fear of crossing the ocean, and very little money to pay for the passage of themselves and their families. It is of little use to tell them that they are only going across to mix among their own people, for they say, "Oh, we have got no money." I am talking of agricultural labourers, who work really hard all the week, and who only thus make enough to provide a very poor living. In England in a general way there is plenty of labour to be done of one sort or another; but most people who have to do with land in this country know that in the winter they are obliged either to reduce wages, or to tell one or two men that they are unable to find work for them. Now in the Colonies this would not be the case, as the hard-working labourer or small farmer would make enough during the busy time to keep himself and family if a slack time came; and it is for this reason, among others, that I think this scheme ought to be regarded from a serious point of view, and that it is no part of the duty of any Agent-General, or any other agent of the Colonies, to throw cold water upon it. I think it is a pity that so much comparison of the merits of one Colony with another should have been introduced in the course of this debate; and, although I did hear that Canada voted a considerable sum of money for the distress in Ireland, and I am proud to hear they did so, still I believe it is perfectly true, and I am anxious to say so, that Australia did contribute to a greater degree even than Canada to that distress which existed in Ireland. So many have stated what I intended to say about the great difficulty the really poor find in emigrating, and the advantages of emigration to Canada, that I will only say that I know many agricultural labourers who have gone out without a penny, and have worked hard and done extremely well there. Some of these men are now farmers, not with five or ten acres, but farmers of from 100 to 300 acres of their own land. Mr. Hall said it was no use trying to bolster up emigration and to give money to it; but I would point out to him that this scheme of emigration only advocates giving a sum to be secured by a first mortgage on the recipient's property, by means of which advance, after ten years' work, he could become absolute owner of his 160 acres, and I think it is certain that this would greatly stimulate his endeavour to become such owner. (Cheers.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: In the very interesting speech which the

honourable member for Waterford has given us, he commenced his address by saying that he neither advocated nor condemned emigration, and yet I think that everyone who listened to him will come to the conclusion that he is really a strong advocate for emigration. At all events, I appear before you myself as a decided advocate for it. (Cheers.) It was perhaps almost inevitable that in the very eloquent and masterly address which has given occasion to the discussion of last Tuesday evening, and also this evening, the eminent lecturer should give it a little turn in the direction to which our thoughts are particularly pointed at this moment, with reference to the great sister country of Ireland. But I must confess that I have been a little disappointed, with some few exceptions, with the way in which in the discussion—I more particularly refer to that which we had last Tuesday—the whole question has been treated. (Hear, hear.) I think myself it should have been taken up on broader, more general, and more national grounds. (Hear, hear.) Now it is a maxim in political economy that the three elements of national wealth are “land, labour, and capital.” It is the glory of this country that she has a fabulous amount of all these three elements in her possession. She has an enormous amount of land, labour, and capital within the boundaries of her vast dominions; but the problem to be solved is—and a great problem it is—how properly to unite these three great elements. (Hear, hear.) I am one of those who for years have contended that we should inaugurate a national system of emigration, in order to put on the land, of which we have such a superabundance in every direction throughout the civilised world, the surplus population which I also am one of those who contend we have in this country. (Hear, hear.) Let me say a word as to the way in which the subject may be treated under the title which Mr. Torrens has given it in his address—namely, “Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration.” I will give you one or two suggestions that have occurred to my own mind in reference to it. First, I think, that with a great country like England, possessing such an enormous Colonial empire as it does, one of the first points to be attended to in our national system of education is, that in all our elementary Board schools our youth, both girls and boys, should be so taught as to become thoroughly acquainted with every portion of every part of the Colonies of Great Britain. They should have placed before them every possible detailed information on the subject; so that when they grow up to be men and women, if it chances that they are in the position rendering it desirable for them, in their own interests, to go to one or other of the British

Colonies, it shall not be with them—as many know who have experience in sending out emigrants—as it is now, that our people are usually most ignorant and uninformed about the places where it is suggested they should go to, being often afraid even to undertake the voyage; and that they do not even know the difference between going to Canada and to Australia, except in the cost of the journey. This, then, is one of the modes in which I should suggest that the partnership should be commenced. (Cheers.) Then I would go another step further, and suggest a plan for equalising the cost, which is one of the great difficulties connected with going to different parts of the Empire. Many years ago I proposed, and I would repeat the suggestion this evening, that there should be a system of tickets which should be purchasable at Government establishments founded on a great national scale—in which, for the sake of preserving an independent idea of self-help, each adult emigrant shall pay £2, and this payment of £2 per head shall entitle the holder of the ticket obtainable for this sum to be carried to any part of the British Empire. My idea would be that, suppose it cost £5 to go from England to Canada, the emigrant should pay £2, and the Home Government and the Canadian Government the balance, in fair and equitable proportions—whatever that may be considered to be. Each would have an interest in the emigrants moving to where they were going, it would therefore be a wise and sound national investment to pay the balance. Again, if it cost £10 to go to the Cape, the emigrant wishing to proceed there at his own option, should pay the same sum of £2, and the £8 balance be divided in equal and just proportions by the Mother-country and the Colony to which he goes. Once more, if it cost £15 to go to Australia, the emigrant would still pay only £2, and the balance should be fairly adjusted between the Mother-country and the Australasian Colony to which he sails. Each would get, I contend, a great advantage in that emigrant moving from the home country to the Colony to which he is transplanted. I thoroughly believe in the opinion that the emigrant himself is of great commercial and practical value. It has been estimated by those who ought to know something about it, that he is of very considerable monetary value, and in this way such a system would absolutely repay very largely every year the cost both to the home country and the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) There are also other ways in which the practical means of what may be called a partnership in emigration such as our distinguished friend on my right has brought to our notice might be carried on, which might be equally advantageous, and agree with my own notions as to the

perfecting of any plan of the kind, but it is hardly necessary to put them before you this evening. All I contend for generally is, that it is a most extraordinary thing that this country, having a surplus population, should do so little to transfer it to other parts of the Empire where there is a want of population: that there should not be a thorough understanding between the Colonies and the Mother-country, so as to transport the surplus labour here to the Colonies that want it. Sometimes Canada wants it more or less, and sometimes New Zealand, Australia, or the Cape. I say, then, supply them as they want it, not with what they don't want, but give them that which they do want at the proper time, and in the proper mode, and that can only be done by a thoroughly national system, whose "head and front" would be in the Mother-country. Until our statesmen can take upon themselves to grapple with this question on broad general grounds we shall always be making failures of every kind, and disappointments will unavoidably occur, and enormous loss of the best material of the nation's progress will ensue to the Empire. One word with regard to the United States. I am not one of those who have the slightest jealousy of that great Republic; but quite the contrary. I have relations of my own who are natives of that country, but I must say that I am an Englishman before all. We have got such an enormous territory all over the globe that I prefer its being peopled by my own countrymen rather than letting them go to another country. The United States is another country, however much we may sympathise with or admire it. We need not feel any jealousy about it, but we may lead our people who desire to emigrate in a particular direction, by pursuing a wise system; and in my opinion we have hitherto grossly failed as a nation in directing the stream into those channels into which it ought to flow. (Loud choers.)

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE: I very much rejoice that the preceding speaker has called our attention back to the real subject-matter of the address before us. (Hear, hear.) I confess to having shared the feelings expressed by more than one speaker, that, able and interesting as the lecture was, Mr. Torrens had taken but a limited range of the question in his view. I think at least our consideration requires to be directed now not so much to the special claims of Ireland, nor to the special facilities offered by Canada, as to the general question of the advantages to the United Empire of promoting emigration. (Hear, hear.) It was my privilege eighteen months ago to bring this subject before the Royal Colonial Institute, and I took it from the point of view which the Mother-country held, that is, to the growing necessity we labour under of promoting

emigration in the interest of the Mother-country herself. Those views did not perhaps receive the full acceptance which I expected at the time, and the intervening period, with the temporary revival of trade which has taken place, has drawn to a certain extent discredit upon them; but I think from the tone of the public press and the trade reports as to the condition in which the country now stands, that those views will soon be more readily accepted than they have been before. The recent rapid revival of the trade which we had lost led many to think that we should find in the trade of our country quite sufficient employment for the surplus labour, the surplus population, and the surplus capital which exists, without any necessity for employing them in the colonisation of the distant portions of the Empire. I candidly confess that I for one should very much regret if trade in our country were to become so prosperous as to put us altogether off the scent, and so leave undone the work which I believe is our duty, that of spreading English knowledge and civilisation over the entire world. (Hear, hear.) But we must not look upon this question with the limited view which was afterwards presented—that is, of sending out our squalid and poverty-stricken neighbours. We must not forget that it is the interest of the colonists now to obtain the best class of people that they can receive; but our views of the relations between the two must take a far wider range than that. What we want is to spread abroad the knowledge amongst all classes who live in this country that they have to fulfil the great destiny which lies before them, and that it is not a hardship, but the embracing of an opportunity the Almighty has placed within our reach, to assist in colonisation, and to be looked upon as a glorious object to promote civilisation. (Hear, hear.) We want to feel that with the illimitable resources of the Empire in land, the growth of population at home, and the wealth which we have acquired, it is our duty, and our privilege as well, to fulfil the purposes for which land was created and for which money is given. It is my duty every day to pass under the portico of the Royal Exchange, and my attention has often been drawn to the motto which adorns the front of that building, “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.” I say that it is in the fulness of this earth, and in utilising the fulness of the other portions of the Empire, that one end of our greatness is to consist. (Hear, hear.) It is not simply of the labouring population that I speak, but I believe that we are all destined to fill up the great void in this world. (Hear, hear.) And although in Ireland, in provincial towns and in other places, there may be a necessity for helping to remove the pressure of poverty and distress amongst the

lower strata of society, I believe we are more concerned in the removal of numbers in the higher classes than in the lower. What we want is, to make it felt that those who have brains and those who have capital, as well as those who have the labour of their hands to bestow, should turn their attention to changing their homes. I will not call it a hardship, as it has been spoken of. It may be hard for the bride to leave her home and to break up its associations, if it has been one of happiness and comfort; but, if she is going to a bright and happy one, we do not speak of her with pity. So it may be trying for those who have lived together to break up all former connections; but, if they are going to a better and happier home, one where they may have more freedom, with a future before them more permanent and full of blessings greater than those which they are leaving at home, such ought not to be the feeling with regard to changing our country. Our circumstances are such that we have too many in the labour market here—especially the clerical element, which every merchant and banker will admit; and, if we find a large portion of the intelligence and brain labour of our country exhausted, not in the production of wealth, not in increasing what will add to the happiness of others, but in gaining for themselves a larger share of that which has been already created by others, then some relief ought to be found for them. What is the effect upon the public welfare produced by the promotion of so many companies of joint-stock jobbing operations, of all that trading which consists in simply passing from hand to hand without ever assisting at all in the work of conveying from the producer to the consumer? What is this but simply a waste of power, instead of a seeking to do that which will add wealth to the country, or a spreading of that happiness which it is desirable to afford to all? I think we ought to feel that such is the duty imposed upon us, and that the Almighty has placed within our reach the means of fulfilling this great mission. I am glad to hear Mr. Young speaking of emigration being of such value to the countries to which it goes, and it is for this reason that I regret the large diversion of this emigration to the United States. I feel that the value of human life is not sufficiently appreciated; it ought to be deemed just as valuable as animal life in an economical sense; and, when we look upon the increase of the human race as we do upon that of the animal race—as both being an element of property, there can be no doubt at all that we shall see that labour is productive of more and more good than it has yet accomplished. Labour by the human race is capable of producing more than it

wants for its own support, and all the surplus may go to the acquisition and accumulation of wealth. Therefore I believe that every life we sacrifice in this country, because we crowd our people in unhealthy dwellings, and from the want of proper sanitary arrangements in our houses, is a loss that may be readily avoided by judicious emigration. Much of the present misery amongst our striving people is due to the mode of life pursued in their dwellings, but particularly to the great waste, alluded to by Mr. Blake, which goes on in the consumption of alcoholic liquors ; and I believe that every life we thus waste is just so much destruction of valuable property, because you thus destroy the means of creating wealth and of promoting the health and happiness of others. Then, I think we should come to the right understanding of these questions, and of the necessity of enforcing upon the Government, what it is their duty to do, in assisting by every means in their power the promotion of emigration. I think that when we have so many poor amongst us the Government should undertake to remove some of them, but I also think that whenever assistance is given to those who go from this country, such help should become an Imperial charge upon the property to which they may attain. Whenever help is rendered to a man who has not the means himself, and it becomes a charge upon the wealth he may subsequently acquire by this means, I believe that you will promote his independence, and that a large proportion of the benefit conferred will be returned. It may be that misfortune or ill-health may cause some portion of the assistance thus rendered to be lost ; but what is that compared to the loss which now arises from the poor-law support of a superabundant population ? I believe a large portion of the expenditure would come back, and so furnish the means for advancing to others who afterwards wished to go forward. But the main source of our emigration should not be composed of the lower classes only, but also taken from the classes above them. I do not mean to advocate that those who have money fairly employed here should go away with that money, and thus denude the market at home ; but even if they did, surely our country is rich enough to afford the loss of the capital which the emigrants would thus take with them ; for if they go forth they leave room for the improvement of the condition of those who, not destitute at home, will slip into their places. We should not have the present destitution if some of the better class were found to thus set the example for we should have some of the lower classes rising up to a higher position than that which they now occupy. Thus there would be a general promotion of welfare from the top

down to the bottom. With these views I feel we owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Mr. Torrens for bringing the subject before us, although I venture to think it should have embraced a rather wider range, and also that much of our discussion might have been a little more to the point; and I again thank our friend Mr. Young for retracing the ground which he has so ably done. The subject is one which will force itself upon the attention of the country, because there is no doubt that with our growing population, and the diminishing trade which we are carrying on, we must before long find some outlet for both the labour and the capital which we possess, and we must not be unwise enough to think we own for nothing all the unlimited resources we have in our Colonies. I do not think our Colonial friends are quite aware of their responsibilities in the matter, because they do not seem quite as anxious to draw the bonds with the Mother-country, in one direction, so close as they should be. (No, no.) I think that what we want is an universal tariff for the whole British Empire—(cheers)—so that, if a man chooses, he may be in a position to pay just the same for a cup of tea in Australia as he would pay in Middlesex. And so with regard to trade, if he can buy his coat free in Lancashire, he should be able to do it in Australia likewise. (Hear, hear.) I think we want a united tariff for the whole of the Colonies and the whole of the Empire within one groove. I believe that whatever revenue is raised by customs duties should be levied in the Colonies and in the home country upon precisely the same articles, and at precisely the same amount. This would simplify matters with regard to intercommunication between the Colonies and the mother-country. I am afraid that the great mistake is too often made of devising the establishment of some kind of tariff union amongst the Colonies themselves, but not of a reciprocal one between the Colonies and the mother-country. I fear that such a union to their advantage, but not to that of the Mother-country, would be entering upon a very mistaken policy (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. STYLEMAN HERRING (Vicar of St. Paul's, Clerkenwell): My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I beg to thank the Council of this Institute for bringing forward this most practical subject, on which we have had such a valuable discussion, and our thanks are due to Mr. Torrens for having broached some excellent ideas. They are the same that I heard when he (Mr. Torrens) practically entered into this subject with me some fourteen years ago, during which time our humble Society (the Clerkenwell Emigration) has been the means of helping out to the British Colonies no less than 4,250 emigrants. From practical experience on this question, I believe

that the best class of working men do not go out to the Colonies when there is plenty of first-class work in England, and emigrants generally will not go out of our country, in which they have pretty well a certainty of work, to run the risk of not getting anything in the Colonies; but, nevertheless, there are a very great number of the population who are anxious to go abroad. I have come in contact with many thousands, not only in corresponding but also by seeing them, and their consulting me. In my observations from about the year 1868 (when things were in a very bad state indeed in trades and agriculture) up to about 1875, and even to-day eight or ten people have asked my advice on this subject. I would say they are good, industrious, and persevering persons, but not altogether the best workmen, who go out to our Colonies. Feeling myself that a good hive now and then ought to throw out a good swarm, and that we in Great Britain are growing and increasing—and I shall be much astonished if we have not about 34,000,000 people inhabiting England, Ireland, and Scotland on Sunday night next when the census is taken—and, as we are increasing each year by 400,000 over the emigration, death, and other rates, I feel myself that God has given us the English Colonies throughout the world to people, and that it is our national duty in every way to promote emigration. I cannot but feel that, when I saw in the public newspapers this morning (March 29) that 35,000 emigrants had landed in New York, and that half a million are expected to arrive there during this present year, we have not done our duty in directing a very large number of those people to the Colonies and preventing them from probably becoming aliens. When you look at the different Colonies you say, what inducements do they particularly hold out? I am not saying anything about the land offered by the Colonies, I think it better not; neither would I recommend any man going out straight from England to settle at once on any of the land so offered. You have the English farmers who have gone out, and our Society has also sent out a good many of the middle class, and a still larger number of the humbler classes, and we find that a great many of them, when they get there, have to unlearn English farming, &c., before they can learn the Colonial systems; and beside that, a great deal of their pride in English ways must be taken out of them first of all before they get on to the land. In all cases of assisted emigration I find it better to give the money right out. I think it is a bad policy to expect the money back, because in many cases where it has been expected to be returned I have seen great disappointment felt by benefactors who have lent them money. I feel, then, it is better to give these

emigrants a sum of money to assist them. It is a bad policy to ship them out in times of famine; you want to land them in the Colonies when they can be of use directly to get their daily bread, and when they would be a blessing to the country. We all know that Canada has not reaped so much advantage as was expected in helping emigrants, because in a great many instances directly they got over to the Dominion they secured free railway tickets to Detroit, and the Yankees got the benefit of it, while the Canadian Government was very much offended. Canada will always possess great attractions, especially as timid travellers know that from Ireland to Labrador they are only five and a half days out of sight of dry land. My feeling with regard to Australia and emigration is that when we consider that each emigrant is worth about £200, not with such a sum of money in his possession, but value of the man himself, and when we know that the old people do not go out, I am an advocate for sending three or four families together, and then they help one another. They are a little strange when they first get out there, but the colonists show them very great sympathy. I find when three or four families have joined together that they prosper better. I think we have to thank the Royal Colonial Institute for having ventilated this subject thoroughly well. About twelve or fourteen years ago we had a conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Emigration, when some excellent suggestions were made (and various objections were also put forward), amongst them that the Imperial Government should subscribe a third, the Colonies a third, and the emigrants themselves a third. I have heard it suggested that England should find the ships, the Colonies the food, and the emigrants the kit, and other things connected with it, their outfit, &c.; but as we are called upon to-night to give our own observations, I can only say from experience that the best means for accomplishing the objects in view is by forming emigrants' clubs throughout Great Britain. Now with respect to the class of persons who go away from Fatherland, the best colonisers are the Germans; they go out in vast numbers from their emigration clubs in Germany, and I find that immigration clubs are also formed in Wisconsin, &c., where a number of families club together, and have been able to supply most of the money for the purpose of aiding out relations; the consequence is, that the Germans as a rule are better furnished with the principles of helping to send out their own people than the English. For my part, I am in favour of the establishment of such clubs (Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, &c.), and that the Imperial Government should subsidise them. I feel convinced that, unless we do so, our efforts will be unavailing to colonise, because we

know it is so very much cheaper to go to New York than it is to the Australian Colonies. Only to-day in sending a person to New York I took her ticket to Harwich, thence to Antwerp, and she found the voyage a great deal cheaper than she could go from Liverpool to London. I feel myself that we ought to have State aid, and I would suggest that if every emigrant going out to the Cape, Australia, or New Zealand should be subsidised to the amount of £5 from the Imperial purse, or £2 to Canada, it would be very little out of the Imperial exchequer in the course of the year, and that then the Colonies should find a certain sum of money, say almost, if not quite, an equal proportion, and that then the friends of those living in the Colonies, as well as the emigrants themselves, would I think find the rest. I can only hope from the kind of answer which we heard in the House of Commons the other day, that there might be such a thing as a subsidy coming from the Imperial purse, and that this most necessary help will be carried out. I feel confident, if each emigrant were subsidised, that our English Colonies would then be in a much more flourishing state for tilling the millions of acres now vacant than they are at the present time. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. W. PANCRIDGE: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The point I should like to refer to is, How can we get the very valuable information given within these four walls into the possession of the right set of people? As a member of that constituency which returned the hon. gentleman, the reader of the paper, to the House of Commons, I shall feel a deep regret if the fruits of this discussion cannot reach into the district of Clerkenwell. The subject is of great importance to the people of that neighbourhood. The staple trade of Clerkenwell, watchmaking, has been all but annihilated by American competition. As one of the local clergy, I know many instances in which good, sober, skilful artisans have not done a full week's work for the last three years. But information upon this subject not only needs conveying to the industrial classes of the community, it needs conveying in a particular and careful manner. I imagine that the whole question of emigration is looked at with a little suspicion by the industrial classes, and if emigration is set before them as a piece of political expediency, they will not accept it as such. If, however, you can show to them that it is a natural and legitimate means for relieving a temporary pressure, it assumes altogether another form to their minds. (Hear, hear.) I am a member of a Committee appointed to confer with certain leaders of trades-unions, and the question of emigration has once or twice arisen at our discussions. My present feeling is that the

leaders of organised labour would not take it to be their duty to recommend a wholesale scheme of emigration to their constituents. The subject is not popular with them; but there is one form of advocacy which may lead them to accept it with enthusiasm—put emigration to them upon the ground that it is the duty of the great English nation to reproduce itself wherever it can, and they will give it worthy consideration. I rose to make one request to the reader of the paper, and to those gentlemen who have contributed to the store of most valuable information which has been accumulated here. It is that you will come and help this question by discussing it with us at our next conference. I shall be greatly obliged if gentlemen who may be willing to take part in such a meeting will give me their names. It would advance the question very considerably to get it discussed by competent authorities. We have the subject set down for our next conference, and I will undertake to send due notice of our meeting to any here who would feel interested in being present. (Cheers.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My chief reason for desiring to say a few words this evening is to bring forward ideas which are not my own, but which were expressed before this Society some years ago, more than once, by one of its founders and most valuable members, whose loss we must all deplore. I speak of Mr. Edward Wilson, whose memory and ideas, I trust, will long be retained among us. (Hear, hear.) Now Mr. Wilson in discussing this question laid very great stress upon the value of the individual emigrant, leaving the United Kingdom, to whatever part of the New World he might go, and I have taken down from the reports of our proceedings (Vol. v. p. 12, and Vol. vii. p. 268) what Mr. Wilson said upon the subject; for the view is one which should always be borne in mind whenever this question is under discussion. Mr. Wilson remarked that he wondered whether Government calculated what the dead loss of 50,000 or 100,000 people every year from the English shores really meant. If we annually sent away that number of cattle, sheep, or pigs, a payment in money or money's worth would be insisted on as a matter of course. But being men—much more valuable than either cattle, sheep, or pigs—they were ignorantly given away to the United States or elsewhere without any thought of payment. 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 (Mr. Wilson) had often tried to elaborate the price of a man, and he had lately come across a paragraph from an American State Paper pricing a good, healthy, vigorous man—the average emigrant—at exactly £166 13s. 4d.

(Much laughter.) Now, I have ventured to carry this calculation still further. Sir Alexander Galt, in the very able Paper which he gave us early this session, told us that within fifty years something like 4,000,000 of people had gone from the United Kingdom to the United States. Now, multiplying this number by Mr. Wilson's value of a man, I have arrived at the result that we have made a gift to the United States worth the very modest sum of £666,666,666 13s. 4d. (Laughter.) Well, whether that does or does not approximate to the value of the population which we have bestowed upon the United States, within the period mentioned by Sir Alexander Galt, there is no doubt whatever that we have made a most magnificent present, worth millions of pounds, to the United States, in the shape of population. (Hear, hear.) We have helped to build up the American Union within half a century to an extent which we can scarcely estimate. If the population which has gone from this country to America had been diverted to the British Colonies, what a very different position would those Colonies be in at the present moment! (Hear, hear.) If only one solitary hundred thousand of those people had gone to South Africa! (Hear, hear.) In fifty years, by the most infinitesimal system of emigration, we might have placed a hundred thousand extra European people in South Africa; and then the whole of the difficulties which have embarrassed the Mother-country, which are still embarrassing her, and which, I fear I must say, are likely to bring discredit upon her—(hear, hear)—would never have arisen. The hundred thousand people placed in South Africa would have prevented all that; and the British population of South Africa would have been able to deal with the native question, as the people of New Zealand have been able to deal with their native question; and this country, instead of having to pay a very large amount of money for South African wars, would only have spent a mere fraction of that amount in sending this hundred thousand people to that country. In emigration, perhaps the most serious difficulty to face is that of organisation. If an extensive system of emigration were to be started from this country, either by the Imperial Government or Colonial Governments, or by co-operation between both, in order to ensure its success, an organisation would be required in the Colonies of a nature which would demand a considerable amount of local knowledge, as the details would have to be very carefully worked out. You must avoid one thing, and that is sending too many people to any one place, and over-glutting the Colonial labour markets—(hear, hear)—otherwise you would have outcries arising, and reports coming back, as they sometimes do when there is a temporary over-

supply in any particular quarter, which would spoil the whole cause of emigration in the minds of the people both at home and in the Colonies. If anything like extensive emigration is attempted, the greatest care will at all times be required in working out the details in the Colonies themselves. Before I sit down I should like to say something with regard to what fell from Sir Arthur Blyth. I think what he said, or the intention of it, has been very much mistaken. Some gentlemen who followed in the discussion seemed to think that the Colonies are over-nice as to the emigrants they like, and as to those they do not wish to have; but I think that the people of this country ought to be much obliged to the people of the Colonies for being particular as to whom they will have in their country, because the good relations between the Mother-country and her Colonies depend very much upon the Colonial populations. Now, we don't want any element of discord, we don't want an element of disloyalty in our Colonial populations; and there is a considerable danger from the introduction among them of a certain class who have gone out from Ireland, and who have caused difficulties and done their best to stir up ill-feeling between the United States and England—the class from which springs the Fenian movement and those recent movements which we have heard so much about. I believe that the people of the Australian Colonies do not want that element in their population. We all know it is a matter of fact, and we cannot shut our eyes to it when dealing with this important question, that the Irish vote has been a very troublesome element in the United States, and recently it has been of considerable trouble in the Colony of Victoria, and also to some extent in New South Wales; and that is one reason why the Australian Colonies adopted the system which prevails, when they assist emigrants out from this country, of requiring that they shall be brought out in proportion to the populations of these three Kingdoms. That would appear the fairest arrangement, ensuring that the Colonial population shall be made up, as is most desirable it should be, of a proper proportion of people from each of the three Kingdoms; and no Colony should have too many people from one portion of the United Kingdom brought out to it by the expenditure of Colonial money. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. PFOUNDERS: The eminent statesman who has with benevolent intention addressed us, and the distinguished colonists and others who have spoken, gave us but scanty detail on one or two points of vital importance. A little proof is worth much argument, and we should be in possession of information as to how the people it is intended to benefit will receive this measure. It is also most

important that the most deserving and most destitute should be those who first of all receive relief. Our Kanak friends are notoriously good at a bargain, and we cannot blame them getting all they can; they would exercise right of choice, and take those very families that we most need at home, and get as much as they can of the expense paid out of the Home Treasury. I am in possession of information, from good authority, as to the feeling the project will most probably arouse in the minds of the moderate yet quick-witted Irish peasant. I remember the scenes when R. Groves & Sons, in 1846-9, sent many shiploads of people out of Ireland, a large percentage never living to reach the land of promise. I also, when a midshipman in the *Victoria*, had experience of deck loads of persons we took from the overcrowded Immigrants' Home, Melbourne, to distribute along the coast. I as an Irishman have seen something of Irish of all classes, in Ireland, the Colonies, America, and other places. It is known to some of those present that since my recent return to the old country, I have spent some time and trouble in efforts that I am certain will ere long be successful, to establish a centre of information (on purely public spirited, and not private grounds), where those who seek to go abroad may learn where and how they can best work out a 'prosperous future'—therefore I am interested simply in this. If we would alleviate the great Irish distress, let it be in no half-hearted manner; let the manner of the gift carry with it that which, if it does not arouse a feeling of gratitude, will at least for very shame's sake cause the suppression of hostile or ungrateful feelings. Let us not continue to drive tens of thousands annually to alien shores, whilst all our Colonies are sparsely peopled, and let the people choose their future home. Acclimatisation is another difficulty. But, above all, let us who are joined together in the Colonial Institute under the motto of United Empire, let us at least not forget that it is our duty to keep in view the unity and integrity and consolidation of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. THOMAS McILWRAITH, Premier of Queensland: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—At this late hour of the evening I did not intend to address this meeting, but as I am called upon I must say a few words. Had I discussed this question, I had no intention of speaking about Queensland alone, which I represent here. I consider that the debate has gone too much down into particulars by individuals speaking too much in detail of particular Colonies while the great question has escaped the attention it deserved. I had not the pleasure of hearing Mr. Torrens speak this day week, but I have had the pleasure of reading the article in the *Nineteenth*

Century, and my first impulse was to write to him and offer him my congratulations for having in a style so vigorous, demonstrated the practical solution of the difficulty connected with over-population here and want of population in the Colonies. Throughout his article, and I understand also the address he has delivered here, the main idea is not that Canada or any other Colony wants population, and that we are in a difficulty at the present time from over-populated districts in Ireland—both of these facts may be taken for granted; the main idea Mr. Torrens tries to enforce, and one that I have been trying to get recognised as long as I have been connected with politics, is, that it is the duty of the British Government to direct emigration from their shores—(hear, hear)—to that idea I promise that I will give every assistance myself, whether the emigrants go to Queensland, or Canada, or to any other of our British possessions. I know perfectly well that as soon as the English Government take into their hands the emigration from their shores, that the thing will be so gigantic a success that all our possessions will benefit thereby. The representatives of the different Colonies should join with Mr. Torrens, who is a practical man, and a man having great influence with the present Government, and aid him in forcing upon the Government a recognition of their duty in this respect—a duty too long ignored. We know well there are political objections to tackling this question in this country. Conservatives and Liberals alike all shunt the responsibility, but it is a question which cannot be shunted much longer. Over-population in the United Kingdom and emigration to foreign countries are both great and increasing evils that demand a remedy. This hateful voluntary system of emigration, by which Great Britain loses her subjects and her Colonies remain dwarfed, ought to be taken up as a great national question by members of Parliament representing both English, Irish, and Scottish constituencies, and we, the representatives of the Colonies, ought to join together to strengthen their hands and lay aside all questions of whether Queensland, the Cape, or Canada, is the best place to go to—all we want is to get this principle established, that the English Government ought to take possession of the work. (Hear, hear.) One gentleman here to-night said, “Why do not we colonists do it ourselves?” The answer to that is that it is too great a work for us to undertake. We in the Colonies have work to do and duties to perform quite beyond the scope of the present generation in England. We—I mean the present generation of colonists here—built all our own houses, and are doing it yet; as a rule, your father built yours for you. We have

built all our schools, our churches, our courts of justice, our docks, our gaols, our roads, and our bridges. Most of these things have been made and left to you by your fathers. It is quite easy to see, therefore, how difficult it would be for us—a handful of people—to undertake the whole expense of colonisation. I regretted to hear one or two speakers blame the Colonies for not having sympathy with emigration. I know there are some Colonies that are backward in promoting immigration. Victoria, for instance, to judge by the exponents of the views of her workmen, would build a wall to prevent either immigrants or British goods coming in; but with these ideas Victoria is losing in the race now, and I have no doubt it will soon be recognised there, as elsewhere, that the Colony cannot become great and prosperous, or keep pace with her neighbours, without a great increase in population. My experience is that all Colonial parties, with the exception of the very extreme men on both sides, are strongly in favour of immigration, and would support a scheme worked by the British Government by which we should get a fair class of immigrants. We cannot pay for immigration in money, but the land is there abundant and the quality good; and both are at the disposal of the British Government as soon as they adopt some practical scheme. Land is of no value to us; but by judicious management it may be made to reimburse to the British Government the cost that they may have been at. We are willing to let that be done; but our present want is a man like Mr. Torrens, who would head a party and press the Ministry. I do not advocate emigration on account of the Irish difficulty, but I recognise the Irish difficulty as a capital lever to work the Government with; and, if Mr. Torrens will work with his friends, I believe that that would lead to the best results. It is a right thing to do, and it is one that the Government, though they might disappoint a few influential supporters, would get their reward for. The feeling among members of Parliament generally, especially all unbiassed by class interest, was in favour of the British Government taking an active part in emigration. Let this be thoroughly understood by deputations to Ministers and otherwise, and the difficulty with the Government will vanish. Remember, it is not going to cost them anything. Every penny they spend on it will be repaid them. I am sure of it that the whole thing can be worked out in a manner that will repay the British Government. What we want them to say is, that if you should put such a practical proposition before us we are willing to find the money. That will be the first step gained. If they do that, we are quite prepared with a practical scheme. England may

have to advance a million or two at first, all of which will be ultimately repaid. But even were it lost, which is not at all likely, it would be well spent money if it diverted British emigration from foreign to Colonial shores. The gentleman who spoke last but one gave some statistics which were rather ludicrous, but it is plain common-sense to put it in the way he did. We thoroughly understand the value of colonists, of the labour thus diverted to the United States; and I look with shame at the British Government allowing the wealth of this country to flow to America, as it has done hitherto. An argument which appeals to self-interest alone may not be of the highest class; but it is sometimes weighty, and is valuable here. Australia, with a population of something over two millions and a half, consumes within 15 per cent. as great value of British goods as the United States of America, with a population of fifty millions. That fact speaks for itself, and demonstrates the loss the nation has suffered by not diverting emigration to her Colonies. I only rose for the purpose of enforcing Mr. Torrens's idea, which is that we ought all to act together in order to get the British Government to take up the question of Imperial Emigration, and when they act I am satisfied that all the Colonies will join with them. It does not matter what Colonies, because we will all join—(hear, hear)—and I shall be glad to see them take up the scheme, whether Canada, the Cape, or Queensland may be the first to reap the advantage. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. W. MURRAY: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel at this late hour of the evening no apology on my part would be received by this company if I were to occupy its time long in dealing with the subject which has been discussed. I should have liked, notwithstanding all we have heard about diverging from the main questions as to localities and particular Colonies, to have brought the subject of South Africa before this meeting, but it is much too late to do so. I do not agree with the gentlemen who have spoken in depreciation of speakers bringing the advantages of the Colonies with which they were specially acquainted prominently into the discussion. It seems to me that this is the only way in which the Colonies can get understood in England—(hear, hear)—and it is the only way in which the question can be broadly dealt with. (Hear, hear.) I read the able article of the lecturer which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. I have for nearly twenty-eight years resided in South Africa, during which period I have devoted a large portion of my time to the consideration of the land question of the country, and to the value of emigration from Great Britain to it; and I should have been

delighted to be able to say something about the article in the *Nineteenth Century*, and adopting it as a text for bringing before you a great many specialities of South Africa which it would be well for the people of England to understand. (Hear, hear.) There is so much in that country to be dealt with, there is so much to be done with civilisation, by emigration to that country, so much that it would be impossible for any man to deal with the subject fairly, and to exhaust it in the ten minutes allowed each speaker. South Africa has such special claims upon the Mother-country, and claims for a share of the emigrating people of England, as no other Colonies have. Notwithstanding that every colonist who has spoken has deprecated the discussion going beyond what he is pleased to call the main question, and condemned others who have made a speciality of their own particular Colony, yet I noted that there is not one of them who have sat down without bringing before the meeting most prominently the Colony each represents—(hear)—and the last speaker could not wind up his remarks without telling you what Australia could do for England, and how much more it has done for England than ever America did. (Laughter.) I was surprised to hear Mr. Tuke say he did not care how many British subjects had emigrated to America. Now, that has always been a sore subject with me. I desire to see the spread of this Empire by emigration, by sending to our own possessions the men who want to work upon the land, that they shall continue to be loyal subjects of our own Sovereign; and, when they want to invest their labour in the production of wealth, that they shall invest it in the Queen's dominions, and so contribute towards the prosperity of an united Empire. (Hear, hear.) I admire many things written by Mr. James Anthony Froude, but I do not accept all his conclusions—either those he arrives at as a traveller, politician, theologian, or historian. I have not adopted his view that Henry the Eighth was a model husband. (Laughter.) Yet I accept that quite as much as I do anything he has written about South Africa. (Laughter.) There is, however, one paper of Mr. Froude's very valuable to any man who is considering the subject of emigration in the broad sense in which Mr. Torrens is dealing with it, and that paper is to be found amongst his short papers on great subjects, on British Subjects and British Emigration. (Hear, hear.) He has defined clearly the value of sending the surplus population of England to our Colonies, and settling them upon lands belonging to the Crown, and has shown how much the people are themselves bettered, and how much better it is for the nation, that England shall keep this colonisation in her own hands instead of driving her people to

America and forcing them to become aliens. (Hear.) Mr. Frederick Young did good service by drawing back our attention towards the larger question of colonisation, and putting before us a scheme by which the surplus labour of England could be brought to bear upon the Crown lands of the Colonies, and that, too, without much cost, either to the Imperial or Colonial Governments. It is a pity that you had not thought of this years ago, before the Crown lands of the Colonies passed out of the hands of the Crown. (Hear, hear.) If you had dealt with the Crown lands as Crown lands should have been dealt with before you went scattering broadcast over the face of the earth imitations of your own Constitution, you would have done a great amount of service to your Empire. (Hear, hear.) I feel that I must not allow myself to be tempted to go further into the general question. I hope an opportunity will occur some day when I may be able to deal with and bring the subject of South Africa in reference to emigration before you. But I will say this, that when I saw the title of Mr. Torrens's Paper to be "Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration," I began to think how much I would like to be present to hear it, in order that I might understand from it what he proposed that the partnership should be; because I would bind myself to show, if I had the time, that almost all that is necessary to enable South Africa to carry a large population of British emigrants without much assistance from the Imperial Government, is that she should be allowed to deal with her lands as she acquires them, just as she pleases, or that the Imperial Government should not interfere with her affairs of territorial acquisition in the way it has been doing of late to prevent unproductive lands being occupied by British labour. What the people of South Africa want to do is not, as a friend behind me seems to think. When someone proposed that we should civilise the natives by sending out a stream of British emigration to settle in South Africa, he said, "Yes, to exterminate them." ("No, no.") No! that is what England has been doing for years. (Hear, hear.) She has been allowing a bad state of things to go on without heeding or caring, or else she has been interfering to prevent the colonists from dealing fairly with the natives. It has always been one or the other. (Hear, hear.) The English Government has been continually interfering and preventing the Colonies carrying out that Colonial native policy which is calculated to civilise and elevate the native population, and which Colonial Governments understand, and the Imperial Government do not understand. (Hear, hear.) Colonial Governments in South Africa pursue a policy

which advances the native in civilisation, makes him useful to the State, teaches him to be industrious, and enables him to hold property in his own right. No government in South Africa under British rule seeks to exterminate the natives; their labour is too valuable. (Hear, hear.) And I think that the vast problem for Great Britain to solve is what should be the value of the native races to the world? (Hear, hear.) I say that I think this the greatest problem England has to solve; and I say, putting that aside, that South Africa cannot afford to do without the native races. (Cheers.) Some years ago I passed over a tract of country which was then a wilderness, and did not contribute one single penny towards either the work of civilisation, to the wealth of the country, or to the comfort of natives or Europeans. This land during the last seven years, through a particular industrial resource having been developed, has given employment to 640,000 natives, who never worked for a day's wage in their lives before—(cheers)—and there has been introduced upon that land, in addition to native labour, other labour, too, which together has been the means of enabling the people there to export a product of the value of 3½ millions per annum. This product is in the shape of diamonds, and the value of the parcels sent through the post-office alone to England and Europe is just what I state. (Hear, hear.) The municipal revenue of the principal town upon that land is £25,000 a year, and it has paid a million and a half of money per annum for the carriage of British manufactures across from Table Bay, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Natal, which goods have been consumed in the diamond-fields of South Africa (for that is the place of which I am speaking). And that is just one little portion of the vast continent of South Africa, throughout which country there are undeveloped resources which, if the country were properly populated, would give employment to the men of this country who are starving for the want of it, would make the Empire stronger, and bring the native races within the subjection of the Crown, and prevent the continually recurring native wars. (Hear, hear.) Either let Great Britain herself pursue the policy of colonisation which Mr. Torrens advocates, or else cease meddling, as far as South Africa is concerned, with the land and native questions of that country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—At this late hour of the evening I shall endeavour to compress my remarks into a short compass. The Agent-General for South Australia, Sir Arthur Blyth (and he was followed to some extent by other speakers), cast censure upon Mr. McCullagh Torrens's address

in two respects. Sir Arthur Blyth said that Mr. Torrens had dealt too exclusively with the subject of emigration from Ireland and with that of emigration to Canada; but Sir Arthur Blyth, as it seemed to me, overlooked the nature of the question which Mr. Torrens brought before this meeting. The subject was not emigration generally. (Hear, hear.) The subject was an Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration—that is, a scheme under which Great Britain should do one part and the Colony or the Colonies do the other part. Where there are partners each must contribute something. Now, as far as I am aware, the proposal which has emanated from the Dominion Government is the only case in which a Colony has proposed to enter into a partnership with Great Britain in promoting emigration. This being so, was it not natural that Mr. Torrens, instead of discussing the question theoretically, should deal with that practical proposal which is now before us? (Hear, hear.) That, I think, fully explains the reasons why Mr. Torrens dealt principally with emigration from Ireland to Canada. I would say, also, if any further justification is required, that the state of Ireland itself is a sufficient reason why we should look to emigration in the first instance from that country. (Hear, hear.) If two Englishmen, two Scotchmen, and two Irishmen happened to be in a boat which was capsized, and the Englishmen and Scotchmen were good swimmers, while the Irishmen could hardly swim at all, I should think that if a boat came to the rescue it would pick up both Irishmen before it tried to pick up either an Englishman or a Scotchman. If after one Irishman was picked up, an Englishman or a Scotchman were to say, “It is now my turn to be picked up,” the rescuing crew would say, “Unless those two Irishmen are picked up at once they will go to the bottom; when we have saved them then we will pick up you afterwards.” (Laughter.) Sir Arthur Blyth almost went out of his way to disclaim any idea of a partnership being entered into between the Colony he represented and the Imperial Government as regards emigration. He said that “the people of South Australia will bring out just as many emigrants as they require, when they require them,” and yet he found fault with Mr. Torrens for not discussing the question of emigration to South Australia. I may here refer to one remark of Sir Arthur Blyth’s. He said that in South Australia two classes of emigrants were especially desirable; that there had been great fluctuation in the demand for other classes of emigrants; but that there was and always had been a steady demand for single females. He did not explain why that demand should exist; but I think it would be well and useful to consider why that demand exists. If a particular

class of labourers are sent out, say masons, to a Colony, those masons do not die off for many years, and before they die off it may be supposed that sons will have sprung up who will succeed to their fathers' business and will carry on the work of building houses. Therefore, if you have once sent out a thousand masons they would continue to go on building houses year after year, and there might be no great demand for a further supply of masons. Why is it that this class of single females who go out to become domestic servants requires to be supplemented year after year with fresh importations? Why, it seems to me that there is only one solution of the question, and that is that these single females who go out as domestic servants very speedily become married women. (Laughter.) Other classes of emigrants cease to be available only when they become too old for work or die off; but as soon as a domestic servant becomes married she ceases to be available as a domestic servant. (Laughter.) I think, therefore (although Sir Arthur Blyth did not work the idea out), that it follows from his statement that there is a very good opening indeed for that class of emigrants, and his observation shows clearly what the prosperity of the Colony must be when the domestic servants find such a ready matrimonial market on arriving there. (Renewed laughter.) The other class of emigrants which Sir Arthur Blyth said was wanted was emigrants with capital. No doubt capitalists are a very desirable class of emigrants, but I apprehend you are hardly going to call for Government assistance to send out emigrants with capital, for if they have capital they can go themselves; and the only way to induce an emigrant with capital to go to any Colony is to show him that if he goes to that Colony he can there invest his money to advantage. (Hear, hear.) There is one other point on which I should like to make a remark. The Colony of Victoria has been referred to as being very Protectionist. It is so in other matters; but it affects to go in for the principle of Free-trade as regards emigration. The leading Protectionists sometimes say, "Why should not emigration be left to the ordinary operations of supply and demand; if the employers of labour want labour, why don't they import it at their own expense?" That is the argument used time after time in the Colony of Victoria; and I may be pardoned for answering this argument, as perhaps the answer may ultimately reach the protectionists of Victoria. We find that Australia is covered with countless herds of cattle and countless flocks of sheep. How were the cattle and sheep of which these herds and flocks are the descendants brought out? By individual capitalists, and why? Because those capitalists could retain a property in the

sheep and cattle which they imported. But we find in all the Australian Colonies that the Governments, or Acclimatisation Societies subsidised by the Governments, have introduced another class of animals, such as salmon, deer, and game birds. Why were those animals not also introduced by individual proprietors? Why were they introduced at the expense of the Governments of the Colonies? Simply because, as it is generally impossible for an individual to retain a property in animals of that kind—animals *feræ naturæ*—there is no sufficient inducement for individuals to import them. Now, if you had slavery in a country, you might well leave the supply of labour to capitalists and persons wishing to employ labour. When there was slavery in the West Indies, it was not found necessary to have votes of money to keep up the supply of negroes there. It was a most iniquitous traffic; but it was, however, governed, like other trades, by the laws of supply and demand. If the owners of plantations wanted labourers, they were supplied by the slave traders, who brought negroes from Africa. But slavery, thank God! no longer exists in our Colonies. And, if a capitalist who wants labour imports immigrants, he cannot by any effectual means retain their services; he has no property in them. How is he to reimburse himself for his expenditure in bringing them out? He can do so only by paying them lower wages than are paid to men of the same class. What is the consequence? Why, that these labourers whom the capitalist has imported, seeing that they are getting less wages than their fellow-labourers around them, and forgetting that the man who imported them has been at the expense of paying their passage out, will not work heartily and with a good will, and they seek the first chance of absconding. Therefore it has always been found impossible to rely for the supply of the Colonial labour market upon the exertions of individual capitalists. The introduction of a proper supply of immigrants has in almost all our Colonies been at one time or other treated as a matter of national concern. It is for a like reason that Government—local or general, as the case may be—is entrusted with the making of public roads; because it is impossible that any system could ever be carried out by which each man should make the portion of the road in front of his own house. Therefore I say that those protectionists in Victoria do not understand what they are talking about when they say that there is anything contrary to the true principles of Free Trade in the Colonial Government importing labour into a Colony. (Cheers.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN: I do not propose to enter at any great length into the matter we have had under discussion; but, before

we separate, I would like to say a word or two in connection with what I think I may safely call one of the most interesting subjects which can engage the attention of Englishmen—the question of emigration generally, and also in its special relation to the Colonies. Now, exception has been taken by two or three speakers to the fact of Mr. Torrens having in the consideration of this question alluded more particularly to Canada and Ireland; and we have heard some expressions of regret that other gentlemen have somewhat narrowed the discussion by confining themselves almost exclusively to dealing with the question as it affects the particular Colonies which they represent, or in which they are interested. But, as far as I am concerned, I do not regret this at all; because if these gentlemen had refrained from considering the question of emigration with reference to the Colonies with whose views and wants they were best acquainted, we should have lost a great deal of most valuable information. In dealing with this subject at present, it is obvious that the thoughts of any speaker must of necessity turn to that particular part of the United Kingdom from which at this moment emigration is most needed—namely, the distressed districts in the West of Ireland. It is natural also that he should especially allude to Canada. You will remember that Canada has just submitted a definite proposal to England; and, as far as I am aware, it is the first tangible effort which has yet been made to formulate to any extent a scheme of emigration to be assisted and supervised both by the mother-country and a Colony. Our attention is very naturally attracted to that portion of Canada to which frequent allusion has been made—namely, Manitoba—because in the first place, it is practically a newly-discovered country, and, in the next place, it offers peculiar advantages to emigrants. A railway is about to be constructed through that country which would give such abundant employment to agricultural labourers and small farmers, that any man who chose to work would have no difficulty in maintaining himself until such time as he should begin to reap the fruits of the soil which he cultivated. There is another reason, perhaps, why Canada especially commends itself to us, and that is, that many of our countrymen, and probably many of those here present, have visited that country, and, knowing something about it, would prefer it as a field of emigration to Colonies more remote. A man may visit Canada, see something of it, and return in a few months, or even weeks, which is impossible in the case of the more distant Colonies. Canada is unfortunately a very fascinating country; I have been a great deal there during the last ten or eleven years, and I find the people so good and the society so

charming, that I seem naturally to gravitate towards the country, and am constantly revisiting the same spots. That is really a matter of regret to me, for if Canada and the Canadians had not been so charming, I should no doubt by this time have visited all our other Colonies, which, however, I fully hope and intend to do. Several gentlemen have alluded to the climate at Manitoba. I think, perhaps, for Irish emigrants it might have some little drawbacks. It is certainly somewhat different to what they have been accustomed to, and they might at first be somewhat astonished, and even a little dismayed, at the cold and the ice-bound earth, and the depth of the snow. That feeling, however, would soon pass away. There is no doubt that the climate is healthy; much more so, indeed, than many more favoured portions of the continent of America. In Manitoba malarious fever is unknown; but, as we are all aware, in regions further south, as soon as the virgin soil is turned up and cultivated, malarious fevers develop themselves, and render the country very unhealthy for a considerable length of time. I was very pleased to hear from Mr. Wilmot that the poorer classes of Irishmen were doing well in the Cape Colony, and, indeed, I am sure we have all been much gratified by the information we have received respecting that territory. As far as I am concerned, I was not aware that the Cape Colony was so rich a country as it is. If, however, Mr. Wilmot desires to induce emigrants to go to the Cape, I should advise him not to say too much about employing them to civilise the natives. Judging by past experience the emigrants might feel a little uneasy lest the natives might civilise them off the face of the earth altogether. Mr. Frederick Young made some very valuable and practical remarks upon this subject of emigration. It is, as he said, of the first importance that young people, as they grow up, should have greater facilities for becoming better acquainted with the Colonies than they have now. They should be taught that what have hitherto been considered great distances are practically so no longer. They should be made to understand that emigration means merely going from one part of their own country to another part of it. The money question is a difficult one. When we come to the question of what contribution the emigrant himself should make to the expense of his removal, and how much should be contributed by the mother-country and the Colony, we touch upon a complicated subject. In fact, the whole question of emigration bristles with difficulties which can only be overcome by constant discussion and interchange of opinion. Mr. Young has suggested that the emigrant should pay £2 towards the expense of carrying him to

any Colony to which he may wish to go, and that the balance should be equally divided between the Mother-country and the Colony. The chief difficulty I see in that would be that it would manifestly be to the advantage of the department dealing with this matter to send the emigrant to the nearest Colony in order, as far as possible, to diminish the expense. Among the larger questions which have been touched upon, and which I shall not pursue, is the "tariff," involving the whole subject of Free-Trade and Protection. I imagine our Colonies think we are somewhat idiotic for being free-traders, and we consider them more or less insane for being protectionists. We both adhere to our own opinions, and both enjoy a fair amount of prosperity. But, although in talking about emigration we may enter by side issues upon the question of Free-Trade, in reality it has nothing to do with the subject of emigration, which we are now considering. That the question has been treated from a rather narrow point of view by gentlemen specially interested in certain Colonies is of no real consequence. It has all to do with the great problem, which is, how to bring the labour which wants land to the land which wants labour? As a rule, I am strongly opposed to the interference of the State in any matter which may safely be left to private enterprise; but I think emigration is a matter of such vast importance to the United Kingdom, that not only is the State justified in giving every possible assistance, but is in duty bound to do so. Private enterprise is not sufficient. However well conducted private companies may be, they are speculative concerns, having their own ends and objects in view, viz. to make money. Emigrants not unnaturally look with a certain amount of suspicion upon them. They would be more willing to seek to better themselves in other countries if they felt that the State would see that all engagements entered into by them and for them were properly carried out. Their welfare on shipboard and on arrival in the Colony should be properly cared for. It can never be an agreeable thing to be compelled to leave one's home; and, where it is a necessity, those who have to do it should be spared as much pain and suffering as possible. To this end they should be assisted to take out their wives and children, instead of having to leave them to become a burden on this country. Of course there is a certain difficulty in the fact, that whereas the Colonies are very naturally anxious to get the very best material they can, we are equally anxious to retain that best material at home. It would be curious if this were otherwise, and it is a perfectly legitimate desire on both sides to obtain that material most suited to their wants. But it is not necessary that

