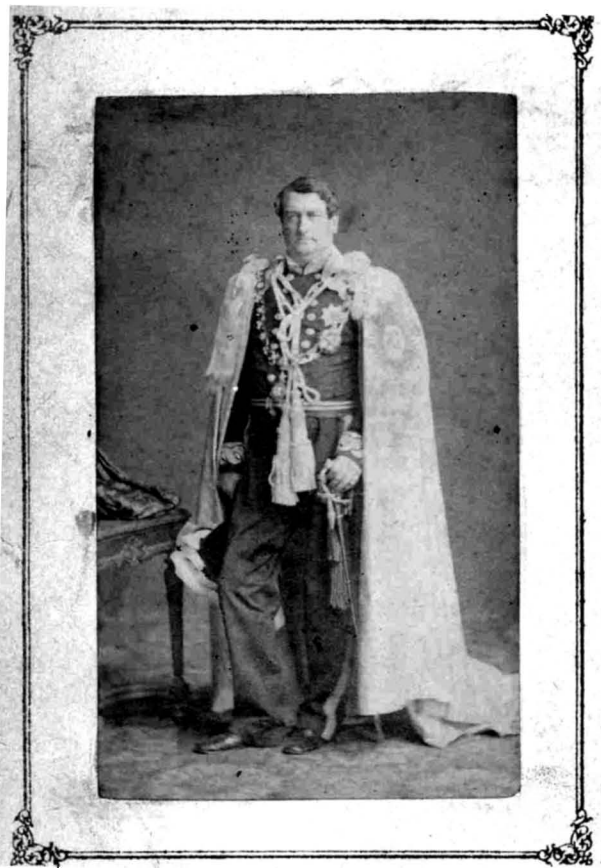


*Dr W H Russell*

*with S P Mulla being*

*Calcutta*  
*8<sup>th</sup> March 76*



Мейер

SPEECHES  
IN  
ENGLAND AND INDIA

BY  
RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE,  
EARL OF MAYO, K. P., G. M. S. I.,  
LATE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL  
OF INDIA.

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY  
GOSTO BEHARY MULLICK

*President Calcutta Upasana Somaj ; Asst. Secretary, Burrabazar Family  
Literary Club ; Author of Lord Northbrook and his Mission in India ;  
Earl Mayo and his Work ; The Life and Character of Prince Albert ;  
The Life and Ethics of Jesus Christ ; The Trinity Controversy in India ;  
The Christian Repentant ; Gooroo Nanuk and the Principles of Sikh  
Religion ; St. Paul, the Apostle, His Life and Work ; The First Book  
of Poetry ; &c. &c.,*

AUTHORISED EDITION.

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CALCUTTA.

BARHAM, HILL & CO.,

DALHOUSIE SQUARE, EAST.

1873.

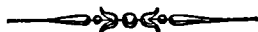
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# DEDICATION



To

HIS HIGHNESS

THE MOST NOBLE FURZUND KHAS DOWLUT  
ENGLISHYA MUNSOOR ZUMAN AMEER OOL  
OOMRA MAHARAJA DHERAJ RAJESSUR  
RAJGAN SREE MAHARAJAH MO-  
HENDER SING MOHENDER  
BAHADOOR

MAHARAJAH OF PUTTIALLA, G. C. S. I

THROUGH WHOSE KIND SUGGESTION THE COMPILATION OF THE  
FOLLOWING SPEECHES WAS UNDERTAKEN.

This Volume is most respectfully dedicated as a sincere  
token of esteem and regard.

BY

GOSTO BEHARY MULLICK.

him in a pre-eminent degree. The reader in perusing these speeches will no doubt be struck with the arguments marshalled with wonderful logical sequence and precision and will have his attention fixed as naturally as he breathes the air and will pass on imperceptibly from the piercing vehemence, the fiery passion, the sublime grandeur, to the tenderness, grace and humanity, power of self-restraint, a calm and unvarying purpose, and an unfaltering adherence to fixed convictions.

It would be difficult to over-praise the literary and rhetorical merits of LORD MAYO'S speeches without exception. They have been aptly described as an educating power. As the embodiment of political and social views and statesmanly wisdom of an earnest and upright Administrator who ruled with marvellous success and with consummate tact and prudence an Empire thirteen times larger than Britain, who as the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen, discharged his high functions with entire self-devotion and indomitable energy, whose suavity of demeanor endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, one whose princely hospitality won the golden opinion of even his bitterest political opponents—especially of one whose glorious martyrdom in the service of his Country, his Religion and Humanity, unprecedented in the History of India, will be remembered to the latest day of the future generations of Hindoos and Englishmen with the tenderest feelings of sadness, this Volume it is hoped will possess a truly enduring interest not only with his numer-

chosen subjects and for the native sagacity and good sense with which it saw its way to the hidden truth ; a fine imagination that stands back as the hand-maid of a robust understanding, a complete command over his accumulated resources, a love of the original and independent investigation going back to the fountain head and never satisfying with guesses and traditions ; an indefatigable assiduity and patience of examination, a most scrupulous carefulness in the statement of facts, a simple lucidity of expression and day-light distinctness of thought, ever in the most complicated political questions of the day, a conscientious slowness in forming conclusions, combined with great strength, earnestness and decision in maintaining the opinions which he at length arrived at "and with and above all other virtues, surrounding them with a sacred halo seen not shewn, a serious consciousness of heavy responsibility with which he had been intrusted by the Queen and the Parliament of England.

LORD MAYOS' Speeches are all clearly characterized [by a strongly marked feeling bearing the image of the man. The "exalted seriousness of view, the high moral standard, the transparent clearness of exposition, the quiet earnestness of conviction, the sustained confidence in his conclusions, resting as they do on solid grounds and fully examined premises, the minute accuracy and finish, the strict truthfulness and sincerity, saying nothing for mere effect," appear everywhere in the following pages. And the style is in harmony with the thought—pure, chaste, lucid, aptly expressive, unaffacted,

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## INTRODUCTION.



THE compilation of these Speeches of the late lamented VICEROY and GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, EARL OF MAYO was undertaken by the EDITOR about three years ago at the suggestion of His Highness The Maharajah of PUTTEALLA G. C. S. I. who considered that their publication in a permanent form might be highly serviceable to the Indian Public generally, and the Native Princes in particular, to many of whom His Lordship was attached by ties of personal friendship. Fully appreciating the value of His Highness's suggestion and believing with him that these Speeches contained much matter that ought to find a permanent place in English literature, I obtained permission of the late Viceroy to edit the same. It was my wish to present the Volume to his Excellency on its completion. But so it was not fated to be. There is no doubt that had he been alive, he would have witnessed with considerable satisfaction on a Volume which contains the best utterances of his life-time, a mirror as it were of his political career of five and twenty years with its strifes, its sorrows, and its dis-



appointments as well as its joys and triumphs—crowned at last with the highest confidence and favor of his Sovereign. Independently of the melancholy interest which they must now possess, after the fearful tragedies that have been enacted, his Lordship being one of the principal actors, these Speeches, I need hardly say, will possess an intrinsic value as many of them are master-pieces of eloquence, teeming with treasures of true statesmanship and administrative wisdom and displaying a vigor of style, a clearness of diction, a sincerity of thought, a candor of feeling, and a loftiness of patriotism, such as would in the verdict of an unbiassed posterity, place him in the rank of Britain's truest heroes. Containing as they do, valuable and varied discussions on important questions of English and Anglo-Indian politics, these Speeches cannot but be eminently interesting, useful and instructive to the English statesman and the Indian aspirant after political fame. In the Durbar Speeches "we see LORD MAYO in every line; the frank and courteous and enlightened gentleman, but at the same time, the strong and worthy Representative of the Queen and the unmistakable Ruler of the Empire. Every Native Prince who met him, looked upon LORD MAYO as the ideal of an English Viceroy. They all felt instinctively that they could place perfect confidence in everything that he told them, and their respect, I ought rather to say, their reverence was all the deeper because while they knew that he was their master, they felt also that he was their friend."

In them will be found valuable lessons on practical administration for the Maharajahs, Nawabs and Feudatories of Hindustan in whose hands the destinies of thousands have been entrusted by Providence, as also a rare admixture of classic eloquence with modern many-sidedness, a masterly grasp of details and a wonderful far-sightedness—qualities most necessary for successful statesmanship. And further, they challenge the admiration of politicians of every shade, who are capable of doing homage to great intelligence, to surpassing oratorical power, to untiring energy, to invincible courage, and to high-minded disinterestedness, devoted without stint for more than a quarter of a century to the service of those who by the favor of his Sovereign, were entrusted to his care.

The peerless intelligence, the bracing fidelity, the native nobleness and catholicity, the tender beauty and reverence of his utterances, his wonderful mastery over the great subjects he handled, his breadth of view, the comprehensiveness of his grasp, the largeness of his sympathy and above all the essential humanity of his tone, rendered LORD MAYO much admired and beloved in the house of Commons. In this Volume, he displays “an acute and vigorous intellect disciplined in all its faculties by laborious study, trained to habits of clear and exact reasoning, and remarkable alike for its powers of analysis and discrimination, for the logical ability with which it grapples with questions before it, for the intense and sustained concentration of its strength on its

chosen subjects and for the native sagacity and good sense with which it saw its way to the hidden truth ; a fine imagination that stands back as the hand-maid of a robust understanding, a complete command over his accumulated resources, a love of the original and independent investigation going back to the fountain head and never satisfying with guesses and traditions ; an indefatigable assiduity and patience of examination, a most scrupulous carefulness in the statement of facts, a simple lucidity of expression and day-light distinctness of thought, ever in the most complicated political questions of the day, a conscientious slowness in forming conclusions, combined with great strength, earnestness and decision in maintaining the opinions which he at length arrived at "and with and above all other virtues, surrounding them with a sacred halo seen not shewn, a serious consciousness of heavy responsibility with which he had been intrusted by the Queen and the Parliament of England.

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uninvolved, English undefiled, scholarly yet never pedantic, strong yet not hard or dry and when the subject naturally called for it clothing itself in the rich hues and the beautiful forms of a practised fancy that illumines while it adorns his thought.

These Speeches will have a permanent value not only for the treasures of learning which they contain and the light which they throw on questions of the deepest importance to the Hindoo as well as the Englishman but for the instructive example which they present of rare virtues, never more needed than at this moment. They furnish lessons to the statesmen, political economists and administrators which they would do well to ponder over and profit by—lessons of patient and persevering research, of scrupulous accuracy of thought and independent investigation and of a conscientious slowness in the publication of facts and opinions which can be properly established only by long and diligent inquiry.

These speeches are not only political documents of the deepest significance, but take at once a place in the foremost ranks of English Literature. They contain not only luminous discussions of the most intricate English and Anglo-Indian political problems but at the same time form a noble gallery of works of Art, of treasures of that rare combination of genius, talent and skill which forms the best oratory. A sense of living truth, a wide sympathy with human nature, and a faith in the supremacy of moral Law in the direction of human affairs, were qualities possessed by

him in a pre-eminent degree. The reader in perusing these speeches will no doubt be struck with the arguments marshalled with wonderful logical sequence and precision and will have his attention fixed as naturally as he breathes the air and will pass on imperceptibly from the piercing vehemence, the fiery passion, the sublime grandeur, to the tenderness, grace and humanity, power of self-restraint, a calm and unvarying purpose, and an unfaltering adherence to fixed convictions.

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ous friends and admirers both here as well as in England but with those who differing intensely as they did with MAYO the politician, learned to admire the dignity and solidity of character of MAYO the man.

The land which gave LORD MAYO birth and which nurtured him in his childhood, whether we consider her ancient traditions or the glorious achievements of her sons, even if she is not entirely unique, will compare favorably with any country in the face of the earth. Ireland has sent forth from her bosom over the widest arena of human enterprise all the highest branches of human knowledge, a noble band of scholars and divines, philosophers and poets, statesmen and warriors who challenge the admiration of the world. From the sixth to the ninth century of the Christian era, Irish missionaries swarmed in Europe to raise from the depths of ignorance, debasement and shame, the benighted heathens of France, Germany, England and Scotland, and these strangers by their piety, devotion and zeal exercised a powerful influence on the destiny of Europe. Many of these noble pioneers of European civilization, gathered round the throne of Charlemagne, eager for metaphysic combat and foremost in all literary tournaments, became the supple and powerful instruments of the civilization he sought to promote. As great soldiers, Irishmen have gained immortal laurels both at home and abroad. On the bloody fields of Clontarf, Aughrim, Blackwater and Limerick, on the ramparts of Lafelt, the slopes of Fontenoy and on the plains

of Raucoux, Luzara, Embrun, and Cremona, their fiery dash and matchless onset told fearfully on their enemies. In literature, art and politics, Ireland contributed some of the greatest men who adorn English History. From Ireland came forth those noble poets Goldsmith and Moore, the artists Murvady and Maclise, and Tyndall who is now enlightening the youths of England in the paths of science. It was Ireland too that produced that noble array of administrators and orators whose memories are embalmed in the annals of "the bar, the senate and the tented field." The glorious achievements of Wellington and Wellesley, the wisdom of Castlereagh, the magnificent genius of Palmerstone, the Demosthenic fire of Grattan and Plunkett, the noble patriotism of Shiel, the comprehensive mind of Flood, the splendor of Bushe, the learning of Bull, the noble eloquence of Burke, the unrivalled persuasiveness of Sheridan, the more than mortal energy of O'Connell and last though not the least, the rare combination of the gentleman and the Ruler in Lord Mayo, will be treasured up for ever in the grateful remembrance of the British people, long after their island home should have become a summer resort, a curiosity to visit, for the children of the great Anglo-Saxon republics that are now growing up in the New and Southern Worlds.

The Right Honorable RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE, Sixth Earl of MAYO in the peerage of Ireland, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas Co Kildare, the late Viceroy and Governor General of India K. P. G. M. S. I. was

born in Dublin on the 21st of February 1822, the very day of the month in which fifty years afterwards, his murdered corpse was borne in mournful procession through the streets of Calcutta to be placed on board the *Daphne* which was to carry it to its last resting place in the British Isles. His Lordship belonged to the noble and illustrious house of Clanricarde, said to have derived their lineage from the old Viscounts Bourke of Mayo, but the representation of that family is now vested in Aylmer Bourke Lambs Esq. of Boyton Co. Wilts, Vice-President of the Linæan Society. John Bourke the third son of David Bourke Esq. of Monycrower Co. Mayo, was a Captain of Horse under the Marquess of Ormonde during the troubles of Ireland in 1641, at the termination of which he took up his abode at Kill Co. Kildare and married Catherine, the accomplished daughter of Mr. Fay and niece of Sir Paul Davys. Lord Mayo was the eldest son of Hon. J. Bourke, fifth Earl of Mayo and of Anne Charlotte, the only daughter of Hon. John Jocelyn of Fair Hill Co. Louth, the third son of the first Earl of Roden. His grandfather, Right Reverend Richard Bourke was the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore and married Frances, second daughter of the most Reverend Robert Fowler, Lord Archbishop of Dublin and his great grandfather, the third Earl of Mayo (who died in 1794 after enjoying the Earldom only for two years) was for a long period Lord Archbishop of Tuam; so that Lord MAYO. was trebly connected with the former dignitaries of the Irish Church.



LORD MAYO was educated in the Trinity College Dublin where he graduated himself as Master of Arts in 1851 and latterly he received from the University of Dublin, the Honorary Degree of L. L. D. As a boy, his Lordship was remarked for his intelligence and amiability and gave ample indications of that right royal nature which afterwards received its fullest developement. Young Bourke combined habits of deep study with active observation in an unusual degree and although trebly connected with the dignitaries of the Irish Church, he displayed very little taste for the clerical profession, but the ecclesiastical influences of his early life were somewhat "evangelical".

After finishing his University education, LORD MAYO travelled in the Continent. He wrote an admirable work entitled *St. Petersburg and Moscow* \* which displays the marvellous acuteness with which he surveyed the scenes and political institutions in the capital of the Czar. It has been justly remarked that this book of the youth of twenty-four contains Lord Mayo in miniature. There is evident an intense love of sight-seeing marked by great powers of observation and by accuracy and judgment in recording the results of that observation. Mr. Bourke then had only a

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\* "*St. Petersburg and Moscow, a Visit to the Court of the Czar—By Richard Southwell Bourke Esq. In Two Volumes; London; Colburn 1846*". In itself the Book is well worth perusal as a lively and interesting discussion of Russia and Russian question in 1845. In the light of India in the past three years, it is a book full of new meaning to all who would read aright the character of the lamented Governor General.

distant prospect of succeeding to the Earldom. His uncle the Earl though without issue, was a vigorous old widower. Beyond opening to him the best society in London and on the Continent when he set out on his travels, Richard's expectations seem in no way to have affected his character unless for good.

LORD MAYO at the age of twenty-three, while plain Mr. Richard Southwell Bourke "on the evening of the Derby 1845", a period when the Russian Empire was little known to the British Public, "driven neither by superabundance of love nor scantiness of money—the causes which so often in the present day send young gentlemen on their travels" left London to travel in the Continent. Sailing to Hamburgh, he crossed to Lubeck and there took the Steamer for St. Petersburg. In his Book he notices with peculiar felicity all points of importance from the Hanseatic League and the conquests of Napoleon to the rationalism of the Lutheran Church and the appearance of the people. Mr. Bourke was enabled through his letters of introduction to study to the best advantage Russia and her people. Alike at St Petersburg and Moscow, but especially in the villas of the Neva Islands, near the former to which the nobility retired in summer, he saw constantly the best Russian society. He lived for a few days at Court and had several interviews with the then mysterious and dreaded Nicholas, in drawing whose picture the young Bourke painted the Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India. "Towering over every one in the room, his well-proportioned figure glided

through the crowd; and the extraordinary grace of his manner is only equalled by the superiority of his manly form. A kind word, a cheerful remark or a glad smile greeted and delighted every person he addressed, while with rare talent he seemed to unite in one the host, the master and the companion".

In the opening chapter of his book he satirizes the London season through which he had just passed and condemns London Society as "fictitious, hollow and baseless". He remarks, "thus we see often-times a tilted scion of nobility, a laughing stock and a bore. The millionaire whose wife would give half her fortune for the privileges of J—Y or ah—Y, spending her life and wealth in attempting to attract the notice or court the favor of the priestess of the Temple of Fashion and the successful author or brilliant orator, often times unhonored or unknown and looked down on by beings infinitely inferior in virtue or talent but of great consideration in the park of the party" But he was no radical, although he predicts that "a power may one day arise that would overturn the temple and scorn its priests". For the young Tory desired as "the goddess of Society, a tri-fold Deity of talent, wealth and worth" and then as if half ashamed of thus moralising, the feelings natural to his years and position thus burst forth. "This is all very fine but still, I confess, I like London: I like the beauties, the chaperons and the dandies, the dinner, the balls, the opera and the park; I like aristocracy and hate snobs; and so notwithstanding

my philosophy, I will decidedly go to London next year if possible."

It is evident from the Book that he made himself fully acquainted with the people, in the land of his sojourn so far as he could with his thorough knowledge of the French. "While coming to the conclusion, and proving it by repeated fact and authentic anecdote, that De Custine's scandals about Russia and its Court were in many respects baseless, he does not spare the real abuses of the system of Government—the corruption of the officials and consequent absence of justice ; the want of any approach to that representative system which Catherine did not persevere in carrying out ; and serfdom with all that it involved. Written in 1846 his remarks on the last are specially marked by a statesmanlike foresight and a keen philanthropy." Little did he dream, when in his youthful enthusiasm he wrote the following remarkable passage, that in the Providence of God, he himself was one day to wield a sceptre over 200 millions of varied nationalities and creeds—in an office which presents a remarkable resemblance with that of the Czar. "What knowledge, what courage, what penetration, what self-command it must require to successfully wield so Godlike a power ! On the breath of the Czar hangs the welfare or the misery of millions ; on his word depends the very existence of nations ; so pious a man as the present Emperor is said to be, must often consider with awe the account he will have one day to render to the King of kings." Since the assassination, these words have a new solemnity. The passage on the serfs

runs thus, and it is also a good example of the writer's style. After referring to the efforts of the Empress Catherine, and meeting the argument drawn from the sudden emancipation of our West India Negroes he says :—" Until the children of the soil be free, Russia may vainly hope to possess the preponderance in the scale of nations that her vast territory entitles her to. She may conquer the effeminate Persian, or by the aid of her enormous armies keep enslaved Poland in subjection ; she may march her hosts of serfs to extend her already too wide domains, or to starve the gallant Circassian into amenity to her power ; but never will the nations of Europe feel that the clutch of the Black Eagle is to be feared, that her armies when met by equal numbers are to be dreaded ; never will the wealth of other lands find its way in due proportion to the traders of the North, or will one thousandth part of the gigantic resources of this mighty empire be developed till the slave is free...Endowed with many great national qualities the Russian serf is in every way worthy of freedom. He combines Oriental quickness and versatility of talent with some of the hardy virtues of the North ; and though partaking more of Asiatic than European character, in him is to be found many of the elements of national greatness. The blindness of the rulers may still endeavour to continue this horrid system, but let them beware of a nation one day springing into existence...Uneducated, unrestrained and unfit for self-Government, he would riot on the ruins of former greatness, and anarchy would deluge the fair cities of

Russia. Terrors such as these are to be averted only by mild and judicious Government, and by a determination on the part of the rulers to recognize the just rights of man. Gradually and surely might the great work be carried on, changing by custom what custom has established and altering laws by laws; the work would be grand; the consequence, the dawn of the greatness of Russia. Though Europe might justly dread the tenfold augmentation of her giant neighbour's power, she would with admiration behold a nation liberated without the effusion of a drop of blood, and freedom doubly blessed from being freely bestowed. . . . Visionary all this may be and many may consider it a dream of boyish folly; but I despair not of living to see Russia free; and though it is absolutely necessary to the well-being of the whole nation that the revolution should be the work of time and the result of years of preparation; though at present the horizon of hope seems as dark to the poor serf as in the earliest periods of the empire, yet still I know that feelings will spread, and that the spirit of freedom which is daily gaining ground in every corner of Europe will, in spite of police and passports, enter the dominions of the Czar. Let them meet it if they can,—oppose it if they dare!"

In describing life in the Islands of the Neva he is jovial enough, as we might expect a young Irishman to be, till he even records that "as games, the dance and song chased each other in quick succession, a certain shy young gentleman

of my intimate acquaintance, found himself entertaining the company with a jig to "Paddy O'Rafferty" on the captain's speaking trumpet!" But this is only by the way and we soon find ourselves in an intelligent discussion of Russian trade and condemnation of Russian monopolies. Finally, in the simplest and most unconscious way, we are permitted to see the warmth of the writer's friendships and his trusty loyalty to his friends. His Russian Experience was a preparation for his Indian success. Underlying both we see the same characteristics which caused that success, though his Indian career developed a new power which no subordinate position could draw out—the power of choosing the best men for the service of the Empire. This he shared with Lord Dalhousie and with his own great countryman, Lord Wellesley.

After finishing his studies and travels, in order to acquire that habit of work which is essential to the success of a statesman, Mr. Bourke began his official career as a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Lord Heytesbury who occupied the high office of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from July 1844 to July 1846, and who was in 1835 appointed Governor-General of India by Sir Robert Peel but was superseded by Lord Auckland on the change of Ministry—a precedent which was strongly brought forward by his political opponents as justifying Mr. Gladstone's recalling him from India. In 1847. Mr. Bourke first entered Parliament being elected M. P. for KILDARE, on avowed Protectionist principles and sat uninterruptedly for that County till March 1852, when he

vacated his seat on being appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland on the formation of Lord Derby's first administration. He did not proceed to a new election at KILDARE but was returned for the borough of COLERAINE at the general election of July 1852, and continued in his office as Chief Secretary for Ireland till December of that year which witnessed the beginning and end of the short-lived Derby administration. On accepting office, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, being then known as Lord Naas, his father having succeeded to the Earldom of Mayo by the demise of his uncle in May 1849, when his son assumed one of the junior titles appertaining to that Earldom.

Lord Mayo married on the 31st October 1848, BLANCHE JULIA, third daughter of Colonel George Wyndham of Petworth House Sussex, who was created Lord Leconfield in 1859, and by her had a numerous family. Of LORD MAYO's brothers it may be mentioned that the Right Honorable Robert Bourke, a barrister of the Middle Temple, and author of a work entitled *Parliamentary Precedents*, married in 1863, the Lady Susan Georgiana Ramsay, elder daughter of the late Marquess of Dalhousie K T., the distinguished Governor-General of India. Another brother, the Honorable and Rev. George Wingfield Bourke, is a son-in-law of the late Dr. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose family he was domestic Chaplain. It may be still fresh in the memory of our readers that Honble J Bourke M. P. His Lordship's brother paid a visit to India, and was entertained right royally by



the Chiefs of Cashmere, Jeypore, Hydrabad and other Native states he visited. He received the sad intelligence of his brother's assassination just when he was about to leave for England to narrate the pleasant reminiscences of his journey to his family and friends. Lord Naas represented Coleraine till march 1857, when he was returned for the English borough of COCKERMOUTH for which he sat uninterruptedly till his appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty, his seat in the House of Commons being unaffected by his succession to the peerage in 1867, the Irish Earldom of Mayo not conferring a right to sit in the Upper House, though his father was a representative Peer for Ireland from June 1852, till the date of his death. Lord NAAS was again Chief Secretary for Ireland in Lord Derby's second Ministry from February 1858 to June 1859, and was re-appointed to the same office in June 1866, when he was honored with a seat in Lord Derby's Cabinet which he had not occupied in his Lordship's previous administrations. During Lord MAYO's tenure of the Irish office, the history of Ireland was chequered by the rise and collapse of the Fenian Rebellion and to his name as Chief Secretary, future ages will always attach much of the credit for having made a successful stand against the designs of that abortive combination. No Irishman at the head of affairs ever acted more vigorously than he during the troublous days of Fenianism when Ireland daily witnessed scenes of implacable ferocity, murder, midnight drillings, illegal oaths, secret societies, arms and menace

violence and insurrection. England had by reason her State Church and a bad system of land tenure, converted the enthusiastic people into her bitterest opponents and the part which LORD MAYO took in winning back their loyalty and respect to the British Crown was beset with insuperable difficulties, yet in the end he came triumphantly off, and the applause of an admiring nation and an appreciating Ministry crowned his efforts. The policy of "concurrent endowments" and "leveling up" which he recommended for the pacification of Ireland and which he expounded in his masterly speech on the State of Ireland. (Vide page 206) did not indeed find favor with his political opponents but the wonderful knowledge of the subject displayed, rivetted the attention of Parliament for five hours in succession. His political career in England was indeed a decided success and the following words of Mr. Disraeli spoken at a meeting held after his death to commemorate his services amply supports my position. "The career of LORD MAYO, though we lost him if not in the prime at least in the perfection of manhood, was by no means a short one. Previous to his appointment to the great Viceroyalty, he had served this country for 20 years in the House of Commons. Although he made no pretensions to those gifts which in that Assembly sometimes obtain prompt and dazzling success for their possessors, yet those who were acquainted with him in early life, speedily recognized in Lord Mayo qualities which would without doubt have rendered his career there distinguished. When he was a private member of Parliament and a member

of the Opposition only, he connected himself with two most difficult public questions, and succeeded in carrying them both through the House of Commons. They were questions which demanded such a knowledge of detail that, generally speaking, only a Minister who has official information at his command would be presumed able to deal with them and even with that official information he must be a Minister in order to command the time which is placed at the disposition only of those in office in that assembly. Yet Lord Mayo, a private member only, and a member of the Opposition, by his complete mastery of the facts of the case in both instances, by his indomitable perseverance, by his extraordinary vigilance, and specially by that winning manner which obtained for him the support of many members who were not of his own political connexion, carried both those measures through Parliament successfully, in the teeth of the powerful opposition of a powerful Government (Cheers.) One of the last of his measures was that reform in the superannuation system of the Civil Service which has obtained for him the gratitude of the whole of that powerful body. That has often been expressed, and the business which calls us here to-day will give an excellent opportunity to the Civil Service to show in an enduring manner the depth and the sincerity of their sentiments. The other measure with which he was connected referred to the most important trade of his native land—the distillery trade. It was by his efforts alone that a measure was carried through Parliament, opposed by the Government of the

day—which I may impress upon you is an important circumstance in the consideration of his merits,—which relieved the most important industry in Ireland from oppressive fiscal regulations which were at the same time most injurious to that industry. A private Member of Parliament who showed qualities of this character was a man evidently indicated, for office, and in the office to which LORD MAYO was soon preferred, he justified the opinions of those who had recommended him to the Queen. There never was a Minister of Ireland when he was in a subordinate position, though an important one, who at the same time was more sedulous and more conciliatory. (Hear, hear.) It had been rashly stated before his appointment that the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was a mere sinecure, but while LORD MAYO (then Lord NAAS) held that office, there was not in any department of the State a more busy, or more usefully busy office. During the time that he filled that post, he passed a variety of measures, which though they were not of a character which excited public passions, were immensely useful to the Irish people. None of them have been repealed, and all of them are recognized as subjects of practical benefit to the country. But the great opportunity of exhibiting the high qualities which he possessed was first offered when he was adverse to the Cabinet at a period when the Government of Ireland was a subject of imperial anxiety. We had to encounter, chiefly by his advice and counsel that extraordinary conspiracy against the peace of the United Kingdom which was concocted in a foreign land, but which was, no doubt of a

very menacing character. In encountering the Fenian conspiracy he showed qualities of a highest kind—courage, vigilance, firmness, and infinite resource—by his exertions principally that conspiracy was baffled; and what was admirable in LORD MAYO was that when he had succeeded in vanquishing this menace to the peace of that country and to the power of the Sovereign, he showed that though firm and resolute he was by nature mild and merciful. (Hear, hear.) Panic never drove him into precipitate severity.”

When the D'Israeli Ministry was on the eve of its dissolution, a rumour got abroad in the Clubs of London that Lord MAYO was about to accept the Governor-Generalship of Canada—a rumour which did not excite much concern; but when it was authoritatively stated in the “Gazette” that his Lordship had been appointed to the splendid office of the Governor-General of India, then rose a storm of opposition from his political opponents which could not easily be appeased. The appointment was declared to be a most indefensible party job. His supposed ignorance\* of India was

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\* Punch wrote a funny dialogue anent Lord Mayo's ignorance of Indian affairs. In reply to a query, from the head of a deputation of Indian gaols as to whether he is aware of the nature of the gaol system of India, Lord Mayo answers:—

“Is it aware. In course I am .....A policeman which they call a dacoity, takes hold of an offender, or chuprasse, claps pæjammas on his wrist, and shews him his warrant or putullynautch. Then ho lugs him off to the Begum, or as you justly remark, gaol, and delivers him over to the adjutant or gigantic crane, until he can be brought to brandy pawnee which means trial. If he satisfies the Deputy Superintendent, residential agent, that he is nutkut or innocent, he is liberated, on payment of nineteen pice, which is equal to seven and six pence; but if, on the evidence of two bangles, he is found guilty, he is locked up in a jemader, until he can be brought before the Supreme Court of the Himalayas.”

made the basis of much ridicule and many respectable journals gravely recommended Mr. Gladstone to recall the Conservative Viceroy—a recommendation which the liberal Premier, to his honor be it said, declined to act upon. The verdict of impartial history on this matter will be that he won the distinction fairly and honestly—won by no unworthy arts of time-serving stratagem but achieved by sheer force of power, energy and genius. When Mr. Disraeli offered Lord MAYO the Indian Viceroyalty, he did not at once accept the coveted Prize. It could not be expected that he would easily leave the dear companionship of numerous friends of both parties and the delights of home for five years' exile in a tropical clime which had proved fatal to more than one of his predecessors. It was at the urgent solicitations of the Premier that he consented to the sacrifice. Since he accepted the high office he spent the whole of his time in studying Indian questions and blessed as he was with a wonderfully quick intellectual grasp, he was enabled when embarking for India, by a few months' assiduity to acquire a knowledge of the intricate problems of Indian politics, such as would do credit to an Indian Secretary who had worked out his term in the India office. Having bade adieu to his numerous relations and friends, before embarkation he delivered his farewell speech to the Electors of Cockermonth, in the course of which he gave utterance to the following manly words which commanded the sympathy of all true Britons without reference to party politics.

"Splendid as is the post and difficult as will be my duties, I go forth in full confidence and hope, God will give me such strength, and wisdom as will enable me to direct the Government of India in the interest and for the welfare of the millions committed to our care. In the performance of the task I ask no favor, let me be judged according to my actions, but I know that efforts honestly made for the maintenance of our national honor, for the spread of civilization and the preservation of peace will always command the sympathy and support of my countrymen."

Mr. Disraeli knew well the abilities of him in whose hands, he entrusted the destinies of 200 millions of people and his prediction uttered in November 1868 before the Electors of Buckinghamshire has been more than fulfilled.

"Upon that nobleman for his sagacity, for his judgment, fine temper and knowledge of men, HER MAJESTY has been pleased to confer the office of VICEROY of INDIA and as VICEROY OF INDIA, I believe he will earn a reputation that his country will honor and that he has before him a career which will equal that of the most eminent GOVERNOR GENERAL who has preceded him."

LORD MAYO left England in November 1868. Landing at Egypt, he accompanied M De Lesseps and Lord Napier of Magdala to inspect the then unfinished Suez Canal and unlike the generality of Englishmen, he expressed his strong conviction, that it was no "visionary project," but one which was destined to confer immense benefit to the commerce between Europe and Asia.

On his way down the Red Sea, he received an enthusiastic reception at Aden, where the Native and European residents presented him with an Address to which His Lordship returned a suitable reply (vide Appendix). He spent a day in examining the fortifications. With the splendid festivities of

the day he did not forget the claims of the poor ; and before leaving that rocky settlement, he left a purse for distribution among them. He arrived at Bombay on the 19th December 1868 and the welcome he received from all ranks of the people in the capital of the Western Presidency was not the less warm. He remained there about ten days "spending his whole time in making himself acquainted with the people and the city, in visiting Barracks and Jails and Schools and Cotton presses, reviewing troops and receiving deputations." All classes of the population vied with each other to do him honor. He visited Poona, the ancient capital of the Peishwas and was much interested in the acute and quick intellectual bearing of the Marhatta over whom priestcraft and superstition domineered with far greater tyranny than over his brethren of Bengal. Having returned to Bombay he took a coasting trip in the Malabar to the Bypore terminus of the Madras Railway whence the iron horse bore him off to Madras where a magnificent reception awaited him. A Madras Journal thus writes about the impression then made by the new VICEROY.

"Lord MAYO then presented decidedly a prepossessing exterior, and his face was that of a good-natured, able and firm man, in the prime of mental and physical strength. He reminded some-what of the late Sir Robert Peel. Personal appearance is a matter of no small consequence in an Indian Viceroy and in Lord Mayo's case this is added to a stature above that of the average Englishman. Lord MAYO looked in short a ready and capable man of whom high expectations might be formed."

His Lordship arrived at Calcutta on the 12th January 1869, and took the usual oath of his office. Nothing could



exceed the joyous outburst of all classes of Calcutta society who flocked towards the Government House to welcome the new Viceroy. Even now after the terrible events connected with his untimely end, memory calls up in sad contrast the scene of his gay landing when amid the booming of cannons mingled with the joyous shouts of the spectators, he landed from *Sonamookee* at the Chandpal Ghaut. The public bodies of Calcutta no sooner Lord MAYO had enjoyed a few days' rest, presented him Addresses of welcome (vide Appendix) and his replies to them were marked with such honesty and outspoken liberality, that they inspired hope of an unprecedentedly successful administration. To the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce he said :—

“ I can assure you that no man entered upon the office of the Governor General under a deeper sense of responsibility, or a fuller appreciation of the magnitude of the interests which by the favor of my Sovereign have been committed to my care”

Lord MAYO began his Indian work with a through consciousness of the magnitude of the responsibility attached to it. He did not enter a path strewn with roses, but one thickly beset with thorns and briars. He directed his first attention towards his Foreign Policy “ which has been universally declared to be a brilliant success.” Since the establishment of the British rule in India, the foreign relations of the Government of India with its Feudatories and Chiefs as well as with the semi-barbarous states that are counterminous with our borders, were never more satisfactory. His vigor, sagacity, and forethought displayed in the solution of the in-

ternational questions, "have left marked effects far beyond the limits of India and have influenced the counsels even of that great European power which shares with England dominion in Asia." His grand aim was "to establish with all our frontier states intimate relations of friendship; to make them feel that we have no desire to encroach on their authority but on the contrary our earnest desire is to support their power and maintain their nationality" and by assuring them that the days of Annexation were past, create outworks of the Empire which in times of trouble might be of immense service.

The territories that lie beyond our North Western Frontier had always been from remote ages, scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, of intestine broils, revolutions and dynastic changes of which we vainly look for a parallel in the civilized countries of this type. Mr. Strachey justly remarks :—

"This chronic state of turbulence and disorder destructive of ancient land-marks, and boundaries and producing only weakness and disintegration both provokes and invites annexation. It ruins commerce, destroys the productions of the soil, scares away peaceful traders who have an interest in the preservation of order and settled government, creates a permanent class whose interest it is to perpetuate anarchy and produces isolation, jealousy and distrust in countries that suffer from its curse....To apply a radical remedy to these evils was the main object of Lord Mayo's foreign policy....By assisting rulers of these states to strengthen their internal Government and by bringing both his own personal influence and the moral support of the British Government to bear in putting down rebellions and revolutions, he endeavoured to establish firm, just and merciful Government. By the encouragement and development of trade, he hoped to break down the barriers which isolate those countries from us and

to create both within and beyond our frontier a permanent interest in the maintenance of good order. By free and friendly intercommunication, he desired to remove that ignorance as to our policy and that jealousy as to our intentions which in past years have been so fruitful of mischief. And lastly, by endeavouring through frank and amicable discussion with the Russian Government to secure the adoption on their part of a similar policy in the countries on the Russian Frontier in Asia, which are subject to Russian influence, it was his hope that he would be instrumental in securing some degree of peace and prosperity to the exhausted countries of Central Asia and in removing the causes of disquietude as to the designs of England and Russia, which have been so prominent in the public mind in both countries."

The Durbar he held at Umballa at the end of March 1869 to receive the Ameer Shere Aly, Ruler of Afghanistan who after three years of unbroken disasters succeeded at last through the instrumentality of his son to defeat his rivals and reseat himself on the throne of Cabul, was the first and the most brilliant event in his administration. The splendors of such occasions dazzle the Asiatic imagination which like the Italian, hungers for large scenic effects, for the bright, the unusual and the big. They not only delight the Princes and Chiefs but impress upon them the stupendous magnitude of Britain's power and resources in Asia. Hence the Umballa Durbar had a most salutary effect both on the Princes and people within and beyond India. Lord Mayo acted his part admirably on the occasion and his address to the Afghan Ameer was as dignified as it was sincere.

AMEER SHERE ALI KHAN.

"In the name of Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Sovereign of India, I

bid you a hearty welcome and express to you the sincere gratification that it gives me to receive your Highness as the guest of the Queen."

"I trust that this visit may be the commencement of many years of amity between Her Majesty and yourself and of mutual confidence and good will between the natives which Her Majesty rules in India and all the subjects of your Highness."

On presenting the Ameer with a Sword from amongst the presents (*Khillut*) Lord Mayo significantly remarked.

"I present you with this Sword as a token of my desire that you may ever be victorious over your enemies in defence of your just and lawful rights and the consolidation of your kingdom."

The Ameer had evidently come over to India hoping for a fixed annual subsidy and for a Treaty laying the British Government under an obligation to support in any emergency the Afgan Government represented in himself and his descendants only. To these exorbitant demands LORD MAYO did not accede, yet he sent the AMEER back, a staunch and devoted ally to the British power. In, assuring him of British support generally his Lordship remarked :—

"I earnestly trust that on Your Highness' return to your own country you may be enabled speedily to establish your legitimate rule over your entire kingdom, to consolidate your power, to create a firm and a merciful administration in every province of Afghanistan, to promote the interests of commerce and to secure peace and tranquility within all your borders.

"Although as already intimated to you the British Government does not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, yet considering that the bonds of friendship between that Government and your Highness have lately been

more closely drawn than heretofore, it will view with severe displeasure any attempts on the part of your rivals to disturb your position as ruler of Cabul and rekindle civil war and it will further endeavour from time to time by such means as circumstances may require, to strengthen the government of your Highness, to enable you to exercise with equity and with justice your rightful rule and to transmit to your decendants all the dignities and honors of which you are the lawful possessor.

“It is my wish therefore that your Highness should communicate frequently and freely with the Government of India and its officers on all subjects of public interest and I can assure your Highness that any representation which you may make will always be treated with consideration and respect.

“By these means and by the exercise of mutual confidence, I entertain well grounded hopes that the most friendly relations between the British Government and that of your Highness may ever be maintained to the advantage of the subjects both of Her majesty the Queen and of your Highness.”

When the news of the AMEER's reception at Umballa reached Russia, considerable alarm and excitement prevailed in the court of the Czar. But the mission of Mr. Forsyth to Russia soon called forth mutual explanations and elicited from the Czar the declaration of his intention to adhere to a peaceful line of Policy.

LORD MAYO's dealings with the Chiefs and Feudatories of Hindustan were marked by a friendly geniality never witnessed before. In the annals of British Government, at no period was the government of India more loved and admired, never perhaps was the personal influence of a Viceroy more deeply and tangibly felt in the Native Courts than was the case during Lord MAYO's rule. “We have

all seen for ourselves" says Strachey "the confidence which his genial, frank and manly bearing inspired. He did more than any other VICEROY to convince the Chiefs that the days of Annexation were past for ever." He did indeed interfere in cases of gross mismanagement in the interest of the subjects of Native states, as in the case of Ulwur where oppression rebellion, vice, waste or extravagance, called for his decisive intervention. We see also in the Durbar speeches how deeply anxious was his Lordship to remove the first and the last cause of mis-government in many Native States—Ignorance of the densest kind, and the foundation of the College at Ajmere to train the future Rulers of Rajpootana will ever be linked with honor to his name, and the distant generations of Rajpoot Nobles, armed with knowledge to play their proper part with the British Government and their own subjects will bless his Lordship as the noblest and truest of their benefactors.

When LORD MAYO landed in India, the country was groaning under a heavy financial deficit which had gone on increasing year after year in spite of the efforts of English economists who were sent out to bring order out of chaos, to secure Government from a threatened insolvency and curtail as much as possible extravagance in expenditure which in individuals as well as in Governments is the sure precursor of ruin. The Viceroy spared no pains, and even sacrificed for a time all his popularity to restore the balance and to make both ends meet. All the luxuries with some of the necessaries

of a beneficent government were retrenched to meet the income. LORD MAYO handled the shears of Retrenchment without reference to mens feelings—mindful alone of the duty he owed to the country. He reduced the Army Expenditure by half a million without materially diminishing its strength. When he assumed the reins of Government, he found a startling deficit of £1600,000 but before the hand of the assassination had sent him to his rest, he had restored the financial equilibrium of the Empire on a sound and satisfactory basis by a wise adjustment of income and expenditure. Referring to this subject he said “we thought that the honor and credit of the Empire was at stake—We took the severe and in most cases the objectionable course of ordering extensive reductions in expenditure and of increasing “the burdens of the population in the middle of the year.” “Remember” he used to say to those about him “you have played your last card ; such a step as this can never be taken again.”

In his Despatch to the Secretary of state of 20th September 1869, he assured the Duke of Argyll, “that, notwithstanding the somewhat gloomy picture we have been obliged to draw, the general aspect of affairs inspires us with the fullest confidence in the future prosperity of India. We entertain no apprehension of foreign invasion or domestic disturbance. For all purposes of defence and for the preservation of peace, our military and police organizations are strong and efficient. The splendid revenue of the Empire is contributed by a population which compared with that of other countries, is lightly taxed. As was proved by the success of our late loan, the credit of India never stood higher. The enriching and civilizing effects of the great Railway and Irrigation works which have, within the last twenty years, been constructed are beginning to be felt

throughout the length and breadth of the land. By the blessing of Providence with the reasonable and plentiful rainfall of the last few weeks, all danger of Famine and of the continuance of the late severe distress has passed away. The steady rise which has taken place in the value of labour must ere long materially increase the wealth and contentment of the people. With us then, it rests by careful administration and by a strict adherence to those simple rules of prudence and economy which in the conduct of the affairs alike of nations and individuals are indispensable to the attainment of safety and success, to use to the utmost extent for the benefit of the people the mighty resources of this great Empire."

Under LORD MAYO's administration the Policy of Decentralization was vigorously carried out in the Government of India. It was a policy which made over a certain income to Local Governments wherewith they were required to regulate their local expenditure and left them, subject to certain general rules and conditions, the responsibility of managing their own local affairs. The working of the Policy proved a complete success and the Local Governments since the introduction of this policy—"the date of their financial emancipation"—have worked on with entire satisfaction by effecting a saving for future years. "The system" remarks Sir J. Strachey, "will doubtless be further improved and developed, but the honor of practically inaugurating it, belongs to LORD MAYO and it will remain one of the most important monuments of his administration."

To LORD MAYO the Indian reproductive works owe an impetus they never had before. In spite of the unfortunate unhealthy state of the finances, he did not through



case economy starve works of real utility. He desired specially to connect the great Capitals of Central and Western India by Railway and to bring to the marts of commerce, the rich and valuable products of those territories. Hence the introduction of the State Railways in Native States—especially to Hyderabad, the capital of the NIZAM ; to Indore, the Capital of the Maharajah HOLKAR and to the states of Rajpootana, points out to a bright future for those countries.

IRRIGATION occupied much of his attention. Just when LORD MAYO landed in India, the beautiful country of ORISSA presented an aspect of desolation occasioned by the terrible Famine which had then decimated her population. He found that a healthy system of Irrigation would to a certain extent prevent the recurrence of the dire calamity when again heavens became brass and earth iron. He sanctioned the Orissa and Godavery Irrigation works and other similar undertakings all over the country too numerous to mention.

In the matter of Education LORD MAYO'S views appear to have been generally misunderstood. His policy was not, as has been misrepresented, intended to discourage High Education in the country. While fully alive to the necessity of raising the condition of the dumb millions—those hewers of wood and drawers of water—by elementary education, nothing was further from his thoughts than to withhold his support from the system of High Education which has enabled India to compete in the arena of intellect with the most civilized nations

of Europe. While he believed the vernacular to be the most potent instrument for the education of the masses, he never thought that the highest training to the youth of India could be secured through any other medium than that of the English. In the cause of Mahomedan Education he took a especial interest. He saw that the vast Mahomedan population of India, unlike their ancestors at Bagdad, Egypt and Cordova, who sat at the feet of Greek Professors and helped to preserve Classic Literature in Europe, looked with little favor on foreign culture and were therefore far behind their Hindoo fellow-subjects. Hence the additional encouragement he gave to the Persian and Arabic Literature without infringing the principle of the old Education Policy, to attract a large number of Mahomedan youths to Government Madrissahs. As Chancellor of the Calcutta University he kept a vigilant eye over the deliberations of the Syndicate.

After his arrival in Calcutta he addressed the assembled students in a thoroughly honest and practical speech which gave rise to high expectations which had he been spared a little longer, would have been completely realized. Mr. E. C. Bayley, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and Secretary to the Government of India, in the Home Department, in his annual speech at the Convocation of 1872, took occasion to refer to LORD MAYO'S Educational Policy in this country, in the following deservedly complimentary terms :—

“It is, I think, only befitting this place and this occasion, that I should dwell for a little space on the significance of LORD MAYO’s connection with this University, and I trust that you will give me your attention, while I endeavour however imperfectly, to do justice to it. Warmly interested in the general cause of education and in its extension in the widest possible manner to all classes of the community, LORD MAYO took especial interest in the success of higher class education, particularly as it is represented by this University. It was almost his first public act, after his assumption of office in 1869, to attend and to address the Convocation of that year, and it was his wish, if he had been spared to do so, to take the opportunity of this very meeting to explain publicly and broadly the views which the Government of India entertained on the subject of high English education—views which he felt had been unjustly interpreted and very widely misunderstood. How valuable such an authoritative exposition of the policy of Government would have been, those know best who knew how catholic, how wise, how prudent were his counsels, how firm and just his acts. But while thus indicating his desire publicly to identify himself with the action of the University, I may be permitted to add that his interest was not confined to these public occasions, but that almost very great question which during his period of office has come under the consideration of the Syndicate, was privately discussed and considered by him. Except its great founder, LORD CANNING, I am sure that no Chancellor has taken so earnest an interest in the welfare of the University, as LORD MAYO. I need scarcely say, however, that his attention was not confined to one class, or to one form of education alone. It is not possible to do full justice to-day even to this portion of the late Viceroy’s policy; but I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer to one particular instance which now unfortunately possesses a peculiar significance. In regard to the special question of the encouragement of education among the Mahomedan community, it is, I believe not generally known that LORD MAYO took the most active and leading part. It is perhaps no longer any breach of confi-

dence to say that he himself first drew attention to this subject, and that the resolution of Government in which it was recently discussed, and to which I have already alluded, proceeded word for word from his pen; nor need I, perhaps hesitate to add that in other more general measures, intended for the benefit of the Mahomedans he took an equal interest, and that this portion of the community have lost in him not only a most powerful but a most sincere friend. The one consolatory reflection which remains to us is, that such an example and its influences cannot wholly die. I am sure that I may aver with a confident belief that not even the terrible catastrophe which cut short LORD MAYO'S career will be permitted to interrupt his benevolent intentions. I am sure that those who have enjoyed the privilege of his confidence are far beyond any motives arising out of the cruel act which took him from among them; that they will feel it their highest duty to follow in his footsteps, and that they would feel themselves unworthy of his leadership, unworthy of the authority which they wield, unworthy of the country which they represent, if they were led by any feeling whatever to deviate one iota to the right hand or the left from the generous policy which it was LORD MAYO'S glory to initiate."

Dr. Wilson of Bombay also bore willing testimony to the services which LORD MAYO rendered to the cause of Education of all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects.

"He took a very sound view of our educational position in this country. I remember the anxiety which he expressed about our teaching the outside literature in our Universities in all its entirety without any eliminations in deference to prejudice or in deference to ignorance. I know that of late he showed very great anxiety also to do justice to a class of the community comparatively neglected—I mean those who are most accustomed to use the Persian and the Arabic languages. He caused a circular to be sent to the Universities requiring them to direct their attention to matters which might induce that class of the community I have now in my eye to come forward and more liberally to avail of the advantages of a European education than they have hitherto done."

As to the matter of Legislation, LORD MAYO's Viceregal career saw the passing of many highly important measures and it is pleasing to see from the successive reports of the Legislative Council what prominent a part he took in the discussion of principles involved therein. How strenuously he maintained the great principles of justice and rigorous impartiality between classes and creeds, is seen in his speech on the Brahmo Marriage Bill. In concurring with the principles of that Bill whose object was to enable persons who renounced Hinduism or any other Native Religion without becoming Christian, to marry easily without entailing any social disabilities on themselves or their offspring, he said. "I am prepared to say that this Government will never consent to continue a state of the law which has the effect of imposing a severe disability upon a portion of our fellow-subjects, going possibly to the extent of making their wives concubines and their children bastards and rendering the devolution of property insecure." Noble words these and the good he has rendered to this country by his rigid and staunch support to this great Measure which the influx of European thought in India had rendered an indispensable necessity, will be seen in the augmented social, moral and I may say physical well-being of the thousands which can never be possible under the old effete system of Marriage sanctioned by Hindooism.

Such is a brief *resume* of the labors to which Lord Mayo during his Indian Viceroyalty devoted himself. Like Nelson's and Wellington's his watchword was "DUTY." Nothing but a deep conscientious appreciation of the heavy responsibility of his position could have carried him onward, unmoved

by the voice of calumny, in his hard though beneficent toils. Peculiarly sensitive of public and private opinion which did not always smile upon him, he felt the surest safe-guard against depression and despondency in the proud consciousness of strength inherent in great and noble natures and which opened before his prophetic vision bright vistas of ultimate success. So great was his anxiety to see every thing for himself (and personal observations gave him a knowledge of things which he could never hope to attain through books and official reports) that regardless of personal comfort he undertook rapid journeys from one end of the empire to the other, exciting the wonder and admiration of thoughtful men. In the early part of the year 1872 the king of Siam, a potentate representing perhaps the most Europeanised nation in Asia visited our shores and was received with that right royal hospitality which Lord Mayo knew peculiarly well to dispense. His Lordship took occasion to cement the bonds of political friendship with the Siamese King. "I trust" said Lord Mayo "that your Majesty will find here and during your tour throughout this great empire, much to interest you and that your Majesty's visit will improve and develop those friendly relations which already exist between the subjects of the Queen and the many millions of the people over whom you exercise your kingly rule."

After the departure of the king of Siam from Calcutta Lord Mayo set out on his self imposed though unfortunate mission to the Andamans. His boundless activity and untiring energy had during his 3 years of Indian service always manifested themselves in a variety of ways. His trip to Andamans was not a trip of pleasure, but a tour of inspec-



inestimable importance to a man struggling, with the difficulties of such an undertaking receiving letters only at intervals of six weeks and debarred altogether from all other society than that of a few official subordinates."

The condition of the Andamans had for a long series of years presented a total absence of any discipline and caused the most serious apprehension to the Government of India. That convict settlement was described by an Indian Journal as a paradise of rum drinking and unlimited idleness with the train of crimes to which it gives birth. "The convicts are said to have been in the habit of taking in their service, the Sepoys who were supposed to guard them, and were free to draw for a gallon of rum at a time. Two years ago a port Blair convict was convicted at Calcutta of having after one of these drinking bouts, killed a fellow prisoner and he was recommended to mercy on the ground that the crime would not in all probability have been committed but for the disgraceful laxity of discipline and want of proper control over the convicts at Port Blair. The Community which furnished the assassin of Lord Mayo lived therefore for a long period in a scene where every thought and purpose of crime had been allowed to grow unchecked and where deeds of violence had at least the sanction of the connivance or neglect of the authorities.

In Burmah, where the viceregal party first landed, there was a round of merriments and joy in all classes of the people. Mr. Eden spared neither expenses nor trouble to give His Excellency a regal welcome. From Burmah the Vice-regal party proceeded to Port Blair on the 8th February 1872



that fatal day "big with the fate of Mayo and of Ind" which will ever be recorded in black on the page of History. "Let us follow the Viceregal party as they leave the Burmese shores and speed across the sea to those fated isles where exiled wretches, the foes of society, drag their doom, and where, alas! a noble and precious life was to be sacrificed to a condemned criminal's malignant revenge? A pleasant interlude; they sail across the dancing waves, a time of grateful repose and fresh anticipation. The Andamans are reached, and the round begins again; another, the closing day, is spent, like those which had gone before, in unflagging exertion. The sun is fast declining, and now the last hour shall be given to the enjoyment of nature. We follow the party with painful interest to the top of the hill. The Viceroy pauses there for a while to gaze on the scene before him: sea-girt isles scattered at his feet, the western ocean burnished, glancing in the setting rays. He has come to the *Ultima Thule* of the vast dominion over which he exercises delegated sway. Dare we say that he thinks of the teeming millions in the great countries across the flood, left behind for a time, to which he expects so soon to return, as well as of the poor prisoners by whom he is surrounded? Perhaps also of that dear far-off land, never, alas! to be seen again; of friends who are there; of the royal Mistress whom he has so loyally and worthily served. Ah! as he gazes on that setting sun, he little thinks that it is a symbol of himself, whose life sands then were fast running out. One moment it is pouring forth its glory, the next it has disappeared: so the brightness of his manhood is already on the verge of extinction in sudden night. The hill is descended, the pier reached, the land is behind, the ship near, all danger seems over. And now we can well

understand how wearied men should relax a painful though needful vigilance. Ah! fatal relaxation! A wicked eye is peering through the gloom towards the spot where the advancing torches cast a lurid light around, a vigorous form is crouching for the spring, Swiftly, surely, strongly, the death strokes are given, and that manly life is extinct."

It is believed that Lord Mayo was already a corpse when the vessel that had borne him proudly from his palace in the Capital of the Indian Empire but a few days before, received him back again on the evening of the 8th February 1872.

All through the night of that fatal day, an awful silence reigned on board the Glasgow, and in the midst of that silence were performed in the silentest manner some of the most awful acts which ever fall to the lot of man to perform—a post mortem examination and the preparation of a coffin, to preserve on earth all that part of man which cannot like the Soul live a higher life. But surpassing in impressiveness in an infinitely greater degree this awful silence and these awful acts was the sublime fortitude which was displayed by that remarkable woman whom the knife of the assassin had pierced most cruelly.

The assassin was Shere Ali, a young, spirited, fanatical semi-barbarous borderer who had been nursed in sanguinary traditions and legends of feuds tribal murders far away in the defiles of Khyber-pass, a man who had himself made assassination his life-long study, and in whom was sapped all reverence for good government, and to whom violence and brutal outrage seemed the natural course of daily existence. After eluding justice many a time, he had at last found the fate which crime can seldom avoid in a well-governed state, the

fate of a convict who should live far from those whom he is only fit to destroy.\*

The remains of the departed Viceroy were brought to Calcutta on the 17th of February and carried into Government house on the evening of the same day. The body lay in state for two days in the Throne room of the Government House and during those two days people went in numbers without number to see all that could yet be seen of the good and great man. On the morning of the 21st of February, the remains of Lord Mayo left Calcutta for their last resting-place by the side of his fathers in the land of his birth.

There is no other fact to chronicle. But we shall not omit to mention one incident, which in its simple pathos and majestic grandeur equals if not surpasses any instance of Christian Charity recorded in ancient or modern times. Before the assassin paid with his life what was due from him to Civil Justice—not to injured Humanity—he received from Lord Mayo's nearest and dearest relatives a telegraphic message in these words—'Sher Ali, may God forgive you !!' a practical exhibition in the darkest hour of gloom and heart rending sorrow of that divine law of forgiveness to enemies so difficult to obey in this world like ours.

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\* The assassin is 30 years of age, strong and well made. He is a Khyberite of the Kookee-Kheyl clan, and resident of Pakhree, in the Cabul territory. He was convicted on the 2nd April 1867 of murder by Colonel Pollock, Commissioner of Peshawur, and being sentenced to transportation for life, was forwarded *via* Kurrachee and Bombay to the Aandemans penal settlement. He arrived there in May 1869, and except on one occasion, on which he had in his possession some flour for which he could not account, nothing whatever has been recorded against him. The prisoner was removed to Hopetown on the 15th May 1871, in order to perform duty as barber at that station, and he has since been employed there. *Official Narrative of the assassinations.*

The news of this overwhelming catastrophe spread horror and dismay throughout India and England and evoked genuine sympathy with the bereaved family of Lord Mayo from parties of all shades of political opinion. His loss was indeed "one of those calamities which sadden nations" and came with the sudden shock of a thunderbolt to those who were honored with his friendship or were united to him by bonds of social or official relationship. In the victim of the assassin's dagger they lost a genial friend attached to them by a thousand tender ties and associated with the happiest memories of a hospitable board. The Queen of England and the Empress of India gave a touching expression of her sorrow, which was far from being the insincere declaration of official formalism.

"The Queen has been deeply affected by the intelligence of the deplorable calamity which has so suddenly deprived all classes of her subjects in India of the able, vigilant, and impartial rule of one who so faithfully represented her as Viceroy of her Eastern Empire. Her Majesty feels that she has indeed lost a devoted servant and a loyal subject in whom she reposed the fullest confidence. To Lady Mayo the loss must be irreparable, and the Queen heartily sympathises with her under the terrible blow."

To Her Majesty's Government his loss was equally "irreparable." Nothing could be more touching than the graceful eulogies which Argyll and Gladstone pronounced in Parliament while bearing testimony to the highly beneficent and successful sway of the murdered Ruler of two hundred millions of people representing thirty-three nationalities and creeds. There was all the dignity and force of genuine sorrow in the few simple words in which

D'Israeli claimed to be excused at that moment from speaking at length of the personal character of his ill-fated friend.

On the 12th of February 1872, the Duke of Argyll amid profound silence, after communicating the news of the assassination in the House of Lords, spoke as follows :—

My lords,—It is my duty on behalf of the Government, to express, in the first place, the deep sympathy which we feel with the family of Lord Mayo in a calamity and an affliction so unlooked for and so overwhelming. (Sympathetic cries of "Hear.") As regards the friends of Lord Mayo, this House is full of his personal friends. I believe no man ever had more friends than he, and I believe no man ever deserved better to have them. (Renewed expressions of sympathy.) For myself I regret to say that I never even had the honour of Lord Mayo's acquaintance; but we came into office at almost the same time and I am happy to say that from that time our communications have been most friendly, and I may say most cordial. I think I may go further and say that there has not been one very serious difference of opinion between us on any question connected with the Government of India. I hope, my lords, it will not be considered out of place, considering my official position, if, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, I express our opinion that the conduct of Lord Mayo in his great office—the greatest, in my opinion, which can be held by a subject of the Crown—amply justifies the choice made by our predecessors. (General cries of "Hear.") Lord Mayo's Governor-Generalship did not fall in a time of great trial or great difficulty, from foreign war or domestic insurrection, but he had to labour under constant difficulties and great anxieties which are inseparable from the government of that mighty empire. This I may say I believe with perfect truth that no Governor-General who ever ruled India was more energetic in the discharge of his duties, and more assiduous in performing the functions of his great office; and above all, no Viceroy that ever ruled India had more at heart the good of the people of that vast empire. (Hear, hear.) My lords, I think it may be said further that Lord Mayo has fallen a victim to an almost excessive discharge of his public duties. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* I believe his death will be a calamity to India, and that it will be sincerely mourned not only in England and in his native country Ireland, but by the well-affected millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, referring to the assassination, said :—

I cannot communicate to the House this most painful, most grievous information, without stating on my own part and the part of the Government the grief we feel at receiving it, and our sense of the heavy loss it announces to the Crown. Lord Mayo has passed a career in India worthy of the distinguished series of his predecessors. He has been outdone by none of them in his zeal, intelligence and untiring devotion to the public service. So far as it is in our power to render testimony to high qualities, so far as our approval can in any degree give him credit, I am bound to say that the whole of his policy and conduct had won for him the unreserved and uniform confidence of the Government. (Hear hear.)

