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IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PARTNERSHIP IN EMIGRATION.

BY

W. M. TORRENS, Esq., M.P.

A PAPER READ BEFORE

The Royal Colonial Institute,

WITH THE DISCUSSION,

MARCH 22ND, 1881,

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.
(VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

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THE CHAIRMAN : I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Torrens to address you on what we all feel to be a most interesting subject. (Hear, hear.)

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 that 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 therefore 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

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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 unfailingly. 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 but the interposition of the Government in the genuineness of the scheme; 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 necessities 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 were 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 do, 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 that 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 not 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 £20,000 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. 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. HEPPLER 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 enchaind 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.

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.

ADJOURNED DISCUSSION.

The Noble CHAIRMAN 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 citizens ; 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 Manitoba, or in 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,”

* 600,000 found their way to Great Britain.

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 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 emigra-

tion 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.

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 co-operate 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, although 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, who 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 amount 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 raise 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, without any diminution whatever, and that, too, without manure, 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 was a strong advocate for emigration. At all events, I appear before you myself as a very strong 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 refer-

ence 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 the discussion—I more particularly refer to that which we had last Tuesday—has embraced the whole question. (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 has, 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 detailed information possible on the subject; so that when they grow up to be men and women, if by chance 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—that our people are usually most ignorant and uninformed about the places where it is suggested they should go to, and they are afraid even to undertake the voyage—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 this plan as one of the means of 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 equally 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 view 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 which our distinguished friend on my right has brought to our notice might be carried on, which might be equally advantageous, and come within my own notions as to the perfecting of any plan of that 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, and the Cape; and I say 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 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; on the contrary, I have relations of my own who are natives of that country, but I do say that I am an Englishman before all. We have got such an enormous territory throughout the earth 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 I 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 cheers.)

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, that 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, now 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 a 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. For 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, which 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. PACKRIDGE: 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 dis-

cussing 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)—how 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 13d. 4s. (Laughter.) Well, whether that does or does not approximate as to the value of the population which we have bestowed upon the United States, within the period mentioned by Sir Alex-

ander 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 Government, 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 depends 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 when dealing with this important question to the fact, 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. PFOUNDEN: 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 one 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 make 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 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.

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 cursed voluntary system of emigration, by which Great Britain loses her subjects and her Colonies remained 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 just before me 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 a 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 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 the 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 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 much 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 this district. 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 the question on 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 our 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 delay 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 Minister for 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 negociation; 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.)