our interests should clash, and I conceive it possible that, while doing the best we can for ourselves, we may mutually aid each other. I regret very much that, taking into consideration the vast importance of the subject, the Governments of this country have not taken it in hand long ago. I think it a great pity that our Colonies did not reap the benefit of the vast amount of emigration that has taken place to the United States. I say this without the slightest feeling of enmity or jealousy of the United States, for the people of which country I entertain feelings of the greatest respect and affection. Remarks have been made to the effect that the Americans are not fast friends of this country. That is a matter I do not desire to enter upon. It is beside the question. I will only say that such is not my opinion. Of one thing I am very certain, that the United States entertain feelings of higher respect and esteem for Great Britain, or rather the British Empire, than for any other nation. I believe there is a strong feeling towards this country, and I would venture to remind you of an episode in, I think, the Chinese war. On a certain occasion our soldiers and sailors were in difficulties, and the commander of a United States vessel took upon himself the great responsibility of risking the lives of his men in coming to our assistance, and helping us in a quarrel which was none of his, with the phrase that, after all, "blood is thicker than water." That may be considered a small and isolated fact, but it shows the truth of the gallant commander's remark, that "blood is thicker than water." I confess I fear that great difficulty will be experienced in persuading any Government to take up this question, and it will probably necessitate a constant hammering at them for a considerable length of time. But I have not the slightest doubt they will eventually give way, and I am sure they will have no cause to regret so doing. Their only regret will be, that they did not deal liberally with the whole question long ago. I was particularly struck with one remark made by Mr. Torrens at the commencement of his admirable address. He said, "I hope one day to see a closer union of all who speak our tongue. I would gladly renounce and sacrifice any object of personal ambition if I were permitted to advance that object in any degree." Now, that commends itself to me as a very noble sentiment, and one which I most thoroughly endorse. I hope to see a constantly growing desire for a closer union between the Mother-country and her Colonies, for I believe that the future happiness and prosperity of both Great Britain and her Colonies is largely bound up with, and dependent upon, such union. The prosperity of the English-speaking people in all parts of the world, and their power for

good, must of necessity depend, to a very great extent, upon the existence of some mutual centre of combination which can only be the natural heart of the Empire—the Mother-country. What the power of the British Empire now is there is no reason for me to point out; but it is marvellous to reflect what may be its future power if the Colonies and the Mother-country maintain a close and steadfast union. I venture to think it would become the greatest Power the world has ever seen, and a Power which could work only for the good of the whole world. The people of England will never undertake any war of aggression on the Continent—it would be ludicrous to think of such a thing. We do not require to do so to accommodate our increasing population. Our expansion goes in the direction of our Colonies. The Colonies are so situated that there is no likelihood of their ever embarking in aggressive wars. For many, many generations they will be occupied in clearing their own land and developing their own resources. As far, at any rate, as we can look forward to, there seems no possibility that the power and influence of the English-speaking peoples will ever be used to the detriment of human happiness. Their influence and overwhelming strength cannot fail to be a blessing to the whole human race if properly exercised. Therefore, from a humanitarian point of view, the future of the United Kingdom and her Colonies, with which the subject of emigration is so closely connected, is a matter of vast importance. From the narrow point of view of the advantages accruing to the British Empire this question of emigration between the Colonies and the Mother-country is full of interest, and it is well worthy of consideration in a still more restricted sense and looked at merely as conferring great benefit on the United Kingdom. It cannot fail to be advantageous to us to relieve ourselves of a surplus population on the verge of starvation. I believe that some such scheme as that which we have had under discussion would not only confer the utmost benefit upon the emigrants themselves, but would in the long run prove most economical to this country, by reducing the large contributions she is now called upon to make for the support of the poor. I will now detain you no longer than is necessary for the expression of our hearty thanks to Mr. Torrens for the excellent address which has led to this most interesting, instructive, and profitable discussion. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. TORRENS, M.P. : I am sure I speak the sentiment of everyone in this room when I propose that we should vote our cordial thanks to our noble chairman. (Cheers.) Lord Dunraven's name

is well known to all of you who mark the course of political and philanthropic discussion in this country ; and it shows, I think, the tendency of gravitation in public opinion that, representing, as I am confident he does, the feelings of an important section of the aristocracy, and representing, as I do, the middle classes of an important portion of this Metropolis, we find ourselves in this room in absolute and perfect union on this subject, never having been engaged together in any public work before. I hope we may be permitted to co-operate frequently and thoroughly in similarly useful work, and I am sure that the manner in which you have received him to-night, and the kindness with which you have listened to what I have laid before you, will be the best encouragement to him, as it will be to me, not to grow weary in well-doing. (Hear, hear.) I have no complaint to make of the criticisms bestowed on the suggestions laid before you the other evening ; on the whole, I consider the balance greatly in their favour—(hear, hear)—and cheerfully forgive the few cavils raised for the sake of the many words of commendation we have heard, of the general scope and practicability of central and Colonial partnership in emigration. I have listened with the greatest interest to the experiences of one colonist after another which some in this room seem disposed to think too particular and narrow. I own that I rather lean to what may be perhaps miscalled the narrow view. When I was a young man I loved to deal in general theories about our own country, and the rest of the world into the bargain. Like the physician of Voltaire I had three cures for every disease, and now I am older I find many diseases for which I have not even one. I am only too thankful to find any specific that promises a practical cure, and I have lost gradually my faith in universal and uniform theories. I understood from Mr. Bourne and Mr. Labillière that they were all for trying what could be done with the thick end of the wedge. I am in favour of the thin end, for I have always found it uncommonly difficult to get in the other. (Laughter.) The Premier of Queensland was especially eloquent and interesting in his discourse, and I am quite content to act on his advice, and put our experiment of joint action to the test when and where we can. It is not so easy to do extensive good as those may imagine who seldom practically and perseveringly try. Several years ago, as Mr. Styleman Herring reminds us, we adopted a large scheme of emigration, and held our first meeting at Westminster ; but, as far as general contribution by the Treasury is concerned, we are not much nearer to the realisation of our hopes. If you could get Parliament to agree this year and next year to do

what is necessary for Queensland and Canada, for my part I should be only too glad ; and I confess to you, and those who through the Press hear what one says, that I have great faith in the spirit of honourable emulation among Colonies which would be beneficially excited when two of their number have shown a new and better way of increasing the strength of their population, and which in due time would lead others to follow their example. Queensland is the youngest of the sister states, but she shows that she is waking up to the duty of making an effort, and making offers of some kind in regard to the new state of things ; but as yet they come only in official form from the maturer wisdom of Canada. Whatever conditions Queensland annexes, she must bide the result. Let her devote to the good purpose whatever she thinks she can afford, and we shall ask our Government to do the like, so that out of our abundance we shall not prove slack or wanting. But with regard to our assuming the part of questioning each Colony as to whether it wants more or less immigration now or next year, I disclaim that as fatal to all good understanding between the Mother-country and the Colonies. A gentleman who attended here when Sir Alexander Galt gave his lecture—I mean Mr. Anderson—thought fit the other day to question the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons regarding the nature of the despatch from Canada, and the manner in which it has to be dealt with, and put certain constructions upon its terms with a view, it seemed, of warning Parliament not to give any sanction to the offer made by Canada. I should not have silently acquiesced in this adverse proceeding ; and, had it been necessary, I was prepared to put other questions calculated to set the matter right in the eyes of the House ; but I was saved all trouble by Mr. Grant Duff replying that Lord Lorne's despatch had been referred to the Irish Government, and that the matter was in course of negotiation ; and that, speaking for the Colonial Office, he did not put that construction upon the terms of the despatch which Mr. Anderson did. (Hear, hear.) I thank you very much for the attention you have paid to my suggestions, and I have the honour to move our hearty thanks to Lord Dunraven, and to testify to him our sense of the advantages which the cause will receive from his presidency amongst us. (Loud cheers.)

SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting was held on Tuesday, the 12th April, 1881, at the Grosvenor Galley Library. Sir CHARLES NICHOLSON, Bart., Vice-President, presided. Amongst those present were the following :—

The Hon. Thomas McIlwraith (Premier of Queensland), Mr. Arthur Macalister, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart., Mr. A. Campbell Praed (Queensland), Dr. J. Symes Thompson, Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., the Right Rev. Dr. Stanton (Bishop of North Queensland), Mr. H. R. Troupe, Mrs. and Miss Stuart, Mr. Torrens, M.P., Mr. W. Seagrave, Major-General Hunt, C.B., Messrs. S. W. Silver, E. A. Wallace, H. A. Silver, Dr. Murie, Mr. James Bonwick, Rev. C. F. Stovin, Messrs. C. S. Dicken (Queensland), Jacob Montefiore, J. B. Montefiore, Jacob L. Montefiore, E. R. Drury (Queensland), Henry K. Davson (British Guiana), Edgar Price, James A. Youl, C.M.G., J. C. Alexander, James Alexander, junr., Frederick King (Sydney), J. S. O'Halloran (South Australia), John Ware (Victoria), William Kaye (Victoria), H. E. Watts, Andrew McIlwraith (Queensland), Thomas Routledge, H. A. Jaques, Edmund Trimmer (South Australia), W. N. Waller (Victoria), H. S. Routledge, J. D. Wood, William Senior (Queensland), Mr. and Mrs. E. J. James, Messrs. F. W. Fox, Saul Samuel, C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales), Mrs. and Miss Samuel, Mr. L. Samuel, Major Lloyd, Miss Clay, Mr. Morton Green (Natal), Mrs. and Miss Archer (Queensland), Messrs. J. A. Todd, E. Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlan (Sydney), James Farmer (New Zealand), R. Bruce Bell, W. H. J. Carter, William Wilson (Queensland), W. G. Wilson (Queensland), A. H. Knight, the Rajah Rampal Singh, Messrs. G. Moffat (Canada), W. L. Shepherd, John Balfour (Queensland), E. H. Gough, A. H. Good, T. M. Harrington, J. R. Boyd, Colonel Stephens (Melbourne), Mr. and Mrs. A. Focking (Cape Colony), Miss MacEmany, Messrs. J. W. P. Jauralde, F. P. Labilliere, W. R. Mewburn, Sir Galbraith Logan, Messrs. John Lascelles (Victoria), J. Ashwood, F. D. Deare, A. Deare, A. B. Buchanan (Queensland), J. G. H. Wilson (Queensland), John S. Hill, W. J. Gwyn, Thomas Plewman, George Campbell, J. E. R. Campbell, Edward Cooper, Sidney W. E. Gilliat, A. G. Perceval, Leedham White, George Seagrave, Henry Kimber, Charles G. Hale, H. C. McDonald, Robert Porter, J. Banks Taylor, Philip Parsons, H. Courtenay Luck, James Murphy, W. T. Morison, Charles Bethell, W. J. Gwyn, Frederick Woodall, Lawrence J. Byrne (Queensland), A. J. M. Drysdale, David George, C. Howard, W. J. Burn, Mr. and Mrs. W. Westgarth, Mr. and Mrs. Scott, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Elkington, Miss Spread, Miss Purves, Mrs. Gale, Messrs. K. D. Ross, Mark H. Drury, R. M. Murray, N. Nelson, H. M. Whitehead, R. C. Want (Sydney), Alfred Fairfax (Sydney), L. M. England, James Pope, Miss Webster, Mr. and Mrs. Wiese, Miss Gale, Miss Gough, Mr. F. W. Carpenter, Mrs. Imdale,

Mr. George Archer, Mr. W. and Miss Archer, Miss Whitfield, Mr. H. Meldrum, Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Bigge (Queensland), Messrs. F. W. Bigge, John George, J. C. Ware (Victoria), R. Christisen (Queensland), Mrs. Godsall, Mr. John R. Temperley (Melbourne), Mr. and Mrs. Sidney B. Montefiore, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.)

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the Minutes of the Sixth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected:—

Resident Fellows—

F. D. Deare, Esq., Theodore C. Taylor, Esq., Leedham White, Esq.

Non-Resident Fellows—

His Honour H. W. Austin, Bahamas; Moses Boyle, Esq., West Africa; Hon. Alfred H. Brown, M.L.C., Queensland; Cyrus M. Bult, Esq., Cape Colony; Hon. S. W. Griffith, Q.C., Queensland; F. A. Mason, Esq., British Guiana; T. Mulligan, Esq., British Guiana; C. D. Rudd, Esq., Cape Colony; S. P. Saunders Esq., M.L.A., Bahamas; Hon. Leicester C. Shirley, Jamaica, Dr. J. L. Vendam, British Guiana; H. W. Williams, Esq. New Zealand; George Zochons, Esq., West Africa; Josua Zeveifel, Esq., West Africa.

The following donations of Books, &c. presented to the Institute since the last Meeting were also announced:—

The Government of British Guiana:

Directory and Almanac, 1881.

The Government of Canada:

Parliamentary Papers and Debates 1881; Report on the state of the Militia, 1880.

The Government of Ceylon:

Administration Reports, 1879.

The Government of New South Wales:

Parliamentary Debates, Nos. 1 to 4.

The Legislative Assembly of Quebec:

The Settler's Guide: Department of Crown Lands.

The Agent-General for New South Wales:

First Annual Report upon the occupation of Crown Lands, New South Wales, 1879; Annual Report of the Department of Mines, 1879.

The Agent-General for Victoria:

Statistical Register of Victoria, Parts VII. and VIII., 1879.

The Government Observer of South Australia:

Meteorological Observations, 1878.

The Government Statist, Victoria:

Vital Statistics of Melbourne and Suburbs, 1880.

The Royal Geographical Society:

Proceedings of the Society, April, 1881.

The Social Science Association:

Transactions at Edinburgh, 1880. Vol. I.

Thomas Archer, Esq. :

Some Remarks on the proposed Queensland Trans-continental Railway.

J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :

The Canadian Monthly and Bystander, March, 1881.

Dr. John Chapman :

The Westminster Review, April, 1881.

Lieut.-Colonel J. Domville, M.P., New Brunswick :

Iron Production in Canada.

Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G. :

Report of the Tenant Farmers' Delegates on the Dominion of Canada, 2nd Series, 1881.

L. McDermott, Esq., British Guiana :

Almanac and Directory, 1881.

R. A. MacFie, Esq. :

Free Trade in Manufactures, 2nd Edition, 1881.

Captain Charles Mills, C.M.G. :

View of the Scene of Colonel Carrington's operations in Basutoland.

Lieut.-Colonel William White :

Canadian Blue Books, 1880.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. THOMAS ARCHER to read his Paper on—

QUEENSLAND: HER HISTORY, RESOURCES, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

IN coming before you to say some words about Queensland, I cannot but be conscious of labouring under a great disadvantage as compared with the gentlemen who have immediately preceded me at this desk. The eminent diplomatist and statesman who two months since addressed the members of this Society on the important subject of the Confederation of the South African Colonies, had a theme to dilate upon that could not but be deeply interesting to all who had the privilege of listening to his lucid and eloquent handling of a very difficult subject. The great events that were then and still are occurring in South Africa cannot fail to give to everything relating to our Colonies in that part of the world an absorbing interest for every subject of this realm to whom its reputation, its honour, and its prosperity are dear. The hon. gentleman who last month addressed you on the subject of Emigration also dealt with a question that is of the very first importance, not only to Great Britain and Ireland, but to every Colony in the Empire, and to none more than to Queensland, where

very large tracts of the finest country are lying unoccupied, and crying aloud for the labour and capital that are alone needed to convert them into homes for thousands of the surplus population of these islands. The thanks of every colonist, and I may say indeed of every subject of this Empire, are due to Mr. Torrens for the Address with which he favoured us on this most important question, equally important to the Colonies and the Mother-country. That Address could not fail to carry conviction to every reflecting mind amongst the large and appreciative audience that gathered to listen to it; the interest taken by Mr. Torrens during so many years in the Emigration question, and the untiring labour he has bestowed upon it, entitle him to speak with an authority that can be claimed by few. I have unfortunately not the privilege of addressing you on subjects of such absorbing and universal interest. In Queensland there are neither wars nor rumours of wars to excite the imagination and cast a halo of adventure and romance around us; our lives and transactions are as prosaic and commonplace as if the first were passed within the sound of Bow bells, and the second carried on in Mark-lane or the Stock Exchange. Queensland belongs to the category of those happy communities that have no history, in the military and diplomatic sense, and our only battles are those waged with the tongue and the pen, by our statesmen, our lawyers, and our divines. But if we have no hairbreadth escapes and moving incidents by flood and field to excite the imagination and stir the blood, we have some compensation in the privilege of being able to sit in peace under the shadow of our own vine and fig tree, in the full assurance that the fruits of our labours and our lives are as secure as they could possibly be in any part of Her Majesty's dominions; and what an inestimable privilege this is can be fully realised by those only who have had experience of a state of society where the idle, the worthless, and the dissolute are allowed full play to exercise their evil propensities, while the industrious, the thrifty, and the peaceably-disposed have to stand helplessly by and see their property become the prey of the spoiler. My theme, therefore, is in comparison commonplace and uninteresting, though not altogether unimportant in its way, and I must ask your kind indulgence while I endeavour, as shortly as possible, to bring under your notice a very prosaic subject, treated in an equally prosaic manner.

Queensland, though she is the youngest of the Australian group of Colonies, bids fair to rival the most prosperous of her elder sisters. Her seaboard of 2,000 miles, studded at frequent intervals with fine harbours, her rivers (though not navigable for any great dis-

tance from the sea) depositing large tracts of the finest alluvial soil, much of it fit in the southern parts of the Colony for producing all the fruits and cereals usually grown in temperate climates, and in the central and northern districts for most tropical products; her apparently inexhaustible deposits of minerals ranging from gold to coal, and including very rich deposits of tin and copper; her natural pastures extending over the larger proportion of her surface, and rivalling in fattening and wool producing qualities any pasturage of the same extent in any part of the world yet discovered; all these advantages combine to make Queensland one of our most promising Colonies. Already her progress has been very rapid. I can well remember when in 1841 the commerce of Brisbane (which then meant the whole Colony) was carried on by a small cutter trading to Sydney; when a schooner was added to the fleet a great stride was thought to have been made; and when, a year or two later, a couple of small steamers took up the trade, there was no end to the jubilation of the inhabitants. As a contrast I find that in 1879 the entrances inwards were 1,261 vessels, of the aggregate tonnage of 637,695 tons, with crews of 42,206 men, and the clearances were about the same; there were registered 28 ocean steamers with 3,500 horsepower, and 14,000 tonnage, and 38 river-going steamers of 1,300 tons aggregate measurement. The population in these old times consisted of a few squatters, as the pastoral tenants of the Crown were called, and their men, scattered over the districts of Darling Downs and Moreton, perhaps a dozen storekeepers and publicans in Brisbane and Ipswich, and half a dozen Government officials. These were the times when the "cormorant" squatter ranged at will over the face of the land, turning into profit for the community, and occasionally for himself, vast tracts of country that had lain waste and desolate since creation, and would but for him probably have continued so for centuries to come; for it is an axiom in the history of Australian settlement, to which there has yet been no single exception, that in the interior the squatter or pastoralist must precede the settler or agriculturist; nor are the reasons for this far to seek. Agricultural produce is so bulky and heavy in proportion to its value that it cannot be grown profitably when it has to be sent over long and often difficult roads to market. When there is no population on or near the place of production to consume it, and no navigable rivers or railways to carry the produce market, the cost of carriage must inevitably prove fatal to any chance of profitable farming; and these conditions unfortunately obtain in the far interior of Australia. The principal

articles produced on a grazing station are, on the contrary, comparatively easily brought to market. Wool can be compressed into small bulk in proportion to its value and weight, and is easily handled and carried; while beef, mutton, hides, tallow, have the advantage of walking to market on their own legs at a comparatively trifling cost to the producer. When the country is opened up by railway and becomes more populous, these conditions are to a great extent altered, as I hope to show further on, when treating of settlement.

In the times of which I was speaking the squatter was his own explorer, his own surveyor and road and bridge maker, his own carrier, and too often his own shepherd, cook, bullock driver, and laundress; transportation to New South Wales, of which the Moreton Bay district was then a province, had suddenly ceased some years before, immigration was in its infancy, and labour was scarce, dear, and bad; consequently no kind of employment, save one, was considered *infra dig.* The blight of gentility had not then, nor has it yet in the bush, spread over the surface of society like a canker, destroying everything like manly independence: the only exception to this liberal code was keeping a publichouse: the line had to be drawn somewhere, and we drew it there; if a gentleman stooped to this degrading occupation, he was ruthlessly sent (where Mr. Parnell sent his emissaries lately with such happy results) to Coventry.

Many an Eton or Harrow school-boy and University man had to strip off his coat, turn up his sleeves, and submit to the most servile but salutary labours, realising the old Danish axiom, that he who would have a faithful, interested, and attached servant, should serve himself; and much good the lesson did them. Since my return home, I think I have detected one or two of these victims of adverse circumstances disporting themselves in the sublime atmosphere of fashionable life, "doing the block" in this end of the town with an assurance worthy of so good a cause, trying their utmost to look innocent of ever having done anything useful in their lives. But the Nemesis that follows our evil deeds has overtaken them; the eye of one not easily deceived is upon them, and unless they all join this Society, and contribute handsomely to the building fund, he will certainly "split upon them." But for the present their secret is safe. I breathe not a word about that time when I came across one of these exquisites washing his only shirt by the edge of a waterhole, and afterwards disporting his manly figure under the shade of a swamp oak while the venerable garment was being hung up to dry; or that other

whom I found on his knees concocting on a sheet of bark the mixture that was to serve as suet-pudding for our Christmas dinner. The immortal memory of that pudding can never fade: its dark colour, its glutinous consistency, its lumps of rancid suet, about the size of small walnuts, profusely scattered through the mixture; how repulsive it appears now to our fastidious memory, and yet how savoury it then seemed to unsophisticated palates. The accompanying sauce, composed of Mauritius sugar, black as the nigger who made it, and plantation rum, fiery as liquid lava, may have contributed to the rapidity and appreciation with which the rather nauseous mess disappeared. The mention of shepherding has brought back to my memory a story told about himself by a very old friend of mine. One day when he was shepherding a flock of his sheep (this was when the Burnett district was first taken up), dressed in the regulation moleskin slops, striped shirt, and battered old cabbage-tree hat, a rather dandily-dressed gentleman rode up and said, "Ah! my man, can you direct me to Mr. —'s station?" "Certainly," said my friend; "you follow up this gully for a mile, then turn to your right, run up a blind creek, then cross a ridge, and bear a little to your left, and you will strike a big creek, cross it, and follow up the other side for a mile, and you will get to Mr. —'s." "Ah! thank you," said the traveller, and rode off. On reaching the station, where my friend's younger brother acted as cook and hut-keeper, the traveller informed him that he would hardly have found the place if he had not luckily met a very respectable-looking shepherd who directed him. The traveller's surprise may be imagined when, at sunset, the respectable-looking shepherd appeared with his flock, and dispensed the hospitalities of the station with the grace and dignity of a gentleman of the old school. These brothers were, in fact, scions of one of the oldest Border families (on the right side of the Tweed), and I used to tell them that their proficiency as drovers was no credit to them, as it had descended to them from a long line of ancestors illustrious in that, if in nothing else. The younger brother has for twenty years lain at rest on the banks of the Fitzroy River, where the brothers were among the earliest pioneers. The respectable shepherd I saw the other day in Pall Mall; in fact, I condescended to dine with him at a club not ten minutes' walk from this spot. The dandy traveller has now a prefix of honour (a handle, I believe it is sometimes called) to his name; reports circulated that he used to carry a spare shirt and a tooth-brush in his saddle-bags, and he was even suspected of blacking-brushes; but this requires confirmation.

There was at the time I am now speaking of no paternal government to open the way for the squatter, to direct his steps through the wilderness, and to *tax* him. Crown lands commissioners reigned over districts as large as three or four English counties, and a £10 licence fee and an almost nominal assessment was all the direct taxation to which he was liable. Now we have changed all that. Cultivation, civilisation, taxes, matrimony, and intense respectability reign supreme in regions where they were little known in the good old days of which I speak. The exports, which then, and long after, consisted almost entirely of wool, tallow, and hides, were so insignificant that no record, so far as I can discover, was kept of their value; everything was shipped over to Sydney, which was the capital and seat of government. Not till 1859, when separation from New South Wales was obtained, can I find any record of the value of our imports and exports; for the following year (1860) the imports amounted to £742,023, and the exports to £523,476, and from this time the progress of the Colony has been rapid and nearly uninterrupted. In 1868, the value of imports amounted to £1,890,119, and exports to £2,107,437; while in 1878 the imports had risen to £3,436,077, and the exports to £3,190,419. The revenue, which in 1863 was only £295,215, had, in 1873, increased to £1,124,000, and in 1879 to £1,461,823; while the production of sugar increased in the ten years from 1868 to 1878, from 12,380 cwt. to 270,510 cwt., or more than twenty-fold. In 1879-1880, the production had risen to 374,280 cwt., and there were also in that year, 641,486 gallons of molasses, and 238,710 gallons of rum manufactured; of the sugar, 240,000 cwt. was exported, principally to the other Colonies, where Queensland sugar is rapidly taking the place of many kinds, formerly imported from the Mauritius, Java, and other settlements in the Indian Ocean. Of the rum, 92,600 gallons were exported; the remainder is possibly ripening in the vaults of the producers, acquiring the mellow flavour so highly appreciated by connoisseurs; it took seventy sugar-mills and nine distilleries to produce this out-turn of sugar and rum. This very large increase in the cultivation of sugar occurred principally in one district, that of Port Mackay, where the rich alluvial deposits on the banks of the Pioneer River have been found extremely well adapted for its production; the industry is, however, rapidly spreading northwards, where great tracts of land have been recently discovered, that are eminently suited for sugar-planting; it is also known that an immense extent of land round the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria is well adapted for sugar and other tropical cultivation. Sugar-planting bids fair

to become at no distant date one of the leading industries of Queensland.

When it is remembered that at the time of the separation from New South Wales, and indeed up to 1870, railways were in their infancy, while the richest districts in the interior of the Colony were undiscovered, it must be conceded that her progress had been rapid, solid, and satisfactory. But that progress has been but tardy when compared with what may be expected in the future, when railways shall have pierced the remote interior, and developed the immense resources lying buried there for lack of easy and certain communication with the seaboard. Queensland may be compared to a fruit with a hard and thick rind enclosing a vast amount of the richest and most nutritious aliment, and railways may be regarded as instruments for piercing that rind, and making the rich interior available for the support of civilised humanity. The coast districts, though abounding in large tracts of good country fit for cultivation and the rearing of cattle, must be considered insignificant when compared with the almost boundless extent of rich country in the interior, where the traveller journeys on, day after day and week after week, over an almost unbroken expanse of open down and plain country, covered with grass and herbage, that for richness and fattening qualities has seldom been equalled, and never excelled, by anything yet discovered in Australia.

From the main dividing range in the east to the border of South Australia, and from Roma in the south to the Gulf of Carpentaria, an area measuring upwards of 500 miles square, there is an almost unbroken continuance of country, such as I have described, extending with fatiguing monotony before the weary traveller, who, after the first week or so, begins to long for greater variety of scenery than these seemingly endless plains and undulating downs afford; and yet to the eye of the practised pastoralist the monotony of the scene is largely compensated by the anticipation of a rich reward for all his toils and troubles, in securing the right to lease a few hundred square miles of the grazier's paradise he sees spread out before and around him mile upon mile on all sides. Nor need the farmer turn away disappointed; though grass, the great staple of Australia, seems to monopolise the whole country, many a mile of rich alluvial land stretches along the banks of the water-courses and in the valleys, where some day, when these districts are made accessible by railways, a population of agriculturists will find ample scope for their industry; for the theory that farming cannot be carried on profitably in the inland districts of Australia has

long since been exploded by the teachings of experience, as the following extracts from local papers will show.

A contributor to the *Western Star* describes as follows a Roma vineyard and orangery :—“Mr. Bassett is now reaping the fruit from his vineyard (Roma Villa), which covers over twenty acres of ground and contains 22,000 vines, all bearing and looking as healthy as it is possible for them to look. We were unable to learn the names of the different kinds of grapes grown by Mr. Bassett. The names by which they are generally known are, the black ones—black prince, black cluster, and black wine grapes ; white ones—sweetwater, white table grape, and white wine grape. Then there is the red muscatel, undoubtedly the best grape in the vineyard, and one which produces an excellent wine. At present, however, there is not much chance of testing the red muscatel wine, as Mr. Bassett can command a ready sale for all the grapes of that kind he has growing. The black prince is a beautiful large grape of an oblong shape, the largest grown in this district ; it has a pleasant taste, and produces a very good wine. The black clusters and the black wine grapes, although smaller than the black prince, are equally as profitable, if not more so, especially the black wine grape, which produces a really excellent wine. Of the white grapes, the white wine grape is the best. A stranger to the vineyard would probably take this grape to be diseased, as it is slightly speckled with brown, which is of course its nature. It is a good yielding grape, and produces a very good wine. The sweetwater and the white table grape are very good for eating, and although they yield a larger quantity of wine, it is of an inferior quality. Mr. Bassett has now in his cellars at Roma Villa about 600 gallons of wine, the produce of 1879-80 : in a few more weeks he will have added materially to his stock, having just completed the erection of a large press for the crushing of this year's produce. We have said how many vines Mr. Bassett has in the ground. As a further proof that it is a lucrative industry we might just mention that, the season permitting, they intend putting in at Roma Villa other 15,000 vines, which will cover about fourteen acres of ground, making a total of 37,000 vines, and covering an area of about thirty-four or thirty-five acres of ground. This is not bad for Roma. Besides the twenty acres of vines, Mr. Bassett has three acres of fruit trees, oranges, lemons, figs, peaches, &c. There are about 150 orange trees, a sight of which (to use a vulgar and much hackneyed phrase) is ‘good for sore eyes.’ The oranges are all of very good classes, being the navel, St. Michael, and mandarins. The trees are literally loaded ; on two small topmost branches of one St. Michael

tree we counted no less than thirty-five oranges. This was not the pick of the orangery either, but a fair specimen. There are about two dozen fig trees bearing fruit, also a large quantity of peach trees. There are also several lemon trees, but the severe frosts at the spring of the year cut them up in such a manner as to prevent most of them bearing this season, one only having any fruit on; that one is a peculiar fruit, commonly called the ribbed lemon. They are all, however, looking very healthy now, and in all probability will bear fruit next season.

“ROMA WHEAT AND FRUIT GROWING.

“It will be recollected (says the *Western Star* of January 22) that some weeks since Mr. Joseph Carter, secretary to the Western Queensland Pastoral and Agricultural Association, received a letter from gentlemen connected with the agricultural show to be held in Melbourne, requesting him to forward for exhibition a few samples of Roma grown wheat. In response to Mr. Carter's requisition for half-bushel samples to be sent in, Messrs. Irwin and Lines have just supplied each one sample of wheat harvested in November last. There are other contributions promised, which have not yet been received, but it is hoped they will come to hand in time to be forwarded with those under notice. The wheat grown by Mr. Lines is a red grain, of the purple straw variety, and will make a very good exhibit; but that grown by Mr. Irwin, we think, it will be very difficult to beat. It is a white lammas, fine and plump in the grain, and very even. It is a wheat that any district may be proud of, and it was raised under somewhat unfavourable conditions—one of which was rather late sowing, and another the absence of rain from the time of sowing to the end of September. Previous to that rain, hopes of a successful yield were despaired of, but after the fall of a shower or two the plants shot up wonderfully, and the result was a fairly good yield, although nothing like so good as would have been secured under more favourable circumstances. The sample to be forwarded to Melbourne is a measured half-bushel, and weighs 33 lb., and everybody knows that any wheat that weighs 66 lb. to the bushel must be of excellent quality.

Mr. Kates, miller of Allora, has been visiting the Roma farmers and fruit growers, and, according to the *Western Star*, says that what he saw has surprised him, although he expected to find something to admire in Roma. The grapes which are now rapidly ripening are not surpassed anywhere, while of the samples of wheat grown here he speaks in the highest terms. That sample grown by Mr. Irwin is first-class, and the weight is not often surpassed on

the Downs, although at Allora a farmer has grown wheat weighing 67½ lb. to the bushel; but this is not often accomplished. Mr. Kates has great faith in the Californian wheat, which has yielded in some places as high as sixty bushels to the acre, or rather at that rate, because the quantity received was distributed in small parcels to the growers, and very few of them had sufficient to sow an acre. It is reported to be so good, however, that it will be extensively cultivated on the Downs next season, and we are glad to learn that a portion will be forwarded to this district. The Downs farmers will lay down three times as much land under wheat this season as compared with last, and in a short time—not many years—the Adelaide product will not be required in Queensland. But the Downs farmers are going to make an alteration in the time of sowing. They will this season sow from the 15th to the end of April, and take the chance of the crop being slightly injured by frosts rather than that of having it destroyed altogether by rust, and an early harvest will anticipate rust.”

The *Warwick Examiner* supplies the following most gratifying information:—“From F. Kates, Esq., M.L.A., we have learnt that the wheat harvest in the Allora and Spring Creek districts has not only turned out well, but has exceeded the highest anticipations of the growers. In some paddocks the yield has been very heavy. Forty bushels to the acre will be reached in several instances, while in some few cases as high as fifty bushels per acre will be realised. One farmer considered he would have a heavy crop if he filled 150 bags; on threshing he found his expectations greatly exceeded, and the yield required 220 bags to hold it. This is only one instance of many which could be quoted. In another case, on two adjoining farms belonging to Mr. H. Black, ninety-four acres gave 700 bags of wheat, or nearly 3,000 bushels. Gristing at the Allora mills commenced last week, and, good as the wheat is in appearance, it is making equally as good flour. We have a sample of the silk dressed before us, and it is stated by those who are good judges to be a beautiful flour, and equal to Adelaide. As a proof of this we may mention that the local baker at Allora (Mr. Meyer) made some of it into loaves, and at the same time made some of the finest Adelaide flour. On the bread being taken from the oven and tested, that made from the local flour was found to be fully as good as that of the Adelaide flour—in fact, those who were not aware of it could not distinguish the one from the other. We mention this to show that the local wheat will make as good flour as that which is imported. It is calculated that in the Allora district alone the yield of wheat will be about 7,000 bags, or nearly

30,000 bushels. This, as we have said, is for the Allora district alone, and there is besides the Warwick, Emu Creek, and Toowoomba districts. It is calculated that there will be a total yield of between sixty and seventy thousand bags, or somewhere near a quarter of a million bushels. This is a proof of what the wheat lands will yield in a fair season."

Allora is a town about the centre of the finest agricultural lands in the district of Darling Downs, now the granary of the southern districts, and Roma is in the Moranoa district, at present the terminus of the railway from Brisbane to the West, and is on the threshold of a very great extent of fine country. A few years ago he would have been set down as a lunatic who had invested his capital in husbandry in either of these districts, but the railway has not only brought population to consume the produce on the spot, but has made it possible to transport it to distant markets, and, as usual, demand has created supply. It may be conceded that there are throughout the interior fifty miles suited for grazing to each mile that is adapted for agriculture, but even that calculation will leave a very considerable territory for the operations of the agriculturist. In this estimate of the proportions of farming to grazing land, the country on the waters of the Gulf is not included. In that immense district it will, I have every reason to believe, be found that at least one-fourth of the country is well adapted for tropical agriculture, while nearly all the remainder is unsurpassed as grazing country.

The great problem that presents itself for solution to whatever Government may rule the destinies of Queensland, is how best to utilise the latent resources of this great estate, and compel it to yield a greater quota towards the prosperity of the Colony and the wealth of the Empire than it has hitherto done. It is impossible to imagine that this noble heritage is to remain much longer in the position it has hitherto occupied, as the hunting-ground of a few savages and the abode of a few hundred graziers, whose stations are scattered at long intervals over its surface, and whose flocks and herds scarcely occupy one-tenth of its available area. It seems to me that the only solution of this great problem is in the encouragement of settlement, by opening up the country by means of railway communication with the coast—the only mode of certain, speedy, and cheap transit that can be devised in countries where nature has neglected to provide navigable rivers, to serve as highways for the commerce of infant communities.

Great strides have already been made in the direction of opening up the interior by the construction and opening of a line from

Brisbane to Roma, 317 miles almost due west, and a continuation has been authorised by Parliament, and is now being made to Mitchell, 53 miles further in the same direction. A branch leaves the Brisbane-Roma line at Gowrie Junction on Darling Downs, and runs southward, through the fine agricultural lands of that district to Warwick on the Condamine river, 166 miles from Brisbane. From Warwick the line is nearly finished to the tin mines of Stanthorpe, 41 miles, close to the border of New South Wales, where it will join the eastern system of that Colony, now rapidly advancing towards the border. But a glance at the map will show that these lines only traverse the outskirts of Queensland, leaving untouched and unprovided for the great tracts of country I have described, stretching in uninterrupted vastness for 600 miles north-westward from Roma and Mitchell to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The resources of Queensland cannot be considered one-tenth part developed until this great country is brought within the community of nations by the iron-horse, which, as far at least as new countries are concerned, seems destined to become the great civilising and ameliorating agent of the future.

A Bill has therefore passed the Parliament of Queensland authorising the construction of a line on the land grant system, starting from Mitchell, and continuing the Brisbane-Mitchell line westward to Charleville on the Warrego River, whence a line is projected south to Burke, in New South Wales, to connect with the western railway system of that Colony, and also one westward, to connect with the South Australian system. Charleville will thus become the point of junction with the whole railway system of New South Wales, and through it also with the Victorian system, and that of South Australia. From Charleville the authorised transcontinental will turn north-westward to Point Parker, on the Gulf of Carpentaria, a distance of 1,050 miles from Mitchell, the point of junction, with the line from Brisbane now being finished to that place; and the facilities for the construction of the line are as great as the sources it would develop. No engineering obstacle exists on the whole of this immense tract of country. No tunnelling or even very deep cutting will be necessary, and the bridges will generally be small, and easily constructed of materials found everywhere on the banks of the creeks and rivers. As regards the resources it would develop, so numerous are they, and so great are the benefits that must follow on its construction, that I do not think it can be considered presumptuous to call the proposed undertaking one of national importance. The very large extent of rich country that will be opened for settlement to the teeming thousands of these islands

alone entitles me to use the phrase ; and when to this is added the very great impetus that will be given to the wool and meat trades, and to the development of the immense mineral resources of the country to be traversed by the proposed line, I do not think the phrase is at all exaggerated or misapplied. The quantity of stock depasturing on the 1st of January in the districts that would be traversed by it, or that are near enough to use it for their traffic, was 590,000 cattle and 2,985,000 sheep, and by the estimate of officials, confirmed by the opinions of gentlemen who have resided in these districts for years, the stock-carrying capacity of the country would be increased ten times by the opening of a railway giving speedy and certain communication with the seaboard ; and from personal observation on a journey from Rockhampton to the neighbourhood of the Gulf, I do not consider that estimate at all exaggerated. Sheep-farming can at present only be carried on profitably up to or slightly beyond the line to be traversed by the proposed railway ; its initiation would not only tend to increase the carrying capacity of the country already partially stocked with sheep, but open up for sheep-farming a large extent of country to the west of the proposed line and parallel to it, now nearly unoccupied by sheep and only sparsely stocked with cattle. To an Australian stock-farmer I need not explain the great difference it makes in the population, trade, and general prosperity of a country that is really well adapted for sheep, as all our western country is, when it is stocked with them or with cattle only ; but to those of my audience who have not the privilege of being Australian stock-farmers, I may explain that sheep employ a very much larger number of hands in their management than cattle, and these hands consume large quantities of provisions and manufactured goods and other supplies, which must be brought from the coast, thus giving employment to a great many carriers and their teams ; besides, there are a hundred different articles required on a sheep-station that cattle-stations can dispense with. Then the wool has to be shorn, washed, and carried to port, and delivered to agents for shipment, making trade for a set of worthy gentlemen who take the first of the many nibbles it has to submit to before reaching the consumer. Cattle, on the other hand, require comparatively few men in their management, and are com- plaisant enough to carry their own beef, tallow, and hides to market at a small expense to their owner, but also without creating any great amount of traffic. Cattle-stations can consequently be carried on with a chance of profit at a much greater distance from a port than is the case with sheep-stations.

The large increase in the population which follows the stocking

of a district with sheep, creates consumers for agricultural and garden produce, the raising of which has now become an important industry in many places where formerly it was untried for want of a population to consume it. But it is in opening up the mineral wealth of the interior, which for so many years has lain nearly useless for want of the means of transit, that a line of railway will be found of extreme importance from the moment it is opened. There is especially one district near which any line must pass on its way to the only port on the Gulf from the south, where very rich and extensive deposits of gold, copper, and iron have been found, and the two former worked, but not to any great extent, owing to the difficulty and cost of transit to port, the nearest point on the Gulf of Carpentaria being more than 200 miles from the mines. The accounts we have of the great extent and richness of this metalliferous district would seem fabulous if they were not proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, by the concurrent testimony of numbers of people, experts and others, who have seen what they describe. Lest I should appear to exaggerate, I will not attempt to give an idea of the mineral wealth of this region in my own words, but will, with your permission, shortly quote the reports of persons who have visited the district and seen what they describe.

In the *Queenslander* of August 9th, Mr. Sheaffe writes:—

“And here I may point out a peculiarity never observed by me, or mentioned by others as far as I know, as existing in any other part of Australia: the Mackinlay ranges, teeming with an extraordinary wealth of minerals, are flanked for nearly 200 miles by high undulating downs of exceeding fertility, so that on the one hand you have almost boundless pasture, and upon the other, almost inexhaustible mines. That I am justified in speaking of these mines as almost inexhaustible, I shall proceed to show. The first known copper mines approached by this route are the Mountain Home, the Rio Grande, and the West Briton, applied for some six or seven years ago by some Sydney capitalists, and of which Mr. W. Wellington, who was sent from England by Messrs. Bolitho & Sons, reported as follows:—‘The principal lode is at Mount Norma, is a well-defined lode, varying from three feet to six feet wide, running north and south and dipping to the east. It stands in the face of an almost perpendicular mountain, showing from 400 to 500 yards. The ore is principally grey, of the following percentage, namely, thirty-four. Thousands of tons could be taken away here at trifling expense. The Rio Grande lodes consist of two, running parallel, with a distance of about 250 yards between them. The out-crops show very distinctly on both these lodes for about 300 and 400

yards in length, consisting of red oxide and grey ores of the following percentage, namely, forty-four. These lodes appear to be running into the Mountain Home lode. The West Briton, also running north and south, is about a mile north-east of the Mountain Home on the top of a small ridge, showing a large lode from six feet to eight feet wide, chiefly red oxide and grey ore, of the following percentage, namely thirty-eight. These lodes appear to be well defined and regular, all running north and south and dipping to the east. The cost of working these lodes will be very little for a long time to come, in consequence of the ore being so near the surface.'

"The line, after leaving these mines, would then pass near the gold reefs of Bishop's and Fisher's Creeks, where several auriferous claims are still working and paying wages at from £6 to £8 a week to engine-drivers, and £4 to rough-and-ready men as miners, and where numberless other reefs are known to exist, but are at present not worked, owing to the great expense of getting machinery, and the difficulty and uncertainty of getting rations. Near this, also, the Homeward Bound and Flying Dutchman copper mines are situated, from the former of which 250 tons of ore have been sent to Sydney, all of which has yielded over 40 per cent. of pure copper. Twelve miles farther on, the Cloncurry copper mines are reached, the richness and magnitude of which it is difficult to conceive without having seen them; and though I have known many skilled miners who have worked at, and several mining engineers of note (Mr. H. A. Thompson, the chairman of the Mining Board of New South Wales, being one) who have inspected these mines, I have never known one who was not at first sight astonished at the almost incredible amount of rich ore lying on the surface of the ground. Half a mile to the south-west, extremely rich and extensive lodes occur, while thirty miles to the north-west unnumbered lodes and copper-bearing veins appear. I myself know of nearly 100, only eight or ten of which are secured, and none worked." Mr. Sheaffe enumerates several other marvellously rich deposits of copper, and again quotes Mr. Wellington's report:—"Eight miles to the north-west, on the Leichhardt River, are two lodes, containing ores of red oxide, grey and malachite. These lodes are from 20 feet to 30 feet wide, immense deposits of copper. Big boulders of grey ore lying loose on the surface, of tons' weight.' These things," continues Mr. Sheaffe, "I have seen, and shall be most happy to show to anyone desirous of seeing them, when I return to the Cloncurry." Thus, I think, I am justified in speaking of these mines as almost inexhaustible, and in my assertion that this district will find ample remunerative labour for tens of thousands of our

miners, if only regular and moderately reasonable carriage with its natural port was provided.

Sub-Inspector Armit reports thus to the Colonial Secretary, 13th Dec., 1880:—

“The Cloncurry gold-field is situated on a belt of ranges dotted throughout by numerous isolated peaks, many of which consist of nearly pure iron ore. Leaving the Cloncurry, and steering in a northerly direction, the country for some sixty miles consists of ridges running out from the range and forming the watersheds between the Cloncurry, Williams, Dugald, and Leichhardt rivers; this country is well timbered, and second class pastoral. On reaching the Leichhardt the country opens out on either bank, forming large plains and slightly rolling downs, which extend for miles out from the river, and continuously down to within a few miles of the coast; this fine country, over 200 miles in extent, is well grassed and watered throughout, composed of fine red or brown loam of great depth, and does not offer any natural obstacles to engineers.”

Coal has been discovered in nearly all the districts of the Colony where it has been searched for, principally near Brisbane, in West Moreton, on Darling Downs, and at Maryborough, and at Bowen and Cooktown in the north. Mr. Jack, a well-known geologist, is of opinion that the western plains will be found to overlie very large deposits of this invaluable mineral. The hard oil coals of the Darling Downs are described as being capable of producing a large percentage of illuminating oil and paraffine. Tin and antimony have been discovered and worked in various localities, and the numerous gold-fields are too well known to need particular notice. The number of miners for gold engaged throughout the Colony in 1879 was close upon 9,000. The estimated value of gold produced was slightly under £1,010,000.

At Parker Point, on the south-western shore of Carpentaria, a harbour has been recently discovered and surveyed by officers sent for the purpose, that seems to have been intended by nature as the outlet for the trade of Northern Queensland, and for the terminus of a railway that must one day form the shortest and most convenient channel for much of the traffic, not of Queensland only, but also of the southern Colonies with Europe, by the Suez Canal, and with India, China, Japan, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago; for to this great trunk railway those of New South Wales, and through them of Victoria and probably ultimately South Australia, will be joined, as well as two from the east coast of Queensland, that are rapidly pushing their way towards the western plains.

One from Rockhampton, towards Barcaldine in the Barcoo district, is opened for traffic to Withersfield, 204 miles from Rockhampton, and it is authorised by Parliament to be continued to the Belyando River, 40 miles farther; thence about 100 miles will bring it to the point of proposed junction with the Trans-continental at Barcaldine. The other line, which starts from Townsville towards the gold mining district of Charters Towers, and is to be continued thence to the headwaters of the Flinders, has only lately been commenced, but is making good progress. It is intended that this line shall join the Trans-continental, and it must be apparent that when this great railway scheme is carried out, it will be the means of opening up a very large extent of country, embracing a great variety of soil and climate, and adapted for many different kinds of occupation, making it available for the settlement of a very large population.

To foster this greatly-desired object the land laws of Queensland have been made as liberal as any land laws well can be. Within the last dozen years these laws have been completely re-modelled, with the sole object of facilitating the settlement of population on the lands of the Colony. Inheriting a vicious system of land laws from the parent colony, Queensland continued for some years after separation to encourage the accumulation of large leaseholds in the hands of capitalists, discouraging the acquisition of small freeholds by men of limited capital, by keeping up the minimum upset price to £1 per acre, a price almost prohibitory except for small lots of more than average quality, or with a situation commanding large grazing facilities, or some other advantage, beyond the intrinsic value of the land itself. The consequence was that only the best morsels here and there were picked out and bought by the so-called poor man, and his stock was turned out to graze on the neighbouring Crown lands, which were generally held on lease by some squatter or pastoral tenant of the Crown. In this way the best of the country was picked out, leaving the rest in the hands of the Crown tenant—a result that seems to have been aimed at by those who devised this illiberal and exclusive law. In Queensland it was found to work so badly, and occasion so much ill-feeling and even crime, in the shape of cattle-stealing, that a compromise was hit upon, by which the runs or holdings of the pastoral tenants in the settled districts, that is, those within a certain distance of the coast, were divided into halves, the pastoral tenant retaining one-half for a term of 11 years, the other being thrown open for selection to the public, on terms so easy that the small capitalist and economical working man

who had saved up his earnings had every facility given him for the acquisition by purchase of as much land as his capital allowed, from the 40-acre homestead area to the 5,120-acre holding, the largest quantity that can be lawfully held by one person. The system has been a great success, and much of the country in the settled districts has been taken up by men of limited means. By a system of deferred payments, the terms are made more easy to the purchaser than if the full price had to be paid on purchase. By an annual payment of 1s. per acre, and fulfilling some other conditions, consisting principally in fencing in and otherwise improving the land, it becomes the property of the purchaser at the end of ten years; or the price (10s. per acre) may, after the expiration of three years, be paid up, when, on proof that the requisite conditions have been fulfilled, the land becomes the property of the selector. Homestead areas can be selected at 2s. 6d. per acre on the deferred payment system of 6d. per acre per annum, becoming the property of the selector when all is paid up and conditions fulfilled. One of these is personal residence. On ordinary selections and pre-emptives, residence by agent is sufficient. The area selected as homesteads and conditional purchase in 1879 was 278,609 acres: of this area 67,723 acres were homesteads, and 210,886 were conditional purchases. There are still open for general selection 23,130,774 acres, and 1,798,118 acres for homestead areas. The gross area held under conditional purchase and homestead selection on December 31, 1879, amounted to 3,720,000 acres.

As an instance of the beneficial working of the land-laws at present in force I may adduce my own experiences. Twenty-five years since the firm with which I am connected discovered, took up, and stocked a piece of country 35 miles by 10 in extent, on a navigable river, and we were soon followed by others who took up country in various parts of the same district. In a few years gold was discovered in several places in the neighbourhood, population was attracted, and a small township was laid out by the district commissioner on the head of navigation. The population steadily increasing, the demand for small portions of land became more and more urgent. The new Land Act was passed principally by the instrumentality of one of my partners, who saw with much concern the lawlessness that prevailed, and the animosity between classes that was fostered by the law as it stood. Much of the best portions of the half of the runs that had been reserved for sale under the new Act were soon sold, and the population of town and country grew apace. A railway towards the interior was started by Government, but was stopped at the 25 mile peg, bad times having

set in. After four or five years times improved. The railway works were resumed, the town again shot ahead and grew apace, and now, where the foot of white man had never trod till twenty-five years since, a population of 8,000 souls is gathered within its boundaries, and the country for 20 miles round supports a large population, consisting principally of selectors and agriculturists occupying their own land. The town has nine churches, three newspapers, seven banks, eight schools with nearly 1,500 pupils, besides a grammar-school newly opened at a cost of £5,000, largely made up of contributions by the citizens, and a corporation which for energy and ability, combined with caution (many of the members having been Scotsmen), might with advantage be taken as a model by the city fathers of many more advanced and pretentious communities. Where little more than twenty years since stood the squatter's humble shipping wharf, composed of slabs (rough boards) and a few stakes and saplings cut from the neighbouring forest, there is now a quarter of a mile of solid, well-built wharves at which numerous steamers weekly discharge and take in cargo, and ocean-going ships may frequently be seen, arrived from or loading for London or other ports over the sea; and, lastly, a stately iron suspension bridge has just been opened, uniting the river banks by five spans of 232 feet each, or 383 yards in all, built at a cost of about £50,000. This is only one instance of many, and I hope I may be pardoned for dwelling at such length on the progress of this particular town and district. I adduce them as the instance with which I am best acquainted of the prosperity that may be expected to follow liberal land-laws and a judicious railway system in a new country.