The Press of England and India mourned as it had never mourned before. The *London Times*, that grand exponent of English opinion, which a few years before had expressed grave doubts on the wisdom of his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India, thus wrote on the assassination and its victim.

“ He has fallen a martyr to charity and duty, and in one step, by one stroke, has ascended to a rank which will ever evoke the admiration and affection of Englishmen. It was but the other day that our religious public acclaimed the honour of martyrdom to a good prelate who, in his holy errand, fell a victim to the blind fury of the islanders, who could not distinguish friend from foe. The universal feeling had an echo from the Throne. Can less be said for the man who has perished in the attempt, “to turn the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ?” Yet our loss is great, and England now learns a lesson often taught and often forgotten, that good and great men are never known, or never thoroughly appreciated, till they are gone. The truth is they come in homely guise, toiling and moiling in this great dusty workshop of measures, policies, and laws, stooping like machines to the drudgery of details, figures, and phrases. Wellington at his desk was even a greater man than in the battle-field, for the work was harder and more ungenial and simply nothing in the scale of glory. Lord Mayo, till the other day, was one of the crowd we overlook while we are searching for the man a head and shoulders taller than the common rank. Had he then died, he would hardly have

left a name, except in the memory of friends or in some official records. Had he died a week ago, in the midst of receptions, shows and progresses, he would have adorned the annals of India, of Ireland, and of a noble house. Providence designed for him something more and better. Whether by holy or by common reckoning he dies a martyr to the highest calls of his country and his faith, and, in that way, the highest benefactor of the races under that vast and varied rule."

"For many years Lord Naas was simply a conscientious and painstaking subordinate. A triple term of office proved how indispensable he was to his friends and how well he did a kind of work which few covet, and which, if not self-rewarding, is apt to close all other reward. But who could have guessed that the man thus toiling in the second rank of his party would have become no unworthy successor of the brightest names in our history in the brightest field of British achievement, and would consummate a course of daily increasing honour by death only too fitting a sequel of the career? Many men have longed to die nobly : many more have left to their friends the sad regret that they missed the opportunity and outlived their fame. What more could man desire than an end which leaves no diminution of glory, which satisfies expectation at its fullest, which adds sympathy to admiration, and wins the reverence even of those who cannot easily appreciate virtues greater than their own? Of course we are speaking of his death as we should if it had been death on the battle-field. Yes here is one sad difference. Those who are most concerned cannot have been prepared for the event. They have not cast the tug of war, and pictured to themselves the possible blank. They have by necessity contemplated only one side of the picture, and care now only to know and suffer that which is sudden, total, and irreparable."

The *London Standard*, a highly respectable and ably conducted journal, truly remarked :—

"GLORIOUS as is the roll of our Indian Viceroy's, it is doubtful whether any one of them has left a name so honourable to England in that office as the man of whom we have been robbed by the assassin's knife. There have been rulers greater, perhaps, in genius and in daring, but certainly not one succeeded in earning the love and the confidence of the people under his rule so completely as did Lord Mayo during his five years' tenure of power. It is a career to which we may all look back with pride, as illustrating the noblest characteristics of our race, which forbids us to despair of British governing capacity, in which there is not one blot or fault of which we have to be ashamed. It is the one

passage of practical administration in our days which has kept up the traditions of our ancient fame as rulers of a subject people, which is wholly good, beneficent, and glorious."

When the sense of paralysis and stupefaction occasioned by the suddenness of the blow had subsided and men began to think on the event with calm composure, vast and enthusiastic gatherings were held in the great capitals of India, as well as in England, to consider the best means of perpetuating Lord Mayo's memory. The Representatives of all communities spoke with an enthusiasm tinged with sadness such as was never witnessed before. At the Calcutta meeting held at the Town Hall, even Sir George Campbell, the eccentric and notorious Governor of Bengal who was supposed to be devoid of all the tender feelings of humanity, thus dilated on the virtues of the departed Viceroy:—

"I say that it would be difficult in all the limits of the great English empire to find a man who united so many great personal and public qualities, which endear him to all, and which you may expect to see united in a single man. I may say that I know no man who so eminently combined in himself that which has been described in classical language—"a sound mind and a sound body." His was a mind eminently sound, and his was a body which, being physically sound, enabled the mind to act with all its vigour. He was a man eminently honest and eminently simple-minded, and I may say of all virtues straight-forward honesty is the first. He was also a man of great experience in administrative work. He came here with ripe administrative experience—he came here as I have said, a man with a sound mind in a sound body, and three years he has worked among us with eminent success. He was a man who by his personal qualities conquered all hearts, and who as a public man devoted himself to the great duties which had fallen upon him with a thoroughness and singleness of purpose which I for one could never sufficiently admire, and which I am sure equally interested all with whom he came in contact. \* \* \* \*

To the most unwearied zeal and devotion he added the best habits of business, and a knowledge of administrative detail which I may call unprecedented among the statesmen sent from England to this country. When a man possessed of such knowledge and such experience throws himself with single-minded zeal and enthusiasm into a great work, and guides it by an unflin-



temper and singular tact, the result cannot but be success, and I venture, as one who has had the honor of serving the late Viceroy, to express my very humble and very strong conviction that he has been an eminently successful Viceroy and Governor-General, that his reign has been productive of the very greatest good to the country, and that it promised much more if his life had been spared. He was indeed a man of a truly liberal mind, and I have never in any part of my public service met with any man who more sincerely and earnestly put before all things the good of the public service—of the masses of men committed to his charge. He has made himself eminently respected, and trusted by the upper classes—Princes and Chiefs and well-to-do people—who personally knew and loved him; but above and before all he always placed the interests, and the rights, and the feelings of the dumb masses who could not personally know him, but over whose interests he always watched with unflinching care. He was eminently a man of the people; he was a man who had at heart the interests of those classes to whom he was personally unknown. This was the characteristic of Lord Mayo. Whatever he set his hand to do, he did it with an honest enthusiasm for the good of the people."

Alonzo Money, a well-known Bengal Civilian, in the course of his remarkably eloquent speech on the occasion, said :—

"In the gloom which has hung over Calcutta like a funeral pall lay the best assurance that the heart of this great city had been moved and stirred to its inmost depths, by the untimely death of one whom we all regarded with respect and esteem. He doubted if there was one man there among them all who had not felt the loss of Lord Mayo as a personal loss. Probably there was scarcely any one, had he been there, who would not have interposed between the assassin and his victim, and to save his life would gladly have given his own. (Applause.) If the facts were as he had stated them, it was quite clear that any words from him, or from any one else, were not required to excite their sympathy and to awaken their regrets. But there was one other consideration which prevented him at the present time from expressing at length his feelings on the subject. All sorrow was sacred. But if ever there was a sorrow pre-eminently great—if ever there was a sorrow which men would touch softly—it was the sorrow caused by the irrepairable loss of Lord Mayo to his family. Before the great and inexpressible sorrow of Lady Mayo as a wife and a mother, who was without a moment's notice deprived of all hope and comfort, what could they do but bow the head in silence, and hope that in his own good time it would please the Almighty to lighten the affliction. But he thought there was one thing which might be done—"Sorrow shared is sorrow soothed."

They could, in the words of the resolution, assure Lady Mayo that their warmest sympathies were hers, that they all—Christians, Hindoos, and Mussulmans,—of every creed and class, felt with her and with her mourned in common the loss which she and they had sustained. The assurance and knowledge that not only in this city but all over India, hundreds and thousands of men, her countrymen and not her countrymen, have felt with her, have sighed with her and have prayed for her, would bring comfort to her heart, and would probably be the small streak of silver lining in the black cloud which overshadows her life. (Applause.)”

Dr. Wilson of Bombay, one of the oldest and most learned Missionaries that ever came to India, thus spoke of Lord Mayo at the Bombay memorial meeting.

We all know with what zeal, with what generosity, with what application, and with what confidence he devoted himself to the discharge of his high important duties. He had reposed the utmost trust in the people of this land. He moved about among them from morn to eve, when he was required to do so, without any fear, without any alarm. He loved the people of India with a sincere affection. It was his great object to do good, and to do good in reference to all the matters that passed before his review. He did not merely faithfully, and intelligently, and ably, discharge the duties which were imposed upon him in the conduct of public business introduced to his notice by the vigilant and able authorities who are under him; but he set about to devise good, and many measures which have attracted attention are well-known to have originated from himself. He looked upon India in all its interests. He was anxious that its agriculture should be improved, and that the rich resources of this land, so copiously watered by the rains of heaven and so productive in its soil, should be turned to the advantage of the most distant quarters of the world. He was anxious to give every facility to the pursuit of commerce: we know what the measures were which he adopted with reference to this matter. He did not rest until he had placed them under the charge of a gentleman who, of all men I know in this land, is most fitted to do them justice. In his presence—for I see him in this room at this moment—I shall not mention the measures which his knowledge, his capacities, and his understanding of these matters in all their connection have warranted him to undertake and successfully to put in the way of being accomplished. Earl Mayo was beloved by all the officials of Government, was beloved by the people of India generally—by the peoples of its many tribes and its many tongues—from the king on his throne, from the Nawab on his *masnad*, even to the unworthy objects on his last concern, the condemned criminals in the Andaman islands. Some of his measures, in a political point of view, were, I know of the wisest character. \* \* \* \*

I am quite certain of this, that in this great city of Bombay there is only one feeling in reference to this matter, and that is a feeling of deep sorrow. I have seen some of the natives actually shedding tears in view

of what has occurred, I have seen them properly affected by the atrocity of the proceeding which we lament in its personal consequence in reference to the possible destruction to a certain extent—I hope it will only be to a very small extent and for a very short space of time—of the happy intercommunion which exists between those who have come from the far West and are now located in this distant East. We know that God can make even the wrath of man to praise him, and to him we should look to still the tumults of the people when they are observed rising up against us, using the power that is in our hands as his commissioned servants. But at the same time let there be no wrath or revenge in our feelings as directed against those who are in this case most remotely connected with the individual who has committed the awful act which has clothed this Hall in sackcloth, and which is so much regretted even in our native land. I am quite satisfied, too, that the memory of Lord Mayo will not speedily pass away."

Mr. J. A. Forbes of Bombay, referred touchingly to the bereaved family of Lord Mayo :—

"The people of Bombay have expressed their wish to let the noble lady, now a mourning widow, and the fatherless children of one who was especially remarkable for the affection which he never failed to inspire in those who were immediately around him, and who was also remarkable for the manner in which he performed every domestic duty—the people of Bombay, I say, have expressed their desire to condole and lament with those who are now suffering under this very dreadful bereavement ; and though it is not possible that we can do much in such a case in the way of offering comfort, yet I think it can hardly fail to carry some ray of consolation to the widow's and orphans' hearts when they feel and know a great nation shares their grief and when from north and south, east and west cannot fail to come loud expressions of lamentation such as we have heard here to-day, mingled perhaps with imprecations on the vile murderer, and with utterance of astonishment that there should still exist a wild fanaticism, which can so far degrade its votaries as to deprive them of every feeling of humanity, and reduce them to the level of wild beasts. And we can imagine the expressions of grief and the sighs of friends lamenting the friend that they have lost, the outpouring of warm and grateful hearts when they think of the deeds of kindness which have been done them—when all these come to be remembered, though painful in a certain sense, yet it must in some degree tend to cheer the widow's heart in her hour of loneliness, and kindle in her children's breasts a hope and determination that they will emulate their father's nobleness of character."

In England the dearly beloved friends and admirers of Lord Mayo met to honor his memory. On this occasion H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, who while in India shared the

deceased Earl's magnificent hospitality presided. The following extracts taken from the speeches then delivered present a lucid estimate of Lord Mayo's private and public character and evince throughout a sense of personal bereavement and heartfelt sorrow in the speaker.

In dilating on the personal characteristics of his ill-fated friend, Mr. Disraeli said :—

“ There was, indeed, in the character of Lord Mayo a vein of manly tenderness which often overpowered even his foes. I can recollect a particular instance in which a man of some distinction, a foreigner, who had involved himself in the Irish conspiracy, when placed in contact with Lord Mayo, was so overcome with the manly generosity of his nature, that impelled by no base motives, he acknowledged he had been utterly deceived in embarking in this enterprise, and absolutely assisted the Minister in baffling the very conspiracy he had come to promote. (Hear, hear) But, no doubt, it was when Her Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint Lord Mayo to the Viceroyalty of India that opportunity was given for the full exhibition of the great qualities which he possessed, and that opportunity, no doubt, largely developed them. Although his reign was comparatively brief, for it scarcely lasted three years, Lord Mayo in that time had accomplished a great deal and which none even of the illustrious men who had preceded him ever had been so successful as to achieve. Lord Mayo had gained the sympathy of all classes, of all races, and of all religions in that country. (Cheers.) He had been preceded in his great office by some of the most eminent men this country has ever produced and we can look back to the records of our Indian government as one of the emblazoned pages in the History of this Empire—but no statesman who had preceded him accomplished the end which I have indicated. Sometimes a great man had gained the devotion of the Army, but he was viewed with suspicion by the Civil Service. Sometimes it was the reverse. Sometimes a Governor General, from his personal qualities, could count upon the enthusiastic devotion of the European community, but he had found that by some means which he could not penetrate he had alienated from himself the feelings of the Native Princes. But in the case of Lord Mayo, whether it was the Army or the Civil Service, the European community or the Native Princes, all were alike devoted to him (Cheers); and by this moment in India all these classes and all these individuals are mourning his loss with not less sincerity than those who are assembled in this room. (Hear, hear.) What, then, was the cause of this extraordinary effect produced by this eminent man? It was, I think, that he possessed in himself the qualities which are calculated to govern mankind. His noble presence.

his cordial manner, the magnificence of his life, his active accomplishments, his extraordinary power of physical endurance, combined with an intuitive knowledge of mankind and an inexorable love of justice, which was only tempered by the abounding generosity of his heart, produced such an effect upon those whom he ruled, that all at once willingly acknowledged that he was born to command. (Cheers.) I will not on this occasion dwell on his private virtues, for there are many here who will follow me, who will touch upon them; but I will say this of him—which is what all public men most desire and what few can obtain—Lord Mayo was a man who was really beloved. (Cheers.) We can do little to console those who must most acutely feel his loss, but it is something to express, even in this manner, that the nation is not insensible of that great deprivation. I may at least to-day fulfil on his part and in his behalf the aspiration of the noblest spirits, which is not merely that their names should be remembered, but that their memories should be cherished."

Lord Sandhurst (Sir William Mansfield), who worked with Lord Mayo in India and could therefore speak with the authority of personal knowledge, remarked:—

It would not be forgotten that Lord Mayo arrived in India with personal disadvantages which had never attended the arrival of any of his predecessors in that great Government. Owing to political circumstances, the appointment of Lord Mayo met with great popular dissatisfaction in England. He was, of course, a total stranger in India, probably there was hardly a person in India, who had ever seen Lord Mayo except at a distance. The people there could only gather their knowledge of his character from what appeared in the public prints, which united in vilifying him. Never did a statesman approach the discharge of most difficult duties under greater disadvantages than those attending Lord Mayo on his arrival in India. The feeling throughout India was that they did not know what they had to expect, they were told that an obscure man had come among them, one unaccustomed to responsibility, one who even when he had been tried did not succeed, one who, in fact, had been promoted to an office for which he was not qualified. Although the details of Indian Government cannot be much studied by the British community, yet those who were acquainted with them were aware that there were no duties which required such varied character, such decision, such powers of labour—he might say such powers of brilliant fancy and imagination—to enable him who had to wield authority of that Government to rise to it in its great heights, and to be aware that he was standing on a pinnacle which was not exceeded by any position in the Government of this globe. (Hear, hear) As an humble individual partaking of the administration of Lord Mayo, he was able to say, with perfect sincerity, what he said long before this terrible

tragedy occurred—that no man ever went to India who did more justice to his great duties there whether they be surveyed as one grand whole or be taken in all the particularity of executive detail.

Lord Derby, with whom too Lord Mayo had shared the cares of office in England, thus lamented his sad fate—

I have known other men, though not very many, who were, perhaps his equals in industry, in clear-sightedness, and in the assemblage of qualities which, united, form what we call a good man of business, and I have known men, though but few, who possessed, perhaps, to an equal extent, that generosity of disposition in private and public life, that unfeigned good humour and good temper, which were among the most marked characteristics of our lamented friend; but I do not know if I ever met any one in whom those two sets of qualities were so equally and so happily united. No discussion could be so dry but Lord Mayo would enliven it with that unforced humour which was one of his greatest social charms. No question could be so difficult or so complicated but that his simple, straightforward way of looking at it was quite sure of suggesting something of which you had not thought before. He understood thoroughly how important an element of administrative success is the conciliation of those with whom you have to deal; but the exercise of that power was with him not a matter of calculation, but the result of nature. He did and said generous things, not because it was politic, not because it was to his political interest, or even because it was his public duty, but because it was his nature and he could not help it. (Cheers.) I do not think he had in the world a personal enemy, and so far as it is possible to speak of that which is passing in another man's mind, I should say he had never known what it was to harbour against any person's feelings of resentment or ill-will. (Hear, hear.) That is praise which may be deserved by many smaller men: but personal amiability was not the only feature, it was the leading feature of his eminent public career. We who acted with him in Irish matters can bear witness to his firmness when firmness was necessary, to the soundness of his judgement in difficulties—and difficulties just then were not unfrequent—and, above all, to that coolness which was never more marked than in critical moments. In India his career was short, but you have heard upon that part of his life what was said by his colleague, the Commander-in-Chief, how he impressed upon the minds of all who had to do with him there that he was one of those characters which rise with the occasion, which strengthen under pressure, and which are never more themselves than when stimulated by difficulties and by dangers which take from ordinary men the power of action and of decision. He did much as it was, but if, unhappily, that opportunity had been afforded which is only afforded to statesmen in stormy and critical times, I believe he would have been no unworthy successor to the very greatest of those predecessors who, in a century have built up an empire to which no parallel exists on earth. (Cheers.)

Lord Shaftesbury, that venerable "old lay Archbishop of England," touched pathetically on the terrible bereavement of the widowed wife and the fatherless children of Lord Mayo:—

"But to sympathise with this widow and the partner of his private and public career effectually in all its height and depth they must almost become women; for no man's heart could love and venerate like the heart of a woman. They could appreciate the sorrow of this distinguished lady but in a slight degree; for, though many of them had to sustain bereavements, they must weigh the peculiar shock to her feelings in the time and mode of this appalling end. And yet, in conveying to her their profound and almost inexpressible sympathy, they should, he thought, dwell a little on what there was of consolation in the event even in this world. He did not pass from us in effete and useless old age, after a series of honours long forgotten, when people had ceased to care for him because they had ceased to remember him. He was taken away in the full force of his understanding and in the plenitude of his power, amid the regrets and tears of many natives and of every class.

He was slain while in the discharge of a work of duty and of mercy. His "sun went down while it was yet day"—as bright when it sank below the horizon as when it shone in the height of its meridian splendour. He believed that the meeting would speak the language of every heart in England when it assured the sorrowing widow that the memory of her husband's name and services would ever be cherished by a reflecting and grateful people."

We can not omit to record the opinion expressed on Lord Mayo's services by no less a personage than Lord Northbrook, the present Viceroy of Hindoostan, whose reign the future historians of India will declare to be as brilliant and successful as that of the ablest of his predecessors:—

I had the honour of knowing Lord Mayo when we were together in the House of Commons, and I was won, as we all of us were, by his frank and genial address, by his great courtesy to all who came in contact with him in any business, public or private, and also when he was placed in an office of great responsibility—that of Secretary for Ireland; we were won by the loyalty of his conduct towards those of whatever party in politics they might be who had to approach him, by his careful attention

to business, and the thorough confidence that could be placed in everything he said or did. (Cheers). Well Lord Mayo went out as Governor-General of India; and all of us who have paid any attention to Indian affairs must have remarked the great ability which characterised the acts of his Government. (Cheers). I have had the advantage of reading with some care the correspondence of Lord Mayo, and I may say that correspondence is not only marked by those high qualities which I have already mentioned, but it has one other marked characteristic, and that is the strong evidence it presents that Lord Mayo felt in his heart an honest, sincere, and zealous regard for the welfare of the people of India committed to his charge. (Cheers). The death of Lord Mayo has been a calamity to his country, and has been received with all the sympathy which so great a calamity commands, (Hear, hear) in a way which strikingly shows how much he had endeared himself to those with whom he acted in India, whether they were Europeans or Natives; and when we receive, as we have not yet had time to receive, full information of the effect which the calamity has produced in India, I feel confident we shall hear that the event has elicited through all parts of India the same expressions of sympathy for Lord Mayo's family and respect and affection for himself, which it has excited in the United Kingdom. (Cheers).

We conclude with the following beautiful *In memoriam* lines illustrating the virtues of the late Lord Mayo.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE, EARL OF MAYO,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

*Born in Dublin, February 1, 1822; Assassinated at Port Blair, Andaman Islands February 8, 1872.*

"DEATH levels all!"—Untruth! half truth, at best:  
Death, with his scythe and hour glass, well might show  
Touchstone and chemic tubes, wherewith to test  
The qualities of those whom he lays low.  
"Let nought but good be spoken of the dead"—  
Happy the dead of whom that good is true;  
And they most happy, on whose lifeless head  
Death sets the crown which life proclaims their due.  
Of whom, as they lie shrouded, stark and still,  
Looking upon them in their marble sleep,  
Men say, with bated breath—"We gauged him ill;  
How large his worth, whom once we rated cheap!"  
Of these is he, for whom, laid sudden, low,  
By darkling knife and brooding sense of wrong,  
Truest regard sets genuine tears aflow,  
That from the roots of love well swift and strong.



We took his guage, as did the common fool :  
 By Report's shallow valuing appraised,  
 When from the Irish Secretary's tool  
 To the great Indian throne we saw him raised.  
 That throne, from whose height One had then stepped down,  
 Whom all revered, as Soldier, Statesman, Sage :  
 A stern, plain King of Men, within whose frown  
 No lie could live, who knew all work's due wage.  
 " Can dwarf," we asked, " in giant's armour fight ?"  
 Painted his sovereignty as an eclipse  
 Enshrouding India in a sudden night ;  
 And most men's scorn, like ours, was on their lips.  
 How should the slight man fill the strong man's place ?  
 Rise from his small routine of petty toil,  
 A vast and various Empire's needs to face,  
 And move, unhampered by the mighty coil !  
 They gauged him better, those who knew him best ;  
 They read, beneath that bright and blithesome cheer,  
 The Statesman's wide and watchful eye, the breast  
 Unwarped by favor, and unwrung by fear :  
 The wit to choose, the will to do the right ;  
 All the more potent for the cheerful mood  
 That made the irksome yoke of duty light,  
 Helping to smoothe the rough, refine the rude :  
 Bidding the dusty paths of daily toil  
 With flowers of gladness and good-feeling glow ;  
 On rusty wards of office pouring oil,  
 Making work's hinges with strange smoothness go.  
 Nor for this cheeriness less strenuous shown,  
 All ear, all eye, he swayed his mighty realm ;  
 Till through its length and breadth a presence known,  
 Felt, as a living hand upon the helm.  
 All men spoke well of him, as most men thought,  
 Here as in India and his friends were proud :  
 It seemed as if no enmity he wrought,  
 But moved, love-girt, at home or in the crowd.  
 What, then, our woe and wonderment to hear  
 Death had found way to this well-guarded life !  
 Love, Honor, State were there, but Hate, hid near,  
 Struck through their triple shield with felon knife.  
 If true regret and true respect have balm  
 For hearts that more than public loss must mourn,  
 They join to crown this forehead, cold and calm,  
 With laurel, well-won as was ever worn,  
 Only the greener that 'twas late to grow,  
 And that by the sudden blight its leaves are shed :  
 Then, with thy honored freight, sail, sad and slow,  
 O ship, that bears him to his kindred dead !—*Punch.*

# CONTENTS.

## PART I.

	<i>Page</i>
Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (Ireland) ... ..	1
Poor Laws Ireland, Rate-in-Aid .. .. .	6
Steam Communication with Australia ... ..	12
Steam Communication between England, India and Australia	22
Milling Trade, Ireland ... .. .	29
The Irish Government and the "World" Newspaper	56
Tenant Right (Ireland) ... .. .	85
Mr. Keogh's Appointment ... .. .	97
Lord Lieutenant, Ireland ... .. .	109
Our Relations with China ... .. .	120
Affairs of China ... .. .	167
Fenianism and Ireland ... .. .	183
Established Church, Ireland ... .. .	193
State of Ireland ... .. .	206
Established Church, Ireland ... .. .	268

---

## PART II.

Laying the Foundation Stone of the Bombay University ...	1
Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation ... ..	3
Speech at the La Martiniere College, Calcutta ... ..	8
Opening of the Goalundo Extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway ... .. .	15
Speech at the Jubbulpore Banquet ... .. .	22
Speech at the Lahore Banquet ... .. .	37
Opening of the Khamgaon Cotton Branch Railway ... ..	54
Address at the Ajmere Durbar ... .. .	73
Investiture of His Highness The MAHARAJAH OF PUTTALA ...	77
Opening of the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition ... .. .	85
Speech at the Kangra Durbar ... .. .	89
Valedictory Address to Sir Henry Sumner Maine ... ..	95
The Indian Income Tax Bill 1869 ... .. .	101
The Indian Income Tax Bill 1870 ... .. .	110
The Indian Income Tax Bill 1871 ... .. .	125

## APPENDIX.

Earl Mayo at Aden—Address of welcome of the Aden Community, with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	i
Lord Mayo and the Deputation from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber's Address of welcome, with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	vi
Arrival of Earl Mayo at Madras <i>via</i> Beypore ... ..	xv
Address of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	xvii
Address of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	xxi
Address of the Landholders Association with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	xxxii
Address of the Trades Association with Lord Mayo's reply ...	xxxiv
Address of the British Indian Association with Lord Mayo's reply .. ..	xxxvii
Lord Mayo's reply to the address of the Khamgaon Municipality ... ..	xl
Address of the Ajmere Municipality with Lord Mayo's reply ...	xli
Address of the St. Xavier's College with Lord Mayo's reply ...	xlii
Address of the Mahomedan Literary Society with Lord Mayo's reply ... ..	xlvii
Address of the Rangoon Community with Lord Mayo's reply...	l
Lord Mayo's Speech at the Rangoon Durbar ... ..	lv
Lord Mayo's Speech on the Brahma Marriage Bill ... ..	lv

SPEECHES  
OF HIS EXCELLENCY  
**The Rt. Hon. EARL MAYO.**

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, 6<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 1849.

SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS ACT.  
(IRELAND.)

[ On the 6th February 1849, Sir Geo. Grey, the Home Secretary proposed to extend temporarily the *Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland* which had been originally necessitated by the turbulent spirit of disaffection, disloyalty, and rebellion which the Irish people manifested, after the terrible famine which devastated their country. A lengthy debate ensued in which Mr. T. C. Anstey, well known on this side of India for his late incomparably able defence of the Wahabee prisoners, then member for Youghall, took a part. Earl Mayo then plain Mr. R. S. Bourke, member for Kildare, delivered the following *maiden* Speech in Parliament, in support of the Government Motion. In conclusion the House divided. Ayes 221 ; Noes 18 ; majority 203. Main Question put and agreed to ; Bill ordered to be brought in. ]

**M**R. BOURKE regretted that, on rising to address the House for the first time, he should feel himself compelled to speak on a subject that must be equally painful to the feelings of all true Irishmen. But representing, as he did, a county that was little, if at all, implicated in the melancholy circumstances of the last summer, he felt it to be his duty, on the part of his constituents, as well as on his own, to ex-

press his painful conviction that there did exist a necessity for the continued suspension of this Act. From the statement he had heard that night from the Right Hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, (Sir George Grey) as also from his own knowledge of the feelings of parties and men in Ireland, he felt convinced that the Government were justified in the course they had taken. If this were a measure that was calculated to excite feelings of alarm in the minds of men—if it were a measure that would impress on the minds of men the conviction that a blow was still intended by the rebellious section in Ireland against the Government—if it were a measure that was calculated to cramp the transactions of commerce, or retard the operations of agriculture—if he thought there was an intention on the part of the Government to make this measure in any degree permanent, he should, though deeply impressed with its necessity, feel himself bound to oppose it. He felt, however, that the contrary was the case, and that the powers sought by this Bill were necessary in order to prevent the recurrence of those events which had been so detrimental to the interests of Ireland during the last year. Seeing, then, that there was no intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to render this a permanent measure, and seeing also that it was not likely to produce any of those effects which had been anticipated, he thought that all who were desirous of seeing peace and order established in the country should give their support to the proposal for a limited extension of the measure. He (Mr. Bourke), as an Irishman, would most gladly give his support to any measure which would insure, even for

a short time, a continuance of peace. <sup>that Ireland</sup> wanted was, that her children might be allowed to turn their minds, even for a short time, from the contemplation of political theories to the cultivation of the soil, and the development of the resources of the country. The people of Ireland had been accustomed for many years to think more of fighting than of farming, and more of contention than of commerce. It was in consequence of this that they were prevented from taking those steps which other people might have taken in order to defend themselves from the dangers of the famine which had afflicted the country for the last few years. A terrible calamity had overtaken the Irish people, unprecedented in the history of nations, and it found them unprepared, and without any means of defence to shield them from its onslaughts. No person who looked back to the history of the last few years, since the commencement of the famine, could fail to see that there was also another feature in that distress which it was now terrible to contemplate. A spirit was abroad among the people which rendered even famine more hideous than it would otherwise have been. A spirit was abroad which enabled designing men to tell the famine-stricken peasants, that the cause of the deaths of those nearest and dearest to them was not the visitation of Providence, but the effect of bad legislation. The Irish peasant was accustomed to hear that the Irish people lost by the connexion with England—that their country was ruined by it—that the Saxon sway had ever been hostile to Celtic improvement and to Celtic prosperity. It was a maniac, an anarchical, and a traitorous spirit that was abroad among the people. Did this spirit.

now exist in the country? That was the question which they were to decide to-night. Did the spirit now exist in the country which made the Government declare, last year, that the presence of 40,000 men was absolutely necessary in order to keep it in order and quell it? If any portion of that spirit was still in existence, then there was a necessity for the adoption of more stringent measures than those that were usually in force in the country. It had been said that this measure was brought forward for the purpose of putting down the repeal agitation. Lord Clarendon had been possessed of the power, under the Act, now for nearly six months, and was there a single particle of evidence to show that that power had been so employed? Not a single man had been arrested but what was deeply interested in the traitorous agitation of 1848. There had not been a single instance of any person having been arrested under this Act merely because he held repeal opinions. No Government should attempt to put such a power in force except for the actual suppression of rebellion. The opposition which had arisen to the measure, he confessed, did not appear to him strange. He was not an old man; but still he was old enough to remember the time when those unfortunate men now in prison, whose lives were forfeited to the just sentence of the law, were burning and shining lights in that Association which had for many years held sway over the passions of the Irish people. He recollected when members of the Loyal National Repeal Association were not ashamed to avail themselves of the *prestige* and traditionary influence of one who bore the ancient name of O'Brien, and were not ashamed to welcome to their councils and to

avail themselves of the talents and energy of a Meagher. The fact was, that many of the leaders of the late confederation owned allegiance to the leaders of the Repeal Association. Where were now the leaders? They were still legislators, but their followers were convicted felons. The masters were Members of Parliament, but the pupils sit in the dreary cells of a Dublin gaol. He might pursue the subject further, and show the intimate connexion that existed between those Hon. Members and the unfortunate men now suffering the penalty of their crimes. ( Mr. J. O'CONNELL : No, no ! ) He was prepared to prove his statement ; but he would not pursue the subject any farther. He would only remind the House of a fact of which, no doubt, they were all aware—that Conciliation Hall begat the Confederation, and the Confederation begat those miserable scenes of the last year. He deeply regretted that it should have fallen to his lot to be compelled to give his support to this measure, and most sincerely did he hope that this might be the last time that they should ever see the Government called upon to ask for a retrenchment—for a retrenchment it undoubtedly was—of the liberties of the people of Ireland.

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## POOR LAWS, IRELAND.

### RATE IN AID.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 5TH MARCH 1849.

[ On the 1st March 1849, Lord John Russel asked the House to go into committee that he might make his Motion on the subject of Irish poor-Laws. After some opposition, the house resolved itself into a committee and on the 6th idem he proposed the levy of a Poor rate in Ireland, for the relief of the destitute Irish peasants who, having to depend entirely for their livelihood on the culture of the potatoe, suffered terribly from the extremities of hunger when the crop failed. His Lordship grounded the urgency of the measure on the great distress which then prevailed in the Southern and Western districts of Ireland. After an animated debate, the house adjourned and on the 5th idem the adjourned debate was continued with great spirit. The following speech opposing the Government measure was one of the many powerful addresses delivered on that occasion. At the end of the debate, Viscount Castlereagh moved that the "Chairman report progress." The committee divided, 104 being in favor of, and 251 against, the motion. Lord John Russel considering the largeness of the minority did not further oppose the motion. After another animated debate on the ensuing night, the motion for the poor rate was carried. ]

**M**R. BOURKE said, the resolution before the House was one of the most difficult upon which an Irishman could address a legislative assembly. The importance of this question might not be obvious at first; but when they looked to the great interests which were bound up with this question, and the deep interest which it had excited in Ireland, and when

Irish Members knew that by the speedy adoption of this law, Ireland's better hopes were defeated, he might be excused for approaching this subject. The great disaster which had fallen upon Ireland, was first met by grants of public money, which, though they stifled the disease for the moment, tended rather to perpetuate the calamity. An endeavour was then made to remove the evil by the institution of public works ; but after that expedient failed, the Government fell back on the poor-law. The previous system of gratuitous relief had, however, destroyed the self-reliance of the people. He did not wish it to be understood however, when he alluded to this subject, that he refused to acknowledge the eternal gratitude which Ireland owed to England for the assistance she had offered her. There was, however, a feeling in Ireland that the immense funds which were subscribed in England might have been much more wisely expended if greater care and forethought had been exercised. He believed that in some unions the funds which it was intended should be applied to the relief of the poor had been expended in a most useless and unnecessary manner. It was not his intention, however, to discuss the Irish poor-law, which had been met by a large expenditure ; it had merely kept the people alive, and had tended to perpetuate the calamity with which that country had been visited. To show how the law had worked in Ireland, he would state some circumstances which had occurred in the county of Kildare, in connexion with which he should introduce the name of no less an authority than that of the Hon. Mr. Lawless. A resolution having been moved at a public meeting :—

"The Hon. Edward Lawless, in seconding the resolution, said, in an adjoining union to this—the union of Celbridge—there came down, about this time twelve months, a sealed letter from the Poor Law Commissioners, directing the guardians to appoint relieving officers forthwith. The guardians, headed by His Grace the Duke of Lienster, who, they would all agree, was no enemy to the poor, protested strongly against this order, on the ground that it was unnecessary, and would only result in a waste of the public funds. The Commissioners continued inexorable, and the guardians were obliged to give way. Relieving officers were accordingly appointed, whose salaries up to Christmas last amounted to 80 guineas—but what did the meeting think was the entire amount of money which those officers had to disburse ?

" Mr. Dixon ; 500*l.* perhaps.

" The Hon. Mr. Lawless : The entire sum amounted to 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* and that sum had been expended in car hire, for bringing poor people who were found on the road to the county infirmary, which duty had hitherto been admirably performed by the local poor-law guardians, who were able to perform all those duties in connection with the workhouse free of expense. He would next allude to an instance of mismanagement on the part of the Board of Works. In 1847—that year of misery and distress—when that unfortunate and disastrous measure, the labour-rate sessions, was instituted, there was a meeting called of the inhabitants of the barony of Newcastle in this county. That barony consisted of four electoral divisions, and he (Mr. Lawless) being the only magistrate residing in the electoral division of Newcastle, he took upon himself to call a meeting of the cess-payers of that division. They assembled together, and, after a good deal of discussion, he induced them to employ every man then out of employment, and he succeeded in doing so by showing that it would be better for them in the end. They carried out the plan to the fullest extent, and there was not a penny of public money expended in the electoral division of Newcastle during the year 1847, nor was there an inhabitant of that district employed on any of the public works. When the presentment sessions was held, he stated the fact that the division with which he was connected wanted

no assistance, and that it would be better to proceed under Mr. Labourchere's letter, which made it an electoral division charge. However, from some blunder or mismanagement, the ratepayers of Newcastle electoral division were now charged with a sum of 422*l.* although they never received a penny of the public money. He had given instances of the manner in which the Poor Law Commissioners and the Board of Works acted separately. Perhaps the meeting would like to hear how they acted when they worked together, and formed a mixed commission according to Sir John Burgoyne's plan? Without consulting any one connected with the union of Celbridge, they sent down the same description of staff as they would have done to Skibbereen—their commissioners, inspectors, relieving officers, &c. the guardians protesting all the time that such a course of procedure was wholly unnecessary. At that time funds had been granted by Parliament in aid of rates. There was but one electoral division in the union which had not funds to its credit, and it borrowed a sum of 61*l.* 10*s.* That money was repaid back exactly six months from the day on which it had been borrowed. What did they think was the cost (as it appeared from the report of the Commissioners themselves), of looking after this sum of 61*l.* 10*s.*?

“ A Voice : About 100*l.*”

“ The Hon. Mr. Lawless said, he had examined the books about six weeks ago, and he was not prepared to state the exact figure, but it was 30*l.* over or under 1,100*l.* [*Loud cries of “Oh, oh !” and expressions of disapprobation*] He could assure the meeting that the statement he had made, however extraordinary it might appear, was strictly true ; the entire amount advanced in aid of rates was 62*l.* ; it passed through his hands ; it was repaid six months after it was received ; and yet the cost of the arrangements connected with the borrowing of that small sum amounted to 1,100*l.* Was not such a system monstrous ?”

Having done away with gratuitous relief, the effect of the law had been to make the Irish people a nation of paupers ; and having done this, the Parliament told them to go to the workhouse. He was not, however, unmindful of the generous spirit which had

induced Englishmen to come forward both in their private capacity and as contributors to the British Association Fund, and to consent to enormous grants; but whilst Irishmen acknowledged the manner in which England had behaved, they could not but think that those sums which had been sent over to Ireland had put them in a worse position than they were before, whilst it had fostered the vice of the want of independence. He was opposed to this rate in aid, and he was opposed to the way in which it was proposed to levy it, which involved a direct breach of faith with Ireland, and was to a great degree highly impolitic. He maintained it was an infringement of the spirit of the Union, which assumed that the stronger should support the weaker. His constituents were able and willing to contribute as far as they could; but if they were weighed down by taxation they would be for ever rendered incapable of bearing their proper burden. But he would say, give to Ireland English industry, English prosperity, and English wealth, and the people of Ireland would be content to pay, not 7*d.* in the pound, but 1*s.* in the pound, income tax. This measure only showed the determination of the Government to bolster up a system which had failed. There was a time when a smaller coin than 6*d.* set Ireland in a flame; and though the author of the *Drapier's Letters* was not now among them, there still existed in Ireland a spirit of patriotism, love of justice, good sense, and determination, which would make them cry out against the invidious impost now attempted to be imposed upon them. He contended that they could never hope to promote the welfare of Ireland unless

they brought forward other and better measures than had yet been promulgated—unless they made important alterations in the poor-law, assimilated the area of taxation to the area of taxation in this country, encouraged emigration, and otherwise looked to the real interests of the people. He imputed no unworthy motives to her Majesty's Ministers; he believed they were really anxious to confer true benefits upon Ireland; but he believed the only hope for Ireland was, that they would see their error before it was too late. He entreated them not to imagine that by any assistance they could render, they could ever maintain the present system of poor-laws in Ireland. Until they uprooted that system, which fostered mendicancy, which destroyed self-reliance, and which paralysed industry, they need never expect Ireland to improve. He begged it to be understood that he was not one of those who thought that legislation would do every-thing for Ireland. On the contrary, he believed that it would do comparatively little. He believed that legislation would foster, but not produce; that it would water, but not sow; and that it was to individual exertion, to the clear heads, the strong arms, and the hardy hearts of the people themselves, that they must look for the sources of real benefit to Ireland. But he opposed the resolution before the House, because he considered it was calculated to injure rather than benefit his country.

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## STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH AUSTRALIA.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 25TH JULY 1850.

[About the year 1850, although large bodies of Englishmen had colonized Australia, no regular Steam Communication was established between that Island and great Britain. Severe inconvenience was felt by the colonists and their friends and relatives at home, as also by the English Commercial and Banking houses engaged in transactions with the Colonists. A numerously signed petition was presented to Parliament for the removal of the hardship. On the 25th July 1850, the order for committee of supply was read. Motion made and question proposed "that Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair." LORD (MAYO then) NAAS delivered the following admirable and feeling speech in support of the petition. A debate ensued, but His Lordship did not press his motion to a division. The motion was withdrawn.]

**L**ORD NAAS rose to move, as an Amendment "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She may be graciously pleased to order such measures to be taken as shall ensure the immediate establishment of regular Steam Packet Communication with the Australian Colonies." Before doing so he adverted to a petition in favour of that object from a number of merchants, landowners, stockholders, and other persons interested in the welfare of Australia. His Lordship commenced by observing, that the names attached to this petition were, he believed, a sufficient apology for, even at this late period of the Session, submitting the present question to the consi-

deration of the House. Among the names in that distinguished list are to be found those of persons connected with some of the most eminent banking firms of the metropolis, as well as the directors of the various Australian banks, and many other houses of the highest commercial character in this kingdom. The evils complained of in the petition are felt by every person connected with these great colonies; and at no period, and on no occasion, had the inconvenience been more severely felt than during the past year. In the late discussions on a most important question, much doubt and uncertainty was felt, occasioned solely by the absence of definite information on some most vital points. It had been admitted by Hon. Members on both sides of the House, that owing to the great length of time occupied in communicating with Australia under the present arrangements, there had been no means of knowing what was the real opinion of the colonists upon the Australian Colonies Bill. The consequence was, that during the whole of the debates on that question, the manner in which the proposed measure would be received in the colonies concerned, was made as much a matter for argument as the details of the Bill itself. The noble Lord at the head of the Government was on more than one occasion obliged to refer to the files of the Sydney newspapers for information as to the opinion of the colonists, the intelligence in them having in point of fact been considerably in advance of that received in the Government despatches; and the noble Lord was reluctantly compelled to refer to journals obtained at the Jerusalem Coffee-house as the only data he had for assuring the House that the colonists were favourable to his measure.



During the last year, intelligence received from Sydney direct was often five or six months' old. Letters to this country were, in consequence, frequently sent by various and uncertain routes—some by sailing vessels to India, and thence by the Overland line of communication, to save the long and tedious sea voyage round Cape Horn. It appeared from some interesting statistics compiled by Mr. Lambert, of the firm of Donaldson and Lambert, that in 1847 the longest voyage between Sydney and London was 159 days, and the shortest 99 ; the average being 121. In 1848 the longest passage was 159 days, and the shortest 94 ; the average being 119. Out of 520 ships which had sailed between this country and Sydney during the last ten years, the greatest number took from 121 to 130 days on the passage. On the other hand, were steam communication established between this country and Australia, it might be effected within 70 days at the outside, by any of the routes which had from time to time been brought under the consideration of Government.

There were three lines of communication now before the public, namely, the route by the Isthmus of Panama, which was 13,600 miles ; the route by the Cape of Good hope, which was 13,230 miles ; and the route by Suez and Singapore, which was 12,699 miles by the eastern passage, or 12,565 miles by the western. Steam communication, was already established along a considerable portion of the Panama, line as far as Chagres, from thence the mails and passengers would have to proceed across the Isthmus to Panama, and then take ship again on the Pacific. The steamer would touch first at the Galapagos

Island about 800 miles from the western coast of America, then at Tahiti and thence to Sydney; the intervening stages would be very long, and give a dead run of 3,400 miles. Though there was no doubt that hereafter there would be much communication between Polynesia and the west coast of America, an event that will be hastened by the great discoveries in California, yet at present he hardly thought that any great or productive traffic could be expected for steamers traversing regularly the great Pacific.

The second competing route was one which had attracted considerable public attention; it was that by the Cape of Good Hope, either passing westwards of or touching at the Cape Verde Islands and Madeira; from the Cape it was proposed to run right across to Cape Leeuwin, and touching at King George's Sound, proceed by Adelaide round to Sydney. In returning, the passage must necessarily be made more to the north, touching at the Mauritius.

With regard to the Cape of Good Hope route, it was impossible to look at the map and not see that great advantage would accrue from the adoption of that line. There would be no interruption in the communication between this country and Sydney; there would be no necessity for any transhipment of goods and passengers; the passage could be accomplished by steam in 70 days; and it would establish a postal communication between this country and the western coast of Africa. It was, besides, a more valuable line for the purpose of emigration than either of the others. Though he did not believe that steam is ever likely to be available for the conveyance of the poorer class of emigrants, yet still there is no doubt that the establish-

ment of regular steam transit would be a great inducement to the better class of emigrants. The Cape route by screw steamers would undoubtedly be within the means of those classes now called cabin and intermediate passengers, and he believed that for these purposes alone a regular line of packets would soon be established. Persons could be taken in screw vessels by this line for 90% or 100% in the best cabin, and for 30% or 50% as intermediate passengers. But it must be recollected that on both the lines to which he had alluded the service may necessarily be confined to screw steamers, as in the present state of machinery the long dead run from Galapagos to Tahiti in one instance, and from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Leeuwin in the other, may preclude the possibility of paddle vessels being employed.

The third line was one which had attracted the greatest share of public attention. It was to continue the present line of the Indian Overland Mail, taking up that line either at Point de Galle or Singapore. It was still a matter of doubt, whether the passage from Singapore could with sufficient safety be made through Torres Straits. However, there was no difficulty about performing the distance by the western coast, returning the same way, or by Torres Straits, according to the season of the year. This line would have the advantage of giving the Australian colonies direct communication with India, between which two countries there was already an extensive commerce and increasing intercourse, and would confer great advantages on both the Colonial and Indian interests.

He could next call their attention to the various steps which had been taken to secure steam communication

between this country and Australia. In 1844 the Legislative Council at Sydney moved a resolution declaring that it was highly desirable that such a communication should be established; they addressed the Governor on the subject and also sent a petition to the Crown. In 1846 they appointed a Select Committee to inquire into this matter, which examined all the mercantile men most conversant with the subject, and naval officers of great eminence who were engaged in making surveys between Sydney and the Indian Archipelago. Captain Blackwood at this time discovered what he considered a safe channel through Torres Straits, and this discovery was confirmed by the researches of Captain Owen Stanley, by whose recent and untimely death the country has been deprived of the services of a most gallant and efficient officer. Such was the zeal of the Legislative Council in the cause, that they voted a sum of 9.000*l.* a year to forward it.

Much interest was also excited in this country on the subject; petitions have been repeatedly presented to this House, various public meetings were held, deputation after deputation waited upon the different Ministers, all embodying the one simple desire that a regular communication with Australia, should be speedily established. His Hon friend the Member for Berwickshire (the Hon F. Scott) had particularly distinguished himself by his able advocacy of the great advantage, which would arise from the completion of this project. Mr. De Salis and Mr. Logan, both colonists, gentlemen of great respectability and practical knowledge, had also been unremitting in their exertion in the same cause; and he might frankly say that the progress which this

question had made during the last two years, in public opinion, was mainly attributable to their energy, ability, and perseverance. The consequence of all this was, that the Government issued notifications for tenders, and several overtures were made by parties, who were desirous of undertaking to supply the existing defect in our communication. The India and Australian Steam Navigation Company made exceedingly low tender for the performance of the service, which was approved by the Government; and by some official manoeuvring of a most extraordinary kind, they were allowed six months to complete their arrangements, without security; though when their tender was accepted, they were supposed to have raised but little capital, and had but few shares actually subscribed for: the consequence was that after keeping every *bona fide* undertaking in abeyance for several months, the whole affair fell to the ground, and the company has lately been entombed in the "Winding-up Court." Of all the offers, however, that had been made, the most eligible was that by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, who, on condition of having given up to them the right of carrying the mails from Bombay to Suez, now performed by the East India Company, offered to discharge the service of the line from Singapore to Sydney free of further cost. The East India Company, for reasons of which they best knew the weight, would not consent to this arrangement, and consequently it was, for the present at least, defeated. Many other offers, both for the Cape and Panama routes, and also for screw steamers from Singapore, were made, but were not approved of by the Government. Thus the matter rests, and it is deplor-

able to think that at this moment the colonies seem as little likely to obtain this inestimable boon as ever they were. Such a state of things is the more to be regretted, as the expense to this country would be only trifling. Grants to the amount of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* might fairly be expected from the colonial legislatures, and the whole sum to be raised towards the expense of the services, including postal revenue, might, at the very least, be placed at 40,000*l.*a year. He arrived at this conclusion from a statement issued by the Association for promoting Steam Communication with Australia. The advantages flowing from the adoption of this line must be evident to everybody who gave the subject the slightest consideration; politically, socially, and commercially, it would produce the greatest possible benefits. Politically, it would furnish us with a steam navy to which the defence of the eastern seas might be entrusted with confidence in case of war; and that it was high time, measures of some sort should be taken for defending our ports in those seas against hostile attacks, must be clear to all those who had read the account of the United States Exploring Expedition by Commodore Wilkes, in which it was stated that the American ships were able to effect their entrance at nightfall into the harbour of Sydney without being perceived by anybody, and that it would be easy for a hostile force thus entering, to destroy the shipping at anchor. He would read the following extract from Commodore Wilkes' narrative of the voyage of the United States Exploring Expedition:—

“At sunset on the 29th November, 1839, we made the lighthouse on the headland of Port Jackson. We had a fair wind for entering the harbour, and though the night was dark, and

we had no pilot, yet, as it was important to avoid any loss of time, I determined to run in. At 8 p. m. we found ourselves at the entrance of the harbour. Here a light erected on the shoal, called the Sow and Pigs, since the publication of the charts, caused a momentary hesitation, but it was not long before it was determined where it was placed, and with this new aid I determined to run up and anchor off the Cove. In this I succeeded, and the 'Peacock,' directed by signal, followed, the 'Vincenne's' at half-past 10 p. m. We quietly dropped anchor off the Cove, in the midst of the shipping, without any one having the least idea of our arrival. When the good people of Sydney looked abroad in the morning, they were much astonished to see two men-of-war lying among their own shipping, which had entered the harbour in spite of the difficulties of the channel, without being reported, and unknown to the pilots."

The presence of powerful steamers in the Eastern Seas and the Southern Pacific would give additional stability to our Indian empire, and, in case of need, English subjects in more distant regions would be supplied with a great material for mutual defence.

Commercially, it would have the effect of at once establishing confidence among our merchants in their transactions in those seas, and prevent the calamity which too frequently occurred of overstocked markets. It would also enable owners to effect insurances on their ships, and tend most materially to increase the growing commerce between this country and her colonies. And the House would recollect what the nature of this trade is. The inhabitants of Australia and New Zealand now amount to 320,000, and consume British goods to the value of 10*l.* per head annually. Therefore, it is a matter of absolute necessity that such a regular communication as is in the power of Government to accomplish, should be immediately established.

Socially, it would grant the inhabitants of this immense and important region the inestimable blessing of easy and certain communication with their friends and connexions in the old world. It would form the brightest spot in many a poor emigrant's future to feel that he was certain of regular and continued intercourse by letter with those loved ones whom he had left for ever. It would bring gladness to many a humble hearth in this country, when instead of the present uncertain and weary watching, those still at home would hear regularly of the welfare of the hardy son or brother who is pushing his fortune in the Australian bush. For all these reasons he submitted this Motion to the House. He did it in no spirit of hostility to the Government, least of all was it his wish to express an opinion in favour of any particular line ; that, he believed, was a matter that could only be properly decided on by the Executive Government. But he did think that this country and her colonies demanded that this noble scheme should at once be perfected. His lordship concluded by saying, I do hope that this service will be carried out in no niggardly or interested spirit, but that so gigantic an enterprise will be completed in a manner worthy of itself and of the genius and requirements of this mighty empire.

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## STEAM COMMUNICATION BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND INDIA, AUSTRALIA &C.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 27TH MARCH 1851.

[On the 27th March 1851, Viscount Jocelyn moved for a select committee to enquire into the question of Steam Communication between England and India and England and Australia. LORD NAAS again took this opportunity of proposing an amendment, urging the prior claim of Australia to the notice of the Committee, but as such a course was considered unusual, His Lordship withdrew the motion.]

LORD NAAS said, he rose to propose an Amendment, the effect of which would be to oblige the Committee first to take into consideration the Australian part of the question, and afterwards the Indian portion of the subject. His noble Friend (Viscount Jocelyn) had, with his usual ability, made out a most excellent case for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the first branch of his subject; but he thought that, as far as the Australian branch was concerned, his noble Friend had not been so successful. The questions of steam communication with India and Australia had little to do with each other—one had been for some time established, the other was yet in embryo, and, as he thought, had been most cruelly delayed by the remissness of Her Majesty's Government. His noble Friend should therefore beware, lest, by proposing this Committee, he should be

depriving for some further period of time our Australian colonies of the long-desired benefits of steam communication. That question had long attracted the attention of the country and of the Government, and owing to the delay that had taken place, he (LORD NAAS) had felt it to be his duty, last year, to move the adoption of an address to Her Majesty on the subject. The House was led to believe, by the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that no time would be lost in perfecting that great scheme ; but what, up to this time, had been the result ? They were now half through another Session—seven or eight months had elapsed—and the Australian colonies were still as far off the completion of the undertaking as they were when they first took up the matter in 1844. He would shortly state to the House the steps that had been taken on the subject. In the year 1844, shortly after representative institutions had been given to New South Wales, the Legislative Council of Sydney passed strong resolutions on the subject of steam communication. In 1846 they appointed a Committee of the Council to consider it, and the Committee drew up a report recommending that 6,000*l.* should be voted by the Legislative Council for a communication between Sydney and Singapore, and also proposed the adoption of memorials to Her Majesty, praying for the establishment of that line. In 1847 the question was much agitated in this country ; public meetings were held, and deputations waited upon different officers of the Government respecting it. In 1848 the contract entered into for three years with the owners

of the sailing packets which had been employed in carrying the mails to Australia, expired. Up to that time there had been a tolerably regular monthly mode of communication between this country and the Australian colonies; and even that system was esteemed a great advantage by the colonies. But on the 4th of February in that year that contract expired; and the Government declined to renew it, being in hopes that a contract with some steam company would speedily be effected, establishing a superior mode of communication. From that day—the 4th of February, 1848—there had been no regular communication whatever with the Australian colonies; and the usual inconveniences arising from interrupted communications with this country had been acutely felt by the colonists. They had been obliged to pay a much higher price for the transmission of newspapers, periodicals, reviews, and Parliamentary papers, than any other colony enjoying proper communications. The Government having advertised for tenders, among the tenders sent in was an offer from a company not now in existence—the Indian and Australian Steam Packet Company—to perform the service for 26,000*l.*; and that offer was accepted. When this company had completed the contract, it was proved that it had not one shilling of capital subscribed; and yet such a company was allowed to keep the question entirely in its hands for nearly six months, and to keep every *bona fide* competitor out of the market. The state of the company was this, that so far from being able to put down a single steamer, or even the keel of a single steamer, it came under the operation of the Winding-up Act.

and was entombed with many other companies of the same sort. It was clear that Government had not exercised sufficient supervision in giving so important a contract in that manner into the hands of a bubble company. In 1848, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to Sir Charles FitzRoy, the Governor of Australia, held out hopes to the colonists that the communication would be immediately established; and they also had the assistant secretary to the Treasury writing that the Lords' Commissioners of that department were of opinion that so important a communication should not be allowed to depend solely on a question of expense, and that it should be established at all hazards. In 1849, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Packet Company offered to perform the service between Singapore and Sydney for nothing, provided they got the sum paid partly by the East India Company and partly by the Government for the service between Bombay and Suez. The course taken by the Hon. Gentleman opposite, the Member for Orkney, on this point, he thought was a very fair one, 115,000*l.* being the previous cost of the service, the offer of the Peninsular and Oriental Company was for 105,000*l.*, and it was proposed that 75,000*l.* of that sum should be furnished by the Government, and the remaining 30,000*l.* by the East India Company; but the East India Company declined to enter into the arrangement. So ended the year 1849; he did not wish to make any reflections on the East India Company for their conduct in this matter, he regretted the decision that the Hon. Company had come to. It was quite

certain that in point of law they had a perfect right to act as they did, and no one could object to their so doing as they acted for what they considered the interests of the great country committed to their care; but in the autumn of 1850 shortly after he had submitted his Motion of last year to the House, notifications were issued by the Admiralty for the third time, calling for tenders for this service; and the result was, that a tender was now before the Government, which the right Hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not think satisfactory. He ( LORD NAAS ) had been informed that that tender from the Peninsular and Oriental Company was an offer to perform the service between Singapore and Sydney, provided the usual rate of postage of one shilling on each letter going from this country to Sydney was allowed to them; and he understood that the right Hon. Gentleman thought the tender now before the Government for performing the service for the amount of postage of letters alone, and free of expense to the Treasury, was unsatisfactory. Now all that he ( LORD NAAS ) wished to do by the Amendment he had to propose, was merely that the Australian part of the noble Viscount's Motion should be gone into first, and should be reported upon as a totally and an entirely separate question. Within the last two months, he understood a contract had been entered into with a company to carry the mails to the Cape for 30,000*l.*, and a similar contract had been entered into with regard to Brazil. He therefore thought that the Australian colonies should at least be placed on an equality

with countries of inferior importance, and that the Government should not allow of such inexcusable delay. The colonists of Australia now almost despaired of ever obtaining the necessary communication from their own Government; and the interminable delays had, he understood, induced certain parties among the colonists to appeal to the Government of the United States of America to put on steamers between Panama and Sydney. He thought there were very grave objections to such a course—a course to which he had been no party, but he merely mentioned the circumstance to show the feeling prevailing in the colonies; and he feared that if the House now refuse to agree to his Amendment, and would not urge on the committee the necessity of reporting speedily with regard to the communication with Australia, the colonists would be led to think, after the number of years that the subject had been neglected, that their friends in this country had forgotten them, and that there must be some agency in this country—something going on behind the scenes—calculated to deprive them of the benefits of this communication. The line between this country and Australia was yet open, and had not been given to any one; on the other hand, the contract between the Government and the East India Company had yet two years to run before it expired. He hoped, therefore, that the House would accede to his very moderate request, merely to transpose the wording of the noble Viscount's Motion, so that the committee should consider the Australian branch of the question first, and should report first on that

branch which might be acted upon at once, before they entered upon the consideration of that portion of their inquiry which (however soon they might report upon it) could not be acted upon for more than two years.

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out from the words ‘appointed to,’ to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, ‘To consider first, the subject of steam communications, having for its object a line, or lines, connecting India, England, and Australia, and to report to the House the most fitting mode in which such communication may be effected, with due care to economy, and with advantage to the public interests; and afterwards to inquire into the question of the existing steam communications between England and India, and to report whether any improvements may be made in the conduct of those communications previous to the grant of a further contract to any company proposing to carry on that line,’ instead thereof.”

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

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## MILLING TRADE (IRELAND.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 15TH JULY 1851.

[It is known to all who are acquainted with the antecedents of LORD MAYO, that he entered Parliament on avowed Protectionist principles. In the year 1846, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, under the Government of Sir. Robert Peel, induced a large supply of foreign flour, especially American and French into the English Market. The Irish millers unable to compete with these foreign manufactures, quietly saw the trade which supported large numbers of Irish workmen almost deserted. His Lordship feelingly depicts the unexampled depression in this as well as in Linen manufactures and strongly urges that the House might take some measure to avert the complete destruction of those branches of Industry. The House divided at last: Ayes 93; Noes 128 Majority against his Lordship's motion 35.]