It must not be imagined that the land open for selection and sale in the settled districts (the 24,000,000 odd hundred thousand acres I have mentioned) is the only land that is available for alienation; except some so-called railway reserves of a few thousand acres that were sold by auction at £1 per acre in the Roma and Clermont districts, and the small pre-emptive rights which the runholders have over an insignificant portion of the country they lease, to enable them to secure improvements. With these exceptions and some small holdings round a few of the back townships, there is not an acre that goes to compose the thousands of square miles in the interior that cannot at very short notice be resumed by Government when required for sale or public purposes, by the simple process of six months' notice to the lessee, and if both Houses of Parliament do not demur by resolution within sixty days, the resumption can be carried out, the pastoral tenant being protected only against private interlopers, but not against Government. No

fixity of tenure or compensation for disturbance is ever likely to come his way. He is only looked upon as the advance guard, or rather forlorn hope, of civilisation. When his work is done and his country wanted by the State, he is turned out, or, in mild official phrase, his country is "resumed," with as much coolness as if he were a pachyderm or noxious reptile; but he is an irrepressible animal, that pastoral tenant, and Queensland is a wide word. When driven out of one place by the "exigencies of the State," as it is euphoniously called, he just pulls up his tent pegs and "locates" himself somewhere else. Nor have I ever noticed that the consciousness of the sword of Damocles, which (worse than being suspended over his head by a hair) is wielded by some cold-blooded and ruthless Premier, causes him to eat his dinner with less appetite or prevents him from sleeping the sound sleep of the innocent and just. Our present Premier is a very large pastoralist, and I have often wondered how he would enjoy having to perform the "happy dispatch" on himself. But, in truth, the contingency is, as a rule, so remote out in the Far West, that removal from one's run seldom enters into one's calculations. In the settled districts it is different.

I hope I have by this time satisfactorily demonstrated that Queensland has the means to satisfy the land hunger of all the people that are likely to quit the shores of Great Britain and Ireland during the next generation, and what kind of reception those will get who may choose to cast in their lot with us now, I will leave to the official exponent of the views of our Government to explain. Personally, I can only say that I sincerely hope some means may be devised for transplanting a proportion of our suffering Irish fellow-subjects to the Colonies. Of the hundreds of men that have passed through the hands of my firm since we began life in the bush, I firmly believe that more than one-half were Irish, and better servants than the majority of them have been it would be hard to find anywhere. Many of our most trusted men have been of that nationality, and more faithful, upright service no employer ever received than we have had from them. A great many develop a decided tendency to economy, and invest their savings in land and stock or town property, and become prosperous and conservative colonists. As this Paper is not a politico-economical disquisition, nor a theologico-polemical lecture, I will not pause to inquire into the reasons for this happy change in Paddy's character. One theory has, however, occurred to me, and as I do not think it likely to offend anybody's political or religious prejudices, I will just name it, leaving it as the groundwork for the speculations

of the future ethnologist. It is popularly supposed here that people going to the Colonies from this portion of the Empire leave their consciences and nearly all other good qualities behind them at the Line. Well, my theory is that Paddy on his way out finds them there, and with the quick perception of the fitness of things for which he is so well known, adds them to his already bountiful stock, and thus becomes the excellent colonist he is.

I hope it is not imagined that emigrants going to Queensland are cut off from the ministrations of their clergy or deprived of the advantages of education. Almost all denominations and churches are well represented, and though State aid is withheld from all alike, that only seems to act as an additional incentive to the liberality and zeal of the congregations, judging, at least, by the churches and chapels that seem to spring up in every bush township whenever the population reaches a few score; and itinerant priests and preachers are frequently met in the most outlying districts. Few communities are so well provided as Queensland with the means of education. An admirable national school system has been in operation for some years, by which children of all classes are educated at the expense of the State. Schools are started even in the far outlying bush townships as soon as a score or two of children can be got together, and these are frequently visited by Government inspectors. The education is free, compulsory, and secular; but hours are set apart for religious instruction by their own clergymen for those children whose parents wish it. There are yearly exhibitions, entitling the winners to attend one of the grammar schools for three years free of charge. These grammar schools for advanced pupils are erected partly by public subscriptions and partly by Government grant, and a small fee, also supplemented by a Government grant, is paid by the pupils for teachers' salaries and the expenses of the school. On December 31, 1879, there were 314 primary schools in operation, comprising 210 State or vested schools, 82 provisional schools, 1 reformatory, and 21 non-vested schools: all of the latter, with one exception, are in connection with the Church of Rome. The number of teachers employed was 478 males and 446 females. The number of children on the roll was 41,380. The private schools on January 1, 1874, numbered 65, there being 2 for boys, 10 for girls, and 53 mixed; there were 151 teachers, 21 male and 130 female, and an aggregate attendance of 1,062 boys and 1,858 girls. There are grammar-schools for advanced pupils at Brisbane, Toowoomba, and Ipswich, and two were to be opened at Maryborough and Rockhampton this spring. At the grammar schools there are competitive examinations

for university honours, and exhibitions to the universities of Sydney and Melbourne of the value of £100 per annum, tenable for three years, and I fancy it will not be long ere Queensland has a university of her own. It will, I think, be conceded after what I have said, that few young communities have paid more attention or bestowed more outlay on the all-important subject of education than Queensland.

The employments that the working man has to look to for making his living are numerous, and sufficiently diversified to enable everyone to choose one or other suitable to his tastes and habits; the principal are—first, mining, embracing gold, copper, coal, and tin; secondly, trades, embracing nearly every variety known in the old countries, but workers in wood and iron and all in the building trades are most sought after; thirdly, pastoral employment, embracing shepherding, boundary riding, and stock-keeping; fourthly, agriculture in every branch, and some others of lesser importance. Besides tradesmen, there are many labourers employed by Government on railways and public works of different kinds; some years ago tradesmen in towns earned from 15s. to £1 per day, and though wages have fallen somewhat of late years they are still very high for this class of labour. In the bush the wages for rough carpenters that can use an axe and adze and drive a nail, range from 35s. to 45s. a week with rations. At lambing and shearing time—a period lasting two or three months in the year—even ordinary labourers and lambers are paid at about that rate; the rates for this class of labour during the rest of the year range from £1 per week up to 35s. with rations. Unemployed men are frequently met with looking for work and taking care never to find it, but however many of these there may be wages never fall much below the rates I have named, and often rise higher. Now as a man in the bush, who is supplied by his employer with ample rations, can live well and indulge in tobacco and small luxuries, such as pickles, preserves, &c., at 8s. or 10s. a week, including the simple and inexpensive clothing required, it follows that even at the lowest rate I have named he can put by as clear saving from 10s. to 12s. a week, and how even that sum, regularly saved and properly invested, mounts up in a few years, is proved by the experience of those who try the experiment by putting their savings in a bank or investing them in stock. Those who earn the higher rates I have named can, if they choose, lay by a very considerable sum in a few years. Many do so, and from these men come most of our farmers and selectors—a class that in a few years will form the backbone of the Colony. Unfortunately those who do *not* save up their earnings by far out-

number those who *do*, and it is lamentable to see the amount of money that is worse than wasted by these men in drink and every kind of excess. I have frequently seen instances of men spending in a week's debauch at some low bush public-house the earnings of years, amounting in one case that came under my notice lately, that of a shepherd of my own, to more than £400. Another man lately left one of my stations to visit a neighbouring township, well mounted, with saddle and all appurtenances, and a pair of very grand top boots, a top coat, a watch, and about £20 in cash in his pocket. In about a week he returned, without horse, saddle, bridle, coat, boots, watch, or money, and some pounds in debt into the bargain. He was also a shepherd, and returned to his flock to chew the cud of sweet and bitter reflection for another year or two, and then probably to repeat the operation. These are only two of many instances that have come under my notice; but I have, on the other hand, known scores who have saved up their pay and invested it as I mentioned before. The moral is, that if a working man in Australia chooses to be industrious, frugal, and honest, and invests his savings judiciously, he cannot but improve his position; but the idle, the thriftless, the self-indulgent, and the dishonest, have often very hard times of it there as in every part of the world. It is, however, only the man that is accustomed to manual labour in some form that I would advise to emigrate—all the so-called higher kinds of employment are sadly over-stocked. He who has no capital, and can use no tool but the quill or pencil, had better stop at home. Young women fit for service are in great and never failing demand, especially if they entertain no rooted aversion to matrimony. The proportion of them that "go off" in this way is very great, but I have no statistics at hand to show what that proportion is. Many a mistress finds to her cost that a promise to marry overrides all other promises and contracts whatsoever.

It is now time to say something of the climate and sanitary state of Queensland, the boast of those who have lived there, and the bugbear of those who have not. To an old Queenslander it is partly amusing and partly annoying to hear the remarks that are made even in the other Colonies by people who have no personal experience in the matter. After a residence of nearly twenty years, during which I have explored a good deal of new country and helped to form several new stations, which involves much hardship, camping out, and general knocking about, and travelled over a large proportion of the Colony, I will venture to affirm that, though the climate is hot from three to four months in the year, it will, in point of healthiness, compare favourably with that of any newly-

settled country in the world that I have ever heard, seen, or read of. There are not many places save Australia where a man can with impunity lie night after night with only a blanket between him and the damp earth, perhaps finding when he wakes in the morning that his slender covering has been soaked by some passing shower, or that his hair is stuck together with hoar-frost; and yet this is the life led by hundreds in all parts of Australia, and perhaps more in Queensland than in the southern Colonies, when travelling in the bush, or camping out with stock. On a journey of four months from Rockhampton to the Flinders and back, I did not pitch my tent half a dozen times, except for rain, preferring to lie under the glorious stars, with a macintosh over my blankets to keep the dew from soaking them; and in that time I gained half a stone in weight; and my groom, who also preferred sleeping out, looked the picture of health when we returned home.

In the elevated region separating the waters flowing to the Gulf of Carpentaria from those flowing south (22° south lat.), I have, in the winter, frequently seen ice on basins and waterbags in the mornings; and anyone having to trudge through the hoar-frost in search of his horses soon realises what the sensation of icy feet and powerless hands is; a ride over the plains of Darling Downs on a winter night is about the coldest operation I have ever experienced. In the low-lying country bordering the coast the heat of summer is no doubt great for some four months in the year, but it is greatly tempered by a trade wind that blows nearly always at that season from the S.E., imparting coolness and health wherever it reaches. Anything more delightful than the climate of this coast country during the other eight months it is difficult to conceive. As a proof that the country is not unhealthy, I may state that the 700 miles of railway already opened in the Colony, comprised in six lines, all starting from the coast at various points between the 27th and 19th degree of latitude, have been made by European labour, and I have heard of no excessive mortality on these lines as compared with those in other new countries. Whether it is, as some say, the sanitary qualities of the gum-tree (*Eucalyptus globulus*) that is found nearly everywhere, the wonderful purity of the air, or some other unexplained reason, certain it is that no country under the same latitude, as far as my experience goes, can vie with Queensland in climatic advantages. Sickness there no doubt is; I am even free to confess that people occasionally die, but that is a habit they have got into all over the world, and it is one of which, I fear, they cannot be cured, even by the most salubrious climate. As in nearly all newly-settled countries,

fever and ague is the most prevalent form of disease in the bush, as it was at one time all over the Mississippi Valley and Western States of America. I have personally sampled both the Australian and American article, and if the choice were given me which of the two I would prefer, I think I would take the Australian as the lesser of two evils. But the question of the suitability of central Queensland for European settlement is already solved by the thousands of Europeans that already pursue their ordinary avocations, including some very laborious ones, throughout the whole of that region as far 16° south.

There is, however, one employment, confined entirely to the coast districts, that has been found inimical to the health of Europeans, namely, the work of the sugar-field; and it is accordingly generally performed by coloured labourers from the different islands of the South Seas, engaged for a term of three years under strict Government supervision, which is never removed from them during their stay in Queensland. At the end of their term they are paid under the supervision of Government inspectors, who never lose sight of them till they are fairly shipped back to their own country. A few elect to remain in the Colony, but by far the larger number return to their own islands. Formerly they could be employed in any part of the Colony, but lately an Act has been passed prohibiting their employment except in tropical cultivation within 50 miles of the coast. It is probable that coloured labour will have to be employed along the whole of the eastern seaboard and all the coast country on Carpentaria, where large tracts of low-lying land fit for tropical agriculture are known to exist; but the proper labour to employ here is unquestionably that of the Indian coolie, which has proved so beneficial in the Mauritius and some of our West Indian Colonies. It would indeed be a boon to the patient, half-starved millions of India, our fellow-subjects, as well to the northern coasts of Australia, if numbers of them could be transplanted there to assist in developing its great capabilities for tropical agriculture. Point Parker is within 20 days' sail of Calcutta and Madras, and their transport would consequently be safe and inexpensive. But though the actual field-work in the coast country of Northern Queensland will probably have to be performed by coloured labour, yet the numerous other employments that spring from tropical agriculture will give occupation to numerous whites—overseers, book-keepers, machinists, builders, blacksmiths, teamsters, must all be of the white race. I could dilate at length upon the advantages to our suffering Indian fellow-subjects that would follow on a well-conducted system of emigration from that

overcrowded part of Her Majesty's dominions to Northern Queensland, but I refrain, as the subject is somewhat beyond the scope and intention of this Paper.

From the aboriginal natives no assistance can be looked for in developing the products of their country. It is difficult to make a guess at their number per square mile of country, but on the great interior plains I should say one to ten or twelve square miles would be an ample estimate. I have frequently travelled over hundreds of miles of that country without seeing one native, or a sign that any had recently been there. When smoke and new tracks warn the traveller that he is approaching a camp, it is generally found to consist of a dozen or perhaps a score of people of all ages and sexes, unless there happens to be a grand gathering of the tribes for the purpose of feasting, fighting, and holding corroboree, when from 50 to 100 may be found in a camp, but to muster that number miles of country round must be cleared of its inhabitants. Their employment is hunting kangaroos and wallabies and searching for small game, opossums, bandicoots, and rats, or digging for roots on the margins of creeks and lagoons. When food is plentiful they eat voraciously, when it is scarce they starve philosophically, or move their camp to some other place where they hope for better luck. But work, in the sense applied to the term by a white man, that is, steady, unflagging, persevering work at the same thing day after day, they cannot be induced to do. At light jobs, such as shepherding or stock-riding, the younger ones are often very valuable to the far-out squatter when labour is scarce, and at such employment they can often be induced to remain for two, three, or even six months. But when the wandering fit comes on, and a corroboree, a fight, or a grand hunt is to be held anywhere within reach, nothing on earth will induce them to remain. If they can't obtain leave in English they take French leave, and are seen no more perhaps for weeks or months, when they may turn up again, looking woe-begone, repentant, and often as attenuated as a starved greyhound.

Nearly every denomination has attempted for many years past, by missions, native reserves, and other means to reclaim them, and impart to them at least the elements of civilisation, and ameliorate what to us appears their hard fate; but hitherto all these efforts have been tried in vain, and I have never yet heard of one well-authenticated instance of an individual native, much less a tribe, having been cured of their inveterate taste for rambling and deep abhorrence of steady work. The capacity for work being defective, or rather altogether wanting, there is no foundation to build upon.

Never were truer words uttered than those spoken in this room by a gentleman from South Africa (Griqualand, I think) on the occasion of the reading of Sir Bartle Frere's Paper, when he said that the only way of civilising the native races was by first fostering a taste for work, for accumulating property, for family life, and for soap, but these tastes can only be fostered if the germ exists—they cannot be created. The less that is said about the religious teaching that has been as a rule bestowed on the Australian natives the better: if teaching them to repeat by rote a few phrases and verses, of the meaning of which they are totally innocent, and to mix up with disgusting profanity names that ought never to cross the lips of man except with reverential awe; if this be religious teaching, then they are religiously taught. The simple truth is, that Providence has not furnished them with natural capacity to understand anything except what appeals to their senses. In all that does so they are quite equal to most races in intelligence, but go beyond that, attempt to explain to them any subject that requires an effort of the reflective faculties to understand, and they are totally incapable of making it. I say all this in sorrow, for I like the natives, and esteem them for their many good qualities. Few have had more opportunities of knowing them intimately, for in my very youthful days I was thrown much among them, in a country that was then the remote interior, and contained many blacks and very few whites. I have journeyed with them, camped with them, partaken of their fare when very little else was to be had, and at one time I spoke one of their numerous dialects with tolerable fluency. During the whole of my residence in the Colonies I have seen much of them, and I am not conscious of the least lurking prejudice against them; but truth is great, and impels me to say what I have said in answer to those who allege that we are robbing of their country and exterminating an interesting and improvable race, and not doing enough for their civilisation and conversion, &c. Sir, I say that these charges are unjust; it cannot be intended that that vast expanse of glorious country should be for ever reserved to the uses of a few scattered wanderers, while in the old countries men are treading each other into the mire for want of space; one-hundredth part of that country would suffice for its native inhabitants if they would but condescend to adopt even the rudiments of civilisation, but as they seem quite incapable of the effort, there can be nothing done but to treat them kindly and justly, and to let them take their own way. I may add for the comfort of those who think that men with dark skins should be exempted from the curse of labour, that was imposed on all

alike; that the Australian aborigine is, by law, exempted from any obligation to work; he is left perfectly free to come and free to go, and no man has the right to coerce him, or interfere with his perfect freedom of choice in any way. The attempt was made many years since in Tasmania, where a number of natives were placed on an island near the coast, furnished with every appliance for carrying on husbandry, and teachers appointed to instruct them. Comfortable dwellings were erected, and implements and stock furnished ungrudgingly, but the attempt failed. Even this slight interference with their beloved vagabond habits was more than they could bear, and in a few years the community had decreased so greatly that the Government decided on bringing back to the mainland all that survived; but it was soon found that they had lost the faculty of getting their living by the old methods, and at their own request they were taken back to the island, where the last of them died some ten or a dozen years ago. This was, as far as I know, the only attempt at civilisation by coercion that has been tried in Australia, and it ended in as great a failure as the voluntary system that has been tried so often, so long, and with such disappointing results. But the field is still large, and perfectly open to anyone who has a desire to cultivate it. The Australian Governments have always been ready to assist in any well-considered scheme for ameliorating the condition of the aboriginal natives that may be proposed to them by responsible and disinterested persons; and naturally so, as the gain to the Colonies would be very great if these idle wanderers could be persuaded to settle down, and adopt even the rudimentary arts of civilised life. It must be understood that in these remarks I have alluded more particularly to the natives of Queensland; in Victoria and South Australia, where they are said to be of a higher type of humanity, greater success may have attended the efforts that have been made to reclaim them; but I doubt it.

I fear I have detained you much too long over the two first subjects forming the title of this Paper, namely, the history and the resources of Queensland, to have much time left for the latter future prospects—but, fortunately, there is no occasion to dwell at any great length on this. Those who have honoured me with their attention will have no difficulty in forming their own estimate of the prospects of a Colony combining within herself advantages and resources so great and so diversified. Judging by what has followed in the other Colonies on the settlement and consequent development of their territories by the agency of railways, it cannot be doubted that Queensland, which certainly is not behind

any of them in natural resources, has a very great future before her—a future undreamed of by the hardy pioneers that first took possession of her vast solitudes, and who little thought that they were laying the foundations of a Colony that is destined one day to become one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown. In expressing a hope that the connection between the Crown and the Colony may long continue, I only echo that sentiment of loyalty for which Queenslanders have ever been distinguished, a sentiment that it is to be hoped may go on increasing as years roll by, drawing closer and closer those ties of mutual affection that should ever distinguish the relations between a Mother-country and her Colonies.

DISCUSSION.

THE BISHOP OF NORTH QUEENSLAND (Dr. Stanton): I find it exceedingly difficult to add anything to the comprehensive and exhaustive Paper just read. I am extremely glad to be here to-night, and glad to be present in the Old Country, to hear this Paper read; but I should have been profoundly thankful had I heard it about three years ago; I had then no idea whatever of the character of Queensland, and certainly I found from all sides a vast amount of ignorance. I believed that I was doing right in going out to Queensland, but I was nevertheless filled with a certain amount of fear with regard to what awaited me. I was told, on the one hand, that I was going beyond the line of civilisation, and the picture of landing on some dreary shore with a number of savages with tomahawks all about me, and having to sleep in a canvas tent, was vividly presented to my mind. But in contrast to that, I should like to say that the time I have spent in Queensland has been one of intense enjoyment, and a time of very great surprise, for I found everywhere the presence of advanced social development. The people have treated me with the warmest and heartiest welcome. Family sorrow has now brought me home for a short time; but I go out again by the next mail—a time I am anticipating with extreme pleasure, for I feel that I have on that side a large number of warm-hearted attached friends. The resources of Queensland are too infinite to properly describethem. The northern part of it is that with which I have been more particularly acquainted. The Mackay district and all along the coast has suddenly started up through the growth of sugar. Mackay, they told me when I left, had turned out 10,000 tons of sugar; and, considering the place is only just commencing, I think that product marvellous. I am glad to be here to-night to add my endorsement to all that has been stated in

the Paper; and I am sure that now is the time here at home when a large influx of thoroughly qualified persons may be drawn out to the new Colony. (Hear, hear.) Since I have been here I have preached and spoken incessantly, and I have been hard at work for the Colony from the moment I arrived; and on all sides an intense desire has been expressed for information touching the Colony. I am sure that this Paper, if it is widely circulated, will do a vast amount of good, and that good, I feel, will be largely due to Mr. Archer. I earnestly desire when in Queensland to promote a hearty spirit of patriotism; but I have detected little jealousies springing up. I suppose they are the characteristics of a young community; but we must try to soften them down and weld the people together in one compact body for the progress of the community, and, ridding petty jealousies, promote one grand progressive movement—(hear, hear)—and I think all those connected with Queensland here at home may remember their patriotism too; and so on this and that side of the ocean we can work together and make the young Colony and the mother-country mutually helpful. (Loud cheers.)

MR. JAMES BONWICK: It is, I am sure, with very much pleasure that we must have listened to that interesting and exhaustive Paper; for I do not think we have had a more comprehensive Paper on any one of the Colonies before the Institute. But that for which we must be most thankful, as colonists and those interested in the welfare of the Colonies, is that our worthy friend has brought out this fact most boldly, viz. that Queensland is an agricultural Colony, and that they do not depend only upon cattle and sheep. I know very well it was only a pastoral Colony in olden times, and that so recently that I went out to Australia before any squatter took up a station on the fine Darling Downs. But the agriculturist has followed the squatter; and I am proud to say that the Queensland squatter has placed no impediment in the way of the agricultural settlement of the country. That fact ought to be brought forward, for squatters have had a bad name in some neighbourhoods; but they have been well brought out before us on this occasion by an enthusiastic admirer of the pastoral life. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that some here must have felt like an old war-horse at the sound of the trumpet, as they listened to the bright and beautiful story told by our friend on this occasion of the pastoral life and its enjoyments. (Hear, hear.) I remember on one occasion stopping for the night at a magnificent—I was going to say palace, in Australia; and in the morning the gentleman at whose place I had been staying walked out with me; and I said

to him, "I can't help telling you how pleased I am with your beautiful house and all the surroundings." He made no remark, but said, "Come along here; I want to say something." He took me along the banks of the beautiful lake there, and said, "You see yon hut there?" "Yes, I do," I said; "I see a rough and ruined bark hut." "Ah! I was happy there," said the old man—a millionaire. He remembered the life of old. Then it is pleasant to have the story told of the vast lands of Queensland that are opened to the English farmers proper—the men who are prejudiced in favour of growing wheat and potatoes, and cannot imagine the culture of sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and pine-apples. But there you have the fact brought before you, that along that magnificent Dividing Range you have a huge tract on both sides, spreading out for hundreds of miles—of what?—of rich volcanic soil. You have the ranges mounting up, bearing their treasures of gold, copper, tin, and other minerals, and at their feet are spread out those beautiful downs, unequalled, or at any rate, unsurpassed, in this world for fertility. (Hear, hear.) Now, it was said of old that these places could never raise corn. I can remember when of Tasmania, in the olden times, it was said, "Oh, this Port Philip (now Victoria) will never grow a cabbage; and as to potatoes and wheat, we shall have to provide all these things for them." Somewhere, I fancy, have seen how the wharves at Melbourne have now ships carrying loads of cabbages to the Tasmanians. (Laughter.) So it was said with regard to the Darling Downs of Queensland, that they would never grow wheat; but finer wheat cannot be produced in any part of Australia than has been produced there last season over a very wide area, even to the Roma district, and extending downwards for a considerable way. (Hear, hear.) And I have no doubt whatever that, when this Trans-continental railway is carried out, we shall find, as they have found in South Australia, that the wheat-growing districts are continually expanding. (Hear, hear.) There is this difference, however, that Queensland has a superiority over her sister Colonies in having a larger percentage of real good agricultural soil, the product mainly of volcanic action, as well as the remains of those vast lakes in which the diprotodon and other animals in the olden days disported themselves. In conclusion, I would just remark one thing—that if the Bishop of North Queensland three years ago felt himself so much in want of information about the Colony as he described, how many more must there be, of even educated gentlemen, who are still ignorant of the geography and resources of Queensland. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ARTHUR MACALISTER, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queens-

land): I do not intend to detain the meeting at any length. I did not come here to-night to speak at all, but to hear, as I have heard, the excellent and very magnificent lecture which has been delivered by Mr. Archer. And I may say, although there are a great many points in that lecture of which I was previously aware, yet there are many things in it which gave me new sight. With regard to the opinions which parties entertain in the Colony now to what they did when I first went to it—at that time if anyone attempted to cultivate the soil, he was told the country was not fit even to grow a cabbage. So I am glad to hear Mr. Archer speak as he has done; and I believe that if half a dozen or a dozen of his stamp and position in Queensland would come forward and speak in the way he does, it would do more, and contribute more, to the improvement of Queensland than anything I can think of. (Hear, hear.) You have heard from him what he has stated about the wheat-growing district of Darling Downs, and there is no doubt the application of that sentence is not to be confined to that district, but I believe, if you take the greater part of the land towards Roma, it is the same. What Queensland is asking is assistance to make her roads and railways, that will take its troops of people to different places to till the land; and until that Trans-continental line has become an accomplished fact, it is impossible that Queensland can ever occupy the true position which it is entitled to do. I am glad to have heard the Bishop of North Queensland speak as he has done of the treatment he received in Queensland, and of his intention to return to it. Nothing gives me more pleasure than for those who have been in the Colony to speak of the satisfactory way in which they have been received and treated. The sentiment expressed by the Bishop is enough to induce all who think of going to the Colonies to turn their steps towards Queensland; and I am glad to know that the Bishop will soon be present there, so that he may give a welcome to those who go out, and afford them the best advice in his power. As I have already stated, and as has been already strongly observed by Mr. Archer, there are ample fields for the development of grain produce in Queensland—fields that have never been trodden by the foot of a white man yet; and why should they not be occupied? There has been one thing observed, and I should like to caution the meeting about what was said respecting emigrants coming from different parts of the country. Queensland does not know any part of Great Britain from another in inviting people to come out. But it must be remembered that Queensland, like other countries, is possessed of responsible government, and therefore it is of no use for anyone to dictate to the Colonies what

they are to take, as they will reserve to themselves the right to be masters of the situation, and to select what they want. (Hear, hear.) I very much agree with what Sir Arthur Blyth said the other evening on the subject, namely, that the Colonies would choose for themselves, and that they must have a veto in the matter of immigration. (Hear, hear.) I can only say, thus far, that I have been a little taken aback by the tone of the lecture, and I should like someone who has been in the Colony more recently than myself—for instance Mr. McIlwraith, who knows it better than I do myself, for many of the subjects called attention to are new to me, although many of them were in operation in my time too—still, I should like to have more recent news from the Colony; and wishing, with all my heart, success to the prosperity of the Colony, and anticipating that we shall have a large demand for passages to it this season, I would simply observe that the more attention paid to Queensland by those who are contemplating emigrating, the more easily and satisfactorily will they be able to decide for themselves. (Cheers.)

Mr. TORRENS, M.P. : I have so recently had the opportunity of addressing most of those who are here to-night, that I think I should be trespassing on your patience and forbearance if I were to occupy your time this evening. I came here to listen, not to speak, and I have been amply rewarded by the excellent discourse that we have heard from Mr. Archer. I think he has done great service to the cause which we all have at heart; and I have very little doubt that the circulation of his Paper, as indicated by the presence of so many reporters, will be of still greater service than he has orally rendered. I believe that I am qualified at least for the humble office of gauging the ignorance of most people in England regarding our Colonial Antipodes—let others be the test and mouthpiece of the knowledge that concerns that great province of the Empire. I know for myself that, until a very recent period, I was—I will not say hopelessly—but I was shamefully ignorant of details many of which you are so familiar with, and which you wish to have disseminated by this Institute. I am sure that wrong ideas as regards climate require to be shaken in the English mind. (Hear, hear.) I know that the jealousy of other Colonies always has the tendency to exaggerate the faults or the peculiarities of their neighbours; and I myself have heard from colonists of mark and station—I will not say disparaging statements with regard to Queensland—but certainly not those which would induce persons to migrate thither. I myself was for a time carried away by those statements. But all we have heard during the last three months, and that which we have listened to to-night, will serve to dispel such

prejudices for ever. (Hear, hear.) We are not so bigotedly in love with the east wind, such as we have suffered here the last three or four weeks, to feel the slightest qualm of fear at the idea of getting into a warm climate. (Laughter.) If I were a poor man about to emigrate with my children, I think nothing would tend more to decide my choice than to be told that we were to have no more sore throats, coughs, or rheumatics, and other things which go to make up the misery of English life. I am told by medical men who study the matter scientifically, that our climate is getting worse rather than improving; and they really seem to believe that we never shall have a genial spring again. I do not say that, for I do not like to prophesy evil things, but I can say of England and Ireland—and I daresay Scotchmen will take care of themselves, as they always do—(laughter)—I will say on behalf of England and Ireland that I have never since I was born passed a year in which during some part of it I did not wish myself far out of the country. (Laughter.) And if Queensland has that superior climate which has been described to-night, I think we should put a bold face on the matter in advocating its pretensions and claims, and that we should say, if people tell you that “Darling Downs is a warm climate,” “Well, so much the better.” (Hear, hear.) If a climate is compatible with health and longevity, that is the thing to remember; it is not a question of the accommodation of our old prejudices to new homes. (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, the fact that you are in the chair to-night, and that the Bishop of North Queensland and its Prime Minister and our lecturer are all contributing to give a good account of the state of things there, save in its want of development, may satisfy the most sceptical. I do not hear from Brisbane or Rockhampton that there are conspiracies or disturbances, cabals or difficulties, such as we have to deal with here; and I may say again, so much the better. That is the very type of country which our humble people are willing to go to for the sake of making a livelihood, if not a fortune, and it is a resource they ought to appreciate highly. (Hear, hear.) We have really, in taking our account of the comparative anatomy of the Colonies, little to set down to the bad. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to say that I should advocate the transplantation of our townspeople under any circumstances to work for daily wages upon the shores of Carpentaria. There is reason in all things; and, as long as we have a large Coolie population in India bordering on the brink of starvation, I do not see that we should trouble ourselves about European emigration for that purpose. I entirely agree with Mr. Archer, from the knowledge I possess of India, that it would

be a great blessing to Bengal if communications were rapidly established and the trade in Australian sugar-planting were made so good as to attract a great body of labourers from India, who could be sent back to their own country with the money they had earned. But, for the rest, and for those districts which are in the latitude of Brisbane and Roma, I fancy that we could do nothing better than to advise our agriculturists who are afraid to take farms in Wiltshire, Leicester, Shropshire, and other places at the present day, to try their hands on soil where the wheat grows without manure, and where it is certainly easy to escape those accidents of weather which we know break the heart of the farmers in this country. (Hear, hear.) I should be glad to hear if any plan could be organised which will meet the scruples heard and expressed here to-night, and on recent occasions also. I entirely accept the principle that no body of men should be sent to any Colony which that Colony does not approve of, and that a perfect veto should be exercised by its Agents as regards the class and quality of intending settlers; and I think, that being conceded, there is nothing to squabble about. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I was sorry to hear observations the other night made in a temper I do not approve of. My conviction may be wrong, and if I am wrong I am willing to be set right; but my conviction is this—and I speak as a responsible representative of the people—that the interest of the Colonies and the interest of the Mother-country, fairly understood, is one and the same—(applause)—and that nothing but ill temper, sectarianism, and jealousies of class and race can stand in the way of both contributing, according to their ways and means, appropriately to promote the migration of the surplus population from this country, or part of this country, to our Colonies, there to raise good fruit upon the new lands opening up to them.

Mr. THOMAS McILWRAITH, Premier of Queensland: I have listened with great pleasure to Mr. Archer's Paper, and I noticed particularly what those who know Queensland as well as I do, perhaps, must also have noticed, as a peculiar feature of the Colony that has not been touched on by anyone in the course of their remarks, and that is that such a Paper should have been read by one who tells us that he is an Australian squatter. Why, the glowing terms in which he sketched the position of the Colony, and the terms offered to populations to go there, were so inconsistent with the character of a squatter of the old times that it is apparent to every one that something like a great change has taken place, not only in Queensland, on the subject of squatting, but also throughout the whole of the Australian Colonies. Look at the change in things!

Why, there used to be a party in the Colony opposed to emigration, who seemed to consider that if there were fewer people in the Colony it would be better for those already settled there; but a different class of thinking men have since grown up altogether. Those men who hold land at present can see well that instead of being put into a worse position they have been put into a better one by an increase in the population; and the consequence is that even in the outside districts where there reside the most conservative class—a class which at one time went most against the influx of population—you find them all crying out for emigrants just as much as the people on the coast do. I say it is the most remarkable circumstance, and it is an augury of the change for the better in the opinion of the times, when we find a man like Mr. Archer coming here, and delivering a Paper couched in terms so opposite to those entertained ten years ago in the Colony. Mr. Archer invited me to say something with regard to the intentions of the Government on the subject of emigration. I am happy at Mr. Torrens being here to-night, and to hear him express the sentiments he did, which was practically repeating what he said so eloquently at the two previous meetings of the Institute. I thoroughly and heartily agree with him in what he has said to-night—for his statement now formed the main principle of his lecture at our last meeting here—that is, that the interest of the Colonies must be the interest of the mother-country, that they are identical, and we ought to work together for one thing, and that is, that if the mother-country is placed in such a condition that she must be lessening her population, we ought to take the very best steps to see that that population goes to our Colonies. (Cheers.) I think we all owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Torrens for bringing that subject before us in his interesting lecture last week. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied that that is the great question of the future for the colonists to consider—(hear, hear)—and I am quite sure it is a subject equally well worthy the consideration of the British House of Commons. I look upon it as purely and thoroughly a national question. It is of vital consequence that England should take the direction of her emigration. (Hear, hear.) I look upon it simply as an accident that the first recognition of this principle should have appeared in the Irish Land Bill. I think it is a pity it should have been so, for the Colonies will look upon it in this way: the home country has constantly for years refused to recognise in any way emigration to the Colonies by Government aid or by Government assistance, or to adopt any action which tended to encourage emigrants to go to the Colonies in preference to foreign

countries; but now, when a great trouble comes upon her, and she seeks to get rid of a population in Ireland she is unable to govern, she should come forward and take up colonisation with the aid of Government funds. I hold somewhat similar views on the subject of Irish colonists as Mr. Archer expressed in his Paper, but I am satisfied that the experiment will not succeed of making the national emigration from Great Britain to consist of Irishmen only. I hold that you must have a fair proportion of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen to make our Colonies work well. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Torrens has the honour of having first initiated the agitation for national Colonial emigration. His efforts have already borne fruit, for I see that Mr. Gladstone in his Irish Land Bill has actually recognised the principle, and two or three clauses of the Bill provide for emigration from Ireland. (Hear, hear.) I believe in the principle, but I do not believe it should be confined to Ireland. If it is made general to England, Scotland, and Ireland, however, I have not the slightest doubt we shall be commencing a new and prosperous era for the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) There is another point I should like to refer to which is not well understood in this country—it was not understood even in the Colonies until within the last five or six years—and that is, why it is for so many years Queensland has been supposed to be a dry, barren, and almost useless country in the interior, whereas men are now coming forward and eloquently praising it as an agricultural country. I repeat that even up to the last five years that notion prevailed and was extensively believed in; that it was a country so barren and dry as to be useless—not exactly a desert, but a country in which droughts usually prevailed, and, in consequence, was useless for pastoral cultivation. But such notions have been since dispelled; for some of our most profitable operations in pastoral work have taken place and are still going on there. I do not believe there is a thousand miles of country in one piece between the eastern seaboard and the eastern boundary of South Australia which does not actually pay a pastoral rent to the Crown—a proof that the land is not only occupied, but is productive too. (Hear, hear.) But how is it that hitherto we have known so little about it? If you consider the vastness of the country, and look at the configuration of the main drainage scheme as depicted on that map on the wall you will see that on the range of mountains which run along the eastern and northern seaboard, sometimes approaching within fifty miles of the sea, sometimes receding three hundred, the land is most fertile, and, as a rule, well watered, for the winds coming from the direction of the ocean drop their moisture on that side

(pointing); but on the western side we get a wind robbed for the most part of its moisture, and having free play over the country for 2,000 miles west, without the interruption of any important range. Well, we can easily see how the interior, therefore, must be a great deal drier on that account; and the reason why that part of the Colony is so unknown is principally, I think, because the first pioneers were frightened at the unaccustomed dryness of the climate; and the few inhabitants we have now in Queensland have confined themselves mainly in their migrations to the eastern seaboard. But when the country was actually penetrated, and it was found that the whole of the territory on the western side was volcanic soil of very great depth; and when it was found, in addition, after having stocked it with flocks and herds, that the supposed scarcity of water which previously prevailed did not exist, then, I say, the country became valuable at once, and people saw it was a far richer country than anything occupied in Queensland before; then followed the great settlements there, the only drawback to which is the cost of the carriage to the coast, which is the only limit to the profitable occupation at the present time. Our last ten years' settlement in Queensland has clearly proved that the whole of the interior of Queensland is the richest pastoral and agricultural ground. (Cheers.) Another thing proved is this, that there is no country in Australia, nor, indeed in the world, of an equal extent, where railways could be made more profitably. The country, remember, is not flat, as a rule it consists of rich, undulating downs, so that a railway may pass over those downs without requiring, in order to procure fair working gradients, any excavation of the soil at all; in fact, we have a surface line throughout most parts of the interior. This fact makes the prospects of Queensland remarkably good. Up to the present time we have overcome the great difficulties of getting to this magnificent land by surmounting the range of mountains in three different places, and thus conquering some of the greatest obstacles to our progress. We expect a rich harvest by being able to bring our products much more rapidly to market than we have done hitherto. (Hear, hear.) But the richness of the country is not confined to its soil; the range when it gets at right angles to the eastern range, along the Gulf of Carpentaria, is known to be richly auriferous. That there will be large and profitable gold-fields up there I have not the slightest doubt. They have copper-fields beyond, but in the same lines of range which have been referred to by Mr. Archer. When I refer to the fact few Queenslanders will deny that the capital, Brisbane, and two or three large towns have been made by the

pastoral and agricultural richness of the Darling Downs, and that the Darling Downs is a small district sixty miles across in one way and eighty in another—I say what must be the future of Queensland when I am perfectly satisfied I am within the mark in saying that the greater portion of the interior of Queensland is quite as good as Darling Downs? The Darling Downs used to be reckoned by colonists as perhaps the richest part of it; but in the interior, right up to the South Australian boundary, you can pass over 800 miles of land in one way and 500 in another, and there is not 100 square miles of it which is not equal to that which we have in Darling Downs. It only requires to be connected with the sea-coast to enable the country to make that progress which five years ago was never dreamt of. (Hear, hear.) I have travelled all over the country, over India and America, and most parts of Europe, but I am sure I never saw such a stretch of fine land as that right away to the Gulf of Carpentaria for about 800 miles, from the present western termini of our railways. It is the richest soil I have ever seen in Australia or any other part of the world. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SAUL SAMUEL, C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales): Although not a colonist of Queensland, but the representative of an adjoining Colony, I desire to express my thanks to Mr. Archer for the Paper he has read to-night, which has for me a special interest, inasmuch as I was a member of the Government of New South Wales in 1859 when the separation of Moreton Bay took place from that Colony—a severance which at the time was not regarded with much satisfaction by the people and Parliament of New South Wales. Indeed, they considered they were sustaining a very great loss by being deprived of so great a part of their country, which fact will show that there was no jealousy at that time between the two Colonies, nor do I believe there is now. (Hear, hear.) The revenue which it was estimated that New South Wales lost by the separation of Queensland was about £33,000, the whole revenue being £133,000 and the expenditure about £100,000, leaving a balance of £33,000. So it may be said that Queensland started in the beginning of the year 1860 with an unlimited revenue of £133,000, but actually without one shilling in her Treasury. At the present time her revenue is about £1,500,000. She had then a population of 25,000, which now number 250,000. She had no great number of sheep; she has now about 7,000,000 and 3,000,000 of cattle. Well, I think you will say that this is marvellous progress for a new Colony to have made in the first twenty years of its existence. (Hear, hear.) If they go on in the same way, all that has been predicted by our friends who represent

Queensland here to-night will be achieved. (Hear, hear.) No doubt Queensland has a great future before it; indeed, all the Australian Colonies have. (Hear, hear.) And I hope the day is not far distant when they will be all under one Government, instead of being, as now, divided. (Cheers.) With regard to emigration, I do not care to say much; it is a great political question with the Colonies, upon which opinions are divided. As has been said this evening, the Colonies, having responsible government, have a right to do as they like in the management of their own affairs; and they desire, if people are to be introduced at their cost, that they should come in such proportions as represent the three kingdoms—(hear, hear)—in other words, they wish to preserve the British character of the Colonies. Anyone who chooses to go to the Australian Colonies can do so, and will be welcomed, and will be as free there as in any country in the world. (Hear, hear.) If the Colonies are to go into partnership with the Imperial Government in the matter of emigration, as is being urged, then they would expect that such emigration should be regulated according to their desires and requirements. (Hear, hear.) But I am afraid that this question of partnership—sanguine as my friend Mr. Torrens appears to be upon it—is far distant; and it would be most undesirable to rush a large number of people suddenly into these Colonies. They should be sent there gradually, and in such numbers that they can be absorbed throughout the Colonies without unduly disturbing the labour market by lessening the demand for their labour or causing any difficulty in placing them upon the land. I do not believe that Queensland affords greater facilities, as far as I understand their land system, than New South Wales and the other Australian Colonies; they are all fine fields for the settlement of a large population and for the employment of capital. What is required is a useful and industrious class of people with a knowledge of farming and the management of stock, and, if possible, with a little money in their pockets. If they have only these, and will settle upon the land and properly cultivate it, there is a bright future in store for them, not in one Colony only, but in all. (Hear, hear.) Only recently I visited the district of Orange in New South Wales for the purpose of witnessing a trial of agricultural implements which had been sent to the International Exhibition in Sydney to show the people what labour-saving machinery could do. That machinery was conveyed by rail and tried 180 miles from Sydney upon land belonging to what is known as a “free selector,” who told us that he began with forty acres, cultivated it, and in a few years became the owner of 400 acres, every acre of which was

utilised and was either under cultivation or used for grazing. The average of produce was about thirty bushels to the acre, as fine wheat as could be grown, and pronounced to be so by gentlemen who were present, some of whom were visitors from this country, and competent to form an opinion. Now, with a prospect like this in view, there can be no finer field for an industrious man who desires to improve his condition than the Australian Colonies. (Hear, hear.) We had an able Paper here read by Sir Alexander Galt a short time since, in which he told us that Canada was England's greatest Colony. I am not prepared to deny it when I look at the map, for it possesses indeed a vast territory. But take the trade of our Australian Colonies and compare it with the trade of Canada, and what do we find? Why, that that of Australia is nearly one hundred millions, whilst that of Canada is only about one-third of that amount. Our wealth and resources are also apparently greater; and it is only because she is so near to you that Canada affords a greater temptation to emigrants than the Australian Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Depend upon it that you will have, if not a Greater Britain, at least a country which will make the people of Great Britain proud of their possessions at the Antipodes. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MURRAY: I feel it is getting very much too late to occupy the time of this meeting long, and I should not have risen to address it at all, but, having sent in my name for the purpose of making a suggestion, I have been asked to do so by a gentleman sitting next to me. There can be no question that a Paper such as we have heard this evening is calculated to convey to a very large number of people information regarding the Colonies which must be most valuable. I am not in a position to criticise the lecture, nor to give any support either to the facts put forward or to the arguments. I am pleased to have had put before me this picture of Queensland, and I can only say—and I suppose every colonist who rises to address the meeting at the Royal Colonial Institute must always—for I find everyone does it—say a word in favour of the Colony which he represents. (Laughter.) The picture put before us this evening reminded me of the country which I have just left—South Africa. The Premier of Queensland said he had travelled throughout every country, but he did not say a word about South Africa—nor do I intend to say much. My impression is that why Queensland does so well is, that she has such able advocates to go about the world and to picture her industrial and agricultural resources in the way they do. (Hear, hear.) I felt while listening to the lecture that if I could only get as far as Queensland

I should not have an ungratified wish either in this world or in the world to come. (Laughter.) The lecturer told us that Queensland produces the finest wheat in the world. Now, I say South Africa does. (Laughter.) He says that Queensland produces gold; I say so does South Africa. He told us that Queensland produces sugar; so does South Africa. He says she produces grapes and wines; and I say that South Africa will beat Queensland into fits in that matter. (Laughter.) Mr. Torrens has endeavoured to place before us a scheme by which the Colonial Empire may be better populated than it is at present. I have no jealousy of Queensland. I desire to see the various sections of the Colonial Empire joining hands, and endeavouring to support Mr. Torrens in carrying out this scheme of his, which he brought before us on a previous occasion, and which he has been preparing for a long time. I wish he could get the English Government to see as well as the colonists do see, that the interest of the Colonies and the interest of the British Government is one and the same thing. (Hear, hear.) Now, the last speaker said it would take a long time to bring about the partnership of which Mr. Torrens had previously spoken; so I think it will if people go about the matter in the way they generally do. (Hear, hear.) I think if the Colonies say, "We will just take who we like," or you may say, "Just the population we want; we want a lot of our own countrymen—everybody seems to want their own countrymen, especially Scotchmen, who say, don't send us too many Irishmen, and don't give us too many of this, that, and the other sort." I ask, do you mean that you want of Greater Britain more than you have got? Well, if you colonists do, you must make sacrifices on your side as well as England must make sacrifices for her Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Whilst these lectures are delivered in this room they afford considerable information to those who assemble here. I know that the Royal Colonial Institute is doing all in its power to spread the information as far and wide as it can; but it does not reach the classes which it is desirable it should reach—(hear, hear)—the class you want to emigrate from England to the Colonies; those spoken of as most desired—those with a little money in their pockets—to come and work on the land of which the Colonies have to spare. Now, if some plan could be devised by which the working classes of England could be informed of the particular resources of the Colonies, I think it would be of very great advantage indeed. (Hear, hear.) This is the suggestion I have been asked to make. No matter what may be said about the difficulty of bringing about the partnership, I hope Mr. Torrens will continue to hammer away

at his scheme until he can get people to listen to him, and get the colonists and the British Government to work together for the general good, that we may one of these days have that Greater Britain without which it is impossible that the British Empire can be happy and prosperous. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I now beg to move that we present our best acknowledgments to Mr. Archer for the most interesting and exhaustive Paper which he has read. (Cheers.) I would say that there is no man connected with Queensland more competent—perhaps no one so competent—to give an account of that interesting Colony as Mr. Archer; and I would further add that perhaps there are few men who have been associated with the Colony who have done so much for its social and general advancement as he and his brother have done. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Archer is one of a family, I think, of six brothers, natives of Norway—(“No,” and laughter)—I may add, at all events, connected with Norway, and I believe a fair type of the old Burseker kings of eight hundred years ago, who colonised some of the chief parts of Europe, and created political and social influences which still exist amongst us. At all events, I will repeat (what many who are connected with the Colonies will fully endorse) that to no family who have ever emigrated to Australia is the community in which they have resided more largely indebted than to the Messrs. Archer, in realising all the most important objects of colonisation. (Hear, hear.) I had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with these gentlemen many years ago, on my first visit to Queensland; when I found they and their families had established themselves in the neighbourhood of Rockhampton, and that there they had called into existence a home with all the comforts and all the appliances, and I may say many of the refinements, characteristic of an English household. (Cheers.) They have given all their energies towards developing the resources of the country in every possible way as graziers and agriculturists, expending freely their labour and capital in these patriotic efforts. I rejoice to see my friend, if he will permit me to call him so, on the present occasion. He has a son present also, of whom I should be glad to say a few words. He is, I believe, a native of Queensland; at all events, he was brought up at Rockhampton, and owes his training to such limited educational agencies as the Colony was then provided with. As an example of the difficulties attending the acquisition of knowledge to the youthful scholar, he had to ride every day six miles to school and six miles home again. Spite of these difficulties I believe I am justified in saying that his

education, character, and training are such as would do credit to any young Englishman in the same social position. With regard to Queensland, although it is nearly twenty years since I was last there, I heartily endorse all that has been said with regard to its great capabilities. I think there has been, I must say, perhaps a little unconscious excess in the way of general commendation, or rather perhaps a little reticence as to some few of those drawbacks which are inseparable from all Colonial life. I have a most vivid recollection of some conditions connected with a residence at Sandgate, for instance. The creeping things innumerable, the dragon-like assaults of mosquitoes, making sleep all but impossible, leave an impression on the senses not easily effaced. However, I quite admit that Queensland has immense unbounded natural capabilities. All it requires is population and the extension of railway communication, which latter I hope may, under the auspices of Mr. McIlwraith, soon be carried out on a large scale. Facilities will thus be afforded for the development of the resources of the Colony, for providing homes for the countless millions of our countrymen now struggling for existence in the overcrowded communities of Europe. It is amongst the middle classes that the struggle is most severe. Every day I hear from friends that they are at a loss to know what to do with their sons and younger members of their families; all trades and occupations are overstocked; and the only thing I can recommend or suggest is, in nine cases out of ten, the Colonies. I think it is well that young men should prepare themselves for such a career, and I quite endorse what has been said as to the necessity of being provided with some small means wherewith to make a start. I am sure that anyone who, in the absence of any other more defined career, has the qualifications and resolution to go to these Colonies could not do better. If he does not succeed it will be his own fault. I propose to give our best and most cordial thanks to Mr. Archer for his most interesting and instructive Paper. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. ARCHER, in reply, said: Sir Charles Nicholson, ladies, and gentlemen,—It is perhaps fortunate for you at this late hour that I am wholly unaccustomed to public speaking; but I cannot refrain from saying a few words of thanks for the very handsome, and I am afraid unmerited, encomiums that Sir Charles Nicholson has passed on me and my family as pioneers of Queensland. No doubt we were early in the field there; but a good many others not far from me were there as early as ourselves, and did as much as we did for the development of the country. There is perhaps some truth in

what has been said that I may have been biassed in favour of Queensland; and, if so, it is no wonder, for Queensland has been a kind friend and a nursing mother to me and thousands who, but for her, might have passed their lives quill-driving at a desk or probably ploughing the sea instead of the land, and consequently it is not strange that I should say what I can to induce others to follow in my track. I quite admit that Sir Charles Nicholson is right when he says that there are some drawbacks in Queensland. For example, mosquitoes are no doubt there to a considerable extent; I have also seen a few on the north shore at Sydney, though I cannot say they are quite as large as our Queensland mosquitoes. However, we do not think much of them there. We are a gaunt, bloodless race; and the Queensland mosquitoes could not be blamed when they had such an admirable opportunity for displaying their love for strangers, as when Sir Charles Nicholson appeared there. (Roars of laughter.) No one can blame then for making the best use of the time at their disposal. (Renewed laughter.) It was very inhospitable, but it was their nature. I am glad to hear from people who ought to know that there will not be so much difficulty as I anticipate in instituting a national scheme of emigration. (Hear, hear.) I thought that almost everyone in high places was totally inimical to it, and was afraid the thing could not be done. Perhaps times have changed. (Hear, hear.) I have not followed them. But it pleases me to hear there is some chance of the thing being carried out, although I cannot forget that in former times nothing that was tried was sufficient to induce the authorities to look upon emigration as something that ought to be carried out on a national scale. I am delighted to hear it can be now, and I think it will be greatly for the benefit of the Mother-country and the Colonies alike. (Cheers.) "It is twice blest; it blesseth him who gives and him who takes"—(hear, hear)—and therefore I hope that, as Mr. Torrens and Mr. McIlwraith have prognosticated, it will be triumphantly accomplished. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I beg to thank you for the kind way in which you have listened to the Paper I have just read.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I wish to ask you to join me in recording a hearty vote of thanks to our chairman. He is not only a distinguished colonist, as we all know, but he has always been one of our greatest supporters since the commencement of the Royal Colonial Institute. After having passed many years on its Council, from which he has just retired, he has become one of our Vice-Presidents; and I am sure the feelings we entertain towards him

for the way in which he has presided this evening will be further enhanced when I announce that Sir Charles Nicholson has consented to read a Paper at our next meeting, on May 10, "On the Principles which ought to Regulate the Determination of the Political and Municipal Boundaries and Divisions of the Colonies."