**L**ORD NAAS: Sir, I have no apology to offer to the House for, even at this late period of the Session, rising to move that this House do on a future day, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the present state of the milling interest in Ireland. I have been induced to do so from statements that I have received, and also from circumstances that have come within my own personal observation. One of the greatest interests of Ireland is now actually on the brink of ruin, and therefore I feel that I should ill discharge my duty to my constituents, and my country, did I not avail myself of the earliest opportunity of laying before this House the circumstances of this alarming case. Sir, the



industrial occupations of the Irish people have for long consisted first of agriculture, which occupies seven-eighths of the population, of the woollen, linen, and flour manufactories. These great interests our statesmen who lived in the end of the last and the beginning of this century made their especial care; and under their fostering influence they gradually rose to importance and greatness; but as those old patriots sunk one by one into their graves, their doctrines were forgotten, their principles disregarded; new theories began to gain ground, and those great interests which they wisely thought worthy of the protection and care of a native Legislature, are now gradually falling before the baneful effects of imperial indifference. What has become of our woollen manufacture, this House is probably well aware. How our agriculture, our mainstay and chief dependence, has suffered, Her Majesty's Ministers have in their Speech from the Throne themselves deplored. I have now the painful duty of showing to this House how the most important of our manufactures, that of wheat into flour, is almost extinct; and it is with deep concern that I declare my belief that its entire loss may soon be looked for, unless something is done to avert the blow. I will commence by showing what the country has lost in the production of wheat, the raw material of the miller. I find that in 1845 the exports of wheat from Ireland amounted to 372,000 quarters, whereas in 1850 they were only 76,000 quarters; the exports of wheatmeal and flour were 1,422,000 cwts., but in 1850 they had fallen to 327,000 cwts. And, now see what in this

single article of wheat Ireland has lost since the days of her comparative prosperity. Up to 1845, Ireland exported generally on an average about 500,000 quarters, which, valued at 40s. a quarter, would be equivalent to 1,000,000*l.*, now utterly lost to her. Taking the import of the present year at 800,000 quarters, this would require a sum of 1,600,000*l.* to pay for it, so that the entire loss, compared with the state of the corn trade a few years ago, when Ireland exported considerably, would be equal in the whole to 2,600,000*l.*, or one-sixth of the entire valuation of the country ; and this probably far below the reality. This loss fell not altogether upon the farmer ; the miller suffered too. The English market to which he was used to send his best samples, is now glutted with French and American flour, with which he finds it impossible to compete. The country miller in Ireland was the farmer's best customer ; he employed a large capital in his trade, and in all the great markets was the readiest buyer, and it required the employment of considerable capital, for he was obliged to purchase his stock between the harvest and spring, thus purchasing when the farmer was most in need of money, and when it suited him best to dispose of his produce. This placed him in a very different position from miller at the ports, who can always obtain his supply of grain to his hand at any time.

I will now proceed to show to the House the present state of this interest in Ireland, and though it is impossible for me to inform the House as to the circumstances of every mill in the country, I

shall be able to bring such a statement before it, that the House can come to a very accurate idea of what is the general position of the trade. Through the perseverance and energy of certain gentlemen in London, who have taken up this subject most warmly, and to whom the millers are deeply indebted, I have been furnished with returns from upwards of 340 mills, including all the largest establishments in the country, and find that the value of 349 mills in Ireland represented a sum of 1,487,310*L.*, running 1,876 pairs of stones. So much for the value of only a few of the mills in Ireland. Now, what their present state is the following table will show :

TIME-WORKING OF 321 MILLS IN IRELAND.

	88 Munster.	61 Ulster.	35 Connaught	137 Leinster.	321 Total.
Full time ...	12		2	15	39
Not full ...		10	6	1	7
Three-quarters ...	1			4	6
Two-thirds ...	1	1		3	6
Half-time ...	27	2	2	37	81
Not half ...	3	15	1	3	10
One-third ...	16	3	19	8	48
One-fourth ...	6	5		12	18
One-sixth ...	1			3	6
One-eighth ...	1	2		1	2
Not one-ninth ...				2	2
Partially ...	2			5	11
Given up and idle ...	12	4	2	17	45
Full on Indian corn	5	15	2	10	21
Half-time ditto ...	1	4		7	8
Full on oatmeal ...			1	1	3
Not one-fourth ditto		1		7	7
	88	61	35	137	321

INFORMATION RESPECTING LABOUR EMPLOYED  
IN 318 MILLS.

Provinces,	No. of Mills	Pairs of Stones.	No. of men employed.	
			When in full work.	At present.
Ulster. ...	61	289	930	573
Connaught ...	36	147	467	273
Munster ...	87	512	2267	1041
Leinster ...	134	705	2111	900
Total. ...	318	1723	5775	2787

Though these are the actual numbers of men out of work in the mills, yet it gives a very small idea of the number of men actually unemployed in consequence of the reduction of mills, for none of the carmen, cornporters, boatmen, and factors' men are mentioned above.

But to give the House a greater insight in the actual state of this trade, I will read a few individual statements, taken from the handwriting of persons engaged in this pursuit, and couched in their own homely language. One gentleman writes—

“Mr. Crosthwaite, of Bagnalstown, Carlow, estimates that his mills, working 24 pairs of mill-stones, gives support and employment to 3000 families; Mr. Malley, of Castlebar, his eight-pair mill to 100 families; Mr. Rathbone, of Virginia, Cavan, his six-pair mills to 60 families; and the Messrs. Grubbs, of Ferrybank,, Waterford, their eleven-pair mills employ and support 106 families. Therefore the returns show that upon the employment of the corn mills returned, 22,512 families depended for support. We have 685 mills in the books, and averaging them each at four pair of stones—2,740 stones give labour and support to 30,880 families, and these mills

will make 109,600 sacks of flour per week, or 5,000,000 sacks per annum ; showing the capabilities of the mill power of Ireland with good protective laws—these may be considered export mills. Mr. Clibborn says, there are 1,800 mills for grinding oatmeal and corn in Ireland. If these 30,880 families be taken at four each, it will show 123,520 souls depending on the corn millers directly for support.

And now, Sir, I will read to this House various notes and remarks which have been sent by some Irish millers with their statistics :—

“ULSTER, Armagh, No. 7. 5 pairs stone.—This mill was built 5 years past, and in consequence of the late Bill of Sir Robert Peel, was obliged to give up making flour.

“Down, No. 14, 9 pairs stones.—2 water flour mills and wind mill idle from badness of the trade. I cannot let or sell them.

“Cavan, No. 18, 6 pairs stones.—Including carters, there are 40 men thrown out of work at the two mills of Messrs. Rathbone ; but in the returns the millers only losing work are estimated at 14.

“LEINSTER, County Dublin, No. 4, 9 pairs stones.—I bought an iron wheel for 400*l.* in 1847 but in consequence of free trade, I abandoned the idea of putting it up ; if I had, I would require more than double the hands.

“Ditto No. 64.—I have 4 pair nearly ready for work, but will not finish them until the free-trade plague is removed—we seldom work our corn mill—since December, the price of flour being so kept down by the quantity imported, and particularly the large lots of slightly damaged coming every day into the market, must turn the mill into something else.

“Kilkenny, No. 79, 9 pairs stones.—From the great difficulty we experience in endeavouring to sell flour, we do not keep one pair of stones constantly at work ; we have very much improved the quality, still we can scarcely dispose of a sack in Liverpool, where we could readily sell 200 to 300

sacks weekly before the change in the corn laws ; every market seems full of French flour.

“Louth, No. 61.—Situating in one of the best wheat districts of Ireland, but owing to the large quantities of foreign flour coming into this place, and neighbouring towns, has not dressed one bag of flour since 1st of February, and at present 400 bags on hand, and not a baker or other to ask the price of it, with 500 barrels of wheat ready to manufacture, so that the flour mill is only grinding a little wheat for wheat meal to retail.

“Kilkenny, No. 59.—A mill with 7 pairs stones, now idle. French flour is selling so low, and Irish wheat not grown. From 1837 to 1845 these mills (3, with 17 pairs stones) cost for carriers' wages and men's labour 3,500*l.* per annum ; they now cost only 500*l.* yearly : the labourers all in the poor-house or gone to America, that were then employed.

“MUNSTER, Clonmel and neighbourhood, No. 16.—11 mills, 89 pairs stones, cost 70,500*l.* ; not on an average more than one-third worked for the past eight months, owing to the heavy imports of foreign flour into all our usual markets.

“Cork, No. 36.—The importation of foreign flour interferes so much with the trade, and it is so dull in consequence, that scarcely first cost can be made of the wheat, and not allowing anything to pay the expenses of clerk, millers, carters, labourers, and interest of capital. If something is not done to afford some protection to the trade, these concerns will be stopped, (9 pair mill, value 7,000*l.*) which will add considerably to the distress of an already very poor district, heavily taxed with poor rates, &c.

“Waterford, No. 50.—A mill, 5 pairs stones, cost 5,000*l.* all idle, and remains as a monument of the baneful effects of free trade ; every man discharged.

“Tipperary, No. 9.—10 pair mill, 5,000*l.*, about one-third worked ; our export trade being totally annihilated by the immense importations of foreign grain : 100 men once employed, now 40.

“Cork, No. 28.—The water-power mills at Shannon Vale are and have been idle these three years. (worked 10 pair stones per water.) We expended over 8,000*l.* in additional

buildings and machinery within 19 years, after which the mill part was burnt down. We since put up the mills and machinery on the newest principles, at an expense of 3,000*l.*, but finding free trade interfered so much with millers, we never since worked them, and they are idle these three years. We were glad to give a surrender of these mills after all our expenditure. 40 men were employed—most of the men and families are now in the poor-house.

“Kilkenny, No. 84.—I am ordered by Government to let 2 pair sleep, to accommodate the French and American millers; and also 3 pair by night occasionally to oblige the den of Cobden, Bright, and Co., the destructives. I was under pain of losing all my property, being compelled by Sir Robert Peel and free-trade millers, now repentant, to put out the fires of my steam engines, and discharge my men, in order to benefit the country with a big loaf, and no money to buy.

“Louth, No. 22—Mills 5 pairs stones, value 5,000*l.*,—all the 10 men discharged. A long time standing, from the plain fact of not being able to make a profit out of either foreign or home-grown wheat, oats, or Indian corn.”

This, then, is the present state of the greatest of our manufactures in Ireland. Is it not a state of unexampled depression? Is it enough to alarm any true lover of his country, and make one tremble for the effect such a loss may have on an already impoverished nation? But now for the cause. It is too apparent that this loss of property and trade has been occasioned by the enormous and unexpected importation of foreign flour; a circumstance quite unforeseen by the authors of the measure of 1846, and even unlooked for by them, till within the last year. I find that a paper, supposed to represent the opinions of the Treasury Bench, and conducted by one of its most distinguished members, expressed a decided opinion on this subject, so lately as last year, after having stated that France imported

annually, on an average, 650,000 quarters of wheat. The *Economist* says—

“As a source of permanent supply, therefore, this fact alone would not induce us to look to France, and we are the less inclined to do so, when we consider the very backward state of agriculture in that country, and the extremely small produce of the land, which appears to have been stationary for nearly 60 years.”

But what is the fact?—how different the practice! I hold in my hand a return which I moved for during this Session of Parliament, and which will show a very different result from that predicted by the *Economist*; and here I may remark, that as the distress which I have brought under the notice of this House, dated principally from the time that French flour began to be largely imported, I shall confine myself to that part of the case, as I believe that the nearness of French ports, and other circumstances to which I will hereafter allude, renders her at present our most formidable competitor. The return I allude to shows what has actually taken place in the importation of French:—

WHEAT FLOUR---REDUCED TO ITS EQUIVALENT IN  
QUARTERS OF WHEAT.

Imported from France.

	1849.		1850.
Into England, qrs. ...	216,987	...	435,575
Into Scotland, qrs. ...	38,089	...	57,682
Into Ireland qrs. ...	32,426	...	56,793
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Into United Kingdom ...	287,502	...	550,050



## Imported from France.

	Last qr. of 1850 separately.		First qr. of 1851.
Into England, qrs. ...	129,346	...	160,409
Into Scotland, qrs. ...	18,106	...	38,161
Into Ireland, qrs. ...	17,571	...	27,979
Into United Kingdom.	165,023	...	226,549

These returns, therefore, show that in the first quarter of the present year there was imported of wheat flour, into the United Kingdom, very nearly as much as in the whole of the year 1849. I can now show the House a French account of their exportation :—The *Moniteur* of June 15th, 1851, concluded the official report of the Special Committee appointed to inquire into the question of admitting foreign corn into France for grinding and exportation, drawn by M. de la Rochette :—The following are the quantities given in this report of the exports of corn for the twelve months ending August 1, 1850, and for seven months of the agricultural year 1851 :—

	Year ending August 1. 1850 Metrical quintals.		Seven months to March 1, 1851. Metrical quintals.
Flour ...	902,481	...	987,918
Wheat ...	943,639	...	1,183,902
Maslin ...	3,488	...	2,021
Rye ...	84,190	...	75,597
Barley ...	93,860	...	219,832
Buckwheat ...	1,032	...	27,388
Maize ...	193,187	...	59,466
Potatoes ...	638,584	...	315,175
Legumes ...	83,171	...	100,147
Oats ...	81,532	...	83,807
Total ...	2,975,164	...	3,055,253

It appears from these figures that the exportations from France during the seven months of the current year have exceeded those for the whole of the year 1849 by 1,080,089 quintals, showing an increase in two years of 54 per cent. In the agricultural year of 1850 the flour exported amounted to 902,481 quintals, and the wheat to 943,639 quintals. During the seven months of the agricultural year of 1851 the exports of flour from France amounted to 987,918 quintals, and the wheat to 1,183,902 quintals. These quantities, reduced to their equivalents in imperial quarters, will stand thus :—

	12 months, 1850.	7 months, 1851.
Wheat, qrs.	418,549	554,443
Flour, qrs.	506,494	525,122
Total	925,043	1,079,565

It would be seen too, by the following detailed statement, what was the exact amount of the bonus obtained in the various ports of France upon shipping flour instead of wheat, in consequence of the difference in the freight between the articles :—

CHANNEL PORTS.			
Average freight of wheat per qr.	...	3s.	0d.
Duty	...	1	0
		<hr/>	
		4	0d.
Freight on produce thereof in fine flour	1s	6d.	
Duty	0	11d.	
		<hr/>	
		2	5
Bonus in favour of the French miller		1	6

		MARSEILLES.	
Freight of wheat	...	4s	6d
Duty	...	1	0
		<hr/>	
		5	6
Freight on fine flour	...	2	10
Duty	...	0	11
		<hr/>	
	...	3	9
Bonus	...	1	9

This last table shows how great an advantage the importer of flour has over the importer of grain, and how likely it is that the French manufacturer, having discovered this mine of wealth, is likely to pursue his advantage to a far greater extent than he does at present. It has been stated by one of Her Majesty's Ministers, in another place, that the French miller was restricted in the exportation of the produce grown on the French soil. But this is not all the case. A gentleman connected with the trade, having read that statement in the newspapers, wrote to France on the subject, and here is the answer to his inquiries :—

“ 1st Question.—Is it permissible to receive foreign wheat in every French port to be ground in bond, or is that privilege only to be enjoyed by Marseilles ?

“ Answer.—Every bonded French port has the privilege. For instance, not only Marseilles, but Nantes, Havre, Dunkirk, &c.

“ 2nd Question.—What quantity of flour must be exported for a certain quantity of wheat imported ?

“ Answer.—70 per cent of wheat. For instance, for a quarter of wheat weighing 500 lbs., 350 lbs. of flour. The flour must be exported within 20 days from the time the wheat was imported. The flour must be exported from the same

port at which the wheat was landed, or from one of the same division. For example, it would not be practicable to import wheat into Marseilles, and avoid the duty by giving a bill of export for flour for Dunkirk. France will not allow any flour to be imported into France."

This, therefore, is nothing more nor less than a regular system of grinding wheat in bond for exportation, and there is nothing to prevent the the French from grinding the wheat that was imported from the Mediterranean ports and sending it into England. I do not pretend to say that the French had availed themselves of the power to any great extent of bonding their flour, but it is too evident that the practice is gradually increasing. Now I have received a very able communication, written by a corn factor in Dublin, to a country miller, which shows the whole case better than I could possibly express it :—

"Dublin, 26th April, 1851.

"I believe there can be no second opinion on the subject, that the trade has been most seriously interfered with. Our sales of Irish flour are now but little above the proportion of one to three of French, and I believe the same could be said by every other commission house in Dublin, whilst in Liverpool and Manchester, the great markets for Irish flours in former years, the proportions are still less. I know several large mills unworked, and many others but partially so, and I need not tell you as a miller, that until wheat, both native and foreign, recede fully 10 per cent below even the present low rates, this state of things cannot be otherwise, improve your style of manufacture how you will.

"Much has been said about the inferiority of our system of manufacturing, and I admit with truth—and much also of our choice of wheats from the granaries of the world,

which I also assent to ; but unless you as a miller can buy this wheat at such price as will admit of some margin for your cost and profit in manufacturing, your skill and good wheat will do you little good.

“Now considering that your legislators in speering into the future overlooked *in toto* in their calculations that source of supply which I may say has inundated our markets with flour, it appears to me safer to judge of facts as we find them, and from our opinions on the experience of the past twelve months of our trade ; and I maintain that no miller in this country can buy wheat in any of our markets, take that wheat to his mill, grind it and re-sell it, in competition with the French flours now offering, with a profit, but on the contrary a loss. It may be said, much of this French flour is leaving a loss to the importer, and prices will go up when present stocks are reduced. Our house, however, hold consignments direct from more than our French manufacturer ; and my opinion is, that having a ‘surplus’ they will consign it to our markets if we do not ‘buy’ it ; and from some knowledge of the provincial parts of France I would say that if their surplus of wheat has admitted of their immense exports to us since in 1848, moderate improvement in their system of agriculture will greatly increase that surplus.

“Again, let us look to American supplies, and I think it must be admitted that barrel flour can now be bought in Liverpool, in good condition, cheaper relatively than their wheats. The same applies to French flours and wheats : for example, the wheats from both these countries could not be bought at any of our ports of discharge during the past season, to form a fair miller’s average, so as to produce flour equal to the French or American under 23s. to 23s. 6d. per barrel. We are selling French flour of prime quality at 11s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt., about equal to what such wheats would produce if well manufactured ; and I believe your miller will confirm my assertion, that at 11s. 6d. the return from the barrel of wheat would not exceed 23s. 6d., and at 12s. 6d. but 25s., leaving in the first case nothing, and in the second but 1s. 6d. towards working, cost and profit, supposing the buyer to be a miller at the seaport ; but if (as in your

own case as well as that of many others who have embarked capital in mills at greater or less distances in the interior of the country) there is to be calculated additional cost on the raw material going to be manufactured, and cost of placing the flour on a market other than that of the immediate locality of the mill, the trade would be ruinous. American flour is now selling in Liverpool, sweet and in condition, at 19s. per barrel, or about 10s. 9d. per cwt. These remarks apply to the general quality of flour in use by bakers, but hold good, with all qualities relatively. No doubt much foreign and also native wheats have been sold, in good condition, from 19s. per barrel upwards; but such wheats would not give flour equal in quality to that alluded to. It may be fairly presumed that French millers, like our own, make a careful selection of the wheats in their respective districts, leaving but the middling and inferior for export, consequently the quality of their flour should be better than ours from French wheat: moreover, it is well known in the milling trade that it is on the home sale of coarse flours that the principal profit is made, the fine flour produced being sold at a comparatively low profit: the fair inference is, that the course of the French trade in this respect is similar to our own, and that they will always sell their fine flour comparatively cheaper than their coarse; in fact they must sell it, and it is more to their advantage to export flour than wheat, as in addition to retaining coarse food for their own population, there is a saving of freight of fully 8 stone on every barrel of 20 stone.

“These reasons, confirmed by the fact of continued importation on a very large scale, say 50,000 sacks during the last 10 days between London, Liverpool and Dublin, lead to the conclusion that the pressure from the French millers will continue, and will increase; the result will be ruinous to the milling interests of this country, those in the interior falling first, coarse feeding will become scarce, and much enhanced in value, to the injury of the lower orders and agriculturists; the value of any wheat grown in these countries still further depressed, first, by the natural importation of food itself, and, secondly, by its perishable nature, as flour, unlike wheat, cannot be held over, and must at times

be unfairly pressed on the markets to avoid loss by going out of condition.

“You must excuse this terrible scribble of a letter, but I have been both hurried and interrupted whilst writing.

“Yours truly,——.”

I now, Sir, come to one of the most curious features in the whole of this deplorable case, and that is, that so far from the ruin of the miller having contributed to the welfare of the poorer portion of the consumers, their condition has been actually made worse, and a great quantity of the coarser sorts of flour and breadstuffs are kept out of the country, which were usually consumed by this class. The following is an extract from the circular of the Irish millers issued last May :—

“As superfine flour only is imported, and as each quarter of wheat yields (according to the quality of extra fineness of the flour and the particular kind of wheat) from 300 down to 260 lbs. (and in some instances even less), now we take an average, and for convenience take 280 lbs. as the weight of a sack of flour, allowing the quarter of wheat to weigh 480 lbs. and waste 14 lbs. it is obvious that about 186 lbs. of the coarse flour, bran, &c., fitted for the consumption of our own population, and the manufacture of biscuit and feeding purposes, is kept out of the country by the import of the said sack of flour, instead of the quarter of wheat. This deficiency has to be met in two different ways, a certain portion of other food (Indian corn, &c.) has to be especially imported at a higher relative value than would otherwise have to be paid, in consequence of the especial demand, and the consumption has to be checked by the higher price paid for it, and by the enhanced value caused by scarcity of the coarse portion of the produce of the wheat manufactured here. This

is shown by the fact that coarse flour and bran are actually as dear, and in some instances dearer, with superfines at 30s. per sack, than when they were at 50s. and 55s. The working classes and tradesmen, the farmer or householder who required bran and the coarsest flour for feeding, feel this most severely. The former has to consume Indian corn or flour, almost half bran; the latter was obliged to lessen his stock of pigs, cattle, &c., and to feed those he does keep at a disadvantage."

I have also received the following letter from Mr. Robinson, of Dundalk, dated the 26th of May, 1851:—

"My Lord—I perceive with pleasure your notice of Motion for the 3rd June about the milling interest. For the last two months a hundred of bran was not to be had in Newry or Dundalk under 6s, whereas there was plenty first flour at 11s. 6d.—a circumstance quite unprecedented. Feeders of all cattle, and the poor, are by far the worst off, from want of the coarser flours and bran, whilst we are overwhelmed with the finest."

I can also show a most true and accurate estimate of the actual loss received by the poor by this state of things. The effects produced by the imports of flour from France, might be judged by the following extract from a letter of Mr. L. Crosthwaite, a highly respectable merchant in Dublin. It was dated May 15, 1851:—

"But taking the year 1850, the value of the import may be estimated as follows:—595,355 qrs. of wheat, at 40s. 1,190,710l.; 1,925,175 cwts. of flour, at 12s. 1,155,105l., making a total of 2,345,815l. The coarse flour and offal from the wheat that would be required to make the above quantity of fine flour, may be estimated at 1,036,632 cwts.; 1,036,632 cwts. at the average value of coarse flour and



bran, even when wheat was dearer than at present, was 5s. 6d. per cwt., and would make thereat 285,073*l.*; but the actual present selling price of such coarse flour and bran, is an average of 7s. 4d. per cwt., thus making 380,098*l.*; being an advanced price for the coarser food of 95,024*l.*; and the practical working of the system is, that the rich classes may, perhaps, effect a saving of about 1s. per cwt. on fine flour, being on 1,925,175 cwts., 96,258*l.*; whilst the poorer classes pay an advance of about 1s. 10d. per cwt. on 1,036,632 cwts. of coarse flour and bran, making 95,025*l.* This shows the advanced price which the lower orders of society in these countries are obliged to pay, in consequence of the encouragement given to the import of flour instead of wheat from France alone; but as the operation of the system has an effect on the prices of the coarse flour and offal of the produce of all the wheat ground in these countries, the actual enhanced prices paid by the poorer classes in Great Britain and Ireland amount to an enormous sum in the aggregate, and, moreover, additional expense and inconvenience arise in the rearing of young stock and poultry."

Now, Sir, it has repeatedly been stated that one reason why the French miller could beat us, was that they were superior manufacturers. An impression has gone abroad that the British and Irish millers were inferior in intelligence to their French competitors; but I believe nothing can be more unfounded than that they are inferior to any millers on earth either in intelligence, in their machinery, or in their mode of working. I do not wonder at this argument, for it has of late been quite the fashion with a certain party in this country to undervalue and run down our own workmen. The farmer, I well remember, has constantly been described as most deficient in intelligence, ignorant of his profession, uneducated and

stupid, little better than the clod of the soil, and utterly unequal to the management of a farm, that perhaps he and his fathers had lived on in honour and comfort for thirty generations; he was opposed to all progress, a thing of a past age—brutal, boorish, and superstitious, strongly suspected of an inordinate love of beer, and a belief in witchcraft. The British sailor was also said to be drunken and mutinous, and attempts were made during the debates on the Navigation Laws, to prove that they as a class were undeserving of the countenance and protection of this House; the same course is now pursued with regard to the miller, and high authorities have told the British miller in (I must say) somewhat an insulting tone, that he should go to France and learn his trade. Now, sir, I am happy to say that I am in a position to disprove this monstrous assertion, which I sincerely trust will never again be made.

The great object of the miller is the close separation of the farinaceous part of the grain from the skin, and the great test of good milling is the light weight of the bran (showing the complete separation of the flour from the bran). Tried by this criterion it was shown, by some returns laid before Sir Robert Peel in 1842, that the British millers were equal if not superior to the French. The produce of flour from the quarter of wheat of 480 lbs. was given from three different parts of the kingdom:—

LONDON.		LIVERPOOL.		NORWICH.	
	lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
First, or fines	313	Superfine ...	290	White	316
Seconds ... ..	50	Seconds ...	63	Seconds	36
Middlings, 3ds	17	Biscuit, 3ds	28	Coarse	24
Coarse, ditto	15	Fine pollard.	12	Sharp	14
Bran ... ..	70	Bran ... ..	70	Bran & shorts	76
Waste ... ..	15	Waste ... ..	17	Waste	14
	<hr/> 480		<hr/> 480		<hr/> 480

This gives the total flour—London, 380 lbs.; Liverpool, 382 lbs.; Norwich, 376 lbs. The qualities after the firsts or fines are all kept back by the foreign miller. Now, the manufacture of the Belgian and French millers is thus. From 480lbs., a quarter of wheat;—

BRUSSELS.		LILLE AND PARIS.	
	lbs.		lbs.
Fine or first	260	Firsts	300
Seconds }	122	Seconds }	80
Thirds }			
Offals	84	Offals	84
Waste	14	Waste	16
	<hr/> 480		<hr/> 490

Or, flour—Brussels, 380 lbs.; France, 382 lbs. Of this, therefore, but 260 lbs. is exported by the Brussels millers, who keep back 220 lbs., and France, 180 lbs. This is the ordinary make; but of the extra fine qualities, which compete so severely at Dublin, the French millers take but 240 lbs. out of 480 lbs. weight of wheat. The seconds and thirds named above are much inferior to the seconds and coarse of the English and Irish miller, as they contain the coarse middlings

of the London miller, the fine pollards of the Liverpool miller, and the sharps of the Norfolk miller; and it will be seen that the 84 lb. weight of offals made by the foreign miller shows them to be worse manufacturers of weight than the English, as their weight of offal is but 70 to 76 lb., and as the price of offals is but half that of wheat, the less made of that quality the better for the miller. Taking the manufacture of flour, as made into the qualities in the most general use, which are termed house-holds or fines—of these qualities five times more are sold than any other sort, and of this 350 lbs. are taken from a quarter of wheat. It would, indeed, be surprising if it were otherwise, for good milling depends mainly upon good machinery, and as no one who visits the Great Exhibition can fail to perceive that we have beaten every other nation in the world in the manufacture of machinery, it is to be expected that the English manufacturer, with every improvement in machinery at his door, should be able to excel the French millers, who are obliged to buy their best machinery from this country. Why, sir, the best mill in France is M. D'Arblay's, at Corbeille, and from the superiority and excellence of its machinery, it is called "The English Mill;" and so it should be, because its machinery was almost entirely made in this country. It is said again that the English miller could not compete with the French, because he does not adopt the silk sieves; but the fact is, that they have been tried in England over and over again, and there is the greatest dif-

ference of opinion with respect to their merits ; some of the the oldest and most practical millers in the country being of opinion that the old wire sieve, improved as it has been by new patents, was the best mode of dressing the flour. The real reason why the French beat us is, that they have labour cheaper, they are comparatively untaxed ; that they enjoy protective laws, and that the French Government, instead of throwing every obstacle in the way of the manufacturer, have from time to time taken his case into consideration, and have done everything they possibly could to increase and foster the production of French flour ; and you may bring as many arguments, theories, and hypothetical cases as you like, to prove that it ought not to be so, but the plain fact is not to be denied—the French miller will ruin the English one if this competition goes on. There is another point connected with this case, which is rather remarkable. It was predicted, that as soon as we adopted free trade, our example would be followed by every other nation, and that the kingdoms of the world would speedily emulate each other in quickly following our footsteps. But the reverse is the case ; Russia, America, and Germany are still as protectionist as ever ; and so far is our new system from having been in the least degree copied by France, that they have actually, since 1846, taken steps to protect and foster still more, at our expense, their own millers and manufacturers. The French committee on the grinding of corn, to which I have already referred, have recommended the maintenance of the ordin-

ance allowing the grinding of wheat in bond, under certain new regulations, the principal of which was that all hard foreign wheats, or wheats containing one-fifth hard corn, should be prohibited from being ground under its provisions. This shows, that so far is France from being inclined to open her ports, that she is in fact throwing restrictions in the way of importation, and is about to pass a law which will, to a considerable degree, have the effect of sending that article into our markets. The linen trade is now the only staple branch of industry left to Ireland; and what has been the effect of the measures adopted of late years upon that trade? It appears, from a return upon the table of the House, that the following were the quantities of wheat and wheaten meal, respectively imported from France into Great Britain and Ireland, during—

	Wheat	Wheaten Meal or Flour.
1842	469,707 qrs.	164,690 cwt.
1850	595,355	1,925,175 "

Of linen yarn there was exported from the United Kingdom into France during the same periods :—

1842	22,202,292 lbs.
1850	690,602 "

It will be perceived that the export of linen yarns from Great Britain and Ireland to France reached its maximum in 1842, and in that year amounted to 22,202,292 lbs., but declined in 1850 to 690,602 lbs. The value may be estimated as follows :—

1842,	22,202,292 lbs. at 1s. 5d.	per lb. 1,572,661 <i>l.</i>
1850,	690,602 lbs. at 1s. 5d.	" 48,917 <i>l.</i>

High duties in France gradually diminished the export. It will be seen that in 1845 the quantity exported had been reduced to about 9000,000 lbs. Not satisfied with this reduction, on the following year an augmentation of duty of about one-third was imposed on the finest kinds, being those chiefly continued to be imported; and thence the reduction of export still more rapidly proceeded. But other and more extraordinary means were resorted to. The importation of linen yarns from Belgium was encouraged, as will appear from the following scale of duties which still exist in France on their importation from Great Britain and Ireland and from Belgium:—

	From Great Britain and Ireland.	From Belgium.
1st. Class 1 to 9 leas	4 <i>l.</i> 80 <i>c.</i>	19 <i>l.</i> 36 <i>c.</i>
2d " 10 to 19	52 80	27 40
3d " 20 to 38	88 0	48 40
4th " 40 to 58	137 50	33 60
5th " 60 and upwards.	181 40	98 56
	Per 100 Kilogrammes 220lbs.	

It will be perceived that Belgium yarns have been, and are, admitted at little more than half the duties imposed on those from Great Britain and Ireland, and that the export from the latter countries has been nearly annihilated, having been reduced to one-thirtieth, part of what it was in 1842. I do not pretend to say that our linen manufacturers have not increased. I rejoice to say

that the contrary is the case; but I do say, that as far as France is concerned, she has had all the gain, without giving any corresponding advantage to us: we have taken and paid in hard cash for, her flour, and she has taken less of our only manufactured production from us. This, Sir, is now the case of the Irish millers. And I, now ask the House whether they will refuse to take these matters into their serious consideration? I believe that the new system of commercial policy which has been adopted, has caused great suffering in Ireland, and that it materially retarded that improvement which they had a right to expect, now that the famine was over. I believe that in consequence of that policy she is now in danger of losing her only market for her only produce. By the vote which I ask the House to come to this night, I wish you to say whether you are prepared to continue, without any hesitation or alteration, a system which I think I have proved to have been productive of such evil results. I do not attempt to conceal (indeed it would be affectation to do so) that the Vote I shall to-night ask the House to come to is a Vote of want of confidence in the new system. Has it answered any of your expectations? How many more interests will you consent to see ruined? Her Majesty's Government have already acknowledged that agriculture was in a distressed condition. I have myself proved to-night that an interest second to none in the kingdom in importance—that of the manufacturer of wheaten flour—was, perhaps, in a state even still more depressed than



the agriculturists; and I wish to know if hon. Members on the opposite side of the House still think their system a good one—whether they are now prepared to say how many interests they are prepared to see destroyed before they acknowledge that this system has not worked all they wished or expected from it? It may be the best system in the world; but I want to know what it is worth—what are you prepared to pay for it—what national loss it will be safe to incur in order to secure the blessings of free trade? I believe that the present is no more a system of free trade than of any thing else. It is not free trade, but a system of protection to the foreigner, which enables him to compete, on unfair terms, in our own markets, with our own people. All that I and those who act with me desire is, that the markets may be thrown open, fairly and equally, to the produce of our own industry, as well as that of foreign countries. We have been called selfish persons—the advocates of monopoly, and the opponents of unrestricted trade! Never was anything more untrue. We are desirous of competition, but it must be a fair and equal one. We do not wish to foster a class or exalt an order, or to give to one interest in the State an advantage above another. But we do say that the quarter of wheat grown on the banks of the Mississippi, the Volga, or the Elbe, should, when it appears in our markets, be subject to somewhat the same charges, and contribute as much to the revenues of the State as that grown by the Tweed, the Trent, or the Shannon. And likewise, if the

produce of the French manufacturer should seek the advantage of our superior market, it should be subject to like burdens as our own. Sir, I little know what the result of the division to-night may be; but of one thing I am certain, that the principles I have this night humbly endeavoured to advocate, are everlasting—indestructible; I cannot imagine that a system under which, with God's blessing, England has attained to a degree of power and glory unknown to history, can be by a single Act of Parliament, swept from the hearts and recollections of the people of this country; I cannot believe that the nation will soon forget a system which made England the queen of commerce, the mistress of the seas; a system which made your merchants princes, and enabled you to send your sons to govern, with imperial sway, distant nations in every quarter of the globe; a system based upon a principle implanted in every bosom—so deeply rooted in our hearts, that it finds expression in the homeliest proverb in our tongue, the first law of nature—self-preservation.

Motion made, and question proposed :—

“That this House will, on a future day, resolve itself into a Committee, to take into consideration the present state of the Milling Interest in Ireland.,,

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THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE  
"WORLD" NEWSPAPER.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 19TH FEBRUARY 1852.

[On the 19th February 1852, LORD NAAS charged Earl Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with having subsidized a disreputable Dublin newspaper named the "WORLD," with public funds. His Lordship desired that the House might pass a vote of censure on the transaction. Lord John Russel defended Lord Clarendon in an eloquent speech, stating that the country ought to be grateful to him (Lord Clarendon) for having overthrown Treason and suppressed a rebellion in the bud. After an animated debate in which Mr. Disraeli, T. B. Hobhouse, Mr. Sharman Crawford, Mr. Moore, Mr. Roche, Col. Sibthorp, Mr. Power, Mr. Newdegate, Lord Claud Hamilton, Sir Denham, Norreys, and Viscount Palmerston took part, the House divided. Ayes 137 ; Noes 229 ; Majority against the Motion 92 ]

LORD NAAS said : Mr. Speaker, in rising to propose the Resolution of which I have given notice, I feel that I may claim the indulgence of the House for standing in somewhat peculiar circumstances. It is a most invidious task to be obliged to impugn the actions of any public man, and particularly of the actions of men who hold high offices under the Crown. The House must therefore at once see in what a disagreeable position I am now placed ; but I feel even more reluctant in bringing this subject before the House, because, in common with all who mix in the pub-

lie affairs of this country, I must entertain great respect for the character of the individuals to whom I shall be obliged to allude. Sir, I have the utmost possible respect for the high personal qualities, the talent, and the private worth of the noble individual who fills the office of Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. I may also say, that although I shall be compelled to arraign and impugn certain acts which the noble Lord and his Government have committed, I shall not for one moment attempt to deny that that noble individual and that Government have performed great and useful services to the State. I do not wish, in the slightest degree, to deny a fact which is so patent to all; but at the same time I cannot think that those great services will in any respect influence the opinion of this House with regard to the question which I have now to submit to it. For the character and private worth of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir W. Somerville) whom I see opposite, also I must, in common with all the Irish Members, entertain the greatest respect. I am free to acknowledge the courtesy with which he has on all occasions transacted Irish business, and any other business in reference to which he is brought into communication with Members of this House. But though, in common with all with whom I act, I have these feelings with respect to the individuals themselves, I do not think that, in bringing forward the present Motion, I am taking a step which is unworthy either of myself or of the position I occupy as a Member of this House. It is not to be denied that it is a right inherent in

any Member of this House, as well as in the House itself, at any time to take exception to, and consider, the public acts of public men. But, though nobody can deny this, I feel as much as any one the great responsibility that attaches to a Member of this House who takes such a course; and I think that no Member of the House of Commons can stand in a more invidious or worse position, than that he should on light, frivolous, or vexatious grounds, attack the character and the acts of Gentlemen who hold high office under the Crown. Before I resume my seat, however, I believe I shall so present to the House the transactions to which I allude, that I shall convince the House that neither the charges I bring forward are light and trifling, nor the course I take frivolous and vexatious. I desire most carefully to abstain from making an attack upon the private character of any one; and I am certain that by no possible ingenuity or contortion of facts will it be shown that this Motion is intended as a personal attack. Sir, I now impugn the acts of political men openly, in the face of the country and in the presence of their own Colleagues, upon public grounds, and upon public grounds alone. The transactions to which I allude are public acts. They have been justified, if justified it can be termed, upon public grounds. They involve what the House will no doubt consider an unwarrantable employment of the public money. Now, if this be not a public question, and a question worthy of the serious attention of the House, I cannot conceive what a public question really is. I will not weary

the House with further preliminary observations, but at once endeavour to detail, as shortly as possible the particular transactions to which I refer, and which are transactions as unpleasant to the House to hear as they are disagreeable to me to describe. The transactions between the Irish Government and the editor of a Dublin newspaper called the *World*, were brought to light upon a trial which took place in the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland on the 5th and 6th December last. It was an action brought against the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland by an individual of the name of Birch, to recover a sum of money alleged to have been due for services performed by Birch for the right hon. Gentleman; and in order to make the House fully aware of what were the particulars of the demand, I will state the mode in which it was made. The first demand by Birch against the right hon. Gentleman was—

“To balance remaining due for work and labour and services rendered by the plaintiff to and for the defendant, and also for work, labour, and services rendered by the plaintiff in support of the existing Administration, at the instance and request of the defendant, from the 16th July, 1849, to 16th of January, 1851—6,700*l*.”

That was objected to on demurrer, as not being sufficiently specific. The bill of particulars was then amended and another put in, which was also considered unsatisfactory. In the end, the plaintiff sent in the following bill of particulars as that upon which he rested his claim. This states—

"That the defendant having retained the plaintiff as a journalist, to devote his journal to the composing, printing and publishing of articles in support of the existing Administration, to which the defendant was and is attached as Chief Secretary of Ireland :

"Composing, printing, and publishing said articles from the 16th day of July, 1848, to the 16th day of January, 1851—balance £6,650 0 0

"Also I send you with this a specification of and reference to the dates and particulars of the said several articles.

"Attending the defendant and his secretary weekly during said period in reference to the composing, printing, and publishing of said articles, at 5*l.* per week ... .. £650 0 0

"To 12,000 copies of the *World* newspaper at 6*d.* per copy in which said articles appeared, published and distributed by defendant's order to the defendant, to Peers, Members of Parliament, clubs, news-rooms, and forwarded to France, America, the colonies, and to leading parties throughout England and Ireland 300 0 0

Making in all the sum of 7,000*l.* Such was the origin of the action, and such the claims brought by Mr. Birch against the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. The defence set up was this: the main facts of the case were not denied. It was not objected that this work had not been done and performed; but the defence set up was, that the original understanding was with the Lord Lieutenant, and not the Chief Secretary, and that his Excellency had discharged all the claims brought against him by the plaintiff Birch. Having thus shown the nature of the action, and that it was

not denied by the Irish Government that Birch had been employed by them, I will now proceed to describe what was the character of that gentleman, and what was the character of his paper—the *World*. It was a paper which had been established in Dublin for some years, and its circulation was very limited.

“In 1846 its average circulation did not amount to 600 a week: the total number of stamps issued to it in that year were 33,913. In 1847 they had increased to 39,893; giving an average issue of not quite 800. In 1848 it appears to have nearly doubled its issue; the number of stamps issued to this journal in that year amounting to 60,970: an average issued of not quite 1,200 a week.”

Now, that, I think, will show the House pretty clearly what was the circulation and what was the character and influence of the journal in question. It was a paper of a very peculiar character. It had always been in the habit of publishing in its numbers articles of very great political ability. It discussed the various transactions that were going on in the political world with singular talent. But, at the same time, in addition to that, there were generally to be found in that paper articles of the most disgraceful and libellous description, to which I can discover no parallel except in the columns of a paper once known as the *London Satirist*, and which has now become utterly extinct. These personal attacks were of the grossest and most horrible character. They were attacks upon private individuals. They gave the names of persons in full. They contained accusations of the basest and most improper actions;



and, in fact, they were such articles that I should be very sorry indeed to read an extract from them to this House. No one was safe from these attacks. Every person of character and station in the country was exposed to them. Female chastity and manly honour were alike assailed. The credit of the opulent merchant and the character of the small shopkeeper were equally held up to derision and contempt, and charges were thus published and circulated that were disgraceful to any print. In addition to this, it seems to have been the practice of this man, on more than one occasion, to endeavour to extort money from various individuals, under the threat of publishing these disgraceful articles. I could read to the House specimens of these articles, but I am sure the House would not desire it. Indeed, I should not like to pollute my lips by doing so. There are a few extracts to be found, however, in a paper contained in the *Dublin University Magazine* of the last month, which will be quite sufficient to satisfy any hon. Member who refers to them of what was the real character of this journal. But justice at length overtook this person in the midst of his career. In the year 1845 Birch was prosecuted in the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland for an attempt to extort money under a threat of publishing one of those libellous articles; and in order to show the House what was the opinion entertained of this man at the time, I will read to it a very short extract from the speech of the eminent counsel who conducted the prosecution on that occasion. The learned counsel said that--

"In stating his case he should have indeed very little more to do than to state, by way of preliminary observation, the way in which the publication of the libels commenced, and then proceed to read a series of as outrageous libels as ever were printed by one man concerning another, published in that form and by that agency through which they could procure the greatest possible dissemination. \* \* \* He (counsel) did not think that within the code of criminal law, save the exception of crimes committed against the lives of Her Majesty's subjects, there could be a greater offence than that which the Act of Parliament in question had been passed to guard against."

Sir, the learned Gentleman who so eloquently stated the case and prosecuted Birch on that occasion, was no other than Her Majesty's present Attorney General for Ireland. Well, this man Birch was found guilty, and sentence was passed upon him by Mr. Justice Crampton in these terms. The learned Judge said—

"The indictment in the present case contains twenty counts : and they resolve themselves into three distinct charges. First, the professing to abstain from publishing defamatory matter against the prosecutor ; secondly, the threatening to publish defamatory matter, with a similar intent ; and, lastly, actually publishing libels on the prosecutor, with a similar intent—to extort money. \* \* \* Now, James Birch, you have been convicted upon all the counts of the indictment. It appears, upon the evidence, that you and the prosecutor were strangers to each other up to July, 1843 ; and you introduced yourself to his notice by writing a letter, in which you stated that certain parties had applied to you in your capacity of a journalist to notice certain transactions in which Gray was mixed up. Those transactions related to a compromise entered into in a certain suit between him and third parties. The matter was at an end. It did sleep until you raised it. And what was your motive ? The indictment charges, and the jury have found, that your object was

to extort money, through the instrumentality of the newspaper of which you are the proprietor. You threatened to expose him, and accuse him of fraud, usury, and perjury; and the prosecutor was weak enough to offer you money—400*l.* or 500*l.* was demanded, and, finally, 100*l.* was paid by the prosecutor for the purpose of purchasing silence. It was obtained by threats; and not content with that sum, you proceeded, in the correspondence, still further to threaten the victim you had in your hands. Your letters became more urgent; you threaten to expose everything before the public, and to effect his total ruin. You get the prosecutor's 100*l.*, but he subsequently became firm; he refused to give any more, and you then denounced him as guilty of perjury, fraud, and usury. The result was, your prosecution on the present indictment, and a verdict of guilty; which, looking upon the evidence, should satisfy, and certainly does satisfy, the court as to its propriety. You now stand convicted of extorting money from this gentleman, who must be given credit for his courage in coming forward to face the terrible power under whose attacks he had already suffered; and tempering the law with mercy, while at the same time vindicating it in the punishment of a serious offence, the sentence is, 'That you, James Birch, be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for six calendar months.'

That sentence was published in all the newspapers of Dublin, and was perfectly notorious to every one at the time. This, then, was the man who was employed by the Irish Government to write in its interests, and in the interest, as they termed it, of law and order. This was the paper which was selected by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his Government, to assist them in repressing the very outrageous publications which appeared in some of the rebellious prints of that time. Now, Sir, I cannot help thinking that a very grave error was committed on the part of the Lord-

Lieutenant—an error both in principle and in Judgment. I think it to have been an error in principle, because it is impossible to say that any public officer could be justified in engaging for one moment the services of a man who had been already convicted of such a serious crime in the columns of the very paper which was intended to be the authorised organ of that public officer. It is utterly impossible to defend such a transaction. It was also an error in judgment, because no assistance that could be given by such a journal could be useful to a Government that was determined honestly to discharge its public duties. But I believe, even if the paper had been the most ably-conducted paper in Dublin, and it were known to have been purchased by the Government, that its usefulness and influence would at once have been at an end. In my view, nothing can be more injurious to the circulation or the influence of a newspaper than the knowledge of its being paid and used by a Government for party purposes. I will now, for a short time longer, detain the House by describing, *seriatim*, the transactions which took place between the Irish Government and the editor of this paper. In so doing I shall make as few comments as possible of my own, but rather leave the House to judge for itself from the facts, and then fearlessly ask you, Sir, whether I have in any respect exceeded my duty in bringing this question before the House. It is my intention to make use only of documents, and of the evidence which was produced upon the trial of the action brought by Birch against the Chief Secretary for

Ireland. Numerous letters and an elaborate correspondence have been placed at my disposal which were not produced by counsel upon the trial; but I think it would be improper in me to quote anything that is not contained in the evidence. To the evidence, therefore, I shall strictly confine myself. It appears that the connexion between the Government and this paper was first commenced in the year 1848; and in order to detail more clearly the mode in which that connexion was begun and carried on, I will read the evidence of Birch himself as given at the trial, and which evidence was not in the slightest degree contradicted or denied. On his examination Mr. Birch said—

"He knew Lord Clarendon since March, 1848. Lord Clarendon's private secretary then was Mr. Corry Connellan. Sir W. Somerville's secretary was Mr. H. Meredyth. Was in communication with Lord Clarendon first in March, 1848. Had a letter from Mr. Connellan fixing the time for an interview, and called at the Castle accordingly. Had a very lengthened conversation with Lord Clarendon then. Acted for Lord Clarendon as public journalist and political agent after that."

It then appears, according to his own account, that he was not long in the service of the Government before he received the sum of 350*l.* He says—

"This was money which witness had previously got, 250*l.* of it from Mr. Connellan, paid by Mr. M'Kenna's draft, and 100*l.* from Lord Clarendon.

"To a Juror.—Lord Clarendon did not hand witness the 100*l.* himself. Witness was directed to go to the Park, and there saw Lord Clarendon. There were 100 sovereigns lying

on the table, and Mr. Connellan told witness to take them up. Received the 250*l.* about the 22nd of March, 1848, and the 100*l.* in June, 1848."

During the early part of that year, in consequence of being so employed, it seems that he was in constant communication with the Government. Numbers of letters were produced on that trial which were written by the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, showing that he was so; and I will read one or two for the purpose of letting the House see what was the nature of those communications, and the footing on which this editor stood at the Castle. the first is dated—

"Viceregal Lodge, March, 1848.

"Dear Sir—The French news ought to turn to account. The triumph of the moderate party, the defeat and certain election of Ledru Rollin, the Irish fraternisers, and the vigorous proceedings of the Provisional Government in making arrests.

"I presume that to-morrow's (Friday's) mail will bring us account of the capture of Blanqui and Cabet, the great Communist leader. The *morale* of this might be well applied to Mitchell and Co.—Yours truly, "CORRY CONNELLAN.

"Mr. Birch."

Again, on the 5th of April, 1848, Birch received another letter from Mr. Connellan as follows:—

"My dear Sir—His Excellency was entirely ignorant, I need scarcely say, of anything connected with the pike affair. And Brown!

"Brown asserts he never directed Kirwan to order pikes, but merely to procure them.

"Information can only be obtained from *mauvais sujets*, who often misinterpret their instructions, and exceed the limits of their commission.

"His Excellency took not the slightest notice that Dr. M'Hale sailed for England until he saw it in the papers.

"His Excellency's opinions, as you may suppose, were not in the smallest degree influenced by Dr. Yore's *crambs repetita*. You need not notice this in your paper.

That the House may understand that these directions were pretty nearly carried out, I may state that in the next number of the *World* I find that the first leading article is upon the affairs of Brown, Kirwan, and the pikes; and then in the notices to correspondents are these remarks:—

"NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.—The Archbishop of Tuam.—'Paul Sarpi,' is acquainted that we are ignorant of the nature of the London mission undertaken by the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. O'Higgins. As to the interview which it is said Dr. Gore had with Lord Clarendon, we have heard it rumoured—but with what truth it is not for us to say—that although the well-intentioned ecclesiastic, contrary to the Francioni injunction, introduced politics and broached the question of repeal, the Viceroy gave no encouragement."

Now, Sir, I think it is quite clear that that article was written in consequence of the communication which Birch had received from Mr. Connellan. The communications appear to have been continued until the month of July, on the 17th of which the following letter was written from Mr. Connellan to Birch, who was at that time in London:—

"My dear Sir—I am so pressed with business that I have only time to apprise you that H. E. will write to-day to Sir William Somerville to state his opinion that your journal has done good service to the cause of peace and order, and in the interest of the Government.—Yours, &c.

"To J. Birch, Esq."

"CORRY CONNELLAN.

In his evidence on the trial, Birch details the oc-

currences which took place whilst he was in London, which principally related to his claims for further remuneration for his services. About this time also a most extraordinary letter was written by the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary to Birch. It would appear that the latter did not find the supplies coming in quite so fast as they did during the first year of his employment—and he begins to be importunate. On 19th March, 1849, therefore, the private secretary of the Lord Lieutenant writes him as follows:—

“Dear Sir—I have had a letter from Sir William Somerville, announcing the receipt of which I shall have a conversation in London (for which I start on Wednesday morning) with the Lord Lieutenant. As to the phrase, ‘lukewarm support,’ in your last note, I have only to remark that no journal in England receives any subsidy; and that in one year you have had more than twice as much as was ever paid in the same period to the only newspaper in Ireland which is aided by public money.”

—Yours truly,

“CORRY CONNELLAN.”

It would really appear as if this system of subsidising newspapers by public money were a system which had been in operation in Ireland for some time; and I think I have a right to ask, and the House of Commons has a right to know, what is the “other newspaper” which receives subsidies from the public money, and how much Her Majesty's Government pay to newspapers for supporting the acts of their administration. Shortly after the date of the letter which I have just read, a most extraordinary episode occurred in the Communications between Mr. Birch and the Castle, and there was an interruption of the friendly intercourse which had



for more than a year at that time prevailed. What the exact nature of the attack was I cannot conceive, but certain it is that most unpolite words were used by Birch in reference to some persons connected with the Castle, and a retraction was thereupon demanded by the private Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, whose letter is dated the 17th of May, 1849. In it he says :—

" May 17, 1849.

"Sir—Having, by desire of the Lord Lieutenant, communicated to Sir William Somerville your letter, in which you made use of the phrase, 'deliberate liars,' I am directed to inform you that a retraction of these words is demanded. If, therefore, you write me a line to that effect, and will send a confidential person here at three o'clock to-morrow, he shall receive the sum of 100*l.*, for which I am credited.—I am, dear Sir, yours,

"C. CONNELLAN."

Now that was certainly the best possible way of arranging such an affair of honour. I have no doubt that Birch deemed it to be for his interest to accept that 100*l.*, and make the retraction. At all events, notwithstanding this episode, friendly relations were very speedily re-established, harmony was restored between the editor of an Irish newspaper and the Government in Ireland, and things went on as before. Accordingly I find that on the 10th of November, 1849, he receives 100*l.* from the Chief Secretary; and on the 19th of December, 1849, another 100*l.* from that right hon. Gentleman. But when we reach the beginning of the year 1850, it is evident that he becomes increasingly importunate. I suppose that money was not so plenty at the end of 1849, and accordingly he begins at

this period to write letters of a most threatening and menacing nature to the Government:—

Dublin, March 31, 1850. 7, Richmond-street,  
Mountjoy-square.

“Sir William—As it is now quite evident that Lord Clarendon has determined to trample upon me, by leaving me no alternative but that of supporting a most unpopular Government, whose general policy I believe to be most ruinous, and which, were it otherwise, the pride of manhood would revolt from sustaining—seeing that I have no hopes from it, nor do not possess a particle of its confidence, or permitting my reputation and property to be sacrificed, and my motives and conduct misinterpreted, one course alone is left me. I have calculated the gains and loss of the steps forced upon me. I believe I have done nothing dishonourable or that I need be ashamed of; but if I have, Lord Clarendon, you, and her Majesty’s Ministers have been compurgators with me.—I have the honour,  
&c.

“JAMES BIRCH.

“Sir Wm. Somerville.”

That letter was answered by the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the 11th of April, 1850, as follows:—

“London, April 11, 1850.

“Dear Sir—I received your last letter, which was forwarded to me to the country, I can only say now, as I believe I have said before, with reference to former communications, that I am utterly unable to draw an opinion from your remarks. Whatever you may think, I feel certain that on journalist was ever treated with greater generosity or consideration than you have been. I am equally certain that Lord Clarendon never means to ‘trample’ upon anybody, and that he would not desire the support of any man who does not conscientiously give it. For myself, I can only say that I am not aware of having given you any cause of offence—I remain,  
dear Sir, yours faithfully,

“W. M. SOMERVILLE.

“James Birch, Esq.”

This did not satisfy Mr. Birch, and another letter of a stronger nature was written about this time to the Chief Secretary :—

"Sir William—I have just received Lord Clarendon's letter—the letter I long anticipated. I shall now know the course to pursue and he shall find he has no political prostitute. You have relieved me from all embarrassment by saying you don't care what was published.—I have the honour, &c,

"JAMES BIRCH.

"Sir Wm. Somerville, Bart., M. P."

Then comes a series of letters from Birch complaining of bad treatment, want of confidence, and great ingratitude towards him on the part of the Government, begging for money and a place for his brother, and stating that the Government had promoted several persons who were very much in the same position as himself, and had done them political service. Notwithstanding all these letters he received in July, 1850, but 50*l.*; and in August, finding he had little hopes of obtaining any more, he began to take offensive measures, and sent in to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland his "little bill." It was couched in the following terms :—

"Lord C., Dr.

Birch, Cr.

"For supporting law and order in the *World* for two years, and for rendering service to the Government, 50*l.* a week—6,500*l.*"

These sums the Lord Lieutenant very naturally refused to pay, and on that refusal Birch commenced proceeding in the Queen's Bench; and this is the most extraordinary part of the whole story. Birch, having commenced proceedings in the Queen's

Bench, a number of documents were, I believe, placed upon the file; but I suppose that, fearing the exposure which would accrue from a public trial, the Lord Lieutenant found it more for his credit and advantage to compromise this trial. A release was accordingly drawn up and signed by the Lord Lieutenant's attorney and by Birch. The solicitor of the Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Geale, in describing the release of the trial said—

“The release is in witness's own writing, under the direction of counsel, under Lord Clarendon's authority; had three interviews with Mr. Birch in arranging this settlement. Was not then acting for Sir William Somerville. Asked Mr. Birch for some letters at that time before witness gave the 2,000*l.*”

It appears that as well as an answer to all claims, it was a part of the bargain that Birch should give up certain documents in his possession. The deed of release is in the usual terms. It is dated 4th November, 1850, and is under the hand and seal of James Birch; it recites that—

“James Birch brought an action against the Earl of Clarendon, seeking to recover a large sum of money alleged to be due to him for services rendered by said James Birch, tending to the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland—for the insertion of divers paragraphs in the *World* newspaper, and other services relating thereto; and whereas the Earl of Clarendon altogether disputes such claim by the said James Birch, still in order to avoid litigation, and fully to satisfy any claim or demand of the said James Birch, which he has or alleges to have against the said Earl of Clarendon or any other person, for the services so rendered by the said James Birch to the said Earl of Clarendon, for the purpose aforesaid, the Earl of Clarendon has agreed to pay the said James Birch the sum of 2,000*l.*, and in consideration of said sum the said James

Birch has agreed to release and discharge the said Earl of Clarendon and all other persons, from any demand whatsoever. Know all men that I, James Birch, by these presents, do release, acquit, and discharge the said Earl of Clarendon and all other persons from all actions, suits, claims, and demands whatsoever of mine, the said James Birch, or in relation to the services so rendered, or alleged to have been rendered, to the date of these presents, and also for all costs incurred by said James Birch, or to his attorney, in relation to the execution of these presents."

This affair became rumoured through Dublin at the time, and the most mysterious reports prevailed, but the general opinion seemed to be that nothing more would be heard of it. But Birch, after pocketing his 2,000*l.*, lay by for a time to see what he should do next, and again in January, 1851, we find him demanding more money and writing to the Chief Secretary. He stated in these letters that he was in great distress, that his reputation and fortune were ruined by his connection with the Government; that the Chief Secretary was in his power, and he asked him (the Chief Secretary) for a character. On finding that his representations were not attended to, and that the Government was not inclined to give him a character, Birch wrote to the noble Lord at the head of Her Majesty's Government, and I think that the House will perceive that this letter is really the climax of impudence—the most extraordinary production that was ever brought before the public. The letter is addressed from Peel's Coffeehouse, Fleet Street, London, and is as follows:—

"London, July 19, 1851.

Peel's Coffee-house, Fleet-street.

"My Lord—If you are not apprised already of the fact, I beg

to acquaint your Lordship that I have instituted proceedings against Sir William Somerville in the Queen's Bench, for the recovery of what I believe to be a legal—but what, at all events, I shall be greatly disappointed if the country do not consider a most equitable claim.

“It was my desire to restrain as much as possible all personal feeling in the case, and to endeavour to have it brought before a legal tribunal dispassionately, and, as far as I was concerned, without acrimony. I therefore wrote to your Lordship from Dublin, a considerable time since, and also to Sir William Somerville, requesting that an appearance might then be given to the attorney I should name, so that I might have no unnecessary trouble or expense in submitting my claim to a legal tribunal. All honourable men that I ever heard of before are willing to submit to make an arrangement, but your Lordship and Sir William Somerville tacitly declined to do so. I made a similar demand here, and it was only after my attorney had twice written, that Mr. Coppock, the well-known political agent of the Reform Club, appeared to answer for Sir William Somerville. To-day my attorney has informed me that a notice has been served on him, as a preliminary, to compel me to give security for costs.

“I have no objection—certainly not, to any step that might be deemed requisite to guard any person or party against a vexatious or pauper litigant; and your Lordship and Sir William Somerville may have some reason to apprehend that the man whose property you have destroyed, and whose reputation you have attempted also to blast, may be unable to bear a harassing legal contest with the British Government; but I do respectfully insist that Sir William Somerville could have informed Mr. Coppock of my occupation, profession, and residence, and that for the costs of such an action as I am bringing in a neighbouring assizes town, I have at least property enough left in Ireland to hold him, or rather the present Government, harmless.

Now, Sir, it is a very extraordinary fact, that wherever there is any queer work going on, there this Mr. Coppock is certain to be found.

"As I conceive the step taken is only preparatory to other proceedings of a vexatious character in which I will be committed with a powerful Government and its numerous retainers, I shall consider the next unfair aggressive measures as perfectly justifying me in accelerating the fatal consequences to Sir William Somerville, and all connected with the case, which I firmly believe ultimately to await them, by publishing and circulating a faithful and impartial version of my cruel treatment, and endeavouring, if I can, to obtain some Peer or Commoner to present a petition of my grievances and unprecedented case to the Legislature.

"My wish is that the public should hear first, in a court of law, the narrative of my affairs—from Lord Clarendon, Lord Palmerston, and yourself; but circumstances may render my desire impracticable and impolitic.

"If once my connection is explained, and the services I rendered, and my sacrifices to the Crown made known, I shall bow my head with resignation, and even if defeated upon some technical point, I shall not complain.

"One thing, if the truth be told, cannot be denied—that you gave me, during a lengthened period, and in various sums, 3,700*l.*; that by the letter of your Irish Chief Secretary I might still have been a stipendiary advocate; and that, having refused the proposal, a terrible effort is now about to be made to ruin me."