Mr. ARCHER seconded the vote of thanks, and it was put and carried unanimously; and the meeting thereupon separated.

EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library, on Tuesday, the 10th May, 1881, Sir ROBERT R. TORRENS, K.C.M.G. (Member of Council), in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following:—

Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Mauritius), Sir James R. Longden, K.C.M.G. (Governor of Ceylon), Hon. James Service (late Premier of Victoria), Lady Torrens, Sir John Coode, Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart., Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A., Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Hon. Charles Pritchard, M.L.C. (Cape Colony), Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., Dr. and Mrs. Russell Dodd, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Douglass (Cape Colony), Messrs. Allan Campbell (New South Wales), George Baden Powell, W. C. Cunningham Park (Jamaica), W. Hally-Burton, A. Mackenzie Mackay, Hugh Jamieson, John A'Deane (New Zealand), J. S. O'Halloran, C. H. Broad, J. Henwood Thomas, James Pope, A. Hawell, E. A. Judges, H. Dowling (Melbourne), Robert Dowling (Melbourne), the Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue, Mr. and Mrs. Powell, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest James, Miss Gough, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Evans, Messrs. James Gilchrist (Sydney), J. Finlay Finlayson (British Guiana), W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), Walter Peace (Natal), E. H. Gough, J. C. Ware (Victoria), E. A. Wallace, Walter Pentin, John Lascelles (Victoria), J. W. P. Jauralde, E. A. Petherick, P. Darnell Davis (Grenada), Colonel Philip Vigers, Messrs. E. Chapman (New South Wales), John S. Southlan (New South Wales), J. Bruce, Esq. (Cape Colony), Mrs. G. R. Griffiths, Messrs. T. C. Griffiths, Fred. Woodall, W. T. Deverell (Victoria), J. V. Irwin, Thomas Archer (Queensland), Saul Samuel, C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales), John Ware (Victoria), Charles Dunckley (Victoria), F. P. Labilliere, Fred Dutton (South Australia), J. R. Boyd (Ceylon), G. D. Peters, Louis Brennan (Melbourne), John R. Temperley (Melbourne), Stewart Monteith (New Zealand), James Murphy, E. Kitson, G. Kitson, Charles S. Davson (British Guiana), G. R. Godson, H. C. McDonald, N. Nelson, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary).

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the minutes of the Seventh Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows:—

Resident:—

Philip Darnell Davis, Esq., E. T. Delmege, Esq., W. J. Ingram, Esq., David MacIver, Esq., M.P., E. M. Nelson, Esq., Prideaux Selby, Esq., Commander H. G. Simpson, R.N., W. M. Torrens, Esq., M.P.

Non-Resident :—

Captain A. T. Aiglin (Natal), P. L. Castellier, Esq. (Mauritius), R. W. Chamney, Esq. (Mauritius), E. R. Drury, Esq. (Queensland), S. H. Farrar, Esq. (Cape Colony), H. M. Finlayson, Esq. (Queensland), Hon. Thomas McIlwraith, M.L.A. (Queensland), James Morrison (Western Australia), Mark W. B. Rushton, Esq. (Cape Colony), Caleb E. Scott, Esq. (Cape Colony), Hon. James Service (Victoria), Arthur Tweed, Esq. (Cape Colony), H. C. Usher, Esq. (British Honduras), J. B. Woolford, Esq. (British Guiana).

The following donations of books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last Ordinary General Meeting were also announced from—

The Government of Canada :

Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books, 1880-81.

The Government of Ceylon :

Ceylon Civil List, 1881.

The Government of New South Wales :

Parliamentary Debates, 1880-81.

The Government of South Australia :

Parliamentary Papers, Nos. 1 to 4, 1880; Parliamentary Papers, Special Session, 1 Vol., 1881.

The Government of Western Australia :

Handbook of Western Australia : Land Regulations; Land Regulations of the Kimberly District, with map; Maps of Western Australia.

The Registrar-General, Queensland :

Vital Statistics, 1878.

The Royal Society of South Australia :

Transactions and Proceedings, Vol. III., 1879-80.

The Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, May 1881.

The Natal Chamber of Commerce :

Annual Report, 1880.

The Mechanics' Institute, Launceston, Tasmania :

Annual Report of the Institute, 1880.

The Anthropological Institute :

Journal of the Institute, Vol. X. and No. 2, 1880.

The Mitchell Library, Glasgow :

Report on the Mitchell Library, 1880.

Joseph Doutre, Esq., Q.C. (Canada) :

The Constitutions of Canada, 1 Vol., 1880.

J. Stuart Reid, Esq. (New Zealand) :

Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.

Messrs. S. W. Silver and Co. :

Handbook to Canada, 1881.

J G. Bourinot, Esq. (Canada) :

The Bystander, April 1881; Canadian Monthly, April, 1881.

- H. W. Freeland, Esq. :
Ireland and Canada, 1 Vol.
- J. F. V. Fitzgerald, Esq. :
Australia, 1 Vol., 1881.
- Baron Ferd. Von Müller, K.C.M.G. :
Select Extra Tropical Plants, 1 Vol., 1881.
- James Bruce, Esq :
The South African Association Report of Deputation to the
Earl of Kimberley.
- John Saunders, Esq. (Cape Colony) :
Regulations of the Alfred Docks, Table Bay, Cape Colony ;
Photographs of the Cape Town Docks ; Specimen
of Granite, Cape Docks.
- Lieut.-Colonel W. White (Canada) :
Canadian Blue Books, 1880.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Sir CHARLES NICHOLSON, Bart., to read the following Paper on

THE PRINCIPLES WHICH OUGHT TO REGULATE
THE DETERMINATION OF THE POLITICAL AND
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES AND DIVISIONS OF
THE COLONIES.

I have felt some difficulty in adopting a suitable title for the Paper embodying the remarks I am about to offer to the present meeting. In speaking on the theoretical principles that ought to determine the geographical and political boundaries of nascent States, I am conscious I must of necessity be drawn into the discussion of facts already accomplished, and that there is little room now left for the application of principles however self-evident may be their truth. The era of colonisation strictly so called—namely, the foundation of new and separate political organisations in the unoccupied portions of the globe—is probably drawing to a close. Most of the waste parts of the earth worth occupying are already appropriated, and any great future changes in the distribution of the different families of mankind will be by conquest rather than by unresisted appropriation. Still, we may derive instruction from the contemplation of past errors, and, in studying the political complications of the present hour, it is well that we should consider the causes to which so many of them owe their origin. There are, moreover, many collateral issues connected with an inquiry of this kind which merit examination. The attention of the whole British nation is, at the present moment, painfully drawn to the consideration of problems connected with the origin, the political growth,

and extension of important sections of our Colonial Empire. At such a period a brief analysis of some of the elementary facts connected with the first settlement of civilised men in savage or unpeopled lands cannot be altogether ill-timed or unprofitable. In the recognition of past blunders and great oversights we may be able to deal more effectually with existing emergencies.

Apart from temporary and local considerations, it is a speculation alike interesting to the historian as to the ethnologist to endeavour to ascertain some of the causes that have determined the segregation of mankind into the various groups and nationalities which are now presented by the human family throughout the different regions of the globe. Such an inquiry, to be exhaustive, would of necessity be of the most extended character, involving considerations connected with the earliest epochs in the history of our species, a survey co-extensive with nearly every region of the earth where man has fixed his abode, an analysis of all the varied and progressive phenomena of social and political life as exhibited in the family, the village, the tribe, the nation—the migrations, conquests, and settlement of particular races, the interaction of physical and moral agencies in creating national idiosyncracies. The various topics embraced in such an inquiry are, indeed, all but inexhaustible, and can only be dealt with separately. They constitute a cosmos, to a due consideration of any of the multiform details of which all the resources of philosophy and science are needed. It has, however, occurred to me that in this vast field of inquiry and speculation there are points bearing upon some of the developments of modern life in the foundation and settlement of new societies—in other words, in the “science of colonisation”—that may not inappropriately occupy our attention during one of our evening meetings. I use the word “science,” although perhaps the term may almost be regarded as ironical, when we take into account the circumstances and mode under which nearly all our Colonial dependencies have been called into existence, or contemplate the antagonistic political and economic relations that have been allowed to grow up between communities identical in race and in all material interests, such as we unhappily witness at the present moment. The recognition of a few fundamental principles necessarily involved in the successful evolution of Colonial and national life fifty or sixty years ago, would in Australia, at all events, have averted difficulties and complications affecting the mutual relations of the various settlements in that country, which it is now almost hopeless to contend with or remove.

Let us for a few moments go back and consider what are the

most common and inseparable phenomena connected with the earliest conditions of man in the various phases that are exhibited in his progress from the condition of the untutored savage to that of the most cultured and artificial type of humanity. One of the earliest and most enduring developments of the social instinct is that of race. In the earliest and pre-historic times we have evidence of large masses of mankind seeking for themselves and acquiring new domiciles by the extrusion or destruction of the previous occupants of the soil, they in their turn giving place to other races of a higher and more vigorous temperament. The law appears to be one of universal application and is not confined to the Old World. The traditions of Mexico and Peru indicate a succession of races, each in turn giving place to one more highly organised, up to the period of the Spanish conquest. The prehistoric man of Western Europe—the contemporary of the cave bear, the elephant, and the rhinoceros—disappeared before a race with whom he was unable to compete. How long the struggle may have lasted no one can say. It may have continued during countless æons. All we can recognise is that from the first dawn of history the tendency to migration has been uniform, tide after tide of human beings pressing forward, subjugating or expelling the former possessors of the soil, Celt, Teuton, Slav, or Tartar, all obeying the same mysterious and inexorable law of “the stronger supplanting the weaker,” exhibiting as its result what in the language of Mr. Darwin might be called the “survival of the fittest.” Art, civilisation, religion, may arrest for a time and control this tendency; but the peculiar dispensation which has ordained that the strong ones shall possess the earth is evidenced in all history. A feeble and effete civilisation, like that of the later Byzantine Empire, afforded no permanent protection against the assaults of the Slavonic hordes from the north, or the warlike Turks from Central Asia on the south.

As race implies a common origin, a common language and customs, it no doubt constitutes one of the great bonds of national life. And every community is exposed to the elements of disturbance and dissolution where a heterogeneous people exists. The inherent and too often groundless antipathies of race become a source of national weakness, and render the whole body politic an easier prey to its enemies. The evil is enhanced where it is impossible that time should effect any amalgamation, as in the case of the negro and white populations of North America. In other instances, as in Canada, where the differences between the two prevailing national types constituting the bulk of the population

of that great dependency are becoming every day less marked, and time will soon effect an obliteration of the special characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon and French-Breton. It is, however, a fact worthy of note in any speculations connected with colonisation—the existence or non-existence of unity of race. The Australian Colonies are especially happy in this one common attribute. They are all eminently British, and are, I trust, likely to continue so. Any infusion of foreign blood they may receive is not likely to disturb the preponderance of their true British nationality. The Germans, Italians, or nations of other European States who may become denizens of these Colonies, contributing in no small degree by their activity and intelligence to the general advancement, must soon become absorbed in the general mass, without creating any disintegrating influences affecting the practical unity of the community with which they have become blended.

Some qualification of the law here enunciated must, however, be admitted. Race and climate have a correlation which nature seems to have fixed and which cannot be ignored. There are vast tracts of the earth's surface which seem specially and exclusively fitted for occupation by particular races, or where, at all events, men born under the same climatic conditions are alone fitted for predial labour. No Englishman or Scotchman or Irishman ought to be required to work at field labour in the mangrove swamps of tropical Australia or the savannahs of America. The question will soon arise—has, indeed, in some measure been started—how the tropical regions of North Australia are to be beneficially occupied. If the growth of the sugar-cane, of rice, cotton, and other tropical products (for which those portions of our possessions in New Holland are so specially fitted) is to be turned to account, it must be by the instrumentality of Asiatic—viz., Chinese or Hindu—labour. It is well that we should face this alternative as calmly and dispassionately as possible. Probably, in spite of all hindrances, the north-eastern peninsula of Australia may ultimately be occupied by Chinese. How much more satisfactory would it not be, by timely regulative provisions, to prepare for the immigration of our Hindu fellow-subjects! There is no fear of their ever displacing or seriously competing with the white man in regions where the latter, from physical causes, can never encounter severe manual toil; whilst their habits of patient industry, and constitutions already acclimatised to a tropical life, admirably fit them for developing the resources of those boundless regions of inter-tropical Australia, which we possess, but are unable to turn into account.

Without dwelling any longer on this part of my subject I

proceed to consider what are the geographical and local conditions under which population for the most part presents itself, and which have given rise to the phenomena of municipal and national life. The bond of union springing from consanguinity of race is far less potent than that of local association. It is now satisfactorily established that all the varied peoples of Europe (with some trifling and doubtful exceptions) are essentially the same Aryan race. This ethnic affinity has long since lost all influence in the localisation of its different branches; and the Hindu, the Welshman, the Italian, and the Greek, are no longer conscious of the fact that they all speak dialects, mere varieties of one parent language, spoken by their common ancestors ages long past. The fact is, the exigencies of life supersede all other influences, and men have everywhere been found ready to appropriate such portions of the earth's surface as they can occupy and defend. Social life and the rudiments of civilisation must have evolved themselves in the first instance in localities characterised by some particular features, such as the banks of a stream, the soil of a fertile valley, the richness of a native pasture, the security and the isolation afforded by mountains or surrounding deserts. If we take up a map of Europe, either ancient or modern, we cannot fail to recognise the great physical features that have formed the lines of circumscription of all its several nationalities and of most of its provinces. Rivers are the great lines along the borders of which men have elected to fix their abode. The largest cities are founded upon their banks, and the community of race is invariably preserved amongst the inhabitants of the opposite shores. In the most primitive types of civilisation, such as those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the valley of a great river and its affluents constituted the principal or sole area of the national sovereignty. This homogeneity of race, as characteristic of the inhabitants of all great river valleys, admits, I believe, of scarcely any exception, either in time or place, whether it be the Nile, the Euphrates, the Rhine, the Seine, or the Thames. In scarcely any instance do we find rivers representing national boundaries. I advert to this fact now as bearing upon the circumstances under which the territorial divisions of many of our Colonies were brought about. The municipal divisions of all the European States are all more or less determined by natural features. In the boundaries of the ancient feudal provinces, and in the departmental divisions of modern France as established at the revolution of 1790, the civic and geographic lines are kept in as close a relation as possible.

When in the sixteenth century the people of Europe began to colonise America, their acquisitions were, in most instances, the

result of a struggle more or less prolonged with the former occupants; and the settlements they founded were, to some extent, determined by the boundaries of the regions they subdued. Mexico and Peru became vice-royalties, whilst the valleys of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the La Plata have each been constituted into separate empires. The line of the Andes and the water-shed of the great rivers above-named form the natural boundaries of these several States. In like manner, the basins of the Rivers James, Potomac, Delaware, and Hudson furnished the first sites for British settlements in North America, whilst France regarded the whole Valley of the St. Lawrence as her rightful possession.

When the course of events towards the close of the eighteenth century compelled the British Government to plant the first European settlement in Australia, the measure was one forced upon her by necessity, and was accepted without any appreciation of the consequences likely to follow. Had the secession of the American Colonies not taken place, and had England found no difficulty in disposing of her criminals, as she had hitherto done, by their deportation to Virginia and the other American plantations, she would never have bethought herself of going to the opposite side of the globe to find a receptacle for her criminal outcasts. And had the French Revolution not occurred, or been delayed for a few years, the probability is that a considerable portion of New Holland would have fallen under the dominion of France. At the period to which I refer, the voyages of La Perouse, Bougainville, and d'Entrecasteaux had awakened an interest in maritime discovery, which, though stimulated by Cook, was perhaps more strongly felt in France than in England. Nay, had the power of the First Napoleon been prolonged, it is doubtful whether he would not have contested with England her exclusive right to the whole Australian Continent. Unlike some of the political lights of the present day, who regard Colonies as an encumbrance, to be shaken off at the earliest possible period, he dwelt upon the maxim that ships, colonies, and commerce were the true elements of national prosperity. It may, indeed, be doubted whether, some sixty or seventy years ago, England would have manifested much uneasiness at seeing the settlements of another European nation planted on the shores of Australia. No idea of laying the foundation of great and prosperous States in an antipodean world probably ever entered the imagination of the Ministers of George III., although Darwin did, in a few happy lines of prophetic verse, commemorate the birth of the first British settlement in New South Wales. When a voyage to Sydney occupied some eight or nine months, when the

character and capabilities of the new land were unknown, deportation to such a country could not fail to be regarded as a terrible trial. Those whom fate had compelled to spend their days in so remote and savage a clime might well be said to have left all hope behind them. No encouragement was given to free settlers, could any number of such have been found. The sole and exclusive aim of the Government was to get rid of a source of domestic trouble in the most economical way to the parent State. It was only by slow degrees, by the necessity of finding fresh outlets for the surplus population of these islands, that people began to inquire what were the real character and capabilities of those distant outposts of the Empire, and to learn that there existed a new world, the unsought-for and neglected patrimony of Britain, possessing resources in climate and soil which would bear comparison with some of the most favoured portions of the earth's surface. The emigrants who resorted to the Colony when its lands were thrown open to purchase soon multiplied to such an extent that it was no longer possible to maintain its penal character. I will not occupy your time with details with which most of my hearers are as familiar as myself relating to the rapid development of Australia, but will pass on to the consideration of some practical points, to deal with which is the principal object of this Paper.

When England, in 1788, first assumed the possession of New Holland, a considerable portion of its outlines had never been seen by any European navigator. The channel that divides Tasmania from the mainland to the north was still to be discovered by Dr. Bass, and no definite idea respecting the limits or extent of British sovereignty seem to have been entertained on the part of the British authorities. It seemed apparently needless to define territorial rights when no competitor was in the field; and it was only as the area of settlement became enlarged, and the true outlines of the coast laid down by Flinders, that the extent and conditions under which British authority was to be exercised became a subject of consideration or legislative enactment. All the measures of the Home Government in dealing with the infant settlement were guided by considerations connected with its penal character. The establishments in Tasmania and King George's Sound had reference to these objects. It was owing to the intelligence and foresight of a few individuals, like the late John McArthur, that the first impulse was given towards the creation of a new order of things. They were enabled to look forward beyond the then present, and perceive all the latent elements possessed by New South Wales for becoming a great and prosperous community. They antici-

pated the speedy extinction of a system which had had its uses in paving the way for the free citizen, but which was no longer applicable or to be tolerated in a society of free men. England reluctantly, and with a bad grace, gave up a system which she was in truth no longer able to maintain, and transportation to the Australian Colonies was finally abolished. Of any well-devised scheme of colonisation, either on the part of the Home authorities or indeed of the public generally, we have few signs until the period when the late Mr. Charles Buller, Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield, Colonel Torrens, and a few other distinguished men of the period, directed their minds towards the development of something like a theory and system of emigration and colonisation such as that which soon afterwards received a practical application in the foundation of new Colonies. It is a remarkable and significant fact that at a period when political economy had in England been erected into a science, and professors appointed for inculcating its principles in our Universities, a subject so germane to its inquiries, if not of its very essence, viz., "colonisation," should have been virtually ignored. It might have been supposed *a priori* that a philosophy endeavouring to establish a true ideal of the sources of national wealth and prosperity, so far as these are dependent upon population and industry, could not fail to have had its attention fixed on one of the most important factors involved in such a speculation, viz., emigration and colonisation. It was reserved to the able thinkers and writers whose names I have just quoted to claim for "colonisation" the character of a science; to show how by its action the equilibrium of population might be maintained, by its transference from countries where redundant to localities where there was room for almost unlimited expansion. The ideas as developed by this new school have not only the merit of originality, but are invested with a certain amount of fascination. To reproduce in a new hemisphere a new society, embodying in its framework all that the past experience had found to be wise and good in the Old World, discarding all that was obsolete or mischievous, was a generous and noble aim. "Hium in Italian portans;" it sought in the realisation of its objects the reproduction of a social hierarchy, in which the capitalist, the merchant, the professional man, the labourer, could each find himself occupying his proper sphere. Much of this bright vision has been achieved, witness the growth and present condition of Australia and New Zealand; much, also, has fallen short of the original conception. In transferring the higher elements and attributes of British life to their new abode, the tares and thistles of an exclusive

commercial policy and of class legislation have found too congenial a soil. In all the successive stages of the growth of these several dependencies, from the period of incubation to the present hour, Downing-street has for the most part been passive, perhaps too much so; each community was allowed to develop itself *proprio vigore*; and we have the phenomenon of a number of centres, each assimilating to itself the elements of social and political life. Most of those whom I have now the honour of addressing, know how wondrous and unprecedented that growth has been. Whether the energetic men, the result of whose labours has been the creation and addition of a new Empire to the kingdoms and states of the world, would have submitted to any active interference in their enterprise on the part of the Home authorities, is doubtful. In a spirit characterised by indifference, the technical sanction of the Crown and British Parliament was granted for fixing certain lines of delimitation of each successive settlement as it was formed. In the discharge of this Imperial function little or no foresight was had as to an ulterior condition of things gradually moulding themselves into new forms, and expanding in a ratio of which few persons then dreamed. New Holland and New South Wales were, as regarded legal phraseology, the same country, until by various excisions, first of Tasmania, then of Western Australia, Victoria, and Queensland, New South Wales was reduced to its present dimensions. Little if any prevision was exercised in the assignment of specific boundaries to these several offshoots, founded upon political or economic grounds. Western Australia was simply divided from the eastern part of the continent by the 129° of E. long. The same meridional line ultimately became the western boundary of South Australia, that Colony being bounded on the north by the 26° of S. lat., and on the east by the 141 meridian, separating it from Victoria. To Queensland was originally assigned as a boundary on the west the 141° of E. long.—subsequently extended to the 138° of E. long. Victoria, the smallest of the continental settlements of Australia, is bounded on the west by the east boundary of South Australia, on the north by Murray River, and a line extending from the sources of that stream to Cape Howe.

After New Holland had been thus arbitrarily cut and carved into a number of separate States with little or no regard to the great geographical features of the country, a large residuary tract of country was still left under the territorial jurisdiction of New South Wales, containing all the regions enclosed on the north by the Colonies of Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, but from all

direct communication with which she was cut off by those two last-named settlements. A distribution of territory so anomalous ought never to have been created. That this vast tropical region, whose shores are washed by the waters of the Indian Ocean, should be permanently annexed to New South Wales, was out of the question. It involved such an anomaly as this, that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Sydney extended in cases, civil or criminal, to a point 2,000 miles from the seat of Government, which could only be reached by passing the confines of a neighbouring Colony, or by a sea voyage involving the circumnavigation of one-half of the continent of Australia. The anomaly and practical evil likely to be attendant upon such a state of things was brought under the cognisance of the Duke of Newcastle whilst that nobleman was Secretary of State for the Colonies. Two alternative suggestions were presented to his Grace's consideration. One was—and in my humble judgment the correct one—the erection of a new Colony by the Crown in this extra-limetary region; the other was that, pending some such measure, the district might be temporarily, and with certain restrictions, placed under the control of the Government of Queensland. The latter, however, declined the overture made to it in view of such an arrangement, and elected merely to take a slice of country by which it obtained the command of the emboucheure of the principal rivers flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the same moment, or immediately afterwards, the Government of South Australia proposed that this vast unappropriated territory should be annexed to that Colony. The request was at once acceded to by the Colonial Office. I need not dwell upon the disappointments and sacrifices that have attended the acquisition of this domain. Had those representing the Crown at this period exercised a little more statesmanship and circumspection in dealing with impromptu proposals affecting the interests and well-being of generations to come, political and economic difficulties might have been averted with which it is now impossible to deal.

I shall now endeavour briefly to illustrate, by a few pertinent examples, some of the points to which we have been led by the foregoing remarks—namely, the want of all co-ordination between the political boundaries of the several Colonies of Australia and their social and economic relations with each other. In doing this I shall only cite a few of the most flagrant examples in proof of what I am stating, and the first instance I shall quote is that of the Northern and Western boundary of Victoria. This, as you may notice on the map, is determined for many hundreds of miles by

the Murray, one of the largest and most important rivers of Australia, navigable for more than 1,500 miles from the basin into which it flows, Lake Alexandria. It may almost be regarded as the Mississippi of Australia. Its vast alluvial plains are already appropriated for agricultural and grazing purposes, and towns—one of considerable importance, Albury—have been established on its banks. Now, as I have before urged, no line of division between conterminous States is so inappropriate as a river. The opposite banks of every large stream are occupied by people in 99 cases out of 100 of the same lineage, religion, and habits, and possessing the same material interests. Of all natural frontiers that can be selected they are the most artificial. It is in fluvial valleys that population groups itself in the largest masses, and where, on economic grounds, it is indispensable for the comfort and well-being of all classes that the political, judicial, and municipal institutions should be uniform and identical. As illustrating a total disregard of all these elementary conditions of civic order, I may quote the example of Albury. This rising town is situated at an important point on the Murray, at what may be considered the head of the navigation of the river. The Great Trunk Line of Railway from Sydney, on the north, and that from Melbourne on the south, here meet. The settlement is already a flourishing place, and, from its physical attributes and surroundings, has an important future before it. Now, consider for a moment the state of things established in this important and interesting locality. The inhabitants of the opposite side of the river, residing within the territorial limits of Victoria, are subjected to a system of taxation founded upon principles of "protection" of the most uncompromising kind. The residents of Albury, on the north, citizens of New South Wales, enjoy the privileges of a tariff that ignores, nay, scorns, all ideas of "protection." The consequence of these rival systems is, that nearly all taxable commodities are saleable at a different rate on the two banks of the stream. The settler on the south pays 3d. a lb. duty on sugar, whilst his neighbour on the north-west only pays $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. Protective duties, amounting in some instances to as much as 50 per cent. *al valorem*, are exacted on the south side of the river, whereas similar articles are not liable to any similar, or only to a very reduced, impost on the opposite shore. How any system of Custom-house surveillance can ever deal with such overwhelming temptations to an infraction of the law it is difficult to conceive. No vigilance in the Excise or Customs departments can prevent the revenue of Victoria from being defrauded, so long as she maintains her present tariffs. A great authority in political

economy has asserted that smugglers in some respects may be regarded as the benefactors of mankind, as their illicit occupation was the only counterpoise to the tendency of different nations by their rival tariffs and protective duties to destroy all commerce whatever. Cumbersome and somewhat arbitrary intercolonial agreements are entered into with the view of protecting the public revenue, in the transit of goods from one Colony to another, and the evasion of the regulations laid down for this purpose is made punishable by severe fines. It is not, moreover, to mere questions connected with competing revenues and Custom-house barriers that the evils upon which we have been dwelling are limited. A populous district divided between two virtually independent States is subjected to two separate and often different systems of laws, is burdened with a double staff of administrators of the law. Thus, in the typical example already quoted, one set of judges have to travel some 400 or more miles to hold the ordinary assizes with respect to one moiety of the population, whilst a similar staff of legal functionaries have to travel some 200 miles in an opposite direction to meet the judicial requirements of the other half of the population. The inconvenience, the cost, and absurdity of such a state of things, whatever be its measure now; must go on increasing with the growth of population.

When Queensland was created into a separate dependency, with an independent political constitution, the same want of due forethought was evinced in the lines laid down for its southern boundary. The extent of Queensland from Point Danger to Cape York is estimated at 1,500 miles, following the sinuosities of the coast. Brisbane, the capital, is only some thirtymiles from the frontier line of New South Wales, and must of necessity become the natural outlet and channel of the commerce of the north-eastern portions of New South Wales. The southern boundary of Queensland ought to have commenced at a point further to the south. The metropolis of every State, as the chief focus of its political, judicial, commercial, and civic life ought to occupy as nearly as possible a central position, for the common convenience of the whole community of which it is the visible head. In this respect the geographical positions of Sydney and Melbourne have been well selected.

It may be said in reply to what has been here urged, that admitting the anomalies that characterise the boundary lines of all the Australian Colonies, and the practical evils they occasion in the appropriate rectification of the present lines of circumscription, are not very large, the first and obvious answer would be that the

Colonies should agree to a fresh adjustment of their respective boundaries, and that mutual surrender of territory should be made by which the geographical and political limits might be brought more into harmony with each other. Such a proposal for the re-adjustment of existing landmarks would, I fear, at the present moment be found impracticable. A good deal of patriotic sentiment would be roused; each Colony would be willing to receive an accession of territory—scarcely any one disposed to surrender any portion of what it now possesses. New South Wales would, for example, be, I suspect, very reluctant to part with the right side of the valley of the Murray to her southern neighbour, who from her present too circumscribed area could have nothing to give in exchange. Neither would Queensland nor New South Wales be likely to agree upon any rectification of their frontiers. And yet in the teeth of all these apparently insoluble difficulties it seems improbable in the highest degree that some two millions of British subjects scattered over a wide territory, and separated from each other by artificial and impalpable barriers, all of the same race, speaking the same language, employed in the same pursuits, influenced by the same traditions, owing allegiance to the same Sovereign, should perpetuate a system which imposes upon each the necessity of keeping up a cordon of Custom House officers, embarrasses commerce, causes a useless expenditure of national resources, encourages mischievous rivalries, and prevents the creation of anything like a great national Colonial policy. Could the United States of America have lasted a single decade had each State enjoyed that right of Imperial taxation which is also possessed by the Supreme Legislature and Executive? There could, under the supposition of such plenary rights belonging to each province, have never been such a constitution as the United States. The real agency that welds the American people into one great nation and gives it practical unity, is the paramount authority establishing one system of taxation co-extensive with the whole area of its dominions. Such a great living exemplar as the United States or Canada suggests the great and only remedy for the system of antagonistic tariffs, the isolation, the positive hostilities that divide and distract the various Colonies of Australia, evils which must go on augmenting and becoming more intolerable with the rapidly-expanding circumference of each Colony. An authority analogous to that of the Congress of the United States—or the Dominion of Canada—must be called into existence, to which must be delegated so much of autonomous powers of the present Colonial Legislatures as relates to general taxation, Customs and Excise, postal contracts,

the management of the national domain, and such other subjects as are of a truly national, as contra-distinguished from a sectional, character. All the artificial boundaries that have (in a great measure fortuitously) been set up must be made to give way for a system of comprehensive and national unity. The action of a supreme legislative body of the kind here indicated need not interfere with that of the provincial assemblies in all matters of strictly local and provincial interest. Municipal, State legislation, and Imperial legislation would each occupy its proper sphere in a federative system thus constituted. Under their joint action the strength, the unity, the harmony, the perpetuity of the whole body politic would be secured and perpetuated. In the absence of any successful effort for the establishment of a Federal union of the various Australian Colonies, what, may we ask, is to be the future of the integral portions of that great group of settlements of which the only antetype is to be found in Germany before the establishment of the Zollverein, and in Italy anterior to the consolidation of the Italian kingdom.

In the foregoing hasty sketch I have endeavoured to trace the theoretical conditions regulating the aggregation of men in communities such as we find in the earliest ages, and such as I apprehend are fundamentally applicable to the creation of new communities at the present hour. They are, I believe, to be found in—

(1) Unity of similarity of race, modified by religion, language, and customs, but ever constituting a more or less indelible element in all political organisations.

(2) The physical adaptability of certain portions of the globe for occupation by man, calculated to furnish him with the means of securing to himself all that is needful for his personal wants as a rational and progressive being.

These elementary conditions, lying at the root of all human progress, I believe to be as persistent and indelible now as they have ever been in any period of the world's history. Are we not at the present moment witnessing some [of the] disastrous consequences that flow from a disregard of first principles, the sole conditions upon which man can obey the divine mandate, to replenish the earth and subdue it? If mournful, and all but irreparable, errors have been committed in some portions of our vast Colonial Empire, there still remains a field of boundless extent and capability in which it is not too late partially to retrace our steps, and by wise concessions and compromises, and skilful combinations, to build up the great political edifice of our Southern Empire.

I have often heard, at gatherings of the members of the Royal

Colonial Institute, the expression of ardent and hopeful wishes for the closer union and more perfect political consolidation of all the various and widely-scattered countries that own one common allegiance to the British Crown. I share in the wish, and should be but too glad could I dream of its early fulfilment. Before any Imperial consolidation of all the widely-detached and heterogeneous elements now under British rule can be accomplished, it is incumbent on us that we should undertake the really practical task of bringing about the political amalgamation of great groups of Colonies—such, more especially, as those of Australia—into one great federal union. There are statesmen, I am sure, in each and all the Colonies, of views so large and far-seeing, with sympathies raised so far above all local and traditional prejudices, with a patriotism so genuine and disinterested, as to be quite equal to undertake and achieve this great, I am tempted to say “heroic,” work, than which none greater can scarcely be found elsewhere. Canada has already furnished an example which every man interested in the peaceful progress of humanity, liberty, and civilisation will gladly see followed by our great Southern dominion in Australia.

DISCUSSION.

SIR GEORGE F. BOWEN, G.C.M.G. (who was received with loud cheers), said : Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—In rising, at the call of the chair to offer a few remarks on the able Paper just read by my old and honoured friend Sir Charles Nicholson, I will ask permission, in the first place, to express my warm thanks for the hearty and hospitable welcome accorded to me by the Royal Colonial Institute on the occasion of my present visit to England, as also on the occasion of my last visit, six years ago. I have now completed thirty years in the Colonial service of the Crown, first for several years as Chief Secretary of Government in the Ionian Islands while under the protectorate of England, and for the last 22 years as Governor successively of Queensland, of New Zealand, of Victoria, and lastly of Mauritius—that beautiful island over which I now preside, the classic land of Paul and Virginia, that “fair Malta of the Indian Ocean”—*cette belle Malte de l’Océan Indien*, as it was called by M. Thiers in his History of the Consulate and Empire. (Cheers.) During the 22 years of my Colonial government I have only had leave of absence on two occasions, in 1875 and now; and on both occasions I have received the most hearty and hospitable welcome from the Royal Colonial Institute. (Cheers.) I assure you that the applause of so distinguished a body is felt by

Colonial Governors, not only as a reward for past efforts but as an incentive to future efforts to do our duty alike to the Crown and to the Colonies over which we preside. (Hear, hear.) After these few personal remarks, which are at once prompted and excused by your kindness, I will return to the Paper in which Sir Charles Nicholson has embodied the results of his great personal experience, and of his long political study of an important political question. I also have had great experience in such questions, as he said just now; and, curiously enough, during one portion of my career my experience was similar to that of Sir Charles Nicholson. Many gentlemen present here to-night know that when I went to Queensland in 1859, as the first Governor of the new Colony, I was accompanied by Mr. R. G. W. Herbert, now the able and accomplished Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; and that, soon after, Sir Charles Nicholson became the first President of the first Legislative Council. With respect to Colonial boundaries and municipalities, we had then to define and organise a territory three times as large as France, extending over the whole north-eastern portion of the Australian continent. We had to map out, throughout that vast segment of the globe, every district, every county, every new township, every new municipality; and what were the means at our disposal? My friend will recollect that when we arrived at Queensland we found in the Colonial treasury the magnificent sum of 7½d.—(laughter)—and that on the first night of my arrival a thief, supposing, I presume, that the new Governor had brought some outfit with him for the new Colony, broke open the chest and stole the 7½d. (Renewed laughter.) Well, we set hard to work, with the support of the Colonial Parliament; and Mr. Macalister, Mr. McIlwraith, and other administrators, afterwards built successfully on the foundations which Mr. Herbert and I had laid. (Cheers.) And what are the results? Why, that the historic sum of 7½d. has now grown in Queensland to an annual revenue little short of two millions sterling. (Applause.) The small population which we found of 23,000 men, women, and children, has grown to a population of something like 300,000; and a prosperous chain of settlements and municipalities has spread over the whole of that vast territory pointed out to you just now, from Moreton Bay, the site of the original settlement of Brisbane, across the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria. (Cheers.) Such, gentlemen, are the triumphs of peaceful progress; they are conquests without pain or bloodshed; victories, not over man, but over nature—not for ourselves, or for this generation only, but for all posterity; not for England only, but for all mankind. (Loud

cheers.) In listening to the remarks which Sir Charles Nicholson has just made, and in which I concur generally (as I think you will also concur), you must have been struck at what he said as to the hap-hazard character of our early English colonisation generally. There is no doubt that this hap-hazard character is due, in no slight degree, to what Edmund Burke, one hundred years ago, in one of his noblest orations on America, called "the wise and salutary neglect of the Home Government;" for it is certain that our Colonies would have resisted any minute interference with their internal affairs on the part of Downing Street. In fact, England may be supposed to have addressed her early colonists as Virgil represents Jupiter to have addressed the Romans of old:—

"His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono;
Imperium sine fine dedi."*

That is, "My children, I fix for you no boundaries of time or space; I have given you an empire without limit. Go forth from the Mother-country and subdue and replenish the waste places of the earth, and overrun the world from one end of it to the other, bearing with you everywhere the blessings of your own well-ordered freedom, your glorious memories of the past, and your still more glorious hopes for the future." (Cheers.) I feel I have already detained you too long—"No, no"—but I was told during dinner just now that I should be expected to say something about the beautiful island over which I now preside, but as your able and indefatigable honorary secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, has extorted from me a promise that I would, on 14th June, read at this Institute a Paper on Mauritius—(cheers)—I will reserve for that occasion what I may have to say on the subject. There is one point, however, to which I should like to take this opportunity of referring. I know how gratifying it will be to you all to learn that the French-speaking population of Mauritius vies with the Anglo-Saxon population of the other Colonies in its loyalty to the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) Of this fact I have lately had a most gratifying proof. On my arrival last month in Paris I was immediately waited upon by a large deputation of some forty or fifty of the principal Mauritians there residing, and I was invited by them to a public banquet, which proved the greatest possible success. It made a great impression on French statesmen, many of whom I met at the British Ambassador's, and elsewhere. One leading French public man said to me, "Why cannot England manage Ireland better? The Irish are not so much aliens as the Mauritians."

* Virg. *Æn.* i. 273.

My reply was, "That is too large a question to be entered into after dinner." (Laughter.) One polite Frenchman suggested, "Oh, they should make Sir George Bowen Viceroy of Ireland." (Laughter.) I have got some most instructive remarks and comments to make on this part of the question, but I must not exhaust them on the present occasion; so I will reserve them to 14th June. (Hear, hear.) When I was last in England I was entertained by the Australians in London at a dinner at Willis's Rooms, which was a great success. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was in the chair, and several leading statesmen of all sides were present. *The Times* devoted a leading article next morning to the dinner, in which it said, amongst other things, that "this has been a day of such supreme honour and happiness for Sir George Bowen that he ought to wish to die at once." (Laughter.) I told my Mauritian friends in Paris that I had preferred to live on, and that I was rewarded for surviving by being entertained by them so splendidly at Paris. It has fallen to the lot of but few public men to be thus entertained in the two greatest cities in the world. I may add that I am glad to have survived to have been entertained for the second time by the Royal Colonial Institute. (Cheers.) Your kind indulgence, gentlemen, has made me detain you much longer than I had intended, and I am afraid I am trespassing on your patience. ("No, no.") I will therefore return, in conclusion, to the subject of Sir Charles Nicholson's Paper. I think you will agree with me that the true remedy for the confusion in boundaries and other inconveniences to which he has referred, is to be found in federation. Each great group of Colonies ought to form a new and separate federation on the Canadian model. (Hear, hear.) Meanwhile, I believe that all practical difficulties with regard to Colonial boundaries can be solved by practical statesmanship, aided by that spirit of loyalty and patriotism which fortunately now prevails throughout the Empire. (Hear, hear.) The brilliant statesman, whose recent death all parties in England are mourning, once said, in one of his finest speeches, that the true motto for the British Empire is *Imperium et Libertas*—that is, "Imperial control in matters of Imperial interest, and local self-government in matters of local concern." (Hear, hear.) It is my firm conviction that, so long as the principle of that motto, so well chosen by Lord Beaconsfield, is preserved intact—and I know that it is the wish of statesmen of all parties to preserve it intact—so long will the British Empire endure, for the strength and glory of the Mother-country, and for the peace and happiness of the world. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

The Hon. J. SERVICE (late Premier of Victoria): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I had no idea when first invited to this meeting of being called on to speak. I had determined to come to hear the interesting Paper which Sir Charles Nicholson has this night read, a Paper which possesses interest for the whole people of the British Empire, but is of especial interest to all the people of Australia. I cannot object to say a word in respect to one subject which has been referred to this evening. The subject of the federation of the Colonies is one which has been talked about for half a generation. (Hear, hear.) There is a spirit of federation abroad throughout the whole of the Australian Colonies. I do not know any statesman of any prominence, or any politician of any mark whatever, in any of the Colonies, that does not look forward to the federation of the Colonies at no very distant date. (Hear, hear.) At the present time it does not seem as if the hour had come; but I have great hopes that, at no distant day, both the hour and the man will come, and that more rapidly than we perhaps think at the present time, this federation will become an accomplished fact. (Cheers.) At the present moment there is one difficulty standing in the way, and that is the difficulty referred to by Sir Charles Nicholson, the question of Protection as against Free-trade. (Hear, hear.) I am sorry to say that the Colony of which I happen to be a citizen is the one that, in my opinion, has taken the wrong side in this controversy. (Hear, hear.) The Colony of Victoria stands pre-eminent as the Protectionist Colony of the Australian group, although I must say that New Zealand has followed very closely in her wake. Still, I think if all other difficulties were out of the way, that probably with men in office in the various Colonies who saw the importance of the federation of the Colonies, who could see that the uniting them together would raise them at one bound from boyhood to manhood, that it would give them a sense of the dignity which belongs to a nation, and lessen the somewhat bumptious spirit which appears to pervade small localities and small populations—I say that I think under such conditions the question of Free-trade and Protection might not prove an insuperable barrier to federation. (Hear, hear.) There is one other question to which Sir Charles Nicholson casually alluded, and which I think would probably come up in any proposal for the federation of those Colonies; and that is one with respect to the boundaries of the Colonies as they exist at the present time. It is well known, and has been pointed out to-night, that the Colony of Victoria, although a leading Colony in population—and I might add, even in the presence of New South Wales

gentlemen, in enterprise, up to the present time—that that Colony is the smallest of the Australian Colonies in point of area. That has always been a source of grumbling with the people of Victoria; and at various times efforts have been made to secure an addition of territory to the north of the Murray. Now, in forming a federation of the Australian Colonies I think Victoria would not be willing to begin by occupying a secondary position, even prospectively. Victoria at the present time, whilst possessing the smallest territory, contains the largest population. But the growth of New South Wales, for example, owing to her extensive territory, would be practically unlimited so far as population is concerned; and the growth of Victoria, owing to her limited area, must necessarily be very much restricted. I think that none of the Victorian politicians or statesmen that look forward to the future of the two Colonies but what would see that Victoria must by and by take a back seat behind New South Wales and Queensland, simply owing to the extent of her territory, and the want of political influence which must necessarily attach to a Colony with a limited population. I may say that this is a point that has not been very much dwelt upon even at the conferences which have from time to time been held in Melbourne and Sydney, which embraced in their discussions the question of federation; but it is a subject which will certainly come up. I do not think that I need add anything further upon this topic; but before sitting down I may be permitted, as this is my first visit to the Royal Colonial Institute, and to a public meeting of its members, to express my great delight, as an Australian and Victorian, to find there is such an institution existing in London—an institution which, so far as I can learn from its history, and as far as I can predict of its future, has been and will be of exceeding great use in binding together the numerous Colonies and the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) An interesting incident occurred to me coming along to this meeting. I stepped into an omnibus at the Royal Oak. I was the first person to get in; the second gentleman was about my own age. He at once addressed to me a few commonplace words. The idea struck me, “Well, perhaps this gentleman is one of those who are going to this meeting to-night.” After a few commonplace remarks a number of people got into the omnibus and the conversation flagged. But shortly this gentleman said to the conductor, “Stop at New Bond Street.” I said, “Are you going to the Grosvenor Gallery?” He said, “I am.” And I found out immediately that he was a member of the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony. Now, I must say I felt it one of those little incidents which leave a pleasing

impression on the mind. I see by the reports that one of the most prominent statesmen of the Dominion is on his way here, and no doubt, if he is not already one of the members, Mr. Secretary (addressing Mr. F. Young), he will become one, and we shall be able, no doubt, to meet and shake hands with him. And thus one colonist after the other becomes acquainted with the leading gentlemen connected with the various Colonies, and when we in other periods read the accounts of the political struggle and political progress which is being made in other Colonies, we shall be better able to judge somewhat of the importance of those struggles by recollecting the appearance, and from the appearance judging to some extent of the character, of individuals who are leading these movements. Therefore I am pleased to be present on this occasion as a guest; but if members of the Institute will do me the honour to elect me one of their number I shall be still more pleased. (Hear, hear.) Expressing again my pleasure that Sir Charles Nicholson, who is so well acquainted with Australia, should have brought forward his views on this occasion in such an interesting way, I beg to thank those present for so kindly listening to these few words. (Cheers.)

Sir JAMES R. LONGDEN, K.C.M.G. (Governor of Ceylon): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentleman,—Having been called upon by the Chairman to say a few words, I desire, in the first place, to express for myself my personal sense of the great kindness shown by the Council of this Institute in inviting me for the second time to dine here. It is some years since I visited England, and on the last occasion I had the pleasure of attending some of the meetings of this Institute; and I feel, with the gentleman who has just sat down, that at a place of meeting like this, where colonists can meet, they enjoy a privilege which is one of very great advantage to themselves, and I hope to the Colonies also. In fact, the bringing of the colonists together by means of this Institute could hardly be done in any other way. I do think that in that way this Institute has a very great future before it. It is impossible for me to say anything upon the able Paper which has occupied the attention of the meeting this evening. It has not been my fortune ever to visit the Australian Colonies; but it is impossible to listen without the deepest interest to the Paper which so fully detailed the manner in which those divisions between the Colonies have arisen, and to feel how deeply important the subject of federation is. It is my fortune to preside over a Colony which is in itself, in one sense, a federation, in which two ancient native races are brought together, and live in harmony under the British

Crown, in conjunction with a great body of English colonists. In Ceylon we have in the centre of the island a group of mountains that no long time ago—less than fifty years since—were covered with forest, and were scarcely inhabited at all; where the elephant roamed at large, and which were almost impossible to be crossed. To-day you see everywhere in these mountains British enterprise, and everywhere the land has been subdued by British settlers, and cultivated; and we see the result in the wealth of Ceylon in its coffee plantations and its other industries. Side by side with this work of the last half-century there exist the native populations, which have inhabited the island, it may be, for the last twenty or twenty-five centuries, or even longer; but which have been there, we know for certain, for at least twenty centuries, and which still exist—a population partly of native Singalese and partly of native Tamils, whose arts and industries are perhaps the same now as they were hundreds of years ago, and who exhibit, especially in their agriculture, and in the grand irrigation works by which their agriculture is carried on, an industry which is most interesting to everybody who has ever been in Ceylon. We have in the island a native population numbering over two and a half millions, thriving peacefully under British rule and loyal to the British Crown as any people in the world. We have amongst them a great body of English settlers, mostly engaged in cultivating coffee plantations; and I think that of all the Colonies with which I am acquainted, Ceylon is the one in which the problem of the European and the native living together has been most happily solved. I feel, however, that in these remarks I am digressing from what has been discussed this evening; and before sitting down I will thank Sir Charles Nicholson for his very interesting and instructive Paper. (Applause.)

Mr. SAUL SAMUEL, C.M.G.: I have been very unexpectedly called upon to address a few remarks to this meeting, and I do so with some hesitation, as I am quite unprepared to-night to discuss the important questions referred to by Sir Charles Nicholson in the interesting Paper he has read to us, for which I feel we are much indebted to him. (Hear, hear.) The question of federation of the Australian Colonies is, as Mr. Service has stated, not a new one. For many years past it has been discussed and considered in the Colonies. Conferences, consisting of representatives of the various Colonies, have at various times been appointed, and have met with a view to federal action on questions of common interest. I have myself been a member of two of these conferences, the first held so far back as 1870, and I have had some experience of the difficulties

which surround the question. Whilst the Colonies can agree upon many points, the settlement of an uniform tariff invariably causes differences, which result in failure to attain the object desired. I do not despair that before very long we shall see federation effected. With communities speaking the same language, and owing allegiance to the same sovereign, and separated only by imaginary boundary lines, antagonistic tariffs cannot long exist. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Service has told us that Victoria is not likely to agree to federation unless she can get a slice off New South Wales.

Mr. SERVICE: I did not put it quite so strong as that.