Birch having at length found everything unsuccessful, and having tried every means either to continue in the service of the Government, or to obtain more money from them, brought an action at law, by which all those matters were brought to light. The action was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, in Dublin, before the Lord Chief Justice. The trial occupied two days, was conducted with great ability on both sides, and caused a high degree of public interest; but the most extraordinary event which occurred at the trial is one which I feel it most disagreeable to refer to. The Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland was produced as a witness on that occasion, and, Sir, I feel that I shall be obliged to read and allude to the evidence of that noble individual, although that is to me by far the most painful part of the duty I have to perform. The Lord Lieutenant was called by the plaintiff, and appeared upon the bench. The whole court, the Judges, and the Bar, rose to receive his Excellency. It was the first time in the annals of Irish history that the Viceroy appeared in the witness-box—he was sworn upon his honour. It was a most unusual proceeding—it was a thing never seen before, and caused great excitement in Dublin at the time. When that noble individual came to the court of law, he did not come as he might have, without doing anything derogatory to his position as the representative of Her Majesty—he did not come to give evidence as to a question of property in dispute between man and man—he did not come to throw the ægis of Royal authority and protection over wronged worth or injured innocence, or to testify to the public services of a meritorious officer of the Crown; but he came as a witness against his own Chief Secretary—against his own political colleague, at the bidding of a miserable man by whom he had been trapped and misled. The Lord Lieutenant was examined by Mr. Meagher, the counsel, at considerable length as to his connexion with Birch and his knowledge of his paper. In the course of the evidence his Excellency stated that he hardly ever saw Birch's paper. Now, Sir, I should like to know if his Excellency was aware that there were invariably two leading



articles in the *World*—one praising the policy of the Irish Government, the other the foreign policy of the Administration, in the highest degree. I have a right also to ask if his Excellency, at the same time that he told Birch he might abuse himself (the Lord Lieutenant) as much as he pleased, also told him that he might give no support to the Government; and how it was that Birch received a letter from the secretary of the noble Lord then at the head of the Foreign Office, offering him such information as he might desire for the purpose of defending the Government? I have not got that letter by me. It was produced at the trial, but as it is not of any great importance, I did not think it necessary, as the reading of all the documents would but weary the House, to provide myself with it. [*An Hon. Member here handed the noble Lord a document.*] I have just received a copy of the letter, and will therefore read it to the House:—

"(Private) Foreign Office, May 9, 1849.

"Sir —I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to express to you his thanks for your communication of the 7th inst, and I am to say to you, that if through your agent or correspondent in London, you should write at any time to ascertain the circumstances of any information which you may have received, and upon which you may propose to found any argument or opinion, I shall be ready to receive such correspondent or agent, and to afford him such information as I may be authorised by Viscount Palmerston to give.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"SPENCER PONSONBY.

"James Birch, Esq."

That letter will satisfy hon, Gentlemen that Birch's

paper was, at all events, in the interest of the Government. The answer of his Excellency to counsel as to the connection with Birch at a later date, and his obtaining Birch's support for "law and order" then—that answer, in which his Excellency states that he was not aware that law and order required it at the time, would lead to the belief that the engagement was of a temporary nature to counteract the rebellious writings which were circulated throughout Ireland at that period. But what was the fact? The rebellion was terminated by that miserable fusillade in the cabbage garden at Ballingarry, on July 29, 1848, and Smith O'Brien was convicted on October 7 of the same year. Yet I will prove that in 1849 Birch was in constant communication with the Government—that after his retractation letter of the 17th May, in that year he got 100*l.*, on Nov. 10, 1849, another 100*l.*, and on Dec. 19, 1849, a third sum of 100*l.*, more than a year after Smith O'Brien was convicted. It was absurd, then, to say that this was merely a temporary arrangement come to with the editor of a paper for a certain purpose. It was evidently an arrangement with him to support the measures of the Government generally, on the understanding of receiving a certain reward. Mr. Meagher continued his examination:—

"Counsel: Did your Excellency make any payment to Mr. Birch for the services which you accepted from him in defence of law and order?"

"His Excellency: Yes.

"Mr. Meagher: What sum on that account?"

"His Excellency: He received sums at various times; I could not exactly say the amount paid him. The first time

I saw him he asked me for money, for the purpose of rendering his paper, as he said, more efficient. I told him there was no fund applicable to it, but I offered him 100*l.*, if I remember right, and he said that would not be sufficient for the purpose, and I then increased it to about 350*l.* This was in the beginning of 1848—the month of February, I think.

"Mr. Meagher: Does your Excellency know that any further sum of money was paid to Mr. Birch in London?"

"His Excellency: Yes.

"Mr. Meagher. From what fund?"

"His Excellency: From a sum placed at the disposal of Sir William Somerville, at my request.

"Mr. Meagher: Out of the public funds?"

"His Excellency: I did not say that it was out of the public funds.

"Mr. Meagher: I thought I understood that from your Excellency.

"His Excellency: I said they were funds placed at the disposal of Sir William Somerville at my request.

"Mr. Meagher: May I take the liberty of asking your Excellency whether or not they were public funds?"

"His Excellency: Part was from a sum applicable to special services, part from my own private pocket; the money applicable to special services was at my request and on my responsibility, and has been paid by myself very long ago."

This proves beyond doubt, from the lips of his Excellency himself, that these services of this man were paid for out of the public funds. It is true his Excellency says that the money was repaid; but so many remarks were made at the time regarding this repayment, that I have a right to ask—and hope whatever Member of the Government will answer me will state explicitly—when that money was repaid? It is one of the most material questions, and one which the House has a right to have an-

swered. The Lord Lieutenant was cross examined by Mr. Brewster, in the course of which his Excellency stated that he knew nothing of Birch or his paper previous to 1848. They were bound to take those answers as his Excellency had so stated them ; but if his Excellency knew nothing of Birch's antecedents, he was most shamefully kept in the dark by his subordinates, for he was surrounded by persons who could have informed him of the character of this man. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (the Attorney General for Ireland,) who had so ably prosecuted Birch on the occasion when he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, was actually Solicitor General to the Irish Government at this period ; he was in constant communication with the Castle, and he must have known the character of Birch. Mr. Corry Connellan, who was four years private secretary to Lord Clarendon and to former Lords Lieutenant, who was a barrister himself, and constantly residing in Dublin at the time, could not have been ignorant of Birch's antecedents ; and all I can say on the matter is, that the Lord Lieutenant's subordinates treated him exceedingly ill. I have now concluded this most unfortunate and most unpleasant case. I have shown the House the arrangement which was come to between the Irish Government and the editor of a newspaper ; that the services of that paper were accepted by the Government ; and that the Government paid for those services out of the public money. These facts are in evidence from the admissions of the parties engaged in them. There can be no doubt as to the facts—the evidence cannot in the slightest

degree be impugned. Therefore I cannot conceive that I, a Member of the Opposition in this House, have done wrong in submitting this case to the consideration of the House. I think it one worthy their consideration, and I cannot conceive but that the decision the House will arrive at to-night will be regarded as of the utmost importance. I believe that upon that decision rests the scale of public morality. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh, but I do say that the decision of the House to-night will decide whether it is right that the Government should subsidise a newspaper—a disreputable newspaper—with the public money. That is the question which they have to decide. This case is one which I think merits the condemnation of this House, and upon which I will ask them to decide. I do not know what course Her Majesty's Ministers may take on the present occasion—deny the facts they cannot, and defend them I am sure they will not. But the House will not, I am sure, entertain it as a light and unimportant question, but rather as one of great gravity and importance; and having heard all that is to be said on both sides, they will come to no other conclusion save that which is embodied in the Resolution I have the honour to submit.

Motion made, and Question put—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the transactions which appear recently to have taken place between the Irish Government and the Editor of a Dublin Newspaper, are of a nature to weaken the authority of the Executive, and to reflect discredit on the administration of public affairs."

[An animated discussion ensued after the Motion was made. At the conclusion of the debate LORD NAAS rose and said.]

LORD NAAS: Sir, I do not intend at this hour to trespass upon the attention of the House for any length of time; but I rebel with indignation the assertion that this is a personal attack upon Lord Clarendon. I agree with the noble Lord who has just sat down (Palmerston) that if I had made a personal attack upon Lord Clarendon, I should have been unworthy to hold a seat in this House. But I have brought under notice the public act of a public individual, the act of an officer of the Government, justified by himself upon public grounds; for the justification which he put forward at the trial was a justification upon public grounds. He said distinctly that the circumstances of the country were such as to justify him in making use of such an instrument. The act was not alone that of the Lord Lieutenant, but of his Government. It is an act which I believe the whole Executive Government have participated in; and of all that I have alluded to to-night, the noble Lord who has just sat down was cognisant. Therefore, it cannot be for a moment maintained that this is a personal attack. Such a thing was never intended. The speech of the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) was a most dexterous one; but I appeal to the House and to hon. Gentlemen whether the noble Lord, in reply to me, touched a single fact of the case. I maintain that the act of the Irish Government, in this case, was reprehensible and disgraceful. And, notwithstanding all the ability and talent shown by the other side of

the House, I have heard nothing to-night to disprove any one of my facts, nor do I think that hon. Gentlemen have vindicated by their speeches what they are going to vindicate by their votes. I leave the issue calmly, and with perfect fearlessness, in the hands of the House. At the same time, I say that the vote they are going to give, is one which may be quoted against them hereafter. They are going to establish, as a precedent, that this House of Commons approves of extracting the public money from the public purse for such purposes. Distort it, alter it as you will, that is the question you are going to vote upon. Even now, I can't conceive that the House will come to such a decision; if it does, it will be remembered against it.

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## TENANT RIGHT ( IRELAND. )

HOUSE OF COMMONS 5TH MAY 1852.

[ On the 31st March 1852, Mr. Sharman Crawford Member for Rochdale brought in a Tenant Right Bill for Ireland,—the object of which was to insure a fair compensation to the tenant for the improvements he might effect in his holding. It was opposed by the landholding or interest as a measure designed to insure a compulsory interference, with the contracts between the landlord and the tenant and to take out of the hands of the landlord all power as regarded the disposition of his own property. On the other side it was pointed out that all the crimes and outrages in Ireland were traced to the unsatisfactory relationship between the landlord and the tenant, calling for immediate improvement. On the second reading of the Bill on the 5th May 1852 LORD NAAS delivered the following speech decrying the details of the measure *in toto* ; admitting however that he was in favor of the compensation for improvement, though he objected to the Bill. In conclusion the house *divided* : Ayes 57, Noes 167 : Majority against the Bill 110. Bill put off for six months. ]

LORD NAAS said, before the House came to a division he was anxious to offer a few observations on this important question. In the first place, he must remark upon the strange fact, that every one of those who had advocated the measure, had carefully avoided any allusion to its details. No speaker had yet adverted to a single clause, of the Bill, or had defended one of its provisions. He must say, in answer to what had fallen from the



hon. Gentleman who had last addressed the House, (MR. MONSELL) that though he agreed with much that he said, and admitted that the principle of compensation to tenants was to be found in the Bill, yet he (Lord Naas) looked upon the introduction of that provision as a mere peg on which to hang other principles of the most dangerous and pernicious kind—provisions which would tend to destroy every existing right of property in the land in Ireland, and to invalidate every subsisting contract between landlord and tenant; which would in fact plunge the whole landed property of Ireland into one mass of confusion. He would assert that compensation to the tenant was not the leading feature of the Bill. The first principle of this Bill was the assertion that every improvement that was found in the land in Ireland was the property of the tenant; and the second was that the rents of the landlord were to be settled for the future, not between him and his tenants, but on a compulsory valuation made by juries; and he believed that if this Bill was carried, it would for ever put an end to anything like a valuable and real compensation for the tenants' improvements. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Limerick, had said that in general the laws regarding landed property in Ireland had worked badly. He (Lord Naas) admitted the fact, but denied that this measure would effect a remedy. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the misery and suffering of the Irish population being in a great measure attributable to the state of the law as affecting land; and he said that when the Irish emigrant went into foreign countries, he became

industrious and prosperous—that he flourished in Australia and in America ; but he ( Lord Naas ) would ask the hon. Gentleman whether either in Australia or in America such a law as he wished the British Legislature now to engraft on the relationship between landlord and tenant was in existence? He ( Lord Naas ) thought, if such a principle as that was attempted to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, or in any of the Colonial Legislatures, it would be immediately repudiated as a pernicious interference with the rights of property, which could never be tolerated. That compensation to tenants of which they had heard so much, was not, in fact, the leading principle of this Bill. The laws regarding landed property in Ireland had, from time to time, been dealt with by that House, and by the Irish House of Commons; but they had invariably been dealt with by piecemeal ; modifications were made in them at one time as a sop to the landlord, and at another as a sop to the tenant; and they appeared never to have been considered in anything like a comprehensive spirit. He believed the statutes respecting landed property in Ireland amounted now to the enormous number of 125; but this Bill left all that mass of legislation wholly unsettled ; it did not consolidate the existing Acts, nor did it amend, or even repeal, any single one of them. On the contrary, it engrafted a new principle altogether on that heterogeneous mass of legislation. The Bill, in fact, attempted to carry out the most unjust objects by means perfectly impracticable. It would be well to trace this Bill to its real origin. He did not

believe, in reality, that the hon. Member for Rochdale was the inventor of this Bill; for the hon. Gentleman was a man well acquainted with landed property, was himself an excellent landlord, and had never before advocated all these principles—for the present Bill went much further than any Bill the hon. Member had previously attempted to introduce into the House. This measure, on the contrary, completely embodied the principles of a society which had attracted considerable attention in Ireland of late years—the Tenant League. The Bill in every particular was an embodiment of the principles advocated by that League—principles which he (Lord Naas) believed to be as dangerous and as communistic as were ever broached in the wildest times of Revolution. He had taken the trouble to collect a few extracts from various speakers and writers belonging to the society, which would show the House what those principles really were, and that the Bill now under consideration was an attempt to give legislative effect to those dangerous doctrines. The Rev. Mr. M'Gennis, in moving a resolution at a public meeting in Belfast, may 3, 1851, said—

“The nationalisation of the land he considered to be the proper solution of the question. He denied the claim of the landlord to the soil or the rent for his own purposes. The landlord was merely a public steward, and when he failed to discharge his duty faithfully, he should be deprived of his trust, and the nation should put another in his place. That should be the prime aim of that League.”

On June 3, 1851, Pat Lawler, Esq., chairman of a meeting in Dublin, said—

“It was an outrage against the bounty of the Most High,

and a blasphemy against the mercy and justice of the Omnipotent, for any man to say that the right over the soil was unreservedly his, or that he could do what he liked with the land."

On December 9, 1851, the Rev. W. Dobbin, at a meeting in Annaghlonge, said—

"We will assert, though it be with our last breath, that landlords were tolerated for the benefit of the people; and when they cease to serve the purpose for which they were formed, the exigencies of the times require that the institution should be abolished—that the right of the people to the creations of their own industry is a better right than that by which the landlords hold their estates. I believe it would be an unspeakable blessing to the community, did each individual hold his property in fee-simple under the Crown."

The speeches delivered at public meetings by men connected with that League, all pointed to the same end, which was nothing less than this—that Ireland would never be prosperous and never improved until the property of the landlords was entirely handed over to the tenants. That was the principle that was embodied in this Bill. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite said "No, no"; but he thought he would be able to prove that it was so. The definition of tenant-right in the preamble of the Bill was not a correct one. The Bill commenced by reciting the present custom of tenant-right in the north of Ireland, which it defined thus: "A right of continued occupation is enjoyed by the tenant in possession, subject to the payment of the rent to which he is liable, or such change of rent as shall be afterwards settled from time to time by

fair valuation." Now, if that was agreed to, it would prevent a landlord from ever resuming the occupation of his land. Besides, he maintained that the practice as defined in the Bill was not general in Ireland. It was not a true definition of the existing tenant-right. Under the tenant-right as it existed, the tenant was not compelled to submit to any valuation whatever. The recital on which the hon. Member for Rochdale founded his Bill was not a fair definition of the practice; and he (Lord Naas) was borne out in that by every Gentleman connected with the north of Ireland who knew what tenant-right was in reality. Then, the landlord's interest was to be valued and arbitrated upon.

Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD said, there was no compulsory valuation of rent under the Bill.

LORD NAAS said, he thought there was. Now, on these false recitals, the hon. Member proceeded to legislate. The first and third clauses of the Bill completely embodied the theory of Mr. Rutherford, to which reference had been made. The first clause provided that all buildings and improvements producing increased value, made at the cost of the tenant, should be the tenant's property; and that no tenant having made such improvements should be evicted without being paid for his tenant-right, where the custom existed, and in districts where the custom does not exist, the value of his improvements. Then the third clause enacted that—

"In ascertaining the value of the tenant-right of any land, or the value to be allowed a tenant for improvements, it shall be presumed that all improvements have been made by the occupying tenant, or those from whom he has de-

rived, save so far as it shall be proved on the landlord's part that such improvements were actually made by himself, or by those from whom he has derived his estate, or by those from whom the tenant has not derived; and the tenant shall be held entitled to be paid for the value of all improvements made by himself, or by those from whom he has derived, according to the rules hereinafter enacted."

Now that was nothing more nor less than an embodiment of the principle laid down by Mr. Rutherford, in these terms:—

"The landlord's property is the barren soil; the tenant's property is all the additional value. This principle is the touchstone of tenant-right, and the foundation on which to rest the argument in favour of the tenant-farmer."

Again, in the fourth clause, the principle of a compulsory valuation of rent was clearly laid down; it was perfectly true that this Bill would be worth nothing without that clause, for in all arrangements between landlord and tenant, rent must be a guiding principle. If the landlord had the power of settling his own rent, the Bill would be so much waste paper, for he would say to his tenant—"I will let you the land under the old system for 15s. an acre; but if you take it subject to the provisions of Mr. Crawford's Bill, you must pay me 25s. for it." The League saw that, plainly. He had a little book in his hand, entitled, *The Catechism of Tenant Right*, which was published under the sanction of the Tenant League, and was generally circulated throughout Ireland, and which laid down the principle of a compulsory valuation of rent in very plain words. One question was, Would the mere legali-

sation of the tenant-right be sufficient, leaving the landlord at liberty to raise the rent? The answer to this question was, There must be fixity of tenure; for as long as the landlord was at liberty to raise the rent, the legalisation of the tenant-right was delusive, for the landlord might increase the rent to what amount he pleased, and might destroy the tenant-right by making it so worthless that nobody would buy it. And in the fourth clause of the Bill, he found this principle was carried out to the letter. If the tenant was served with notice to quit, or notice of ejection, or if the tenant served a notice of surrender, it was provided that within ten days the tenant should serve upon the landlord notice of his claim in writing, and that arbitrators should be called in to settle the rent, or the amount of compensation, or such other matters as came within the scope of the Bill. If the arbitrators did not agree, the matter was to be referred to a jury at quarter-sessions. Therefore he (LORD NAAS) repeated that compulsory valuation of rent, which was a novel principle in legislation—a most unjust principle, and one which he believed the House would never for a moment entertain—was the main feature of this measure.

MR. S. CRAWFORD complained that the noble Lord had misrepresented the provisions of the measure.

LORD NAAS: Well, then, I will refer to a speech of the hon. Gentleman himself: the hon. Member for Rochdale says, "From a consideration of all the circumstances, I have come to the con-

clusion that any attempt to secure the tenant-right, unless accompanied by a measure for the adjustment of rent, is now hopeless." After the declaration of that sentiment at a public meeting, the hon. Member, in now taking exception to his (LORD NAAS'S) opinion on that part of the Bill, was only attempting to blind the House. The truth was, that the effect of this Bill would be to make the landlord a mere rent-charger on his estate; and if it became the law of the land, they would never find a landlord who would lay out a shilling on his own property, and by "one fell swoop" every source of improvement would be shut up throughout the country. The hon. Gentleman said Ireland, was ruined by absenteeism: he (Lord Naas) most sincerely regretted that he must admit that a great many proprietors did not reside on their estates; but he would ask, was there ever a measure so eminently calculated to produce absenteeism as that, seeing that it went to deprive the landlord of almost all motive for taking an interest in his estate? The landlord would then have neither power nor incentive to discharge those duties so necessary for his own and his tenant's welfare. He believed the effect of the fourth clause would be to offer a premium on bad husbandry, and a direct inducement to the tenant to reduce the value of his farm. He would have a direct interest in bringing down to the lowest possible amount the value of his land by bad farming, exhausting crops, and other kinds of deterioration, for that would result in a reduction of rent; and he (Lord Naas) believed that nothing would so soon reduce Ireland to the condition of a perfect desert



as the operation of a clause like that. In the 10th Clause a most extraordinary enactment was to be found, which was nothing more nor less than a so-called "equitable" violation of all past contracts. That clause, after reciting the necessity for a re-adjustment of rent in consequence of lands having been let under a system of protective duties, provided that tenants under lease made previous to the Repeal of the Corn Laws, since 1815, might serve notice of surrender on the ground of their rent being too high, and claim compensation for improvements by arbitration, or the settlement of rent by arbitration. He contended that the effect of such a provision as that would be to smash every lease and contract, in respect to land, in Ireland, made subsequent to 1815. Such a wild revolution in the rights of property was hardly ever attempted. The 14th Clause gave the tenant, in fact, the power of getting rid of his arrears; so that the tenant who, through misfortune, or poverty, or neglect, would get into arrears, would have nothing to do but to call in arbitrators to decide how much of the arrears should be remitted—in short, to release him from all his liabilities. The last clause was the most sensible in the Bill—for in no other country would there be found men daring or wild enough to propose such a law—it provided that the Bill should only extend to Ireland. He would now make a few remarks on the general question. The hon. Member for Rochdale called on him to repeat the assertion he (Lord Naas) had made at Coleraine. He believed he had said nothing to-day that he had not said there. He did say at Coleraine there

was a necessity for a law which would give a tenant compensation for the improvements he had made. He said so still. He said also that the question was under the consideration of the Attorney General for Ireland, and the Government, and the Bills providing for it were in a forward state of preparation. But he said—speaking in the presence of hundreds of persons affected by the question of tenant-right—that he utterly disapproved of the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Rochdale; that he considered its details were both impolitic and unjust; and that he should feel it to be his duty to oppose it in the House of commons. It was rather difficult to reason with Gentlemen who came down to that House and proposed measures for enabling the tenantry of Ireland to forego all their engagements, and release them from all their liabilities. But these Gentlemen thought of no class but themselves, no interests but their own; there was a class in Ireland, the most numerous as well as the poorest and most miserable, on whom the whole brunt of the famine had fallen, and who, he believed, were as much entitled to a fair share in the produce of the land as either the landlord or the tenant; the class who lived by manual labour the alone are entirely forgotten in this Bill. Hon. Gentlemen opposite took care enough of the tenant; he is to be protected and cherished; the landlord is to be sacrificed for his benefit; his property is to be valued by the tenant himself; but they never proposed that a labourer should have a valuation of his day's hire, or that those upon whose exertions, and upon whose strong arms, the prospe-

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rity of both landlord and tenant depended, should have the slightest participation in the benefits intended to be conferred by this Bill. It was entirely a measure for the benefit of one class, and its utter selfishness was apparent throughout. He had no fear that such a Bill would ever be sanctioned by the House; but he did dread the continuation in Ireland of an agitation which held out to the tenant-farmers hopes so chimerical that they could never be realised. He dreaded an agitation which taught the tenant to look on the landlord as his natural enemy, and to depend on a mere Act of Parliament for that protection and assistance which could alone spring from the cultivation of good feelings and mutual intercourse. He believed the agitation carried on by the Tenant League had had a material effect in lowering the price of land in the country. Capitalists would not invest money in property which was to be subjected to such rude and violent attacks. He would, in conclusion, ask hon. Gentlemen who had charge of this Bill to pause before they continued the unfortunate course they were now pursuing, by pretending to support a Bill whose objects are unjust, whose details are impracticable—a Bill which held out hopes and expectations that could never be realised—a Bill which he believed to be as vain a chimera as ever excited the feelings of a credulous and an excitable people.

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## MR. KEOGH'S APPOINTMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 16TH JUNE 1853.

[ In June 1853, several serious charges impeaching the veracity and derogatory to the personal honor of Mr. Keogh were brought in Parliament by the Marquiss of Meath. Earl Derby then out of power, asserted that Mr. Keogh's appointment to the office of Solicitor General for Ireland was a most unfortunate thing. Earl Eglington considered it the least reputable which had been made by the Government. In his defence Mr. Keogh on the 16th June, 1853 stated that the charges were all unfounded and that he had actually been offered an office under Lord Derby's administration by Lord Naas, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The following speech was delivered by His Lordship in vindication the part he took in the matter. Lord John Russel in the course of the debate, stated that the ultramontane speeches made by Mr. Keogh in Ireland were such as to render his appointment under Government disreputable, that *the statement made by his noble friend Lord Naas was at once straightforward, truthful and clear* and that the other (Mr. Keogh's statement) remained to be cleared up. On the following night at the recommendation of Lord Derby the Marquess of Westmeath withdrew his Motion. ]

**L**ORD NAAS: Sir, I rise under circumstances of a very extraordinary nature, to claim the attention of the House, not for an hour and ten minutes, as the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Keogh) has done, but rather for a very much shorter space of time, and for the purpose of making a statement which shall be as unornamented with the tropes and

figures of rhetoric, as it will be undistinguished by those eloquent and lofty tones which graced the address of the hon. and learned Gentleman; for my address will convey nothing beyond a simple statement of the truth—and as such, and such alone, I bespeak for it your attention. Sir, I have listened for the last hour and five minutes to a betrayal of private confidence—I have listened to a betrayal of private conversations—to a distortion of words employed in moments of confidential intercourse, to a degree I hope never again to listen. Sir, under these circumstances, I do not think it is incumbent upon me, or necessary for me, to follow the hon. and learned Gentleman through all his wanderings—through all those unimportant details which he has laid before the House, or the deductions which he has drawn from them. Mine will be but a simple statement, and that statement I will make, undeterred by the eloquence, undismayed by the threats of the hon. and learned Gentleman, But my statement will be materially different from that which the House has just heard. And I think, when I have concluded, I shall be able to call upon the House to declare with whom is the verdict. I am comparatively unused to debate, and practically I own I am unable to follow the hon. and learned Gentleman through the variety of topics which he has introduced; but at the same time I declare that, with regard to all the facts of the case, my memory is perfectly clear—my recollection quite accurate. And, first, I will refer to the terms on which I lived during the early part of the present and the whole of the last Parliament with the hon.

and learned Gentleman the Member for Athlone. We certainly came into Parliament together, and together also we took our seats upon the Opposition benches of this House. Again, there was a common bond between us; the hon. and learned Gentleman was a Member of the Carlton Club, to which also I belonged; and although we differed upon many essential points, yet, from the earliest date of our Parliamentary career, a very friendly feeling existed between us. I well recollect that upon many occasions during those years I had constant communications with him upon many matters both in this House and out of it. Therefore, Sir, when I come to the facts which I shall bring under your notice, it is not to be wondered at that I should have felt justified in communicating freely—unreservedly—with the hon. and learned Gentleman—little thinking that eighteen months after, in revenge for an attack made upon him in another place—not on account of any statement of mine, but one made elsewhere, and which I do not believe the hon. and learned Gentleman will be able to overthrow, though he has already authorised its denial—I do not believe he will be able to deny that statement any more than he will be able to confirm the statement which he has made here this afternoon. Sir, a little before the formation of the late Administration I was in constant communication with the hon. and learned Gentleman upon the subject of a Motion which I then felt it my duty to bring forward in this House. My communications with the hon. and learned Gentleman were frequent before that occasion—he called often at my



house and I saw him often in other places. That Motion to which I allude had reference to the conduct of the noble Earl, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The hon. and learned Gentleman was fully conversant with all facts of the case, and he told me that he intended to take part in the debate that would come off, and that he expected to speak in favour of my Resolutions. When the debate took place, however, I believe, for reasons not connected with the hon. and learned Gentleman, but because he had been professionally engaged in the case, he found it was not competent for him to take part in it. He will admit, however, that he told me his intention originally was to have done so. Well, the very day after that Motion was made and defeated, the Government was overthrown—my Motion having been made upon a Thursday, and the division against the Government on the Motion of the noble Lord opposite (Viscount Palmerston) took place upon the Friday. On the Saturday or Monday following, Lord Derby accepted from Her Majesty the task of forming a Ministry. Shortly afterwards—though I cannot positively name the day, yet I think it was a Tuesday—an intimation was made to me that very probably I should be offered office in case, or rather contingent upon the probability of my being re-elected. Sir, on that occasion I think it was no breach of confidence—indeed I think I might with every safety refer to a Member of an opposite party, to my political opponents, to inquire whether it was likely that my re-election would be opposed. I had, between the Tuesday and the Thursday, several communica-

tions with the hon. and learned Gentleman upon this matter; and I trust—and I think the House will admit—that in those communications there was nothing that any man could reproach himself with. I cannot understand the allusions which the hon. and learned Member has made to his character, and to the attacks made upon him by the Dublin press in connexion with this matter. I own, indeed, that I was astonished that the part which the hon. and learned Gentleman took upon that occasion should have exposed him to such extraordinary malignant attacks; and I will add that, in reference to my election, I was met in a very friendly mode and with a very friendly feeling by the hon. and learned Gentleman; and I do believe that, acting under the influence of a friendly feeling, he did exert himself, without in the least degree compromising his own opinions, to prevent my re-election being contested. Well, those communications were going on on the day to which the hon. and learned Gentleman has alluded, and I had the interview with him to which he has referred. Now, it is quite true I did seek the hon. and learned Gentleman somewhat in the manner which he describes; but really the fact is, I wanted to speak to him about some important matters, the most important of which, however, was my own election. [*Laughter.*] Am I, Sir, to understand from that laughter, that any hon. Gentleman opposite disbelieves what I am stating? If there be any such, let him or they stand up in their place and say so, and I shall be prepared to meet them. I should have said, that I do not in the least deny what the hon. and learned Mem-

ber has said about my seeking him at the Reform Club, or writing to him at his private residence. The day on which the interview took place was Thursday. The hon. and learned Gentleman came into my room—and I do not in the least degree mean to deny that I was not able to find him before, and therefore I had written a note to his private residence asking him to see me—that was on Thursday. Well, upon that occasion we discussed certain different topics of various interest, and among them was the subject of my election. And I distinctly asked the hon. and learned Gentleman—and the House will bear in mind that upon this question the whole matter under discussion hinges—and I think that when the House hears it, coupling the question and answer together, it will come to the conclusion that never was a more serious charge uttered upon such trumpery and insufficient grounds. And I will afterwards tell the House why I put the question which I asked of the hon. and learned Gentleman, never thinking that it would afterwards be turned against me as an engine to damage my character. Well, I asked him this simple question—“If office had been offered to you under the new Government, would you or your friends have accepted it?” That question, Sir, I fully admit I did ask. It may have been an imprudent question—perhaps it was; it may have been an improper one—perhaps it was; but I may safely affirm it was not capable of being used for the object to which the hon. and learned Gentleman has converted it. The hon. and learned Gentleman’s answer I very distinctly recollect. His answer was this:—

“Are you asking me now seriously, or are you not? I think, after all that has occurred—after the part I and my friends have taken in the overthrow of the late Government—that some such an offer might have been made.” After that, Sir, we proceeded to discuss the various topics connected with the prospects of parties at the moment; and in the course of our conversation the hon. and learned Gentleman asked me a question which I thought rather a peculiar one. He asked me, “whether any person in authority had authorised me to put to him the question which I had put to him?” That question he asked me. I said—as you have asked me that question, I can tell you that Major Beresford knew of my intention to ask it. [“Hear, hear!”] Now, Gentlemen opposite seem to think that here they have a most notable discovery; but let them wait a little, and when I describe the interview I had had with the hon. Member for North Essex, perhaps they will find that their sneers were rather a little precipitate. That answer I made to the hon. and learned Gentleman, because I was bound in honour to tell him the whole truth; and the reason of my putting the question I did to him was because I had a communication a few hours previously with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Essex (Major Beresford.) Walking in St. James’s s-square I met the right hon. Gentleman; of course I stopped him, and asked, him “What was the news?” I said, “I wonder what position the Irish party are likely to take towards the Government.” He answered, “I do not know;” and then said, “I am on friendly and intimate terms with the hon.

and learned Gentleman (Mr. Keogh,) and I will have no hesitation in putting the question to him ; and indeed, I will ask the question, as I have intended to do, as a matter of information for myself, whether they would be willing to accept office if they were nominated to it." The right hon. Gentleman then informed me that the Government had no unfriendly feeling whatever towards that party. Now, Sir, that is the reason, when the hon. and learned Gentleman asked me the question, that I felt bound to say the right hon. Gentleman (Major Beresford) knew I was going to ask the question; but I do declare that the right hon. Gentleman never authorised me to make any offer whatever. He never authorised me to ask the question which I did—for I felt that I myself was bound to put the question—but he did authorise me to make the statement in reference to the friendly feeling of the Government towards the hon. and learned Gentleman and his party. At the same time, it is right that the House should know, that, having the greatest objection to making what are called "authorised communications," I did not deliver the message in question to the hon. and learned Member. And, Sir, in further proof of the statement I have made, I can safely say I never did, until the day before yesterday, mention the result of my interview with hon. and learned Gentleman to any living man. When the hon. and learned Gentleman left my room on that occasion, I own the impression left on my mind was an impression, strengthened by subsequent conversation, that no offer of office was likely to be made to the hon. and learned Gentleman ; while,

to do him justice, I on my part believed, that if such an offer had been made, it would have been refused. Well, Sir, let us go back a little to circumstances—let me call attention to the date at which this alleged offer was made. This alleged offer of office was made upon the Thursday, and that was the very day on which the Government offices were declared to be filled up. Yes, on that very morning the authorised list of the new administration appeared in the *Times* newspaper; and, therefore, it is quite impossible, looking to facts, that the hon. and learned Gentleman can pretend to say, that, by any legitimate construction of my language, an offer of office was ever intended to be made to him. I fully admit that taking the words by themselves, unaccompanied by the statement which I have made—and which I declare upon my honour to be perfectly true—that there is a considerable probability for the inference which the hon. and learned Gentleman has drawn from it. But I can safely say that I put the question that day to the hon. and learned Gentleman—and I have a distinct recollection of the circumstance—as a mere matter of friendly conversation, and not with any view of drawing the hon. and learned Gentleman into any admission by which I could bind him at any future time. I asked the hon. and learned Gentleman the questions, simply for my own satisfaction, what were his feelings in regard to the non-offer of office to him or any member of his party; and I think, if the hon. and learned Gentleman recollected the afterbirth of the conversation, he must admit that it took completely this turn—namely, as to what

course the hon. and learned Gentleman and his party, and the general parties of the House, were likely to take in reference to the new Government? That, Sir, is the statement which I have to make concerning the interview which I had with the hon. and learned Gentleman. And when I assure the House again and again that I never did mention the subject of this interview to any member of the Government, or, indeed, to any person whatsoever, I think I can lay my hand upon my heart and ask the House to believe that every word I have said is true. Sir, a letter has been produced, which, I own, has filled me with considerable astonishment, stating that I said in a railway train, going from this to Dublin, that I had made an offer of office to the hon. and learned Gentleman and his friends. Sir, it is perfectly impossible that I could have made that statement, and I cannot believe that I ever did so. I cannot suppose that the hon. Gentleman who wrote that letter would willingly make any assertion which he thought was not true; but I say the hon. Gentleman is under a great mistake; for will the House believe that I would mention the subject to an hon. Member in a railway carriage—a political opponent, too—which I had never mentioned to any other person whatever? What could have been my object in making such a statement to Mr. O'Flaherty, so totally at variance with the truth? I now content myself with saying that I never did make the statement referred to. I have now, Sir, told my story of those private interviews. Perhaps, viewed through the light of Parliamentary tactics, where everything

that is done by a public man is supposed to be done with a motive, there may be some Gentlemen who will not credit my disavowal of such an intention. In this matter, however, I feel nothing whatever to reproach myself with. I communicated freely and frankly with the hon. and learned Gentleman under the circumstances I have now related; and when I was asked the question, upon which the hon. and learned Gentleman lays so much stress, I answered that question candidly. Now, therefore, when it is sought by that answer to implicate me and other distinguished individuals in charges which have not the slightest foundation, I think that such a course is calculated to convey a low idea of what some persons entertain of the honour of public and private men. Sir, I freely admit the great talent and eloquence of the hon. and learned Gentleman. I admit that the hon. and learned Gentleman is able with all the plausibility of an experienced lawyer to get up a case against me, as if he were getting up a case against a prisoner at the bar. But I believe that the ingenuity he has shown on the present occasion, however great, will not avail him in effecting the object which he has in view. I believe that the authorities which I have adduced in support of my defence, and the pledge of my honour and my word to the truth of every word I have said, will be sufficient to satisfy the public and this House that I have spoken according to the exact facts of the case. But, Sir, I must say I freely admit that I may have committed an error in the course I had taken; but I maintain that that error was not one of principle, but one of judgment. It was an error of judgment, because I



believed that in those conversations I was freely and frankly communicating with a gentleman, who, though a political opponent, was, as I then believed, a friend. Sir, I regret to say that in this House, Parliamentary warfare seems to be degenerating into recriminatory and personal attacks; and that it is deemed by some hon. Members an object sufficient for statesmen to endeavour to attack and damage the character of a political opponent. Such, Sir, will never be my course—it never was my course; and, in spite of the plausible statements of the hon. and learned Gentleman, I trust that it is a course which the House generally will not indulge. I sit down, Sir, reiterating my belief that I have not on the occasions referred to, nor on any other occasion, done anything that was in the least degree derogatory to that character which the humblest of us must be desirous to vindicate and uphold—the character of an English gentleman.

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## LORD LIEUTENANT, IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 25TH JUNE 1858.

[ On the 25th March 1858, Mr. Roebuck moved the following resolution :—“That in the opinion of the House, the office of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ought to be abolished and the office of Secretary of State for Ireland to be at once created.” It was asserted that the office of the Lord Lieutenant was mischievous to Ireland under three aspects ; first as regards its expenses ; secondly as regards social influence and thirdly with respect to political influence. Lord Naas in the following speech opposed the Motion, stating that such a change was every way undesirable and if carried out, would prove ruinous to the best interests of the Irish people. In conclusion the House divided. Ayes 116 ; Noes 243 ; Majority against the Motion 157. ]

L ORD NAAS said he should endeavour to show to the House that the object which the Hon. and learned Member for Sheffield had in view was not so easy of attainment as he appeared to imagine and that there were many difficulties attending the consideration of this question, which, as it appeared, had not presented themselves to his mind. He himself should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Armagh, upon the ground that it would be unadvisable to effect so great a change in the Government of Ireland without being quite certain

that the system of Government and mode of administration to be substituted, would be sufficient for the purpose, and would effect a decided improvement. Although the Hon. and learned Gentleman had remarked upon certain inconveniences and anomalies, which arose from the present system, yet he had failed to show that the mode of Government of Ireland, which he proposed to substitute, would remove those inconveniences or get rid of those anomalies. In dealing with this question, it would be as well to dismiss from consideration the financial part of it, for whether the cost were £20,000 or £50,000, he was sure the House of commons would never begrudge the amount, if it was thought to be necessary for the proper administration of Irish Government. He should also dismiss from his consideration the suggestion which had been made, that the abolition of the office of Lord Lieutenant would injuriously affect the trade, the commerce, and the interests of Dublin. Those interests, no doubt, were deserving of consideration; but if it could be shown that a proposed change would be for the advantage of Ireland generally, and the country at large, the interests of a particular class ought not to be allowed to prevent it. The objections which he saw to the present Motion arose from difficulties connected with the administration of the Government of Ireland, the importance of which the hon. and learned gentleman by no means appeared to have appreciated. It would be well for the House to consider the system of Government which now existed in Ireland. It was all very well to say how beneficial it would be, both for this country and for Ireland, if there existed a perfect

similarity between the two, in respect to laws, institutions, and the system of administering the Government; but there were considerations which rendered such a consummation extremely difficult. The administration of the Government of Ireland, as compared with that of England, was essentially different, for while local self-government was the pervading spirit of administration here, that of Ireland might be said to be an eminently central system. The influence of the Government, as administered in Ireland, pervaded all the departments of the State, and prevailed through all its ramifications. It would require considerable discretion, ability, and care, to do away at once with a system which had obtained so long in Ireland, and had, upon the whole, worked advantageously. Though that was not the proper place to do so, it might be curious to trace the history of the mode of government in Ireland, and to show how a central system always prevailed—how, after the Conquest, Norman institutions were engrafted upon those of Celtic clanship and chieftainry, instead of being, as in England, engrafted on the Saxon system which was eminently self-governing; then, how for many years English influence and interests were maintained by the military prowess of the Knights of the Pale—how rebellion and forfeitures continued that system for many generations—how the penal laws continued it—and lastly, how it came to be that the only problem to be solved in Ireland was, not how to govern Ireland, but how to govern the dominant class that governed the rest of the population. When the whole of the Irish people were admitted to

equal rights and privileges, it was found necessary to adapt the system of government to the altered state of things. But still the system was, and continued now to be, a central system. He might be permitted to remind the House what the mode of government was, which had been established since the beginning of this century, how it differs from that pursued in England, and how the office of Lord Lieutenant was a part and parcel of the whole system. In 1827, by an Act of the 7th and 8th of George IV., courts of petty sessions, to the number of 600, were remodelled, and the effect of this remodelling was to bring them more under the control of the Government. Then, in 1836, stipendiary magistrates, of whom there were now 71, were appointed throughout the country. Those magistrates were in constant communication with, and received their orders from the Government, and administered their functions under the immediate supervision of the central power. Again, the constabulary was a force which in its organization was altogether peculiar to Ireland. The first regular police force in Ireland was established in 1814, but the constabulary, as it now existed, was organized, in 1836. It is now wholly paid for and controlled by the State, and is commanded and regulated by an Inspector General. This important functionary has an office in Dublin Castle; he is in daily communication with the executive Government, and is obliged to consult on all occasions and matters of importance with the Chief or Under Secretary. That constabulary force had been embodied for upwards

of twenty years, and he believed its existence had been an unmixed blessing to the country. Again, there were the Assistant Barristers, who performed the duties of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions in this country, and were directly appointed by the Government, and acted in communication with them. There was also the Poor Law system, of the Board of which both Chief and Under Secretaries were members. Again, public prosecutions are conducted almost entirely under the direction of the Crown. Those facts showed how the influence of the Government of Ireland pervaded every department of the State, and ran through all its ramifications, and how difficult it would be to alter the existing system. Of that central system the Lord Lieutenant was the mainspring and head, and his duties were neither light nor few. He had in reality most important functions to perform, requiring the exercise of as much ability, prudence, and care as those which devolved on any member of the Executive Government of this country. He was regularly consulted in all the important matters of administration in the departments which he (Lord Naas) had enumerated; and he believed that no man who had been at any time connected with the Government of Ireland would deny that the influence of the Lord Lieutenant was perceptible in the whole of the government of that country. He was responsible to the country and Parliament for the preservation of the public peace, and large powers were given to him for that purpose. This was a duty fraught with anxiety. The noble Lord who recently presided

over the government in Ireland with so much ability, could testify how much firmness, prudence, and consideration was required to put an end to the miserable state of things which existed at Belfast last year. Again, when a general election occurred in England it was usual to remove from the places of election to a distance the troops stationed in the neighbourhood. In Ireland the custom was exactly the reverse. At the last general election more than 20,000 armed men were put in motion in that way by the Government, and the Lord Lieutenant was responsible for the proper discharge of so delicate and difficult duty. The Lord Lieutenant had also to discharge duties similar to those performed by the Home Secretary in England. On him devolved the exercise of the prerogative of mercy; many matters of a minor nature were continually brought under his notice, and an alteration could hardly take place in a gaol, or a convict be discharged, a prisoner be removed, or a lunatic provided for—[*A laugh*—]—without his direction. Hon. Gentlemen might laugh, but still what he stated were facts. He did not mean to say that the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to look into every individual case, but he did so whenever any difficulty arose or anything unusual occurred. He (Lord Naas) thought he had said enough to show that the duties daily devolving on the Lord Lieutenant were important, that they required great ability and experience, and frequently demanded the exercise of the nicest judgment. There were three modes in which it had been from time to time proposed to substitute a different form of Government in Ireland

from the present. The first of these was, that the office of Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary should be abolished, and that the whole Government of Ireland should devolve upon the Home Secretary, with an additional under Secretary of State for the Home Department. That was not the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield, but it was one that had been repeatedly brought forward and urged upon the House by those who supported the principle of what he might call ultra--centralization. Now, he thought it quite impossible that any one man, however great his talents and experience at the Home Office, could be charged with the performance of such duties as the government of Ireland necessarily demanded. He believed that the business of the Home Office was quite sufficient to occupy the attention of the ablest man, and he was sure that if the scheme was adopted, it would be found impossible to transact in a satisfactory manner the affairs of Ireland. Her interests would inevitably be left to the care of a subordinate or irresponsible officer. The second scheme, which was in some degree that of the hon. and learned Gentleman, was that the office of Lord Lieutenant should merge into that of Secretary of State, with all the departments of his office in London, where consultations could take place between the Irish Minister and Irish representatives; and it was alleged that the former, being a Member of the Cabinet, would be in a position to advance Irish interests more powerfully with his colleagues. He was far from saying that it would be impossible to carry out



this plan, or that it was one which might not be attended with many advantages, but it was one that could not fail to cause much inconvenience. The personal intercourse between the heads of Departments and private individuals that took place at the Castle of Dublin on questions of the utmost importance to Ireland were of great advantage in promoting the interests of that country; and though it might be said that the principal inconvenience caused by this scheme would be the two or three days that would elapse before communications could pass between Dublin and London, yet those personal interviews would be rendered almost impossible, and the same facilities that now existed for considering important questions would no longer exist. He did not say the objections to the scheme were insurmountable, but still they were such as ought to receive the most anxious consideration of the House. The third scheme proposed was to dispense with the office of Lord Lieutenant; to appoint a Secretary of State with the municipal part of his office in Dublin, to be worked by an Under Secretary during the Session of Parliament, that all regal state and splendour should be given up except when there were visits of the Sovereign, but that the Secretary should reside in Ireland during the recess. This plan, he need hardly say, would necessarily require much correspondence, as the Secretary of State would be separated from his offices, and great difficulty and confusion in the transaction of business would be the consequence. These different schemes were

all open to very serious objections, and he thought they ought to be well considered by the House before an alteration so important as that now proposed was adopted. In bringing forward this Motion the hon. and learned Member had failed to prove that there were any great evils in the Government of Ireland which demanded such a change. No one would deny that Ireland had improved within the last ten years in a most extraordinary manner. Indeed, the progress she had made was little short of miraculous, and he believed that the Government of the country had had something to do with that improvement. He should be sorry to attribute to human laws or institutions these good gifts which Providence had vouchsafed to his country; but, at all events, it was quite clear that no pernicious or blighting influence had been exercised on the part of the Government that retarded or interfered with the great improvements that had taken place. So far from that, the Government of Ireland had gone with the times; the officials intrusted with the management of her affairs had done all in their power to promote her interests; and he believed the improvement of the country had been on the whole advanced by the judicious measures taken, and the deep interest in her welfare manifested by those who had held the office of Lord Lieutenant. It had been said the Castle of Dublin was a seat of intrigue. As far as he had been able to investigate the matter, he did not believe there was any solid foundation for the stories told of political intrigue. There may have been intrigues formed in the Castle, but are

there none in Downing Street? And he did not believe that the class is more numerous in Ireland than here in Downing Street. The noble Lord, the Member for London, in his speech in introducing a measure for the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy in 1850, said the existence of the office tended to keep up party spirit—that the most illustrious men were unable to conquer the faction by which they were opposed, that the illustrious Wellesley was insulted, that the gallant Anglesey was called Algerine Anglesey, that Lord Haddington was called a partisan, and that the gentleman of Ireland refused to attend Lord Normanby's Court. Nothing of the kind has occurred of late years. He was sure the noble Lord who lately held the office of Lord Lieutenant, would bear him out in saying that during the whole time he was in Ireland he had been received with the greatest kindness, respect, and hospitality by men of the most opposite opinions, and he might confidently say the same thing with regard to the noble Lord who now held that office. If they looked at the list of noblemen and gentlemen who attended his first levee, they would find it made up of persons belonging to all sects and shades of politics. There was a strong feeling in Ireland that the Castle was neutral ground—a place where all parties might meet and enjoy each other's society; but though he stated those opinions, he was far from wishing to conceal his belief that a party was growing up in Ireland in favour of the change proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman. Public opinion in Ireland was daily gaining strength. It is more moderately, and

therefore more forcibly expressed, than it used to be, and the Irish people now paid less attention to party politics and more to practical questions. This question was, among others, much discussed in Ireland, and he thought it might safely be left in the hands of the Irish people, but whether the people of Ireland were in favour of this change or not, of one thing he was certain, that it would never be forced upon them by the votes of English Members in that House. If anything would render the consideration of this matter distasteful to the feelings of the Irish nation, it would be an impression on their minds that their opinions and desires were not sufficiently consulted on so important a question. He trusted, therefore, that the House would not give ear to the Motion proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield, and would not force upon an unwilling people a change in the administration of their affairs which it was possible they might at no distant day themselves demand.

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## OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 6TH JULY 1863.

[ In May 1863, Mr. Leddell, Member for Northumberland moved for the papers shewing the attitude assumed by the British authorities at China in the Rebellion which then convulsed that country from one end to the other and which aimed to overthrow the established Government of that country. In the following speech delivered on the 6th of July 1863 Lord Naas showed that the "policy of active interference in Chinese affairs" which had supplanted the old policy of Neutrality in Her Majesty's Government was injurious to British interests and strongly urged that no such British interference ought to be permitted except so far as was indispensable for the defence of British property and Settlement. An animated discussion ensued in which Lord Palmerston who though disagreed with Lord Naas in his censure on Her Majesty's Government, complimented the speech as being very able and elaborate. ]

**L**ORD NAAS : Sir, the somewhat unexpected manner in which the discussion on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) terminated on a recent occasion, induces me to think I am taking no unusual course in endeavouring again to direct the attention of the House to the important question of China, and to elicit from the Government some explanation on the subject of our relations with that great empire. I am the more encouraged to do so because I believe that of late years those relations have

entered upon a totally novel phase. It is evident that the policy which we have adopted since the peace in our dealings with China, has been abandoned, and that we are now rapidly entering on an entirely new state of things. It will be needless to do more than remind the House how the empire of China differs from every other country in the habitable world. For ages that empire has been ruled by what is little short of a pure and absolute despotism. But slavery has never existed in any shape within its bounds, and the authority of the Central Government has never been upheld by a large standing army. The public service in China is also of a peculiar kind. For centuries, almost for ages, competitive examination is the principal mode by which admittance to that service is gained. Education and merit are supposed to be the only means by which a man can rise in China. No aristocracy—scarcely anything in the shape of a middle class exists in the country. It is extraordinary, that in an empire so governed, there is to be found among the people a smaller amount of patriotism than is to be found among the natives of any other country in the world. Indeed, among the Chinese there is a singular absence of love of country, or pride of race; and little “religious sentiment,” or reverence for sacred things, is to be found amongst them. Forcible resistance to authority has always been the only means by which grievances are redressed and wrongs remedied. The right and practice of rebellion appears to have existed as far back as the earliest days of the Chinese Empire. The right of rebellion has always been recognised by

their great writers; and it must be owned that the people have been very consistent in reducing the doctrine to practice from time to time. Dr. Legge, in his remarkable book on Chinese classics, shows clearly the opinion of the great philosophers on this point; and these principles, though enunciated 3,000 years ago, I recommend to the attention of hon. Gentlemen opposite, as they might have well been written by an English Whig of 1688. Dr. Legge says:—

“The Government which Confucius taught was a despotism, but of a modified character. He allowed no *jus divinum* independent of personal virtue and a benevolent rule. He says—‘Heaven, protecting the inferior people, has constituted for them rulers and teachers, who should be able to be assisting to God, extending favour and producing tranquillity throughout all parts of the Empire. The moment the ruler ceases to be a minister of God for good, and does not administer a government that is beneficial to the people, he forfeits the title by which he holds the throne, and perseverance in oppression will surely lead to his overthrow.’”

“Mencius inculcates this principle with a frequency and boldness which are remarkable. It was one of the things about which Confucius did not much like to write—still he held it. It is conspicuous in the last chapters of *The Great Learning*, and its tendency has been to check the violence of oppression, and maintain the self-respect of the people all along the course of Chinese history.”

It is a curious thing, that though rebellions have been numerous, no particular dynasty in China has ever been overthrown without several years of armed resistance against its authority. *Coups d'état* are almost unknown in that country. As far back as 1279 the Soung dynasty was overthrown after nineteen years of insurrection. It

took sixteen years to overthrow the Mongol dynasty; and the Sing dynasty, which now rules the empire, was not established till after twenty-eight or thirty years of rebellion against that which preceded it. The empire of China is now passing through one of those unfortunate crises; and I do not incorrectly describe the state of the country by saying that civil war rages almost from one end of it to the other. Apart from the Taeping rebellion, which has now existed for thirteen or fourteen years, there are constant disturbances in the districts bordering on the Canton provinces, where the rival factions of the Hakkis and Puntis still maintain their ancient feuds; in the western provinces the armies of the Emperor are vainly endeavouring to make head against disturbances there; until lately they were defending Hang-chow on the Yang-tze Kiang, which was menaced by a body of rebels entirely distinct from the Taepings; and at Tien-tsin our Consul has, in the spring of this year, been severely wounded in repelling an attack on the town by a body of rebels under the general name of the Nien Fei. It was not impossible that that body of rebels might menace even the capital itself. In the far north, near the new treaty port of New Chiang, the foreign residents, as we hear from Mr. Consul Meadows, have lately been in fear of destruction by another distinct body of rebels. Indeed, the whole empire, containing a population of 300,000,000 or 400,000,000, is convulsed from end to end. The movement, however, with which, we have more particularly to deal, is the Taeping movement. Without pretending to give anything like



a history of it, I will only say that it commenced in 1849 or 1850—that it is one of the most extraordinary movements that have taken place in any country—that at first small in its beginning, and commenced by a few insignificant individuals, it soon acquired such importance, and such numbers gathered round the standard of the chief, Hung Su Tsuen, that Nankin, the ancient capital of the Empire fell into his hands, and a sort of Government was established there; that the rebels then moved northward until they almost menaced the safety of the capital, and that they then, without apparent cause, retired pretty much in the same way as they advanced, their principal object being plunder. It is, however, necessary for a moment to consider what were the causes of the Taeping movement. I am afraid, that any person who has devoted attention to the affairs of China during the last twelve or fourteen years, must form the opinion that the constant interference of England, and her hostility to the Imperial authorities have contributed greatly to the disorganization of the country. Those who have considered the subject thoroughly, agree in assigning the movement to three causes—British hostility towards the Government, the opium question, and the circumstance that for the last three reigns China has been ruled by princes of weak character and little influence. By a series of acts of hostility which I will not now enter upon, but which has lasted for years, we have weakened the Government and made it contemptible in the eyes of the people. In Mr. Meadows's book is to be found the following curious me-

morial from a Manchou general, written soon after the outbreak of the rebellion:—

“The troops do not attend to orders, regard retreat on the eve of battle as an old custom, and the abandonment of places they should hold as an ordinary affair. . . . . The number of robbers and criminal associations in Kwang-tung and Kwang-si is very great, and they assemble without the least hesitation to create disturbances; all which arises from the circumstances of the army at the time the barbarian affairs were being transacted. Formerly they feared the troops as tigers; of late they look on them as sheep.”

Again, there is no doubt that our constant attempts to force the opium trade upon the Government of China have had a very serious effect, and have been the ever fruitful source of disquietude and violence. Monsignor Chauveau, a Catholic missionary in Yunan, relates an instance—one in many—by which opium may be traced as one of the causes of the rebellion in the year 1850 or 1851. Six hundred opium dealers of the province of Kwang-si, travelling from Yunan to Canton, being short of supplies, forcibly borrowed or took money and provisions from two brothers of the name of Ischang. These men had no alternative but to comply with their demands. When the opium traders left, these two brothers, who were men of influence and position, were arrested, flung into prison and severely punished by the Mandarins. This act of gross injustice so incensed the people that they joined the insurrection in great numbers. I might quote many examples to show how much we have to answer for in being the cause of the present state of anarchy

in the empire, but I should not feel justified in troubling the House at any length upon past events in China. I wish rather to deal with the present aspect of affairs. But the House will recollect what has been the attitude of England towards China during the last twenty-five years. Almost ever since the East India Company's monopoly was done away with, and since the Chinese Government had determined forcibly to resist the introduction of opium, till within the last two years, our attitude has been one of continued and almost incessant hostility. We have had two, I may almost say four, great wars. Our position has always been one of antagonism to the Chinese authorities. I might describe it as one of armed commerce. The noble Lord at the head of the Government repeatedly told the House that we were not at war with China, at the very time that we were burning the suburbs of Canton and bombarding the forts; and at last our relations with that country had got into such an anomalous position, that we were actually at one time, in the south and on the east coast, supporting the authority of the Chinese Viceroy in Canton, collecting a portion of the Imperial revenue at Shanghai and defending it against the rebels, transmitting I suppose a portion of that revenue to Peking; while in the North we were bombarding the Taku forts, seizing the capital, and burning the Emperor's palace. Now, peace being made, we are bound to find a policy for the new state of things, and that is the question to which I particularly ask the attention of the House. A great rebellion exists in China; two parties are

triving for the mastery. I have little sympathy for one or the other; least of all am I an advocate of the Taeping movement. At first considerable sympathy was manifested for it, as there was a belief that their religion was closely allied to Christianity. Further inquiries, however, showed, that though with the aid of some European books procured in Canton, they might have manufactured a spurious sort of Christianity, yet their religion was a sheer imposture, and the assumption of divine attributes and of direct communications from the Deity, was so disgusting to those Christians who at first had dealings with them, that it is now allowed that no sympathy can be felt for them on religious grounds. Nor have they shown any capacity for creating either a dynasty or a Government. They have been in possession of a large portion of the country for fifteen years, including Nankin and other great cities, but nowhere have they succeeded in establishing anything like an organized form of Government. But this contemptible position which, after all, the Taeping leaders hold, makes the case as against the Imperialists still stronger; for notwithstanding the weakness, the disorganization, and incapacity of the rebels, the Imperial troops have been continually worsted in the field; and with all the military, financial and political resources of the empire at their command, they have never been able to make head against the Taipings, or to restore peace and order in a single province. Such being the state of affairs as between the rival parties, at the Treaty of Pekin, a policy of neutrality was laid down and acted on for

a considerable time. I am anxious that there should be no mistake as to the declaration made at that time. That treaty was concluded in October 1860, and Sir Frederick Bruce, in making arrangements for the protection of the treaty ports, distinctly laid it down that the British were to be entirely neutral as between the Taipings and the Chinese Government. Earl Russell writes to Mr. Bruce on July 24, 1861, as follows :—

“I have caused the Admiralty to be informed, in reply that I am of opinion that Vice Admiral Hope’s measures should be approved, and I have now to instruct you to endeavour to make arrangements to secure the neutrality of all the treaty ports against the rebels.

“The Government of Peking will, probably, make no difficulty in abstaining from using the treaty ports as bases of operations against the rebels, provided the rebels on their side refrain from attacking those ports ; and it may be hoped that the rebels will see that it is not for their interest to run the risk of collisions with foreign nations whose trade is protected by treaties.

“You will understand, however, that Her Majesty’s Government do not wish force to be used against the rebels in any case except for the actual protection of the lives and property of British subjects.

“I am, &c.,

(Signed)

“J. RUSSELL.”

Again, on August 8, 1861, Earl Russell writes to Mr. Bruce :—

“Her Majesty’s Government desire to maintain, as they have done hitherto, neutrality between the two contending parties in China. If British subjects are taken prisoners by either party, you should do your utmost to save them from torture or capital punishment ; but otherwise you should abstain from all interference in the civil war.”

On February 1, 1862, Mr. Bruce writes to consul Harvey :—

“The policy to be observed and the language to be used to the insurgent Chiefs is this :—We have no cause of quarrel with the Taipings arising out of their insurrection against the Imperial Government, nor do we pretend to dictate to the Chinese people who is to rule over them ; on the other hand, any Power that claims that Empire is bound by all the obligations of the treaties China has entered into with foreign nations.”