Mr. SAUL SAMUEL: Perhaps not quite so strong, but very nearly approaching it. Victoria desires an accession of territory by the extension of her boundary, so as to take in the fine portion of New South Wales known as Riverina. Now, I do not believe that this desire is ever likely to be gratified. I hope the question of federation will never depend upon the size of one Colony as compared with another; it must depend upon circumstances and considerations entirely different. (Hear, hear.) If the federation of the United States or Canadian Colonies had depended on such a condition, it could never have been accomplished. The wealth or greatness of a country does not depend upon the size of its territory—(hear, hear)—but upon its resources, and the energy and self-reliance of its people. I do not like drawing comparisons, but I cannot resist saying that, regardless of the extent of territory, the resources of New South Wales are greater than those of her sister Colony. Victoria has, unfortunately for her, no coal; the coal-fields of New South Wales are in extent and quality unsurpassed. Victoria has no extensive copper-mines; New South Wales has. I might go on with these comparisons, but it is perhaps undesirable that I should do so: I will only refer to one product more—Victoria has not so much tin as New South Wales. (Laughter and cheers.) I sincerely hope that there will be nothing but a laudable rivalry between the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) They are all on the same continent, and their interests are in common; and I echo the expression of hope that the day is not distant when they will all be united under one system of government, owing allegiance to the great Empire to which we all belong—(hear, hear)—and without restrictions upon trade. If Protection, as it is called, is at all justifiable—in my opinion it cannot be by forcing manufactures in a young country with a population of only 800,000 people—it appears to me this will be doing the very thing which it is desirable to avoid. When manufactories are thus artificially established,

they will soon manufacture more than is required, and there will then be a surplus for which no market can be found outside the country; as wages having been raised to the highest possible point, the cost of manufacturing will have become so great as to render competition with older countries impossible, and the result must be ruin in the end to the manufacturers. If the Australian Colonies would only be contented with what nature has so bountifully provided, and exchange the abundance of raw material which they produce for the productions and manufactures of other countries; the wonderful progress the Colonies have made in the past will be even greater in the future. (Cheers.)

The Hon. CHARLES PRITCHARD (Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony): I must acknowledge that this is quite an unexpected call. I must plead that I am a perfect stranger in London, and I am sure you will admit it when I tell you that I have not been here for fifty-two years. I left England in 1828, long before you had a railway, and I now come back to it, and find railways in all directions, and not only in what I consider to be the Old Country, but all over the Continent of Europe. Great has been the improvement and progress made; and during that time, I think, from what we have heard here this evening, and from what I myself have experienced, that although you have had the privilege of living here in the great country of England, you will not be backward in conceding to us colonists that we have made some progress also. (Hear, hear.) We have had many great disadvantages and a great deal to contend against; but, from what I have heard from the hon. gentleman who just now alluded to me, he himself has witnessed that the Colonies of Australia have made also rapid progress and strides; and I myself must come forward as a member of the Cape Colony and declare that we ourselves, backward as we are considered, generally speaking, by the world, have made considerable progress under great disadvantages. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Saul Samuel spoke of our having "no tin." True, we have no tin and no coal, but we have lately discovered diamonds. (Laughter.) And we are, I believe, making those diamonds tell to some considerable advantage. Our exports of that article during the last three years have amounted to very nearly three millions sterling annually. And, combined with the exports of wool, I think we have at the Cape added our portion, at any rate, to our great Empire. We have done our best. We are now, as you all know, in great trouble in the Transvaal, and require the assistance of Great Britain; but I trust that by our own perseverance, by the sympathy of the

British nation, by the wisdom of the British Government, we shall be able to come out of it all, and surmount the difficulties which now oppose us. (Hear, hear.) I believe we carry with us, far distant as we are—7,000 or 8,000 miles away—the hearts and the desires of a large portion of the British community. (Hear, hear.) Never have we had to appeal in vain to them, under any circumstances, even in the most distressing cases—such as we have had in the last six or seven native wars; but we have found the British people most liberally come forward, not only with British troops to help beat back the savages who opposed us, but to assist the poor and distressed, and relieve them. I would like to say a few words with regard to the main produce of the Cape Colony. We have large tracts of country adapted for little other purpose than that of sheep walks. Any of those who have had the opportunity of following the export trade at the Cape, must admit that we have made great advancement in that direction. Our wools have not only been sent north to Great Britain, but a very large portion of them go to the American Continent, and are sought for there, and readily bought up. Our next produce is that of wines and brandies. It has been wrongly said in Great Britain that the wines of the Cape are not drinkable. I would only invite you, ladies, and gentlemen, to come there and taste them—(laughter)—and I guarantee you would find them imbibable, and better than the made-up wines which you have to drink here or in other parts of the country. You will find the wine has a good deal of saccharine matter in it, and if a fault is to be found, it is always that there is too much saccharine or too much body in it. But the wine merchants in this country, I am sorry to say, mingle it with other wines, and when they have an article of wine of a reduced value, they call it Cape wine. I would invite you collectively to come to our Colony. I myself would stand treat—(laughter)—to you all, just for the purpose of having from you a candid opinion that the Cape wines are as good as any wines produced on the face of the earth. And I do not see why the Cape should not become the principal wine-producing country known. We have no disease whatever there. The vine grows to an extraordinary extent. When I tell you that an ordinary vine stock, not higher than a chair, would produce thirty-five bunches of grapes, and that they would each weigh from three to four pounds, you will hardly believe me. Poor South Africa has been despised, but owing to late disturbances, and the consequent tax on John Bull's pocket, it is now fast coming into note, and it will be found that the treasure spent will be fully repaid in the produce of the country, and that it will deservedly take its

place and position in that Empire on which the sun never sets.
(Applause.)

Mr. LABILLIERE : Having for the last few years had a great deal to do with the passing of our annual volume of Transactions through the press, I take a peculiar interest in that publication ; and I always feel great satisfaction when Papers are contributed to it by gentlemen who have had long and eminent experience in connection with the Colonies. We have now brought out somewhere about a dozen volumes of our Proceedings, and year by year we are accumulating a very valuable and a vast amount of information respecting all the Colonies of the British Empire. And it is a most important thing that gentlemen who have been prominently connected with the work of colonisation should contribute to this great accumulation of information. I have for a considerable time felt that there was one gentleman who had not contributed a Paper, and who, until this evening, had not so contributed to our volume of Proceedings ; and I have therefore heard with much pleasure the Paper of Sir Charles Nicholson, which will be included in this year's Proceedings. Sir Charles Nicholson, as all those who are acquainted with the Australian Colonies are aware, is a gentleman who has borne the burden and heat of colonisation in days before the Australian Colonies had made much way in the world ; and Sir Charles Nicholson is one of a number of colonists who have very largely contributed in various ways to the building up of this great Empire. And I do trust that the founders of these Colonies, and those who have helped to build them up, will be remembered with that gratitude which they deserve for doing such a great work. (Hear, hear.) Sir Charles Nicholson has touched upon some most interesting topics, which must occur to all those who have gone into the question of early colonisation in the Australian Colonies. He has spoken—and it is a most remarkable thing, which must strike anyone who has read the annals of early colonisation—he has spoken of a want of organisation in connection with colonisation. It is said, and said truly, that the Anglo-Saxon race is the greatest colonising race the world ever produced ; but the work of colonisation has been the work of private enterprise rather than of official patronage or Government arrangement. (Hear, hear.) Those who have gone into the question—as I have done very considerably in connection with the history of the Colony of Victoria—of how the Colonies were founded, must be struck with the very great idea which seemed to pervade the official mind, not as to how the thing was to be done, but as to how it was not to be done. We find that Mr. Henty first founded the settlement on the shores of Victoria,

and the Governor, under whose jurisdiction the territory was, wrote home to the Colonial Office, not commending Mr. Henty for what he had done, but blaming him for founding the Colony of Victoria. Why? Because it would entail upon the Government of New South Wales the terrible expense, responsibility, and difficulty of sending down a police magistrate and two or three policemen to Portland to look after the colonists who had established themselves there. That was the not very large or liberal view which was taken at that time with respect to the foundation of the great Colony of Victoria. Amongst numerous and interesting points contained in Sir Charles Nicholson's Paper, reference was made to the occupation of the northern parts of Queensland by Chinese or Indian people. Now, I think that one of the greatest advantages of which we have to boast in Australia is that we have an un-mixed population. Of course, wherever the aboriginal element exists we are bound to treat the people with the utmost consideration, humanity, and justice; but I think in Australia we are fortunate in having a very small aboriginal population. Therefore, by all means do not let us raise up complications and difficulties by the importation into any part of that continent of alien races. It is true that there may be extensive tracts in Northern Australia which cannot be profitably cultivated without the introduction of either Chinese or Coolie labour; but let us in the first instance occupy those vast tracts of Australia—and I believe, considering the elevation of the table-land, that these tracts run up close to the northern extremity—where you may plant European populations. The elevated table-land of Queensland is some 200 to 300 miles from the coast. Let us occupy every portion of the Australian Continent in which they can be planted with our own British people before we think of bringing in those other races. If we once let them into Australia, we cannot confine them to those regions of Australia to which they are peculiarly adapted. They would come into those regions in which we may plant a British population, and they would compete successfully with the European inhabitants of Australia, and probably beat them off the ground where we would wish to establish them. The reason why British people do not go out to South Africa in greater numbers is because of the large native population there. Were it not for that native population—if South Africa were as happily circumstanced as Australia is in having but few aborigines—then South Africa would afford one of the most splendid fields of colonisation. I have often spoken to Cape people on the subject. I have said, "How is it that you don't get people to go out to South Africa, as people go

out to New Zealand and to the Australian Colonies?" and they always say that the white man in South Africa, although the climate is favourable to him, cannot compete with black men in cultivation and in the labour markets. Therefore, before we speak of introducing any large Coolie or Chinese element into Australia, let us plant a good British race in large numbers, so that there will be no fear of its being at all swamped or supplanted by any of those other races. I shall not dwell further upon the topics contained in the Paper; but I must again express satisfaction at the fact that Sir Charles Nicholson has at length contributed to our Transactions a valuable Paper. (Hear, hear.)

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A. : There are two or three words I should like to contribute to this discussion relative to one point lightly touched upon in the Paper. I was in hopes some other speaker would have alluded to it, and in that case I should not have risen to refer to a matter in connection with the division of Australia into several artificial portions. There are two conditions of State—one is a state of peace, and the other a state of war—and although we hope that peace may continue long, we know there is such a thing as war in the world; and then we naturally remember matters connected with the defence of what belongs to our race. (Hear, hear.) Now, I merely wish to point out that the difference, as it appears to me, between these boundaries in Australia and the boundaries of older states of civilisation is, that in the one case they are arbitrary boundaries, perhaps almost drawn by reckless chance, whereas in the other case of boundaries of more ancient communities they have generally, as the able lecturer pointed out, been settled by wars. Of course, none of those Australian boundaries are therefore what are called "scientific frontiers," nor are they required to be so. As has been pointed out by the speakers, the future interests of Australia are generally greater than mere present local interests of portions of it—that there are interests above local interests. (Hear, hear.) That being so, no matter to what portion of these artificial divisions an Englishman belongs—when war is in the air—he would be looking more to the defensive precautions of all the English interests of Australia, rather than to any particular portion of them. (Hear, hear.) That being so, it is very plain that a lot of disjointed Colonies, with separate systems of defence, and separate political views on the matter of defence, are wholly unadapted for a purpose which is acknowledged to be a common necessity, viz., the defence of Australia as a whole. Of course that system must break down in war. (Hear, hear.) Without occupying too much time, I

would give an example generally illustrating this. Each Colony has its own artificial boundary, and each Colony has its own particular little system of defence within the limits of its artificial boundary; but I would point out that there are huge interests connected with Australia which would be exposed in the event of war, and about which you can draw no boundaries at all—I mean the interests of commerce on the sea. (Hear, hear.) Now, that is a common interest which rises superior to these boundaries; yet as long as those boundaries continue which separate your political system in those Colonies, so long are all Englishmen in Australia unable to grapple with that question of their sea defence. One more point: as I said, they each have their own individual systems of defence. Well, they recognise them, and they fully see the necessity of defence when there is a scare; but, as I was reminded to-night, Victoria has a very excellent but small nucleus of a force, and I believe it is about to be abolished.

The Hon. Mr. SERVICE: It is a different thing.

Captain COLOMB: At all events they are going to alter their defensive system as regards men, and they are going to make it less permanent than it was. I will take this ground, that it is possible for any Colony to do that. Well, what happens? Supposing, for example, Western Australia chooses to say, "I will have no defence." The Empire gets involved in war. There are points in Western Australia which, if lost to us would most seriously affect the capable defence of Australia as a whole. The consequence is, that the shortcomings of one political division may risk and mar the defensive efforts of one or two others. Therefore, I wish to point out that it appears to me, so long as these artificial boundaries exist, so long is any business-like system or real consolidation of the Australian Powers impossible for adequate defence in war. With regard to the Institute, there is one word I wish to add. We have heard the eminent colonists who have spoken this evening, and they have spoken words which, we all know, are warmly reciprocated as regards this Institute; but I think it is not only the colonists which reap the benefit of this Institute. (Hear, hear.) I myself, every time I come here and listen to eminent Colonial statesmen in this room, always learn something, and I perceive more of the Old English straightforward directness of purpose in their thoughts, more honest declarations in their words, than we are accustomed to hear from many of our own eminent statesmen at home. (Cheers.)

Mr. ARTHUR DOUGLASS (South Africa): In coming here I had not the slightest intention of addressing the meeting, and conse-

quently I am very much unprepared for what I would say. But the Hon. Mr. Pritchard, who has addressed you, I think must have accidentally let slip a remark which, if unnoticed, would be very detrimental to the Cape Colony. If it was not a slip, then I think it behoves me as an old Cape colonist to do my best to refute what he let fall. I allude to the part in which he said that the Cape had been in great straits, and we should now have to appeal to the Mother-country for assistance.

Mr. PRITCHARD: No; I did not say that. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DOUGLASS: I understood you to say so. I think no colonist should be present at a meeting like this without drawing attention to the remark, which I am glad to hear was misunderstood by myself and others; and I think the Mother-country must give us our due by saying that the Cape Colony has stood up nobly and has fought her way out of those difficulties. (Hear, hear.) The struggle may not be quite over, but I think the spirit the Colony has shown gives the Mother-country abundant evidence that we are able to govern and defend ourselves, and that being so, that we should be also allowed to govern the natives attached to us our own way. The worthy lecturer has spoken of what should form the natural boundaries of Colonies. No doubt in Colonies like Australia we can easily pick out what would be the best geographical divisions, but in many of our Colonies the boundaries we have got come upon us without our having anything to do with them. For instance, in the Cape we make a great effort and go up to some natural and geographical boundary, like the Orange River, for instance. There we stop for fifty years, perhaps; then other wants happen, and we make a shoot, and proceed to another geographical point. But I think it would puzzle Sir Charles Nicholson to say what should be the boundary at which an Englishman should stop in South Africa. I see we have only a little portion of that vast continent. I think Mr. Darwin has told us that the "survival of the fittest" is the great rule, and we know that the best men come from the North of Europe; and it would be hard to say where we are going to stop in South Africa. Having returned from there, and knowing some of the productions of the country are such as cannot be produced in quantity in any other part of the world—I mean our ostrich feathers and our diamonds, the latter being alone about two millions sterling per annum, while our feathers last year were over £800,000 in value—and on the face of those productions, I come into England and find all your agriculture depressed; I go down into the Midland counties and find all the land let at about a third of what it fetched some years ago, and I am compelled to say to

struggling agriculturists, "Why don't you come out to us where we have got land; to places where you can get on better. Bring your energy, education, and your little capital before it is lost, and we will employ you." One gentleman said that the reason why people did not emigrate to the Cape was because the white man cannot compete with the black. I don't think so. I think the white man of energy will always hold his own. We introduced German immigrants some twenty years ago, and they now own considerable tracts of land, and are all doing well, and so would any European coming out to the Cape. What we want especially at the Cape are men of some education and small capital, not to come and be labourers, but with their brains they would soon find themselves masters, and they are the men to employ the natives and elevate the natives, and at the same time do themselves and the Colony to which they come good. (Hear, hear.) There have been some remarks made about confederation. I believe there is scarcely a Colonist, whether of Australia, Canada, or Africa, but what the name of confederation is dear to. We all look forward some day to seeing large confederations of the different Colonies. I know we all do at the Cape. The only thing we dispute at the Cape is whether now is the fit time, and whether the exact moment has arrived. I believe that every man in Australia looks forward to the time when the whole of Australia would be united in one grand confederation. I believe, too, New Zealand would confederate with perhaps some other islands attached to it at some future time. But the way to bring about these confederations is not the way in which it was attempted at the Cape. We must not attempt to force such a thing upon the people. We must use the same means that this Institute is now doing. If any Institute would recommend itself to the Colonists, it is this one. (Hear, hear.) It is not only the confederation of these groups of Colonists together that we hope for; but I believe what we hope for and what we shall see, unless England is prepared to lose her Colonies some day, must be confederation of Great Britain with the Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have passed the usual hour for separation. I will therefore confine my remarks to one only of the important questions raised in this discussion, namely, the cause of failure of the attempts hitherto made to establish federation between the Colonies in the Australian group. At the various conferences held on this subject in Melbourne and Sydney, the adoption of a uniform tariff has been held to be an indispensable condition to federation, and the impossibility of finding a scale of duties which would fulfil the double requirement of being applicable to all, and yet

yield to each a revenue adequate to its special requirements, has proved an insurmountable obstacle. A glance at the map behind me will suffice to render it obvious that this tariff requirement is unattainable. Here you have a country extending north and south over an enormous latitude, favouring almost every diversity of production, from the sugar, coffee, rice, and cotton in the sub-tropical climate of Queensland, to the malt, hops, cereals, and fruits of the almost English climate of Tasmania. A tariff, therefore, which should impose an import duty on sugar and other tropical products, would not be productive of revenue in Queensland, yet would yield a very considerable revenue in the other Colonies. Again, a duty on beer, though unproductive at Hobart Town, would yield a considerable revenue at Brisbane. Wine and brandy would yield comparatively little revenue in the intermediate Colonies which have exceptional advantages for vine culture, but would constitute a main source of revenue in Queensland and Tasmania. It is unnecessary to extend this exposition by contrasting a variety of other items, as those I have brought under notice may suffice to show the futility of any attempt to frame a tariff which shall be uniform and at the same time afford to each Colony the revenue needed for its special requirements. Hence it follows that uniform tariff, as an essential preliminary to federation, must be abandoned, and a "Free-trade" policy, substituting "direct taxation" for duties on imports, adopted instead. An indirect, yet most important, result of this policy would be the abolition of protective duties in all the federated Colonies. I will conclude these few remarks by carrying out what, I feel assured, is the desire of all present, by tendering our thanks to Sir Charles Nicholson for the interesting Paper he has furnished us.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I thought Sir Charles Nicholson was about to make some remarks. I feel, however, I should not do justice to my own feelings, as I am sure I should not to yours, if I were not, before we separated, to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our chairman, Sir Robert Torrens. (Cheers.) When our noble chairman, the Duke of Manchester, is at home, we are not accustomed to propose special votes of thanks to him, but in his Grace's absence it has fallen to my lot during the present session to invite from time to time some of our Vice-Presidents and Members of Council to take the chair in his place; and on no occasion has that duty been fulfilled more to my own satisfaction, and I am sure also to yours, than to-night, when Sir Robert Torrens—himself a distinguished colonist—has presided.

A vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

NINTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Ninth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Grosvenor Gallery Library on Tuesday, the 14th June, 1881. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT, G.C.M.G., Vice-President, presided. Amongst those present were the following :—

Sir John Glover, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Newfoundland), Sir William V. Whiteway, K.C.M.G. (Premier of Newfoundland), Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., the Hon. William Littleton, C.M.G., Lieutenant-Colonel G. Arbuthnot, R.A., Mr. David MacIver, M.P., Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sir Samuel Wilson (Melbourne), Messrs. James Rankin, M.P., S. W. Silver, J. D. Wood, G. R. Godson, Leedham White, H. W. Freeland, Hon. W. A. Musgrave Sheriff (Attorney-General, Bahamas), Messrs. Wm. Roberts (New South Wales), James S. Sproule (Ceylon), P. E. Auvray (Jamaica), F. W. Ayerst, A. M. Aitken, Wm. Whiteford, H. E. Montgomerie, Stephen Bourne, J. Harwood, H. A. de Colyar, Edmund Trimmer, D. T. Wanliss (Victoria), Thomas F. Clarke (Jamaica), B. A. Ferard (New Zealand), Dr. Sall, Mr. J. H. Neale, Mrs. F. P. Labilliere, Mr. Robert Webster (Hong Kong), Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Haggard, Mrs. Rogerson, Mr. J. V. E. Taylor, the Rev. R. Taylor, the Rev. Dr. Townsend, the Rev. Frederick Glover, the Rev. J. W. Buckley, Messrs. Waite, Alfred Kingston, C. D. Collett, G. D. Jennings, P. V. Courted, Claude H. Long and Miss Long, Mr. E. R. Wallace, and Mrs. E. Focking (Cape Colony), Messrs. W. Westgarth, R. A. MacFie, Charles Pfoundes and Mrs. Pfoundes, Colonel W. F. Stephens (Victoria), Messrs. J. J. Southgate (British Columbia), A. de Cosmos, M.P. (British Columbia), E. A. Petherick, Henry K. Davson (British Guiana), Morton Green (Natal), Edward Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlaw (Sydney), A. Mackenzie Mackay, Hugh Carleton (New Zealand), John Lascelles (Victoria), James Laughland (Victoria), W. H. Seth Smith, T. O'H. Giles, James Gilchrist (New Zealand), H. E. Montgomerie, A. J. Adderley (Bahamas), J. Banks Taylor (China), W. S. Wetherell, William Miller, J. Saunders (Cape Colony), Rev. Dr. G. R. Badenoch, Rev. R. Goodwin, Messrs D. C. Kennedy (Victoria), Nicholas Nelson, Dr. Jackson (Cape Colony), Messrs. J. Bruce (Cape Colony), John Shrimpton, Edward Bullock, G. Phillips Bevan, Frank Watson, Mrs. Carey Hobson, Miss Buckland, Messrs. Henry Moses (New South Wales), J. Blaney, Miss Sarah Marshall, Messrs. Frederick Woodhall, J. C. Kemp, F. Gibbons, Mr. and Mrs. George J. Catline, Rev. R. G. Trimmer, Messrs. R. D. Trimmer, W. Manley, Wm. C. Manley, Walter Peace (Natal), Philip Darnell Davis (Grenada), Thomas Plewman (Cape Colony), the Rev. William Panckridge and Mrs. Panckridge, Miss Young, and Mr. Frederick Young, Hon. Sec.

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the Minutes of the Eighth Ordinary General Meeting, which were con-

firmed, and announced that the following gentlemen had been elected since the last meeting :—

Resident Fellows :—

Allan Campbell, Esq., Allan B. Cobb, Esq., C. C. Colley, Esq., James Fraser, Esq., Major-General Foyers, J. Baillie-Hamilton, Esq., James Langton, Esq., James Langland, Esq., A. Mackenzie Mackay, Esq., L. W. Novelli, Esq., J. Archibald Stirling, Esq.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

J. G. E. Bolton, Esq. (Mauritius), Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G., H. Molyneux Brewer, Esq. (New Zealand), Frederick de Pass, Esq. (Cape Colony), John de Pass, Esq. (Cape Colony), the Rev. R. Dunlop (Bahamas), J. W. Ebdon, Esq. (Cape Colony), Hon. Mr. Justice Fawcett (New South Wales), Charles Frith, Esq. (Queensland), Thomas G. Fyson, Esq. (Cape Colony), Thomas H. Glennie, Esq. (British Guiana), Samuel W. Gray, Esq. (New South Wales), B. Howell Jones, Esq. (British Guiana), Hon. W. M. G. McClure, M.L.C., M.D. (Bahamas), George C. Ormond, Esq. (New Zealand), C. Purland, Esq. (Cape Colony), J. Stuart Reid, Esq. (New Zealand), Henry Rogers, Esq., M.D. (Mauritius), George Snell, Esq. (British Guiana), James Sproule, Esq. (Ceylon), Edgar Turnbull, Esq. (Jamaica), Henry J. Walter, Esq. (New Zealand), T. D. Wanliss, Esq. (Victoria), Sir William V. Whiteway, K.C.M.G. (Newfoundland).

The following donations of Books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last Ordinary General Meeting were also announced from—

The Government of Canada :

Canadian Blue Books and Parliamentary Papers.

The Government of New South Wales :

Parliamentary Debates, 1881.

The Department of State, Washington :

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1880, 1 vol.

The Agent-General for New South Wales :

Colonisation Circular, New South Wales, 1881.

Financial Statement, 1881.

Speech of the Hon. Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., on Immigration, 1881.

The Legislative Assembly of Ontario :

Statutes of Ontario, 1881.

The Legislative Assembly of Quebec :

Sixth Supplement to the Alphabetical Catalogue of the Library of the Legislature of Quebec.

The Meteorological Society :

The Rainfall in South Africa :

The Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham :

Occasional Papers, Vols. IV. and V., with Map of Turkestan.

The Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, June, 1881.

The Royal United Service Institution :

Journal of the Institution, Vol. XXV., No. 109, 1881.

The Social Science Association :

Proceedings of the Association, Vol. XIV., No. 3, 1881.

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S. :

Annual Report, 1879.

James Bruce, Esq. :

[2122] Paper on the Transvaal, read before the South African Association, by W. G. Soper, Esq.

J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :

The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People, by the donor, 1 vol., 1881.

Morton Green, Esq. :

Assagai found on the Battle-field of Isandwana.

Sea Cocoa Nut from Seychelles.

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart. :

Two Water-colour Drawings of Sydney, 1860.

W. H. Rankin, Esq. :

The Transvaal in 1876.

George Robertson, Esq. :

The Melbourne Review for January and April, 1881.

C. J. A. Ulcoq, Esq. :

Paper on Mauritius, read before the Society of Arts, 1862, by James Morris, translated into French, by the donor.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. White :

Canadian Blue Books, 1881.

The CHAIRMAN, in calling upon Mr. Francis P. Labilliere to read the Paper for the evening, said : At the last meeting of the Institute it was announced that we should have the pleasure this evening of hearing a Paper from Sir George Bowen on the Mauritius. I regret, however, to have to state that, from unavoidable causes, Sir George Bowen has been prevented from favouring us with his interesting Paper on that subject. Under those circumstances, we are greatly indebted to Mr. Labilliere for having undertaken to read to the meeting a Paper on the " Political Organisation of the Empire," a subject on which all persons, and especially those connected with the Colonies directly, must certainly feel the deepest interest. Mr. Labilliere is so well known to you all that I need not ask from you attention. I am quite sure he will absorb your interest. (Cheers.)

THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Six years ago, on January 24th, I had the honour of reading before this Institute a Paper on "The Permanent Unity of the Empire." I was then told by some who differed from me that I was a theorist, speculating about questions which might be of practical importance to our children or grandchildren fifty years hence. Such criticism was best left to be disposed of by the march of events; but it could not have been anticipated that, from such various quarters, circumstances should so soon concur to bring the question of organising the relations of the different parts of the Empire into such prominence, as to remove it from the region of interesting theories and apparently remote speculations, and, in so short a time, to place it among questions of paramount practical importance. Events have, however, been travelling with that speed which marks all modern progress, but which most conspicuously distinguishes Colonial development. We have had wars; rumours of wars have never been more abundant; anxiety has been so intense as more than once to have precluded all hope of the maintenance of peace between our Empire and a great European Power; the nation has passed through days when it had, so to speak, to hold its breath in expectation of hearing the first shot in a conflict which might have changed the whole aspect of the old continents of Europe and Asia, and have left its traces on the most distant shores of the new continents of America and Australia. Such, briefly, are the circumstances which have rapidly invested the question of our Imperial organisation with the highest interest, and have proclaimed it to be of vast practical importance.

It is to be regretted that on the very verge of our subject it should be necessary to pause to enter a protest against a misappropriation of terms, which is to be condemned as worse than mere literary piracy. The word "Imperial," in its most proper and natural sense, having long been employed by the friends of the Unity of the Empire to embrace its largest interests and greatest policies, in fact all its common concerns, has recently been taken up by politicians and writers in the press to designate what they rightly or wrongly condemn as an aggressive foreign policy; but into that point this is neither the time nor place to enter. Thus, it is attempted to narrow the idea of British Imperialism from the broad, noble, pacific sense in which it has been hitherto understood, and to make it a synonym for military domination, Cæsarism, Bonapartism. As long as we call those grand dominions of which

we are all so proud by the good old name of the British Empire, which was in use long before the Napoleons and their Imperialism were thought of, we shall need the adjective "Imperial," and to degrade the word or misapply it to anything unworthy should be condemned as most unwise and unpatriotic.

Having on previous occasions dealt with the subject, and as time now forbids, I shall not discuss the nature of the Imperial constitution, and the modes in which representation could be extended to all the dominions of the Empire. It is enough here to observe that Federal Government is no new idea, no mere theory, but a practical system, which in some form or other has existed in the world in almost every era within the ken of history;* and that to it at the present moment two of the leading nations of the world, the United States of America and the Empire of Germany, owe their position as great Powers. It must, therefore, be a matter of surprise and regret that among Englishmen, who pride themselves on being above all other people practical, and who may so justly boast that in the past they have always so admirably adapted their government and institutions to the national growth, there should be found those who would counsel us to reject, without trial, a form of government which has created the greatness of other Powers, and which, were it to be successfully applied to the British Empire, would constitute it the greatest Power which had ever appeared amongst the nations of the earth. Is it that the grandeur of a Confederated British Empire is beyond the imagination of some minds, that the realisation of such a success is something too great to be thought of, too good to be true? The splendour of the prospect, instead of condemning, should surely commend Confederation to the laudable ambition, to the highest patriotism, to the energies which command success, of every true Briton in England and the Colonies.

It is surely not the part of statesmen to discourage high national

* It is but little more than eighteen years since Mr. Freeman published, in 1863, the first volume of his very learned "History of Federal Government." At that time, through the apparent break-up of the American Union, that system of Government was passing through an almost total eclipse. The historian then said: "Four Federal Commonwealths stand out, in four different ages of the world, as commanding above all others the attention of students of political history." The Governments referred to were the Achaian League, B.C. 281—146; the Swiss Cantons, A.D. 1291—1862; the United Provinces of the Netherlands, A.D. 1579—1795; and the United States of America, A.D. 1778—1862. Mr. Freeman's faith in Federalism, as a means of giving unity and power to peoples of the same race, though evidently strong even in days when the system was under so dark a cloud, could have given him no inkling of the brilliant examples of successful confederation which were so soon to be presented to the world by Germany and the Dominion of Canada.

aspirations. There is much wisdom in what the Right Hon. W. E. Forster said, in the large and statesmanlike view of Imperial unity which he took in his celebrated address in Edinburgh in 1875, when he commended the discussion of the idea as the best means of making it "realise itself." Various other weighty opinions may be quoted in favour of keeping the question well before the public.* It is a pity that Mr. Childers should have

* The *Times*, in a leading article of May, 1875, also recognised the great importance of discussing this question. The wisdom of doing so could not be more powerfully urged than in the following words of the article:—

"The Australian Colonies are thoroughly loyal and attached to the Mother-country. . . . The time may come when they will desire to be more closely united with her, and to be admitted to a share in the Government of an Empire of which they will be no mean part. . . . The matter may possibly come forward before our own generation has passed away. . . . It may be well that all these matters should be discussed; and there can be at least no harm in the endeavour to familiarise ourselves with the notion of a vast United Empire, in which our remote dependencies in the far-off East and West will find a place, and of which the old country will be the centre and common link of union. For some time yet it can only be a dream; but *it is a dream which we are the better for indulging in, and the day in which it will be fulfilled literally may be nearer than any of us suppose.* It is something meanwhile to be assured that events are proceeding in the right direction. Whatever may be our relations with our Australian Colonies fifty or a hundred years hence, we cannot be wrong now in keeping up a loyal union between all the distant members of the Great Britain that is to be. There can be no possibility of error in such a policy as this." And, the *Times* concludes, this "*may be preparing the way for the grandest Federation of States the world has witnessed.*"

Sir Julius Vogel, in his "Greater or Lesser Britain," in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, July, 1877, remarks that "a very few ardent men who long for Confederation, believe it possible;" and that as "the vast body of the people, whose minds are now colourless on the question, are favourably predisposed to retaining the Colonies, there is good material to work on, if the case be vigorously taken up. Given those who are willing to become advocates of the cause, they will find multitudes willing to follow them, and large as their object is, they may reduce it to the simple proposition—that it is the duty of the Mother-country to declare that she holds, and will hold, the Colonies as part of her territories, that through the Empire the people must grow up in that belief, and must shape their legislation, their institutions, and their aspirations accordingly." . . . "The question whether Confederation is desirable is another way of asking if it is desirable to retain the Colonies."

The *Australasian*, in a leading article on July 10th, 1880, on "The Consolidation of the Empire," says: "Whenever the Imperial Parliament is remodelled, as remodelled it surely will be, either by its own deliberate act or by its signal breakdown, under the intolerable multiplicity and magnitude of the functions it has to perform, and when it disencumbers itself of the merely municipal and parish vestry business which now occupies so much of its time and attention, we may reasonably expect that it will take an entirely Imperial view of its august duties and responsibilities, and attend exclusively to Imperial interests and concerns. In that event, the consolidation of the Empire will be one of the foremost achievements to be aimed at by any Ministry, ambitious of making for itself an immortal name by welding together into one grand unity the huge but unarticulated joints and members of that which will become in deed as well in name the British Empire. But, inasmuch as the initiative of nearly all great schemes

adopted a tone of discouragement at so early a stage of the consideration of the question.* The right hon. gentleman is reported to have said: "I deprecate and reject all those fanciful notions of bringing the United Kingdom and her Colonies and dependencies into a Bund, or Zollverein, or some such combination, with a Federal Parliament, which have caught so many well-meaning people of late years, and at which Lord Beaconsfield hinted himself in one of his speeches in the North. If you want to find a good cause of quarrel with your Colonies this would be the method, and I speak with some little knowledge of Colonial politics." In a subsequent speech Mr. Childers declared himself to be strongly in favour of maintain-

of policy and beneficial reforms has been taken outside of the Administration for the time being, and public opinion, enlightened and clarified by protracted discussion and exhaustive controversy, has first matured those changes, and then insisted upon their being carried into effect; so, too, in regard to this question of the consolidation of the Empire: its continued agitation and earnest debate must precede, and will be of great advantage to, its eventual settlement. And for this reason we are glad to see that the relations of Great Britain to her Colonies are occupying the attention of the Colonial Institute in London, and to learn that the Duke of Manchester, the President of that Institute, and a warm friend of the movement, is about to visit these Colonies, when he will have an opportunity of conversing with our leading public men upon the subject, and of judging for himself of the importance of linking the Australian dependencies of the Crown with 'cables of perturable toughness.' Colonists who are residing in or are on a visit to England, ought to be able to contribute to the discussions of the Institute many useful suggestions with respect to the best method of bringing about the substantial incorporation of the extremities of the Empire with its head and heart; and although the ancillary question of a federation of this group of Colonies is a highly important one, it is secondary to the much larger one of the Imperial consolidation. That this would be compatible with the enjoyment and exercise of the same powers of self-government as those which have been conferred upon us by the Imperial Parliament, it is almost superfluous to insist upon. No resident in Oregon, or Florida, or Decatur, or New Mexico, feels his liberty or his political independence is in the slightest degree impaired because a Federal Congress, meeting in a city some hundreds or thousands miles distant from his state, enacts certain laws which are binding upon the people of the whole Union, and imposes certain taxes which have to be paid by every citizen of the Republic. Americans are justly proud of belonging to a Political Confederation which embraces something like 45,000,000 of people, occupying a territory of 3,600,000 square miles. . . . Great Britain and her dependencies comprise an area of 4,677,432 square miles, peopled by upwards of 200,000,000 inhabitants, and embracing every variety of soil and climate. There is an Empire, such as Alexander never contemplated and Rome never attained to. . . . United, they would be invulnerable and irresistible, and as they are especially devoted to the arts of peace and industry, their predominating influence in the affairs of the world would be exerted on behalf of commerce and civilisation. But, loosely connected as the British dominions now are, their power and prestige suffer materially from the want of union and consolidation. . . . If the Empire were consolidated, a truly Imperial Parliament, representative of the whole of its constituent portions, would provide for the defence of every member of it, with Imperial means, on an Imperial scale of magnitude.

* Speech at Pontefract, Oct. 16, 1879.

ing the union with the Colonies, and of defending them even to the extent of keeping up a navy equal to that of three other Powers combined, but he did not say whether the Colonies should contribute anything towards its support, or ever be allowed any voice in a foreign policy which might involve them in wars. He had no suggestion to make as to any Imperial organisation. The right hon. gentleman relied much upon his Colonial knowledge. He certainly knew Victoria more than a quarter of a century ago, when he was a member of her first Legislature, and afterwards of her first responsible Ministry, but he has since had much to absorb his attention in other directions. He cannot therefore imagine the infant Colony of his former recollections becoming one of the United Provinces of a British Confederation. There is one thing above all others which Colonial knowledge should teach, and that is, that no man, especially in this country, should venture to speak, unless specially delegated to do so, as if he were an accredited exponent of Colonial opinion, or the spokesman of any particular Colony. Arguing, however, as anyone may do, from Colonial knowledge and experience, it is safe to assert that the Colonies are capable of appreciating grand conceptions, and of carrying out great enterprises and policies, and that no policy to which they can aspire can be greater, more beneficial to their interests or conducive to their fame, than the policy of Imperial Confederation.

Whatever may be the future relations of the different parts of the British Empire to each other, whether a Bund, or Zollverein, or Federal Parliament and Executive be established, or even if it should be possible, as Mr. Childers imagines, for the Colonies, after they have passed further away from their days of infancy, to remain united to England, with no form of Imperial government more perfectly organised than that which at present exists, it would still be necessary to draw a clear distinction between questions of Imperial importance and those which are purely Provincial, or only of inter-Provincial concern.

The purpose of this Paper is to attempt to some extent to classify such questions, and when we come to consider them, it is not so difficult to assign them their proper places. We have so much practical experience of Federal Government in Switzerland, in Germany, in the United States, in Canada, that we can soon understand what questions must of necessity be Imperial in the Confederation of Great Britain. In fact, it will be easier for us to distinguish such questions than if all the dominions of the Empire were as contiguous as those of the Federal Governments referred

to.* The distinction which it is most important to keep in view will most clearly appear if we set down—

First: questions which are obviously Imperial, or of common concern ;

Second: those which are obviously Provincial ; and

Third: those which may be left either to the control of the Imperial Government or of the Provincial Governments.

I.—IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

Defence.—The first and most important purpose for which all Governments exist is the defence of nations against the attacks of external foes. The more powerful the nation, the more secure must be all its territories against such attacks. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, standing alone might be subdued ; united in a firm bond of defence they must in the future be invincible, if not invulnerable. What foreign Power would, a century or half a century hence, think of attacking them if they should be thoroughly united and organised ? The only hope for the enemies of their nationality would be to sow division among them, with a view of vanquishing in detail the shattered portions of the disintegrated Empire, or perhaps of appropriating some

* The following is Mr. Freeman's valuable definition: "The name of Federal Government may, in its widest sense, be applied to any union of component members where the degree of union between the members surpasses that of mere alliance, however intimate, and where the degree of independence possessed by each member surpasses anything which can fairly come under the head of merely municipal freedom. . . . Two requisites seem necessary to constitute a Federal Government in its most perfect form. On the one hand, each of the members of the Union must be wholly independent in those matters which concern each member only. On the other hand, all must be subject to the common power in those matters which concern the whole body of members collectively. Thus each member will fix for itself the laws of its criminal jurisprudence, and even the details of its political constitution. And it will do this, not as a matter of privilege or concession from any higher power, but as a matter of absolute right, by virtue of its inherent powers as an independent commonwealth. But in all matters which concern the general body, the sovereignty of the several members will cease. Each member is perfectly independent within its own sphere, but there is another sphere in which its independence, or rather its separate existence, vanishes. It is invested with every right of sovereignty on one class of subjects, but there is another class of subjects on which it is as incapable of separate political action as any province or city of a monarchy or of an indivisible republic. The making of peace and war, the sending and receiving of ambassadors, generally all that comes within the department of International Law, will be reserved wholly to the central power. Indeed, the very existence of the several members of the Union will be diplomatically unknown to foreign nations, which will never be called upon to deal with any power except the central government. A Federal Union, in short, will form one State in relation to other powers, but many States as regards its internal administration. This complete division of sovereignty we may look upon as essential to the absolute perfection of the Federal idea."

fragments of the wreck. It is, therefore, obvious that unless some great injury to their individual prosperity must result from their remaining permanently united, these great British countries should ever consider themselves as forming but one indissoluble nation, and should combine their defences. Far from their provincial interests being injuriously affected by such co-operation, they would be greatly benefited. Each province, instead of having to bear single-handed the entire burden of its own defence, would be comparatively unconscious that it had anything to contribute. Its perfect security in the united strength of the Empire would enable it to devote its energies without dread or danger to the peaceful development of its own prosperity.

The organisation of the defences of the Empire is therefore the most important question of common concern ; it is already of great and growing practical importance. Recent alarms of war have shown it to be urgent. It is not enough that Mother-country and Colonies should vie with each other in devotion to the principle of unity which binds them together. National sentiment is a mighty power, but it must take some tangible, practical shape ; it must gather up the strength of a people ; it must organise their resources for defence, if it is to be effective, if it is to be anything more than a name. All the defences of the Empire over and above those required for the purposes of mere provincial police should be organised upon a uniform and comprehensive Imperial system. All the land and sea forces of the Empire should be maintained with a view of rendering the most effective protection to all our dominions. Captain Colomb, in so ably pointing out before this Institute and elsewhere the steps which should be taken to defend our Empire, has also done invaluable service in proving the practical nature of the questions of Imperial organisation and Confederation. He has pointed out how the great highways of our Empire should be guarded ; how all our dominions are equally interested in the question ; what strength and security they would derive from co-operative defence ; and what great resources they could contribute for the purpose. Details cannot be discussed within the limits of such a Paper as this, but leading outlines may be given. The Imperial authorities representing the whole Empire would have to decide upon the positions of naval and coaling stations, the strength of the Imperial army and navy, the centres where they should be concentrated, the mode in which they should co-operate with provincial militias and volunteer forces. Naval and military schools and colleges would also eventually have to be established in different parts of the Empire ; and, although the Imperial army would be

small, it would be desirable to afford to the youth for whom in all parts of the world a soldier's life has attractions, opportunities of entering the Imperial service. Thus, the roll of the British drum would once more be heard following the sun round the globe; and the red coat, which ought never to have been altogether withdrawn from the eyes of Colonial-born Britons, would again be presented to their view. The presence of some regular troops in different parts of the Empire would also be important for the purpose of furnishing a standard of efficiency to provincial militias and volunteers.

A greater navy than that which Mr. Childers contemplates would also soon spring up if organised on an Imperial basis, without the United Kingdom or any other part of the Empire feeling it to be a burden. It would be sufficient to protect all our coasts, our ocean highways, and our commerce; for with the increasing numbers of our ships and sailors, the growth of our Colonies and commerce, it is no extravagant expectation that such an Imperial navy would grow up as to render it impossible for any enemy's war-ship to live upon the ocean.

Revenue and Expenditure.—Joint defence must be at joint expense. Each portion of the Empire would have to contribute its fair share of the Imperial revenue, and would be entitled to a voice in its expenditure. Constitutional Government justly provides that there shall be no taxation without representation. Therefore, this practical, urgent question of defence is inseparable from the practical question of ways and means, which, in its turn, is as indissolubly linked to the question of representation. Thus, by the irresistible and most practical logic of facts, are we brought face to face with the Imperial question of Confederation. It would be for the representatives of the whole Empire to decide what taxes should be levied to raise a revenue to maintain our defences and to meet all other Imperial expenditure. Our object this evening being to indicate what are Imperial and what are non-Imperial questions, to enter into details after ascertaining the class to which a particular question belongs would be superfluous if not irrelevant. These details have been worked out under existing systems of Federal Government. They have not unfrequently been discussed in connection with the subject of confederating our British Empire. My friend Mr. Frederick Young, in his able letters to *The Colonies* newspaper, reprinted in a valuable volume entitled "Imperial Federation," has conclusively shown how futile it is to attempt to set up barriers of petty details against the adoption of this great policy. It is only necessary here to remark that a complete Imperial Government should have direct power to levy taxes and

not merely to impose subsidies upon the various Provincial Governments of the Empire; and that the revenue should be raised in the easiest and simplest ways, interfering as little as possible with commerce and with Provincial fiscal arrangements. With the growth of wealth and population throughout our vast dominions, the percentage of Imperial revenue required would decline. It would always be much less than what each province would have to provide for its own defence if, instead of co-operating with the others, it were in the much weaker and more heavily-burdened position of independence.

Foreign Affairs.—Given a system of joint defence, it follows as a natural consequence that all those who help to maintain it should have a voice in conducting those foreign relations which alone render national defence a necessity. Nay, it is but just that those who are exposed to a common danger should be heard respecting affairs which may lead to such danger, even though they may have but little strength to aid in the defence. Joint defence at joint expense entitles to joint control of external affairs. This should be as well-recognised a maxim of our British Imperial union as the well-known constitutional one about taxation and representation going together. All treaties and negotiations with foreign nations should be conducted through an Imperial administration responsible to a Parliament, in which every portion of the Empire should have its fair share of representation. One great change for the better would certainly be brought about by having a distinct Federal Ministry for Imperial purposes. Foreign affairs would cease to be a bone of contention between the political parties of this country, and a stalking-horse upon which they too often try to win the race for power. Foreign policy, instead of being thus mixed up with Provincial party struggles, would be removed to a broader and calmer sphere, where it would be solely considered upon its own merits as affecting the Empire at large. There is no other escape from its continuing to be bound up, as part and parcel, with questions with which it has nothing whatever to do—the purely domestic politics of the British Isles, and to be viewed from the least elevated party standpoints, except by being lifted into the larger and higher sphere of Imperial Federal questions.

Extensions of the Empire.—These should be made by the Imperial Government, the new territories being in the first instance under its immediate control, as Crown Colonies are at present; but afterwards they could be attached to the nearest province of the Empire, or, on becoming of sufficient importance, should be invested with all the powers of Provincial self-government. Thus, for example, new territories like the Transvaal and Zululand, if

annexed, would at first be under direct Imperial control. If, however, there existed a South African Colony, or Intercolonial Confederation, of sufficient strength to govern them, these territories would naturally be incorporated with the Colony, or, on acquiring a sufficiently large European population, would have Provincial self-government conferred upon them, and be included in the Intercolonial Confederation. From the correspondence laid before Parliament in 1876, it is clear that Eastern New Guinea would have been annexed had the Australian Colonies responded to Lord Carnarvon's suggestion that they should contribute to the expense. They did not do so because they would have had no control in the management of a territory of which the cost of government would have been partly borne by them; and the Colonial Office, considering that Australia was primarily interested in New Guinea, was not prepared to effect the annexation at the sole cost of the Mother-country. No more striking illustration could be given of the want of Imperial organisation. A territory acknowledged to be of value to the Mother-country and the Colonies could not be acquired, because the imperfection of our existing system would not admit of the question of cost and control being properly adjusted between England and Australia.

India.—The great Oriental Empire would present no obstacle to the complete organised union of the British nation in England and the Colonies. Without in the least underrating the value of India, there is no doubt that its possession has hitherto been esteemed in this country out of all proportion to its worth as compared with the Colonies. So many of the wealthy and educated classes have been interested in India, have held offices in the country, and look to it to provide places for their families, that they consider it far superior to the Colonies, which present them with no such official attractions. To some among the governing classes also, the patronage it enables them to bestow places it far beyond comparison with the self-governing parts of the Empire. Though war and disaster have befallen England on account of India, and may befall her again, and though India involves the most serious problems of foreign policy, there are those who would have England endure everything for her, but who object to the really and comparatively light risks and responsibilities which the Mother-country may incur from the Colonial Empire. Seeing, then, how India is esteemed in this country, it is possible that were a Confederation of the Empire to be formed, some people might wish to keep India under the control of the Parliament and Executive of the British Isles. But even if such an arrangement

could be carried out, it would be much better for the Mother-country to share the advantages as well as the risks and burdens of governing India with her partners in the Empire, than retain both herself. India handed over to the Federal Government would be held with a firmer grasp, which would strengthen with the growing wealth, population, and power of the Colonial dominions. If foreign affairs were handed over to an Imperial Government, and India left to the Government of the United Kingdom, serious difficulties might arise in conducting relations with other Powers. The United Empire would not be less alive to its great responsibilities with respect to India, would not be indifferent to any of the British obligations contracted with regard to that country, and would be fully sensible of the prestige arising from its possession. Some means might perhaps also ultimately be devised for giving India representation in the Federal Parliament.

Naturalisation.—The conditions upon which foreigners should be admitted to British citizenship must always be regulated by Imperial authority.

Other minor Imperial questions might be enumerated, but they would all come under the cardinal headings already given, namely, Defence, Imperial Revenue and Expenditure, Foreign Affairs, Extensions of the Empire, and Government of India. With a Federal organisation there would be no longer a Colonial Office, for the business of that department would properly belong to the Imperial Prime Minister, who, unless he might also happen to be head of the English Cabinet, would not be occupied with the provincial affairs of the United Kingdom. He would exercise a general supervision over the common concerns of the Empire, and would have in his gift the appointment of Provincial governors and all other Imperial patronage within the Empire.

II.—PROVINCIAL QUESTIONS.

It is essential to the right understanding of Imperial organisation or Confederation that we should fully bear in mind what questions are obviously Provincial, and which must therefore on no account be interfered with by any Federal authority. From want of due consideration upon this point many people have hastily condemned the proposal that the Colonies should send Federal representatives to this country. It has been erroneously assumed that these Colonial members would sit in the existing Parliament and have a voice in all the domestic questions of the United Kingdom—an arrangement which would be highly unfair and objectionable. Colonial representatives should come to England for Imperial pur-

poses alone, and to sit, not in the Parliament of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, but in a distinct Imperial Parliament of the whole Empire of Great Britain. This legislature would take over all the questions of common concern to the Empire, and would leave the present insular Parliament full and exclusive control of the affairs of the United Kingdom; and it would then be enabled to devote to them the amount of attention they demand, but which from present pressure of business it cannot afford to bestow upon them.

It will only be necessary to mention some of these Provincial questions to show at once that they must always remain in their present category. Many of them excite strong party feelings, but it is not in the least necessary, for the purpose of distinguishing between them and Imperial questions, that we should give any consideration to their merits, or indicate that we take one side rather than another with respect to them.

Church Establishment.—This question is obviously one for the consideration of the people of the United Kingdom. Representatives of other parts of the Empire, brought to England for Imperial purposes, would therefore not have the remotest claim to interfere in any way with it, and the terms of the Federal Constitution would of course expressly prevent them from touching such a question.

Education, again, should be left to the exclusive control of the governments of the provinces of the Empire, so that whatever systems might be best adapted to the wants, opinions, and circumstances of their respective populations should be carried out. To this rule there might be one exception. It would be desirable, though not essential to our Imperial organisation, that the highest educational institutions—the universities of the Empire—should be of Imperial creation. This does not imply that they should not be placed under the control of the Provincial governments, but that they should have the stamp of Imperial recognition. Oxford, Cambridge, and the other universities of these Kingdoms would not be handed over to the control of the Parliament of the Empire, but would remain subject to that of this country.

Land Laws.—The regulation of the holding, disposal of, and succession to the lands of any country is of great importance to the inhabitants, but can only be of remote interest to people living at a distance. It was wise of the Mother-country, in conferring self-government upon the Colonies, to give them the control of the waste lands, although much may be said in favour of the idea that a portion of the revenue arising from Colonial land sales should

have been reserved for the purposes of promoting emigration from the United Kingdom. It is certain that the disposal of the lands in the Colonies could not have been managed as well from Downing-street, as by means of even the least satisfactory arrangements for the purpose made on the spot by Colonial Governments. Provincial land questions can, therefore, in no way affect Imperial relations. The unity of the Empire would be no stronger, if it were possible to have uniform land laws throughout its entire territories; nor would it be weaker by having the most widely different systems—primogeniture and strict entails in some of the British dominions, and the most opposite system, the French law of succession, in others. Land tenure in England, Scotland, and Ireland would, therefore, be regulated by the legislature of these Kingdoms, even if the most complete Federal Parliament of the Empire held its sittings in this country; and in like manner the Provincial Legislatures of the Colonies would, without Federal control, regulate their land systems.