The noble Lord in his place in this House was equally explicit in the declaration of his wish for the maintenance of neutrality. On the 12th of March 1861. Earl Russell laid down this principle in the following words :—

“I told Mr. Bruce that Her Majesty’s Government entirely approved of his conduct ; that we did not wish to interfere between the Imperial Government and the rebels ; that we meant to be entirely neutral ; but that we would not remain neutral when the towns where the English and foreign merchants were established were attacked by foreign forces. . . . . With regard to our policy, the only course we can take is that of perfect neutrality ; at the same time not allowing the towns where our merchants are congregated to be destroyed.” [ *3 Hansard*, clxi. 1858. ]

I shall now proceed to show how little by little, step by step, the policy of neutrality has been abandoned, and that we are now interfering in every possible way in the internal affairs of China. The first step taken in this direction was at Shanghai, the principal of the treaty ports, where an attempt was made to carry out what was called the thirty-mile radius. Admiral Hope early in 1861 went up

the country to the Taepings, entered into communication with the chiefs at Nakin, and succeeded in obtaining from them an assurance that they would respect the port and environs of Shanghai for one year. The Taepings kept their word; but towards the close of 1861, when the term of compact was nearly ended, there were evidences that they intended to advance upon Shanghai, and steps were taken in consequence to defend the town. Instead, however, of defending the settlement itself, which was absolutely necessary for the protection of British property, it was very unfortunately determined to seize and hold all the country for thirty miles round. Military operations began at the end of April 1862, when a force comprised of British and French troops, some drilled Chinese, and Imperial "braves" marched out from Shanghai, and took two large towns in the neighbourhood. They then went across the river, with the intention of seizing the right bank of the Woosung river, and occupying the peninsula, and took two more towns almost immediately. Whilst besieging another town, however, General Stavely, in command of these forces heard that the Imperialists, who had been left in charge of the towns first taken, had been routed and destroyed, and that the rebels were marching upon Shanghai. It therefore became necessary to withdraw his troops; the towns he had taken were re-occupied by the rebels, and there was an end for the time to the thirty-mile radius. The first operation, therefore, was a failure. Towards the end of the year, however, the British Forces re-captured those towns—and no attempt has been

made by the rebels to re-take them. But these operations involved the whole district in very serious troubles and misery. The position of the unfortunate inhabitants was anything but enviable. The rebels, when they took the towns near Shanghai killed a great number of men. They ordered those that were left to let their hair grow to show they were rebels. When the English took the towns, they handed them over to the Imperialists, who beheaded many of these unfortunate creatures because they had long hair, and ordered the residue to shave. A few days afterwards the Imperial troops were withdrawn, the rebels came in again, and killed some more of those how had in the interim shaved their heads. The atrocities and carnage that take place in this civil war are horrible to contemplate. On the score of cruelty one side is as bad as the other; there is nothing to choose between them. It is alleged that the rebels have laid waste the country for thirty miles round Shanghai. Great atrocities are, no doubt, committed on both sides, but I deny that the country has been devastated. The despatches speak of the troops as marching through highly-cultivated cornfields, with men at work in them, and there is reason to believe that the atrocities of the Taipings are very much confined to the towns which they seize. The result of these operations is, that though Shanghai is safe. we are responsible for the defence of a large frontier which may be at any time attacked. I will now advert to what has happened at Ningpo, which illustrates, in an instructive manner, how gradually we are being led into



interference in Chinese affairs. Ningpo is a very large city, with upwards of a quarter of a million of inhabitants. At the latter end of 1861 it was in the possession of the Imperialists, but was seriously menaced by the rebels. English officers gave the Chinese authorities every advice and assistance by lending them guns, and instructing them how to fortify the city against the enemy, at the same time assuring the Mandarins that they would not interfere personally in the struggle. The rebels, however, attacked the city, and drove out the Imperial troops in a few hours; the English gunboats did not interfere, and the rebels took possession of Ningpo, which they held for five months. Matters went on quietly during that occupation. I cannot say that the rebels were successful in attracting a large portion of the inhabitants back to the city, or to restore trade; but it is quite evident that friendly relations existed between the English authorities and the rebels, communications passed and repassed, and our Consul had no reason to complain of any breach of faith on the part of the Taeping chiefs. Almost immediately after the rebels took possession of the city, Consul Harvey thought it a favourable moment to arrange the question of what was called the foreign settlement, and this is a good instance how matters of this kind are settled in China. Ningpo was situated at the confluence of two considerable rivers, and a piece of ground nearly surrounded by the two rivers was much coveted by the Consuls as being admirably adapted for purposes both of trade and defence. Accordingly, they endeavoured

to obtain the cession of that piece of ground. The American, French, and English Consuls and the captain of Her Majesty's gunboat *Scout* met one day and passed a resolution that this large piece of ground, almost as big as that upon which the city itself stood, should form the foreign settlement, and be devoted to the purposes of these foreign nations. The whole transaction is thus described by Consul Harvey in a letter to Mr. Bruce—

“Ningpo, January 14, 1862.

“Sir,—I have the honour to inclose herewith, for your Excellency's information and approval, copy of a Minute of a Conference held yesterday, at the United States Consulate at this port, for the purpose of defining the limits within which will in future be comprised the “Foreign Settlement” at Ningpo.

“Since this port was opened to foreign trade in 1843, no definite ‘concession’ or ‘grant’ has ever been obtained from the local authorities, in accordance with treaty stipulations; and as this want had long been felt by the increasing mercantile community here, but more particularly and pressingly so since the capture of this city by the insurgents, the present appeared to me a very favourable opportunity for coming to a clear understanding upon the point. The inclosed Minute is a brief declaration and statement of the agreement so determined upon by the three Treaty Consuls in regard to this important clause of our respective treaties.

“I transmit also herein a rough sketch of the site and its boundaries; and I trust the steps taken on this occasion will meet with your Excellency's favourable approval, and that your Excellency will be pleased to obtain for them the sanction and confirmation of His Highness the Prince of Kung.”

At that time the city of Ningpo and the country around were in the possession of the Taeping chiefs. They did not make much objection, the Con-

suls took possession, and some commodious residences were built on the land in question. Things went on in that way for some months, when one day in April, on the firing of a salute in honour of the arrival of one of the Taeping chiefs, some bullets struck the *Ringdove* gunboat. Some idle persons, also, wandering upon the walls, fired a few shots, which went near the boats. These were the only acts complained of by the British authorities, and they were amply apologized for by the Taeping chiefs. Captain Dew, of the *Encounter*, was sent down by Sir James Hope to obtain reparation and apology, and any one who reads the instructions of Sir James Hope will find there was nothing in them which authorized Captain Dew to make any attack upon the city. However, he demanded that a certain battery should be destroyed. The answer to the remonstrance made by Captain Dew was so satisfactory that on the 27th of April 1862 he wrote to the Taeping chiefs to inform them that he would not insist upon the demolition of the battery, but only that the guns opposite the settlement and ships should be removed. The battery to which he referred was in a peculiar position. It was erected at the confluence of the two rivers, in order to defend the town from any attack that might be made by the Imperial forces. What Captain Dew therefore required was an ample apology, the removal of the guns from the battery opposite the settlement and ships, and that means should be taken to prevent any body going on the walls opposite to the ships. With reference to the first point Cap-

tain Dew said he was perfectly satisfied ; and with respect to the two other points General Hwang wrote to say, that though the guns were for the protection of the fort yet, under the peculiar circumstances, and to manifest the desire of the Taepings for a lasting amity, the port-holes for the guns bearing on the settlement should be stopped up, and no one should be allowed to go upon the walls except the workmen who might be required to make repairs. In fact, everything demanded by Captain Dew was granted, the port-holes were bricked up, and the letter concluded in this way—“ We are desirous of remaining on good terms with you, and this is our reason for this distinct statement.” After the receipt of that letter Captain Dew paid a visit to a large Imperial force, which was being collected for the purpose of taking Ningpo, and was rather curiously constituted. The Imperial Government, having but a small naval force at their command, made a convention with a notorious pirate of the name of Apak for the employment in the Imperial service of himself and eighty junks, which for a number of years had been engaged in piracy. Well, a few days before the attack on Ningpo was made Captain Dew went down the river and communicated with the Imperial Chiefs and their piratical ally. There was every reason to believe that Captain Dew was cognizant of what they were going to do, and the siege of Ningpo had his perfect approval ; but it appeared rather a curious thing that a British captain should enter into communication with one whom, in the pursuit of his well-known calling if he

caught outside the bar at Shanghai, he would have felt bound to hang. This allied band of Imperialists and pirates advanced to the attack of Ningpo on the 10th May. Captain Dew and several gunboats were then in the river, moored in a line opposite the town, in such a manner that they were exactly in the line of fire of an attacking force. Shortly before the attack he wrote to the Taeping chiefs thus—

“ We now inform you that we maintain a perfect neutrality ; but if you fire the guns or muskets from the battery or walls opposite the settlement on the advancing Imperialists, thereby endangering the lives of our men and people in the foreign settlement, we shall then feel it our duty to return the fire and bombard the city.”

So that having received an ample apology, Captain Dew gave up the three points, and then told the Taepings, that if they defended themselves, he would join in the attack and bombard the town ! The junks having advanced between the gunboats and the town, some shots were fired, whether from a Taeping battery or an Imperial junk is very doubtful ; and then, without further provocation, at ten o'clock Captain Dew opened fire, the Imperialist fleet taking but little part in the attack. Captain Dew bombarded the town till two o'clock, then went to dinner ; at three o'clock he landed his men, drove out the rebels, and in the evening handed over the city of Nankin as a present to the Imperial Toutae and his piratical allies. That story showed how British officers conduct affairs in China. There were friendly communications and professions of neutrality up to the

last moment; and when the rebels, who had given them no provocation, attempted to defend themselves, their town was bombarded for four hours, after which they were driven out, and the city handed over to the Imperialists. But the policy of pretended neutrality and real interference culminated in an attack which was made by Captain Dew and the French contingent upon the town of Shou-hing in February of this year. After the taking of Ningpo Captain Dew remained in the city for some time, and a certain portion of Ward's force and the French contingent were occupied in garrisoning the place. No attempt was made to establish the thirty miles radius in this place. But in February last Captain Dew and a large number of boats accompanied a force of about 500 men to the attack of a walled town situated 110 miles from Ningpo. He took with him some howitzers lent by General Stavely, and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Tinling, an officer of the *Encounter*. The force was called the French contingent, and was a very curious one. It was commanded by a French officer, who was called a General, but I cannot make out whether he was originally a military man; I believe he was a clerk in the French civil service. The first night was spent by the force in plundering an Imperialist village—it must have been Imperialist, because it was only fifteen miles from Ningpo. The next day they advanced up a canal to the attack of Shou-hing. Captain Dew accompanied the expedition, he said, in the character of a spectator, but really to advise the commander. There can be no doubt

that he took an active part in the operations. A breach having been made, the French contingent were ordered to the assault, but they were ignominiously driven back, the French commander was killed, and Lieutenant Tinling so badly wounded in the neck that he died the next day. It is impossible for Captain Dew to say that he was not in actual command of this force, for, in a letter in answer to a vote of thanks from some merchants at Ningpo, Captain Dew glorified himself considerably on having performed these exploits with General Stavely's "honoured howitzers," as he calls them. With regard to Lieutenant Tinling, he thought justice had not been done to a gallant officer. It had been over and over again said that he was there only as an amateur, and that he met with his death at a time when he was not within the line of his duty. He was there, however, by the orders of his captain. He had accompanied him in this dangerous expedition; and whilst assisting in working the guns he was shot in the neck. I think that that young officer died as much in the discharge of his duty as if he had been on board of his own ship; and that his friends in this country who deeply deplore his loss have a good right to complain that his death had not been spoken of in a proper manner when the subject was referred to the other night by the Secretary to the Admiralty.

I have now shown how at Shanghai and Ningpo the policy of neutrality has been totally abandoned, and active interference by land and sea has been taken in this wretched civil war. I will now

refer to two institutions which have grown up in China, and which are becoming to all intents and purposes thoroughly British. The first of these is the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs, the other the Anglo Chinese Contingent. I will take the description of the former from Mr. Lay's own words. That gentleman, who is Imperial Inspector General of Customs, in answer to a communication from Earl Russell, states that the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs was introduced into Shanghai in 1854; that the Chinese authorities were then too weak to levy the duties; and that in consequence the American, the British, and the French Consuls met together at the British consul's house, and there nominated three persons to collect and take charge of the Imperial customs. This was a curious nomination. Ultimately, the Chinese Government placed the entire control of the customs in Mr. Lay's hands, so that in 1856 that gentleman became the head of the Chinese customs board. The *personnel* of the establishment is somewhat remarkable. The system is established at eight ports. The *personnel* of the establishment is constituted thus—

"*Shanghai*—Mr. H. Tudor Davies (English) late Chief Magistrate at Hong-Kong, absent on sick leave, whose place is supplied by Mr. G. H. Fitzroy, late *Attache* to Lord Elgin.

"*Ningpo*.—M. Giguel (French), late Interpreter Canton Commissioners.

"*Foo-chow*.—M. Meritens (French), late Interpreter to Baron Gros.

"*Amoy*.—Mr. Ward (American), late Secretary to the United States Legation.



"*Santow*.—Mr. Wilzer (German,) late Mercantile assistant,

"*Canton*.—Mr. Glover (American), late United States Vice Consul at Shanghai.

"*Chin-kiang*.—Mr. Leonard (English), late Mercantile Assistant in the firm of Dent and Company.

"*Tien-tsin*.—Mr. Kleczkowski (French), Major on half-pay.

"Mr. Hart, who was an Interpreter in the Consular Service, acts during Mr. Lay's absence as Inspector General."

Therefore, at eight ports there are—one English Inspector General, two English, three French, two American, and one German, chief officers. Those gentlemen levy an enormous amount of revenue. The customs duty at Shanghai alone is supposed to amount to £,000,000 a year. And taking all the eight ports together it is reasonable to suppose that they collect something like £4,000,000 of revenue every year. Those gentlemen, however, practically speaking, are wholly irresponsible to any person or power whatever. It is true that their nomination was sanctioned by the Chinese Government, but they were not certainly appointed originally by them. In fact, the representatives of Foreign Powers really appointed them, and they continue their services under the direction of Mr. Lay, who still retains his character as a British subject, and has been somewhat recently employed in Her Majesty's service in accompanying Lord Elgin to Peking in the capacity of Secretary of Legation. Now the important question arises—Whose subjects are these men? Suppose that Mr. Lay or any of his subordinates got into trouble with the Chinese authorities, and was presented with

a silver cord, which is the fashionable mode of disposing of high authorities in that country, should we interfere and treat him as a British subject? I apprehend that Sir Frederick Bruce would immediately interfere in his behalf, and claim to protect him as a British subject. The other foreign representatives would doubtless do the same by their own fellow-countrymen. In truth, the system amounts to this, that a great portion of the Imperial revenue is collected and expended by foreigners under the control of an Englishman lately in the diplomatic service of his own country. In addition to the revenue collected at the ports I have named under this system, the mandarins collect a little revenue of their own. Constant complaints are made by merchants that they have to pay, besides the customs duties levied by the foreign inspectors, other charges which are demanded by local Chinese officials, for the payment of foreign contingents and the maintenance of local establishments. Under those circumstances, it is not surprising that there should be constant collisions between the Chinese authorities and the foreign and consular officers. I do not say a word against Mr. Lay. On the contrary, I believe that no more pure or worthy public servant exists. But I believe that he has undertaken duties which were beyond the power of any individual, and that the greatest difficulty will arise from the anomalous position in which he is placed; indeed, these difficulties have already commenced. The *Shanghai Shipping List* of April 2, 1863 contains an account of a fatal collision between the Chinese authorities and the foreign officials, arising out of a system of

“squeezing,” which was generally practised in China on all occasions and by all classes. The article I refer to mentions that such collisions are almost of daily occurrence. There was a considerable force at Ningpo under Imperial authority; the Inspectors of Customs had also a number of armed men under their authority; the French contingent was 1,500, and the Anglo-Chinese Contingent was 1,000 men. So that there were stationed in that single town four different authorities independent of each other, and each having large armed forces at its disposal. The occurrence to which I allude is thus described by a local paper.—

“At Ningpo, we learn, that a few days ago a very serious disturbance occurred between some Europeans (custom-house officers) and Chinese officials. It appears that a system of squeezing had long been carried on by the custom house boatmen; but meeting with a stout resistance, blows were resorted to, and a general *meles* ensued. The authorities succeeded in capturing the boatmen, and taking them prisoners into the city. The Tide surveyor, Mr. Newberry, stationed at Chinhai, immediately on gaining information as to the whereabouts of his Chinese boatmen, mustered all the Europeans that he possibly could, proceeded to the prisons where they were incarcerated, and demanded that his men should be instantly liberated. The mandarin in charge, becoming alarmed at the threatening appearance of so many foreign faces who surrounded him, unlocked the door of the prison, and Mr. Newberry rushed forward, where he found the objects of his search in irons. These he speedily released, but on their return to the entrance he discovered that the door was locked upon him. Threats and the firing of his revolver inside the prison brought the other Europeans to the rescue, who succeeded in knocking down the door, and liberated the boatmen. It is supposed that several other

prisoners effected their escape. One young man, a son of a Chinese merchant, was shot, and died shortly afterwards.

"The case has been investigated by the proper authorities, but the result has not yet transpired."—(2nd April 1863.)

Lately, however, the forces at the disposal of the foreign inspectorate have received an important augmentation. Mr. Lay and Captain Sherard Osborn a most distinguished officer, who knows China well, came to this country last autumn to organize an armed European naval force. These gentlemen undertook this mission with the sanction of Sir Frederick Bruce, but he could not discover that they brought with them a single scrap of paper giving them the authority of the Imperial Government for these proceedings. At first Her Majesty's Government proposed to issue licences enabling a certain number of British officers to take service in the new force; but it was felt, on reflection, that that course would be very inconvenient. At the end of August an Order in Council was issued repealing the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and authorizing Captain Sherard Osborn and Mr. Lay to enlist troops for the service of the Chinese Empire, and to fit out and arm ships of war. The mode in which the funds for the force were obtained is described in a note in a Chinese newspaper, which, I believe, is authentic. A fleet of armed steamers has been purchased in England, to be placed under the command of Captain Sherard Osborn. The money remitted to England to meet the cost of these vessels has been drawn by the Emperor from his customs revenue under foreign inspection. The total sum so

remitted has been 650,000 taels. Of this sum Canton supplied 250,000 taels. Shanghai 200,000 taels, Amoy 50,000 taels. No more money being ready, the balance of 150,000 taels was raised by loan on the Foo-chow customs revenue; the loan was in the form of scrip receivable in payment of import or export duties a year hence, interest it from 8 to 10 per cent per annum. The scrip was rapidly taken up by foreign merchants; they preferred such a mode of paying their duties, as it would save them trouble and expense. These gentlemen had therefore a considerable sum of money placed at their disposal—I should say about £200,000. Three gunboats were purchased from the English Government, and three other vessels were ordered to be built in private yards in England. The stores, guns, and other equipments were furnished from our arsenals. A code of laws was drawn up for the regulation of the force, a new scale of pay and rations was fixed, pensions and compensation for wounds were settled, a special book of signals was arranged, and last, not least, a new flag, green with yellow stripes, wholly different from either the British or the Imperial flag, was improvised under which these troops were to fight—in the service, not of the Emperor, but of Mr. Lay and the Anglo-Chinese inspectorate. It is rather difficult to ascertain the precise object of the force, as the Government do not seem to have any very defined notions on the subject. Mr. Lay, in his official application for permission to enlist men in England, himself said it was to be employed in reestablishing the Imperial authority on the Yang-tze-Kiang, and

commercial security on the inner waters, and in suppressing piracy on the open sea. The latter undertaking might, however, be dismissed from view, as any ship of war might destroy a pirate at sea if she could catch him. Mr. Hammond, writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty to ask the approval of the First Lord, used a very remarkable phrase. He said that Her Majesty's Government approved of the establishment of a European naval force in order to restore order throughout the Chinese Empire. Now, the House will see that the order to restore order in the empire of China is rather a large order. As the force number only 400 men, while the population of China number about 400,000,000 each man of the expedition was expected to restore order to a million of men. The Secretary to the Admiralty accepted the statement of the Foreign Office, and replied in the same remarkable phrase, that he saw no objection to the scheme. Now, I wish to point out to the House what will, in all probability, be the first exploit of the new force. In any attempt to restore order on the banks of the Yangtze-Kiang, they must begin with the capture of Nankin. As the House knows, Nankin is a city of enormous size—the second in the Empire. Since 1854 it has been in the hands of the Taepings, the Imperialists never having made any serious effort to dislodge them. The prospect of the English taking Nankin, and driving the Taepings out of it and into rich silk and tea districts adjoining, is regarded by a number of eminent authorities with just apprehension as the most unfortunate thing that can happen to

our trade. That I am justified in assuming that this is one of the points against which the newly-raised force will be directed, will be seen from the following passage in a despatch written by Earl Russell on the 7th of July 1862, after Captain Osborn's expedition had been decided on:—a despatch in which he throws the old neutrality policy overboard altogether, and adopts in full the principle of interference which has been acted upon, by all the British officials in China.

"The rational course for us to pursue is, to defend our own trade, to protect the treaty ports, and to encourage the Chinese Government to arm a sufficient force of Artillery, Infantry, and Cavalry, to overcome the rebels, and reduce them to subjection.

"You will arrange for the stay of the troops at Shanghai so long as that settlement is menaced by the rebels.

"Ningpo ought to be recovered by the Imperialists and, when they have force sufficient for the purpose, they should undertake vigorous operations against Nankin.

" I am, &c.,

(Signed )

" RUSSELL.

" Foreign Office, July 7, 1862."

Sir Frederick Bruce, however, a year before, on the 16th of January 1861, said he did not see that the fall of Nankin would dissolve the bands which desolated the country, and gave this warning in these words—

"Should the capture of Nankin merely drive the rebels from the positions they occupy on the river, and the Imperialists be unable to follow them up with vigour and disperse them, they would seize other points not assailable by us, and feeling secure from chastisement by our naval force, they would be less amenable to reason. We should be liable at the ports to

sudden and unexpected attacks unless we had force sufficient stationed at each for its defence."

Again, on the 11 th of July 1861, Admiral Hope wrote—

"I should consider the capture of Nankin as the most impolitic act which could be committed. There is not the slightest ground for the supposition that the loss of that town would have any material effect in the suppression of the insurrection, or any other, indeed, than that of the removal of the Taeping seat of government to some city in the interior out of our reach, and the creation of a feeling of inveterate hostility against us."

Even Earl Russell himself, in September 1861, concurred with Admiral Hope in condemning the capture of Nankin, which a year later he recommended so strongly. Consul Meadows states that a Yang-tze campaign against the Taepings would require a large fleet and a considerable body of troops. He describes the probable course of such a campaign in the following words :—

"A few years back the aid of a small British army and naval squadron, operating along a portion of the Great River, could perhaps have enabled the Manchoos to suppress this particular Chinese rising against their rule ; but now it would require a large fleet of steamers, operating throughout some 1,500 to 2,000 miles of the Great River and its larger branches, and some 20,000 troops, operating in three or four complete small armies in different parts of the tract of country mentioned above as being more or less in the occupation of Taeping forces, and which extends about 800 to 900 miles from north to south and, 1000 to 1,100 from east to west."

So what was dangerous, impolitic, and unwise last year, is sound and right to-day. Our whole line of conduct is changed, and changed without any good cause or reason. I have now shown that



this foreign inspectorate of Customs, having the command of an armed force, and really irresponsible, is one of the most dangerous institutions which has ever been sanctioned by the British Government. Its dangers are well summed up in the following words of an able writer :—

“In conclusion ; the dangers arising from the foreign inspectorate becoming an armed power with an immediately belligerent attitude, and that only now loom darkly in the future, are these:—The creation of a power in China which, though now under the control of an English officer, may pass successfully into the hands of Frenchmen and Americans; the probable use that may be made of such power to the detriment of English interests; the tendency of such a body as the foreign inspectorate of customs, when free from ordinary checks, towards degeneration and corruption, more especially which having a large armed force at their disposal; the complications that may arise from the absence of any clearly-defined understanding as to the position of foreigners in Chinese employ, with regard to extending protection to their persons in certain emergencies.”

I will next give a short history of the Anglo-Chinese contingent, a force with which Mr. Lay has nothing to do, and which is quite separate from Captain Sherard Osborn's force. In the year 1860 Colonel Ward, whose origin was rather doubtful, and whose nationality was also somewhat obscure, but who, I believe, was a member of General Walker's filibustering expedition, arrived at Shanghai; and being a man of courage and capacity, proposed to form a foreign legion, consisting of Manilla men, Europeans, negroes, and, indeed, any one whom he could catch, for the service of the Emperor. There was plenty of material for the

formation of such a force, for the ports of the Eastern seas swarm with adventurers, filibusters, and scoundrels, who being unable to live elsewhere, have collected in that part of the world with no object but rapine and plunder, and whose doings have extended south to some of our own settlements, and are about to be brought under the notice of the House by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Wakefield. Colonel Ward collected his regiment, and proceeded to drill them; but the Taepings formed a similar force, and on one occasion it was found necessary to send a man-of-war to Nankin to recover twenty-six British subjects who were in the rebel service, and among whom were seven seamen of the British navy. The scheme, therefore, was given up, and, greatly to Mr. Bruce's satisfaction, as thus expressed in one of his despatches, the foreign contingent was disbanded—

“ I report with satisfaction that the foreign legion has been disbanded. A few days before Captain Dew's visit they advanced to attack Tsing-poo, having been promised the support of 9,000 Chinese troops and twenty gunboats; as usual, the Chinese did not appear, and the foreigners, after losing twenty-three men out of sixty, were forced to retire. Having been unsuccessful, though from no fault of their own, they were discharged; and I trust this example of the value of Chinese co-operation, and of their appreciation of military merit, will deter foreigners from joining them. The condition of those employed by the Taepings seems to have been little better; but as free license was given to plunder, their service may be more attractive to many of the adventurers who infest the coast of China

I have. &c.

“ July 22, 1861.” FREDERICK W.A. BRUCE.

Colonel Ward then turned his attention to drilling

Chinese, and in a few months he raised a considerable force, which on different occasions rendered pretty good service, although it was almost as often unsuccessful. His little army took part in all the military operations which were undertaken to clear the thirty mile radius around Shanghai. They worked harmoniously with General Stavely and in fact were a part of the British force. Unfortunately, on the 20th of September 1862, Colonel Ward was killed in the attack upon a small town, and General Burgovine, whose nationality also was somewhat doubtful, was appointed to the command of the force, which he held till January last, when he lost it in a somewhat peculiar manner. The General was a man of large promises, which, however, he was seldom able to perform, and for some months he succeeded in persuading the Chinese authorities that he was always on the point of moving up the river to attack Nankin. At last a day was appointed for his departure, but, according to an account written by consul Medhurst to Mr. Bruce, the General delayed the march, the line of transports went on accumulating, and 200,000 taels had been squandered without result. At this juncture the pay of General Burgovine's forces fell into arrear, his men mutinied, and he undertook to go to Shanghai to get the money due to them, amounting to about £40,000. Thither he proceeded with 150 armed men; but on his arrival one Ta-kee, a tea merchant and expectant mandarin, whose business it was to make the payment, told him that he should have the money when he started for Nankin. General Burgovine, who said to have

been drunk at the time, struck him, his followers ransacked the house, and finding in it a large sum of money helped themselves. Some of this money, it was said, was afterwards paid to the troops. This high-handed proceeding incensed the mandarins, who determined to dismiss General Burgovine and cut off his head. This General took refuge with General Stavelay, and afterwards proceeded to Peking to lay his complaint at the foot of the throne; and Captain Holland, an officer of the Royal Marines, was appointed to command the force. General Burgovine obtained from the Emperor an order that he should be allowed to resume his command; but he could not secure obedience to that order at Shanghai, and he has now returned to Peking to endeavour to obtain the command of at least a portion of the troops. That terminated the connection of the foreign officers with the force, which then passed under the command of Captain, or, as he was then called, General Holland. He was appointed by the British Commander-in-Chief at Shanghai, and retained the command until the 10th of February, when he marched to attack Tait-shan. Captain Holland had with him a force of 2,500 men with twenty-two pieces of cannon, including some 32-pounders belonging to the British army. He attacked the town; but the rebels fought admirably, and the attack was repulsed. No fewer than 500 men were killed, and the 32-pounders were captured by the rebels. Captain Holland shortly afterwards withdrew from the command; but about the time he retired, an extraordinary occurrence took place at the head-quarters of the contingent, show-

ing how impossible it was to carry on such a system in China without coming into constant collision with the native authorities. Four or five men had been punished for the offence of selling their arms and ammunition to the rebels. The men underwent severe punishment, but during the night some mandarins, under pretence that the soldiers had not been dealt with severely enough, dragged them from prison and cut off their heads on the parade-ground. Next day, when the men went on parade, there was a row; the men broke from their ranks and rushed to the residence of the mandarins, with the view of serving them as they had served the prisoners the night before. What added to their excitement and exasperation was, that a boat containing sixteen stand of arms, of precisely the same pattern as that supplied to the contingent, had just been seized on the river, and it was said to belong to one of the mandarins, who was suspected of trading with the rebels. The soldiers believed, indeed, not, I fear, without reason, that the mandarins had put their comrades to death in order that their own treason might not be discovered. Nothing further was needed to show the utter hopelessness of dealing with these people at all. Captain Holland was succeeded by Major Gordon, and the notification of the appointment in the official papers clearly proved that both were appointed by no other person than General Stavelly the Commander of Her Majesty's forces in China himself. The appointment was thus notified to the Chinese public—

Head Quarters, Shanghai,  
March 24th, 1863.

“ The Prince Kung and Sir Frederick Bruce having approved of the appointment of Major Gordon, Royal Engineers, to the command of the Ward force, Major Gordon will take over charge from Captain Holland from this date

By order, “F. JEBB, D. A. A General.”

Major Gordon is one of the most distinguished young officers in the British army, having served in the Crimea and afterwards on the Turco-Russian Boundary Commission, and elsewhere, with great credit; and I cannot but regret to see such a man's services lost to his country and given to a barbarous and foreign Power. According to a notice in the Gazette of last Tuesday, Major Gordon is placed on the seconded list, and has, therefore, withdrawn from the service of Her Majesty for the present. It is quite evident that the contingent in China is intended to be a permanent force, or the officers accepting appointments in it would not be prepared to sacrifice their prospects in the British army. I do not wish to say a single word against them. The fault lies with the Government at home; British officers will always fight when their doing so is sanctioned by their Government, and it is not part of their duty to inquire as to the justice of the cause in which they are engaged. I cannot think, however, that it is right or proper to hold out inducements to British officers to leave their own flag. Captain Osborn will, I apprehend, be more highly paid than the British Admiral commanding in the China Seas, while Major Gordon will draw nearly as much pay as a General on full pay; and it is currently believed that there

are other pecuniary advantages to be gained in this service, which it is not necessary to specify. Nor can it be said that they are engaged in the service of the Emperor of China, and that we have nothing to do with the matter. Captain Osborn and his men, as well as the Anglo-Chinese contingent, will be looked upon both by the Imperialists and the rebels as servants of Her Majesty, obeying the orders of the British Government. Already, indeed, Prince Kung has conveyed to Mr. Bruce a formal expression of thanks for the valuable aid rendered to the Emperor by the British, French, and Russian Governments, in most expressive words. I wonder it never occurred to those who inaugurated this policy, how dangerous was the example which they set the Taepings. The latest advices show that European officers and men take part, on the rebel side, in almost all the miserable conflicts between them and the Imperial troops; and although the British Government have endeavoured as far as they can to prevent the importation of arms into the rebel districts, yet all the regulations and proclamations which have been issued on the subject have totally failed in precluding the rebels from supplying themselves with as good arms as are to be found in the hands of the Imperialists; in fact, it is well known that Chinese, American, and European merchants are engaged in that very lucrative trade; pay and plunder is plentiful, and Europeans will soon be found in equal numbers in the ranks of both armies. I have now, I think, proved that this country is interfering in the financial, political and military

affairs of China, and that Sir Frederick Bruce, Envoy at Peking, has assumed many of the functions of Prime Minister of China. It was quite impossible, owing to the policy pursued by the Government, that he could help placing himself in that position. But as his new policy becomes developed it must weaken, instead of strengthening the Government it is intended to support. Such a system as that which we have now adopted in China, of doing everything we can for the Chinese and receiving pay in return, cannot be continued without compromising the independence of the empire. If, indeed, China is to be governed on European principles, it must be ruled by Europeans; but if it is to be governed on Chinese principles, it must be ruled by Chinese. The further we proceed in the present direction, the greater will be the probability that we shall find ourselves embarked in a Chinese civil war, only to end in an Anglo-Chinese protectorate, or even perhaps in an Anglo-Chinese empire. That policy, I must remind the House, bad as it is, depends on the life of one man. Prince Kung is now Prime Minister, and has obtained his high position in a very curious way; for a conspiracy having been formed for the purpose of placing him in power, three of his leading opponents lost not only their places, but their heads. Inasmuch, however, as those men were then representatives of what is called the popular party, who object to foreign interference, and have left behind them a party which is still very powerful at Peking, it may happen that he may some day find himself treated in the same way as he has dealt with his political



opponents; and should the other party come into power the position of Sir Frederick Bruce will be somewhat difficult and awkward. But, if any further authority be wanted in support of the view which I entertain as to the policy of the Government in China, I need only refer to Sir Frederick Bruce himself, who in writing to Earl Russel on the 10th of June 1860, says—

“There is, indeed, another alternative open to the people—namely, that of placing themselves under the protection of a foreign Power, in whose justice and force they have confidence, to preserve them from pillage and massacre. From the language held by some of the more influential native merchants, I think it not unlikely that sooner or later some such proposal will be made to foreign powers, at the suggestion of commercial or religious influences, should anarchy increase, and should the decision of such questions be left practically to the people and the authorities of the provinces, in consequence of our being debarred from treating directly at Peking on matters involving Imperial interest and considerations of general policy of such vast magnitude. I am further inclined to believe that foreign support thus given would render the re-establishment of the Imperial authority very difficult hereafter. In the mean time, however, the task of supplying the place of the foreign force would become every day more difficult. The Imperial authority would be entirely discredited in the eyes of the people. The Chinese officials, pressed for money, and relying on foreign support, would become more than ever cruel, corrupt and oppressive; and the Chinese, deprived of popular insurrection, their rude but efficacious remedy against local oppressors, would with justice throw on the foreigner the odium of excesses which his presence alone would render possible. The consequence would be popular hostilities, reprisals, and that train of events which would render it necessary to appropriate permanently the province occupied or to retire from it, leaving behind a bitter ill-will among the people. No course could be so well calculated to lower our national reputation

as: to lend our material support to a Government the corruption of whose authorities is only checked by its weakness."

The dangers and objections to the policy we have adopted never were more ably stated; and that which Sir Frederick Bruce anticipated is, I think, not unlikely to occur. Foreign protection has been given, foreign interference has been established; and it remains to be seen whether the policy of Mr. Bruce of 1860 was sounder or wiser than the policy of Sir Frederick Bruce of 1862. But I would refer also to another authority—that of Dr. Legge, a most distinguished authority—a man who has mixed little in politics, but who knows China well, who has spent the greater part of his life there, who is one of the first Chinese scholars of the day, and who pursues his literary and missionary labours at Hong-Kong, never engaging in trade, but living on the small stipend allowed him by the London Missionary Society; and I must inform the House that Dr. Legge has every personal reason to be in favour of the present system, inasmuch as he is nearly related to Mr. Lay, the chief of the Anglo-Chinese inspectorate of customs and the armed force placed at their disposal. Dr. Legge says—

"It behoves the British parliament—the British people to look to this new complication of affairs in China, to look it fairly in the face. If we are to pacify the empire, we shall require 50,000 troops, and may then find again that we have undertaken more than we are equal to. But I ask in whose interests we are to put down the rebellion? Hitherto Admiral Hope had been acting in the interest of the Imperial Government. Of course, if we fight its battles, it must pay all expenses. The British people cannot be expected to sacrifice the lives of its sons, and its treasure, to establish the Manchou rule, and all gratui-

tously. Now, I protest against our putting down the rebellion on behalf of the Imperial Government, however they may pay us for it, on two grounds. The first is the ground of its cruelty. I have read harrowing accounts of the devastations of the rebels—how the country is blasted by their march. The accounts are no doubt true. But I have seen also the ways of the Imperial braves and kept company with them for hours together. Their march over the country was like the progress of locusts and caterpillars. Their thirst for blood was quenchless; their outrages on the young and old were indescribable. On the score of cruelty the case must be about even, inclining to the Imperialist side, if we may judge on the principle that the more cowardly are the more cruel. But the question is not about the masses, but about the officers of Government. And to know what will be the consequence if we put down the rebels on behalf of the Imperial Government, we have only to think of Yeh and his doings in Canton, when in almost twelve months he beheaded 70,000 people. I have heard Sir John Bowring, when other arguments for the Arrow war were exhausted, enlarge graphically on Yeh's barbarities. If we put down the Taepings, we shall kill our thousands on the battle-field, and the Governors of provinces will kill their tens of thousands in the execution areas. We shall be installing so many Yehs. Our high officers will be the ministers to so many butchers of human beings."

Such is the opinion of a man who knows China better almost than any other Englishman, and who is a perfectly unbiassed witness. The policy which has unfortunately been adopted in China, therefore, is equally open to grave objection whether it succeed or fail. If it fail in restoring order, and in re-establishing the present dynasty, it will inflict a great stain on the British name and on British arms. It will so infuriate the rebels that hostilities will be indefinitely prolonged; the solu-

tion of the Chinese difficulty—which seems only to lie in the appearance on the stage of some native of the country with sufficient powers of mind to raise himself to a position of supreme authority—will be indefinitely delayed. If we succeed in our policy, we shall establish in the Chinese empire one of the most intolerable tyrannies which the world ever saw. Every kind of cruelty will be committed in our name, deeds will be done which will cause a blush to rise to the cheek of every Englishman, until at last we shall be forced to put an end to the very power which we have vainly attempted to galvanize into a temporary existence. What we are doing in China has been done in India over and over again—the similarity of proceeding is very striking. In India our course has generally been, first, to make war against some native Prince; then having beaten him, we destroyed his army and weakened his authority in the eyes of his people; next we placed a resident at his Court, then we undertook to protect him from external and internal danger, and also to collect his revenue. Our help has generally been more fatal than our hostility. Thus, we gradually insinuated ourselves into every part of his Government, until he had nothing left but his great fortune, which he spent in riot and debauchery, and at last we often have been obliged, for very shame, to put an entire end to his power. What has happened repeatedly in India is certain to happen in China if we persist in our present course.

Now what is the ostensible object of all these proceedings? Why to maintain our trade and

increase our commercial supremacy in the China seas. But has it never occurred to those who have recommended and are carrying out this new policy that they are pursuing a course calculated seriously to injure that trade? It is a remarkable fact that almost all the silk, and a great portion of the finest tea, comes from the very provinces which have for years past been in the hands of the rebels. Yet what is the result? In 1848 we imported from China 20,000 bales of silk and 65,000,000 lbs. of tea, the total value of both being seven millions sterling. In 1862 the exports to this country from China had risen to 90,000 bales of silk and 110,000,000 lbs. of tea, the total value of both amounting to seventeen millions sterling, an increase of 130 per cent in seven years! As the trade has enormously increased, it is idle to say that it will be endangered by the success of the rebellion. Free access is afforded to traders in the districts occupied by the Taepings, and no obstruction is offered to the transit of commodities. On this point there can be no doubt, for General Stavely, writing on the 3rd of July 1862, said—

“Europeans continue to visit the rebel country for purposes of trade, and are treated with civility; large quantities of silk have been brought into Shanghai during the last fortnight, and trade seems in a thriving state.”

But that is not all. Many of the British merchants think that our interference, by driving the rebels from the walled towns into the silk and tea districts, will create further ruin and devastation, and consequently, they look with much alarm on the new policy. They say that there is a pro-

bability that the Taepings will become so infuriated by our hostility to them that they will impede trade by shutting up the rivers and preventing our agents from buying or selling. They have never done so yet; but when they see British officers embarked in regular organized campaigns against them, when their cities are bombarded and their fortresses reduced, they are not unlikely to take steps for thwarting our great commercial objects. I have had an opportunity of consulting many London commercial houses engaged in the trade with China, and I find they are almost to a man opposed to Captain Sherard Osborn's expedition, and against an interference, calculated, as they believe, seriously to damage the commercial interests of England.

There is only one other point of view in which I wish to regard the question, namely, its probable effect upon our relations with foreign Powers. Two great European Powers have considerable interest in the far East. They are Russia and France. Russia has an interest in those seas which is increasing every day. Until quite lately the great river Amoor formed the boundary between the Russian and Chinese empires, and Castreis Bay, near the mouth of the river, was the southernmost Russian settlement. In May 1858, however, Russia concluded at Peking a treaty of boundary, as well as of commerce with China, by which it was agreed that the territories situated between the river Ousouri and the sea should be possessed in common between the Emperor of China and the Emperor of Russia. We all know what possession in common between two such pow-

ers as Russia and China means. The new line of demarcation between the two Empires was obtained by taking the river Ousouri from its point of confluence with the Amoor, and up to its head waters, then drawing a line from its head waters to the sea. That gave to Russia a large portion of Manchouria, and a coast 900 miles in extent, possessing numerous valuable harbours, and 1,500 miles of inland navigation. At the most southern portion of this district is situated a fine harbour, called Victoria Bay. There the Russians have already begun to establish themselves, have founded a town called Novgorod, have commenced to build ships, and to create something like a trade. That place is situated within only three days' steaming of Shanghai, and is close to the frontier of China Proper. Schemes are, I believe, under constant consideration at St. Petersburg for uniting the port at Victoria Bay with Europe by telegraph; and it is not at all impossible that before long that new town on the Pacific will be thus connected with Moscow and the European telegraph system. The restoration of tranquillity to the Russian empire will, no doubt, be quickly followed by the execution of that project, for which the surveys have been made. This indicates the great interests and objects which Russia has in these countries. Further more Russia has lately shown a decided inclination to follow our example in assisting the Chinese Government in the suppression of the Taeping rebellion, and Russian agents have lately been in communication with the authorities in various parts of the empire as to

the best means of carrying their views into operation.

But France likewise is in a very curious position in relation to those regions. She has expended large sums of money in the attempted settlements of Cochin China, and her efforts have, to a great extent, been a failure. Yet, if France succeeds in restoring confidence to the inhabitants of those districts, a considerable trade will surely spring up at Saigon and on the Cambodia. But France has other objects in view in China besides those of a commercial nature. At the present moment her commercial interests in China are very small—indeed, almost absolutely null. There is hardly a French mercantile house in China. But the French have several naval and military depots in China, and a large native force at Ningpo, commanded by French officers. The rank and file are drawn from the scum of the Chinese, and many of the officers come from that class of Europeans which have not raised the character of the foreigner in China. This force is thus described by a journalist in *The China Overland Trade Report*, March 14, 1863—

“ The constitution of this French contingent is as inexplicable as it is indefensible, and it is not doubted, nor can it be, that territorial aggrandisement is the motive power. At the present moment the situation of affairs in Annam has disabled the French from having the force at Ningpo which they otherwise would have, for the maintenance of those peculiar pecuniary claims which they so pertinaciously set up against the local authorities of that place. Consequently they have established this contingent force, which, though under the control of the French authorities and under the command of officers of the French army, does not otherwise consist of Frenchmen. The rank and file are recruited from the very



scum of Chinese society rendered desperate by oppression and destitution—the officers are those European outcasts which for years have made the foreign name so infamous on the China coast, and for whom Ningpo has long been the resort. The inducement to join this service is the absolute licence allowed to plunder. This may appear incredible, but what has occurred in relation to this second Shou-hing expedition proves it.”

It is also stated that the Anglo-Chinese contingent are deserting to the French contingent, attracted by the superior advantages of pay and plunder which are offered them. But the objects of the French are principally ecclesiastical. For centuries the French Church has taken an active interest in the Chinese missions. At the end of the 17th century the Jesuit missionaries had spread all over the country. They established schools; they educated those who aspired to the higher offices of state, and for some years, under the name of tutors to the Emperor, they exercised many of the functions of Prime Ministers. In 1726 a great persecution arose. Numbers of the native Christians were killed, and whilst many of the Jesuits gave up their lives in the defence of their faith, others were glad to leave the country. But ever since that time there has always been a number of French ecclesiastics in China. The Lazarists have always had establishments in the country. The Jesuits have now returned; the exertions of Roman Catholic missionaries are increasing, and the French Government are actually laying claim to many sites in different parts, which were occupied by French ecclesiastics centuries ago, and not only laying claim but actually obtaining pos-

session of them. A French cathedral has risen at Canton, and a larger ecclesiastical institution has been erected close to Peking. It is for these objects that the French wished to extend their influence. Can we object if, with higher aims and holier objects they follow our footsteps, and enrol armies and man fleets, not for the purposes of trade and the advancement of commerce, but for the propagation of the true faith and the conversion of the heathen? I may be asked what practical steps should be taken to avoid the dangers I have referred to? I am fully conscious of the enormous difficulty of receding from such a course once entered on, and of turning back to the old line of neutrality, but it is quite possible to say, "we will go no farther." The order in Council was only issued for two years. Her Majesty's Government might intimate to the Chinese Government that at the end of two years their officers must return to their duties, and there must be an end to their interference and assistance. A period would be named when intervention should end, and when no further help would be given. I am convinced that the further we pursue the course in which we have embarked, the deeper we shall get into the mire, and that public opinion will ultimately force the Government to retrace their steps. Our true policy is simple, straightforward, and easy of adoption. No interference on our part between the contending parties in China should be permitted, except so far as it is indispensable for the defence of British property and settlement. If measured by this rule, our course would be

clear and the civil and military servants of Her Majesty would have no difficulty in acting on instructions so framed. I have now shown to the House, as well as my ability serves, what is the present state of affairs in China. A view of subjects so diverse and so important, compressed into the limit of a single speech, could be only a sketch and I wish that the sketch had been made by some abler hand. Sir, I have asked the attention of the House to the subject, because I am perfectly convinced that our present policy, which is as novel as it is dangerous, is one from which we ought to recede as soon as possible. The old attitude of England to the Chinese Government was hostility. It passed to neutrality and it is now gradually drifting into active interference with every department of Chinese public affairs. I have now done. I believe I have shown that the course which the Government are taking will, if continued, seriously imperil the character of the British name, injure our commercial interests in the Eastern seas, involve us in responsibilities and liabilities, the end of which it is impossible to foresee, and above all, will probably produce serious embarrassment in our relation with foreign Powers. These important matters I commend to the calm consideration of this House, and I own that I await with some anxiety the explanations which I hope are now about to be given on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers.

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## AFFAIRS OF CHINA.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 31st MAY 1864.

[On the 31st of May 1864, Mr. Cobden moved a resolution condemning the unsatisfactory relations which existed between the British Government and the Government of China. It ran as follows:—"That in the opinion of this House, the policy of Non-intervention by force of arms, in the internal political affairs of Foreign Countries, which we profess to observe in our relations with the states of Europe and America should be observed in our intercourse with the Empire of China" Lord Naas who had brought the question before the House, the year before, again commented at length on the policy of active Intervention to which the Government was drifting. An animated debate ensued in which Messrs. Layard, Baillie Cochrane, Liddell Gregson, Sir James Elphinstone, White, Kinglake, Col Sykes, Viscount Palmerston and Mr. Bright took part. The Motion was however withdrawn in conclusion, by Mr. Cobden.]

**L**ORD NAAS said, that the hon. Gentleman, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs had commenced his speech by stating that he had listened with attention to many speeches made on this subject by himself (Lord Naas) and other Members on that side of the House, who condemned the policy of the Government with respect to China, but that he had failed to find out what those opponents wanted. Now what was 'wanted' had been explained over and over again. What was wanted was a policy of absolute neutrality

between the two contending parties, and the issuing of strict orders to all our diplomatic, naval and military *employes* that they should abstain altogether from mixing themselves up with the internal affairs of China. That had not been the policy of Her Majesty's Government since about six months after the signature of the Treaty of Tien-tsin; and if they were now returning to the policy which Earl Russell laid down in his despatch about that time, it was because they had tried a different policy and it had failed. It was true that he and those who agreed with him in condemning the policy of the Government had always admitted the necessity of defending the treaty ports, and protecting the enormous amount of British property which was to be found in the towns and cities of China; but, they had always maintained that our interference with the internal affairs of the empire endangered the safety of that property and was calculated to defeat the objects which the Government professed to have at heart. Last year he showed that with regard to three essential particulars the policy of the Government had been one essentially of interference, and he ventured to predict that on all these points it would be a failure. He was surprised to see how quickly his prediction had been fulfilled. The three institutions in China established by our Government were the Inspectorship of Customs, the flotilla under Captain Sherard Osborn, and what was called the Anglo-Chinese force under a very gallant gentleman Major Gordon, and what had been the results? The foreign Inspector of Customs had been ignominiously dismissed; the

flotilla, which went out under the command of Captain Sherard Osborn, had been as ignominiously withdrawn and disbanded; the Anglo-Chinese force was at present in a most critical state, and its maintenance would be so fruitful a source of danger to our relations with the Chinese Government that he did not believe that the Ministry would long be able to uphold it. The Under Secretary of State having taken credit for the success of the Government policy in China, it was necessary that he should show the House what the Government had really done with reference to these matters. He would not go minutely into the history of Captain Osborn's expedition, but would refer to only one or two points to show with what carelessness and almost recklessness the Government went into that most wild and extraordinary scheme. Before the expedition sailed last year he (Lord Naas) denounced it as impolitic and dangerous, and ventured to say that the Government had taken upon themselves, without authority from a Foreign Government, to despatch to it a large armed squadron. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs contradicted him flatly upon that point. and stated that the persons who had come to England to organize the expedition were armed with full and complete powers, and had satisfied the Government upon that subject. What were those powers? He found that Earl Russell very naturally suggested that Mr. Lay should produce some written authority from the Chinese Government before the consent of the Foreign Office was given to his request, or the

Orders in Council were repealed. Mr. Lay's answer was that he had received such an authority, from whom?—from Mr. Hart, who was his own *locum tenens* in the Inspectorship of Customs during his absence from China. Mr. Lay said he had received a despatch from Mr. Hart urging the sending out of the vessels. The Chinese Foreign Board had no doubt told Mr. Hart that if he could send them any vessels they should be glad to receive them; but there was no written authority from the Chinese Government stating on what conditions this force was to be raised, or what treatment it was to receive when it arrived in China. Sir Frederick Bruce himself said that although the fleet left England in the winter, it was not until the arrival of Mr. Lay in China in the following spring that the Chinese Government had any intimation of the position of affairs, of the cost of the vessels, or of the nature of the undertaking entered into by Mr. Lay. Therefore if our Government was not in ignorance as to the intentions of that of China, the Chinese Government was in total ignorance as to the cost, the intentions, and the objects of this expedition; and yet the Under Secretary of State assured the House that the Government knew all about it and were in perfect accord with the Chinese Government and with Mr. Lay, who had come to this country armed with full powers to negotiate. If that was not keeping the House in the dark he did not know what it was. Parliament adjourned, the fleet sailed, and came to an ignominious end. There was a still more serious matter connected with these

negotiations, to which he must call attention, because it showed how very suspicious was the nature of the whole affair. Mr. Lay and Captain Osborn made an agreement between themselves in this country which came to this, that Captain Osborn was to have the entire control of the vessels, and that he undertook to act upon all orders of the Emperor conveyed to him through Mr. Lay, but that Mr. Lay was not to give any orders unless he approved them himself. So that Captain Osborn was to be entirely under the control of Mr. Lay, and was to receive his orders from no one else, although nominally in the service of the Emperor of China. There was, however, a sort of agreement between Chinese Government and Mr. Hart, and it had been stated that Mr. Lay must have been conversant with an agreement that Captain Osborn should be associated with a Chinese officer of high rank, who should control all matters relative to the fleet. He did not know whether or no the Government was cognizant of this fact. When this arrangement was found out, it was not surprising that indignant opinions should have been expressed on the subject. It was clear that Her Majesty's Government were entirely imposed upon by the representations made to them. So little indeed did they think of the importance of this expedition, that they sent out no instructions to the Ambassador at China when the expedition sailed, from which Sir Frederick Bruce inferred that Earl Russell could have no intention of being a party to the engagement. It was entirely owing to this neglect on the part of the



Government and the carelessness with which the expedition was sent forth, that British officers and the British name had been subject to such an indignity as the contemptuous dismissal of Captain Osborn. It was impossible, in his opinion, to continue these Anglo-chinese expeditions to which he took exception last year. The great difficulty in China was, that the central authority was weak and the local authority strong and he agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Rochdale (Mr. Cobden) that the evils that afflicted the Chinese Empire were not likely to be remedied by these proceedings, and that no act of ours ought to increase them. These contingents had done more to weaken the central authority and strengthen the corrupt local Government of the Mandarins than anything else could have done in China. The House would be surprised to hear that Major Gordon and his officers were not in the service of the Emperor of China at all. They were under the orders of the Futai of Shanghai, an almost independent Prince, who habitually set at naught the orders he received from Peking. Let him implore the House to consider the disgrace that was brought upon British names and British arms by any man wearing Her Majesty's uniform being in command of such a force. He would remind the House that an act of the grossest treachery had been committed, contrary to the wish, but under the very nose of the officer commanding the force. An agreement for the capitulation of a town was made between the Chiefs and Major Gordon, but as soon as the Imperial General got them in

his power he cut off their heads. In another disgraceful case seven Chinamen were tortured in the very camp and station occupied by Her Majesty's forces. He alluded to these occurrences to show that it was impossible to continue this species of assistance to the Chinese without being mixed up in these abominable acts. Take the case of Colonel Burgevine, who succeeded to the command of the Foreign contingent after the death of Colonel Ward. He was dismissed by the Chinese Government, in opposition to the opinion of Sir Frederick Bruce, who thought it safer that the force should be under the command of a foreigner than under the command of an Englishman. He deserted to the Taepings where he shot his second in command. He then left the Taepings and returned to the Imperial territory. Major Gordon thought it of great importance to get this man back into the Imperial service. What proposal did he make to Major Gordon?—that as they were both tired of serving the Taepings and the Imperialists, it would be better for them to set up for themselves, and create an army and an altogether independent Power in China. He then made a piratical attempt on a steamer at Shanghai, and was at last sent out of the country by the American Consul. The truth was, that these Eastern waters were so infested by men of Burgevine's stamp, that it was impossible to officer the Chinese forces without having recourse to their assistance. It was perfectly impossible that any course of action at all creditable to this country, or in accordance with the general feeling, could be carried on with such tools as were to be

found at our disposal in China. No wonder, therefore, that the Chinese Futai should have said that actions such as those of Burgevine and his comrades were altogether without the pale of civilization. It was deeply to be regretted that any countryman of ours should be mixed up in the unfortunate events that had occurred. He wished to say nothing disrespectful of the English gentlemen who were engaged in those affairs. He believed many of them were gallant men, and wished to serve their country; but he feared that daily contact with the people they had to do with, and with the scenes which they had to witness, would, in the end, blunt the finest sensibility. He greatly feared in the case of Major Gordon that, as a Chinese commander, he had witnessed and participated in acts which the young engineer officer in the Crimea ten years ago would have recoiled from with horror. No doubt the temptation was very great, and very large sums were offered for the services of such men. By the blue-book upon the table it would be seen that Mr. Lay himself made upwards of £10,000 in the last year. Those temptations ought not to be held out to British officers, and he implored the Government to prevent British subjects from yielding to them whenever they could.

But to turn to another subject. He was somewhat surprised at the repeated statements made by the Under Secretary (Mr. Layard), that the opinion of the men of most influence and authority on China was in favour of the policy of the Government. The hon. Gentleman had endeavoured on various occasions to show that the policy of Her

Majesty's Government had been approved by the merchants in the East, by missionaries, by naval and military authorities, by Sir Friderick Bruce, and Mr. Burlinghame, and he hoped it would be approved by the House." Now, he (Lord Naas) thought he could show that every one of the authorities quoted by the hon. Gentleman had, individually and collectively, expressed his disapproval of that policy. With regard to the missionaries, taking as an instance Dr. Legge, who had spent the greater portion of his life in China, who was a ripe Chinese scholar, and whose personal predilections would incline him to a favourable view, he had condemned policy of the Government two or three different times. Sir Frederick Bruce had pronounced an emphatic condemnation of that policy; he showed how impossible it was that the flotilla could succeed, and was delighted at having got rid of it, and his opinion of the contingent was equally unfavourable. He said—

"I am of opinion that unless the force be properly constituted and relieved from the necessity of obeying the orders of the local Governors, it will do no real and permanent good, and that the officer who commands it will speedily find himself in a position neither compatible with his professional reputation nor with what is due to the character of a British officer."

He could not but express his astonishment that the hon. Gentleman should to-night have repeated the statement which he had made on a previous occasion as to the views of the merchants in China with regard to our policy. The memorandum of the Chamber of Commerce of Hong Kong had been

already read to the House. But the hon. Gentleman said that was not the opinion of Shanghai merchants. But any-body that knew anything about China was aware that the Hong-Kong merchants were intimately connected with Shanghai, and he had himself received a personal assurance on the subject from a gentleman who had large trading transactions with Shanghai. [MR. LAYARD : What I said with regard to the unanimous testimony of merchants and missionaries was with reference to the Taepings] That was not what the hon. Gentleman had stated, because he had his words there, and they were to the effect that the policy of the Government in China had been approved of by the merchants in China. And besides, they must take the rebellion as it stood, and when the hon. Gentleman spoke of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in China they could not pick out this or that particular part of it. However, he (Lord Naas) distinctly affirmed that even the policy of the Government with regard to the Taepings, had been disapproved by all the authorities he had quoted. The hon. Gentleman had read a portion of a despatch from Mr. Burlinghame, the American Minister, as if he and the other representatives of the Foreign Powers approved of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. He (Lord Naas) had taken the trouble to discover that despatch, and he found that instead of being favourable it was perhaps the strongest thing that had ever been written against the policy of Her Majesty's Government in China. Mr. Burlinghame stated that he gathered together the representatives of the

Foreign Powers in Peking in order to come to some joint understanding, the principal object being to alter the policy which had been carried on by Her Majesty's Government, and to return to the policy of total and absolute neutrality. And first he quoted the opinion of Sir Frederick Bruce to the effect that he did not wish that any English officer should lead troops against the Taepings; he would much prefer that the Chinese should take men from the smaller States of Europe, and relieve England from being considered the bully of the East. Mr. Burlinghame said that he was for a change of policy, declaring that the course of policy which had been pursued was wrong. This was in the very despatch of which the hon. Gentleman quoted a portion the other day to prove that Mr. Burlinghame and Sir Frederick Bruce approved the policy of the Government; and Mr. Burlinghame went on to congratulate his Government that he had been able to persuade Sir Frederick Bruce to write a despatch strongly disapproving the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and recommending an instant change. It was clear that Mr. Burlinghame expected that Sir Frederick Bruce's despatch would be published in England, and he hoped that they would soon have an opportunity of seeing it, for it would show beyond question that Sir Frederick Bruce disapproved of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in China. It appeared also that Mr. Burlinghame wrote to his Government to the effect that if he had known the constitution and nature of Captain Osborn's force, he would have objected to its employment, unless commanded by a mixture

of officers, and not placed entirely at the disposal of an English captain. No one could read these despatches without being of opinion that they were opposed to the sense in which they were quoted by the hon. Gentleman the other evening. It was notorious that Sir John Hope did not approve Captain Osborn's expedition; and no doubt Captain Osborn would have as strongly condemned, had his opinion been asked, Major Gordon's contingent. He thought that he had now disposed of the various authorities which the hon. Gentleman had quoted for his policy, and shown that they, one and all, concurred in a strong condemnation of it. Any hon. Member reading the blue-books—and particularly the last blue-book—must be struck with the absence of any explanation on the part of the Government as to the various important questions which arose. It might be that European diplomacy had, within the last six months, overtaxed the powers of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but certainly he had found but little time to devote to the affairs of China. He could not help thinking, however, that American and Asiatic affairs were as worthy of attention as were the struggles which were being carried on in Europe. It was true that we had always supposed ourselves to be a first-rate European Power, though events of the last six months might perhaps have changed that opinion. But in Europe we divided with other nations the supremacy of the Western world. In Asia the case was different. In Asia, England was all powerful, and its influence was paramount. England was in possession of an empire in India, by the side of which every other

Asiatic Power was entirely dwarfed, and out of this state of things arose the relations of this country with China. When it was remembered that China contained 350,000,000 of inhabitants, those relations did certainly seem to him sufficiently important to justify the devotion to them of a large portion of interest and attention on the part of any one presiding over the Foreign Office. When it was recollected that during the last twenty years much of English blood and treasure had been spent in China with little honour, it behoved those who conducted the Foreign affairs of this country to be, at all events, careful that nothing was done in China without their special and direct authority. But he had carefully read the last blue-books, and he did not find in them any indication of any policy whatever on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The affairs of China were left to take their course, and the consequence was, this country was drifted into difficulties and dangers in connection with that part of the world; and it was owing to good fortune, rather than to any other cause, that we had not found ourselves in a most serious scrape. This circumstance assumed importance when it was considered how necessary it was that, in dealing with a people so peculiar as the Chinese, the English should consistently endeavour to set them a good example. The Chinese were most jealous of Foreign interference, and, until lately, they excluded all foreigners from China. Such being the case, it behoved us to be especially careful to show them that we had no political object in view but the promotion of our commerce; that



we were not moved by any desire of aggrandisement; that our only desire was that they should faithfully observe the treaty they had entered into with us, and to show them how national honour also demanded the fulfilment of national obligation. He feared, however, that what had occurred since the Treaty Tien-tsin had impressed the Chinese with a totally different opinion, and had tended not to remove, but to increase old jealousies. The belief was deeply-rooted in the mind of Orientals that Europeans never undertook an enterprise without having a selfish end in view, and he regretted that our conduct had tended to strengthen them in such an impression. When they saw an English man at the head of their Customs; when they saw an army commanded by British officers—an army which had proved so successful that the Chinese had denominated them as the “ever victorious” troops, and when they saw a strong fleet coming into their waters under the command of a foreigner, he did not wonder that they thought they saw the footsteps of a Power which had upset so many Eastern monarchies. They saw the danger, and they took the alarm, and as soon as Captain Sherard Osborn appeared they made up their minds that they preferred their existing state to the prevalence of foreign dominion. There were three great Powers besides England which had a direct and very considerable intercourse with China—France, America, and Russia. The interest the Americans took in the affairs of China might be learned from the despatches of Mr. Burlinghame, the American Minister at Peking. France

had a great object in view in China. Her great object was not connected with trade or commerce, but was strictly ecclesiastical, but not on that account the less important. The French people, and especially the French clergy, took a deep interest in this matter. There was now a French force organized at Ningpo, with the direct view of watching over French interests. The Jesuit missionaries were labouring diligently in China, and had been forward to render their services elevating the education of the officials of that country. But Russia had far greater interest. She had lately acquired a large seaboard in China, extending over nearly a thousand miles, and by means of telegraphic establishments, St. Petersburg was already within fourteen days' communication of Peking, and probably before long this would be reduced to three or four days. Besides this it was the intention of Russia to form a large maritime and military station, and we might probably see before long a new Sebastopol springing up, furnished with all the defences which science could supply, and which would form a standing menace to our interest in the Pacific. If we persisted in lending our officers to the Chinese, why might not other nations do the same; and thus they might have a French contingent, a Russian contingent, and perhaps an American contingent. He hoped the Under Secretary would have announced the discontinuance of the employment of British subjects under the Chinese Government. Extra-territorial jurisdiction was no doubt a evil, but in China it was a necessary one. He believed it would be impossible to hand over British subjects to be treated according to Chinese

law, though such an end might be kept in view. A large population had been drawn to the concessions, and at Shanghai there were about half a million of people living upon the British concession, and in some cases they had taken the opportunity of drawing off numbers of the inhabitants; but these foreign concessions required the utmost attention, or they might find that they would become fruitful sources of doubt and disputation hereafter. He was glad that the hon. Member for Rochdale had intimated that probably he should not take the sense of the House upon this question. The time for Resolutions had gone by. Some of the matters to which objection had been taken were now at an end. He found that the fleet which had been fitted out under the direct control of the Admiralty, and with the consent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was wholly at an end, and he was glad to hear that the Order in council had been revoked, and was not to be issued again. He should like to know how the revocation of that Order would affect the officers engaged in the Anglo-Chinese expedition. The policy of Her Majesty's Government had entirely failed in China. He had said last year, that their success or their failure would prove the subject of equal apprehension. They had witnessed the ignominious withdrawal of Captain Osborn's fleet, and they were apprehensive of the misfortunes that had probably overtaken Major Gordon, and he thought it would be inexcusable obstinacy to persevere in the same course, by which they would be further involving themselves in results which must lead to disappointment and disaster.

## FENIANISM AND IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 8TH FEBRUARY 1866.

[ In Her Majesty's Address to the House of Commons delivered on the 6th February 1866, the Fenian conspiracy which had then recently sprung up in Ireland was characterised as "averse alike to authority, Property and Religion and condemned alike by all who are interested in their Maintenance without the distinction of creed or class" Mr. Maguire attributed the discontent and dissatisfaction among the Irish people to mis-government and defective land tenure which called for urgent improvement. Lord Naas opposed Mr. Maguire's views. This Fenian question afterwards much occupied the attention of Parliament and eventually led to the Disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland. ]

**L**ORD NAAS: No one, I am sure, will find fault with the tone and temper of the hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House (Mr. Maguire); and if I differ from some of the conclusions at which he has arrived, I trust he will give me credit for taking as deep an interest as he does in the welfare of our common country. I wish, upon this occasion, to confine my observations and they shall not be many—to one point, and to one point only. I wish to impress upon the House my firm opinion that those questions which have been referred to by the hon. Member for Tralee, and by many of the speakers this evening, as the

foundation of the Fenian movement, are not the real causes of that unfortunate state of things which now prevails in Ireland. A new and disastrous state of things has arisen. I listened to the debate with considerable interest; and on seeing the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Tralee, I thought that he might introduce into the debate something which would go to show that the action of the Legislature and misgovernment on the part of this country had been the cause of this state of affairs. But I will appeal to every Member who has carefully attended to the discussion whether that position which was at first broadly laid down by the hon. Gentleman was maintained in argument. I believe that the causes of the Fenian movement, whatever they may be, do not lie here, but lie principally in a country over which we have no control. My belief is that this conspiracy did not originate in Ireland, and is not maintained by any causes that exist in Ireland. I believe it was created and is maintained by influences that arose in a foreign country, and is supported by money which does not come from the people of Ireland, and by men who are not subjects of Her Majesty. I have no hesitation in saying that the Fenian organization has been devised and carried on in America, and by men who have not the interests of Ireland at heart, but who are, I am sorry to say, citizens of that great Republic which contains within its dominions some of the bitterest enemies of England. What are the Irish grievances mentioned to-night? Are they new? The hon. Member for Tralee referred to

subjects which, on many former occasions, were pressed upon the notice of this House. The condition of the Irish Church has been put forward as a cause of the Fenian movement; but how can it be imagined that the position or existence of the Church in Ireland has any interest for men who denounce all religions, and who have issued the most scurrilous and virulent attacks on the ministers of the very faith which they themselves pretend to profess? Or can it be imagined that the laws which regulate the tenure of property in Ireland have any influence on the leaders of a movement, whose leaders emphatically declare that their object is not to obtain compensation for tenants, or to improve the condition of the occupiers of the soil, but to sweep away the present owners of landed property and to distribute the spoil among the fortunate soldiers of the Irish republic? [“Oh!”] Ample evidence has been adduced that this is the object of the chiefs of the conspiracy—I hold ample proofs in my hand—but that evidence has been so often referred to by the learned gentlemen who represented the Crown upon the recent trials, that I need not take up the time of the House by referring to it. It has been laid down over and over again by these men that their object is not to alter or re-construct the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland, but to distribute the land, not among those who now occupied it, but among those who joined their conspiracy. It may be true—and I own that I, for one, participate in those views—that there are matters connected with the administration of the Executive in Ireland

which might be improved, as they in some degree prevent Irish interests from receiving their due weight in the Councils of the United Kingdom. I have long held the opinion that Ireland would be benefited if the Chief Minister for that country always had a seat in the Cabinet, and was always either in that or the other House of Parliament, to defend and explain the acts of the Executive. But can it be thought for a moment that a change like that occupied the minds of these men, or that the interests of the Queen's Government was considered by those who aimed at sweeping her authority from the face of the land in order to establish on its ruins a socialistic Republic? I believe that questions, so often discussed and sometimes decided by this House, have nothing whatever to do with Fenianism in Ireland. The questions of tenants' compensation and tenant-right, which have been referred to, have been debated here, and in the most deliberate manner, for the last twenty years. Every successive Government has attempted to deal with it, but without success; because every statesman who has given his attention to the subject found it impossible to reconcile the pretensions of those who professed to represent the interests of the tenant with the rights of property and the legitimate interests of the landlord. That is the reason why the question has remained unsettled; and I believe it will long remain so, at least in the sense so often enunciated in that House. But if, as the hon. Gentleman has stated, that question really lies at the root of the evils of Ireland, and is therefore the cause of the Fenian movement, how comes it that that move-

ment has gained so little ground among the agricultural population of Ireland? There is not one considerable farmer in the country who has been proved to be connected with it. The Fenian movement is supported principally by the inhabitants of towns, who have never cultivated a rood of ground in their lives. I therefore repudiate the statement of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire) that the tenant question is at the root of the Fenian movement. I believe that no honest or impartial man who has studied Ireland, no foreigner who might be called upon to express an impartial opinion, if he examined the course of Parliamentary Government adopted during the last forty years, would be able to discover proof of any indifference to Irish interests, or any disregard of the wants of the Irish people. From my own experience—and I have sat in that House now for some considerable time—I must say I have never known an Irish question to be brought forward—as has been the case that night—with great ability, great earnestness, and great courage—without its receiving fair and ample discussion. Argument has been met by argument; and if those who agitated these subjects have not succeeded in persuading the House to adopt their views, it was not because there has been any unwillingness to consider them. On the contrary, the House had always felt Irish questions to be a great difficulty, and has always approached them with an earnest desire to settle them. Had not the representatives of Ireland themselves a voice here? True they are only 105 compared with 500 English and Scotch Members; but is



that the right way to look at the balance of the representation in this House? we know how equally parties are divided, and how often a few votes determined the fate of a Government. We have seen many crises in which Irish questions were made of the greatest possible importance, and how the votes of a small portion of the Irish representatives could control the action of the Cabinet. We cannot, therefore, draw the conclusion that measures for the good of Ireland will not be passed in this House because the Irish Members are powerless by reason of their minority. I admit that there is much in the past government of Ireland to regret. I believe that for centuries she was the worst governed country in Europe. But, at the same time, I believe that England has now for many years been doing everything in her power to atone for past errors and correct past mistakes. When people talk of English laws standing in the way of Irish progress, I want to know whether there is anything in the nature of Ireland so totally different from the nature of England that the same laws should be so poisonous and destructive in the one country and so salutary and beneficial in the other? The same laws affecting the tenure of landed property exist in Ireland as in England, and we have seen under those laws a greater amount of agricultural prosperity developed than had been witnessed in any other country. We have seen the same laws affecting trade and manufactures in Ireland as in England, and why is not the same effect visible in the former as in the latter? I may briefly recall what had

been done by Parliament for Ireland during the last forty years. Within that period, those of the people who professed the Roman Catholic religion have been admitted to a full participation in all the civil rights enjoyed by the rest of their fellow subjects. The other important measures which have followed evinced a desire on the part of Parliament to extend every benefit in its power to that country. A system of education has been established which gives gratuitous instruction to upwards of 200,000 children; and the annual grants amount to no less than £250,000. Other sums are yearly voted for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and that establishment has been placed on such a footing that its endowment is now made a permanent law of the country. A poor Law has been enacted under which the property of the country last year was called upon to pay £750,000, administering relief to 300,000 persons. Again, in the years of famine, when a disaster greater, perhaps, than ever came on any country befell Ireland, was not money given freely, and with a lavish hand, to sustain life out of the Imperial exchequer? and although through mal-administration there was considerable waste of these funds, yet at least no indisposition to minister generously to the sore necessity of Ireland can be fairly charged against this House. Indeed, it is, I believe, impossible for any man to get up and prove that any proposal shown by sound argument to be for the real good of Ireland has been rejected in this Assembly. And, therefore, I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity to protest against and

repudiate the doctrine that bad laws or misgovernment have produced this treasonable movement. Justice, I maintain, is fairly administered in Ireland, as even these recent trials themselves suffice to show. The representation of that country, also is on as fair a basis as that of the rest of the United Kingdom. I appeal to the Roman Catholic Members of this House whether there is any legislative body in any first-class European State in which greater freedom of debate is enjoyed? Ought we not, then, to be careful not to give the least sanction or support to this conspiracy by declaring that it has any excuse or origin in the action of Parliament? I will not weary the House by attempting to demonstrate the absurdity and futility of the objects of the Fenian conspiracy; but I may remind them that there exists in Ireland a large party, comprising men of all religious denominations, whose loyalty and determination to maintain the authority of the Queen are second to those of no class in the United Kingdom. I do not exaggerate the character of these classes when I say that they include every man of property and intelligence in the country, and all the ministers of every creed. Nor do I believe it possible to find outside of those classes one man who really, conscientiously, and openly has given his adhesion or sympathy to Fenianism, whose opinion is worth having or whose character is in any way entitled to weight with his countrymen. Therefore, though this Fenian conspiracy may be inconvenient and most disastrous even for a considerable time to the interests of Ireland, it is manifestly utterly futile

and absurd. I by no means under-rate the mischief which such movements as Fenianism are calculated to effect. I recollect well that when I first entered the House of Commons, in 1847, a somewhat similar state of things existed in Ireland, and that some Members of the House actually did not hesitate openly to profess their sympathy with the seditious proceedings which were then taking place. There is, however, a considerable difference, I am happy to say, between those proceedings and the present, although the spirit which prompted both is no doubt the same. I cannot help expressing my regret that, at the expiration of eighteen years similar misfortunes have again fallen upon us, and that while progress and civilization are going on around us, a portion of Her Majesty's dominion should be the theatre of a movement which if successful even for a moment, would have the effect of throwing Ireland back at least fifty years. From the doctrine that bad government or legislation is the cause of that movement I must express my entire dissent. Indeed, my opinion is that those who have taken upon themselves to propagate that view have incurred a grave responsibility, inasmuch as thereby they give a colour to this movement, while they are totally unable to substantiate the correctness of their assertions. I hope we shall hear no more of such doctrines, and I also trust—nay, I am perfectly sure—the House will not, because of recent occurrences in Ireland, feel indisposed to deal with Irish questions in the same spirit of impartiality and fairness which it has for many years shown on these occasions. The

various schemes for the benefit of that country which have this evening been suggested are legitimate subjects for the consideration of Parliament; if good in themselves, they will, I have no doubt, be ultimately carried, while, if bad, they will, as it is desirable they should, be rejected.

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## ESTABLISHED CHURCH, IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 7TH MAY 1867.

[On the 7th May 1867, Sir John Gray moved "That this House will, on Wednesday the 29th day of this instant May, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Temporalities and Privileges of the Established Church in Ireland." The abuses of the Established Church were strongly commented upon. Mr. Gladstone took this opportunity in condemning the church of the minority maintained in Ireland at the expense of the majority—a circumstance to which he attributed the disaffection which widely prevailed in Ireland. In conclusion the House divided. Ayes 183. Noes 195. Majority against the Motion 12. The Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was afterwards carried in Parliament after great opposition by the Gladstones Ministry.]

**L**ORD NAAS: I might have been well content to rest the matter on what has been said by my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Dublin University (the Attorney General for Ireland), for I think the reasons he gave for his opposition to the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Kilkenny (Sir John Gray) are conclusive and satisfactory. The Motion, as I understand it, is not one to reform or get rid of anomalies in the Irish Church, but is directly intended to disendow that Establishment altogether. There can be no misunderstanding on the subject; the remarkable speech delivered to-night by the right

hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire has entirely confirmed me in that opinion, for his speech pointed to the absolute and complete disendowment of the Irish Church, and if it did not point to that object, it pointed at nothing at all. The right hon. Gentleman said that the position of the Irish Church was indefensible, and ought not to continue, because it was the Church of the minority; and therefore we must dismiss from our consideration to-night any of those anomalies and inequalities which may be found in the Church of Ireland, and devote our attention to the question whether she ought or ought not to continue to exist. If the arguments that have been used against the Irish Church by hon. Gentleman opposite are right that Church ought no longer to remain; but if our view of the question is right, the Irish Church ought to live, as it has for centuries, as a National Establishment. The issue is plain. While listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire it struck me that his arguments tended very much, if not altogether, to the principle that all Establishments should rest on the principle that a National Church must be the Church of the majority; and I defy him, with all his talent and all his power of argument, to maintain that principle, and at the same time support the Establishments of this country and Scotland. The more this question is looked into the more we shall find that hon. Gentlemen who take that line of argument must declare hostility to all religious endowments. I do not wish to weary the House by going back

to matters of history in connection with the Church of Ireland, but I will take its position as we now find it. I must, however, remind the House that the Irish Church is an Establishment that has survived changes of dynasties, and the effects of revolutions. Solemn contracts with regard to her safety are spread over every page of our history. Her existence has been guaranteed and sanctioned by Stuart Kings and Williamite Generals, and made the subject of treaty and Parliamentary contract. The right of the Irish Church to possess her property is based upon a foundation that is the same as that of any estate in the kingdom. I do not wish to go back to history; but I would remind you of agreements and compacts by which, in our own time that property has been secured. The maintenance of the Irish Church was made part of the great settlement which took place at the Union between the two countries. It was an implied contract in the time of Emancipation. When in 1829 the claims of the Catholic subjects of this realm were fully recognised, all those authorized to speak in their behalf expressed their desire to enter in to the most solemn contract with regard to the maintenance of the Church; when the Temporalities Act was passed Parliament again sanctioned the contract, and expressed in a broad and distinct way its opinions that its existence should be maintained. Therefore, whether you look at the question of the property of the Church of Ireland as a matter either of ancient prescription or modern Parliamentary contract, I maintain that the possession of property



by that Church rests upon a basis which has been more repeatedly sanctioned by the Legislature than any other property in the country. If this be so, let me ask you can this property be touched or taken away by any other process than that of confiscation? I state boldly that it cannot. I admit the right and power of Parliament to deal with any property in the country. That cannot be denied. Parliament is all powerful. But, at the same time, that right does not prevent an Act of Parliament from being an act of confiscation. That is a rude remedy. The confiscation of property has always been the favourite resource of the despot and revolutionist, and there is no country in the world that has suffered more in this respect than Ireland. It is therefore with some surprise that I see so many Irishmen in favour of what is as gross an act of confiscation as ever was perpetrated under Cromwell or William. Under what circumstances is this confiscation to take place? I apprehend nobody will deny that the revenues of the Church of Ireland are a charge upon the land, and not a tax. I confess I listened with astonishment to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire when he described the property of the Irish Church as payments made out of the public purse. How one of the greatest financiers of this country should have described a charge upon land which has been in the possession of the Church for many centuries as a payment out of the public funds I am at a loss to understand. I believe there never was so gross a mis-statement of the real facts of the case than is involved in such an

assertion. In no sense or degree do I believe it to be a payment out of the public purse. The Church property is not a tax but a reserved rent. I shall quote an authority upon the point which I do not think hon. Gentlemen opposite will dare to impeach. The words are those of Sir George Lewis, one of the closest reasoners who ever sat in this House. He spoke thus of the exact position of this property, and the terms in which it should be described—

“The tithe grievance is commonly stated to be that Roman Catholics are compelled to contribute, by the payment of tithes, to the support of a Church from the creed of which they differ. But.

(and this was before the passing of the Church Temporalities Act.)

in fact, although they may pay tithes, they contribute nothing, inasmuch as it is in Ireland tithe is in the nature not of a tax but of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to the landlord or the tenant.”

This high authority, at all events, shows that to characterize the property of the Irish Church as being a payment taken from the public purse is as far removed from the real truth of the case as anything that could be imagined. But let us suppose that the proposition brought forward to-night should be sanctioned, whom, allow me to ask, ought we in the first instance to consult? Recollect what the real nature of this property is. If it is desired to alienate this property, surely we ought in the first instance to consult those persons who pay it. But we find that these persons

are certainly not averse to its present disposition, and do not desire its confiscation. You therefore propose to alienate this property altogether, in defiance and in opposition to the wishes of the great majority of the very persons who pay it. I think that the position of this property has been erroneously described in more quarters than one. The whole of the arguments connected with the subject rests, I think, upon this basis—what is the nature of this property, and what are the sources from which it is derived? I read, the other day, a very able letter written by a right rev. Prelate with whom I am acquainted, and for whom I entertain great respect—Dr. Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, and I was astonished to find in a letter which discusses the subject with great force and ability, and at the same time with temper—a letter containing strong views, but which are not stated offensively—in that letter I was astonished to find so acute an arguer as the right rev. Prelate make use of the old and oft-refuted statement that the Irish Church was the forced maintenance of the religion of the minority by the vast majority of the people. That right rev. Prelate states that the Roman Catholics as a body contribute to the support of the Protestant clergy and the Protestant Church. Now, I maintain that that statement is entirely incapable of proof. I admit that in Ireland Roman Catholic occupiers are by far the largest majority of the occupiers of land and that Roman Catholics constitute the numerical majority of the people; but do the Roman Catholic occupiers of land or the

Roman Catholic people of Ireland pay for the support of the Established Church? I want to have that question answered. Any man who stands up in this House and tries to prove that they do, will entirely fail. Would the Roman Catholic occupier have his land a penny cheaper if the Established Church were swept away to-morrow? I answer, No. In old times the Roman Catholic occupiers were obliged to pay a certain tax for certain purposes in connection with the Established Church, but Church cess has long been swept away, ministers' money is abolished, and it cannot be said that the people of Ireland are called upon to support the Established Church. The property of the Church is a charge on the land, and nine-tenths of the land belongs to Protestants. We have heard a great deal to to-night about the question of religious ascendancy. Now I have never, either in this House or elsewhere, stated that I considered religious ascendancy was a thing that was good. I believe that no such thing practically exists in Ireland; and I was astonished to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire say that in Ireland there was an ascendancy of one class over the other. He has dilated in eloquent terms upon the terrible evils of this supposed ascendancy; but if these really exist, how came it about that he and his party never sought to remedy such gigantic grievances? The party opposite sat upon the Benches we now occupy with little intermission for the last thirty years, and I have always observed that when the question of the Irish Church was brought forward they were the first to say that the

time for considering the proposition was inopportune. It therefore ill becomes them to come forward now, the first moment they are in opposition, and declare that such a grievance as that of religious ascendancy exists along with its concomitant evils; seeing that for years they sat here, not only without making any protest or taking any steps to have those evils redressed, but they almost invariably openly opposed or indirectly thwarted Motions brought forward on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire complimented the hon. Member for Kilkenny upon the Motion he has brought forward. He said to that hon. Gentleman that the change he proposes was most wise and beneficent, and that he hoped the hon. Gentleman would live to see his suggestions carried out. But how, let me ask, were the intentions of the hon. Member for Kilkenny regarded by most distinguished Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire in the year 1865? What did that Colleague, sitting in the same Cabinet, and equally responsible for the action of the Government, then say? He said—

“We have the Irish Protestant Church established as an existing institution in Ireland. It is not of recent creation; it rests upon the prescription of centuries. The firm belief of the Government is that it could not be subverted without revolution, with all the horrors that attend revolution.”—(3 *Hansard* clxxviii. 490.)

That was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Morpeth (Sir George Grey), who, a Secretary of State, sitting at that time on

the same Bench as the right hon. Member for South Lancashire, declared that the change which the right hon. Member for South Lancashire considers wise, desirable, and beneficial, was a change that could not be carried out without bringing all the horrors of revolution in its train. What can be said of a party who changes its opinions so soon, and which now repudiates the principles which they adopted two years ago? But there is another point worthy of observation. Hon. Members opposite made up their minds to disendow the Irish Church, and to confiscate her property; but they have been unable to determine to what purpose they will apply the funds so obtained. Some say they ought to be taken for national purposes; but it is hard to see what these purposes are. Others have gone the length of saying that the revenues of the Irish Church ought to be devoted to what are called national purposes, that is to say to the poor, to lunatic asylums, and to prisons, or to lighthouses; but this notion has not received much support. Others, again, think that the money might be applied to the purposes of education. Considering the difficulties raised in the way of deciding disputed points raised on the question of education, the House would certainly find extreme difficulty in deciding in what manner the revenues of a despoiled Church shall be dispensed for the purposes of education. Another proposal has been made, that the property should be capitalized and divided among all the sects. That proposition has been put forward in a very able manner by Mr. de Vere. All I

can say is, that with regard to this mode of distribution I believe there would be difficulties very nearly as great as would take place in the distribution for educational purposes. And you will find among Roman Catholics the widest differences of opinion as to the way in which the funds ought to be applied. Stipends to Roman Catholic clergy have been entirely repudiated by the Roman Catholic Church; and the difficulties that would arise among the Roman Catholics themselves as regards the distribution of their own share would be as great as with regard to a distribution for educational purposes. That being the case, it appears to me that the position of the Irish Church is this—a great number of persons want to pull the Church down—to overthrow it altogether; but that they have found it impossible to make up their mind as to the partition of the spoil. I beg leave altogether to disclaim anything like a wish that the Roman Catholic clergy, or the clergy of any other Church, should remain in an impoverished state, and anything that could be suggested for improving their status would receive from me the best consideration. I should be very glad to see the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in the enjoyment of incomes larger than they enjoy at present. But I do not admit that the poverty, the want of sufficient means in one Church, is any reason why you should impoverish the other. If pulling down the Irish Church would not enrich the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church or of the Presbyterian Church, why pull it down? The rector of the parish may have

£200 a year, with a large family; and the Roman Catholic priest might have only £100 a year; but how would it improve the position of the priest, if the Protestant clergyman were deprived of his £200 a year? I have listened with considerable astonishment to many of the remarks which have been made to-night by hon. Gentlemen opposite professing the Roman Catholic religion, or speaking in the interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. I cannot understand how any Roman Catholic, looking back to the history and action of his Church, can declare himself an enthusiastic admirer of the voluntary system. The whole history of that Church, from the earliest ages, is the history of endowments. It is a church of gorgeous rite and costly ceremonial. She has, I admit, often worked in poverty and obscurity, but her normal state is one of riches and of splendour, and endowment is the very life-blood of her existence. And when I see what has taken place in Italy, and read the denunciations of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to the seizure of endowments, I cannot understand how hon. Gentlemen can profess to represent Roman Catholic opinion, and recommend these changes upon the voluntary principle. That course appears to me, looking to the position of their own Church in Ireland, to be a most dangerous one; and this is a view of the case which I would specially commend to the consideration of the Roman Catholics themselves. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is acquiring a vast amount of property. I do not look on that circumstance with any fear or jealousy; but, at



the same time, I would remind hon. Gentlemen that in advocating this confiscation of the Irish Church property, they are advocating a course which may by-and-bye be adopted against themselves. I have seen with admiration the great sacrifices which have been made by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland within the last few years in building churches for providing means for the support and maintenance of those churches, and for religious purposes generally. I believe that no people have made greater sacrifices in order to provide for the proper observance of religious ordinances; but I do maintain that as this goes on, as the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland becomes richer, as inevitably it will become—those who now advocate confiscation are using an argument that may be used against themselves at no distant period—and that, as has been the case in Italy, their accumulated property may ere long excite the cupidity and the jealousy of many an influential party in the State. I believe that instead of promoting peace and unity in Ireland, this proposal is likely to create much dissension; and I believe that there is nothing more likely to produce ill-will and ill-feeling in Ireland than a struggle commenced against the existence of the Established Church. That opinion does not originate with me. If hon. Members will turn to the speeches of Lord John Russell they will find that more than once that statesman has declared that any attempt to alienate the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland will be hailed as a

signal of dissension, and will be the commencement of a long struggle of which no man can possibly foresee the end. It is for these reasons that I oppose the Motion of the hon. Member for Kilkenny, believing, moreover, that the existence of the Church in Ireland does not constitute any practical grievance. I make that statement deliberately, as the result of daily and constant communication with all classes of the Irish people. I have lived among the people as long as any Gentleman opposite. I have conversed with all classes and creeds in the country. I have spent hours discussing the question with persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and I never heard one of them say that he looked on the existence of the Established Church as a practical grievance. I put my own knowledge of the country against that of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and I deny that the Irish Church is regarded in Ireland as a symbol of oppression or as a practical wrong.

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## STATE OF IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 10TH MARCH 1868.

[On the 10TH March 1868, Mr. Maguire brought in his Motion for constitutional changes in the laws and institutions of Ireland which was in a very disturbed condition and which according to him inspired any thoughtful man with feelings of anxiety, foreboding and alarm,—in fact the country presented the aspect of a country on the eve of a great struggle. The discussions which assumed gigantic proportions eventually led to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, although the Disraeli Ministry strove its utmost to oppose the introduction of any improvement in the Land Tenure and the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Ireland.]

**T**HE EARL OF MAYO: Mr. Speaker—The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken, and the hon. Gentleman who introduced this most interesting and important debate, have given at great length, and with great clearness, their views as to the present state of Ireland. It now becomes my duty to state to the House, not, perhaps, in language so impassioned as that of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire), but as accurately as possible, my views with regard to the state of Ireland. I will not exaggerate or conceal, but will endeavour to make a plain, unvarnished statement, which I hope will commend itself to the attention of the House. I also propose to notice some of the points which are put forward as grievan-

ces by those who are supposed to represent the portion of the Irish people dissatisfied with the present state of things. I do not deny—in fact, I do not know that anybody has attempted to deny—that a great amount of dissatisfaction—I might almost say of disloyalty and dislike to England and to English rule, exists. But I think it important for the House to ascertain, as far as possible, what the precise nature of this feeling is, what the classes are which it affects, and how far it influences the general state of the country. I think it will not be denied at the outset that the active organization of that great Brotherhood, which has exercised for the last three years so marked an influence upon the feelings of a portion of the Irish people in this country and in America, has its source in another country; and when I am told that British legislation, British rule, and British laws are responsible in a great measure for the existence of that hostile feeling among the Irish citizens of America towards this country, we must recollect that there are to be found in other parts of the world large numbers of my fellow-countrymen who are not disloyal. In Australia, though their numbers are not reckoned by millions, but by thousands and hundreds of thousands, the Irish who have settled there do not exhibit towards Great Britain any of those hostile feelings which unhappily are found in America. Nay, more; there are many remarkable instances of men who, when at home, were unhappily distinguished by proceedings hostile in their character to the Crown and Government of England; and who, having

settled in Australia, and taken an active part in public affairs there, declared on returning to this country that they no longer held the same opinions with regard to British rule which they did when they emigrated. The same thing may be said with regard to Canada. Though Canada is in the immediate neighbourhood of the great seat of the Fenian organization in the United States, and though we find that Fenianism has a certain limited influence over Irishmen settled in Canada, yet, as a body we see the Irish in Canada loyal to the British Crown. Mr. D'Arcy Magee a man who never speaks without attracting attention, and who influences large masses of his countrymen in Canada, was an active Nationalist in 1848, but is at this moment one of the most eloquent advocates of British institution that can be found on the face of the globe.

Having said so much as to the feeling of Irishmen settled in our colonies, and lamenting, as I do, the existence of a very different feeling among the large portion of the Irish citizens of the United States, it becomes important to consider how far such a feeling is shared by those of our fellow-subjects who still remain in their own country. As far as Ireland is concerned, at present the feeling of disaffection and disloyalty is, I believe, confined to a lower class than it ever was before. If you take the history of 1798, you will find that many of the persons who were then engaged in fomenting rebellion and civil war were men of high character, of good family and of great honesty, whose standing and intelligence gave them a right to influence the views and conduct of

their fellow-countrymen. The men of that day embarked in a wild, reckless, and unjustifiable attempt; but no one can refuse to give many of them credit for higher motives, or contend that they were not men of intelligence and integrity. Then if you come to 1848—fifty years later—another attempt being made to stir up rebellion in the country; then, again, there were men of position and intellect engaged as chiefs of that movement. Though the leaders of 1848 were inferior—vastly inferior—to those who headed the rebellion fifty years before, you must recollect that in 1848 such men as Meagher, Mitchell, Duffy, Davis, and O' Brien were implicated in it, and their character or genius shed a sickly lustre over the most Quixotic enterprize of modern days. But in this Fenian conspiracy—which in America, I admit, has assumed gigantic proportions—you find that the feelings of the bulk of the persons engaged in it are swayed by the speeches and writings of leaders of a very different character from that of the men to whom I have been referring. The Fenian organization has been in existence for four or five years, and yet I doubt if any one can point out an intellectual leader who has distinguished himself by the gift of eloquence, or by any other display of intellect. The movement has not produced a single man of mark. It has been directed by men without position and without experience of any kind, except that gained in the subordinate ranks in the American army. That is the case with the members of the Brotherhood in America. If you look to Ireland, you find the same thing.

The whole of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic gentry, though they may differ in religion and in politics, are to a man thoroughly well affected towards British rule. The large landholders are on the same side, and so are the men who are deeply engaged in trade. Not a merchant of any importance or influence has ever expressed the slightest sympathy with the Fenian movement. With a very few exceptions, the same may be said of the educated classes generally. Very few, indeed, of them have employed their talents in advancing Fenianism. I know there are certain conductors of a portion of the Irish press who may be said to represent the feelings of the Fenians; but they are very inferior to the writers who supported former movements of a rebellious nature. When you descend in the social scale and come to the small occupiers of land, you find a considerable number of that class who may be said to sympathize to a certain degree with the movement, though they have taken no active part in it. Descending still lower, to the uneducated agricultural labourers, to what in Ireland are called the "farmer's boys," to the mechanics and workmen, the shop assistants and small clerks in towns, you find this organization widely spread. I am sorry to say that in some of the cities in the South of Ireland you find the mass of the people of that class deeply tainted with Fenianism, and perfectly ready to sympathize and cooperate with it to any extent. But they are without leaders, money, or arms. That being the case, I think the House will agree with me, looking broadly at the matter, that there does not

exist any material in Ireland itself for maintaining in active operation this Fenian movement. The real strength of the organization lies at the other side of the Atlantic. And, though contemplating an impossibility, I believe that, could the communication between this kingdom and America be cut off for a short time, Fenianism would rapidly disappear and become extinct for ever.

Sir, I think it my duty now to submit to the House two or three statements on which the excuse for or vindication of this movement is commonly based, and to endeavour to show how fallacious and utterly groundless those statements are. I know that the statements to which I allude are not often put forward in this House. Even those hon. Members who entertain the strongest views on Irish questions do not state the case as it is stated very frequently out of doors—in Ireland, in America, and also on the Continent of Europe. But one of those statements has been strongly put forward to night. It is that the people of Ireland as a nation are oppressed, are down-trodden, are governed, as in other countries, nations are governed by a foreign Power; in short, that the Irish people are ruled for English objects and without regard to Irish feelings or interest. There is a second statement which has been put forward in this House, and I can not but regard it as one of the most dangerous that could be made use of as calculated to induce the Irish people to favour the Fenian movement. It is stated that in years gone by—in those times which may be described as the dark days of Ireland—the ancient possessors of the soil were



dispossessed by frequent confiscations and that it is the duty of this House, and of the other Branch of the Legislature, to take steps to restore to the Irish people that land of which, at different times they were unjustly deprived. I cannot conceive anything more calculated to lead to discontent in Ireland than that statement. There is another assertion, the most important of all—one which, to the fullest extent, has been adopted by the hon. Member for cork and the hon. Member for Cashel—that, owing to the Government and the laws of this country, the industry of Ireland has been checked, and its material progress retarded.

Those three statements I propose to deal with one after the other. First, then, it is alleged that Ireland is governed by English Power and by English rule for English interests and with English objects; that she is ruled as if she was under the sway of a foreign Power. Some writers have gone so far as to call her the Poland of the West. Well, if Ireland is so treated, if she is subjected to so much tyranny, I must say it is most unfortunate that in this case the tyrants are the Irish themselves. To examine the matter it is necessary to see how the Government of Ireland is at present constituted. Who are the persons that form the Executive Government? They are five in number: his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney General, and the Under Secretary. Who is the Lord Lieutenant? A nobleman of ancient descent, intimately connected with Ireland, who possesses a large property there, and who, for

many years, has been actively engaged in discharging with success the duties of his station as an Irish landowner. Sir, I should be very sorry to take up the time of the House by speaking of the Chief Secretary. That individual has never aspired to any other character than that of an Irish country gentleman, who has devoted the best years of his life to what he believes to be the service of his country in Parliament. He belongs to a house which for many centuries has shared the fortunes of the Irish people; and, if I may allude to so completely unimportant a circumstance, he has in his veins considerably less Anglo-Saxon blood than many of the gentlemen who are flourishing about New York in green uniforms. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland is a man who, for forty years, held a high position in his profession, and who, at the time of his appointment, was admitted on all hands to be the first advocate at the Irish bar. He is an Irishman, intimately acquainted with the feelings of his countrymen, and closely connected by family ties and property with his native land. The same may be said of my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. His entire life has been spent in Ireland. Of the Under Secretary, Sir Thomas Larcom, I may say that for many years he has exercised a great and, I believe, a most beneficial influence in Ireland. I know of no man possessing a more thorough knowledge of Ireland and her history, of Irish affairs, and the feelings of the Irish people. Since 1824, when as a young officer of Engineers he laid the base of the first triangle of the great Ord-

nance Survey, he has been actively employed in that country. Look at the Judicial Bench. The Equity Judges are all Irishmen, and the same may be said of the Common Law Judges—twelve in number—nine of whom profess the religion of the majority of the people. The local magistrates are Irish to a man, and they are assisted by seventy-two paid magistrates, who are also, with three or four exceptions, natives of Ireland. So much, therefore, for the Executive Government and the judicial staff. By whom are the laws of the country and the orders of the Government enforced? By a constabulary wholly Irish, taken from the lower ranks of the people. In this force, too, is to be found almost the same proportion as regards religious belief as exists among the people of the country, and they have always done their duty with a loyalty and fidelity which have scarcely ever been equalled and never surpassed. Add to this the fact that the country enjoys a Parliamentary representation which, until now, has been based upon a franchise much lower than the English franchise. Again, in every town in Ireland you find a municipality elected on a very wide franchise; and these municipalities administer, without the smallest Government control, their local affairs under the provisions of various Acts of Parliament. The primary education of the poor is intrusted almost entirely to teachers nominated by the patrons of the schools; four out of every six of these patrons are the Roman Catholic Clergy, so that no one can say that there is an unnational element in the system of education prevail-

ing in that kingdom. The Poor Law system is administered, to a great extent, by guardians, who are nominated through a very wide franchise by the ratepayer. I mention all these facts with a view of showing how fallacious, how absurd, and how baseless is the statement which is constantly put forward that Ireland is governed by English rule, in accordance with English system, and in a manner repugnant to the feelings of the Native. Sir, I am almost ashamed to mention these things to the House, for there are very few hon. Members who are not perfectly well aware of all the facts of the case; but, as the statements to which I have referred are so constantly and broadly put forward by the people on the other side of the Atlantic, and as they are believed to a great extent, not only on the Continent, but also by a considerable portion of the people of this country, I have thought it right to give a summary of these facts.

But there is the second statement which is made the foundation of an immense amount of declamation and eloquence. It is that the land at one time belonged to the people of Ireland; that they were dispossessed of it; and that the recollection of that circumstance still rankles in the breasts of the occupiers of the soil, and of the classes who are immediately subservient to them. Now, there never was an assertion made more devoid of truth. It is very well known what became of the possessors of the land after the various confiscations. In the first invasion—that is, the Norman Conquest—there was no dispossession,

partly because vast tracts of country were lying waste, and partly because that invasion was undertaken for the purpose of dominion and rule, and not for the acquisition of land. Confiscation, it is true, took place at subsequent periods; and if it would not occupy too much of the time of the House, I could trace the fate of almost every Irish family of importance who were dispossessed of their landed property. During the wars of the Roses in this country great dispossessions took place, many old houses went down, and the bearers of their ancient names remained for the most part in the country, the consequence being that their descendants are still to be found in a humbler rank of life than that which their ancestors occupied. But in our case the circumstances were totally different, for the proud and fiery Celt, unable to brook subjection in his own land, emigrated as soon as possible. They wandered away immediately after these various troubles, and placed their swords and their brains at the disposal of foreign powers. For years after each confiscation, every European camp and Court was full of Irish emigrants. This is sufficient to show how absurd and baseless is the assertion that the Irish land at one time belonged to the Irish people, and that among the peasantry of Ireland are to be found the descendants and the rightful inheritors of the chieftains and nobles who were dispossessed by the various confiscations which so cruelly afflicted the country.

But the most important point for the House to consider is, whether there is any thing in the

present state of Ireland which shows that there is a progressive falling off in wealth, in prosperity, and in improvement. Now it has been broadly put forward to-night that there is nothing to show that any real and sound progress is being made in Ireland. I think, however, that I can prove most conclusively to the House that very considerable progress has been made. And, Sir, I do not intend to go back to old times. I propose to go back merely to the beginning of what I may term the present generation—that is to say, about thirtyfive years ago; and I have a right to do so, because since then the whole policy of this country towards Ireland has been altered. I shall endeavour to show the House how the new policy has been carried out, and what have been its effects. In the first place, I must beg the House to reflect for a moment what Ireland has gone through during the period to which I am referring. We have been subjected to three great political agitations, to a most terrible famine, and to an enormous emigration. If, then, I can show that, notwithstanding all these adverse circumstances, improvement has been steadily going on, it will be pretty evident that this House, and the institutions of the United Kingdom, cannot be very much to blame for the present state of Ireland.

First of all, I will take the state of our staple industries. In a country like Ireland, which is dependent so much upon agriculture, and where the seasons have a decided effect upon the national prosperity, there must necessarily be a great many “ups and downs,” so that I will not take

any small number of years to illustrate my argument, but will spread my facts over the period which has elapsed since 1830. In the first instance, I will take the number of arable acres, including in that term not merely land over which the plough goes, but all land which is usefully employed for the general purposes of agriculture. Well, in 1841 there were 13,461,301 cultivated acres in Ireland, while in 1861 the number had increased to 15,400,000. But it has been said that the effect of the changes which have taken place during the last few years in Ireland has been to convert almost all the land into pasture. No doubt many changes and vicissitudes have occurred, but still the main fact remains that in 1849, 5,543,748 acres of land were being cultivated under the plough whereas in 1860 the number of acres so cultivated had increased to 5,970,139. Since then, owing to three or four bad seasons there has been a decrease, and last year there were only 5,529,568 cultivated acres, being very little less than in 1849. But, if we turn to the value of stock, which is the real test of the wealth of a country like Ireland, which is so peculiarly adapted to the rearing and production of cattle, you will find a most remarkable improvement. I will take the years 1841 and 1866. I wish the House to understand that these numbers have been ascertained with the greatest possible care. I give them on the authority of Mr. Thom, the author of the valuable almanack that bears his name, and who himself verifies every statement made in his Work. In 1841 the value of the live stock was

estimated at £21,000,000 and in 1866 at £50,500,000. I venture to say that in no agricultural country in Europe, considering the vicissitudes of that period, will you find so extraordinary an increase. Again, take the live stock per square mile; the same authority gives the value as £649 in 1841; £853 in 1851, and £1,028 in 1861—figures which show a steady increase. One of the principal products of the South of Ireland is butter, which represents the wealth of the agricultural population, and particularly of the small holders of land. I have had accurate inquiries made respecting the butter trade of Cork, and have arrived at results which have been confirmed by reports from other markets. In 1831, Cork Market received 244,000 firkins; in 1841, 219,000 firkins; in 1851, 306,000 firkins; and in 1867, 470,000 firkins. Quantity represents only half the story, but the rise in price indicates a remarkable increase in wealth. In 1851 the highest price of butter at Cork was 90s.; in 1861, it was 118s.; in 1867, it was 127s. So much for agriculture. I know that Gentlemen who make eloquent speeches do not like facts. They do not trouble the House with statistics, because they say that the decrease of prosperity is patent to all, and figures can be made to prove anything. I believe that the more you inquire into the facts by which the state of Ireland during the last thirty years can be tested, the more you will be convinced of the truth of the position I have taken. A remarkable illustration of the increase of wealth among the agricultural classes is the steady rise in the value of land in almost



all the countries of Ireland during the last fifty or sixty years. Take the country of Cork. In 1779 Arthur Young estimated the rental of this country at £256,010. According to the public valuation, with 15 per cent, the rental was in 1848, £1,284,140; and in 1867, it was £1,351,208. Rental in 1779, £256,010; in 1810, £808,698; in 1848, £1,284,140; in 1867, £1,351,208. I have ascertained from the very best authorities that pretty nearly the same increase of rent has taken place in all the other counties of Ireland that increase has not been sudden, but steady and gradual, and I believe it is due both to the increased quantity of land which has been brought under cultivation, and to the general improvement of the system of agriculture.

It has often been said that the prosperity of an agricultural country depends upon its roads. Since 1826, the most extraordinary improvement has taken place in the roads of Ireland. Any one who has travelled in that country must know that Ireland is as well provided with roads as any other country. Sir Richard Griffith has written me a letter stating some general facts on this head. In 1822, with the exception of some coast roads, the county roads were almost impassable. The county surveyors were first appointed in 1836, and a gradual improvement was then made. When he entered the profession the west portion of the county of Cork, the whole of Kerry, and the west of Limbrick, were almost entirely devoid of good roads. He describes how, not altogether from local resources, but by the aid of Parliamentary Votes,

good lines of communication were made; and this increase of accommodation had the most immediate effect in stimulating intercourse and trade.

With regard to railways, Ireland has participated in the general improvement which has taken place in our communications. In 1840, only thirteen miles of railway were constructed; at the end of 1866 there were 1,900 miles, which had cost £26,000,000. That the Irish people have begun to embark their capital in these undertakings is shown by a curious piece of information respecting the Great Southern and Western Railway. In 1847, of £1,743,000 of stock, £1,119,000 was held in Great Britain, and £6,00,000 in Ireland; but, in 1862, of £5,00,000 of stock, £1,100,000 was held in Great Britain, and £3,882,000 in Ireland. An enormous sum has been advanced to Ireland, year by year, by the Legislature for public works and improvements, Since 1834, the Exchequer has been charged for public works in Ireland with £18,000,000, of which £11,402,651 was to be re-paid, and £,500,000 remain to be re-paid. The grants made in the famine are not included in this estimate, and the whole of this large sum has been spent in useful and reproductive works.

The general condition of the people is, however, the point on which most stress is laid. It is said that, though farmers, landowners, and traders may be improving their position, that of the poor is getting worse and worse. The following description of the Irish labouring classes was given by Bishop Doyle, in 1825:—

“The evidence already given to Parliament shows that the average wages of a labouring man in Ireland—and the great mass of the poor are labourers—is worth scarcely 3*d.* a day. 3*d.* a day for such as obtain employment; whilst, in a family where one or two persons are employed, there may be four, perhaps six, others, dependent on these two for their support.”

If the decline of the population is said to be a sign of decay, let us go back to the time when population was at its highest. In 1836, the Royal Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of the Poor in Ireland reported—

“That they could not estimate the number of persons in Ireland out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year at less than 585,000, nor the persons dependent at less than 1,800,000—making 2,385,000.”

Mr. Murland states, in an address delivered last November, that it is remarkable that this number is just about equal to the reduction which has taken place in the population; so that, if only about 5,500,000 of the population could find employment in 1836, there was no reason to expect that we should now, with the same population, find the land going out of cultivation for want of hands to till the ground. The condition of the labouring classes immediately before the famine is noticed by Sir Robert Kane in his *industrial resources of Ireland* 1844. He says—

“That human labour can be obtained in this country on lower terms than in any other in Europe, is too well known to require example. It is thus that 8*d.* or 10*d.* per day is found to be the usual rate of wages at a distance from large

towns, and that, even on such terms, thousands of men remain unemployed during the greater portion of the year."

What is the rate of wages now? Judge Longfield, in his Address on Social Economy, gives the following account of the rate of wages, as ascertained from the evidence before the Land Occupation Commissioners in 1844, and the improvement up to 1861. Referring to the year 1844, he states that—

"In Munster and Leinster, the rate of agricultural wages varied from 7*d.* to 10*d.* a day, and in Connaught, from 5*d.* to 8*d.*, and that, even at these low rates, constant employment could not be obtained. It also appears to have been the general custom for the labourer to rent his cabin and plot of ground from the farmer; and that these bargains sometimes insured the labourer a supply of food, and were a source of profit to him, but that more frequently they were a source of litigation and oppression; and that, on the whole, it might be said, that in no part of the civilized world was the condition of any industrial class so wretched as that of the Irish labourer. There is still much room for improvement; but I shall refer to the best authentic documents that I could procure to show what change has taken place, and is still going on, in the condition of the labourer. In the year 1856, the Emigration Commissioners applied to the Poor Law Commissioners for information on the state of the labouring population, as bearing upon the continuance of emigration, from Ireland. The Poor Law Inspectors in the different countries gave Returns of the rate of wages in their respective districts. I refer to the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for the year 1856."

As an illustration of the rise in wages, Judge Longfield then quotes Mr. Horsley's statement that in Cork, Kerry, and Limerick the average rate of wages for agricultural labourers was 7*s.*

6d. a week ; and he quotes Mr. Horsley as stating that "continuous employment is now easily obtained by all skilled able-bodied agricultural labourers." Judge Longfield also adds that the rate of wages increased in twelve years (from 1844 to 1856) from 25 to 80 per cent—the greatest increase having taken place in those districts in which the greatest wretchedness had previously prevailed. From additional inquiries, he arrives at the conclusion that, from 1856 to the end of 1860, the wages of agricultural labour in most parts of Ireland had obtained a further advance of 10 per cent. I have ascertained, by special inquiry in a few districts, what has been the increase of wages, comparing 1866 with previous years. I find that, in 1841. in the county of Kildare, the wages were from 4s. to 5s. a week ; they are now 8s. In Armagh, the wages in 1841, were 6s. ; they are now 9s. At Castlereagh, in the county of Roscommon, the wages were, in 1841, 4s. a week ; they are now 8s. In Killarney, county of Kerry, they were 5s. and are now 7s. I do not mean to say that even the rate of wages for the agricultural labourer is by any means what it ought to be ; but I believe a gradual increase is going on that has tended much to the improvement of the country, and any one who now travels through Ireland after some years' absence must see this in the appearance of the people. Moreover, this increase of wages has taken place without any proportionate or material increase in the price of food ; for wheat has not risen in value, and oats and potatoes, though somewhat enhanced, have

never of late years stood at an exorbitant price. So much for the rate of wages. Now take another, and perhaps a better test of the general improvement in the condition of the people—I mean the consumption of spirits and beer. I will take two facts—one giving the consumption of spirits and beer; the other the amount of deposits in joint-stock banks; the one showing expenditure, the other savings. It is impossible to ascertain the exact consumption of beer in Ireland; but the export is so nearly balanced by the import that the figures may be taken very much on that footing. It appears, then, that in 1863, 1,150,356 barrels of beer were consumed in Ireland, and 1,500,000 barrels in 1867.

With regard to spirits, the consumption of which has always been considered a fair test of the prosperity of Ireland, there has been a remarkable increase of consumption, notwithstanding the very high duty which spirits now pay. Looking back to the Returns, we find that wherever there has been a bad harvest the consumption decreases, while after a good harvest there has been a proportionate increase; so that, to a great extent, the production of spirits is a true indication of the consuming power of the people. The amount can be very accurately ascertained; for the high rate of duty prohibits its removal from bond till required for consumption. The permit system also enable officers to trace the removal of spirits to other parts of the Kingdom. The consumption of spirits in Ireland was in 1863, 3,891,579 gallons; in 1866, 4,518,254 gallons; in 1867, 5,102,756 gallons;

being 1,210,997 gallons increase over 1863. The increase in 1867 over 1866 is far greater than in England. It was—England, 2·96 per cent; Scotland 4·72 per cent; Ireland, 12·93 per cent.

If the consuming power is shown in the matter of spirits and beer, the saving power of the people is shown by a remarkable Return, which I now hold in my hand, of the deposits in the joint-stock banks. These two Returns taken together are the most valuable barometers of the condition of the people, for they invariable rise and fall according to the state of trade, the amount of employment, and the quality of the harvests. In the year 1860, the deposits in the joint-stock banks amounted to £15,609,000. Then came three years of bad harvests, 1861, 1862, and 1863, when there was a decline; in 1863, these deposits were only £12,900,000; but since then they have gradually increased. In 1865, they amounted to £17,000,000 in 1866, to £18,900,000, and in 1867, to £19,200,000. Here, then, is a marvellous increase in the savings of the people as shown by this unmis-takeable test.

I will now call the attention of the House for a few moments to the state of crime in Ireland; and I think the House will be greatly struck by its extraordinary diminution. The criminals tried at assizes and quarter sessions were—in 1849, 40,989; in 1855, 9,012; 1866, 4,326. The summar convictions before justice for petty offences other than drunkenness were—in 1849, 63,586 persons; in 1855, 29,274 persons; in 1866, 19,672 persons. I know that in 1845, the number of criminals was

exceptionally large, but in 1855, it was by no means exceptional, and during the ten years between 1855, and 1866, the crime of Ireland, as tested by trials at assizes and quarter sessions, had decreased by 100, per cent.

Turning to another subject, let us see what has been done in the life-time of the present generation for the education of the people. In 1824, when the Commissioners of Public Education made their Report, I find that, with a population of 7,000,000, the largest number of children at school was 522,000, and the Grants made by Parliament for educational purposes only amounted to £50,000 a year. The Roman Catholic prelates in 1823 state their case thus—

“The petitioners therefore deem it a duty to inform the House that the Roman Catholic poor of Ireland continue unprovided with school-house, school masters, or with any such aids as are necessary for promoting amongst them a well-ordered system of education.”

What is the fact now? In 1866 the number of schools enrolled under the National Board was 6,600, of which 4,000 are under the direct patronage of the Roman Catholic clergy, In these schools 900,000 children are being educated, and in other schools about 80,000; so that, instead of having only 500,000 at school, nearly 1,000,000 are now receiving an instruction far superior in every respect to that which was given in 1824; and last year this House voted to the National Board £310,000, as against the paltry sum of £50,000 voted at the beginning of this generation, there was no system in existence for the relief



of the poor. Since then a poor law has been established which, though some of its provisions may be objected to, has for many years given effective relief to the destitute. Its expenditure for that purpose averages £600,000 a year, and since its establishment so large a sum as £19,000,000 has been spent from local resources upon general relief. An extensive system of medical charities has also been established, which is of the greatest possible benefit to the people; and there is now accommodation in the lunatic asylums of Ireland for 7,000 patients, who are maintained at an annual expenditure of £119,000. I merely mention these facts to show that almost every test which you can apply to the condition of the people exhibits the truth—namely, that extraordinary changes for the better have taken place in Ireland within the last thirty years.

I will only trouble the House with one other fact, and that relates to the trade of Ireland. It has been said that Ireland is purely an agricultural country, and you would therefore think that no great improvement could be expected in its commerce. But, as tested by the increase in the tonnage of vessels, the increase of trade has been enormous. A Return of the tonnage of vessels entering and clearing out from the port of Dublin shows that in 1847 the total tonnage entered inwards and outwards was 722,000 tons, and in 1867, 1,400,000 tons. At Belfast during the same period the increase has been greater, the total tonnage in the former year being 500,000, and in 1867 1,300,000. In Waterford the increase in

ten years was from 213,000 to 450,000 tons; and this increase has not been confined to the large ports, for while in Cork the increase of tonnage during ten years was 34 per cent, in Waterford the increase was 130 per cent; in Dundalk, 18 per cent; in Newry, 70 per cent; in Wexford, 33 per cent; in Sligo, 45 per cent; and in Coleraine, 100, per cent. There is one fact still more remarkable; for the Returns show that the increase of tonnage in Ireland has been proportionately greater than in England. The increase of tonnage in the whole of Great Britain during twenty years, from 1847 to 1867 was 58 per cent, while in Ireland it was 67 per cent. I find that while the increase of tonnage in Dublin was 98 per cent, and in Belfast 143 per cent, in Liverpool, which is just opposite, the increase was only 58 per cent; far less than Dublin and Belfast. I will not try to persuade the House that Ireland is a rich country, or that it is in a condition similar to England or to Scotland. But, comparing small things with great, and contrasting the condition of the country with what it was, I maintain there is nothing to show decline or a decrease of prosperity. The hon. Member for Cork laid great stress upon the decay of the country towns. I have no precise facts to lay before the House on that part of the subject, but I have a personal acquaintance with a good number of the country towns of Ireland, especially near Dublin and adjacent to the main lines of the railway, which might be supposed to be affected by any absence of prosperity among the agricultural classes, and my experience is that, so far

from showing symptoms of decline, there has been during the last eight or ten years a gradual improvement which has extended to the country towns. In a small town near my residence houses have been built, business has increased, and its state is far better than it was ten years ago; and, although some may not have improved in the same way, there is, I believe, nothing in the state of the country towns to show that they do not participate in the general advance which is taking place all over Ireland.

And now let the House consider what has taken place since the commencement of the new policy which this country has pursued towards Ireland since 1824-5, the date of first educational inquiry. In 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed. A short time afterwards a system of national education was adopted. A system of police, which has been found excellent and useful, was created. The constitution of juries was altered and greatly improved. The fiscal powers of grand juries were regulated. Municipalities were reformed, and placed upon a different footing. The poor Law was established. The Landed Estates Court was created for the sale of incumbered properties. In fine, it is beyond a doubt, that a greater number of beneficial measures were never carried in any country within so short a period of time. Professor Ingram has truly remarked that changes so great, and made within so short a period, constitute the largest peaceful revolution in the history of the world,

Now, Sir, I think I have shown that there is nothing in the present state of Ireland to evidence a state of decay or decline. It now becomes my duty to refer, as briefly as I can, to some of the proposals that have been made with respect to the land of Ireland since the House met last year. Certainly there is no lack of physicians. There have been no end of prescriptions; but I think that if some of them were adopted they would make matters much worse than they are. I will advert to three or four of the notable proposals which have been made lately for dealing with the land of Ireland. There has been a proposition made by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), another by the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. Stuart Mill), and a third by the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Sir John Gray), all of which have obtained a considerable amount of public attention. All these tend to one thing—namely in different ways to establish fixity of tenure; or, in other words, a peasant proprietorship in Ireland. The hon. Member for Birmingham proposes that the money of the State shall be lent for the purchase of land in Ireland, to be repaid by the tenant, as are the land improvement loans; and that a certain amount of money shall be added to the rent until the value of the farm is re-paid. The hon. Member for Westminster goes much further, for he would deal with the whole land of Ireland. He would issue a Commission to ascertain its value, he would buy it all up, and re-let it by the State to tenants for ever for a yearly rent. The hon. Member for Kilkenny proposes that a law should be passed

which would give fixity of tenure to every farmer in Ireland; that the landlord's interest should be a mere rent-charge on the estate, and that the landlord should have nothing to do except to receive the rents.

In considering these proposals, it appears to me that the House ought to inquire for a moment as to what has been the tendency of similar measures in other countries, and what the state of things would be if they were adopted in Ireland, and if we found ourselves in the act of creating or of having created a large peasant proprietary in that country. One of the great arguments put forward in support of peasant proprietary is its supposed Conservative tendency. It is said that its effect is to get rid of discontent and disaffection, and that you always find in countries having a peasant proprietary political contentment and safety from revolution. That is a very attractive theory if it were true. But is it the case that, in countries where a peasant Proprietary exists, a greater respect prevails for the rights of property and for the institutions of the State than in other countries? We must all admit that a respect for the rights of property is, next to the safety of life, the first object of all law, and the most important test of civilization. If I compare France and England in these respects, I find that, as regards England although no system of peasant proprietary exists and it is a country of large landed proprietors and tenant-farmers, yet there is no country in the world where the rights of property are so much respected. If I take France, where a peasant proprietary exists in a great part of the country,

it will be found that, from time to time, the wildest views and the most subversive theories as to those rights have been promulgated and actually accepted by a great portion of the population. I think it will be found that at no remote period doctrines on these subjects were popular, which have never been adopted by any large portion of the people of this country. The experience of foreign countries, then, does not show that the existence of a peasant proprietary secures you from dangerous theories and discontent. Switzerland, which of all the countries of Europe has been quoted as a favourable precedent of the system of small holdings, was so lately as 1847 the scene of much civil disturbance in almost every canton. In 1848, in Austria, in Germany, and in Sardinia, the same results took place. Unfortunately for the argument, those countries which had the least to apprehend from a movement like that of 1848, which upset thrones and destroyed established Governments, were those very countries where small proprietors and the subdivision of land did not exist. But, Sir, these schemes are put forward as adapted for Ireland because it is broadly stated that those residing in the agricultural parts of the country and engaged in the occupation of land, are thoroughly discontented and disaffected. If the fact be as is stated, and if the whole agricultural population of Ireland is thoroughly disloyal, some very stringent remedy might be necessary. But what are the tests of disloyalty? I am not prepared to say that among those engaged in agricultural pursuits, and particularly in the South of Ireland, there is not

a certain amount of sympathy with disaffection. But the tests of active disloyalty and discontent are, firstly, emigration; secondly, the engaging in treasonable practices; and, thirdly, the existence of agrarian crime. Now, I believe that, as far as you can judge from these three symptoms, disaffection and disloyalty do not prevail to any considerable extent among the occupiers of land. With regard to emigration, it is found that the occupiers and holders of the soil are not leaving the country. There has been an enormous exodus, but it is gradually ceasing. It has been stated by Lord Dufferin in his book, and it has never been denied, that of the whole number of Irish emigrants in the years 1865 and 1866—and I believe the same thing holds good in regard to the year 1867—only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent consisted of men who were engaged in the occupation of land. So that, if emigration be a sign of disaffection and discontent, it certainly does not exist to any considerable extent among the tillers of the soil. Then, with respect, to treasonable practices, it must be admitted that their non-existence among the agricultural population of Ireland is a sign of the absence of active disloyalty and discontent. The hon. Member for Cork seems to dispise facts; but I shall give him another in addition to those I mentioned the other night relating to this point. I have taken the trouble to ascertain the proportion of farmers and men holding land in Ireland who have been arrested on suspicion of being participators in treasonable practices since the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and I find that, out of the

whole number of persons who have been so arrested during the last three years —namely, 1,100—only fifty-six of them were men in the occupation of land. As this statement has been very much criticized, I have made a very careful analysis of those fifty-six men, and I find, from the nominal Return which I have in my hand, of the fifty-six persons described as farmers, that only twenty-four of them were men who actually lived by the land; that the remainder were either farmers' sons; or persons indirectly connected with land; and that in reality, out of the 1,100 men arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, only twenty-four, instead of fifty-six were engaged in the occupation of the soil. Then turning to agrarian crime, certainly there was a time when that species of outrage was very common in Ireland; and if there was now so much dissatisfaction and discontent so much undue competition for land—if the land question was a source of so much heartburning and disaffection as it is said to be, surely we might expect that there would be no diminution in that great mass of agrarian crime which so long disfigured our annals. Well, what are the facts on this point? The number of agrarian outrages, specially reported by the constabulary for the last twenty-two years are as follows:—1844, 1,001; 1851, 1013; 1861, 229; 1865, 178; 1866, 87. Sir, this is a most remarkable illustration of the untruth of the assertion that the entire tenantry of Ireland, as a class, is thoroughly dissatisfied; because, when we know how deeply they resent anything which they regard as interfering with their fancied rights



in the land, and how that resentment led in past times to the commission of such fearful crimes, surely it is most satisfactory to find that, although in the year 1851 there were 1,000 cases of agrarian outrage reported, yet in 1866 only 87 were reported in the whole of Ireland.