Taxation and Tariffs.—The control of the Provincial Legislatures over the fiscal arrangements of their respective territories, need in no way be affected by the limited taxation which the Imperial Parliament would require to impose, in order to raise ample revenues for Federal purposes. It has been already intimated that it would be the policy of that Parliament to levy taxes in the simplest and most convenient form, having regard to all interests concerned. There would not be the least necessity for restricting the liberty now enjoyed by each Colony, of adopting such tariffs as it at present, rightly or wrongly, considers most suited to its own interests. Were a Federal Government established there would be no more reason than at present why Victoria, with her high protectionist policy, should not remain in the Empire, and be an important element of strength in its confederated union. The only restrictions upon the power of the Provincial Parliaments, as to fiscal policy, would be those already existing, which prevent differential duties from being levied in such a manner as to admit foreign imports on more favourable terms than may be extended to those from other territories of the Empire. By Act of the Imperial Parliament the Australian Colonies are now allowed to adopt differential duties in each other's favour. Of course, it would be desirable that all portions of the Empire could see their way to the adoption of the same fiscal policy; but it is not essential to their co-operating for common purposes.

Internal Defence.—As the Federal Government would have to provide for the defence of all the territories of the Empire against

external attack, so the Provincial Governments would have to maintain peace and order within their respective jurisdictions. As the Colonies grow in strength and population they will cease to require that aid in native wars which has hitherto been indispensable to the existence of some of them. New Zealand will never again require that assistance which she received from the Mother-country in her early days, and without which her infant growth might have been stunted or cut short. We should merit the contempt of the civilised world, were we to leave our 80,000 countrymen in Natal to the mercy of the native population, which so greatly outnumbers them both within and without the limits of the Colony. When the present troubles are settled in South Africa, and the Colonies there are strengthened by a large increase of British population, native difficulties will become purely Provincial questions, requiring no Imperial intervention. The Federal authorities would, therefore, have nothing to do with Provincial defences, except to aid in promoting their efficiency, by enabling local forces to have as much benefit as possible from the instruction of such regular Imperial forces as might happen to be stationed in different parts of the Empire. Colonial militias, like the English militia, might volunteer for external service in time of war; and in the event of the invasion of any of our territories, it would be necessary that the Imperial Government should take the entire command of the Provincial forces of such territories.

Irish Home Rule, which solely relates to the good government of these Isles, should be left exclusively to be dealt with by their inhabitants. Such a question shows how unwise and unnecessary it would be for a Parliament of the Empire to interfere with Provincial affairs. There would be no reason for its doing so; and no friend of Federal Government would wish to see it entrusted with any power over questions not of general Imperial concern. Home Rule, whether it come to nothing or lead to some change in the relations of Ireland to the United Kingdom, can neither facilitate nor impede the progress of the much larger and more important question of the organisation or Confederation of the United Empire; and the subject can have no interest for our countrymen beyond the British Isles, save in so far as they always heartily desire that every domestic question may be settled in a manner most conducive to the best interests of these old parent lands.

Intercolonial Confederation.—This, again, is a question more for Provincial than for Imperial consideration. Only under such circumstances as those which at present exist in South Africa, could any claim to a voice in the settlement of such a question be urged

from without. If any Colonies require external aid for protection against internal dangers, the Imperial Government coming to their assistance, certainly establishes a right to be heard in recommending to the colonists Confederation or any other kind of co-operation for the purposes of more effective internal defence. To Colonies circumstanced like those of Australia, Intercolonial Confederation is simply a question of the most convenient arrangement of their common Provincial affairs between themselves. It is, therefore, for them, and them only, to decide whether they will ever adopt it. Should they do so an Imperial Act would be required for the purpose, but that would be passed with even less difficulty than was presented in the case of Canada; for the Confederation of that Dominion involved some important points of Imperial concern, arising out of the proximity of the United States.

Alterations of Provincial Constitutions.—It can only be in exceptional instances that changes in Provincial Constitutions can directly affect interests beyond the limits of the Dominions or Colonies governed by such Constitutions. These enactments provide that they cannot be changed in certain particulars by the Colonial Parliaments without the amending Acts being reserved for the sanction of the Imperial Government. With a Confederated Empire this requirement would be as essential as at present, so that there should be no chance of Imperial rights being affected by the Constitutions of Provinces being altered without the Imperial authorities having an opportunity of supervising what was being done. Practically, however, judging from experience since self-government has been set up in the Colonies, a veto upon measures of Colonial Constitutional reform passed by Provincial Legislatures would be seldom or never exercised. Were the Canadian Parliament, for instance, to follow the recent example of New Zealand, and to abolish, with their consent, all the Provincial governments, centring all legislative power in the Dominion Parliament, such a change, if referred to the Imperial authorities, would as matter of course be sanctioned. Then again, upon purely Provincial grounds, it would be desirable that differences between Provinces or between the branches of their respective legislatures, should, when all other means of removing them had been exhausted, be referred to the conciliatory mediation, arbitration, or legislative intervention of the Imperial Government. With a Confederation of the Empire the only difference with respect to Mr. Graham Berry's recent mission would have been that the negotiations would have been carried on with the Federal Prime Minister, instead of the Secretary of State for the Colonies—a minister who would not exist; and some mem-

ber for Victoria might have brought the question of the revision of the Constitution of the Colony before the Federal Parliament; but probably without resulting in any departure from the policy of non-interference wisely laid down by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

III.—QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE LEFT EITHER TO THE IMPERIAL
OR PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Our classification would be very incomplete if mention were not made of some questions of which the control may, without impairing the strength or efficiency of the Imperial organisation, be left either to the Federal or Provincial Governments.

The Laws of Marriage will, perhaps, furnish the best illustration of this class of questions. Everybody will admit that it would be very desirable that these laws should be uniform in England, Scotland, and Ireland. But they cannot easily be made so. Their difference, however, has never been a source of political weakness to the United Kingdom, and would be less so to the United Empire, although the legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister in some of our Colonies has created a fresh distinction. The best and most convenient, though by no means indispensable arrangement, would be that the laws of marriage should be regulated by the Federal Parliament for the whole Empire.

Domicile.—With differences of marriage law, and also with respect to succession to property, it must be all the more important that the law of domicile should be as clear as possible; for the legality of a marriage, and questions respecting the succession to property, may turn upon the domicile of particular persons. We are familiar with the popular expression, "the glorious uncertainty of the law;" but it is as often the glorious uncertainty of the facts, to which the clearest law has to be applied, which occasions the cost, delays, and disappointments of litigation. For instance, it depends upon a fact, often most uncertain—the intention of a colonist, dying in this country, to make his abode in England or to return to his Colony, whether his personal estate in the Colonies shall pay legacy duty to the Exchequer here, in addition to what may be charged upon it by the Colonial Government. It would, therefore, be desirable to have the incidents of domicile made as simple and uniform as possible throughout the Empire, and that could be better arranged by the Imperial Government than by the different Provincial Governments.

Wills.—As a matter of convenience and a means of avoiding serious mistakes, it is desirable that British people, so many of whom are constantly moving about through the Empire, should

have only one simple mode of making and executing wills. All legislation upon this subject may, therefore, be best entrusted to an Imperial Parliament.

Coinage, Copyright, and Patent Laws, though in no way affecting the unity of the Empire, could also be most conveniently regulated by Federal legislation.

Railways and Telegraphs.—The construction of means of communication for the opening up of their own territories must primarily be of Provincial or Inter-Provincial importance, and should therefore be left to the control of the Provincial Governments. There may, however, be one or two main lines of railways of such consequence as to be of Imperial interest. For instance, the Canadian Pacific Railway might be regarded as of such Imperial importance as to induce a Federal Parliament to hasten its construction by means of a guarantee. Lines of telegraph and of mail steamers connecting the different dominions of the Empire would, however, more frequently call for Imperial subsidies.

Emigration might, perhaps, under any system of Imperial organisation, remain a question between this over-peopled country and such of the Colonies as appreciate the fact that population is one of their greatest wants. Imperial Federation, however, with the enlarged ideas and feelings which it could not fail to impress upon our people, would make them regard themselves, whether in England, Canada, South Africa, or Australia, as but one nation. This conviction ought to convince them that in order to develop and fertilise our splendid new lands, as well as to enrich their sparse inhabitants, those vast territories should be irrigated by a steady stream of people from the overflowing human reservoir pent up in these old countries. One of the truest policies for building up the Empire would be to put its waste people upon its waste lands.

Final Court of Appeal.—Under the existing organisation of the Empire it is an undoubted advantage to the Colonies to have the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and this is so much appreciated that the Dominion Act, though establishing a Final Court of Appeal for Canada, provides that either party to a suit may require that it shall be carried from the inferior Courts to the Privy Council, instead of to the Dominion Court of Final Appeal. With Imperial Federation it would certainly be necessary that, at least in all cases affecting Imperial rights, there should be an appeal to the highest divisions of the Imperial Court in the Metropolis of the Empire, even if branches of that Court were established in the Colonies. The inhabitants of

the Provinces would probably always desire to retain the privilege of final appeal, even in private litigation, to such a great tribunal as would be composed of the most eminent judges who could be gathered from among the ablest lawyers and greatest judicial intellects which the British dominions could produce.

Reciprocity.—We have already seen that Imperial Federation need not interfere with Provincial fiscal policies, and that as long as differential duties are only adopted as a matter of convenience between Provinces of the Empire with adjacent territories, the Provincial Parliaments may well be left to arrange their own tariffs. It may, however, be felt throughout the Empire that it would be of great advantage to come to some reciprocal arrangement respecting an Imperial commercial policy. It is probable that our various dominions may never think alike on the great and difficult politico-economical questions of Free Trade and Protection. England has tried hard to convert other nations to that great policy which has for a time, if not permanently, given such an impulse to her prosperity. But she has tried in vain; and never did success seem less likely to reward her efforts than at the present moment. It might, therefore, be worth her consideration whether she may not yet do within her own Empire what she cannot do outside it. For the sake of the greater extension of Free Trade in the world, she might find it wise to abandon or modify that policy as regards foreign countries which so resolutely oppose it, if by so doing she could promote its adoption throughout her Empire. She might thus bring a far greater surface of the globe within that policy than she can do by efforts, which now seem almost quixotic, to induce her foreign neighbours to adopt it. The United States, though protectionist as to the outside world, are within themselves the greatest Free Trade territory upon earth. Might not the United Empire of Great Britain excel them also in this? Had England, instead of attempting to make foreigners Free-traders, turned her attention to her own Empire, she might perhaps by this time have carried Free Trade much further. She might, in their interests as well as her own, have held out inducements which would have prevented her Colonies from adopting Protection against her and against each other. For instance, if she had admitted Canadian and other Colonial grain and raw materials free into the United Kingdom, whilst retaining a duty upon those from Russia and the United States, on condition that the colonies should tax foreign manufactures, what might have been the effect? Hundreds of thousands of British people who have gone to the United States and enabled manufactures to be created there as

rivals to those of England, would have settled in Canada and other British territories, and would have opened lands, which still remain untilled, in order to produce food for the Mother-country, whose manufactures would in return have been taken by the colonists, and thus Free Trade, which does not exist on the part of some of the chief Colonies towards the Mother-country, might have been established between them. As the trade of England with her own Empire will so soon leave her foreign trade far behind, and as the trade of so extensive an Empire will probably be chiefly within its own limits, it would be desirable that our commercial relations should become as unrestricted as possible.

It would be the greatest triumph for Free Trade, short of universal adoption amongst all nations, to be extended throughout the length and breadth of the Empire of Great Britain. It is now only possible to indicate, without attempting to discuss it, a question which may become of great interest to the whole United Empire, and which may possibly be adopted by it as an Imperial policy. It is satisfactory, however, without having to explore the merits or demerits of Imperial Reciprocity, to be able to see that it need not be adopted unless it commend itself to the people of the Empire at large. However they may regard it for the sake of its convenience and commercial advantages, it cannot be essential to their unity, for purposes of common strength and protection. The more, however, they feel that they are one people, one nation, and that their most distant territories are but parts of a common Fatherland, the more will they be disposed to regard their interests as identical, and to promote the most unrestricted trade among themselves.

Without some organisation of the great and growing defensive strength and resources of the Colonies with those of these Isles, there may seem to be some show of reason in the very contracted estimate of British power taken not long since by a certain English statesman, who is reported to have said: "I wish to dissipate, if I can, the idle dreams of those who are always telling you that the strength of England depends, sometimes they say upon its prestige, sometimes upon its extending Empire, but always upon what it possesses beyond those shores. Rely upon it, the strength of Great Britain and Ireland is within the United Kingdom. Whatever is to be done must be done by the force derived from you and from your children—derived from you and your fellow-electors in the land; from you and the citizens and people of this country." Let us slightly alter the words of the statesman, and see if we cannot produce something more logical and forcible.

Rely upon it, the strength of Holland is within the Netherlands. But shall we stop here; shall we not draw the inevitable conclusion? If Holland, in the days of her fame and greatness, could have extended herself, could have acquired and consolidated with herself large Colonial dominions peopled by her own race, she might now hold rank among the Great Powers of Europe. So if England, disregarding narrow insular counsels, have but the wisdom to weld and organise with herself in indissoluble union her great Colonial possessions, she will in the future command a strength tenfold as great as she can ever alone possess, and there will be no fear of the history of Holland being repeated with respect to her; no danger of the growth of other nations, with which her narrow limits and already teeming population must preclude her from keeping pace, leaving her far behind, and eventually causing her to be dropped out of the list of Great Powers.

Prince Bismarck is reported to have once said—but it is incredible that the great statesman could have seriously expressed such an opinion—that England was “*une puissance finie.*” Should England, enervated by wealth and luxury, come to regard her manufactures, her commerce, her money-making, as everything, and national spirit and feeling as nothing; should she fail to see that bonds of sentiment are essential to material interests; should her sons lose the energy, the heart, the ambition, whereby their fathers made her and her Empire what they are; should she be smitten with the fear of Colonial responsibilities, and, following the faint-hearted advice of insular counsellors, regard these Isles as her Empire, and seek to contract its area to their limits, then, indeed, she will be *une puissance finie.* As yet, happily, Old England shows no symptoms of even incipient decay or decrepitude; but foreigners may sometimes be excused for mistaking the occasional timid, anti-colonial utterances and policy of some public speaker or writer as indicating the existence of such symptoms.

Our Imperial organisation is beginning to attract the notice of foreigners. The *Colonies and India* newspaper some months ago* called attention to an article from the well-known French journal the *Moniteur*, which says:—“The bonds of Federation are the only ones suitable to the British Empire,” and that it is “a certainty that the chief event marking the close of the century will be the general Federation of all the British possessions, bound firmly together in all its incoherent elements into an Empire of over two hundred and fifty million souls.” The

* September 13, 1879.

Moniteur adds:—"When subjected to a single impulse, the forces by sea and by land which the Empire could dispose of would be so colossal that they could only be counterbalanced by the Federation of other states, and the balance of power of Europe would have to be established on a new basis." Two years before the Franco-German war, M. Prevost Paradol, in his "*La France Nouvelle*," drew a brilliant picture of the future of the world, which he declared to be irrevocably Anglo-Saxon. Federation will soon make the American the leading branch of our race, unless we apply that system of union to the British Empire.

Napoleon said at St. Helena: "One of my great ideas has been the agglomeration and concentration of the same nations, geographically considered, who have been scattered piecemeal by resolutions and policy. This agglomeration will take place sooner or later by the force of circumstances. This impulse is given, and I do not think that after my fall and the disappearance of my system, there will be any other great equilibrium possible than the agglomeration and confederation of great nations." In our days of steamers, railways, and telegraphs Napoleon would never have thought that our Empire, "geographically considered," was not capable of such agglomeration; he would only have sighed that France had no such Colonial dominions as we possess for him to agglomerate with the old country.

We want some of the qualities of our French neighbours, as they have need of many of ours. If with our practical capacity for working our institutions and modes of government, we had more of the inventiveness with which Frenchmen can frame political constitutions, we should have little difficulty in preparing beforehand a Federal organisation, which could be applied the moment it was required. But instead of designing a symmetrical, constitutional structure before commencing to raise it up, our method is to construct piecemeal, a little now, an enlargement later on, an addition afterwards, until somehow or other we at length get what we want. Thus we may expect our Empire to become completely organised.

A great war—which may God avert!—would probably lead to its most speedy consolidation and organisation; but should we not show our wisdom in being prepared beforehand for any great national emergency? The foe who would try to disintegrate the Empire by force would find he had adopted the most certain means of welding it together. It has been said that the Colonies may endeavour to escape the consequences of some war by deserting the Mother-country when she is involved in it. No more atrocious libel was ever uttered. The whole past history of the Colonies

—the spirit with which they have taken the side of England in past wars and rumours of war, their recent offers to assist her according to their means—all belie such a base calumny. It is a gross insult, which in other words declares them capable of acting the part of cowards and poltroons. It is also a grave reflection upon the honour of the Mother-country to suppose she could have produced offspring who could become so degenerate. No: "Blood is thicker than water," as the Colonies would prove in the hour of England's danger.

It will help us to see our way to the unity and organisation of our Empire in the future, if we reflect upon what must have happened had a policy the reverse of that pursued towards the United States been adopted a century ago; had the wisdom of Lord Rockingham and of Edmund Burke, instead of the folly of George Grenville and of Lord North, prevailed; had Colonial rights been respected, and Colonial self-government existed as at present; had goodwill and affection between England and the Colonies been uninterrupted—what would have been the outcome of it all? Americans of the third and fourth generation, the descendants of men who had been driven from this country by political and religious persecution, were still warmly attached to old England, just as all colonists now are. They never thought of separation till they were driven to it, and then it was pain and grief to them to sever the old ties.* Had they been in the happy position with respect to the Mother-country of our present Colonies, what would have happened? In another twenty years, England became deeply involved in the wars with Napoleon; and would the Americans have availed themselves of the opportunity to sneak out of the Empire? They would have scorned the idea, as all colonists would now do under similar circumstances. The great French war would have united the American Colonies more closely to England; for there is little doubt that war-ships fitted out and manned by them would have worthily responded to Nelson's immortal signal at Trafalgar, and that regiments of them would have shared the laurels of Wellington's army in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. Thus the Americans would have established a claim to a voice in the Imperial councils, and it would have been cheerfully granted to them.

* "At length the Commonwealth was torn asunder. Two millions of Englishmen, who fifteen years before had been as loyal to their prince and as proud of their country as the people of Kent or Yorkshire, separated themselves by a solemn Act from the Empire."—*Macaulay, Essay on the Earl of Chatham.*

What then could have separated the United States from the British Empire? Nothing.* Slavery, someone may perhaps say. But slavery was unable to sunder the South from the North; and could it have succeeded better against the North, backed by the whole British Empire? But even if the South had broken away, the best and most populous of the States would have remained with us.

Arguing from the past unhappy Colonial policy and experience of England, and from her present happy relations with her great Colonial dominions, we may well ask what is to prevent her union with them from being perpetual? Is it that some question with the strife-stirring bitterness of slavery can ever again arise? Is it because worse differences than those which at present exist, or have been amicably adjusted within recent years, are likely to disturb our harmony? Will a policy of Protection, which though in some quarters carried to extremes, has failed to produce estrangement? Must oceans divide us nationally, in spite of the constant and rapid transit to and fro of so many of our people over them, between the most distant parts of our Empire, and in spite of the interchange of our ideas and feelings, electric sparks of sympathy, perpetually flying beneath them? Is it that, notwithstanding our vaunted intelligence, education, information, and the wonderful development of the Press in England and the Colonies, we are becoming more narrow and provincial in our sympathies and parochial in our views than our grandfathers, who, with less information, were more large-minded and national? Is it because the British race throughout the world is so bent on money-grubbing as to think so long as commerce can be carried on and flourish, perish Empire, nationality, union!—things which even our shrewd, practical American kinsmen so highly value? Have some wonderful economists and statisticians persuaded us, in spite of facts and figures, that the unity of the Empire is an unprofitable delusion, because, forsooth, they cannot make out a debtor and creditor

* The *Times*, in a leading article of November 30, 1872, says respecting Mr. Gladstone's observations on American Independence, at the banquet to Mr. Cyrus Field: "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 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."

account, showing in pounds, shillings, and pence its exact advantages? Is the legislative capacity whereby we have adapted the institutions of the past to the circumstances of the present, going to fail us in providing for the requirements of the future? Are public men and statesmen in all parts of the British dominions going to become so engrossed in Provincial affairs as not to be fired with the honourable ambition of seeking to take part in the legislation and administration of such a grand Empire as ours, if confederated, must become?

What, then, do we want to effect the great object? Nothing but the will to carry it out, which so largely exists, and the organising capacity of a nation endowed with all the grand institutions, rights, liberties, principles, and experiences essential to the maintenance and development of free and efficient government. In the early annals of the twentieth century will have to be recorded the grandest success or most lamentable failure of a nation to utilise the most splendid materials the world ever furnished, for constructing the best and greatest of its Empires. May Heaven favour what promises such security, peace, freedom, and happiness upon earth!

Our whole subject is summed up in four sentences—common defence involves common expense; common expense and danger confer the right of common control of foreign affairs, from which danger may arise, and of the forces required for defence; common control must be by common representation; common representation is Imperial Federation.

The words of the preamble of the writ of King Edward I., * summoning the earliest regular English Parliament, in 1295, might well be used in summoning a Parliament of our present Empire: "It is a most equitable rule, that what concerns all should be approved by all; and common danger be repelled by united effort."

DISCUSSION.

Colonel ARBUTHNOT: Sir Alexander Galt, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have listened, as I am sure everyone in this room must have done, with the greatest possible interest to the instructive and comprehensive Paper with which we have just been favoured—a Paper so comprehensive indeed, that at the first moment of hearing it, I thought that to deal with it conclusively in all its parts one would require to be a politician, a soldier, a sailor, a merchant, a lawyer, a banker, an engineer, and I am not sure but a clergy-

* Russell's "Modern Europe," vol. i. 390.

man also. (Laughter.) In the few moments in which it would be becoming in me to detain you, it will be quite impossible to comment fully on, or criticise, or even to praise as it deserves, that Paper. I rejoiced, however, at the truly Imperial ring which pervaded it. I admire the gallantry and pluck of Mr. Labilliere, in laying so much stress on that word Imperial, because, as he has pointed out, it is one which has for some little time past been grossly misrepresented. (Hear, hear.) In its true sense, not in the libellous sense to which I refer, I feel sure it is a word which will become from year to year and day to day more of a household word, if England intends to remain the great country which she has been hitherto. (Hear, hear.) I cannot conceive that anyone in his senses can doubt that, as time goes on and the Mother-country becomes over-populated, and her Colonies more adequately populated, some great change in the organisation of the Empire must take place; and the most natural and beneficial change I should imagine would be some such as has been pointed out in the Confederation of England with the Colonies under a central monarchy and under the British flag, all having a mutual desire to benefit each other as regards trade, while sharing in the common defensive responsibility. Mr. Labilliere has mentioned Prince Bismarck, and referred to a quotation from a French paper. Well, I have heard, and on tolerably good authority, that Prince Bismarck made remarks very similar in purport to those which were quoted from the *Moniteur*. I think, as far as recollection serves me, they were these—that if such a thing as the Confederation of England and her Colonies took place, the necessity would arise for the readjustment of territory and the redistribution of power in Europe. Now, if German statesmen and French journalists take this view on that matter, surely it is a sign that they must believe that a Confederated Great Britain would be, with Free Trade among themselves, invincible both in peace and war. Of course it rests with the people of this country and the Colonies to determine whether this shall be so or not. I trust that they may be more far-sighted than perhaps some Home Governments have been. As far as this Institute is concerned, I presume its object is to educate public opinion in matters of this kind; and I know of no more important matter than that which has been the subject of the lecture to-night. All I can say is, that I hope that we and others who seek to educate them may be so successful; for, if not, I fear it will not be long before some historian will have to undertake the melancholy duty of chronicling the Decline and Fall of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DAVID MACIVER, M.P., said: Sir Alexander Galt, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have been asked to say a few words, and although to do so at this early period of the discussion gives me a position of prominence to which I have no right, I nevertheless do not wish to shrink from the duty which has thus been placed upon me. I should like to say how much I appreciate the careful thought which is evidenced in this Paper. Our worthy lecturer has ably stated all the difficulties of the position, and overlooks none of them; but whether he has been equally successful at every point in suggesting the remedies for those difficulties is a matter on which there may well be some reasonable difference of opinion. I cannot help thinking, however, that the whole question has been well put by Mr. Labilliere—(hear, hear)—and although there are many points of detail on which I should not like to say that I altogether agree with him, I think the whole question, as raised by him, is of vast importance to the British Empire, and that the subject is now being brought to the front in various ways, and must and will be threshed out in the way our lecturer desires. But when he spoke of India, it seemed to me that he was a little hard upon India. It may be I took that view because it so happens that I have some little trading association with India. It occurred to me the other day to look into the Board of Trade returns, to ascertain what was the mercantile value of India to our manufacturing towns in Great Britain, and I think the figures are significant indeed. I will not trouble you with any long list of statistics, but I shall take simply the case of cotton manufactures, which are of such importance to many towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Going back for a period of twelve years, I find that our annual exports of manufactured cotton goods to India were then worth about £10,000,000 sterling. Subsequent years show, notwithstanding occasional fluctuations, a steady and gradual increase in the value of those exports, and last year our exports of such goods were nearly double what they were in return ten years ago. They were as nearly as possible £20,000,000 sterling. But how do we treat India, in return for thus purchasing our wares? We blame her for her desire for protective duties, yet—while we are preaching Free Trade—we go on taxing the tea and coffee of India. Is that right or fair? Is not this part of a great question which ought to be reconsidered? Is it right—in the name of Free Trade—to tax the cocoa of our West Indian Colonies? Have we, in this great home country of ours, much that we ought to say against the fiscal policy of the Dominion of Canada, and those Colonies and Dependencies which, for revenue purposes, tax our wares to raise the money they need, when we ourselves tax

the productions of our own Colonies? I do not think we have. Such questions cannot long remain where they are, and they deserve the most earnest thought throughout the length and breadth of this Empire. (Hear, hear.) I think that I am not doing wrong in pointing out to you another paragraph or two from the Board of Trade statistics. I should like to show you the value of the trade of Great Britain with her Colonial possessions and India as compared with all Continental Europe. I will go back again for twelve years, and I find that the result is this. Taking an average of three years—and I do so because to take a single year alone might sometimes give a fallacious comparison; but taking, as I say, an average, I find that in the three years from 1869 to 1871 our British trade in the exports of manufactured goods for the whole of Continental Europe were rather over £58,000,000 sterling, while in the next three years, which were years of exceptional prosperity, they were as much as £73,000,000. But from that time, nine years ago, our exports to Continental Europe have steadily diminished. During the next three years they dropped to £58,000,000, and during the last three years to £53,000,000. Now, what was our position as regards India, Canada, and the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire during the same period? Do our exports during the last nine years show a diminution from £73,000,000 to £52,000,000 sterling? No; on the contrary, they show this, viz., that whereas, in the three years from 1869 to 1871 the value of our exports was only about £33,000,000, there has been a steady and regular increase so far as our own Colonies are concerned, while elsewhere there has, in most instances, been a steady diminution. I do not say that the increase has always been large, or that there have been no fluctuations; the Colonies, like the rest of the world, have felt the pressure of bad times; but the last three years show an annual average of more than £44,000,000, and most unquestionably the general teaching of the Board of Trade figures is to show plainly that our trade with the Colonies and India is, as compared with our trade with Continental Europe and the rest of the world, very much more important than the public of Great Britain are generally prepared to admit. It has not merely been maintained but largely increased, while our trade with Continental Europe has fallen from £73,000,000 to £52,000,000, and is further threatened by hostile tariffs in every direction. I think we have arrived at a time in our country's fate when, with the decreasing outlets for our manufacturing products, so far as Continental Europe is concerned, and no practical advance towards the adoption of Free

Trade principles as regards any foreign nation, the position of the Mother-country, with regard to the Empire as a whole, becomes every day of more importance, not alone to the Colonies, but to the Mother-country and to her working men, and those having to live by wages. It seems to me that we are now in a position where the bonds between the Mother-country and the Colonies cannot long remain as they are. They must either be strengthened in our mutual interests, or some day they will part. I hope the day is far distant when this great country will become a decaying nation. The sun has not yet set upon our prosperity, and I trust that as years go on the ties between the Mother-country and her Colonies may become closer, and that we may be united alike for our common interests of trade and defence. (Hear, hear.) I have to thank you for the kind way in which you have listened to these crude remarks which, on the spur of the moment, I have ventured to offer. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : In the opening paragraph of his interesting Paper, Mr. Labilliere alluded to the fact that six years ago he read a Paper on a similar subject at this Institute, when he was represented as a theorist ; and he was told that the question he then propounded might perhaps be of interest to the British public fifty years hence. I, for one, who have long zealously advocated the same cause which he has so ably put before you this evening, congratulate him, and I also congratulate all thoughtful men, on the advance which this great question has made within the period to which he has alluded. Is disintegration or Federation to be the future destiny of the Empire ? Why should it be the former, and not the latter ? This is the vital question we are constantly urging upon the British public both at home and beyond the seas. It is very suggestive and instructive to watch the articles which appear from time to time on Colonial subjects in the leading organs of public opinion in this country. On the first day of the present month a most interesting article appeared on Queensland in the *Times* newspaper, and the following is the last paragraph of it :—
“ As time goes on, and as Greater Britain becomes greater still, it is inevitable that the political tie which binds its parts to each other and to us will grow weaker ; but, if we are wise, if we take care to live politically and individually up to our best lights, the tie of feeling and of interest will become stronger and stronger.” Very true. The political tie which exists at the present time doubtless will become weaker and weaker as time goes on ; but we say that it must be superseded by another political tie of a stronger and more enduring character. This is what we are contending for,

and what we are continually asking the country to consider. In his essay on the Government of Dependencies that very eminent political writer the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis says:—"It is only by means of representative institutions that a large tract of country can (as in England, France, and the United States) be subjected directly to a popular Government. The chief advantage of representative institutions is that they render it possible for a popular Government to act directly upon a large territory, and thus enable it to avoid a recurrence to a system of dependencies." This is a quotation from a most thoughtful and able essay on the subject by one who has now gone from us, but from whom, if we study the profound political philosophy of his writings, we may learn very much of great value to us in the future. One of the points to which it is most essential for us to give our attention—and it has been touched upon in the Paper before us—is the question of the commercial relations which ought to exist between this country and her Colonies. I think there can be no doubt that there is a wide field for exercising patient thought, good feeling, and sympathy, in order to find out whether it is not possible for us, whatever may be its consequences with regard to the rest of the world, to have something like perfect Free Trade between ourselves and the whole of our vast Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.) Believing, as I do, that the plan sketched out in Mr. Labilliere's Paper—with the general principles of which I entirely agree—is wise, sound, statesmanlike, and practicable, and is the only one by which the permanent unity of Great Britain and her Colonies can be preserved, I shall continue in the future, as I have done in the past, to support in the strongest possible way the accomplishment of a political system which, under the form and organisation of a Federal Parliament, we call "Imperial Federation." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. D. WOOD: Sir Alexander Galt, ladies, and gentlemen,—My friend Mr. Labilliere in his Paper has based his argument for Federation, primarily at all events, upon the necessity which exists for a system for the common defence of Great Britain and its Colonies. It may be raised as an objection to what Mr. Labilliere has said, that the population and the resources of the Colonies are at present so insignificant that it is scarcely worth while relying upon them for any valuable assistance in the defence of this country. But I apprehend that Mr. Labilliere was thinking not so much of the present as of the future—(hear, hear)—and if we look at the rapid growth of the population of the Colonies, as compared with that of the population of the United Kingdom—if we look, not to the

present, but to a period of twenty, thirty, or forty years hence—it is perhaps not too much to anticipate that the population of the Colonies by that time may be equal to the population of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) If we look at the history of that country, which was once a collection of British Colonies—the United States—if we cast our eyes back to the period when that great country proclaimed its independence, we shall find that the population of the whole of those territories was only about 3,000,000, but now I believe the population is about 50,000,000. (Hear, hear.) I do not, of course, anticipate that the population of Colonies such as those of Australia and South Africa will progress at such a ratio as that, because we know that an immense part of the population of the United States consists of persons who have emigrated from this country; and we can scarcely anticipate that emigration to our more distant Colonies will take place at the same rate as emigration to a country so near to us comparatively as the United States. But at the same time, although the progress may not be quite so rapid, still it is undoubtedly very rapid; and, as I said before, the statesmen who will look forward to a period of forty years from the present time may well believe that the population and resources of the Colonies will be then so great that their assistance to the Mother-country may then become a question of vital importance. Looking, then, to the future, the question arises, Shall we not do something to bring about this Federation of which Mr. Labilliere has spoken? Shall we not do something to prevent these Colonies from separating from us, and do that which will bind them closer to us, so that in years to come we may have their assistance in time of war? (Hear, hear.) But I look forward to Federation as likely to produce advantages to this country not merely for the purposes of defence. Mr. Labilliere in his Paper has hinted at some features which any schemes of Federation should embrace as well as the system of common defence; and I apprehend that if such a thing comes about as a Parliament or Congress, or whatever name you may call it, meeting to legislate for the Imperial interest of the whole of the Empire, other matters besides questions of defence would necessarily be brought before such a body. Great Britain and the Colonies claim to be the greatest commercial Empire of the world; and is it too much to suppose that the Imperial Legislature would busy itself in laying down a great commercial code, embracing the questions of bankruptcy laws, laws affecting bills of exchange, and other matters, regarding which there ought to be but one system of jurisprudence in force in the Mother-country and the Colonies? (Hear, hear.) Other questions

have been referred to. The honourable member behind me has referred to the questions of Protection and the duties which are imposed in India on some British manufactures; and, on the other hand, the duties which Britain imposes upon the tea and coffee of India and Ceylon, and upon West Indian products. I am not inclined to agree with what he said with regard to the impolicy or injustice of Britain imposing taxes upon the exports of India, the West Indies, and other Colonies. I do not see anything contrary to the principles of Free Trade in imposing duties purely for the purposes of revenue—(hear, hear)—and there could be no question that the duties which are imposed upon tea and coffee are not imposed by England for any other purpose than raising a revenue. Those imports do not enter into competition with the manufactures or produce of this country; but if India taxes the manufacturing produce of England, and if India itself engages in the manufacture of articles of a similar kind, then those duties which are imposed in India may be justly nominated protective duties. They are imposed, it may be, primarily for revenue; but secondly, at all events—whether that secondary effect be sought for or not—they have Protection as the result. There is one question which Mr. Labilliere scarcely touched upon. He has urged arguments why the Mother-country should favour a scheme of Federation. Federation, especially if the principal object be the establishment of a system of common defence, necessarily, as he showed, involves taxation; and the great question is, Will the Colonies be willing to submit to the taxation? What inducement can we hold out to them to induce them to submit to this taxation? That is one difficulty, no doubt. Perhaps it was to this that Mr. Childers referred when he said that the establishment of any system of Federation would necessarily bring about a bad feeling between the Mother-country and the Colonies. I am quite aware that it is a delicate question to ask any man to put his hand into his pocket for any purpose whatever; but that is what you have to ask the Colonies to do, and we must show that Federation will be not only for the interest of the Mother-country, but for the interest of the Colonies. We must show the Colonies—it must be brought before them distinctly—that this system which at present prevails cannot go on for ever, that this country cannot for ever go on maintaining an Imperial army and navy for the defence not only of the United Kingdom but of the Colonies; it must be laid before the Colonies that they must, if they wish to secure the advantages of an Imperial navy, contribute their fair share towards the support of that navy. This may be a difficulty, but I do not think it is an

insuperable one. I think when the Colonies come to consider the question, they will see that a system of Confederated defence would be cheaper in the long run than a system of each Colony raising an army and navy for its own defence. Still I do not wish to shirk any difficulty. I am aware that when this system of Confederation is fairly put before the Colonies, they will see that it implies additional taxation, which is always unpopular. That is the difficulty we must face, but I think it is a difficulty that will melt away when the subject is fully considered by the Colonies. (Cheers.)

Mr. WEBSTER (of Hong Kong): When I first read the title of this meeting, "The Political Organisation of the Empire," I felt that it must be a meeting to discuss the political organisation of the Empire to be, and not as it at present exists; for, as far as I have yet been able to see, we have no political organisation worthy of the name in the British Empire. In a book which I wrote two years ago on "The Trade of the World," I pointed out—and I fear I did not point it out as favourably as I might have done—the great position which the United States of America held as a Federal Empire. I contended in that book that we might, as an Empire, have as great a Federal Empire as we see in the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) We are at the present moment—there is no use blinking the fact—very dependent on the food supplies of the United States of America, and I contend that if we were to have some system by which from the Colonies of Canada, Australia, or the Empire of India we could obtain a larger grain supply, we would become more independent of the United States, and would doubtless also add to the wealth of our Colonies. (Hear, hear.) To-day I had the pleasure of speaking to the only gentleman who now refines loaf sugar in London; that British industry, once a prosperous one, having been almost extinguished by the bounties given to the foreign sugar refiners by their respective Governments. Mr. Martineau assured me that the West Indies are only supplying now the same amount of sugar that they did in the year 1832, and that, were that bounty given by the French, Dutch, and Austrians on beet sugar abolished, the West Indian Colonies probably would now send this country three or four times the present amount. That strikes me as a great anomaly, and a serious detriment to those British Colonies. I think that if we could come to some greater expansion of reciprocal interchange of commodities with the West Indies and the other Colonies it would be a great advantage both to them and ourselves. (Hear, hear.) Not only so, but it would prove advantageous to our industrial classes, no less than 18,000 of whom have been thrown out of employment

within the last few years owing to these foreign bounties I previously alluded to. (Hear, hear.) I was at Hong Kong last winter, and it occurred to me while there that we govern our Colonies in a variety of ways. Hong Kong, as you are aware, sir, is a Crown Colony; Australia and Canada practically rule themselves by their own Parliaments, whilst India is ruled by the India Office. Touching the system of rule in Hong Kong, the inhabitants have a ghost of representation in the shape of a Legislative Council, but are in reality treated by the Colonial Office as if they were children, although this Colony is one of the most important and most prosperous under British rule. In this single port the tonnage of the inward and outward shipping to and from the United Kingdom exceeds the total of the tonnage between this country and all the ports in British North America, yet the inhabitants of Hong Kong are not allowed in the smallest matters any local self-government; they have no power to mend their roads, barely to have a turf put on their croquet lawns, or any other equally trumpery thing done, without referring to the Government. It is a Government of the most autocratic description, tempered by vacillation and red-tapeism. Australia, on the other hand, does as it likes. I contend that if we could only unite together by the bonds of mutual commercial interests, as well as by those of mutual self-defence, all the different Colonies in the British Empire, it could not fail to be greatly to our mutual advantage. I will not attempt to venture to offer further remarks on the very elaborate scheme set forth so ably by Mr. Labilliere, nor to examine whether the probability of a Federal Parliament being established has yet come within the range of "practical politics." (Hear, hear.) I cannot, however, refrain from saying that, as far as one can judge from results, the Colonial Office would reap no disadvantage if it had some body of men of practical experience to consult, when it saw fit, on matters purely Colonial, such as the India Office has in the Indian Council. I feel sure that such a body would give their views honestly, unbiassed by party feeling, to either Lord Carnarvon or Lord Kimberley. Were the views of such practical men fairly considered, I venture to believe that many of our recent difficulties in the Colonies—the Cape Colonies especially—would have been avoided, and we should not have the mortification as Englishmen (for we are all Englishmen, whether our interests be greater in the Colonies than they are at home) of seeing—partly owing, it appears to me, to the vacillation and divided counsels of our rulers, or from lack of reliable information—the British flag, not metaphorically, but in reality, trampled in the dust.

Mr. WILLIAM MILLER : I hoped to have heard from our friend, Mr. Labilliere, something practical and workable about the future political organisation of the Empire, but it seems to me he is willing virtually to take things pretty much as they are, and in my opinion the present Imperial system may be fittingly described as an impracticable if not an inoperative system of pervading disorganisation, impregnated with that sentimental fact *blood is thicker than water*. Why, Mr. Labilliere would not be dissatisfied if we should continue permanently to have throughout the Empire all kinds of tariffs, and as numerous as there are counties in England. But supposing we had as many tariffs in Great Britain as there are British Colonies, what would be the state of this country? And yet, as far as the Colonies of the Empire are concerned, in their commercial connection with each other, this is the disjointed state of things which prevails, and which, under Mr. Labilliere's system of Imperial organisation, might still prevail. Mr. Labilliere is, moreover, very chary about allowing any interference whatever with the present anti-English plan of Colonial taxation. Every Colony will be able to continue to tax itself as it pleases, and the Mother-country of the Empire is apparently to have no veto on any kind of taxation, however matricidal. Not even a Federal Imperial Parliament would be permitted to treat the Empire as a veritable Commonwealth, for it should have power to levy only direct taxes, and these in the easiest and simplest ways—such as would interfere as little as possible with the commercial and fiscal arrangements of the Colonies. Then, as for Imperial armaments, they might be maintained, more or less, Mr. Labilliere suggests, in some sort of joint way, by Great Britain and the Colonies, so far as they are necessary, and can be used for the purpose of some sort of alliance for joint defence; but this joint-stock defence business, if carried on according to Mr. Labilliere's loose project, would be of a very uncertain and unsatisfactory character. Now what I have to say, Sir Alexander Galt, concerning this great and indeed all-important subject of Imperial organisation, is, that we must really make up our minds to let the disintegration of the Empire go on, as it is now doing, every year more and more rapidly, or we must put our shoulders together for good and all, and decide that those Colonies of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, along with the United Kingdoms, must be satisfied to exist in and constitute a Confederation somewhat akin to that of the United States or of Germany. These great Confederations we have seen rise up before our eyes during the present generation with almost unparalleled solidity and unity of power; but our overgrown, disjointed, and

puny Empire, even Mr. Gladstone admits, must, according to actual appearances, soon wane into comparative insignificance before that immense and overpowering Colossus, the great Federal Republic of America; and Mr. Gladstone, I think, was just as patriotic as was Lord Beaconsfield, or as is any other man amongst our party politicians. ("No, no," and "Yes, yes.") Well, I cannot see that there is much difference in statesmen. To me it seems to be six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. But I had better just read you a letter that I was honoured to receive some ten or twelve years ago from one of our greatest English statesmen, and we shall see from it very clearly where we are going if we are content with Mr. Labilliere's plan, which to my mind is simply that of our modern *laissez aller* system. Combating my Federalist Empire first notions, this statesman wrote me: "Depend upon it, your ideas are wholly impracticable on this Colonial question. To keep Colonies and Mother country together, to establish the same tariffs, to impose the same taxes and obligations, and to demand in time of war the same sacrifices, is impossible. But to attempt it with free Constitutions in the Colonies would be a work only to be undertaken by lunatics. . . . You must begin by abolishing all the Colonial Constitutions, and by subjecting all the Colonies to the Colonial Office or to the one Imperial Parliament, in which Colonial representatives would be lost and utterly powerless. The true plan is the present plan, with as little interference as possible from Downing-street; and if separation is to come, let it come in a friendly manner, without dispute and without war. If the United States could have left us without war, would it not have been better for them to have remained dependencies of England? Free Colonies, friendly with the Mother-country, are what I look forward to as the only rational and happy solution of the Colonial question. Justice, and even generosity, to them now; friendship with them always." (Cries of "Name, name," "Gladstone?" "Bright?" "Chamberlain?") No name shall be given. I may, however, further mention that, not very long ago, when I was discussing the Imperial question with the same great statesman, he said to me, "What you want is a revolution, and I am too old to join you in that." (Laughter.) Well, I suppose I do want a revolution, and I don't deny it. Mr. Labilliere does not want a revolution, but we cannot have a Confederation, a Co-federalist organisation of the Empire, without a revolution. Do you suppose, gentlemen, that Canadian statesmen (I speak as a Canadian) like Edward Blake and Sir John Macdonald, and Sir Alexander Galt are to come here and sit like babies at the feet of Sir Stafford Northcote—(interruption)—or even Mr.

Gladstone, or any other statesman we have in England? Will you find me even a single man amongst our home-bred statesmen who has a general practical knowledge of the Empire? Not one. ("Oh!") They doubtless know a great deal about this country and its wonderful institutions and marvellous Constitution; but does such a particular one-sided knowledge fit them for governing the Commonwealth? What do they know about the Colonies and the Empire at large and as a whole? Comparatively nothing at all. The other day some of us went in a deputation to Lord Kimberley from the British and Colonial Tariff Union Conference, and my friend Mr. Sargood then frankly told his Lordship that the discussions in Parliament on Colonial subjects usually inspired the Australians with mingled feelings of amusement and disgust. Before sitting down I may as well read you another letter on the Imperial question (on that crucial part, moreover, the land question—a letter which I received a few days ago from a very distinguished Colonial statesman, who also called me a revolutionist. ("Name, name.") No name can be given, but I may say this politician is now in London, and writes me, under date of June 10, 1881, literally as follows:—

"There is one thing you ought to remember. All you revolutionists are always wanting to make your revolution backwards. You are never in time. It is only when your stable is empty that you rush about forging padlocks for it. When you gave away to the Colonies that little slice of four thousand millions of acres which were the heritage and patrimony of the English people, and gave them at the same time your universal physic of the Parliamentary system, didn't all the Goldwin Smithites politely tell them at the same time that they weren't wanted, and that the sooner they went off on their own account the better England would be pleased? That was the pestilent doctrine you all preached in those days; and I have told you something of the fruit it has borne. Now you want a unification of the Empire backwards. You forget that you have created ambitions which you can't undo. There doesn't live the House of Commons man to-day who would not have to face, in any proposal to take back the lands, the alternative of the Colonies saying they were off. Off? The Dominion would be off to the big Republic, and they would unite like two gases meeting together. Australia would simply say, *Good-bye, and let us be friends*, not having any United States to rush into the arms of. You are too late. You should have thought what Empire was before. Now you all go about pretending you can re-create Imperial unity by making an Imperial House of Commons, in which members are to sit who are sent there by people who will not be taxed. *It won't wash*

There is no end of a thing to be done all the same, if the right way were taken." This is plain speaking—from one who knows—about the cardinal question lying at the very root of Imperial organisation for England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as the Colonies; but Mr. Labilliere, who perhaps knows better, has not touched upon it at all. It is a question, however, which shall one day, and soon, be asked by the English people, and which must be answered. A Roman general once upon a time destroyed himself, not daring to await the question, "*Where are my legions?*" Should a British Minister deserve better of his country who cannot reply to the question, "*Where are my lands?*"

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE: My object in rising this evening is to draw attention to the very important point which Mr. MacIver brought before you, and to endorse his views as to the comparative importance of our Colonial trade with the Mother-country over that of foreign countries with her. You may remember that some two years ago, when I read a paper at these rooms, I produced elaborate tables to show the progressive increase of our trade with the Colonies—that is, the progressive value of the exports of British manufactured goods to the Colonies, whilst those to foreign countries had diminished. This constitutes to my mind one of the most important claims which the Colonies have upon our consideration, and manifests their great value to us. That value I wish to see materially increased by their growth in population by means of extensive emigration from our own shores, thereby relieving the burden which we have at home from the pressure on our home resources by those who, instead of keeping us dependent upon foreign countries for food to support their lives, by going to our own dominions would there grow the food and other things which they can produce themselves for the purpose of supporting existence—existence not only to be supported, but increased immeasurably beyond anything that can take place safely in a country like our own, with an over-abundant population, deficient sanitary arrangements, and often insufficient food supplies. I wish to see emigration promoted in this country, in order that the food now consumed here, which is imported from foreign lands, shall be raised by themselves for their own support. They would thus become dependent upon us, who are customers, for the food supplies they might furnish, for our manufactured goods, clothing, and all the luxuries of life which we can manufacture in great profusion and send out to them. I believe the prosperity of the United Empire is more bound up in this course of procedure than any one thing besides. Touching upon the subject of taxation at

home, I dissent from the view Mr. MacIver takes. The taxation which is levied at home is simply for the purpose of revenue, and for that we tax our own people and foreign producers alike. I look upon the taxes levied upon tea, coffee, cocoa, spirits, and tobacco in this country as a convenient mode of raising the revenue—in point of fact, of extracting from the pockets of the various members of the community a portion of the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the country. Those taxes are entirely and completely paid by the consumers here, and not by the producer abroad. No doubt, in proportion as we are enabled to diminish taxation on any article of common consumption, so do we probably increase the quantity of it which is used here, and so do we promote the interest of those who produce that article, the same whether it be in India or in our Colonies or in foreign countries. But so long as we levy the same taxation on that which is manufactured at home and that which is brought from abroad, the whole of that amount comes out of the pocket of the consumer in the enhanced price he pays for the article. If we were to remit the tax on tea we should give the Indian grower a great advantage over the Chinese; but I doubt whether we should find in the long run that the Indian grower was a greater consumer of our manufactures than the Chinese growers have been or are likely to be, and therefore we should not be receiving any commensurate return. I believe, notwithstanding the despondent views at present entertained from the growth of Free Trade principles being so slow, and the fact that so many nations have agreed upon Protection in opposition to our policy, it is essential to the prosperity of trade throughout the world that Free Trade principles should ultimately prevail. If we, by a system of Protective duties on any manufacture at home, or on any article from our Colonies, foster a particular industry, we are inviting the investment of capital in that which must prove ultimately deceptive; for the time will come when Protective tariffs will have to be swept away. Indeed the advocates of Protection at home suggest it as a means of producing a uniform fiscal system in other countries, one in conformity with our principles of Free Trade. Therefore, I believe that the most short-sighted policy we can advocate with regard to our Colonial producer or home manufacturer is to give them any sort of Protection at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) Coming back to the subject of the Paper which we have had before us, I am sure we must have all experienced the greatest pleasure at hearing it read, and thoroughly approve the sentiments which pervade it. Moreover, we must feel great satisfaction at our Institute pro-

ducing one who could put these ideas and sentiments into such excellent language, and carry us along so well with his arguments ; but I confess a great feeling of disappointment when I come to the concluding passage, and find that after all we had heard of the advantage of a Confederation, our whole subject is summed up in four sentences : " Common defence involves common expense ; common expense and danger confer the common control of foreign affairs from which danger may arise, and of the forces required for defence ; common control must be by common representation ; common representation is Imperial Federation." So that, in point of fact, all that remains for the Confederation to do is to provide some means of uniting for the control of foreign affairs, and in providing the material which the control may render necessary. Now that does seem to me to be rather a lame conclusion to that which we are seeking, and, whilst fully acquiescing in all the sentiments expressed by Mr. Labilliere, I cannot see the possibility of having two Parliaments, or a multiplication of the Parliament existing here ; I cannot see the possibility of an Imperial Prime Minister and a Home Prime Minister. If these last four sentences include all that is meant by Federation, there will be little or nothing for the Imperial Prime Minister or the Imperial Parliament to transact. My own opinion is, that these Colonial representatives will come together without that common interest, without that common knowledge, which is necessary for uniting together in the Government of an Empire composed of many various constituencies differing so much as they do. Having formerly lived in one of the Colonies, I can see clearly that to obtain individual prosperity there requires very close attention indeed to the particular surroundings and business of the Colony in which the individual lives. It is not the position which best serves a man for acquiring those large views and that extensive knowledge of the other portions of the Dominion which fits him to be a governing power for others. His own local interests and local ideas will always prevail ; and I should say this, that if you were to get a representative body sent home from the Colonies to form a Parliament here, or a Government here, you would be sure to have the most divergent sentiments between them, and you would expect very little harmony at all. Then there would be very great difficulty in adjusting the scheme according to the claims of the several Colonies. You would have a constant shifting of those claims, a majority changing into a minority, according to alternations in the population, value, or importance of the respective Colonies. Moreover, it seems to me somewhat an impracticable

scheme. (No, no.) Then with regard to taxation and defence we must remember this, that the question of the defence of the whole Empire is rather involved in the conduct of the local Legislature which may bring about the necessity of defence. We should have the whole body called upon to decide and to provide the means of defence for one portion of the Empire, which would very often have created the necessity for that defence by its own individual conduct. If we are to have divers systems of fiscal charges, education, marriage laws, wills, and so on, we shall have such a diversity in practice as will entirely prevent uniformity of action and bring about a variety of different courses, involving the whole body in the necessity of legislation and expense to such an extent as would, I think, prove almost impracticable to maintain. What seems to me the proper thing to aim at is to cultivate the spirit which pervades this Paper, and that of all the Papers which we have at this Institute—the spirit and desire for union; but with this, the inclination to leave the government of the Empire in the hands of men of power and intellect, and men who have opportunities for acquiring knowledge—men who should be chosen because fortified with the spirit of justice, not the desire to promote the prosperity of one portion of the community or one special Government more than another, but to consider the interests of the whole Empire; also that the colonists should receive a far greater portion of the honour appertaining to public life, with the bestowal of patronage in our Army, Navy, and Civil Services, than they have ever yet received. What is wanted is a recognition of these feelings and sentiments in the governing body at home, rather than the introduction of a new system of Government or a change in the constitution of the governing body. Let us try to imbue our British statesmen with a feeling of the growing importance of the Colonies, the growing necessity for paying deference to their wishes, and more vigorous striving to promote their interest. This work I believe this Institute is doing, in rousing the Government, the Parliament, the Colonial statesmen to the responsibility of their position, and the faithful discharge of their several duties. This, I believe, will go much farther than any paper constitution, or any paper attempts at such a reorganisation as would, I think, be found to break down in a short time. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JAMES RANKIN, M.P. : I think that whatever view there may be on the scheme of Confederation, we are agreed in this room that it is a most desirable thing to be obtained, if possible. I listened with great attention to the remarks of the last speaker, and I think there is a great deal of justice in what he said. I would,

however, congratulate the lecturer upon the conservative and tentative expressions he has delivered on the subject of Confederation. I believe it is by studied means towards the end that the attainment of Confederation will be finally arrived at. I think that at the present time we are not in the position in which we could rush at this question, and I think that this Institute will do a great deal of good if it keeps the matter before the minds of the nation and the Colonies, and ventilates the subject in the greatest possible degree. It is a great subject and will meet with many difficulties, and, like all great objects, will take time in its accomplishment; and therefore we must not expect to be hasty at arriving at any great success in this matter. I would point out some of the difficulties which surround this question. I think the chief one is this, that at the present stage we could never expect the British Parliament to divest itself of the power which it now has, and which it must necessarily divest itself of if a new Federal Parliament was created. The population of this country is about 34,000,000, and the white population of the Colonies is something like 8,000,000; therefore, at present the Mother-country possesses by far the larger portion of the white population, and therefore, as yet, cannot be expected to treat with the Colonies on equal terms. The Imperial Parliament would have to take upon itself the duties of the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office, and also the India Office, as well as the matters connected with defence and tariff. If you divest the present Imperial Parliament of these functions of State, you leave very little behind, except the Home Office and a few others. I am not for one moment speaking against the scheme of Federation, for I think in the future we shall have to come to it; but at present I think it is quite impracticable and hopeless to think that the British Parliament would consent to divest itself of these powers. If the defence of the whole Empire were entrusted to the new Imperial Parliament, it would be only fair that the Imperial Parliament should have the power of making war or peace with foreign nations; therefore the Foreign Affairs would have to be invested in the Imperial Parliament; and the same thing might be said of the Indian and Colonial Affairs. But in time to come, and the time may not be so far distant—perhaps a quarter or half a century—the Colonies will become so important and such great nations by themselves, that they will be able to say, “We must confederate with you on equal terms, or we must become separate nations.” Then I think this question would force itself upon all British as well as on Colonial statesmen. At the same time I think it the duty of this Institute to bring this matter, very forcibly and eloquently as

has been done to-night by our lecturer, before the mass of people in this country and the Colonies. There are several methods by which the gradual process—(laughter)—towards Confederation may be brought about by the action of our statesmen and also by mutual action of Home and Colonial statesmen; that is, with regard to the question of inter-Colonial and Imperial tariff and the question of emigration. (Hear, hear.) I do think that the question of a properly-devised scheme of State-aided emigration to the Colonies is one of the greatest matters that could occupy the minds of statesmen at the present time. We have a large population that cannot in many cases find work; the Colonies have land requiring to be tilled; the only matter we have to deal with is to find a way of placing the population we have here—useless to a great extent, and not only useless, but a burden upon the United Kingdom—in a position where they could earn their own living. The great problem is how to render this surplus population in this country into useful citizens of our Empire in the Colonies, making them at the same time useful to themselves and a most useful addition to the wealth of each Colony and also to this Mother-country. In Canada I believe every person is worth about £1 12s. and in Australia £7 16s. to the Old Country, by taking British exports. By encouraging emigration from this country to our own Colonies, and by endeavouring to make the interests of all British subjects, wherever situated within the boundaries of the British Empire, the same, a great step towards Confederation will be taken; and I feel convinced that if the integrity of the British Empire is to be maintained in the future, some scheme of Confederation will have to be carried out.

Mr. MACFIE: Might I suggest that this subject is of so great importance that the discussion of it should be adjourned? I view with great alarm the position of this question. It is one of the most hopeful that ever statesman could take up; yet our statesmen are obstructing it.

Mr. MILLER: It seems to me that ten minutes is no time at all to discuss this.

Mr. YOUNG: This is an important and practical question, and no one can admit more than I do the necessity of having it thoroughly threshed out; but I beg leave to remind the Fellows that this is the last meeting of the session, and I think it would be desirable, if we could, to close the discussion, imperfect as it may be.

Mr. MACFIE: Very well. Allow me to say that twelve months ago there was a hopeful conference held within the rooms of the Royal Colonial Institute, at which many gentlemen were present.

I believe I was appointed on the committee. I have, however, never been summoned, and I suppose that that committee has never met. Let us be called together; practical views have been stated to-night. The difficulties stated would disappear as soon as we began to view them. I differ from the idea of an Imperial Parliament. Simpler and more effectual is an Imperial Council; to the British Cabinet add for Imperial business representatives from the Colonies to form one great Cabinet or Council—in fact, for directing the affairs of the Colonial, the Indian, the Admiralty, and the War Offices; it could be easily introduced. This need frighten no one. It would not unduly reduce the British Parliament.

Mr. C. PFOUNDERS: I think that as this is an association of British colonists of a generally representative character, meeting together here in England at this time especially, we ought to be most cautious; and although we are afforded a platform upon which we may have a free fight upon Colonial matters, yet we must treat with great delicacy questions touching foreign countries. Having myself seen something of foreign lands and the Colonies, and the several aspects, political and intellectual, to be seen in the United States, as a traveller and a lecturer on artistic and literary topics, I may say that the unfriendly remarks often met with in the public press, hostile to England, and condemning our policy, are not sympathised in at large by the American people. Therefore we ought not to follow in this reprehensible groove and be guilty of recrimination. In so great a subject we ought not to enter upon trivial matters, but treat it on the broader, nobler basis of a grand conception. There are not a few points I should like to have referred to, having had myself to fight the battle of life amongst our countrymen abroad, but at this late hour I must omit further remarks. I am sure the lecturer will himself quite agree with me, and appreciate the unadvisability of remarks such as that of "the Americans availing themselves of the opportunity to sneak out of the Empire." It is most inexpedient, and it is not the fact.

Mr. LABILLIERE: I had better in the first place deal with the point raised by the last speaker. He is quite mistaken as to what I did say. I never said that the United States sneaked out of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, I was supposing what would have happened if the United States had not been forced to break away from the Empire by the unwise policy pursued by Lord North at the close of last century; I said that if that policy had not been adopted, the United States would have continued with this country up to the time of the outbreak of the

great French war, and that they would have scorned to sneak out of the Empire when this country had become involved in war with a great Power ; so that the remarks of that gentleman have been founded upon an entire misapprehension. I do feel considerable difficulty in rising to reply upon the whole debate. When a man has to make a reply, he requires to have something substantial to reply to, and I do submit to this meeting that there has been nothing substantial urged against the policy I have ventured to lay before you. What have we had of a formidable character presented to us? We have had Mr. Miller's anonymous statesman, and whether that mysterious personage is a statesman or not, is a matter of fact upon which we are altogether dependent upon the judgment of Mr. Miller. (Laughter.) Mr. Miller tells us that he is a statesman, and we cannot get further than that ; he will not tell us who he is ; and if we are to judge of his statesmanship from his extraordinary letter which we have heard, I must join issue with Mr. Miller at once upon the fact whether he is a statesman at all. (Renewed laughter.) What does this anonymous statesman raise as an objection to the Confederation of the British Empire? He tells us that we must begin the process by a complete repeal of all the existing constitutions of the Empire, and he rightly says that that would be a revolutionary process. The whole drift of my argument to-night, the whole drift of the argument of everyone who supports the policy of Imperial Federation, is that we must, in establishing such a union, interfere as little as possible with local self-government. (Hear, hear.) We are a people who boast of preserving the principle of local self-government. In fact, we are even told that we carry that principle in all our arrangements to an undue length. We certainly pursue a very different policy to that which exists in France, where the control of local affairs is so completely placed under the direction of the Minister of the Interior ; and one of the last things we should think of in carrying out Imperial Confederation would be to centralise authority in the hands of the Imperial Parliament and Executive. Now, I was very much surprised by the observations that fell from Mr. Stephen Bourne ; he found great objection to the concluding portion of my Paper, because he said if all that is implied in Imperial Confederation is expressed in the six and a half lines in which I endeavoured to sum up the subject, there would be no necessity whatever for the formation of a Federal Union—there would be nothing for the Imperial Parliament and Ministry to do. But Mr. S. Bourne, like the gentleman on my right, Mr. Pfoundes, has misunderstood me. I summed up, not the list of subjects it would be

necessary to place under the control of the Imperial Parliament, but the chain of arguments which lead, from one point to another, up to my conclusion—namely, that common defence involves common expense; common expense and danger confer the right of common control of foreign affairs; common control must be by common representation; common representation is Imperial Confederation. These are the logical stages by which we arrive at Confederation; not the list of questions which would be placed under the control of the Imperial Parliament. I will not at this hour detain you by replying to other points raised by Mr. Bourne and other speakers, especially as most of them are answered by anticipation in the foot-notes to my Paper, which I had not time to read. Before resuming my seat, however, there is one thing which I should like to do; I should like to have the gratification of moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and for this particular reason. It is not usual to pass votes of thanks when our meetings are presided over by our Chairman of Council, the Duke of Manchester, who is doing such good service at the present moment to this cause of Imperial Unity and Confederation by his visit to the Australian Colonies. (Cheers.) But on the present occasion we have a Vice-President who occupies the chair for the first time, and I have felt it to be a most happy circumstance connected with the reading of my Paper this evening, that the chairman should be the representative in this country, the High Commissioner, of the important Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.) Sir Alexander Galt hails from Canada, the importance of which Dominion most conspicuously illustrates the value of Confederation. What Confederation has done for Canada shows what Confederation may do for the rest of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) And here we have Sir Alexander Galt hailing from Canada, who has lived there the greater part of his life, and I happen to have been born and brought up at the other end of the world—Australia—and here we are on the soil of the Old Country, advocating a policy in the highest degree conducive to her welfare, as well as to that of every one of her Colonies—a policy in which they are all interested, and which must add to the greater security of the whole Empire. (Cheers.) I have the greatest satisfaction, therefore, in concluding my remarks by asking the meeting to pass a hearty vote of thanks to our chairman. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I need scarcely say how very unexpected the concluding remarks Mr. Labilliere has made have been to me. At the same time they have been exceedingly gratifying, and it has been still more so to find them so well received by yourselves. It

has been a pleasant duty to me to preside to-night. The subject is one which I, as a colonist, feel the greatest interest in; it is one which is making the greatest progress in the Mother-country, as well as in her various dependencies; but in this Colonial Institute, as well as in the Colonies, the question of Confederation will always have more interest than it would in the United Kingdom, for this simple reason, that an Englishman will remain an Englishman if all the Colonies disappear; but if the Colonies quit the Empire they lose for ever that proud distinction. (Cheers.) Therefore we have the interest—sentimental, if you please, but I believe a very material one—in desiring to see the Empire strengthened and held together. (Renewed cheers.) It would be quite out of the question at this late hour, and after my having been obliged to draw attention to the loss of time, to detain you by making any remarks upon the extremely valuable Paper and suggestions which we have had from Mr. Labilliere. There is no doubt opinions differ with regard to many of these suggestions, but the spirit which runs through the whole is one which I observe has not been questioned to-night. The details we may differ upon, but it is a very important thing to find that in an assembly of Englishmen there should appear not to have been one single dissentient vote when the question is that of maintaining the dignity and honour and claims of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) There is one pleasant duty which remains for me to perform, and I am sure it will meet with universal support, and it is in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Labilliere for his exceedingly able Paper to-night.

The vote was carried unanimously. Mr. LABILLIERE returned thanks, and the meeting then concluded.

CONVERSAZIONE.

THE eighth annual conversazione of the Institute was held at the South Kensington Museum on Thursday evening, June 23, and was attended by upwards of 1,200 persons, representing almost every part of the British Empire.

The guests were received by the following members of Council:—Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Henry Blaine, Esq., A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq., F.R.S.; Sir John Coode, Sir Charles Clifford, H. W. Freeland, Esq., F. P. Labilliere, Esq., Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq., Jacob Montefiore, Esq., John Rae, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.; Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G.; S. W. Silver, Esq., Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; J. Duncan Thomson, Esq., Sir R. R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq., James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.; and Frederick Young, Esq.

The whole of the North and South Courts of the Museum were thrown open on this occasion, the Spanish and Portuguese Collections, which have only recently been on view, forming an especial attraction. The floral decorations added greatly to the appearance of the Museum, which was illuminated throughout with the electric light.

The band of the Grenadier Guards played an admirable selection of music, under the direction of Mr. Dan Godfrey, and the spirited performances of Kalozdy's celebrated Hungarian Band were highly appreciated by the visitors.

Among the distinguished guests were the Duchess of Manchester, Prince Malcolm Khan (the Persian Minister), His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador and suite, Chin Yüan Tsê, Li Ching Meü, and Tso Ping-Lung (members of the Chinese Embassy).

The following is a list of those present:—

Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., and Lady Alcock	Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Allbrook
Miss Abbott	Miss Aldersey
Mr. John L. Adams and lady	Mr. and Mrs. James Alexander
Mr. A. J. Adderley	Mr. John C. Alexander
Mrs. Adderley and Miss Adderley	Mr. James Alison
Mr. and Mrs. A'Deane (New Zealand)	Dr. Vincent Ambler and Mrs. Ambler
Captain A. T. Aglen and lady (Natal)	Mr. E. R. Anderson and lady
Mr. Ahsauddin Ahmad	Mr. James Anderson, Q.C., and Mrs. Anderson

- Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Anderson
 Mr. James F. Anderson and lady
 Mr. W. J. Anderson and lady (Cape Colony)
 Mr. W. M. Anderson
 Mrs. and Miss Anderson
 Mr. A. F. Answick
 Major-Gen. A. E. H. Anson, C.M.G. (Lieut.-Governor of Penang)
 Mrs. and Miss Anson
 Miss Appleton
 Mr. and Mrs. George Arber
 Mrs. and Miss Isabella Arber
 Mrs. and Miss C. Arbuthnot
 Mr. F. W. Armytage and lady (Victoria)
 Mr. George Armytage and lady (Victoria)
 Sir George A. Arney and lady (New Zealand)
 Mr. Claudius Ash and lady
 Mrs. Ashton
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Atkinson (Cape Colony)
 Dr. Atthill
 Mr. W. H. Atthill
 Mr. Henry Atlee and lady
 Mr. Henry Austin (Sydney)
 Mr. P. E. Auvray and lady (Jamaica)
- Mr. George Baden-Powell and lady
 Miss Baines
 Miss Baldwin (New Zealand)
 Sir David W. Barclay, Bart., and Lady Barclay
 Dr. Barker
 Mr. Gordon Barker
 Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
 Mrs. Barkworth
 Mr. Henry Bascom
 Mrs. George Bascom
 Mr. J. H. Batten
 Miss Battersby
 Mrs. Batty
 Mr. J. A. Bayley
 Mr. Samuel Bealey and lady (New Zealand)
 Dr. A. Beattie
 Mr. Morris Beaufort
 Mr. Arthur Beaumont
 Mr. Joseph Beaumont and lady
 The Right Rev. Bishop Beckles and lady
 Mr. G. Skaife-Beeching
 Mr. Marmaduke Belt (South Australia)
 Mr. and Mrs. Mirza Peer Buklish (India)
 Mr. H. C. Beeton and lady (British Columbia)
 Mrs. Bell
 Mr. Alfred W. Bentley
- Captain J. H. H. Berkeley and Mrs. Berkeley (St. Kitts)
 Mr. J. S. Berridge (Ceylon)
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bethel
 Mr. W. Armine Bevan
 Mr. E. E. Blake and lady
 Mr. Henry Blaine
 Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G.
 Lady and Miss Blyth
 Mr. J. G. E. Bolton and lady
 Mr. Henry Bonnefin
 Mr. W. Boulton
 Mr. Charles Boulnois and lady
 Mr. Stephen Bourne and Miss Ethel Bourne
 Mrs. Alfred Bull
 Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Mauritius)
 Lady and Miss Bowen
 Miss A. Bowen
 Mr. H. A. Bowler and lady
 Mr. Alexander Boyle
 Mr. J. B. Braithwaite and Miss Braithwaite
 Dr. and Miss Brace
 Mr. John Bramston and lady
 Mr. George Brand
 Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Bridgen
 Mrs. Harvey Bridgen
 Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Broad
 Mr. Henry Brooks and lady
 Mr. Herbert Brooks and lady
 Miss Brooks
 Mr. and Miss Brown
 Mr. Alexander Brown
 Mrs. H. Brown
 Mr. S. B. Browning and lady (New Zealand)
 Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Bruce
 Mr. and Mrs. W. Duff Bruce
 Mr. J. W. Bryant
 Mr. A. B. Buchanan and Miss C. H. Buchanan (Queensland)
 Miss Buckland
 Mr. C. D. Buckler
 Mrs. and Miss Buckley (Melbourne)
 Miss Budgett
 Mr. M. Bugle and lady (British Guiana)
 Mr. A. P. Bugle
 Colonel Hornby Buller and Mrs. Hornby Buller
 Mr. Clement Bunbury
 Mrs. Herbert Bunbury
 Mr. R. S. Bunch and lady
 Mr. Charles Burdett and Miss Burdett
 Captain Burgess and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Burgess
 Mr. R. B. Burnside
 Miss Burt and Miss Helen Burt
 Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.

- Dowager Lady Canterbury and the
 Hon. Miss Manners-Sutton
 Lady Evelyn Campbell
 Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Caird (Victoria)
 Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Cameron
 Mr. Allan Campbell and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Finlay Campbell
 Mr. James H. and Miss Campbell
 Mr. Robert Campbell
 Miss Annette Campbell
 Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Campbell-John-
 ston
 Mr. John Carfrae and lady (Victoria)
 Mr. E. B. Cargill and lady (New
 Zealand)
 Mr. W. W. Cargill and lady (New
 Zealand)
 The Misses Carr
 Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Carter
 Miss Carter
 Mr. D. Caw
 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Chambers
 Sir George H. Chambers and Miss
 Margaret Chambers
 Mr. Edward and Miss Chapman
 (Sydney)
 Mr. P. L. and Mme. Chastellier
 (Mauritius)
 Mr. and Mrs. N. Chevalier
 Dr. P. Chiappini and Miss Chiappini
 (Cape Colony)
 Miss Esther Chichester
 Mr. Thomas and Miss Chirnside
 Captain and Mrs. Chowne
 Mr. and Mrs. Hyde Clarke
 Mr. Thomas F. Clarke and lady
 (Jamaica)
 Mr. William and Miss Ada Clark
 (British Guiana)
 Mr. David and Miss Clarkson
 Sir Charles and Lady Clifford
 Mr. Clifford and Lady
 Mr. Frank Clifford
 Mr. and Mrs. Cloete
 Mr. Robert Cochrane
 Mrs. James Cochrane
 Miss Cochrane
 Mr. S. Cockburn
 Mr. Herbert Cole
 Miss Cole
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry F. Colthirst and
 Miss Colthirst (Jamaica)
 Mr. J. B. Colthurst and lady
 Sir John Coode and Miss E. L. Coode
 Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Coode
 Miss Coom
 Mr. Charles Conquest
 Mr. and Mrs. N. Cork
 Mr. James Cowie and Miss Cowie
 Miss Harley Cowie
 Mrs. Cox and the Misses Cox
 Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Cottrell
 Mr. James Cowan, M.P., and lady
 Mr. Arthur Cowtan
 Mr. J. Wharton Cox
 Mr. James Coutts Crawford (New
 Zealand)
 Miss Cross
 Colonel W. Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.,
 and Miss Crossman
 Mr. Donald Currie, M.P., C.M.G.,
 and lady
 Miss Currie
 Lieut.-Colonel Craigie - Halkett, of
 Cramond
 Miss Da Costa-Ricci
 Alderman Sir Thomas Dakin
 Miss Dakin, and Miss Alice Dakin
 Mr. H. J. Daniel
 Mr. and Mrs. E. Morton Daniel
 Mr. B. H. Darnell and lady (Cape
 Colony)
 Mr. T. C. Darsie
 Mr. Philip Darnell Davis (Grenada)
 Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Davison (Cape
 Colony)
 Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Davson (British
 Guiana)
 Mr. and Mrs. H. A. de Colyar
 Mr. William Dean
 Major General Dean-Pitt, C.B., and
 Miss Dean-Pitt
 Mr. A. de Cosmos (M.P. British Co-
 lumbia)
 Mr. Edward T. Delmege and lady
 (Ceylon)
 Mr. C. T. Dennys and the Misses
 Dennys
 Mr. Frederick de Pass and lady (Gri-
 qualand West)
 Mr. John de Pass and lady (Griqua-
 land West)
 Miss Ada de Pass
 Miss de Pelichet
 Mr. W. T. Deverell and Mrs. Deverell
 (Victoria)
 Rev. Henry Dew
 Mr. George Dibley and lady
 Mr. Arthur Dick and Miss Dick
 Mr. Alfred G. Dick and Miss M. Dick
 Mr. G. G. Dick (Queensland)
 Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Dicken (Queens-
 land)
 Miss Dickenson
 Miss Dickson
 Miss Dickson
 Mr. Henry Dillon
 Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Docker
 Dr. and Mrs. Russell Dodd
 Mr. Alfred Domett, C.M.G., and lady
 (New Zealand)

- Miss Donnolly
 Mrs. and Miss Dorner
 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Douglass (Cape Colony)
 Miss Douglas
 Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Doulton
 Mr. Kenneth Doulton and Miss Doulton
 Mrs. Dugald Dove
 Miss Dove, Miss E. Dove, and Miss M. Dove
 Mrs. and Miss Dowling (New South Wales)
 Mr. and Mrs. Thurlow Dowling
 Dr. and Mrs. Langdon Down
 Mr. and Mrs. Mark Drury (Queensland)
 Mr. Edward R. Drury (Queensland)
 Sir C. Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. (Victoria)
 Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Du Croz (Victoria)
 Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Duncan
 Mr. and Mrs. William Duncan
 Mr. Charles Dunckley and Miss S. Dunckley
 Mr. G. F. Duncombe and lady
 Mr. Frank M. Dutton and lady (South Australia)
 Mr. Frederick Dutton and lady (South Australia)
 Mrs. Dwelly
 Mrs. and Miss Dyce
- Dr. Eales
 Mr. R. P. Ebdon and lady
 Mrs. and Miss Eddy
 Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I., and lady
 Lieut.-Colonel W. K. Ellis, C.B., Assistant-Adjutant General
 Miss Elliott of Seaham
 Mr. A. C. Elliott and lady (British Columbia)
 Mr. G. H. Elliott
 Mr. and Mrs. J. D. G. Engleheart
 Mr. Henry Engleheart
 Mr. George Errington, M.P., and lady
 Mr. James Errington
 Mr. E. Evison and Miss Evison (South Australia)
 Mr. Exshaw
 Mrs. and Miss Exshaw
 Mr. J. H. Eykyn
- Mr. John A. Fairfax (Sydney)
 Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Fardell
 Mr. A. F. Farmer
 Mr. and Mrs. James Farmer (New Zealand)
 Miss Farmer
 Mrs. Farquharson of Finzean
- Mr. S. H. Farrar and lady (Cape Colony)
 Mr. T. P. Farrar (Cape Colony)
 Mr. Frederick Fearon and lady (Canada)
 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Fell
 Mrs. Fellowes
 Mr. B. A. Ferrard (New Zealand)
 Miss Field
 Mr. H. Figg and Miss Figg
 Mr. J. Cox Fillan
 Mr. C. Finlay
 Mr. J. Finlay Finlayson and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Fitch
 Mr. John H. Fitt and Miss Fitt (Barbadoes)
 Mr. and Mrs. Foster Vesey Fitzgerald
 Miss and Miss H. Foster Vesey Fitzgerald
 Miss and Miss Amy Fleet
 Mr. Francis Fleming (Attorney-General Barbados) and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher
 Mr. and Mrs. Adolphus Focking (Cape Colony)
 Mr. W. Forrest (Queensland)
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Fowler
 Lady Fox-Young and Miss Ethel Fox-Young
 Rev. Dr. Donald Fraser and Miss Fraser
 Mr. and Mrs. George Fraser
 Mr. Charles Fraser and lady
 Mr. H. W. Freeland
 Mr. and Mrs. George French
 The Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Frere
 Miss Catherine Frere
 Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Fryer
 Mrs. H. and Miss Fulton
- Colonel Gardner
 Mrs. Owen George
 Mr. S. M. Gibbs and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. R. W. H. Giddy, Miss Giddy, and Miss Alberta Giddy (Cape Colony)
 Mr. William Gilbert (Cape Colony)
 Mr. T. O'Halloran Giles
 Mr. Ernest Gilchrist
 Mr. James Gilchrist and lady
 Mr. Sidney J. L. Gilchrist
 Mr. W. Gilchrist
 Miss Susan Gilchrist
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gillespie
 Captain Arthur H. Gilmore, R.N.
 Miss Girdwood
 Mr. F. R. Godfrey and Miss Godfrey (Victoria)
 Mr. G. R. Godson and lady
 Mr. A. H. Good and lady

- Mr. Donald Gollan
 Mr. Spencer H. Gollan
 Mr. Archibald Gordon, C.B.
 Mrs. and Miss Gordon
 Major and Mrs. Fletcher Gordon
 Miss McCann Gordon
 Mr. E. H. Gough and Miss Gough
 Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Grahame (New Zealand)
 Miss Grahame and Miss Lizzie Grahame
 Mr. Joseph Graham
 Colonel Thomas H. Grant and lady (Canada)
 Mr. James Gray
 Mr. and Mr. Robert Gray
 The Misses Gray
 Mr. George Gray and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Samuel W. Gray (New South Wales)
 Mr. M. Gray
 Mr. and Mrs. James Greenlees
 Mr. J. H. Greathead and lady (Cape Colony)
 Rev. E. P. Green, M.A., and Miss Green
 Mr. Henry Green
 Mr. Morton Green and lady (Natal)
 Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Greig
 Mr. and Mrs. Featherstone Griffin
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Griffith
 Miss Griffiths
 Mr. A. G. Guillemard
 Dr. R. Marcus Gunn

 Mr. Ely R. and Mrs. Handcock
 Mr. Hackwood
 Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Haggard
 Mr. William Hall
 Mr. Arthur Hall and lady
 Mr. James Baillie Hamilton
 Miss Ada Hamilton
 Mr. Thomas Hamilton and lady (Queensland)
 Captain Hammond
 Mr. Norfolk Harcourt
 Mrs. Robert and Miss Harcourt
 Mr. and Mrs. T. Harwood
 Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Harrington
 Mr. Sidney B. Harsant and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Farmjee Harmusgee
 Mr. — Farmjee Harmusgee
 Mr. — Farmjee Harmusgee
 Mr. and Mrs. Wolf Harris
 Mr. Alfred and Miss Harrison
 Miss Harrison
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hay (New South Wales)
 Mrs. William Hay
 Mrs. Hazel
 Mr. A. W. L. Hemming and lady

 Mr. and Mrs. John Henderson
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Henderson
 Mr. and Mrs. Snowden Henry
 Rev. A. Styleman-Herring and lady
 Miss Edith Higham
 Mr. Lawrence Hindson
 Mrs. William Hindson
 Mr. John S. Hill
 Mr. Gustave Hirsch
 Mrs. Carey Hobson
 Mr. and Mrs. Cashel Hoey
 Mr. and Mrs. Haile
 Mr. James Hora and lady
 Mr. G. Hudson
 Lady Hughes
 Mr. John and Miss Hughes
 Mr. Alexander Hume
 Mr. Washington Hume, C.E.

 Mr. George Impey (Cape Colony)
 Mrs. and Miss Russell Ingram
 Mr. T. W. Irvine and lady (Cape Colony)
 Miss Irvine

 Dr. Andrew Jackson and lady (Cape Colony)
 Mr. and Mrs. James Jackson
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry James
 Dr. Jamieson (Cape Colony)
 Mr. Hugh Jamieson
 Mr. Wm. Job
 Mr. S. Johnson
 Major-General W. W. Johnston
 Mr. Thomas G. Johnston and lady (New Zealand)
 Mr. Maurice Joly
 Captain Jopp and lady

 Don Aloysius Josè Kane, Columbian Consul
 Rev. H. P. and Mrs. Kane
 Mr. and Mrs. William Kaye (Victoria)
 Mr. D. C. and Miss Kennedy (Victoria)
 Miss M. and Miss A. Kennedy
 Mr. R. L. Ker
 Mrs., Miss, and Miss Florence Khoustamm
 Rev. J. T. D. Kidd
 Mrs. and Miss Kidd
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kimber
 Mr. A. L. King and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Kingston
 Miss Kingston
 Mr. Alfred Kingston
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kirkcaldie
 Mr. A. H. Knight and lady
 Mr. H. Knyvett

- Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Labilliere
 Dr. P. Sinclair Laing and lady
 Sir Wm. Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G.
 Mr. and Mrs. John C. Lanyon
 Miss Langdon
 Mr. John Lascelles and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lawrance
 (Barbados)
 Mr. A. M. Lawrence and lady
 Miss Lawrence
 Miss Lempriere
 Miss Little
 Lieut. - Colonel the Hon. E. G. P.
 Littleton, C.M.G., and Mrs.
 Littleton
 Hon. Wm. F. Littleton, C.M.G.
 Mr. Claude H. and Miss Long
 Sir James R. Longden, K.C.M.G.,
 Governor of Ceylon, and Lady
 Longden
 Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Lord (New
 South Wales)
 Mr. John Lord (New South Wales)
 Mr. and Mrs. J. Lee Lord (New
 South Wales)
 Mr. Louisson
 Mr. W. Anderson Low and lady (New
 Zealand)
 Miss Lyons
- Mr. Alexander McArthur, M.P., and
 the Lady Mayoress
 Rev. D. Lancaster McAnally and
 Mrs. McAnally
 Mrs. McCrea
 Lady McClure
 Rev. H. M. McDermott
 Mr. M. D. McEacharn (Queensland)
 Miss McEnany
 Mr. Alexander Macfarlane and lady
 Mr. McFarland and lady
 Mr. R. A. MacFie and lady
 Mr. Andrew McIlwraith and lady
 (Queensland)
 Mr. David MacIver, M.P., and Mr.
 MacIver
 Mr. A. Mackenzie Mackay and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie
 Mr. R. M. McKerrell and lady
 Miss McCreath
 Miss McKewan
 Miss Bella McKutcheon
 Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.
 Mr. Sinclair MacLeay
 Miss Macnigh
 Mr. and Mrs. J. A. MacPherson
 Mrs. and Miss Mahoney
 Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Malcolm
 Mr. Frank R. and Miss Malleson
 The Setna E. Manackji and lady
- Mr. and Mrs. Manley
 Mr. W. Mann (New Zealand)
 Mr. W. L. Marchant and lady
 Miss Marchant
 Mr. Marcus
 Miss Alice Marquis
 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Marriott
 Mr. John Marshall and lady
 Mr. J. Martin (South Australia)
 Mr. Massaroon
 Mrs. and Miss Massaroon
 Miss Mason
 Mr. W. H. Maturin, C.B.
 Mrs. and the Misses Maturin
 Captain Broke Meeres
 Mr. A. H. Menzies
 Mr. F. L. S. and Miss Mereweather
 Mr. George and Miss Miles
 Mr. John Miller and lady
 Mr. William Miller and lady
 Miss J. G. Miller
 Captain Charles Mills, C.M.G.
 Miss Louisa Mills
 Mr. and Mrs. Monkhouse
 Mr. Gisborne Molineux and Miss
 Molineux
 Miss and Miss E. C. E. A. Montagu
 Mr. Charles Montefiore
 Mr. Horatio Montefiore
 Mr. Jacob Montefiore
 Mr. Leslie J. Montefiore
 Mrs. and Miss Montefiore
 Mr. and Mrs. Sydney B. Montefiore
 Mr. Hugh Edmonstone-Montgomerie
 and Miss Edmonstone-Montgomerie
 Mr. Wm. Edmonstone-Montgomerie
 Miss Constance E. Edmonstone-
 Montgomerie
 Mr. and Mrs. G. P. Moodie
 Mr. W. F. Moore and lady
 Mrs. Moore
 Miss Moorhouse (Melbourne)
 Mr. Thomas Morgan
 The Misses Morgan
 Mr. A. H. Morkel and Lady (Cape
 Colony)
 Mr. William and Miss Morris
 Mr. A. F. Morrison
 Mr. Henry de Mosenenthal and lady
 (Cape Colony)
 Mr. and Mrs. Harry Mosenenthal
 Mr. Joseph Mosenenthal.
 Mr. and Mrs. Moses (Sydney, N.S.W.)
 Mr. Hugh Muir and Miss Muir
 Miss Janet and Miss Mary Muir
 Miss Muirhead
 Mr. and Mrs. James Murray
 Mr. J. H. Murray
 Mr. Rigby Murray
 Mrs. and Miss Rigby Murray

- Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Murray (Cape Colony)
Lady Murray
- Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Nairn (New Zealand)
Mr. Henry Nathan and lady
Mr. Frederick Nelson and lady
Mr. Nicholas Nelson
Miss Ness
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Nicholson
Mr. Paul H. Nihill
Mrs. and Miss Nihill (Melbourne)
Mrs. and Miss Fanny North
Miss Nott
Mr. and Mrs. L. W. Novelli
Dr. Edward and Miss Nundy (Gold Coast)
- Mrs. W. L. O'Halloran
Mr. J. S. O'Halloran
Mr. and Mrs. James L. Ohlson
Mr. James Orr
Mrs. Harrington Onslow
Mr. Orridge
Miss and Miss Annie Orridge
Mr. Hamilton Osborne
Mrs. Osborne
Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.
Mr. H. W. Oxley
- Miss Pakeman
Mr. and Mr. Palmer
Mrs. Palmer
Mr. Charles Parbury and lady.
Captain Wm. Parfitt and lady
Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Cunningham Park (Jamaica)
Mr. George B. Parker (New Zealand)
Mr. Herbert Parkin and lady (Cape Colony)
Mr. A. W. and Miss Paterson
Mr. J. and Miss Paterson
Mr. William Hockin Paterson
Mr. Myles Patterson and lady (Victoria)
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Mr. F. W. Payne (Victoria)
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THIRTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Thirteenth Annual General Meeting of the Institute was held at the Rooms, No. 15, Strand, on Thursday, 30th June, 1881, at two o'clock p.m.

Owing to the absence from England of His Grace the Duke of Manchester, the Chairman of Council, the chair was taken by Sir HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Member of Council. Amongst those present were the following :—

Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart. ; Colonel Sir Andrew Clarke, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Colonel Sir Herbert Sandford, R.A.; Sir John Coode, Colonel the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton, C.M.G.; Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Messrs. S. W. Silver, Jacob Montefiore, F. P. Labilliere, Henry Blaine, Claude H. Long, Frank M. Dutton, Hon. John Savers, Messrs. William Wilson, Robert Webster, Colonel T. Hunter Grant, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Captain Bedford Pim, R.N.; Messrs. C. Pfoundes, H. E. Montgomerie, H. B. T. Strangways, W. W. Cargill, J. D. Wood, W. Agnew Pope, James R. Anderson, John H. Fitt, H. J. Jourdain, J. V. Irwin, Frederick Dutton, Dr. Rae, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.).

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the notice convening the meeting, which had appeared in two of the daily papers.

The CHAIRMAN then nominated Sir John Coode and Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Scrutineers of the ballot for the election of Members of the Council, according to Rule 62.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, which were confirmed, and was then called upon by the CHAIRMAN to read the Annual Report, which had been previously circulated among the Fellows.

ANNUAL REPORT.

In presenting their Thirteenth Annual Report to the Fellows, the Council have the satisfaction of announcing that a review of the past twelve months exhibits a more rapid development than has been achieved during any similar period, and holds out the most encouraging prospects of even greater progress in the future. The Council receive abundant evidence that the usefulness of the Institute in supplying a great national want is becoming more and more thoroughly recognised in the various portions of the Empire.

A gratifying increase in the number of Fellows is apparent, the total having now reached 1,376. During the past year 87 Resident

and 217 Non-Resident Fellows, making together 304, were elected; as compared with 77 Resident and 149 Non-Resident Fellows, making together 226 in 1879-80. It is earnestly hoped that every endeavour will be made to secure a still larger influx of new Fellows, so that the corresponding accession of revenue may place the finances on such a footing as may justify the Council in recommending removal to more commodious and suitable premises. A further sum of £900 has been carried to Capital Account in respect of entrance fees and life subscriptions, in conformity with the intention mentioned in the last Annual Report, making a total of £3,000 thus invested.

Since the date of the last Report 32 Fellows have been removed by death, including Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute; Major-General Sir George Pomeroy-Colley, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G.; and Mr. Archibald Hamilton.

In consequence of the increase of the business of the Institute, the Council have felt it necessary to appoint a paid Librarian and Assistant-Secretary, with a view to relieving the Honorary Secretary of a portion of those onerous duties which he has so long and so ably discharged. Mr. J. S. O'Halloran (for many years in the Civil Service of South Australia) has been chosen for this position. Mr. Frederick Young will continue to act as Honorary Secretary.

In appreciation of the valuable services he has for so many years rendered gratuitously to the Institute in assisting Mr. Young, a special vote of thanks to Mr. Francis P. Labilliere, a Member of the Council, has been adopted by the Council, which they feel sure will receive the cordial approval of the Fellows.

The Ordinary General Meetings during the Session have been very fully attended, and the discussions well sustained. Various questions of great national interest have been treated in the Papers read and Addresses delivered, as will be seen by the following list:—

1. The Leeward Islands; their Past and Present Condition. By the Hon. T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G.
2. The Statistics of the Indian Empire. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.
3. The Future of the Dominion of Canada. By Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G., High Commissioner of Canada.
4. The Union of the Various Portions of British South Africa. By the Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
5. Imperial and Colonial Partnership in Emigration. By W. M. Torrens, Esq., M.P.

6. Queensland: Her History, Resources, and Future Prospects. By Thomas Archer, Esq.

7. The Principles which ought to regulate the Determination of the Political and Municipal Boundaries and Divisions of the Colonies. By Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L.

8. The Political Organisation of the Empire. By Francis P. Labilliere, Esq.

Valuable contributions from various sources continue to be made to the Library, which has also been increased by purchases from time to time. A revised Catalogue, embodying the most recent additions, has been compiled, and will shortly be issued.

The Annual Conversazione took place at the South Kensington Museum on Thursday, the 23rd June, and was attended by 1,205 persons.

The Council have conveyed to the Mayor of London, Ontario, an expression of their deep regret at the terrible loss of life resulting from the disaster to the steamer *Victoria*, and their sympathy with the friends of the victims.

The visit of the Sons of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the President of the Institute, to the West Indian, South African, and Australasian Colonies will, in the opinion of the Council, give the Royal Princes a knowledge of the importance of the Colonial Possessions of England which cannot fail to increase the desire to maintain, unimpaired, the integrity of this great Empire.

The hearty welcome which has been accorded to their noble Chairman, the Duke of Manchester, K.P., during his extensive tour in Australia and New Zealand, is a source of much satisfaction to the Council; and they feel persuaded that his visit will tend materially to further the objects of the Institute, with which His Grace has so long been connected, and of which he is a most warm and zealous supporter.

The Council have seen with satisfaction that public attention in this country is now being generally directed to the value of the Colonies as customers for British manufactures; and the Council will gladly avail themselves of any opportunities that may occur of promoting the development of this important national object.

In conclusion, the Council assure the Fellows that their constant efforts will be directed to cultivate such sentiments as will tend to bind together the people of the British Empire in one common tie of sympathy and good-will.

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Hon. Sec.

June, 1881.

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 Barbados Globe.
 Barbados Herald.
 Barbados West Indian.
 Beaufort Courier.
 British Columbia Weekly British Colonist.
 British Mercantile Gazette.
 British Trade Journal.
 Cape Times.
 Colonial Register.
 Colonies and India.
 Darling Downs Gazette.
 Demerara Argosy.
 Demerara Colonist.
 Demerara Royal Gazette.
 Edinburgh Courant.
 Fiji Times.
 Fort Beaufort Advocate.
 Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State.
 Grahamstown Eastern Star.
 Gall's News-Letter, Jamaica.
 Grenada St. George's Chronicle.
 Hobart Town Mercury.
 Home and Colonial Mail.
 Indian Agriculturist.

Hawara Mercury, N.S.W.	Port Adelaide News.
Jamaica Budget.	Port Denison Times.
Jamaica Colonial Standard.	Samoa Times.
Jamaica Gleaner.	Society.
Kapunda Herald.	Strathalbyn Southern Argus.
Malta Times.	Sydney Mail.
Mauritius Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette.	Sydney Morning Herald.
Montreal Daily Witness.	Transvaal Argus.
Montreal Gazette.	Trinidad Chronicle.
Nassau Times.	Voice, St. Lucia.
Natal Mercury.	West Australiar.
Natal Witness.	West Anustralian, Perth Enquirer.
Newfoundland North Star.	Yass Courier.
	&c., &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN : In rising to move that the Report of the Council as read by the Hon. Secretary be received, I feel that it is quite unnecessary on my part to make anything like a speech in favour of the motion. The Report itself is quite explanatory, I think, upon all the subjects on which it touches. I could only go over the same ground; and although the Council would be very happy to hear any observations on the general subject, it does not appear to me that there is any debateable ground touched upon in the Report. On the contrary, that it is of a generally satisfactory tenour you will all, I imagine, agree with me; it shows in an unmistakable manner, that this Institute is continuing to fulfil, even in a greater measure than ever known before, the objects for which it was established, and for its success in this respect you will all feel with me that the Institute is much indebted to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Frederick Young—(hear, hear)—as also to M. Labilliere, whose name is honourably mentioned in the Report—(hear, hear)—and who has so ably assisted Mr. Young, for the care and attention they have given to the affairs of the Institute. I move that the Report as read be received.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : I would ask before the Report is adopted that we have the Balance-sheet read.

The CHAIRMAN : Unfortunately the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Sargeant, whom we expected to have the pleasure of seeing, has not yet arrived, and I think if we did bring it forward now, it would involve a loss of time; but, at the same time, I am in the hands of the meeting on the subject.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : Mr. Sargeant has just sent the Balance-sheet and a letter.

The CHAIRMAN : Mr. Young will read the Hon. Treasurer's letter.

Mr. YOUNG read the letter, as follows :—

“Downing-street, S.W.,
“ 30th June, 1881.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I hoped to be able to attend the General Meeting to-day, but unfortunately am too indisposed to encounter the atmosphere of a crowded meeting. I enclose various financial statements, on which I wished to have offered some comments.

“ Yours very truly,

“ F. Young, Esq.”

“ W. C. SARGEAUNT.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : May I suggest that the Balance-sheet ought to be sent out with the printed Report. The Balance-sheet is brought down to either the 11th or 15th of this month, and therefore there was ample time to have had the Balance-sheet printed ; and now that there is a paid Assistant Secretary, the excuse for things being done in the old style no longer exists.

Mr. YOUNG : We have an Hon. Treasurer of distinguished position and standing, and we cannot do things exactly in the way that my friend suggests, as long as we have the privilege and benefit of Mr. Sargeaunt's undertaking the position of Treasurer, without consulting him. It is not only the machinery here, but his convenience also, which we have to study.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : It does not matter where the action of the machinery takes place, but I am quite confident that a slight reminder would have got the Balance-sheet at once from Mr. Sargeaunt.

Mr. YOUNG then read the Statement of Account (*see page 422*).

The CHAIRMAN : I ask the meeting to consider the adoption of the Financial Statement as included in the Report read by the Hon. Secretary, so that there is only one motion before the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Captain BEDFORD PIM, R.N. : I shall be happy to second the adoption of the Report. I agree with you, sir, that the Report is of a most satisfactory nature ; but it seems to me that the last clause is the most important one—“ In conclusion, the Council assure the Fellows that their constant efforts will be directed to cultivate such sentiments as will tend to bind together the people of the British Empire in one common tie of sympathy and good-will.” Now, I am sure there is nobody in this room but must feel strongly that the unity of the Empire is the *raison d'être* of this society. Immediately after the last general meeting we had a small committee upstairs on this very subject, and I moved the resolution I now hold in my hand, which was adopted unanimously, but not a single step has since been taken ; and my object now is to drive a bayonet into the

ribs of somebody, and make them move in this important matter. (Laughter.) The resolution I proposed was this:—

“That this meeting views with great concern the indefinite relations at present existing between the United Kingdom and her Colonies on many important points, and is of opinion that a Committee should be formed, with a view to consider the best means of bringing about improved relations between them.”

Now, I suppose there is not a gentleman in this room but will feel the importance of the resolution I have just read; and that if it were possible we should have a committee without any further loss of time. A whole year has elapsed, and no further step has yet been taken, although I may fairly say that the question involved, that of the Federation of the Empire, has been moving with much more rapid strides than many people in this country have any idea of—(hear, hear)—I mean indirectly, through the injurious working of English free trade. Take, for example, the fiscal relations between this country and her Colonies; the Colonies have shown a most decided and, I venture to think, sound judgment in putting their foot down square upon protection to native industry, while the Mother-country has been doing its best to injure itself and its offspring by sticking to that most miserable three-legged cripple, English free trade. (Hear, hear.) I can tell the meeting from personal experience that the working-men of this country are now turning round with contempt on the Cobden Club theories, and are moving steadily in the direction of protection to native industry; and I firmly believe we can bring about the unity of our Colonial Empire much more readily by resorting to protection ourselves, and then reciprocating by mutual consent, than by any other means. I was anxious to say a few words on this vital question, but I have not said them in the smallest degree as against this Report. As usual, for the last thirteen years, the Report has been most satisfactory. Anyone who takes an interest in the Institute must be gratified at the state it is in, and the progress it is making. I entirely approve the Report; I am only anxious that the most important of all considerations I think in this country, viz., the unity of the Empire, should be brought about by this useful Institute without further loss of time. I hope the Council will really try to follow with energy and determination the sentiment expressed in the last clause of their Report, and carry this out to the utmost of their ability. I should like Mr. Young to tell us why it is that the committee alluded to has never since been called together, and why no steps have been taken upon this resolution, adopted unanimously at the meeting last year? I beg to second the motion that the Report and the Balance-sheet be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my duty, in accordance with the rules, to announce that the result of the ballot is as follows:—

PRESIDENT.

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, K.G., G.C.M.G., &c.

CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL.

His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

H.R.H. the Prince Christian, K.G.	The Rt. Hon. Earl Granville, K.G.
His Grace the Duke of Argyle, K.T.	The Rt. Hon. Viscount Bury, K.C.M.G.
His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, G.C.S.I.	The Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranbrook, G.C.S.I.
His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.	The Rt. Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G.
His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.	The Rt. Hon. Lord Carlingford.
The Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G.	The Rt. Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, M.P.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.	The Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	The Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., G.C.B., M.P.
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, K.P.	Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
	Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	Gisborne Molineux, Esq.
Henry Blaine, Esq.	Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq., F.R.S.	John Rae, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.
Sir Charles Clifford.	Alexander Rivington, Esq.
Sir John Coode.	S. W. Silver, Esq.
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H. W. Freeland, Esq.	H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.
Arthur Hodgson, Esq., C.M.G.	J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.
H. J. Jourdain, Esq.	Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.
F. P. Labilliere, Esq.	William Walker, Esq.
Neville Lubbock, Esq.	J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.
Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.	James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.

TRUSTEES.

The Lord Kinnaird.	Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G.
	James Scaright, Esq.

HON. TREASURER.

W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G.

HON. SECRETARY.

Frederick Young, Esq.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I have been challenged by Captain Bedford Pim to render an explanation, and I shall be glad to do so, with regard to a certain resolution which he has read, and which might appear to the Fellows as if it emanated in some degree from the Institute. He is not quite correct in the inference he has drawn, as the Institute is debarred by its rules from taking up any question which might possibly involve home party-politics. It is true that in the course of last summer I myself placed at the

disposal of a certain number of the Fellows of the Institute a room for discussing some such question as he has alluded to, but not as one which was directly connected with the Institute. They happened to be Fellows, and discussed the subject as they pleased, and adopted their own resolutions; but as it had nothing to do with the Institute, no action was taken, and cannot be taken by the Council in reference to it. Indeed, the Council cannot take up a question of that kind in the way suggested, for it would be *ultra vires* to do so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WEBSTER: I consider the question of the Federation of the Empire to be a much broader question than that of the fiscal policy of the Empire, and of the question whether a return to differential duties is advisable or not; there are numerous other points to be considered in relation to this subject, such as, for instance, defence, and assistance to emigration. Therefore I think this important question must be reviewed in a far broader spirit than a previous speaker indicated.

Major-General LOWRY, C.B.: I am entirely with the last speaker in thinking nothing could be more satisfactory than the whole tenour of the Report now before us, and, with him, I am satisfied the Institute is, for the present at all events, best working out its excellent objects by running on the lines on which it has hitherto travelled, and not allowing itself to diverge much from them. It seems to me no association could have been more happy than this our Royal Colonial Institute, in the course of the last year in the speakers who addressed us, in the papers they gave us, and in the subjects on which they treated. They embraced the whole field of India, the Colonies, and the Mother Land, and they treated them in a spirit which must tend powerfully to the great end we have in view, viz., to knit all more and more closely together in a common bond of united Empire and united action. (Cheers).