Sir, in examining the proposals which have been made for the regeneration of Ireland; the House ought to consider what would be the immediate effect of such a proposal as that which has been propounded by the hon. Member for Westminster. The first effect of it, I believe would be that, if you were to create in the way he suggests a large number of peasant proprietors in Ireland you would destroy almost all, or at least a great many, of the influences which bind that country to this. A Return was laid on the table of this House last year which shows the number of holdings that at present exist in Ireland; but I have ascertained the number of holdings which are valued at £4 and under, and those which are valued at £8 and under. [The noble Lord then quoted a recent Return of the number of agricultural holdings in Ireland valued at £4 and under, and also of those valued at over £4 and under £8. From this document it appeared that of the holdings valued under £4, the general average acreage was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres and the total number of such separate holdings was 174,939; while of the next class of holdings immediately above that sum in value—namely, those over £4 and under £8, the average size was 13 acres, the total number was 142,468.] He then continued:—Thus if the plan of the hon.

Member for the Westminster were carried into effect the State would be immediately called upon to exercise landlords' rights as to rent over the owners of 316,957 separate holdings, of the average size in the smallest class of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and in the next class of 13 acres, or more than half the entire number of holdings in Ireland. That is an undertaking in which I think this House would never attempt to embark. The social effect of it would be most disastrous. I believe you would find that you would remove at once from the people of that country a large portion of the influences which now bind them to the United Kingdom. But there is one feature which I think must occur to the mind of anybody who considers these proposals, and that is the certainty of heavy indebtedness which is sure to weigh upon these small holders. In every country in the world where these small proprietors exist the greatest tendency to mortgage their holdings operates. In the Canton of Zurich, it is stated that the load of debt pressing on the peasant proprietary is almost incredible, so that with the greatest industry and frugality, and under complete freedom of commerce, they are hardly able to stand their ground. In France the registered mortgages of land twenty years ago are said to have amounted to £400,000,000 sterling; and some remarkable facts have been brought to my knowledge lately with regard to Prussia, and the state of things which now exists there. It has been said that in Prussia the system of peasant proprietorship has been of the greatest possible

benefit to that country; but I would remind the House that at this moment in East Prussia there rages a famine which has hardly ever been equalled; and the accounts of it which have been received are very similar to those which came from Ireland during the period of the great famine there. In a Report lately furnished by the Consul at Königsberg, it is stated that in those parts of Prussia where there is a great subdivision of land, with a peasant proprietorship, the people are now suffering from all the horrors of famine. The principal evil which I believe, this plan or any like plan would effect in Ireland would be subdivision. What did subdivision mean in past years? Misery, nakedness, and hunger—death! The bare recollection makes one shudder at the possibility of its recurrence. Under such a system there is no possible means of recovery when bad times came upon the country. I do not believe that the lesson of 1847 and 1848 can ever be forgotten; and I am perfectly certain that if a proposal such as I have alluded to were adopted, the peasantry would evince the same tendency as they have always shown to subdivide their farms. It is, perhaps, difficult to bring back to recollection what really took place in former years. Is there anything, then, in the plan of the hon. Gentleman which would lead us to believe that those misfortunes which are still fresh in our recollection could be guarded against, or that there is any security taken by him that the evils which had been so often lamented would not inevitably recur? I will now attempt to address to

the House some remarks as to the course which we have followed in Ireland, and the policy which we intend to pursue. Since we have been intrusted with the Government of the country we have endeavoured to adhere as nearly as possible to the principles laid down by Lord Derby when he took office two years ago. Lord Derby then said—

“ I believe that a Government in Ireland which shows itself determined to do its duty by all ranks and classes may hope to receive the support of a large majority of the Irish people, than whom there are no greater lovers of impartial justice. We do not propose in our Government of Ireland to act on any exclusive principle. We desire to obtain the co-operation of all who have at heart the peace and tranquillity of the country, the maintenance of the rights of property, and the putting down of unlawful associations.”—(3 *Hansard*, clxxxiv, 742.)

To that policy we have strictly adhered. In the treatment of Irish questions it requires much more courage to take a moderate and impartial course than to attach oneself violently to one party or the other. Men engaged in conducting the affairs of Ireland may gain popularity by attaching themselves to this side or that; but if you wish to govern Ireland properly, you must despise popularity gained by such means, and must go fairly and boldly forward in a straight-forward and impartial course. It must be admitted that intrusted with the Government of Ireland at an eventful period we have been successful in our endeavours to preserve the peace, though we have had difficulties to contend with of no ordinary nature. Still we have been enabled, by impartiality and firmness, to obtain that result. Conspiracy in Ireland has been checked; from one end

of the country to the other, the authority of the law has been vindicated. Numbers of persons have been prosecuted for offences connected with Fenianism and Whiteboyism, and there has been nothing to complain of in the conduct of the juries or of any one concerned in the administration of justice in Ireland. All have discharged their duty with fidelity and loyalty. The result of judicial proceedings is remarkable. Since July 1866, 344 men have been tried; eighty-three were convicted, 151 pleaded guilty, twelve were acquitted; in seven cases only the jury disagreed; eighty were discharged on bail. With the exception of seventeen cases, the trials were confined to the four counties of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary. In the case of the processions in Ireland which took place after the Manchester executions, we did not deem it our duty to stop them until they assumed a character which showed they were completely seditious and almost treasonable. However, when we felt that it was necessary to put a stop to those assemblies, and when we issued proclamations for that object, we were obeyed throughout the length and breadth of the land without an appearance of opposition. There are three great and important questions which now occupy the public mind, as regards Ireland. There is, first, what may be called the land question. Now I think any one who approaches the consideration of this subject must do so with a feeling somewhat akin to despair. For the last twenty-five years almost every Ministry has attempted to deal with it, nor has it been from any indisposition on the

part of the House to legislate upon the matter that success has not been attained. The reason for this invariable failure is that the difficulties of the question are enormous, and that it is nearly impossible to provide by Act of Parliament for the endless variety of condition under which land is held. Last year I introduced a Bill which would have gone a long way towards settling the question, which has been described by an able writer as one of the greatest boons ever offered to the tenantry of any country. It had this important feature, which I think was a new one, that it offered a simple and easy means of registering improvements made by tenants. That was a difficulty which had always been experienced in legislating upon this subject; for any scheme has little or no prospect of success which does not devise an easy method of recording the nature of the improvement when it is made. Without such a provision there can be no security against fraud and dispute. The Bill did not profess to deal with the question of tenure; it was limited to one portion of the subject—that of providing an easy mode of securing for the tenant compensation for improvements made by himself—an object which all the Bills which had been introduced in this subject had had in view. If, therefore, in the opinion of the hon. Gentlemen opposite, it be necessary to go further into the matter and deal with tenure, a different course would have to be taken from that which I proposed last year. That Bill, I must say, was not received in a very encouraging manner by

hon. Members opposite, nor did it even elicit very warm approval from some of my friends on this side of the House ; I shall ever regret that it was not amply discussed ; for if the business of the House had allowed it to be more fully considered, I believe many of the objections taken against it would have been refuted. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Gregory) affirmed that it would be of little or no use, and that compensation was all moonshine. I still believe, however, that the House would do well to deal with the question of compensation, the question of leasing powers for the purpose of improvements, and the question of contracts, leaving aside the subject of tenure. I propose, therefore, during the present Session, to introduce a Bill very similar to that of last year. I propose to include in it provision for increased powers of improvement by limited owners, for the encouragement of written contracts. I have a strong opinion that there is much truth in the objections preferred against the parole tenancy which is so general in Ireland. There is no such thing as a tenant-at-will ; but the greater portion of the occupations are held by a parole agreement, which in law is held to be a tenancy from year to year. That system has great disadvantages, and I believe that both landlords and tenants feel that it would be very desirable that all lettings should be by written contract. The provisions for tenants' compensations will not be in all respects identical with those proposed last year ; but I hope to be able to show that, without interfering with the rights of property,

they will give to the holders of land an easy means of securing monies which he may lay out in improvements; and, under certain conditions, will offer loans to him for the same object. I believe the Bill will be found to be as comprehensive a one as the House is likely to accept. I hope that the result may be that we shall arrive at something like general agreement on two or three branches of the question, and thus pass a measure which will be productive of great and substantial advantages. Therefore I would entreat hon. Gentlemen opposite to consider favourably the proposals that I shall make; and that if we cannot do all that they would wish, or that they think desirable, that, at all events, we might take some steps in the present Session to endeavour to secure to Irish tenants full and ample means for securing money laid out by them in the *bona fide* improvement of the land. The Bill will be introduced immediately, and the Government will endeavour to the utmost of their power to pass it into law during the present Session. But, Sir in addition to this, seeing the magnitude to which this subject has attained; seeing also the excitement and uncertainty which prevails in the public mind with respect to it; believing that an enormous amount of misconception prevails on the matter; and believing, also, that it will be very much for the advantage of the country that the great and important questions that have been mooted should be for ever set at rest, and believing further that these demands and this question will never be set at rest until the public and



this House are in possession of further information on the subject, we propose at the earliest possible moment to institute a solemn inquiry into the whole state of the relations between landlord and tenant. We have come to this determination because statements are made and put forward by the highest authorities, both in and out of the House, which have led a portion of the public to believe that there is a great and an immediate necessity for the passing of measures with regard to Ireland, which have been termed even by those who proposed them, of a revolutionary character. When we hear such language as that which was used by the hon. Member for Birmingham not long ago, when he wrote that if Ireland was 1,000 miles away all would be changed, or the landlords would be swept away by the vengeance of the people. [ Mr. BRIGHT : No, no ! ] The hon. Gentleman will, no doubt, have an opportunity of contradicting that statement. [ Mr. BRIGHT : I contradict it now. ] I am very glad the hon. Gentleman denies that he used such expressions ; but they have been given in the public Press, and have called forth a good deal of comment and animadversion, and I never heard till this moment that he repudiated them. But the hon. Gentleman, if he has not made such statements, has certainly propounded remedies which would lead people to think that he entertained sentiments of that description. And the hon. member for Westminster has declared that in his opinion, Ireland can never be regenerated, unless an entire class, and that the most influential, are obliterated or got rid of.

Sir, the Government are not insensible to the fact, that statements such as these, made by high authorities, have had a great effect upon the public mind. Indeed. we find in all parts of the country, and throughout Europe, very false ideas are prevalent as to the real condition and circumstances of Ireland. We believe that till an inquiry is held into the real facts of the case, and the real state of affairs in that country, Parliament and the public can never come to right conclusions on the subject; and I would remind the House of the danger to Ireland, as well as to the Empire, of keeping this question open. It is a question that ought to be set at rest, and for ever; and considering the great demands put forward on the one side, and looking at the manner in which they have been received by a great portion of the public, I do not believe the question ever can be settled until more information is placed at the disposal of the House. Persons are now asking, "Are these statements true? Is it possible that, in a country so close to England, laws relating to the land so closely similar to our own should have such a different effect?" There is an additional reason why this inquiry is necessary—I have shown that there are few countries in the world in which changes so rapid and extensive have taken place as have occurred in Ireland within the last few years. Since the Devon Commission sat, we have had a great emigration with an enormous change of property, through the operation of the Landed Estates' Court, and we have also had a great alteration in the num-

bers and character of the occupiers of land. We therefore propose an inquiry in to the whole subject. Although there have been inquiries and investigations, they have generally been of a partial character; and I believe that the landlords on the one side, and those who represent the tenants on the other, never have had the opportunity of deliberately and patiently setting forth their respective cases. In the Committee moved by the hon. member for Cork, the inquiry was very one-sided; and I believed that, with two exceptions, witnesses only who represented a particular class of opinion were examined. The inquiry need not be long, but it should be conducted on the spot; and we hope that we shall be able to secure men of sufficient position, character, and knowledge to conduct it with success. The commission will have to investigate the operation of the laws that regulate the tenure of land in Ireland, the arrangements and customs that exist between landlord and tenant, the system which prevails for compensation for improvements, the operation of the Incumbered Estates' Court, and the effect emigration has had upon the condition of the agricultural class. I believe the result of this inquiry will be to show that the state of things really existing in Ireland is very different from what it is represented to be; that there has been much exaggeration and false statement; and that if all parties will state their views fairly and fully much truth will be elicited. I cannot but think that it is most undesirable the House should proceed to any legislation further than that proposed either by myself

or the right hon. Gentleman opposite ( Mr. Chichester Fortescue ), without some inquiry whether such legislation is needed at all. I believe it will be proved before the Commission that a great deal which has been said about a certain class in Ireland is far from the truth ; and, that instead of being the enemies of the people, they have performed their duties to the best of their ability, and in a manner advantageous to the country. And I am sure it will be shown that there is no foundation for the statements made as to the extreme dissatisfaction of the tenantry of Ireland with their condition. We hope the Commission will go and examine tenants in their own locality, who will themselves state what they desire ; and I believe it will be found that they are by no means so extravagant or preposterous in their demands as has been stated by those who have assumed to speak for them. Sir, I hope that the proposal we make will meet with the approval of the House, and that we shall at once proceed to consider a measure dealing with a portion of this subject, and leave to inquiries those larger questions and plans which have been put forward with so much boldness by members of this House, and by many writers in the public Press.

We may anticipate that a considerable portion of the time of this Session will be devoted to Irish affairs. I propose on a very early day to introduce a Bill for the Amendment of the Representation of the People in Ireland. I hope on Monday or Thursday next week to be able to state the proposals of the Government on that

subject. With regard to the very important question of railway communication, I need not say that a large amount of dissatisfaction exists respecting the management of the companies, and we have proposed—with the concurrence, I believe, of men of all parties—to inquire into that matter. We have intrusted that inquiry to five very able gentlemen, and I hope before Easter that their Report will be upon the table. Though this may cause some amusement to hon. Members below the Gangway, who think of nothing but grievances of sentiment, I believe that there is no question of more importance to Ireland—none by which a greater boon can be conferred upon the country than by taking some means to improve the management and increasing the efficiency of the railways in Ireland, and I am not without hope that we shall be able to make a proposal to the House on that subject during the present Session. We have submitted the whole question of primary education in Ireland to a Royal Commission. That Commission is already at work. I regret very much that, owing to a very unfortunate circumstance, the commencement of its labours have been delayed; but this was unavoidable, for it arose from the great loss the country has sustained in the death of one of its most distinguished sons, the Earl of Rose, who had consented to preside over it, who entirely approved of its appointment, and whose assistance and guidance would have been of great value. We have endeavoured to constitute that Commission fairly; to represent men thereon of all classes,

creeds and opinions—men who have given much attention to the subject; and when I state that upon that Commission we have eight Roman Catholics and eight Protestants; that, of the two secretaries one is a Protestant, the other a Roman Catholic; that men representing every shade of opinion on educational matters are to be found among its members, and that they will pursue their labours with the greatest desire to come to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, we may anticipate the most favourable results. With regard to the question of University education in Ireland, we are going to take a different course. There are two Universities now existing in Ireland. The one is the Dublin University, the other the Queen's University, which is an institution of later growth; for the Dublin University has been established for a great number of years. It was founded by Queen Elizabeth for the avowed purpose of encouraging and establishing the Protestant religion in Ireland. But, though it was established for that purpose, and though it has ever retained its Protestant character—the governing body being always Protestant—it has been conspicuous among all Universities for liberality. For a great number of years the prizes of this University, with the exception of the Fellowships, and a few foundation Scholarships, have been open to students of all denominations and creeds; although the governing body is composed exclusively of Protestants, the advantages of the institution are free to all; several Professorships may be, and, in fact, are at the present time held by Roman Catholics, while

there is no interference whatever with the religious scruples of the students. In this respect an admirable example has been set by the University of Dublin, which ever since 1793 has led the way in all the questions of University refrom. The result of this system of education has been that not only has this University been frequented by the Protestant population of Ireland ; but it has also conferred the advantages of a sound University education upon numbers of Roman Catholics and Dissenters who have subsequently attained high professional or literary distinction. Of all the institutions which have been established in Ireland, this University is the most prosperous and healthy. There are now in Ireland 5,000 graduates who have taken their degrees in it, and who regard it with affection and veneration ; and I do not believe that there is to be found among any class in Ireland any considerable body of men who are opposed to this University, or to the system of education adopted there. If that be so, it would be an act of the greatest madness, and impolicy, to attempt to disturb an institution which stands so deservedly high in the estimation of a great portion of the Irish people. Then, again, the Queen's University has done its work admirably. The fundamental principle upon which it was founded was announced by Sir James Graham, in introducing the Bill by which it was established, to be the absence of all interference, positive or negative, with the conscientious scruples of the students in matters of religion, and that principle has been strictly adhered to. It is a principle which has been

supported by a number of the ablest and best men of Ireland, and has attracted a great number of persons of all creeds who were in search of a University education. But under that principle religious teaching forms no part whatever of the system of education, and the governing body is elected without any reference to their religious creed. There can be no doubt that since its establishment the Queen's University has done good service in the education of the Irish people; and I feel bound to state my opinion upon this point the more distinctly, because I was accused last year by hon. and right hon. Members opposite of having said that the institution had been unsuccessful. What I said on the occasion to which reference has been made was, that, while the Queen's University had done a great work in Ireland, it had failed to attract support from a certain portion of the people. I have now stated the exact position in which the two Irish Universities are placed. There exists, however, a large class in Ireland to whom the system adopted at neither University is acceptable, and who, therefore, decline to avail themselves of the advantages they offer. There is a large number of persons who object to send their sons to a University where the only religion taught is one that they do not profess, and there are also many who will not send their sons to a College where religious teaching does not form a portion of the system of education. Are these objections unreasonable? I ask this House to consider whether there are not many among us who would have the same objection to send



their sons to Universities where the Roman Catholic religion alone was taught, or where all religious instruction was studiously omitted? That is the case here. and there have been various modes proposed for meeting these objections. The late Government attempted to remedy the grievance by the issue of a supplemental charter to the Queen's University, but that was resisted; and I believe that many of those who at first were in favour of the supplemental charter are now convinced that if that charter had been carried, it would not have met any of the objections, taken to the existing systems. But we believe that a plan may be devised which, without interfering with, or restricting, or hindering the work of the two Universities, another institution may be erected, which will not be a dangerous rival to them. I have no doubt, that if we could now begin at the beginning, the best course for us to take would be to establish one University for the whole country. I am aware of the strong—I may almost say, the unanswerable arguments in favour of such a course. But such a state of things no longer exists. We have already two institutions which are deeply rooted in the affections of their adherents. We know what a strong and eventually successful opposition was raised to the supplemental charter for the Queen's University. No attempt has been made to interfere with Trinity College; but I am persuaded that if it were, the opposition raised would be more formidable, and still more successful. I believe that in dealing with this question, it is better to

supplement and to add than to pull down, destroy, or alter. We have at present three different systems of education at work in Ireland—namely, the purely denominational, the semi-denominational or mixed, and the united or secular system. Under the denominational system religious teaching is given to every student every one of whom must submit to be taught by persons professing one particular creed, Under the second system, which is that adopted at Trinity College, religious instruction is given by teachers to all those who profess the religion of the Institution, but no religious teaching is pressed upon those who profess a different faith. Under the third system, which is the one adopted at the Queen's Colleges, religious teaching does not form any part of the course of instruction given. Of these three systems, the second is that which has, in my opinion, been most successful in Ireland. The denominational system has failed to attract the complete confidence even of those who profess the religion of the schools where it is taught; and the secular system has been most fiercely assailed by persons of all classes and of all creeds. In Trinity College we find a system of teaching pursued which is acceptable to all who share in it, and which is looked upon without aversion by those who do not partake of it. You will find the same system in the non-vested schools of the National Board—certainly the most successful portion of the primary teaching administered in Ireland. It has been said that the multiplication of Universities is a very great evil. A good deal may be said on that subject; but, at the same time, I have no doubt that

several Universities may be established in a country with the greatest possible advantage. For instance, in Germany Universities are very numerous; and no one will say that learning is not as far advanced there as in any other country in the world. Then, take Belgium, with its 4,000,000 of inhabitants; there are four Universities in that little kingdom. [ An hon. MEMBER; Colleges. ] well, there are four Colleges in Belgium; but they resemble Universities; but you must recollect that the University of Brussels is an institution wholly different from anything in this country. The University of Brussels, is nothing more or less than a licensing examining body, which has nothing to do with the the teaching, discipline, or religion of the Colleges. It is quite possible that different Universities may be established in the country, so as to provide amply for all the requirements of education, without interfering with each other's efficiency. I am not aware that the establishment of the London University did in any way interfere with the education given in the older institutions. Certainly the foundation of the Queen's University had no injurious effect upon Trinity College; the number of students there is as large as before, and the only result has been to create a most wholesome rivalry between the sister establishments. It appears to me, then, that a third University may be founded in Ireland without injuring the existing institutions. I believe that what is desirable is that a University should be established in that country, which would, as far as possible, stand in the same relation to the Roman Catholic population as Trinity College does to the Protestant.

We do not propose to found an exact or servile imitation ; but we do consider that we should be taking a step which would be of the greatest public advantage, and which would tend very much to the furtherance of University education, if we were to establish an institution which should bear that character to a considerable extent. I hold that one feature of the new University should be that it should, after the first establishment, be as free as possible from Government control. I believe its constitution should be most carefully considered in the beginning ; that the strict precise rules should be laid down in its charter ; but that once these points were settled it should be left to walk alone, and should be relieved as far as possible from State interference. In my opinion, the success of the University must depend very much upon its independence, its self-reliance, and its autonomy ; and I believe that all the great ends we have in view can be thoroughly secured by a judicious constitution of its original charter. We therefore propose to advise Her Majesty to grant a charter to a Roman Catholic University, to be constructed in the following manner. The institution which it is proposed to create will not resemble the existing Roman Catholic University in Dublin. It is proposed that, in the first instance, a charter should be granted, in the same way as the charter was granted to the Queen's University ; that the governing body, under the original constitution, should consist of a Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, four prelates, the President of Maynooth, six laymen, the heads of the Colleges to be at first affiliated, and five members to be elected,

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so as to represent the five educational faculties—all being Roman Catholics. Future vacancies should be filled up in the following manner. The Chancellor should be elected by Convocation, and the Vice Chancellors should be appointed by the Chancellor. Four prelates should be nominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the President of Maynooth should form one of the governing body, the six laymen should be elected by Convocation, and the heads of the affiliated Colleges should be *ex officio* members of the Board; and, besides, five members should be elected according to the five faculties, so as to represent in the governing body the teaching power of the institution. I believe that in that way we should provide all the elements of an independent and healthy establishment, that ample security would be taken for the faith and morals of the pupils; that there would be a preponderating and influential lay element in the constitution; that the elective principle would be completely recognized, and that those engaged in the teaching of the Colleges, and the general body of the graduates, would have a potent voice in the selection of the governing body. To the University thus constituted we would give the power of holding University examinations, of granting degrees, of determining what Colleges should be affiliated, and the course of studies to be pursued.

Such is the proposal we intend to make. And here I wish to state to the House that in this matter we have entered into no negotiations or communications with any body whatever. We have felt that, if given at all, the charter should be the gift, not of the Government, but of Parliament; and

that we should be only doing our duty and redeeming the pledge given last year, in making our first announcement on this subject to the House of Commons. But though we have taken this course, it will be our duty, having announced our plan, to enter into communication as soon as possible with those most interested in the matter, with a view of carrying out our plans effectually, and in the way most acceptable to them. Keeping in view, therefore, the principles we think necessary—namely, that there should be in the institution a powerful lay element, and that the elective principle should be fully recognized—we shall be prepared to listen respectfully and carefully to all suggestions and communications that may be made to us, and to endeavour to suit the new University to the requirements of those for whose benefit it is intended. I think in the mode in which we have dealt with this question we have best complied with the wishes of the House. I believe that the failure of the supplemental charter last year and the year before was attributable very much to the fact that this House was not sufficiently consulted, and that it came upon Parliament and the country as well as on the Queen's University by surprise. We have adopted the opposite course, we have made our first confidence to the House of Commons, our first declaration here; and, seeing that this University question has long been a matter of dispute in Ireland, we offer a plan by which we believe it may be finally set a rest—a plan which will not interfere with the vitality or strength of existing institutions, but will supply everything which has been demanded by those

whose religious scruples prevented them from taking advantage of the present systems. With regard to endowment it will be essential, of course, if Parliament agrees to the proposal, in the first instance to provide for the necessary expenses of the University—that is to say, the expenses of officers of the University, of the University Professors, and also to make some provision for a building. It is possible that if Parliament approves the scheme it may not be indisposed to endow certain University scholarships. But with regard to the endowment of Colleges, it is impossible to make any proposal of that nature at present; and to that extent the question will be left open to future consideration. It is not, therefore, contemplated to submit any scheme for the endowment of the Colleges in connection with the University.

Sir, there is one other question which has greatly occupied the public mind. The Irish Church, after a slumber of nearly thirty years, has again become a subject of first-rate political importance. It has been urged by many that this question should be at once settled, and though the state of the Irish Church has of late years considerably improved, the principle on which it is founded remaining the same, it is contended that some sudden and immediate action should be taken in the matter. I beg to remind the House of what took place last year with reference to this subject. The noble Lord, the Leader of the party opposite proposed in the other House of Parliament an Address to the Queen. As the noble Lord first gave notice of his Motion it stood in these words—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give

Directions that, by the Operation of a Commission or otherwise, full and accurate Information be procured as to the Amount and Nature of the Property and Revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, and as to the Means of rendering that Property more productive."—[3 *Hansard*, clxxxviii. 367.]

In that shape it remained on the Notice book from the 31st of May, 1867, for some time ; but on the 7th of June a few days before the Motion was proposed, the following addition was made:—

"And to their more equitable application for the Benefit of the Irish People."—[*Ibid.*]

The addition of these words gave rise to a debate, and, after considerable discussion and a division, a Resolution was ultimately adopted in the terms originally proposed by the noble Lord. That Resolution having been arrived at, the Government at once determined to carry out the intention of the other House of Parliament and appointed a Commission. It has often been stated that this Commission was of an unimportant character. That, in my opinion, is a very great mistake. I have ascertained from one of the Members of the Commission the precise mode in which the inquiry is being conducted, and the subjects investigated, and it has been stated by him that in the Report will be found, when it is presented to Parliament, an account of—1st, the whole property ; 2nd, the mode of its distribution ; 3rd, the services of those who receive the proceeds of this property, and the number of Church people under their care ; 4th, the management of the property—and under this head would come the inquiry whether the management should be left as it is, or the property should be sold and capitalized,



and whether it would be best that it should be managed by the Bishops and clergy, or by a Central Board under Commissioners? It will be possible, under the terms of the Commission, to examine into and compare the system of religious endowments in other countries, and how far they are applicable to Ireland. The Report, in fact, will set forth at a view the whole state of the Church revenues, and will show at a glance whether they are sufficient, or more than sufficient, for their objects. Even though the Commission has only been at work for three months, I am informed that they have already collected, with great labour, a mass of information at once novel and compendious. Contradictory statements have been made on all those points, and even in the last debate the most opposite assertions were made on all the matters referred to. I understand that the Commissioners are about to take oral evidence, and there is every reason to believe that the inquiry will not be protracted beyond the next two or three months, and it is quite possible that even during the present Session the Report of the Commission may be presented. Seeing, therefore, that the inquiry suggested by the Leader of the Liberal party has been instituted; and that the heaviest part of its labours are nearly concluded, the question arises, whether it is desirable or even possible that, during the present Session, and in the face of such an inquiry, any immediate action should be taken with regard to the Irish Church? Is there anything in the present state of the Irish Church, or of the country itself, to call for such hasty measures? The Irish Church is frequently put forward as one of the main causes of Irish discontent, and one hon. Gentleman went so far

as to say that her abolition would be a cure for Fenianism. But surely, on this point, the evidence of the Fenians themselves is of some value. Now, in a remarkable article which appeared some time since in one of the magazines, and which, from its intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the Brotherhood, was evidently written by some one connected with the secret operations of that body, this was expressly denied. The writer of that article said—

“Englishmen complain that the Irish are never satisfied with what is done for them. Exactly so. A hungry man is not satisfied when you give him a toy. The Royal visits to Ireland, which were once considered as the sovereign panacea for Irish disloyalty, the land distribution, advocated by John Bright and others, the abolition of the Irish Church Establishment, now mooted as a sure cure for Fenianism, are toys given to hungry men. What the Fenians desire is Ireland for the Irish, and they look upon all the promised reforms as bribes to seduce true patriots from a righteous purpose.”

Such statements therefore were uncorroborated. If the Irish Church were abolished to-morrow, I do not believe that we should have a single Fenian the less in the country. But those who demand the overthrow of the Irish Church and its immediate abolition, fail to propose any plan which is not immediately and strongly objected to. The noble Lord who moved the Resolution last year made a most elaborate proposition; but that proposition has been received with a general chorus of disapproval from the most distinguished Members of the party to which he belongs. The abolition of the Church is described as a measure which will restore peace and heal the wounds of Ireland. That statement I believe to be incapable of proof, because whatever dissatisfaction may arise from the

existence of the Irish Church—and I would not for a moment deny that dissatisfaction and dislike to the Establishment does exist among certain classes—the present contest is nothing to what would be raised over its dead body. The highest authorities have expressed their opinion, and none more strongly than Earl Russell himself on this point. When a proposition was made some time ago, by a series of Resolutions in “another place,” to distribute the property of the Irish Church among the different religious denominations in the country, the noble Lord said—

“I can very well believe that the majority of the people of Ireland, seeing that the Church Establishment remains for the benefit of a minority, may feel that an evil and a grievance. But when the question is as to what should be done by the Government and by Parliament in regard to the subject, I must say that any such violent measure as my noble Friend proposes would, in my opinion, instead of remedying the evil, increase it to a very great extent. I am afraid that if my noble Friend were permitted to carry his proposed act of Parliament into effect, and divide the Church property of Ireland between the Established Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church, it would create more religious discord, more heart-burning, and more division than we have ever yet seen in Ireland.”—[3 *Hansard*, cixxxii, 414, 415.]

That was the opinion of the noble Lord two years ago. The situation is unchanged. The Irish Church may be for many years a subject of ecclesiastical jealousy ; it may be a constant theme for political declamation, possibly, too it may in a short time become the subject of a party struggle ; but nobody will ever persuade me that the Irish Roman Catholic farmer or labourer who, in passing the house of a minister of the Established Church, toward whose maintenance he does not contribute 1s., but whom he has

long known as a good neighbour and as a kind friend—I never will believe that the regards the existence of that man as an intolerable grievance or a badge of oppression. For my own part, I believe that if the Irish Church is overthrown, that overthrow can only be effected after a long and painful struggle—a struggle which must inevitably tend to the increase and aggravation of those discords and religious hatreds which have produced such evils in the community. The voluntary system is proposed in the interests of peace; there are parts of the country where the voluntary system is carried on in connection with the Established Church, and I am not aware that those regions are especially characterized by concord among the people. The question must be dealt with in a very different spirit from that which the advocates of entire abolition profess. The Presbyterians now receive a Grant from this House which is miserable in amount, and wholly inadequate to their requirements. The Protestants of Ireland are content with the system which prevails; but are not averse to improvements, and to such alterations of ecclesiastical arrangements as would make their Church better fitted to meet the wants of modern times. But we must not prescribe hastily. Of all the schemes which have been proposed I object pre-eminently to that known as the process of “levelling down.” It is said that if you cannot elevate and raise the institutions so as to make them equal, the only thing to do is to abolish them altogether. I object to that policy. I think that proposals for universal levelling down are the worst of all propositions.

It appears to be such an argument as a poor man would make to a rich one, when he had given up all hopes of becoming wealthy himself. "Equality is necessary for the welfare of the State. Get rid of your property, and let us sit down and starve together." I believe that in these matters, as in everything else, confiscation is the worst proposal that can be made, either as regards the Church or the land. The grievance of the Irish Church is admitted on all hands to be a grievance of sentiment. It is well known that the Roman Catholic landholders pay nothing, and the Roman Catholic proprietors pay little, towards the maintenance of the Established Church; I do not wish to say that because it is a sentimental grievance it is not one which may not deeply affect the feelings and the actions of a portion of the population of the country; but it is not one which affects her material prosperity. The Irish Church will never be abolished except after a long and desperate struggle. Those who cling to and support it are men of influence and power, of strong religious feelings and inflexible principles. Justice and policy may demand a greater equalization of ecclesiastical arrangements than now exists. But it was wisely said by the right hon. Member for Morpeth (Sir George Grey), that the Irish Church can never be overthrown except by a revolutionary process—a process which will involve all the evils of revolutionary change. If it is desired to make our Churches more equal in position than they are, this result should be secured by elevation and restoration, and not by confiscation and degradation. The despoiled will always feel much more aggrieved than those who have lost nothing; and

I am certain that if so evil a day should come that a British Statesman should stand victorious on the ruins of the Irish Church, he would have achieved a triumph which would create few friends to British rule in Ireland, and would not fail to alienate the feelings and wound the susceptibilities of the large and influential section of the community to whom we are bound by every tie of sympathy and interest. It is now said, "Something must be done;" but I wish to warn the House against embarking in a rash and violent course, because a heavy cloud which will soon clear away now hangs over the land. We seek for no religious ascendancy nor party domination; but we do ask the House to support those who in Ireland have endeavoured, through storm and sunshine, to sustain British laws and British institutions, and have maintained good Government and freedom in the land. There has existed among us for some time a desperate conspiracy, which has for its object the overthrow of British rule and the dismemberment of the British Empire; but you cannot extinguish it by rash and inconsiderate legislation. Do not imagine for a moment, however, that we think nothing can be done. We believe that, as long as there is so much poverty, so little industry, so great an amount of party strife and religious rancour, so long will there be evils to be remedied and grievances to be redressed. Listen, therefore, to all complaints which are fairly made and moderately expressed: examine them carefully, and endeavour to discover whether they are well-founded or groundless; pass them by if they are baseless—remedy them if they are substantial; and above all, let us endeavour to do some

thing more than we have hitherto done in the way of fostering a truly national spirit ; for I believe there is no mode in which we can appeal more forcibly and effectively to the feelings of the Irish people than by supporting measures and promoting objects which bear a national character and tone. But, though we should do all this, let us refuse—absolutely refuse—to change our laws or alter our institutions at the bidding of those who come among us from a foreign land to foment rebellion and civil strife. And if you look for support in Ireland herself, she will not fail you. There is a class in Ireland—a daily increasing class—which comprises within its limits men of all creeds and of all shades of political and religious belief. It includes within its ranks all those who possess the land, who direct the industry, and who, by their intelligence, character, and education, can pretend to guide anything that is sound in the public opinion of the country. The spirit of patriotism and love of country, as pure and as ardent as is to be found among any people in the world, animates their breasts. Their faces are not turned towards the West; for in their consciences they believe that every hope for their country or her advancement, for her welfare, her prosperity, and her liberty is indissolubly bound up in British connection. They desire, and, what is more, they intend, that their sons should be, as they themselves and their fathers have been, sharers in your greatness and your glory, your freedom and your power ; and though they will, with unswerving fidelity, cling to the principles to which they have long adhered, their best and dearest hope for their country is, that the day may not be far distant

when, not by penal laws or legislative restrictions, but by the irresistible logic of oft-repeated and continued facts, the whole mass of their countrymen may be brought to acknowledge, and, in acknowledging, to appreciate, the countless blessings that a free Constitution pours on the heads of a loyal and united people.

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## ESTABLISHED CHURCH, IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS 3RD APRIL 1868

On the 30th of March 1868 Mr. W. E. Gladstone proposed the Resolution regarding the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland as one of the measures for pacification of that distracted Country. An animated discussion ensued, such as had not been witnessed for years within the walls of Parliament. The adjourned debate was continued on the 2nd and 3rd April and the ablest men of both the Whig and Tory parties fought with desperate vigour and energy. Mr. Gladstone triumphed. Lord Mayo who belonged to the Tory party defended the Establishment and opposed the Resolution in the following admirable speech evincing great command and knowledge of the subject discussed.

**T**HE EARL OF MAYO: The language with which the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (MR STANFELD) concluded his speech, is the same as was uttered thirty three years ago in this House on the same subject. Then, as now, this question of the Irish Church had become a great party cry; then, as now, the parties in the State were ranged on either side, and the same words were used as now—namely, that the Irish Church doomed. Since then the party opposite have been for a long time—during twenty eight years—in Office,

with majorities sometimes large, sometimes moderate; but, either from a disinclination to interfere with the matter, or from a feeling that the line laid down and the principle adopted in 1835 were untenable, no action has been taken in the matter. I am rather reluctant to prophecy, but I believe it will be found in future times, when this question comes to be discussed and better known than it is now, the same result will follow; and the Protestant Church in Ireland, though it may be reformed, improved, and amended, and rendered much more in harmony with the requirements of the country and the feelings of the people, will nevertheless remain in its strength and in its purity. I am glad the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down did not repeat in the same terms the charges of inconsistency which have been brought against the Government by former speakers. He seemed to admit what I think must now be patent, to all, that the policy of the Government on this question is clear and defined, and that they believe it to be consistent with their duty, with the principles they profess, and with what they think useful and good for the country, that they should oppose any proposition for the disestablishment or disendowment of the Irish Church. I heard, with some surprise, one of the ablest dialecticians in this House endeavour last night, apparently with great pains and labour, to fasten upon the Government the charge of inconsistency in this matter. He argued that our course had been uncertain and vacillating. From the various speeches delivered on the part of the Government, he tried to argue that the Government had put forth an uncertain sound. Now, I am not going to fol-

low the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Calne (Mr. Lowe) through all the various events, speeches, and circumstances to which he referred ; but I maintain that he utterly failed in proving that there was the smallest particle of inconsistency in the course adopted by the Government since the question was first mooted in public last year, when the Earl of DERBY, in the other House of Parliament, resisted the addition proposed by Earl RUSSELL to his Resolution in favour of a Commission. Since then the conduct of the Government has been invariably the same, and they have never lost an opportunity of declaring that it was their duty to maintain the Church of Ireland as an Establishment, and to resist all attempts to disendow it. As a proof that they entertained this opinion, I will adduce the fact that the noble Lord lately at the head of the Government agreed to the Commission moved for by Earl Russell, in the other House, on the distinct ground that the Commission was to inquire into the position and revenues of the Establishment, with a view to see how any anomalies and inequalities could be removed, and how the property of the Church could be made more beneficial than it is at present. With that view a Commission was appointed, which, notwithstanding all that has been said against it, is, I think, a perfectly impartial one. Nobody, I imagine, supposes that we ought to have selected to serve upon it avowed enemies of the Establishment, and gentlemen who had strongly declared their adherence to the voluntary system. That would have been directly in opposition to the principles on which the Commission was appointed. So the Commissioners selected, were five Gentlemen professing

Conservative opinions, and four Gentlemen professing Liberal opinions, all of whom had then a considerable interest in the question, and all of whom, I believe, are perfectly competent to deal with it. Sir I feel convinced that the Report of that Commission, in its amplitude, in its importance, and its interest, will hardly ever have been excelled by the Report of any Royal Commission that Her Majesty has ever appointed; and, I believe, that all that has been said with regard to the sufficiency of the information now at the disposal of the House upon this subject is an entire mistake, and that you will find in the Report of this Commission an amount of information, and a number of facts which are perfectly new, and which I maintain this House ought to be in possession of, and have time to consider before they can possibly proceed even to deliberate upon this important question. The next event which took place was the speech which I made, and the words—imperfect words, I admit, but admitted to be quite sufficient for their purpose—used by me when the motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork was before us. I then showed distinctly that, not only my own opinion but the opinion of the Government, was in favor of maintaining the Irish Church, and that it was part of our policy and principles to resist any Motion for Disendowment. I strictly guarded myself against opposing reforms or alterations which might tend to the improvement of the Establishment, or to a more useful application of its revenues; but I distinctly stated, with the assent I believe, of every one of my Colleagues, that we should resist any attempt to interfere with the fundamental principle of the Establishment. It seemed

to me that the allegations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Calne (Mr. Lowe) were entirely contradicted by his own words. He said, "Your conduct was vacillating ;" yet, he adds, that my words seemed to challenge the step now taken by the party opposite. Now, what I said was not meant as a challenge ; but, if it was to be taken as a challenge, and as an expression of opinion, which it was the duty of the party opposite immediately to controvert, and obtain the judgment of the House upon, surely, it cannot be described as in any respect vacillating or uncertain. Well, a Notice of Motion was given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Lancashire (Mr. Gladstone). It was met by an Amendment which as I think, was perfectly clear and intelligible. That Amendment embodies a statement which, I think, nobody will be able to controvert, which I believe, events will prove to be true—namely, that it is not only improper but impossible that the present Parliament can deal with the question. Surely, no one can say that such an Amendment is proof of vacillation. Well, then, I come to the speech of my right hon. Friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which, if anybody could have had the smallest doubt on the subject, was quite sufficient to convince any candid mind what the opinions of the Government are upon this question. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Calne (Mr. Lowe) is not in his place, because, when he makes these charges of inconsistency. I cannot but recollect that, while he has been loudest in his protestations against everything in the shape of Parliamentary Reform, he yet sat in two successive Governments

which were pledged to the principle of Reform—nay, more, which were always bringing in unsuccessful Reform Bills ; and, I cannot but recollect, too, that while he has always declared himself a strong enemy of the Irish Church, he still was, for many yers, a Member of Governments, one of whose cardinal points of policy, as regards Ireland, was invariable resistance to the overthrow of the Irish Church. I say, then, that it comes with an extremely bad grace from the right hon. Gentleman, when he tries to fasten upon the Government an inconsistency which does not exist ; while, looking back upon his career, we see in it an amount of inconsistency which can hardly be attributed to any other public man. There is only one other point to which the right hon. Gentleman referred the other night, and I will notice it in a few words. He stated that there was a gross inconsistency in the conduct of the Government ; because, while resisting the attempt to overthrow the Irish Church, we propose to grant a charter to a Roman Catholic University. The right hon Gentleman gave a description of that charter wholly contrary to the facts. He said that the Government proposed to place at the disposal of the Roman Catholic Bishops the whole education of the Roman Catholic laity in Ireland. Now, I contend that my proposition bears no resemblance whatever to the description thus given of it by the right hon. Gentleman. It is very easy to describe a thing as it is not ; to state a thing as it was never intended to be, and then proceed to demolish it. That is precisely what the right hon. Gentleman did. The proposal made by the Government was one to establish a University in which the lay element would not

be only strong but preponderant ; in which the only ecclesiastical element was to be four prelates ; and I must say that I think the right hon. Gentleman paid a vary bad compliment to the independence and intelligence of the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland if he thought that, because four Roman Catholic Bishops were placed upon a certain body, therefore the whole education of the Catholic laity was to be placed in the hands of the Catholic prelates. I repeat, therefore, that the description of the institution which we proposed to found, as given by the right hon. Gentleman, was an entire misrepresentation, and that nothing of the kind was intended under this charter. A great deal has been said to night as to the power of Parliament to deal with the present question ; and in the eloquent speech of the hon. and learned Member for Exeter (M<sup>r</sup>i Coleridge) I think a great deal of time was—I will not say—wasted, because no time can be wasted in listening to anything which falls from him—but at all events, I think he expended a great deal of unnecessary force in proving that Parliament had the power of dealing with the Irish Church. Now that power, as I understand, has never been denied ; but we do say that the proposal now made is one greater, perhaps, than any that has ever been submitted to Parliament. When we remember that it is now proposed for the first time to leave a considerable portion of the United Kingdom without an Established Church ; that it is proposed, in addition, to confiscate property and revenues which for 300 years, at the very least, have been in the possession of this body ; when we remember that these revenues have been guaranteed to the Irish Church in a man-

ner more solemn, I believe, than that in which property has ever been guaranteed to any other body corporate or any other private individual in this country ; when we see that this Establishment has been guaranteed by the Oath of the Sovereign, by Acts of Parliament spread over the whole course of the statute-book, by contracts made, and repeatedly made, with leaders of great political parties on great political emergencies ; remembering all this we say that a proposal to confiscate property and disestablish an institution guaranteed and sanctioned by all these securities is, perhaps, the most momentous step ever taken by the English Parliament. Without denying the right of Parliament to deal with the question, we say that it is a duty which, though not beyond its powers, will tax those powers to the very utmost. One word now as to the mode in which this proposal is to be carried out The right hon. Gentleman certainly claims for a Committee of this House greater power, and wishes to impose on it larger duties, than ever before were entrusted to it. His first Resolution, as I have said, embodies a proposal which, in its fundamental principles, subverts the Constitution of the country. Now, if the Constitution of the country is to be subverted, perhaps a preliminary Resolution is as good a mode of effecting that object as any other. As to the second Resolution, however, though I am no lawyer, and do not feel competent to discuss it, I should be very glad to hear some Gentleman of the long robe get up and tell us how a Resolution of a Committee of this House can control and prevent the exercise of the Prerogative of the Crown. As to the third Resolution, it is the first time



that the Chairman of Committees has ever been invited to put a Motion for an Address to the Crown from the table ; and I think if the Resolutions were carried, it would puzzle you, Sir, to know how to deal with it. These, however, are points of comparatively slight importance. But the right hon. Gentleman, besides the disestablishment of the Church, proposes at once to establish the voluntary principle in Ireland. Now, I maintain that the voluntary system does not exist in Ireland in any shape or form, and that the three Churches there—the Established, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian—are to a great extent in receipt of endowments from the State. The Established Church is fully endowed. If the Government had not thought some alteration in respect of her endowments necessary, they would not have consented to an inquiry. The Presbyterian Church is also endowed to a considerable extent by monies voted by this House, and the Consolidated Fund bore a large portion, if not the whole, of the cost of the education of those who are destined for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland. Now, I believe it was very much at the desire of the members both of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches that money was granted out of the Consolidated Fund and voted in this House for the purposes of both these Churches, and therefore it does not lie in the mouths of hon. Gentlemen, who desire now to advocate the voluntary system as the rule for Ireland, to try to weaken the principle of endowments. But I will go further, and say that the voluntary system, as applied to religious purposes, is most unsuited to the state of things in Ireland. I am sure no hon. Gentleman

will attempt to contradict me when I say that, of all Christian people on the face of the globe, the people of Ireland are the most religious, and that there are none among whom religious feeling and religious observances enter more deeply into the habits of their daily life. There is no coldness or want of zeal among them. It is always stated by the advocates of the voluntary system that there is nothing which so much promotes religious zeal, but the voluntary system is not likely to be wanted in Ireland on that account. On the contrary, I believe that any system which would have the effect of bringing before the minds of the Irish people peculiarities of doctrinal teaching and controversy would not have a good effect upon the peace of the country; and if you establish the voluntary system in Ireland, so far from promoting the interests of true religion you will do nothing but increase religious rancour and strife, and make doctrinal differences a greater subject of controversy than they have been hitherto. Sir, we want nothing in Ireland which will increase the violence of controversy. What we want is a system, both in religion and Government, that will soften those asperities and heal those animosities which have so long prevailed. I believe that there is nothing which would so much tend to intensify all the prejudices which exist and increase all the animosities which we deplore as the establishment of a complete voluntary system. The hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) the other night quoted a very high authority on this subject, and I would advise hon. Gentlemen who doubt the truth of my remarks to turn to one of the ablest books which has been written on the Irish Church—namely,

the work of Sir George Lewis—and he will find there the same opinion put forward in language far more powerful and eloquent than I could command. I do not remember his exact words, but they come to this—that the tendency of the voluntary system is to reflect on the clergy the prejudices and antipathies of the most violent of their congregation ; that in every country where it has been tried it has had this effect, that it has produced in the Protestant fanaticism, in the Catholic superstition, and intolerance in both. And the same opinions have been most ably advanced by Dean Stanley in a work published not long ago. I would remind the House that this voluntary principle, which it is contemplated to extend to Ireland, is sanctioned by no experience or authority whatsoever. It does not exist at this moment to any extent in any country in Europe. It is quite true that it does exist to some extent in America, and that, no doubt, will be quoted as a precedent against me. But I would remind the House that the voluntary system there was coincident and coexistent with republican institutions ; it grew up with them, and became part and parcel of them. But because it has succeeded in America, that is no reason why it is likely to succeed here. I would ask Roman Catholic Gentlemen whether the voluntary system, as far as regards the payment of their parochial clergy, has been altogether satisfactory or successful ? I should be sorry to give any opinion of my own on this point ; but I have often spoken to Roman Catholic gentlemen of high authority, and they have constantly admitted that the voluntary system in one respect has not worked well. The fact is that the parochial clergy in Ireland

are entirely drawn from one particular class of people. Now, I should be very sorry to say that a clergy taken from the lower ranks of the people are not as useful, as devoted, and as pious as those drawn from a higher rank ; but this I do say, I should think it a very great misfortune if the clergy of my own Church were to come from one class, and one class alone, and if there were not to be found in its ranks representatives of all classes. In Ireland the clergy are recruited principally from the sons of small farmers, small merchants, and traders in towns ; and if the son of a Roman Catholic gentleman takes orders he is almost always to be found in the ranks of the regular clergy. Now, that which is admitted to be an evil by almost all Roman Catholics is, I believe, to be attributed to the voluntary system ; and if you had a system of endowments you would find men sprung from a higher class in the ranks of the parochial and secular clergy. But when Roman Catholic Gentlemen and those who profess to speak for them stand up in this House and profess themselves, in eloquent and almost violent terms, strong advocates of the voluntary principle, I confess I listen to them with astonishment, because I cannot conceive how any one who has made himself acquainted with the history of the Roman Catholic Church can imagine for a moment that the voluntary principle forms any part of the fundamental system upon which that Church has been established. Sir, I would remind the House that the Roman Catholic Church is a Church of costly rite and gorgeous ceremonial ; a Church whose votaries and disciples have thought it their duty to give to their religious worship every-

thing that wealth could bestow or art device. A Church of gorgeous and stately ceremonial can never be a purely voluntary Church, and I believe that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is in a totally exceptional position. I believe that the Roman Catholic Church has been a Church especially of endowments. What has been the course of this Church in Ireland with regard to this particular question of endowments? Everybody knows that, at this moment, that Church is acquiring property with a rapidity I believe unexampled in her history, and perhaps in the history of the world. We Protestants cannot but admire the piety and devotion which, in many instances, have thus been shown, but I would warn Roman Catholic Gentlemen and those who profess to speak the sentiments of their Church, that they are running some danger in advocating principles of disestablishment and confiscation as they do now. I look forward to the day when the Irish Roman Catholic Church, if she goes on amassing property for the next 100 as she has done in the last fifty years, will be endowed and gifted with great wealth; and if that takes place, is it not probable that those great riches and endowments may at some not distant time attract the jealousy of a large and powerful party in this country, whose assistance you are now asking for the disendowment of the Irish Protestant Church, and who have always been the first to advocate and uphold the confiscation of Church property? I cannot conceive anything more probable than that, at a time not very remote, not only the possessions of the English Church may prove very attractive grounds for putting in practice the principles of

that party, but that they will also be applied to the possessions of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. We shall then hear precisely the same arguments—that these endowments are dangerous to the State; that they are in the hands of men who do not use them for the good of the people; and therefore, that Parliament has a right to step in and do what is called an act of justice in order to make a better disposition of their funds. Sir, I am not ashamed in this House to advocate the principle of religious endowments. In that respect I follow in the footsteps of Mr. Pitt, Lord Plunket, Mr. Grattan, Earl Grey, Sir Robert Peel, and Earl Russell. Every one of these advocated the principle of religious endowments in Ireland, as specially required by the circumstances of that country. Every one of them constantly opposed the extension of the voluntary system to Ireland. That was admitted in the Appropriation Clause and in every great scheme ever brought under the attention of this House. Having thus stated my opinion as to the utter unsuitableness of the voluntary system to Ireland, I would ask your attention to the proposal which the right hon. Gentleman has made. I admit that the right hon. Gentleman in his speech stated he did not think himself bound to submit to Parliament any detailed plan by which his proposal should be carried out; but he did to a certain extent shadow forth what in his opinion, that plan should be. There was one particular, however—an essential one—on which he gave us no information. He did not state what would be the proximate amount of the surplus on which he calculated. Now, it always struck

me that in proposing and agitating this great scheme of confiscation those who advocated it are bound in the first instance to show the disposition they intend to make of the enormous property it involves. This has been valued at a sum ranging from £10,000,000 to £14,000,000; and they are bound to make a disposition of it more useful and likely to do more good than the present arrangement. The right hon. Gentleman has not vouchsafed to us his opinion on that subject; but we have had various opinions put forward. According to some this surplus should go to education in Ireland. Now, if there is one thing more likely than another, to raise bitter and violent contention in that country, it would be the throwing down a large sum of money to be scrambled for under the head of education. The battle that would take place for this surplus to be devoted to education would in intensity and ascerbity be fifty times greater than now exists in regard to the Church. There is no subject on which there is a greater difference of opinion, or on which that difference has been expressed with more acrimony, than that of public education. Then it has been suggested that the money should be devoted to the police of the country; but I apprehend that such a proposal would hardly be seriously entertained. The next proposal is to give it in aid of the poor rates, and that would relieve local taxation to a certain extent. Another proposal put forward by some of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church is that these funds should be capitalized and given to clergy of various denominations to

be disposed of in what they call alms. I cannot conceive any proposal that would be more fatal to everything we desire to esteem or preserve in Ireland than such a proposal. Then another proposal was made, I think, by the hon. Member for Finsbury ( Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Cullagh Torrens ) that this large sum should be disposed of in the improvement of land ; and this seemed to meet the approval of the hon. Member for Westminster ( Mr. Stuart Mill )—that a large sum should be laid out in the purchase of estates, to be afterwards cut up into farms — that they should be improved, and the loss should be borne by funds to be derived from the revenues of the Established Church. The Government was to enter into a large speculative scheme connected with the land, and it was admitted at the outset that it would prove very unproductive. These were the various schemes which have been broached ; and I believe that every one of them would create more heart-burning and ill-will than the existence of the Established Church is alleged to have produced. The scheme of the right hon. Gentleman opposite ( Mr. Gladstone ), though rather hazily shadowed forth, was still sufficiently precise to enable us to understand its meaning, and it really is nothing more nor less than a great scheme of confiscation. The effect of the plan would be to leave two-thirds or three-fifths of the property to the Irish Church. That would not be less than £8,000,000. By whom was this great sum to be disposed of ? Under whose care was it to be placed ? Was it to be allocated to the parishes or put into the hands of com-



missioners? Or was it to be distributed among the clergy of the Church? If the right hon. Gentleman leaves £8,000,000 in the hands of the clergy, what becomes of his principle of equality? There is another question on which great anxiety must be felt by those who wish to know how this scheme of confiscation is to be carried out. If instantaneous in its operation, the compensation to living interests must swallow up the great portion of the revenues. If you are to allow existing interests to die out and to effect changes on the death of those who now hold office, by then sequestering the property of the Church, you will get into almost greater difficulty. You profess to begin the voluntary principle in Ireland, and allow the members of the Protestant Church to make such arrangements as they may see fit for the celebration of worship? but, at the same time, you allow revenues to go to incumbents during their life-time, and so you render impossible any voluntary arrangement, because that necessitates a large consolidation of parishes. It would be perfectly impossible, according to the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman, that this voluntary arrangement could be carried out; for it would be impossible in the many districts where the number of Protestants is small, to secure clergymen of the character and education they desire. Therefore, it appears to me that, in this respect, the right hon. Gentleman's plan is not only cruel, but most ill-advised, and would prevent the coming on of that voluntary system of which he is the advocate. The right hon. Gentleman's scheme also contemplates a large system of com-

compensation; and experience has taught the House to look with suspicion upon these great systems of compensation. I quite admit that if this scheme is carried you must propose compensation, otherwise you would do the grossest injustice. Let me remind the House what this compensation will amount to. There are about 450 curates, most of them young men, who ought to be compensated for the loss of their future prospects. The lay advowsons are nearly one-sixth of the whole number of livings in the Church, and include some of the richest; and these would swell the compensation to an enormous sum. On what principle the right hon. Gentleman can reconcile compensating the lay proprietors of livings with forgetting the interests of the Church at large, I cannot understand. If the Church of Ireland is to be got rid of, on every principle of justice, you are bound to get rid of it at once. If you do not make the members of the Church at once enter into voluntary arrangements, you will commit the greatest possible injustice. As a member of that Church, I say, if you are determined to destroy it, it would be much better to execute it at once than to put it to death by a lingering process. I have never used the "garrison" argument, and have never treated the Church as a garrison in the midst of the people. On the contrary, I believe that it is a position it has never assumed; it is one it never ought to assume; but the overthrow of the Church will in many districts eradicate everything in the shape of Protestantism. No doubt that result would recommend itself to many hon. Members

and to many people in Ireland ; but who are the Protestant population ? They are few, but they belong to a peculiar class—one or two squires and a few large farmers in each district. These men are not able out of their own means to establish the voluntary system, and the effect will be that these men will withdraw themselves from the country, and will abandon their estates. We have heard much of the evils of absenteeism ; but the immediate effect of disendowment and disestablishment will be to create such an amount of absenteeism as never has been seen before. Landowners will not sell their estates, because they will not for many years sell at their nominal value, which will be further depreciated by this change ; but they will leave them to be managed by agents. They have families to bring up, and they have settled in those districts on the faith that Parliament would maintain the Church that has been established so long ; and those who know them best say that they would almost immediately withdraw from their estates. This class above all others is on terms of amity and good-will with the Roman Catholic population. The most ardent Catholic will not say that these men have in any way made themselves offensive to the mass of the population. On the contrary, their influence has been salutary and good, and they have done more than any other class to reconcile the people to British rule. The removal of this class under the proposed arrangements must inevitably result in serious evil. The other day a dinner was given to the right hon. Member for Lewes (Mr.

Brand), in testimony to a course of conduct in this House which, I am sure, every one on this side of the House highly appreciates, and on that occasion the hon. Member spoke about the Irish Church. I quote it as a specimen of the extraordinary misconceptions which prevail in this country on this subject. Describing the Irish Church, he said—

“It is established against the will of the great body of the people ; it is mainly supported by the labour of the many, who are poor, for the benefit of the few who are rich. It has no parallel, so far as I know, in the history of the world.”

I challenge the hon. Member to show that the labour of a single poor man in Ireland is charged a single halfpenny for the support of the Irish Church. The property of the Church is not the property of the clergy or of the laity, but of the Church at large. It is derived entirely from the estates of the rich, and if the Irish Church were taken away to-morrow not a single tenant in Ireland would have his land cheaper, and not a single labourer would be called upon to pay a penny less than he does now. The hon. Member also said the Irish Church has no parallel in the history of the world. I suppose he means it has no parallel because it is not the Church of the majority ; but in Wales a precisely similar state of things prevails. The hon. Member's third statement is that until this question has been settled, disaffection will continue to exist in Ireland, and the country will remain in a chronic state of insurrection. [Mr. MONSELL: Hear, hear ! ] The right hon. Member for the county of Limerick cheers that statement. No one knows the present state of the country better than I do, and I maintain that Ireland is not in a

state of chronic insurrection. Insurrection has been tried, and has utterly failed. There is no sympathy with actual insurrection. I believe it will be impossible to prove that that amount of disaffection and discontent which I admit does exist to a great extent among certain classes of people can be traced to the existence of the Irish Church. The opinion that it can has been challenged over and over again in the course of this debate, and no one has taken up that challenge. No one has attempted to prove that Fenianism and disaffection have any connection with the Irish Church, although there have been many repetitions of the assertion that such is the case. No one has attempted to connect the Irish Church with Fenianism; for the latter comes from America. If you take the speeches of the Fenians, you find that strong feelings of nationality pervade them all; the past wrongs of Ireland and the neglect of the Government are eloquently and forcibly described; Republican sentiments and principles are put forward; hatred to England is expressed in every shape and form, and even war with England is enforced as a duty. But it is nowhere declared that the demolition of the Irish Church is one of their objects, or that its existence was one of their grievances. I would merely refer to a remarkable document which was issued by the Roman Catholic clergy of the country of Meath, and in which it is declared that the church question is not so important as the land question—that the Irish Church might be useful for a party manœuvre, or for displacing a Government, but that as for thinking that the Irish Church was one of the standing grievances of Ireland

it was an entire mistake. It has been said during this debate that the existence of the Established Church is a standing grievance to the Roman Catholics, in as much as it brings to the recollection of the Irish the times of the penal laws, and when oppression reigned from one end of the country to the other. But let us see what Mr. Mitchell says—

“But this, also, is all past and over. The very penal laws, last relics of that bloody business, are with the days before the Flood. And, though it be true that the mode of planting this Established Church of Ireland—first enthroning a whole hierarchy of Archbishops and Bishops and then importing clergy for the Bishops, and parishioners for the clergy—was of all recorded apostolic missions the most preposterous ; though the rapacity of those missionaries was too exorbitant and their methods of conversion too sanguinary ; yet now, among the national institutions, among the existing forces that make up what we call an Irish nation, the Church, so far as it is a spiritual Teacher, must positively be reckoned its altars, for generations, have been served by a devoted body of clergy ; its sanctuaries thronged by our countrymen ; its prelates, the successors of those very Queen’s Bishops, have been among the most learned and pious ornaments of the Christian Church. Their stories are twined with our history, their dust is Irish earth, and their memories are Ireland’s for ever. In the little church of Dromore, hard by the murmuring Lagan, lie buried the bones of JEREMY TAYLOR ; would Ireland be richer without that grave ? In any gallery of illustrious Irishmen, USHER and SWIFT shall not be forgotten ; Derry and Cloyne will not soon let the name of BERKELEY die ; and the lonely tower of Clough Oughter is hardly more interesting to an Irishman as the place where OWEN ROE breathed his last sigh than by the imprisonment within its walls of the mild and excellent BISHOP of KILMORE. *sit mea anima cum Bedello !* When Irishmen consent to let the past become indeed history, not party politics, and begin to learn from it the lessons of mutual respect and tolerance, instead of endless bitterness and enmity, then, at last, this dis-

tracted land shall see the dawn of hope and peace, and begin to renew her youth and rear her head among the proudest of the nations."