Mr. PFOUNDERS, F.R.G.S., &c.: I beg to ask that it be suggested to the Council to appoint a committee to carry out the motto of our Institute, that is to say, a "United Empire." As one who has lived twenty-five years in the Colonies and the East, busily employed in the humbler work of life, I can say from personal knowledge that there is a strong feeling of sympathy amongst our countrymen in far-off lands with the Old Country, and when I heard of this Institute and joined it, I looked upon it as an institution that would be the most active in promoting the interests of the Colonies and the Empire, and I think that the development of the Institute leaves it open to us as a duty to use our best energies to develop the prosperity and unity of the Empire, more especially

under the deplorable circumstances that are passing around us at this present moment. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I think if Mr. Young would say that the Council will do nothing in the matter it would be strictly accurate, but as to the power of the Council to take up questions such as that raised by Captain Bedford Pim—I know the opinion I hold is not that which is held by some Fellows of the Institute—but I hold that that is strictly within the proper province of this Institute. Anything that may tend to further the interests of this country (England) combined with her possessions abroad is within the object of this Institute. I have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Young's views. His views are that you should never do anything or say anything that can give offence to anyone, especially a "big" one. I hold that the object of this Institute is that of promoting all such matters as may tend to benefit this country and the Colonies, and if the views which are advocated by this Institute happen to be prejudicial to the interests of any one political party in this country, I do not care one straw about that. If our views are in conflict with them or any injury to them, that is their look-out and not mine. There is one point I should like to bring before this meeting: it is not directly connected with the Report, but it is one which I cannot bring before the Fellows on any other occasion, and it is one on which the Fellows will perhaps either now or hereafter privately communicate their views to me on the question, which is a social one. I am perhaps one of those unhappy Fellows who do not derive any pleasure from the conversazione. (Laughter.) A bachelor Fellow suggested to me that instead of there being a conversazione given there should be a good ball instead. Now almost all the Council, who are married, do not hold that view, and there are a great many Fellows in the Institute who might take a more extended view of the question, but some of the Fellows say they would not like to do away with the conversazione, but would like to have a ball as well, and I have no objection to that. I believe that if there were a good Colonial ball got up in this country, although there may be a little hitch at first, yet it would eventually be the great social gathering of the year. (Hear, hear.) At the present time there is no cosmopolitan ball held in London; they all circulate in particular cliques, and a great deal might be done by the Institute to get up an entertainment and ball that would be extremely popular. (Hear.) I understood that in reference to the first paragraph on the second page of the Report there will be submitted to the meeting a special resolution?

The CHAIRMAN : Yes.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : Then I will not occupy more time.

The CHAIRMAN : If no other gentleman wishes to speak I will put the motion to the meeting that the Report read by the Hon. Secretary and the statement of expenditure and revenue be received by the meeting.

The motion was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE : I am glad to confirm what has just been stated, that it was not the intention to pass over in silence the particular paragraph in the Report which referred to Mr. Labilliere—(hear, hear)—which I noticed with very great pleasure. At the time the Institute lost the valuable services of Dr. Eddy, we were somewhat at a loss to know how to replace him ; but I think you will agree that, great as the loss seemed to be at the time, his place has been fully supplied since. Those who were interested in the management of the Institute at the time felt we could not call upon Mr. Young as his successor to devote so much time possibly as Dr. Eddy had done ; but the negotiations conducted by myself, with the sanction of the then President, resulted in this, that while Mr. Young kindly consented to assume the hon. secretaryship, Mr. Labilliere, as a member of the Council, agreed to give him his cordial assistance in that office. The anticipation then formed, that the business of the Institute would by that arrangement be fully, faithfully, and successfully carried out, has been amply fulfilled. (Hear, hear.) I have much pleasure in moving this resolution :—
“ That the cordial thanks of the Fellows be and are hereby given to Mr. F. P. Labilliere for the valuable services which he has for so many years gratuitously rendered to this Institute, and the attention and zeal he has displayed in promoting its welfare and aiding its growth.”

Mr. PFOUNDEN : I have great pleasure in seconding that.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : As a member of the Council who has taken a considerable amount of trouble in considering how the business of this Institute has been conducted, I can entirely confirm every word of the mover of the resolution. Mr. Labilliere has not been placed before the Fellows at any time as having done the work ; the credit of the work has gone to the Hon. Secretary ; but I am speaking within my own personal knowledge when I say that more than one-half of the Secretary's work of this Institute has been done by Mr. Labilliere. The whole of the accounts connected with cash in this building have been kept by Mr. Labilliere, and any arrangements made, and a great deal of the writing done, has been done by him ; and further than that, the Annual Volume of Proceedings

issued to the Fellows has been entirely revised, word for word, letter by letter, indexed by him, and all the statistical information attached to it has been prepared by him also. (Cheers.) I believe every word uttered by the mover of the resolution is entirely justified, and that any thanks that this annual meeting can give to Mr. Labilliere for his services will be short of his deserts. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution, adding that he was quite sure it would be passed unanimously, and that it would become soon his pleasing duty to have it engrossed and presented to Mr. Labilliere.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD: Perhaps it will be better to have this resolution carried out, and I have pleasure therefore in moving that this resolution of thanks to Mr. Labilliere be engrossed, and signed by the chairman of this meeting, and presented to Mr. Labilliere in the name of the Royal Colonial Institute.

Mr. STRANGWAYS seconded the resolution, and it was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. LABILLIERE (who on rising was received with a hearty cheer) said: Sir Henry Barkly and brother Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute, I rise with feelings of gratitude for the extremely kind manner in which the mover, seconder, and supporter of this vote of thanks have spoken, and I have to thank you also for the way in which you have been pleased to recognise what I have been able to do on behalf of the Royal Colonial Institute. I can assure you that the labour, so far as it has been labour, has been a labour of love. (Hear, hear.) I have from the very first believed in this Institute, and, above all, in the purposes for which it has been called into existence—purposes which have caused it to become so eminently successful. I was not one of the original members of this Institute when it was founded, for the very good reason that I did not happen at the time to be in England. When I came back I heard of its formation from a very excellent colonist and a very old friend of mine, the late Dr. Learmonth, who told me that the Colonial Institute had been formed; and he said to me, "Now, this is a thing you ought to belong to," whereupon he immediately proposed me as a Fellow, and I was elected, I believe, at the first meeting at which Fellows were elected, and my election was announced at the very first meeting at which a paper was read before the Society. Those of us who remember the Institute in its early days recollect the small meetings which used to take place, and how the first year or two it was in a state of very feeble existence. In fact, some of the members thought it was going to

fall to the ground, and I remember one of them saying, "I think I shall retire; I don't think it will ever come to anything." I said to him, "Let us all stick to the Institute; if all the members who at present belong to it will stick to it, it will come to something, and supply a very great want; but if it becomes extinguished, it will be much more difficult to get up anything of the kind again." We, however, kept together, and the Institute was pulled through. I believe the reason why it was pulled through was because it adopted a great principle. In its first days people did not know what line it was going to take, whether it was to be a sort of club or a dilettante social institution. But the moment it took up the great principle of which we have heard much to-day, because it is so near the hearts of many of its members—I mean the principle of maintaining the unity of the Empire—from that moment, when it boldly nailed the colours of United Empire to its mast, it went forward—(cheers)—and it will go forward, and that is what was required. If any society is going to do anything great, there must be some great principle at its foundation, and this is the principle which has made the Institute; and, I believe, the Institute may be instrumental in furthering this great object, the unity and confederation of the Empire. (Cheers.) Most thoroughly believing in the Institute, most thoroughly believing in the great principle it has adopted, I shall always look back, even if I were to live to be a hundred years old, with the greatest pleasure to whatever little part I have been able to take in the affairs of the Institute from its earliest days, and I shall always remember the kindness of its Fellows in recognising whatever I have been able to do. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. FREDERICK DUTTON: Sir Henry Barkly and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving the next resolution which has been entrusted to my care, namely:—

"That the thanks of the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute be given to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, and to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Sargeant, for their services during the past year."

I am sure that is a motion which will be received with great favour from all present. We find ourselves, gentlemen at the present day, members of a Society which we may say, without any great measure of self-praise, is exercising, and will continue, I hope, to exercise, an important influence on all Colonial questions. We find ourselves financially in a most prosperous condition, as the accounts and list of investments just read by our esteemed Honorary Secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, sufficiently testify; we find ourselves also in a highly satisfactory condition so far as relates to

the number of resident and non-resident members of the Institute, and it is also gratifying to notice that we count amongst our Fellows not only many gentlemen who have obtained high position in the different Colonies, but also many noblemen and gentlemen of the United Kingdom, who, by joining our ranks, testify to the great interest which they take in the objects and action of the Royal Colonial Institute. But although we find ourselves in this satisfactory position, we know that these great results do not come by themselves. Whatever intrinsic elements of success this Institute may have possessed in itself upon its inauguration, it must be recognised that it depended in a large measure upon those gentlemen who so kindly undertook the management of the details how far these elements of success should become established facts, and no one can doubt that it is owing largely to the abilities and energy of Mr. Young and Mr. Sargeant that this latter result has been attained; and therefore I think the hearty thanks of this Society may well be given to them. Before I sit down I would like to mention two subjects which I think are of some importance, and to which I venture to think it is desirable that the attention of those directing our affairs should be given. First of all, that this Society should never be considered or worked as in any sense a social one. We are a Society of a political, or perhaps to speak more accurately of an Imperial nature, and our object must be at all times to comprise on our roll as many members as we can; the more Fellows we have the more influence we shall have, for nothing hardly promotes influence so much as wealth, and the larger the Royal Colonial Institute becomes in point of numbers the greater will be the means at its command. The other subject which I wish to mention—and the most important—and one to which I believe I am correct in saying that the Honorary Secretary has already given considerable attention—is that we should direct all our efforts towards being able to erect and occupy a more substantial building. (Hear, hear.) Considering the important and influential position which this Institute now occupies, the building in which we are at present located is not what it ought to be. (Hear, hear.) I think it would be satisfactory to the Fellows to know that the attention of the Honorary Officers of the Institute has been, and will continue to be, directed towards this object, and that we should endeavour as soon as we can to arrange for the erection and occupation of a proper and more suitable building. It would, I think, have the effect of increasing that already large influence which we now enjoy, and this subject is in my opinion one which should never be lost sight of. I have much pleasure in moving, “That a vote of thanks be

given to the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer for their services during the past year." (Cheers.)

Colonel T. H. GRANT: I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the privilege may be accorded me of seconding this resolution. I need hardly say I endorse most cheerfully every word which has fallen from the lips of the last speaker. I have spent the past five or six winters in England, and during that time I have attended many meetings of this excellent Institute, and have come into frequent intercourse with the able and indefatigable Hon. Secretary of the Society, Mr. Young. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I am in a position to bear testimony to the very great ability, and sound judgment, the uniform tact and urbanity with which he has discharged the duties devolving upon him. (Hear, hear.) We are all aware that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the President, His Grace the Duke of Manchester, the Chairman, as well as the members of the Council and officers, have manifested a deep interest in the affairs of this Society—so deep and warm that its results are now felt in the remotest corners of the earth, and its influence extended in every direction. But if these gentlemen have displayed so much zeal in promoting its interests, we must admit that without such an active and discerning Secretary as we have, that work could not have been so successfully performed—a work that, in its aims and ultimate achievements, must be productive of much good. I have great pleasure, as a Canadian, in observing the valuable services rendered by Mr. Young, and in seconding the resolution. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN SHAW: As the gentleman who moved the resolution now before the meeting, in which I entirely and heartily concur, has alluded to the reading out of the accounts, I venture to refer to a subject which has already been mentioned by Mr. Strangways. I think it would be more satisfactory if something was known about the accounts before we come to this room. It would be most unsatisfactory to have to deal with them as we have had to do today if there was anything in them which seemed to call for criticism or observation. At the present time there is no hint of a suspicion that there is anything wrong about the accounts, and I think that therefore it is the proper time to take measures to prevent anything going wrong, by what I may call an open audit, that is, submitting them to those who are interested in the accounts, and who wish to see how this Society is going on. The accounts read appear to have been passed by the auditor ten days ago, and they must have been in his hands for some time before. According to my experience, it is very unusual for an auditor to make any

alterations in accounts, and I think, therefore, they might go safely to the printer for the proofs to be set up before they are submitted to the auditor. The printing would surely not cost much. But if there is any difficulty in that, I would say, at least, tell us in the report the amount of the subscriptions received during the year, and the income from other sources, and the particulars of expenditure.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : I am glad to have one supporter ; whenever I bring forward that matter I am generally in the minority of one—that one being myself. (Laughter.) There is not the slightest difficulty in doing these things ; they are done in every other Society, and could be here if you liked. I have been through the figures of the Society of Arts, a much larger Society than this, and I find that the entire net cost to that Society of printing and circulating their Journal is about £400. I think if this could be done here it would tend to promote the interests of the Institute. I do not object to provide a little more for the officers of the Institute to do. On looking through the accounts I find the item for printing £307 6s. 6d., another for printing and distributing papers £77 18s. 10d. ; thus the cost of our Annual Volume of Proceedings and distributing it and the papers to the Fellows amounts to £385 5s. 4d. I believe if we were to start a journal of our own we should have no difficulty whatever in carrying it on at no greater cost than that of the Society of Arts. The Society of Arts receive a considerable amount for advertisements, and no journal would be distributed over the surface of the world more widely than one issued by this Society, and I think it is a matter we may hope to see accomplished in the ensuing year. I can only say I heartily join in the vote of thanks.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution, adding that he was sure it would be the desire of the Council to consider the suggestions made by their colleague, Mr. Strangways, with regard to publishing the proceedings in something like the form of the *Journal of the Society of Arts* ; but it was a matter that required some consideration.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : I rise on the present occasion with feelings both of pleasure and regret. Of regret because I have to return thanks on behalf of our very distinguished Hon. Treasurer, who is prevented being present from indisposition, for the compliment you have paid him. I beg also to thank you very sincerely on my own behalf. I assure you that the honour you have shown me on this occasion (by no means the first) is

most thoroughly appreciated by me. Any time or attention that I devote to the affairs of the Institute has been given for many years from the deep conviction of the value of the Institute itself as an agent for doing a national good. (Hear, hear.) It was on this account that I have been stimulated to devote a good deal of time to the work of my office for several years past, and I shall continue to do so as long as your kindness and my health and strength will permit. (Hear, hear.) I should like to take this opportunity of alluding to one or two observations which have fallen from previous speakers. Mr. Strangways has said, that he thinks I am not inclined to differ from others, especially if they happen to be "big people." That is hardly a fair way of describing it.

MR. STRANGWAYS: I will be responsible for my own words and not anyone else's. I said that Mr. Young would decidedly object to give offence to anyone, especially a "big" one.

MR. YOUNG: I will not quibble about words, but I can assure him and the meeting that I should as little think of saying anything that would offend a small person as a "big" one. (Cheers.) I now wish to call the attention of the Fellows to a point of some importance. By our constitution we are precluded from taking up what we regard as Home or Party political matters. (Hear, hear.) We have found that it is a very delicate subject to touch upon any question that may involve Party politics, and it is for that reason I always endeavour to suggest a policy that would steer clear of infringing that special rule. Although I am by no means one who for a moment considers that we are not a political body in the largest sense of the term, I should prefer to describe ourselves as being members of a national institution. There are, I do not hesitate to say, some great national questions which we may fairly and readily take up when they come before us. On another point, which Mr. Strangways has referred to, I go with him, but not exactly in his way. I know he and other Fellows have suggested that we should have an annual ball instead of a conversazione. I should be very glad indeed to see a good Colonial ball; but if it is to be got up I should like it to be in addition to, and not in substitution for, the conversazione. (Hear, hear.) It is possible, if there are facilities for giving such an entertainment, that the winter part of the session might be the more appropriate time for getting it up. (Hear, hear.) But I, for one, should be loth to give up so successful a gathering, and one which meets with so hearty an approval on the part of our Fellows as the conversazione. It would, I think, be a great mistake. (Hear, hear.) With regard to Mr. Dutton's remark on the subject of better

quarters and a new building, he is quite correct in saying that it has had for some time past my anxious attention. No one, indeed, is more desirous than I am to see this Institute located in more appropriate quarters than those in which we are assembled. I have already given considerable attention to the matter, and hope before long to be able to put before the Fellows something that may enable us to take active practical steps in reference to it. (Hear, hear.) I am simply waiting for the return of our Chairman of Council, the Duke of Manchester, in order specially to consult him on the subject. (Cheers.) There is one other point that Mr. John Shaw has alluded to in connection with some observations of Mr. Strangways on the subject of the accounts. I am so anxious that they should be presented to the Fellows in the most complete form in every way, and that they should be overhauled in every respect, that I should desire to offer every facility for their being in the hands of the Fellows previous to our Annual Meeting. I have already mentioned that there is a little practical difficulty on the subject, but I will confer with the Honorary Treasurer and see whether we cannot have them in the hands of the Fellows in due time before our next Annual Meeting. By our Rules the Report is bound to be in the hands of the Fellows at least one week before the Annual Meeting, and that is a matter about which there is little difficulty in the case of drawing up the Report. But as a matter of detail it is a little more difficult sometimes to get the accounts all completed. With regard to our issuing a journal like that of the Society of Arts, there are two sides to the question. We have now an important and handsome volume which we issue to the Fellows at the conclusion of our session, supplemented by a very full report in *The Colonies and India*, of our proceedings as they take place each month during the session. I confess it is a great question whether it would be desirable to make any change. I am a member of the Society of Arts, I get their weekly paper, but I know it does not find its way on to the shelves of my library in the same way that our annual volume does. (Hear, hear.) I want to have something that the Fellows will be anxious to preserve, and I think in the form we now issue our volume it would be more likely to be preserved than if issued in a more ephemeral form. (Hear.) There are now 1,750 copies in the hands of the printer of our annual volume for this year. Of course the expense is large, but in my opinion it is amply repaid by the good work it does as a record of our proceedings. With these few remarks on the general progress of the Institute, allow me once more heartily to thank you for the compliment you have paid me. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: It is not right that any blame should be thrown upon the Treasurer for these accounts. I wish to point out that the Balance-sheet is brought down to the 11th June, and there is so much delay in his office that it was signed by him the next day, and it was audited on the 20th of June.

Mr. J. DENNISTOUN WOOD: I beg to move a vote of thanks to Sir Henry Barkly for the dignified manner in which he has presided over the meeting.

Mr. JACOB MONTEFIORE: I second that with pleasure.

It was put, and carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN (who was greeted with loud applause), in reply, said: I beg to thank you. I trust I have done my best. I can only assure you that my services are always at the command of the Royal Colonial Institute in any capacity whenever desired. (Cheers.)

Victoria Government 5 per cent. Debentures.....	£500
Canada	400
Cape of Good Hope 4½ per cent.	300
South Australia. 4 per cent.	500
New South Wales	400
Queensland	400
New Zealand 5 per cent.	500
	<hr/>
	£3,000

Examined and found correct,

W. WESTGARTH, }
G. MOLINEUX, } *Auditors.*

W. C. SARGEAUNT,

Honorary Treasurer,
June 12th, 1881.

June 20th, 1881.

ANALYSIS OF THE HONORARY SECRETARY'S DISBURSEMENTS FROM 12TH JUNE, 1880, TO 11TH JUNE, 1881.

RECEIPTS.

Balance as per last Account	£	s.	d.
Cash received from Honorary Treasurer to meet Dis-	27	12	4
bursements.....	120	0	0

£147 12 4

Examined and found correct,

W. WESTGARTH, }
G. MOLINEUX, } *Auditors.*

15 Strand, June 20th, 1881.

CLASSIFICATION. PARTICULARS OF DISBURSEMENTS, &c.

(1) Domestic	} Housekeeper for care of Rooms	£	s.	d.
(2) Furniture and } and Cleaning; Fuel Towels, &c.		41	10	4
Books.	} Furniture for Rooms, and Repairs,			
(3) Postages, &c.	and Books purchased, &c.	1	13	6
(4) Miscellaneous	Postages, &c.	57	11	2
	Expenses of Meetings, &c.	29	2	8
		<hr/>		
	Balance in hand	129	17	8
		17	14	8
		<hr/>		
		£147	12	4

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Honorary Secretary,
June 12th, 1881.

GENERAL INDEX.

- Anderson, George, M.P., 115, 128
 Annual General Meeting, 402
 Annual Report, 402
 Arbutnot, Colonel G., R.A., 369
 Archer, Thomas, 201, 263, 306, 308
 Argyll, His Grace the Duke of, K.T.,
 a Vice-President, 410
- Barkly, Sir Henry, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
 8, 49, 160, 402, 406, 407, 408, 409,
 413, 414, 418, 421,
 _____ Member of Council,
 410
- Berkeley, T. B. H. C.M.G., 8, 50
 Blaine, Henry, Member of Council,
 410
- Blake, J. A., M.P., 225
 Blyth, Sir Arthur, K.C.M.G., 199
 Bonwick, James, 292
 Bourne, Stephen, 233, 382
 Bowen, Sir George F., G.C.M.G., 325
 Buckingham and Chandos, His Grace
 the Duke of, G.C.S.I., a Vice-Presi-
 dent, 410
- Bury, Rt. Hon. Viscount, K.C.M.G.,
 51, 78, 84
 _____ a Vice-President,
 410
- Campbell, Johnston, A.R., Member of
 Council, 410
- Canada, The Future of the Dominion
 of, 88
- Carlingford, Rt. Hon. Lord, a Vice-
 President, 410
- Childers, Rt. Hon. Hugh C. E., M.P.,
 a Vice-President, 410
- Christian, H.R.H. The Prince, K.G.,
 a Vice-President, 410
- Clifford, Sir Charles, 173
 _____ Member of Council,
 410
- Colomb, Captain J. C. R., 113, 120,
 204, 338
- Conversazione, 392
- Coode, Sir John, Member of Council,
 410
- Cranbrook, Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.C.S.I.,
 a Vice-President, 410
- Daubeney, General Sir H. C. B.,
 K.C.B., Member of Council, 410
- Douglass, Arthur, 339
- Dufferin, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.P.,
 G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, 410
- Dunraven, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.P.,
 175, 178, 209, 213, 253
 _____ a Vice-President,
 410
- Dutton, Frederick, 411, 415
- Elcho, Rt. Hon. Lord, M.P., 130, 133,
 170
- Escombe, Harry, 163
- Foster, Rt. Hon. W. E., M.P., a Vice-
 President, 410
- Freeland, H. W., Member of Council,
 410
- Frere, Rt. Hon. Sir H. Bartle E.
 Bart., G.C.S.I., G.C.B., 133, 173
- Galt, Sir Alexander T., G.C.M.G., 88,
 127, 196, 343, 345, 390
 _____ a Vice-President,
 410
- Grant, Colonel T. Hunter, 120 417
- Granville, Rt. Hon. Earl, K.G., a
 Vice-President, 410
- Green, Morton, 164
- Hall, E. Hepple, 206
- Herring, Rev. A. Styleman, 237
- Hodgson, Arthur, C.M.G., Member of
 Council, 410
- Hyndman, H. M., 72
- Imperial and Colonial Partnership in
 Emigration, 178
 Appendix—
 Despatch from the Governor General
 of Canada, 193
 Letter from Mr. Frederick Young,
 195
 _____ Adjourned Discussion, 213
- Irving, Sir Henry T., K.C.M.G., 44
- Jourdain, Henry J., Member of Coun-
 cil, 410
- Kinnaird, The Lord, a Trustee, 410
- Labilliere, F. P., 167, 241, 336, 388, 414
 _____ Member of Council,
 410
- Leeward Islands, The. Their Past and
 Present Condition, 9
- Liggins, Henry, 47
- Longden, Sir James R., K.C.M.G.,
 331

- Lorne, Rt. Hon. the Marquis of, K.T.,
G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, 410
- Lowry, Major-General R. W., C.B.,
208, 411
- Lubbock, Nevile, Member of Council,
410
- Macalister, A., C.M.G., 293
- McArthur, Alexander, M.P., 202
- MacFie, R. A., 167, 387
- McIlwraith, Thomas, 244, 297
- MacIver, David, M.P., 371
- MacLeay, Sir George, K.C.M.G.,
Member of Council, 410
- Manchester, His Grace the Duke of,
K.P., Chairman of Council and Vice-
President, 410
- Miller, William, 118, 379, 387
- Molineux, G., 111
————— Member of Council,
410
- Mouck, Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.C.M.G.,
a Vice-President, 410
- Montefiore, Jacob, 421
————— Member of Council,
410
- Montgomerie, H. E., 413
- Murray, R. W., 165, 247, 303
- Nicholson, Sir Charles, Bart., 261, 305,
311
————— a Vice-President,
410
- Normanby, Most Noble The Marquis
of, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, 410
- North Queensland, The Bishop of, 291
- Northcote, Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford H.,
Bart., G.C.B., M.P., a Vice-Presi-
dent, 410
- Ohlson, J. L., 40
- O'Halloran, J. S., Librarian and
Assistant Secretary, 413
- Panckridge, Rev. W., 240
- Peace, Walter, 213
- Pim, Captain Bedford, R.N., 408
- Pine, Sir Benjamin, K.C.M.G., 35
- Pfoundes, Charles, 75, 243, 388, 411,
413, 414
- Political Organisation of the Empire,
The, 346
- France, R. H., 46
- Principles which ought to Regulate
the Determination of the Political
and Municipal Boundaries and
Divisions of the Colonies, 311
- Pritchard, Charles, 334, 340
- Queensland; Her History, Resources,
and Future Prospects, 263
- Rae, John, M.D., 221
————— Member of Council,
- Rae, W. Fraser, 126
- Rankin, James, M.P., 385
- Rivington, Alexander, Member of
Council, 417
- Rogers, Alexander, 74, 75
- Rose Sir John, Bart., G.C.M.G., 85,
87, 109, 127, 128
————— a Trustee, 410
- Samuel, Saul, C.M.G., 301
- Sargeaunt, W. C., C.M.G., 408
————— Honorary Treasurer, 410
- Searight, James, a Trustee, 410
- Semper, Hon. Mr. Justice, 37
- Service, James, 329, 339
- Shaw, John, 76, 417
- Silver, S. W., Member of Council, 410
- Smith, Major Euan, 77
- South Africa, The Union of the
Various Portions of British, 134
- Statement of Receipts and Payments,
422
- Statistics of the Indian Empire, 53
- Stirling, Sir Charles, Bart., Member
of Council, 410
- Stone, F. W., 229
- Strahan, Sir George C., K.C.M.G., 162
- Strangways, H. B. T., 407, 408, 412,
413, 414, 418, 419, 421
————— Member of
Council, 410
- Sutherland, His Grace the Duke of,
K.G., a Vice-President, 410
- Temple, Sir Richard, Bart., G.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., 53, 75, 76, 80
- Thomson, J. D., Member of Council,
410
- Torrens, Sir Robert R., K.C.M.G., 309
341
————— Member
of Council, 410
- Torrens, W. M., M.P., 116, 178, 258,
295
- Tuke, James H., 217
- Wales, H.R.H., the Prince of, K.G.,
G.C.M.G., President, 410
- Walker, William, Member of Council,
410
- Webster, Robert G., 377, 411
- Wilmot, Alexander, 223
- Wood, J. D., 168, 250, 374, 414, 421
————— Member of Council, 410
- Wright, The Ven. Archdeacon, 124
- Youl, James A., C.M.G., Member of
Council, 410
- Young, Frederick, 1, 83, 109, 129, 212,
230, 307, 342, 373, 387, 407, 408,
410, 418, 419
————— Honorary Secretary,

INDEX OF SPEAKERS.

(a) Authors and Readers of Papers.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Archer, Thomas, 263 | Labilliere, F. P., 346 |
| Berkeley, Hon. T. B. H., C.M.G., 8 | Nicholson, Sir Charles, Bart., 311 |
| Frere, Right Hon. Sir Bartle E., Bart.,
G.C.B., G.C.S.I., 134 | Temple, Sir Richard Bart., G.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., 53 |
| Galt, Sir Alexander T., G.C.M.G., 88 | Torrens, W. M., M.P., 178 |

(b) Discussors.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Anderson, George, M.P., 115, 128 | MacFie, R. A., 167, 387 |
| Arbuthnot, Colonel G., 369 | McIlwraith, Thomas, 244, 297 |
| Archer, Thomas, 201, 306 | MacIver, David, M.P., 371 |
| Barkly, Sir Henry, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
49, 160, 406, 407, 408, 409, 413, 414,
418, 421 | Miller, William, 118, 379, 387 |
| Berkeley, T. B. H., C.M.G., 50 | Molineux, G., 111 |
| Blake, J. A., M.P., 225 | Montgomerie, H. E., 413 |
| Blyth, Sir Arthur, K.C.M.G., 199 | Murray, R. W., 165, 247, 303 |
| Bonwick, James, 292 | Nicholson, Sir Charles, Bart., 305 |
| Bourne, Stephen, 233, 382 | North Queensland, The Bishop of, 291 |
| Bowen, Sir George F., G.C.M.G., 325 | Ohlson, J. L., 40 |
| Bury, Rt. Hon. Viscount, K.C.M.G.,
78, 84 | Panckridge, Rev. W., 240 |
| Colomb, Captain J. C. R., 113, 120,
204, 338 | Peace, Walter, 213 |
| Douglass, Arthur, 339 | Pim, Capt. Bedford, R.N., 408 |
| Dunraven, Right Hon. the Earl of,
K.P., 209, 253 | Pine, Sir Benjamin, K.C.M.G., 35 |
| Dutton, Frederick, 415 | Pfoundes, Charles, 75, 243, 388, 411,
413, 414 |
| Elcho, Right Hon. Lord, M.P., 170, | Prance, R. H., 46 |
| Escombe, Harry, 163 | Pritchard, Charles, 334, 340 |
| Frere, Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle E.,
Bart., G.C.S.I., G.C.B., 173 | Rae, John, M.D., 221 |
| Galt, Sir Alexander T., G.C.M.G.,
127, 196, 345, 390 | Rae, W. Fraser, 126 |
| Grant, Colonel T. Hunter, 120, 417 | Rankin, James, M.P., 385 |
| Green, Morton, 164 | Rogers, Alexander, 74, 75 |
| Hall, E. Hepple, 206 | Rose, Sir John, Bart., G.C.M.G., 87,
109, 127, 128 |
| Herring, Rev. A. Styleman, 237 | Samuel, Saul, C.M.G., 301, 332 |
| Hyndman, H. M., 72 | Semper, Hon. Mr. Justice, 37 |
| Irving, Sir Henry T., K.C.M.G., 44 | Service, James, 329, 333, 339 |
| Labilliere, F. P., 167, 241, 336, 388,
414 | Shaw, John, 76, 417 |
| Liggins, Henry, 47 | Smith, Major Euan, 77 |
| Longden, Sir James R., K.C.M.G.,
331 | Stone, F. W., 229 |
| Lowry, Major-General R. W., C.B.,
208, 411 | Strahan, Sir George C., K.C.M.G., 162 |
| Macalister, A., C.M.G., 293 | Strangways, H. B. T., 407, 408, 412,
413, 414, 418, 419, 421 |
| McArthur, Alexander, M.P., 202 | Temple, Sir Richard, Bart., G.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., 75, 76, 80 |
| | Torrens, Sir Robert R., K.C.M.G., 341 |
| | Torrens, W. M., M.P., 116, 258, 295 |
| | Tuke, James H., 217 |
| | Webster, Robert G., 377, 411 |
| | Wilmot, Alexander, 223 |
| | Wood, J. D., 168, 250, 374, 414, 421 |
| | Wright, The Ven. Archdeacon, 124 |
| | Young, Frederick, 83, 109, 129, 230,
373, 387, 407, 408, 410, 418, 419 |

INDEX OF DONORS.

- Archer, Thomas, Esq., 405
 Ashe, Major, 405
 Barrett, H. J., Esq., 405
 De Boucherville, A., Esq., Mauritius, 405
 Bourinot, J. G., Esq., Ottawa, Canada, 405
 Bourne, Stephen, Esq., 405
 Bruce, James, Esq., 405
 Casolani, Charles, Esq., 405
 Chapman, Dr. John, 405
 Clarke, Hyde, Esq., D.C.L., 405
 Clayden, Arthur, Esq., 405
 Cooper, Sir D., Bart., K.C.M.G., 405
 Collins J. Wright, Esq., Falkland Islands, 405
 Cripps, Thomas, Esq., 405
 Dale, Dr. Langham, Vice-Chancellor Cape of Good Hope University, 405
 Dalglish and Reed, Messrs., New Zealand, 405
 Decker, Charles, Esq., Transvaal, 405
 Dennis, Lieut.-Col. J. S., Canada, 405
 Dickson E. B., Esq., Government Observer, New Zealand, 405
 Davison, F. S., Esq., 405
 Davis and Sons, Messrs. P., Natal, 405
 Domville, Lieut.-Colonel J., M.P., Canada, 405
 Doutre, Joseph, Esq., Q.C., Canada, 405
 R. F. E., 405
 Eustace, J. T., Esq., 405
 Fairfax, E. R., Esq., N. S. W., 405
 Fitzgerald, J. F. Vesey, Esq., 405
 Fleming, Sandford, Esq., C.M.G., C.E., Canada, 405
 Firth, H. A., Esq., Calcutta, 405
 Fox, Sir Wm., K.C.M.G., New Zealand, 405
 Freeland, H. W., Esq., 405
 Fresson, W. Esq., British Guiana, 405
 Archdeacon of Grahamstown, The, 405
 Grain, W., Esq., 405
 Green, Morton, Esq., 405
 Gillmor, Lieut.-Colonel, 405
 Hayter, H. H., Esq., Government Statist, Melbourne, Australia, 405
 Holub, Dr. Emil, 405
 Hughes, George, Esq., 405
 Hull, Hugh Munro, Esq., Tasmania, 405
 Irwin, J. V. H., Esq., 405
 Jamieson, Hugh, Esq., 405
 Jamieson, T. Bushby, Esq., 405
 Jeppe, Fredk., Esq., Transvaal, 405
 Levy, George, Esq., Jamaica, 405
 MacDermott, L., Esq., 405
 MacFie, R. A., Esq., 405
 McLeod, Malcolm, Esq., 405
 Mills, Capt. Charles, C.M.G., 405
 Montgomerie, H. E., Esq., 405
 Müller, Von Baron Ferdinand, K.C.M.G., Government Botanist, Melbourne, Australia, 405
 Naz, Hon. Virgile, C.M.G., M.L.C., Mauritius, 405
 Nelson, H., Esq., 405
 Nicholson, Sir Charles, Bart., D.C.L., 405
 Noble, John, Esq., Cape Colony, 405
 Ohlson, J. L., Esq., 405
 Owen, Sir P. Cunliffe, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., 405
 Payne, J. A., Esq., 405
 Petherick, E. A., Esq., 405
 Rankin, W. H., Esq., 405
 Reid, J. Stuart, Esq., New Zealand, 405
 Robertson, George, Esq., Melbourne, 405
 Russell, H. C., Esq., Government Astronomer, New South Wales, 405
 Saunders, John, Esq., 405
 Schomburgk, Dr. R., Adelaide, South Australia, 405
 Segre, J. S., Esq., 405
 Silver, Messrs. S. W., and Co., 405
 Smith and Hannaman, Messrs., 405
 Smith, Major R. C., 405
 Sheriff, Hon. W. A. Musgrave, Nassau, Bahamas, 405
 Street, Messrs. G. and Co., 405
 Tennant, Sir David, Cape Colony, 405
 The Adelaide Philosophical Society, 405
 Anti-Slavery Society, 405
 Anthropological Institute, 406
 Chamber of Commerce, Port Elizabeth, 406
 Chamber of Commerce, Natal, 406
 Colonial Office, 406
 Court of Policy, British Guiana, 406
 Crown Agents for the Colonies, 406
 East India Association, 406
 Free Public Library, Birmingham, 406
 Free Public Library, Dunedin, 406
 Free Public Library, Geelong, 406
 Free Public Library, Leeds, 406
 Free Public Library, Liverpool, 406
 Free Public Library, Manchester, 406
 Free Public Library, Plymouth, 406
 Free Public Library, Swansea, 406
 Free Public Library, Sidney, 406
 Melbourne Social Congress, 406

- The Mechanics' Institute, Launceston, Tasmania, 406
 Mechanics' Institute, Toronto, 406
 Medical Board of Victoria, 406
 Meteorological Society, 406
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow, 406
 Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham, 406
 Royal Geographical Society, 406
 Royal Society of New South Wales, 406
 Royal Society of South Australia, 406
 Royal United Service Institution, 406
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S., 406
 Social Science Association, 406
 Society of Arts, 406
 South Australian Institute, 406
 University of Toronto, 406
 Victoria Institute, 406
- The Government of—
 British Columbia, 406
 British Guiana, 406
 Canada, 406
 The Cape of Good Hope, 406
 Ceylon, 406
 Grenada, 406
 Mauritius, 406
 Natal, 406
 New South Wales, 406
 New Zealand, 406
 Queensland, 406
 South Australia, 406
 Tasmania, 406
 Victoria, 406
 Western Australia, 406
- The Legislative Assembly of—
 Ontario, 406
 Quebec, 406
- The Department of State, Washington, U.S., 406
- The High Commissioner for Canada, 406
- The Agent-General for New South Wales, 406
- The Agent-General for S. Australia, 406
- The Agent-General for Victoria, 406
- The Agent-General for Queensland, 406
- The Registrar-General for New South Wales, 406
- The Registrar-General of Queensland, 406
- The Editor of the British Trade Journal, 406
- The Proprietors of the Toronto Globe, Also Files of Papers from the Proprietors of—
- The Adelaide Illustrated News, 406
- The Argus and Australasian, Melbourne, 406
 Barbados Globe, 406
 Barbados Herald, 406
 Barbados West Indian, 406
 Beaufort Courier, 406
 British Columbia Weekly British Colonist, 406
 British Mercantile Gazette, 406
 British Trade Journal, 406
 Cape Times, 406
 Colonial Register, 406
 Colonies and India, 406
 Darling Downs Gazette, 406
 Demerara Argosy, 406
 Demerara Colonist, 406
 Demerara Royal Gazette, 406
 Edinburgh Courant, 406
 Fiji Times, 406
 Fort Beaufort Advocate, 406
 Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State, 406
 Grahamstown Eastern Star, 406
 Gall's News-Letter, Jamaica, 406
 Grenada St. George's Chronicle, 406
 Hobart Town Mercury, 406
 Home and Colonial Mail, 406
 Indian Agriculturist, 406
 Illawarra Mercury, N.S.W., 407
 Jamaica Budget, 407
 Jamaica Colonial Standard, 407
 Jamaica Gleaner, 407
 Kapanda Herald, 407
 Malta Times, 407
 Mauritius Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette, 407
 Montreal Daily Witness, 407
 Montreal Gazette, 407
 Nassau Times, 407
 Natal Mercury, 407
 Natal Witness, 407
 Newfoundland North Star, 407
 Port Adelaide News, 407
 Port Denison Times, 407
 Samoa Times, 407
 Society, 407
 Strathalbyn Southern Argus, 407
 Sydney Mail, 407
 Sydney Morning Herald, 407
 Transvaal Argus, 407
 Trinidad Chronicle, 407
 West Australian, 407
 West Australian, Perth Enquirer, 407
 Yaas Courier, 407
 Voice, St. Lucia, 407
 &c., &c., &c.
- Watson, Dr. J. Forbes, 407
 White, Lieut.-Col. William, 407
 Youl, James A., Esq., C.M.G., 407
 Young, Frederick, Esq., 407

CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS VOLUMES.

VOL. I.—1869.

	PAGE
Preliminary Proceedings... ..	1
Inaugural Dinner	19
Inaugural Meeting. Address by Right Hon. Viscount Bury, President ...	51
Relations of the Colonies to the Mother-Country. Wm. Westgarth, Esq....	74
Gold-fields of Queensland. Chas. H. Allen, Esq.	94
Domestic Prospects of India. W. A. Rogers, Esq., Bombay Civil Service...	111
Social Aspects of Colonisation. J. Robinson, Esq., M.L.C., Natal... ..	135
Characteristics of the Canadian Community. Adam Crooks, Esq., Q.C. ...	162
Social and Domestic Life of the Dutch Boers of South Africa. H. J. Barret, Esq.	175
First Annual Meeting	208

VOL. II.—1870-71.

Practical Communication with the Red River District, British North America. Colonel Millington Synge, R.E.	18
Self-Supporting Emigration. Colonel Maude... ..	41
Constitutions of the Australian Colonies. Francis P. Labilliere, Esq. ...	48
The Colonial Question. Wm. Westgarth, Esq.	58
The Relations of the Colonies to the Parent State. A. C. Cattnach, Esq.	68
Opening of the Suez Canal Route and its Prospective Results. J. Bate, Esq.	78
The Physical and Economical Aspects of the Colony of Natal. Dr. Mann	93
The Physical Geography and Resources of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Professor Dawson	113
Colonisation and Utilising of Ocean Islands and Waste Spaces throughout the World. Captain Parker Snow	117
Second Annual Meeting	121
Colonisation. Sir Wm. Denison, K.C.B.	124
Adjourned Discussions	132 and 140
Utility of Establishing a Reporter on the Trade Products in the Colonial Office. Hyde Clarke, Esq.... ..	154

VOL. III.—1871-2.

The British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca. Leonard Wray, Esq. ...	1
The Crisis of the Empire. Imperial Federation. R. A. Macfie, Esq., M.P.	2
Practical Views and Suggestions on our Colonial Relations. Wm. Westgarth, Esq.	13
The Food Supply of England in Connection with Australia. Richard Jones, Esq.	26
The Polynesian Labour Question in Relation to the Fiji Islands and Queensland. F. W. Chesson, Esq.	34

	PAGE
Land Tenures of India and their Bearing on Indian Finance. George Norton, Esq.	57
The Formation and Objects of a British and American Association. Dr. Lory Marsh	75
Third Annual Meeting	76
Propositions for the Reform of our Relations with the Colonies. Wm. Westgarth, Esq.	84
Addresses to Her Majesty and H.R.H. the Princess of Wales	100
Manitoba. F. W. Chesson, Esq.	102
The Financial Resources of our Colonies. Hyde Clarke, Esq.	131
Comparative Advantages of the Far West of Canada and of the States for Settlement. W. F. Lynn, Esq.	149
The Natural Distribution of Coal throughout the British Empire. C. W. Eddy, Esq.	167
Influence of American Legislation on the Decline of the United States as a Maritime Power. R. Grant Haliburton, Esq.	194
Fourth Annual Meeting	210
Annual Dinner	213
Appendix: Account of Dinner to celebrate the Completion of Telegraphic Communication with Australia	225

VOL. IV.—1872-3.

Inaugural Dinner	1
Balance-Sheet of the Washington Treaty of 1872, in Account with the People of Great Britain and her Colonies. Viscount Bury, M.P.	7
Adjourned Discussion	37
The Marine and Fisheries of Canada. J. G. Bourinot, Esq.	54
Social and Economic Position and Prospects of the West India Possessions. Wm. Walker, Esq.	70
Tasmania and its Wealth in Timber. Hugh Munro Hull, Esq.	169
The Forests of Tasmania. J. Erskine Calder, Esq.	173
The Three New Rules of the Washington Treaty as Affecting our Relations with the Colonies. H. E. Watts, Esq.	187
Fifth Annual Meeting	211
Colonial Defences. Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.	217

VOL. V.—1873-4.

Inaugural Dinner	1
Colonial Aids to British Prosperity. P. L. Simmonds, Esq.	13
Our Relations with the Ashantees. Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.	71
Settlements of the Straits of Malacca. Leonard Wray, Esq.	103
Forests of British Guiana. Wm. Walker, Esq.	126
Economic Value of the Forests of Tasmania. Hugh Munro Hull, Esq.	160
The Woodlands, &c., of Tasmania. J. Erskine Calder, Esq.	166
New Zealand—Past, Present, and Future. Frederick Young, Esq.	180
Sixth Annual Meeting	218
Present State and Future Prospects of the Indians of British North America. Professor Daniel Wilson	222
Appendix—Speech of Lord Dufferin on the Dominion	252

VOL. VI.—1874-5

	PAGE
Memoir of the late C. W. Eddy, Esq.	1
Best Means of drawing together the Interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The late C. W. Eddy, Esq.	3
The Permanent Unity of the Empire. F. P. Labilliere, Esq.	36
Adjourned Discussion	58
The Past and Present of Fiji. F. W. Chesson, Esq.	89
Great Britain and New Guinea. Archibald Michie, Esq., Q.C., Agent-General of Victoria	121
South Africa. T. B. Glanville, Esq.	155
New Guinea Deputation	189
American Protection and Canadian Reciprocity. Robert Grant Halibarton, Esq.	205
Forty Years Since and Now. H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.	228
Second Annual Conversazione	256
Seventh Annual Meeting	262

VOL. VII.—1875-6.

Colonial Museum Deputation	1
Report on the Newfoundland Fishery Question	6
Acclimatisation. Edward Wilson, Esq.	36
Report on the Gambia Question	68
South Africa and Her Colonies. Lieutenant-General Bisset, C.B.	86
Memorial to Her Majesty on Recognition of the Colonies in the Royal Title	124
Adjourned Discussion on "South Africa and Her Colonies"	125
Civilisation of the Pacific. Coleman Phillips, Esq.	149
Progress of Victoria. Right Rev. Dr. Perry, Bishop of Melbourne	214
New Zealand. William Fox, Esq.	247
Colonisation of Central Africa. Lieutenant Lovett Cameron, R.N.	274
The Wines of Australia. J. T. Fallon, Esq.	297
Third Annual Conversazione	326
Eighth Annual Meeting	331

VOL. VIII.—1876-7.

Benefit to the Colonies of being Members of the British Empire. J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.	3
Canada as I Remember it, and as it is Now. Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D.	45
Fallacies of Federation. Wm. Forster, Esq., Agent-General, N. S. Wales	79
Adjourned Discussion	116
The Colonies and English Labouring Classes. John Plummer, Esq.	144
Climates of the Various British Colonies. G. J. Symons, Esq.	180
Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India. Report of Meeting at the Mansion House	232
Present Position of the West India Colonies. Nevile Lubbock, Esq.	261
Imperial and Colonial Responsibilities in War. Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.	304
Adjourned Discussion	344
Thoughts upon the Present and Future of South Africa and Central and Eastern Africa. Donald Currie, Esq., C.M.G.	380

	PAGE
Fourth Annual Conversazione	419
Ninth Annual Meeting	425
Revised Rules	445
Library Catalogue	457

VOL. IX.—1877-8.

Indian Famines, and how to modify the Causes that lead to them. Robert H. Elliot, Esq.	2
Queensland and Chinese Immigration. Arthur Macalister, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General for Queensland	42
Death of Mr. Edward Wilson	84
A Sketch of New South Wales—1788 to 1876. Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.	86
Character of the Colonial and Indian Trade of England contrasted with Her Foreign Trade. Dr. J. Forbes Watson	109
New Zealand and the South Sea Islands and their Relation to the Empire. Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for New Zealand... ..	164
Canada, and its Undeveloped Interior. Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.E., C.M.G.	225
Glimpses of Natal. John Robinson, Esq., M.L.C.	280
Angora Goat and its Naturalisation in British Colonies. Gavin Gatheral, Esq.	326
The Proposed Ramiseram Ship Canal between India and Ceylon. S. McBean, Esq., C.E.	337
A Colonial Naval Volunteer Force. Thomas Brassey, Esq., M.P.	355
Fifth Annual Conversazione	386
Tenth Annual General Meeting... ..	392

VOL. X.—1878-79.

England and Her Colonies at the Paris Exhibition. Frederick Young, Esq.	6
New Guinea: Its Fitness for Colonisation. Signor L. M. D'Albertis	43
Canada: Its Progress and Development. Caldwell Ashworth, Esq.	71
British South Africa and the Zulu War. John Noble, Esq.... ..	105
Native Taxation in Fiji. Hon. Sir Arthur H. Gordon, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Fiji Islands	173
Jamaica: A Home for the Invalid, and a Profitable Field for the Industrious Settler. Robert Russell, Esq., LL.D., and Logan D. H. Russell, Esq., M.D.	209
On the Extinct Animals of the Colonies of Great Britain. Professor Owen, C.B., F.R.S.	267
Life in India. Alexander Rogers, Esq.	299
Tasmania: Past and Present. J. L. Miller, Esq. M.D.	333
Sixth Annual Conversazione	368
Eleventh Annual General Meeting	378
Contents of previous Volumes	409

VOL. XI.—1879-80.

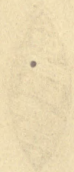
Extended Colonisation a Necessity to the Mother-Country. By Stephen Bourne, Esq., F.S.S.	1
The Past, Present, and Future Trade of the Cape Colonies with Central Africa. By Dr. Emil Holub	55

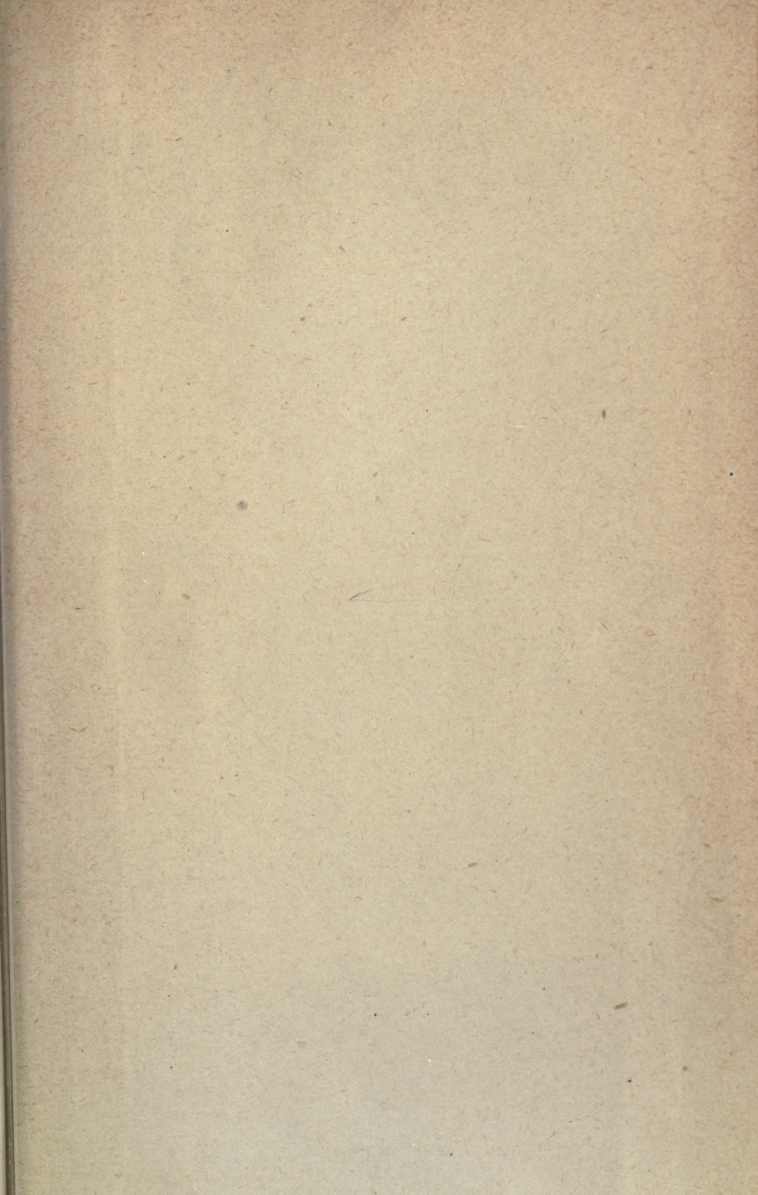
	PAGE
The National Development of Canada. By G. J. Bourinot, Esq	88
An Empire's Parliament. By A. Staveley Hill, Esq., Q.C., M.P.... ..	133
South Australia: her Laws relating to the Alienation of Agricultural Land, and her recent Industrial Progress. By Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia	178
Jamaica: Now and Fifteen Years Since. By Sir Anthony Musgrave, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica	222
The Botanical Enterprise of the Empire. By W. T. Thiselton Dyer, Esq., Assistant Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew	271
New Zealand. By Arthur F. Halcombe, Esq.	317
Seventh Annual Conversazione	351
Twelfth Annual General Meeting	361
Presentation of an Address to the Duke of Manchester	394
Contents of previous Volumes	401





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