Now, Sir, we are told this proposal is made in the interests of peace. The whole country sighs—members of all classes and of all creeds—for nothing so much as peace; and I agree with my Right honorable Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department that there is no sacrifice of opinion that he, or I, or any Member of the Government would not be prepared to make, short of an absolute abnegation of principle, to secure even partially a result so much desired. But we do not believe that these Resolutions are calculated to carry peace to Ireland, I believe that the struggle which the right hon. Gentleman has initiated in renouncing all his former opinions will be both fierce and long. I believe that no one will benefit by it but the bitterest enemies of Ireland; and that its effect will be to divide the country into two hostile camps. It will tend rather to the aggravation of the animosities, ill-feeling, and religious rancour which are already too rife, than to the promotion of contentment and peace. The right hon. Gentleman says that the hour has arrived, and that he is only obeying the call of duty. I can only say that it is most unfortunate that that call of duty should have sounded at the precise moment when of all others, for the first time during thirty-five years, it is physically impossible that any advance can be made in dealing with the question. There has been no moment, perhaps, in our Parliamentary history when, it was so entirely impossible to deal with the Irish Church. There is already so much business before the House, business that must be

transacted, if at the early part of next year you wish to appeal to the new constituencies, that there is scarcely sufficient time left for us to get through it. Nor can I believe that this Parliament, which is so soon to cease to exist, is a body that can satisfactorily deal with this question. I do not deny that it possesses the right; but I maintain that the time is most inopportune, and it will be impossible for a Parliament with so much already to do, to deal with a question of this sort with any probability of success. A question of such magnitude cannot be settled without an appeal to the people, and your expression of opinion will in no way be binding on the next Parliament. I oppose this Motion because I believe it to be premature, because I think it will lead to much strife, and because I know that you have not the information necessary for the discussion of a subject which, in my opinion, could not in any case be satisfactorily settled during the present Session. I feel it my duty, therefore, in common with my Colleagues, to give my opposition to Resolutions which I cannot but regard as factious and mischievous

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## LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

A few days after the arrival of Lord Mayo at Bombay, the ceremony of laying the foundation Stone of the Bombay University took place—After the Revd. Dr. Wilson the Vice-Chancellor, and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald the Governor of Bombay and Chancellor of the University had addressed the noble gathering of Natives and Europeans. EARL MAYO, who on rising was received with loud applause said :—

May it please your Excellency, VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES AND UNDER GRADUATES :—I thank you very much for having given me this opportunity of expressing the feeling of deep satisfaction which I entertain at being present to-day, and also to assure you how deeply I feel, and how privileged I am, in being permitted on this, my first occasion of meeting a public assembly, to take part in so interesting a ceremony. Gentlemen, I believe that we inaugurate to-day the foundation of a building which will be, ere long, a centre temple of literature and science for Western India and, I believe, founded as it is under such auspices being a continuation of the labours which have hitherto been so successful, that we may anticipate that its foundations laid to-day will give a fresh impetus to those objects for which it has been founded, and in which it has for a considerable number of years so nobly succeeded. Gentlemen, here will be held open to

the inhabitants of Western India the opportunity of studying the classics of the ancient world ; and here will be given to them the rewards and prizes for proficiency in mathematical studies. Here, too, will be offered to them inducements to study that healing art which has been so well described as being the most blessed of all arts ; and here will be laid open to them the books and laws which wise and prudent men, from generation to generation, have devised for the best government of mankind. And here will be instruction offered in that branch of science which qualifies man to take a part in the planning and construction, of those great works of public utility, which here in India I believe, we are only at the commencement of. Gentlemen, such objects as these commend themselves to every liberal and enlightened mind, and I cannot but believe that the establishment of this building and the further development of the labours of this University will result, and can result, in no other end than the development of the social, moral, and intellectual position of the inhabitants of this vast continent. (Applause.)

His Excellency then descended from the dais to where the stone was suspended from shears, over which floated the Royal standard, and having spread the mortar, ordered the stone to be lowered. He then tested it with the level and plumb line and "found that the stone was firm and true," and declared it "to be well and truly laid." There were deposited under the foundation stone the following :—

Copy of last *Government Gazette* ; *Times of India* ; *Bombay Gazette* ; *Indu Prakash* ; *Native Opinion* ; *Rast Gofar* ; *Bombay Sum-machar* ; *University Calendar, 1868-69* ; the current coins of British India, both silver and copper, and an English sovereign ; also a copper plate, with the names of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Syndicate and Registrar engraved thereon. The company dispersed after hearty cheers had been given for His excellency the Governor and the Earl and the Countess of Mayo.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION!

SATURDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1869.

A CONVOCATION of the Calcutta University was held at the Town Hall on Saturday (27TH FEB) His Excellency, EARL MAYO presiding as Chancellor, W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., as Vice-Chancellor. The Fellows numbered strongly, and the body of the Hall was closely crowded. After the presentation of the graduates for their degrees, and the Vice-Chancellor had finished the delivery of his elaborate and eloquent address :—

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the assembly.

He said :—

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, SENATORS, GRADUATES AND UNDER-GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rejoice most sincerely that I did not accede to the suggestion made by your Vice-Chancellor, with more modesty, I think, than discretion, that I should take a leading part in the proceedings of this day. Had I acceded to that suggestion, you would not have had the opportunity of hearing one of the most eloquent and appropriate addresses that has ever been delivered on such an occasion.

Gentlemen, I can assure you that I appreciate most deeply the privilege of having heard that address. I am sure I express the sentiments of all present when I say that we feel deeply indebted to our Vice-Chancellor, for the able and interesting oration which he has just delivered. There is one subject, however, to which I cannot refrain from alluding, and that is to

express to you on this, my first appearance in public since my assumption of the office of Governor-General, what satisfaction it gives me to concur in those rich and eloquent phrases with which the Vice-Chancellor referred to my eminent predecessor. These remarks, I am sure, went home to all your hearts, and I believe that if the Vice-Chancellor had been gifted with even more eloquence than that which he has displayed to-day, in describing the great qualities of that distinguished man who has lately left our shores, he might have said much more with the entire concurrence of every person in this assemblage.

It would be presumptuous in me then to attempt to add anything to those heart-stirring words, and I will only say, speaking in the presence of many who knew him well, that an honest man, or one who was more determined to do what was right, never filled the high post of Governor-General than Sir John Lawrence. But why should I pursue this subject further ?

His signal deeds and prowess high  
Demand no sounding eulogy.  
Ye saw those deeds—

Why should his praise in verse be sung ?  
The name that dwells on every tongue  
No minstrel needs."

Gentlemen, it would certainly be out of place here in addressing such an assembly, were I to attempt to dilate upon that which you all thoroughly appreciate namely, the inestimable advantages of education. Were I to do so, I could only repeat that which has been said far better that I could say it, a thousand times before. It is indeed especially unnecessary when I see before me so many who have drunk deep of the immortal

spring, and have found its waters sweet. I have little doubt that all the young men who hear me now, have discovered, in a greater or less degree, that learning brings with it its own exceeding great reward. The numbers in which they are assembled, and the toil which they must have undergone in obtaining their honors and degrees, show how deeply they appreciate the boon which has been placed within their reach.

There was a time, Gentlemen, when doubts would have been entertained as to the prudence and expediency of offering to the natives of India a wide-spread system of national education, nor were these doubts alone confined to India.

Many there were in past times who held—and even men of authority and knowledge were known to express such an opinion—that the indiscriminate diffusion of education might have the effect of weakening Government—of making the rich and the great more overbearing and more oppressive, and the poor more discontented with their lot. But I believe that these notions belonged to the fossil era of thought. If they are still entertained by any number of persons, their fallacy is so well ascertained that the holders of them content themselves with impressing their views on their friends in private. Gentlemen, the course that has been taken in this country, with regard to this great question, was taken for no political object. Those great and wise men, who at no very distant time established that system, from which, though still in its infancy, you have already so much benefitted, never waited to consider whether what they were doing would strengthen or weaken the hands of the Government. They believed that to offer the means of acquiring knowledge to the

inhabitants of this great continent was a sacred and a paramount duty, and they went forward in their work without fear or hesitation. To your fellow-subjects of the United Kingdom, Parliament and Government have made the most strenuous exertions to extend the means of diffusing knowledge, and to enlist on the side of education the sympathies of the entire nation. To you the same advantages have been given, and as nearly as possible the same system has been established in your Schools, Colleges, and Universities, as is in operation at home, the determination on the part of your rulers being to do in this matter what is right, and to leave the results in the hands of God. But be that as it may, I can frankly say, as the chief administrator of a government that walks in the light of day, and courts publicity for all its acts, that we fear not any investigation that the lamp of knowledge may cast upon our path. Compare your laws—the laws by which you are governed—compare them with those which have been devised by sages and learned men of every class, creed, and age, and say—“Are they not good?” Read history, and contrast the system of government under which you live with those which, for centuries, have existed in this country. Does the present system rose by comparison? Look to the great works which are being daily carried on around you—works by which the life-giving stream is carried to the doors of the homes of the poor—works by which communication by signal, by letter, or in person have been accelerated in a manner that is almost fabulous! Think on all these things, and consider whether education will not enable you to appreciate the system which has produced such results! Can we whose proudest boast is, that during

our existence as a nation, we have been the pioneer of civilization and progress in every corner of the world—can we dread the increase of knowledge, or the development of learning? No, Gentlemen, we offer you all these great facilities for the acquirement of knowledge, and invite you to accompany us on our course, unconditionally, freely, willingly, unhesitatingly, and ungrudgingly. At the same time I am not without hope that perhaps in the establishment of the School, the College, and the University, we may be weaving a golden band which may bind in closer union the subjects of our Queen, be they dark or fair, whether they reside in the East or the West, or are members of those communities which are now bursting into life in the islands of the Southern Seas.

Graduates and Under-Graduates of the University of Calcutta, hesitate not then to advance with energy and spirit on the course that is opened to you. Let not your studies terminate with your academic career; keep—carefully keep—throughout your lives all that you have won with so much labor and toil; let no business or pleasure in after-life deter you from maintaining actively the studies by which you have already won distinction and honor, and whether you are destined for a professional career or a life of comparative ease believe me that by continuing your literary or scientific pursuits, you will provide for yourselves the greatest pleasure of your manhood, and the best solace of your declining years.

But, Gentlemen, in all the pride of intellectual attainment—and you have every right to be proud of what you have done—remember one great truth—that virtue is above knowledge, and that honor is

greater than learning. You may depend upon it that, for the future, men will look with the deepest interest and the keenest curiosity on the influence that the lessons, which you have learned in the University of Calcutta, will have on your future lives.

Show, then, to the world that study has given you power to appreciate, to their full value, truth, honesty, and courage—show to the world that to be learned is also to be good—show to the world that having conquered so many and great difficulties in the acquirement of knowledge, you have obtained also command over yourselves, for it is—

Virtue only gives us bliss below  
And all our knowledge is ourselves to know.

*(Applause.)*

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## SPEECH AT THE LAMARTINIÈRE COLLEGE CALCUTTA.

The annual distribution of prizes, to the girls and boys of this Institution took place on the evening of Friday, the 16th Dec 1870 His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. The School rooms had been decorated with unusual care and taste, and were bright with evergreens and flowers. Among those present were most of the Governors including Sir R. Temple, General Norman, The Hon'ble B. H. Ellis also Hon'able Major Bourke, Hon'ble F. S. Chapman ; Hugh Sandeman



Esq. and other friends of the institution. After the prizes had been given, including two for the encouragement of handicraft, His Excellency rose and addressed the scholars and their friends as follows :—

MISS CROW, MR. ALDIS AND PUPILS OF THE MARTINEIRE, I can assure you it gives one the greatest pleasure to meet you here to-day, to see you all looking so healthy happy and well, and to observe the progress that both Girls and boys are making in their studies.

The Martiniere has a great advantage over many other such institutions in this, that from the munificence of General Martin it enjoys a considerable and secure endowment. This fortunate circumstance confers much benefit on you all, for it gives to the institution a degree of solidity and firmness which is of the greatest possible advantage. It enables those who are charged with its conduct to carry on from year to year a similar and uniform system of discipline and instruction. Thus the experience of the past is not lost because those who control your affairs know that they have the means of carrying them on surely and steadily, and they can inaugurate improvements with the full knowledge that time and opportunity will give them a fair chance of success.

I am glad to see, from information which has been lately supplied to me by Mr. Aldis and Dr. Macnamara, that the solidity by which this institution is characterized is adopted in the form of instruction that is given, and that the object of those who govern "the Martiniere" is to establish within its wall such a system of education that will not produce the poor exotic results of cramming, but will give to you all a sound general and useful education such as will enable

you in after life to fulfil the many and various duties which you will be called upon to perform.

Now I think that in adopting such a system as this, for such an institution, great wisdom has been shown, and though perhaps some brilliancy of achievement is sacrificed and the boys may not be able to win the glittering prizes that are attainable under other circumstances, still we may be confident that in after life you will reap the more solid fruits of the system which Mr. Aldis tells me is pursued here, the great object being to enable you to remember what you have learned.

With that view I am told that a certain change in the ordinary practice of examination has been attempted by your Head Master, and that he is endeavouring to establish a system that will test the general proficiency of the students more than precise examination in any particular line has done.

I am told that a system is now being tried whereby the examination of the year is not confined as it is in ordinary practice to the class books of the year but that those books are for the moment laid aside and the ordinary examinations are conducted more with regard to the subject to which those class books relate than to the particular special contents of the books themselves.

The system is somewhat novel but at the same time it has great merits. It has for its end the attainment of a great object and it will be interesting to observe what its result will be. It will at all events have the effect of conferring academic rewards and distinctions upon those who have benefitted most by a long

course of study and who have acquired the more solid results of knowledge.

I am glad therefore that it has been decided to give my prize which I had the pleasure of offering this evening to a boy in the school who has exhibited according to the opinion of those who recommended him the greatest general proficiency and the best conduct and who has. I am happy to hear, by his example, his industry and good behaviour exercised a useful influence over his fellow pupils.

But while this excellent system of instruction is being carried on, it is gratifying to see that it does not prevent a boy from advancing to the higher walks of knowledge and I rejoice to hear that one of the students belonging to the school has lately obtained the Gilchrist scholarship which is one of the most valuable prizes awarded to Indian scholars and which (as it will bring to him £150 a year) has enabled him to proceed to England to pursue his studies there. This is most creditable to the institution, and ought to be an incentive to the boys to endeavour to follow such a good example.

I know that great difficulties in this country have to be encountered in carrying out these and all similar objects, but I believe that by a steady adherence to fixed and sound principles, by exercising constant influence over the habits and conduct of the pupils, it will be found that there is nothing to prevent such an institution as this from contributing as much to the success in after life of the boys and the girls who are educated here, as similar establishments do in every country in the world.

I am glad to hear from the Head master, that in

the pursuit of knowledge among the boys the practice of manly exercise has not been forgotten and now that the cold weather has set in and that cricket and other healthful games are taken to vigorously and further that you have gone so far as to essay something in rowing I can only say that if without interfering with the course of study a certain portion of time can be devoted to these manly pursuits, it will greatly conduce to your health and strength and to your success in after life.

I am glad to hear that the Head Master says that the first few attempts in rowing on the River have been successful, but one difficulty I am afraid occurs and that is that the School has not got a boat of its own. Well I can only say that I think Lamartiniere ought to "paddle her own canoe." I shall be most happy to present the School with a Boat which I hope will induce you to practice constantly that most excellent and manly exercise ( loud cheers. )

It is the practice in our youth of those games and exercise that make Englishmen what they are. A British School boy is only half a British School boy if he cannot walk, jump, run, and climb, and if the Chief justice and the Head Master were not here, I might add knock down any fellow who had really insulted him. ( laughter and cheers ).

I am glad to have an opportunity on the part of the Governors of returning their thanks to the acting Governors who have taken so much interest in this Institution and to whose constant attention and care the School owes so much.

It might be invidious to specify names but I know that Mr. Justice Phear has for years devoted much

time and attention to this Institution and has been ably seconded in his efforts by the Revd. Thomson Mr. Schalch and others.

I feel sure that the sight that they have witnessed, here this evening and which they constantly witness in their ordinary visits must amply reward them for any time spent or efforts made by them in contributing to the success of "Lamartiniere."

To the practical exertions of the Secretary Dr. Macnamara we are also greatly indebted, and I myself can bear testimony to the good advice he is always ready to give and to the frank and open manner in which he is always prepared to do every thing he can to contribute to the welfare of the school.

I am sorry to hear that the present Head Mistress Miss Crowe, to whom the institution owes so much is not going to remain much longer here. Under the peculiar circumstances of last year the School is much indebted to her. For many years she took charge of the education and instruction of the Girls, and after a long period of labor, resigned. She was however requested by the Governors to return to her post for a short time last year when they were placed in considerable difficulty by the unexpected resignation of the last Head Mistress, and I believe I am only expressing the opinion of all who are interested in the welfare of "Lamartiniere" when I say that in taking that course Miss. Crowe has conferred a great benefit upon the Girls (cheers) and further that when she retires into private life, that she will look back upon the many years she has spent here with feelings of the greatest satisfaction, for she must be aware that there are many women in various

parts of India who owe their fortunate position in life to the care and instruction which they received at her hands, while they were pupils in the Institution.

We are also fortunate in having secured the services of so eminent a Scholar as the Head Master. Having passed through an academic career of great distinction he has now taken charge of the Martiniere Boys School. Though he has left his own country and has come to labor in a strange land I feel sure he will be amply rewarded for any sacrifices he has made by seeing his efforts seconded by those whom he has under his charge and I know the best token and the best return the Boys can make for his attention, constant advice and care will be to exhibit a willing industry in their studies, to take his advice and show their confidence in him as their master.

To all the Pupils I would say then, take every advantage of the privileges that are offered to you within these walls, lay the good advice you receive here to your heart, let the sound instruction and knowledge that you are acquiring sink deep into your minds, and you will find that whatever career of life you follow in the future it will serve you well, and if ever any of you here-after are tempted to commit a bad act, ask yourselves whether the performance of that act is in accordance with the instruction or the advice you received in "Lamartiniere" and if you come to the conclusion that it is not I hope and believe that you will not commit it. (prolonged cheers.)

The boys were evidently much taken by the frank and cordial tone of His Excellency's remarks and the hearty appreciation he shewed of school boy nature and school boy life. The generous and

unexpected offer to present a boat to the School Club evoked prolonged and enthusiastic cheering and we should say there is little danger of the name "*Mayo*" being forgotten at Lamartiniere. Those parts also of His Excellency's speech which referred to the present Officiating Head Mistress of the Girls School Miss Crowe, were received with hearty applause by both boys and Girls. At the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech the national anthem was sung; and in response to a few words from the Head Master the boys repeated their energetic and reiterated cheers for their President. His Excellency then proceeded to the Dining Hall where the prize drawings were laid out on one of the tables and afterwards looked over the Theatre room and stage with which he expressed his great satisfaction. The proceedings then terminated.

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## OPENING OF THE GOALUNDO EXTENSION OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

THE 31ST DECEMBER 1870,

ON Saturday, a special train left Sealdah at 10 A. M. with a number of the railway officials, and a distinguished company of guests who had been invited to be present at the opening of the E. B. Railway line to Goalundo. Among the latter were Major-General Norman, Colonel Taylor, Colonel Strachey, and a large number of officials of the Public Works Department. The train stopped on its way at Jagotee, to take up the Viceroy and party, who had proceeded to that place the day previous on a pigsticking excursion. The special next stopped at the Goraie bridge, where some time was occupied in minutely inspecting the bridge. It is needless to speak of the great triumphs of engineering skill represented in this bridge. Suffice it to say, that the bridge itself is of iron, and has seven spans of 185 feet each. It is supported in cylinders some hundred feet long, and 120 tons in weight. On the ground, while inspecting the bridge, the opportunity was

taken of showing the Viceroy a model of the future Hooghly bridge after which the party resumed their journey. The train then proceeded to Goalundo, on arrival at which place the party embarked in a steamer, and inspected a point in the river where the Brahmahpootra and Ganges are confluent. The party returned to the Goalundo station, which was neatly decorated for the occasion. An excellent dinner was then sat down to, to which all present did ample justice. At the conclusion of the repast—

Mr. PRESTAGE (Agent E. B. Railway) proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen. The toast was cordially responded to.

Mr. PRESTAGE again rose, and, in proposing the health of the Viceroy, said :—Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—Early in 1864, I recommended to my Board of Directors to extend the Railway to this point, that we might have unbroken communication between the banks of the Brahmahpootra and Calcutta, and with the shortest possible mileage. The proposition was warmly supported by the Government of India, and, towards the close of that year, I had the pleasure of accompanying Mr. Leslie and his staff to this country to carry out the work. (Cheers). That they have done some work, and done it right well, too, Your Excellency and Gentlemen have had an opportunity of judging for yourselves; and, if having had the satisfaction of seeing the work we have all taken so much interest in for many years inaugurated by His Excellency, and having had the privilege of bringing His Excellency thus far into Eastern Bengal, and to the confluence of two of the most noble rivers in the world—indeed, I may say Her Majesty's dominions—I have the honour which falls to very few of proposing, and to such an assembly, the health of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. (Cheers.)

His EXCELLENCY LORD MAYO said :—Mr. Prestage and Gentlemen,—It must be most satisfactory to all here to be present on so interesting an occasion, when a great undertaking like that of the Eastern Bengal Railway has we may say, approached—in deed actually arrived at completion. (Cheers.) It must be most gratifying to many of the gentlemen whom I see here around me, who have taken so



many years so distinguished a part in its construction to find that now, after so many years of labor, this great undertaking has been brought to so happy a termination, and that, so far as the future can be looked into, it bids fair to be one of the most successful Railways in India. (Cheers.) When this Goalundo Extension was first urged by Mr. Prestage and his colleagues in 1864, I believe it met with a certain amount of opposition, but it was warmly supported by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, who saw at once the very great benefit which the extension of the line to this place would confer upon this and the surrounding districts. After all objections were got over, the scheme was sanctioned, and finally approved by the Government of India and by the Directors and the Secretary of State. I think what we have seen to-day must show the wisdom of the conclusion which was then arrived at, for any one who has had the pleasure, as we have had to-day, of passing, even for a few moments over the bosom of those magnificent rivers, cannot fail to see that, perhaps, there is hardly in Her Majesty's dominions, a position more favourable for the development of a great trade than this particular spot upon which we stand (cheers); and, Gentlemen, when we think of the great rivers which meet here—when we think of the thousands of miles which the affluence of those great streams have traversed, rolling, as they do, from north-east and west, some of whose sources are still unknown, and are to this day a subject of debate among geographers—whether they come, or do not come, from the eastern slopes of the Himalayas, or rise upon

this side of the mighty chain. Be this as it may, on this spot they form the converging point of the greatest system of inland navigation, and form one of the most magnificent rivers in the world. Well, gentlemen, when we think that this railway terminus is placed here on this point, where it is likely to catch the trade that come down the Ganges on one side and the Brahmapootra on the other—we must bear witness to the sagacity and prudence of those enlightened gentlemen, the servants of the Eastern Bengal Railway Company, who never ceased to press upon the Directors and the public the immediate completion of this extension. (Hear, hear.) Since the Eastern Bengal Railway was first contemplated, a great commerce has grown up in these provinces. The rapid development of the jute trade of Eastern Bengal is one of the most remarkable events in modern commerce. I am not going now, Gentlemen, to trouble you with statistics, particularly as there are a great many of you here present, who know these facts quite as well as, and better than I do; but still it is interesting to hear that in 1850-51, the exports of raw jute were only 584,000 cwts., of a value of £197,000; in last year the export of that article had risen to nearly three millions and a half cwts., value for more than two millions of money. Besides this, there has also been a considerable export trade developed in the manufactured article to an amount of something like £712,000 so that really, during the past year, the value of jute raw and manufactured, exported, from India, touched nearly upon two millions and three-quarters sterling. This shows what facility of communication, what

industry and what prudence can do for this country when, by the exertions of a few gentlemen, pursuing commercial occupations in Calcutta, aided by the Railway and the splendid water-carriage which nature has provided, such a magnificent trade as that can be developed in little more than 17 or 18 years. Gentlemen, this extension, completed to-day, will give additional stimulus to this great trade, and it must be a satisfaction to us to know that, as far as this Railway has been pushed, it now provides all the ingenuity that man can do, for a cheap, easy, and rapid transit for this great staple from the places, where it is produced to the point of embarkation; and here it would be a great omission, if we did not do full justice to the genius of that man, who has, above all, contributed to the completion of the extension of this line by the construction of that splendid bridge which we saw to-day. (Cheers) Gentlemen, it is invidious to make comparisons, but I believe I might challenge contradiction, when I say that the bridge over the the Goraie is one of the boldest, most successful, and the most difficult engineering undertakings that has ever been conducted in connection with Railway enterprise. (Hear, hear.) A bridge constructed where this is, whose supports are sunk 60 or 70 feet in the soft and ever-shifting bed of a river, which is often 1,700 feet wide and 90 deep, made on principles, if not altogether novel, yet, in many of its important details, altogether new and suggested by experience, must have been designed and carried to successful completion by a man who is endowed with two of the greatest gifts that an engineer can possess—namely, courage and originality (cheers), and when

I mention one fact as to the enormous weight of the material with which Mr. Leslie has had to deal, and of the treacherous character of the soil, in which these great weights are planted—that, on a late occasion, when one of these enormous cylinders caught by a cyclone, while being placed in its position, had toppled over; that it has never been heard of since, having disappeared and gone, nobody knows where, its length being about 90 feet, and its weight 120 tons. I think it only sufficient to mention that fact, to show the extraordinary difficulties with which Mr. Leslie has had to contend, and the triumph which has attended his great enterprise. ( Cheers ). Perhaps at some future time, thousands of years hence, somebody may find this lost cylinder; if they do, it will puzzle them; where it will be found nobody knows. ( A laugh. ) Certainly it will not be discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of the Goraie bridge, for the bed of the river has been tested in every direction, and no trace of it can be found. Gentlemen, after what we have seen to-day, we may safely affirm there is no engineering enterprise, no matter how difficult or how gigantic, which cannot be undertaken, and carried to a successful completion by the British engineers, serving under the Government and the Railway Companies of India. And now, further, before I sit down, I wish merely to make one remark as to the future construction of these lines, which will, I hope, from the future extension of the Eastern Bengal to the other side of the river. As far as Government is concerned, there have been two surveys made during the past year. These surveys have now been completed, and are under the consideration of the Bengal Government and the Government of

India. I can only say that I hope, before very long, that the opinions of the Government upon that question will be submitted to the Secretary of State and the public, and that they may be such as will command their support. Certainly, they will be decisive—that will be, if possible, directed to extend to the other side of the river those advantages which the Eastern Bengal Railway Company has already conferred upon the district on this bank of the Ganges. (Cheer.) I now come to the most pleasing part of my duty, and that is, to propose the health of the gentleman who presides here this evening. It is a toast which I am sure you will all drink with enthusiasm. (Cheers). From the earliest period of this undertaking, Mr. Prestage has been connected with it, and I believe that there is no man in India to whom it owes its success so much as it does to him. All throughout his long connection with the Eastern Bengal Railway Company, he has shewn the greatest determination and prudence while serving well his board and his employers. He has always shewn every disposition to defer to any expression of public opinion which may reach him, and more especially to the wishes and desires of the Government of India. (Cheers.) I can only say that, for the two years during which I have been intimately connected with the Public Works Department, I have always found, on the part of Mr. Prestage a most sincere desire to offer every assistance to the Government of India, and to listen to any suggestion we have had to make in the interests of the public. I can only hope that the connection of Mr. Prestage with the Eastern Bengal Railway may last, for I cannot conceive that it can be severed without serious injury to

the undertaking which he has served so long and well. I, therefore, beg to propose the health of Mr. Prestage and success to the Eastern Bengal Railway. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

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### JUBBULPORE BANQUET.

8TH MARCH 1870.

On the 8th of March 1870, a banquet was given at Jubbulpore on the occasion of the opening of a through line of Railway communication between Calcutta and Bombay. About 200 gentlemen sat down to dinner. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was present on the occasion. The Chair was taken by Mr. Lemesurier, Agent of the Great India Peninsular Railway. After the cloth was removed, the Chairman proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen. The toast was received with all honor. The Chairman next proposed the health of the Viceroy. He alluded to Lord Mayo's presence among them, and to the great work he had come so far to inaugurate. He also alluded to the warm interest His Lordship took in Railway enterprise, and asked his guests to drink the toast with all honors.

His Excellency LORD MAYO then rose to reply and was received with long continued cheers. He said :—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN,—I return you my best thanks for the manner in which you have received my health. Since I have been in India, I may say, with the most perfect truth, that I have received from every class in this country the utmost consideration and kindness. (Cheers.) The task which by the

favor of my Sovereign has been imposed on me is by no means a light one, and the responsibilities attached to it are heavy ; but the burden of the task would be intolerable, and the proper discharge of such duties impossible, could I not count, as I do, on the generous support of my countrymen, and did I not find that the fairest consideration would be given to, and the best construction placed upon, my public actions. Gentlemen, I believe that it would be unfortunate if by any means public men escaped fair criticism. (Cheers.) I believe that the impartial judgment of the public governs the acts of public men in a most salutary manner, and not only controls them, but often brings to them the very best reward and the most valued support. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I assure you that I appreciate most deeply that consideration which has been extended to me ever since I have been in India, and I feel that for it I owe a deep gratitude to my countrymen and fellow subjects, which I can never hope to repay. When I first came here I only asked for fair play, and I have got it. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Now, gentlemen, I come to a much more agreeable task than that of talking about myself. The event which we have met here to-night to celebrate, namely, the completion of an unbroken line of Railway communication between Calcutta and Bombay is certainly the most important that has ever happened in the history of Railway enterprise in India, for by it we see the great northern, eastern and western parts of the empire brought into immediate connection with each other, and a rapid communication established between the capital of Hindustan and the gate of the Western world.

(Cheers.) This is an event which for the last twenty five years has been looked forward to by every man who took any interest in Railway enterprise in India. Dalhousie and Canning spoke of it as an event which was to be looked forward to as the culminating point of their efforts in this respect. But they have passed away, and with them many of those able and energetic men who toiled hard towards the completion of the same worthy objects. We are here to-night to acknowledge and to commemorate the result of their efforts and their labors, extending as they do over nearly a quarter of a century. Such an event as this which marks a great and important era in the history of Railway enterprise in India is one which is well worthy of the presence of the Queen's son. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have heard that a great and successful French Engineer-General VAUBAN, was wont, at the end of some of his long and tedious sieges, when the breaches were ready for assault, and victory was in his grasp, to send and request the attendance of the monarch or some member of the Royal family in order that he might witness the success of his soldiers. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we are fortunate to-night in being in that position, the end is accomplished, the victory is won, and its celebration is graced by the presence of the Duke of Edinburgh. (Loud cheers.) The reception which His Royal Highness has met with in every part of the empire must be truly gratifying to every Englishman (Cheers.) His Royal Highness arrived in India and his progress throughout the country has had the effect of calling forth from one end of the empire to the other one unanimous expression of loyalty and attachment to



the Crown. European and Native have vied with each other in doing him honor, and in doing him honor they have felt that they have been doing honor to that august Monarch whose beneficent sway extends over these wide realms (Cheers.) In His Royal Highness' presence, it would not become me to allude to his personal qualities, but I can say with the most perfect truth that those qualities,—his frank demeanour, kind consideration, and the manner in which he has met his countrymen and fellow-subjects here,—have tended, as much as anything else, to the hearty reception he has met with throughout the country and to the success of his visit. (Loud cheers.) His Royal Highness has made many friends in India. He was at first received in the way of which you are already aware for the sake of our beloved Sovereign, and though at first he found hundreds and thousands who were prepared to love him for his mother's sake, he has now found many who will love him for his own. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Gentlemen, I give you the health of the "Royal Family," and beg to couple with it the name of the Duke of Edinburgh.

The toast was most warmly received.

In replying His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN—I beg to return you my warmest thanks for the hearty manner in which you have responded to the toast which has been so kindly proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy, and also in such flattering terms to myself. I have only to return my thanks on the part of the members of my family, and to say that it is a great pleasure to me to have been able to support Lord Mayo in the ceremony of opening this line—joining as it does the main line between Bombay and Calcutta. (Cheers.) I also take this opportunity of expressing my warm and hearty thanks

to my fellow-subjects for the cordial reception they have given me in this country, and which, I may say, on the part of the Queen, has afforded her the greatest satisfaction. (Loud cheers.) I feel proud in being the first member of Royal Family of England who has visited these shores. I have visited you as a naval officer and as a member of the Royal Family, and I thank you sincerely for having welcomed me in both these capacities. (Prolonged cheers.)

LORD MAYO next rose and said :—

I now ask your consideration for a very few minutes to the principal toast of the evening, namely, success and prosperity to the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. (Cheers.) In proposing that toast, I shall not venture to detain you with an essay upon the use and advantage of Railways. When I see around me men who have given their whole lives, their whole strength and energy to the development of Railway industry in India, when I know that if there is one truth more recognised than another, it is that the construction of Railways confers vast and material benefits on the human race, and is, I may almost say indispensable to the progress of civilisation. I should only be wasting your time were I to attempt to describe and enlarge on its advantages. Neither, gentlemen, shall I attempt to embark in mythological or allegorical allusions. I should only be repeating things which have been often said before. Such as how Minerva, the goddess of science and wisdom combining the natural forces of fire and water, has harnessed Neptune and Pluto to her Triumphal Car; you have heard all this before. Neither shall I attempt to describe to you how Railways facilitate those *three* great occupations of man, in which since the days of Adam he has been mainly employed

namely, making love, making war, or making money! (Laughter and cheers.) I have no doubt that this Railway, like all others, will ever be found conducive to those three great objects (laughter,) and that we may expect to hear of Venus, Mars, and Plutus being constant passengers by the Great Indian Peninsular. (Laughter.) I wish briefly to remind you of a few facts connected with the origin and progress of this undertaking. The survey of the Western Ghauts of India was commenced twenty-five years ago. The very eminent Engineer, Mr. Berkeley, carefully examined these passes. Before that time opinions had been placed on record by high authorities that a line across the Ghauts towards Central India was almost impossible, and up to that time more attention was given to the question of finding a way to the east by a more northern route. A short piece was opened from the city of Bombay in 1853, amounting only to twenty-three miles in length. In January 1856, the Court of Directors sanctioned the construction of the Thull Ghaut line, and from that time this great Railway has made steady progress.

In May 1863 the line was opened to Bhosawul, with the exception of a small portion of the Ghaut incline which was completed in the following year. Twenty two millions of paid up Capital have been already expended, of which two millions have been outlaid on the progress through the two Ghauts. On this day, the great distance of 1,070 miles of the great west of India system has been opened to the public. Calcutta and Bombay are brought into close connection, and this Great Peninsula is at last bridged by a Railway 1,300 miles in

length. When we look back to the history of this undertaking, we must recollect the very great difficulties which attended its early progress. The thing is now comparatively easy. Much more is known,—the organisation of labor is less difficult,—and our able engineers have the light of experience and history to guide them. But in the early days of this undertaking, difficulties which no longer exist had to be encountered, and therefore we must make due allowance for what may perhaps seem a rather protracted period over which these works have extended. During that time, periods of great scarcity occurred, the Mutiny took place, and there have been several violent outbreaks of disease, and when we look back upon the whole story of this Railway, we may well admire the perseverance with which, in its earlier and later stages, the work has been carried on. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, for the future, Railway enterprise in India is to be carried on on a somewhat different system. In 1868, two years ago, the great trunk lines connecting Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta were evidently approaching completion. Four thousand miles of Railway were nearly finished at a cost of something like £35,000,000. It was thought desirable by my distinguished predecessor and his colleagues at that period to consider in what way Railways should best be constructed in the future. The opinions of Local Governments and various authorities in India were asked; the whole question was carefully discussed, and after much consideration the conclusion was arrived at, that for the future, Railway extension should be conducted by the direct agency of Government. It was thought desirable that, if possible, at

the earliest possible moment, the whole country should be covered with a net work of lines on a general and uniform system. The aggregate length of the lines comprised by the whole scheme will be upwards of 15,000 miles. Of these 4,000 miles are at present open, 1,000 miles are in progress, 900 are about to be immediately commenced. Gentlemen it would be quite inappropriate at this moment were I to discuss or attempt to defend the decision then arrived at. I believe it to be thoroughly sound and right, but I am sure, speaking in the hearing of officers and others who are more directly responsible for the management of the two great lines of Northern and Western India, and seeing that one will have a great system of 1,400 miles, and the other 1,300 to work, I think they will agree with me that they will have ample occupation for the future in conducting successfully these great undertakings without engaging in any extension of an important character. Well, gentlemen, shortly after I assumed office these views were communicated to her Majesty's Government; they received almost immediately the cordial approval and assent of the Secretary of State; and it may now be assumed that for the future Railway extension in India is to be conducted by Government means. In that scheme twenty-five projects were recommended by different Local Governments. Seventeen appeared to possess superior claims for early adoption, and of these seventeen, thirteen are already more or less taken in hand. I intended to take this opportunity of explaining in greater detail the exact position in which the Government now stands with regard to Railway extension, but I feel it impossible to

length. When we look back to the history of this undertaking, we must recollect the very great difficulties which attended its early progress. The thing is now comparatively easy. Much more is known,—the organisation of labor is less difficult,—and our able engineers have the light of experience and history to guide them. But in the early days of this undertaking, difficulties which no longer exist had to be encountered, and therefore we must make due allowance for what may perhaps seem a rather protracted period over which these works have extended. During that time, periods of great scarcity occurred, the Mutiny took place, and there have been several violent outbreaks of disease. and when we look back upon the whole story of this Railway, we may well admire the perseverance with which, in its earlier and later stages, the work has been carried on. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, for the future, Railway enterprise in India is to be carried on on a somewhat different system. In 1868, two years ago, the great trunk lines connecting Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta were evidently approaching completion. Four thousand miles of Railway were nearly finished at a cost of something like £85,000,000. It was thought desirable by my distinguished predecessor and his colleagues at that period to consider in what way Railways should best be constructed in the future. The opinions of Local Governments and various authorities in India were asked; the whole question was carefully discussed, and after much consideration the conclusion was arrived at, that for the future, Railway extension should be conducted by the direct agency of Government. It was thought desirable that, if possible, at

the earliest possible moment, the whole country should be covered with a net work of lines on a general and uniform system. The aggregate length of the lines comprised by the whole scheme will be upwards of 15,000 miles. Of these 4,000 miles are at present open, 1,000 miles are in progress, 900 are about to be immediately commenced. Gentlemen it would be quite inappropriate at this moment were I to discuss or attempt to defend the decision then arrived at. I believe it to be thoroughly sound and right, but I am sure, speaking in the hearing of officers and others who are more directly responsible for the management of the two great lines of Northern and Western India, and seeing that one will have a great system of 1,400 miles, and the other 1,300 to work, I think they will agree with me that they will have ample occupation for the future in conducting successfully these great undertakings without engaging in any extension of an important character. Well, gentlemen, shortly after I assumed office these views were communicated to her Majesty's Government; they received almost immediately the cordial approval and assent of the Secretary of State; and it may now be assumed that for the future Railway extension in India is to be conducted by Government means. In that scheme twenty-five projects were recommended by different Local Governments. Seventeen appeared to possess superior claims for early adoption, and of these seventeen, thirteen are already more or less taken in hand. I intended to take this opportunity of explaining in greater detail the exact position in which the Government now stands with regard to Railway extension, but I feel it impossible to

ask you so listen to me now, as however interesting the subject may be, it is hardly one that can be discussed with advantage at half past 11 o'clock at night. I may say, however, that in round numbers 2,000 miles are at present under survey; that of these, 400 miles will have to be constructed by the guaranteed companies. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the various subsidiary measures which are necessary for the completion of these Railways are under the consideration of the Government. Great attention has been paid to attempts to obtain in various parts of India at the earliest possible moment a supply of good coal, and I am sure that you will be glad to hear that it is placed beyond doubt that in the Chanda District, there is a large supply of coal equal in quality to that which is produced in the Burdwan District, and I hope, before the ensuing rains, we shall be able to lay before the public a pretty accurate estimate of the quality and supply that may be expected from the Wurdah coal-field. The same course will be taken to a limited extent with regard to the Nerbudda coal-field.

We have in the Punjab instituted an enquiry into the existence of petroleum, and we shall endeavour, as far as we can, to speedily ascertain the position and quality of mineral fuel in various parts of India. We are also endeavouring to increase the supply of wood fuel in districts where coal is not likely to be found in sufficient abundance. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I am unwilling, as I said before, at this hour to enter into details on this subject. The enterprise is a great one. We have the example before us of the great works undertaken and completed by guaranteed companies. I should be the last person to say a single word against



what has been done in India in past days, but I believe most firmly that the great arterial lines having now been made through the intervention of the great companies, that we shall be able to conduct the less important works in a cheaper manner, and in a manner more conducive to the interests of the country than heretofore. I believe that, in doing so, we shall experience no jealousy and no opposition from those who manage the great existing lines. (Loud cheers.) As far as we have gone we have found that those who are interested in their management have given us every assistance in the construction of those which will be their feeders, and I believe that this great congeries of lines, though its construction will extend over a long series of years, will form a system of Railway communication equal to any in the world. It will have this great advantage that the whole Railway system of India will be conducted on one uniform principle, and that we shall work up to one well considered laid down plan. That plan being adhered to, we shall be able to keep a steady and well-defined object in view. Gentlemen, I believe that years hence, when these great works are completed, we shall have implanted our footsteps deeply on Indian soil. (Cheers.)

The great work which we are here to-night to celebrate, shows what English industry can perform. (Cheers.) Every stone we lay on the Railway, increases our influence and consolidates our power, and the most substantial of our works is a fit emblem of the permanency of our rule. (Cheers.) In the distant future, it is impossible to say what may be the destiny of this country. Dynasties and kingdoms are not immortal.

and it is possible that, in the far futurity, some power still unborn may reign in India. Our insular greatness may not last for ever, and British rule in the east may long outlive its preponderating power in Europe. In a generation we have placed in India as great results of British enterprise as exist in any other part of the world, and those gigantic monuments of our early rule, will, for ages, remain as lasting memorials of the good we have done and of the benefits we have conferred on the people of this country. (Cheers.) But last they will, and it may happen that thousands of years hence Mr. Brereton's ghost may still hover with anxious solicitude over the unbroken piers of the Yowa Viaduct when Macaulay's New Zealander is sitting on the ruins of London Bridge. In the meantime, we will drink health and prosperity to the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. (Loud and continued Cheers.)

The Chairman (MR. LEMESURIER Agent of the G. I. P. Railway.) on behalf of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway begged to return his sincere thanks for the hearty manner in which the toast proposed by His Excellency had been received. They were all aware that his connection with the great Indian Peninsular Railway had been very short. His Excellency had given such a complete history of the company's progress that he thought any further remarks from him on the subject would be superfluous. At the same time meeting as they did at Jubulpore for the first time, their friends from the other side of India, their brethren of the East Indian Railway, and a great many of those who were connected with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, he left proud to be in a position to congratulate them upon the complete success of the great enterprise which they were to celebrate. (Cheers.)

There were many gentlemen present who had been much longer associated with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway than he had been and of these Mr. George Turnbull, who was present in the room, was the backbone of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway system. He regretted that Mr. Berkeley, the well known Agent of the East Indian

Railway, was not there, but Mr. Stephenson was present, whose efforts on the cause of their late enterprise was well known to all.

The Chairman concluded his remarks by proposing the health of His Excellency Sir Seymour FitzGerald.

SIR SEYMOUR FITZGERALD then rose to propose the toast of the Army and Navy.

He said, YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN,—The evening is getting late, and my observations shall be very few, but I am bound to express to you, Sir, my acknowledgments for the very kind manner in which you have proposed my health, and to you gentlemen for the cordial manner in which you have received the toast. I believe Sir, that you have proposed my health partly from that generous feeling which prompts a host to fulfil the duties of his position, and I believe I may also impute it to the kind and cordial feeling which has always existed between the Government and the representatives of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. There may have been differences of opinion between us, and it may have been the necessity and the duty of the Government to exercise the control which the law has placed in their hands, but on the one hand I must say that I am sure you must be convinced that the Government have not more the interest of their own charge at heart than that of the company which you represent, and on the other hand I am sure the Government have felt that in every transaction they have had with the Railway Company that they, in their turn, were promoting the interests of their shareholders and the interests of the public at large (Cheers.) I believe I may also not be wrong in thinking that you have proposed my health thus far from the seat of Government, and among so many gentlemen whom I have met for the first time, because I am proud to be considered a member of the great community who in the first results, and more immediate effect of this day's proceedings, will probably derive greater advantage than any other town or any other district of the country. You, my Lord Mayo, have referred to the interest which this day carries with it. You have observed upon the effect that this meeting will have upon Railway enterprise, and you have drawn from it the best omens of the future success of undertakings of a similar nature in India. I may be permitted to say that, though much has been expected of you, you have been quite equal to the occasion (cheers), for you have not only dealt with these matters that directly concern the Railway enterprise of this great empire,—you have not only looked to the possibility that the results may become of great value in case of war ;—you

have not only considered how they may contribute to the resources of the country;—you have not only called our attention to Mars and Plutus, but also in the character of a real father of the State (laughter), you have referred to the goddess Venus, and have told us that even in the department over which she presides that the Railway interest may conduce greatly to the benefit of the empire. And you, Mr. Chairman, have also referred to the benefit that may be derived from the extension of the Railway system, and I am sure there is no one here who will not agree with you in the reflections you have made on this subject. It has often been said that when one man gains another must lose. Now that is a principle false in economics, and I believe it can be shown to be singularly untrue even in the results of to-day. We in Bombay, look forward not to the development of trade from one route to another: we do not look forward to gain at one great port at the expense of another, we look forward to see the districts of a country hitherto unknown rendered accessible to us; we look forward to new scenes of industry open to our enterprise, and we believe there is wealth and prosperity in store for Bombay without at the same time diverting one bale of goods or one single shilling from the other great cities of the country. (Cheers.) But I should be sorry, gentlemen, if it were thought that I came here to participate in this triumph, if I may so call it, on the narrow and provincial grounds to which I have alluded. I may say it is not the characteristic of great enterprises such as these, that although it may happen that particular places are benefited, particular neighbourhoods obtain this or that advantage by the extension of Railways the benefit is not local,—it is wide and general. In the capital that is gathered from every country; in the science and talent that is gradually enlisted wherever it is found, nay, even in the giant force which you use mechanically from day to day, all these are only suggestive of the wide benefits which are conferred by enterprises such as those whose success have been to-day inaugurated. (Cheers.) They only suggest to us wealth and prosperity widely extended, humanizing influences shedding light around, and they suggest still more the vigor and the force with which a country enriched by their presence can march on the forward course of advancement and progress, and I assure you, gentlemen, that it is not in the mere narrow view to which I have referred but in this wide and catholic spirit that I desire to be understood as uniting cordially in the feelings which animate us in the success of to-day, and I thank you, Sir, for giving me the privilege of attending now and expressing these sentiments from my own lips. (Cheers.)

His Excellency concluded his remarks by proposing the toast of the "Army and Navy." He said that in this country the toast of the Army no longer conveyed to those around the idea of conquest and the establishment of the empire. It conveyed the idea of certainty security, established Government and established rights (cheers), and he believed that there was not one among our native fellow-subjects who was not glad to see the "red coat," and who if they could speak would express their hearty concurrence in the toast which he proposed. (Cheers.)

The toast of the Navy was one they all understood, it was the most popular of all English toasts. The "blue jacket" the Englishman loved, but he was afraid a great many of our native fellow-subjects were not so well acquainted with the "blue jacket" as they were with the red. He was sure, however, that if they ever heard the same toast again, they would welcome it as calling to their minds the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to this country, which he believed was a source of the greatest gratification to every one, both European and Native. (Loud cheers.)

Sir Augustus Spencer having briefly returned thanks on the part of the Army,

His Royal Highness then rose, and in acknowledging the toast of the Navy said,—I have to return you my best thanks on the part of the service to which I belong for the honor you have done us in drinking our health on this occasion. I need say very few words at present as regards the Navy. No doubt you are all well acquainted with the deeds of our great commanders, Blake, Howe, Nelson and Collingwood, and, I presume you are also aware of the present modifications which our service is undergoing, in changing our wooden vessels of war into substantial iron ones. Although the "blue jacket" is not so well known as the "red jacket" in this country, yet, during the time it has been here, I believe it has been able to gain the respect and good fellowship of the "red jacket with which it has served (cheers). Further remarks from me on this matter are unnecessary, but I think you will agree with me when I say that if a large number present here have been engaged as skilled artisans in the construction of a most important work, the Viceroy and myself have been employed up to a much later hour than artisans usually are for it was not till nearly half past eight o'clock this evening that Lord Mayo and myself succeeded in accomplishing the connection between Calcutta and Bombay. (Laughter and cheers.) As it is now so late I hope you will excuse,

from making any further remarks, and I beg to thank you once more for having responded so heartily to this toast. (cheers.)

The Chairman then proposed health of the Central Provinces Commission. A great portion of the success of the enterprise, he said, was due to the exceeding great assistance rendered by all the members of that Commission, and he sure Mr. Brereton knew and fully realized how great the support of the officers of the Central Provinces had been to the work undertaken.

Mr. Morris in returning thanks said that he should take advantage of that opportunity to tender to His Excellency the Viceroy his grateful acknowledgments for the very kind mention he had been pleased to make of the services of some of the officers of the Central Provinces. He highly prized the honor His Excellency had done them in visiting them personally, and it was the utmost gratification to him to know that any of the district officers had been worthy of the commendation which he had been pleased to bestow on them. A great many difficulties had to be encountered in the construction of the work. Cholera and epidemic disease carried off from time to time large numbers of the laborers employed, but it was to be hoped that the works on the new line would be so well constructed that there would be no necessity this year for any large gangs of laborers, which might have the desirable result of preventing that fatal epidemic which devastated the people last year.

The success with which the work has lately been carried out was, he believed, due to the untiring energy of Chief Commissioner and his staff. They worked with indomitable perseverance and energy, and the results of last year were in themselves sufficient to prove that their labour had been one of danger as well as toil. It was not for him to thank them formally, but having had an opportunity of watching their exertions, he commended to the hearty acceptance of those present the toast of the Chief Engineer, Mr. Brereton, and the engineering staff of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. (cheers.)

Mr. Brereton returned thanks on behalf of the engineering staff and of himself for the cordial manner in which the toast had been received.

After some remarks on the advantage of Railway extension to the country, and the valuable aid it would afford in bringing to the knowledge of the Government the various wants and resources of the empire, he concluded by eulogising the conduct of the different officers

employed in the construction of the line, and congratulating them on the happy result of their exertions.

It was almost 12 o'clock before the proceedings terminated.

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### THE LAHORE BANQUET.

In May 1870, a splendid banquet was given at Lahore in honor of Sir Donald Macleod the retiring Lieutenant Governor of Punjab. His Excellency Lord Mayo made the following speeches on the occasion. After Mr. LINDSAY had proposed the health of the Viceroy.

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD MAYO in responding said :—

I thank you sincerely for the kind manner in which you have drunk my health, and to say what deep gratification it gives me to be allowed to be present here, and to preside upon this interesting occasion. (Cheers.) On such an occasion it would be most inappropriate were I to attempt to speak of myself. But I wish to take this opportunity of saying that nothing has happened since I have been in India, which has given me greater pleasure than the short journey I have been enabled to make throughout the Punjab. (Cheers.) I desire to offer my most hearty thanks to the numerous Gentlemen and Officers of the Government who, throughout the whole of my tour, have shewn me such unvarying kindness, hospitality, and consideration, and for the valuable assistance by the amount of information they have imparted, and for enabling me to see for myself the successful and,

in some cases, the brilliant manner in which they are discharging their arduous duties. (Cheers) I thank them for giving me an opportunity of learning so much, and of having made so many valuable acquaintances, and, I hope I may add, of securing some sincere friends. Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the honor you have done me, and I cordially join in the remark made by Mr. Lindsay, that I hope this may not be the last time we may meet together within the walls of this splendid hall. (Loud cheers.)

HIS EXCELLENCY again rose to propose the health of the Prince of Wales and the Royal Family. He said :—

In proposing the usual toast which always comes at this time, namely, the health of the Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal family, I propose to depart a little from the usual course, on account of a very interesting letter which I have the honor to hold in my hand. In making the contents of this letter known, I do not think that I could choose a more fitting place, or a more happy opportunity, than the present, when I recollect that, within these walls was given to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh one of the most remarkable receptions which took place during his visit to the country. (Cheers.) Three days ago I had the honor of receiving from His Royal Highness a letter which he desires that I should take the earliest opportunity of making public—a letter in which His Royal Highness describes at some length the feelings which he entertains in consequence of the reception he met with in all parts of India, and containing, as you will hear,



expressions of the most lively gratitude to all those who participated and took part in those remarkable demonstrations. Gentlemen, the letter is somewhat long, and I am afraid that, in reading it, I shall somewhat digress from the excellent rule laid down by Mr. Lindsay, that long after-dinners speeches are out of place ; but I think, that its contents are so interesting, detailing as they do in a simple and unaffected manner what His Royal Highness feels, with regard to his visit to India, that I do not believe, I shall weary you by reading it now.—

H. M. S. "GALATEA."

*Colombo Roads, 7th April 1870.*

MY DEAR LORD MAYO,—Now that my visit to India is a thing of the past, I should be sadly wanting in gratitude if I did not ask you to let me take this last opportunity, before my ship has left these waters, to thank your Excellency and every one whose guest I have been, as well as all the people of the districts through which I have passed for the unvarying hospitality and welcome I received in India. In answering the numerous addresses presented to me from time to time, I have expressed this feeling in all truth and sincerity, but I think that they, who have done so much for me, have almost a right to expect some less formal expression of thanks, than that which I have used in replying to official addresses. If you should then think proper to make this letter public, you are at perfect liberty to do so. When I returned to England two years ago, the Queen was pleased to grant a request that I had made long before, and to confer upon me an honour that I have coveted for years, that of being the first member of the Royal Family to visit India. During the fourteen months that elapsed between my departure from Plymouth and my arrival in the Hoogly, I looked forward with eagerness to India as the great object of my cruise. The anticipations of Oriental magnificence

ficence, which were connected in my mind with the idea of India, were more than realized. The imposing reception which greeted my arrival in Calcutta, and that still more splendid ceremony when I received from the Queen through your hands the Insignia of the Star of India, far surpassed what I had expected, and formed together a grand and fitting commencement to that long series of displays that welcomed me to the Great Cities of Benares, Agra, Delhi, Lahor, and Lucknow, which I had the pleasure of visiting. It was a disappointment to me when I heard from you that the Durbar, which was to have been held at Agra, could not take place; but I have since learned to appreciate your wise decision in that matter, and I am glad now that I have had better opportunities of making the acquaintance of the great Indian Princes and Chiefs, either in their own territories or in the immediate neighbourhood of them, than I could have had during the formalities of a State Durbar.

I heard it said that my visit to India occurred at an unfortunate time, owing to the financial difficulties under which the country was suffering, but which are now, I trust, in a fair way of being successfully surmounted. I do not take this view myself. Owing to your wise orders and advice the expense to the public was reduced as much as possible, and I hope that my visit has been but little burdensome to the country. Still this has not affected the large sums of money that were so munificently spent by individuals in welcoming me. The example set by your Excellency at Calcutta was only too generally followed—of that example, I fear, you will not let me speak: but this I must say, that the personal kindness which you showed me and the splendid hospitality, which you dispensed in my honor were features in my visit which I can never forget.

To each and all of those who after I left your roof, received me as their guest I wish to return my warmest thanks. To the Indian Princes who entertained me with characteristic magnificence I am no less grateful. I cannot forget the pleasant days I passed at Chukin, at Deeg, and at Ulwar, nor the Princes who vied with each other in doing all they could to render my visit interesting and agreeable: nor can I forget the munificent hospitality shewn me in the Nepaul territories. To the British and Native gentlemen who gave so many entertainments in my honor I return my grateful acknowledgements. I am convinced that they were all animated with the same wish, to do honor to their Sovereign's Son, and to testify in some substantial form the royal affection with which they regard the Queen's family. Nor could I help being touched by the eagerness which the great

mass of the people displayed to see me and to welcome me. Every class and sect alike manifested their loyalty for Her Majesty by the reception they gave her son, and that reception, and the sentiments which prompted it, will more and more tend to strengthen the interest and affection with which the Queen regards her Indian subjects.

The hurried character of my tour through the interior prevented me from obtaining more than a birds'-eye view of the principal parts of the country ; but I have seen enough to awaken in myself a strong interest both in its past history and its present condition. I have seen many evidences of the anxiety which exists not only among the British community, but among the more wealthy and influential of the native-born inhabitants, to raise and improve the moral and social condition of the poorer classes. The importance of the spread of education is gradually being understood, and in several instances I was highly gratified by the manner in which the communities of some cities desired to commemorate my visit—by the foundation of scholarships bearing my name, by the commencement of recreation grounds for the use of the people, by endowing high schools, and at some of the sea ports by contributing funds for the erection or improvement of Sailors' Homes. These laudable objects have been very materially, in some cases mainly, assisted by the munificence as well of private individuals as of some of the Indian Princes, whose generosity is so well known to every one that it would be superfluous for me to mention their names here. That my visit has been instrumental in bringing about results such as these is one of the happiest reflections with which I shall look back to my brief stay in India.

Some impression of the vast extent of our possession in India I formed from the great distances that I traversed by railway. I am only doing justice to the excellent arrangements which were made by the Railway Authorities, when I say that I have never travelled in greater comfort, and I owe it to the gentlemen who were entrusted with the arrangements of my transit from place to place, that I was enabled to fulfil with strict punctuality, as well as with ease and convenience, the appointments I had made. Perhaps I was a little disappointed with the scenery of the great plains of Bengal and the North-West Provinces, but any disappointment I felt on this point was more than compensated by the pleasure with which I viewed the grand scenery of the hills and snowy ranges from Dehra Mussoorie. Some part of my short stay I was enabled to devote to field sports, and I hope I may be excused for saying that

I enjoyed with all my heart the few days I could spare for this relaxation. Considering that I was quite a month too early, I think I was very fortunate to have obtained the good sport I did. I am very much beholden to the gentlemen who made the arrangements for my sporting excursions, and who enabled me to live in camp with all the comfort and even luxury I could possibly have desired. It has been my good fortune to make the acquaintance of many officers, whose gallant deeds and chivalrous sense of duty entitled them to a place in the roll of Indian heroes, and of whose friendship I am proud. The story of their lives is not the least instructive among the lessons that have been brought to my notice in India. In these remarks I allude to members of the Civil as well as the Military branch of the service. Of both these I would say in the words that your Excellency lately used on a public occasion—that nowhere is a Sovereign served better or with more zeal than is the Queen by her servants in India.

I was very much gratified with my visit to Bombay, a city, which from its great maritime importance, pre-eminently claims my attention as a sailor. My arrival there was happily timed at a period in her history which is unprecedented, for it happened almost contemporaneously with three great events, each of which has a direct bearing upon her future greatness. I allude to the completion of the Railway communication between Eastern and Western India,—the opening of the Suez Canal,—and the laying of the Submarine Telegraph between Suez and Bombay. I trust that the bright hopes for the future which this happy concurrence of events is calculated to inspire will be amply realized; and I also hope that, my kind friends in Bombay will remember, that simultaneously with the dawn of their good fortune, the son of their Sovereign came among them, to assure them of the lively sympathy with which Her Majesty regards them, and of the pleasure with which she will learn of their hopeful prospects. Madras, although heavily weighted in the race with her sister capitals by local disadvantages, welcomed me so warmly, entertained me with so much consideration, and sped me on my way with such kind wishes, that I am glad it was chosen as the port for my re-embarkation. My reception there was a most gratifying and flattering culmination to a very interesting tour. The three months of my stay in India have passed only too rapidly and pleasantly away. I am laden with a debt of gratitude—a debt which I am proud to owe, but which I can never hope to repay. In all that concerns the welfare of India I shall ever take deep interest, for I have learned to regard her people with affection. I am the glad bearer of a message from them

to my mother, which will give her unbounded satisfaction, for I have to tell her how enthusiastic has been my reception, how universal the affectionate loyalty which greeted me, and how it is for her sake alone that I have been thus welcomed to India ; that my advent has been thus eagerly seized as an opportunity for expressing their sentiments of personal devotion to Her Majesty, and of their heartfelt appreciation of the mildness and beneficence of her rule.

I must now bid to the people of India an affectionate farewell. May God pour down his choicest blessing on the land.

Believe, me, My Dear Lord Mayo,

Yours very truly,  
(Signed) ALFRED.

(The reading of the letter by the Viceroy was received with loud applause.)

His Excellency continued,—Gentlemen, I thought that the reading of this letter would have interested every one of you, and I see that it has done so, and I now call upon you to drink the health of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh and the rest of the Royal family. (The toast was received with loud applause.)

The toast of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief having been proposed and responded to, His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and said :—Your Excellency Lord Napier of Magdala and Gentlemen,—We have met here to-night to do honor to a distinguished man (applause) ; we have met here to-night to testify our admiration for a long life of public usefulness ; we have met here to-night to offer—I cannot call it a humble, for it is really a magnificent token of affection and regard (applause) ; and we have further met to-night to express our sincere and cordial wishes for Sir Donald McLeod's future welfare and success. (Applause) For some reasons I

regret that the honor of proposing his health has been committed to me, and that the toast has not been recommended to your notice by some of his distinguished fellow-workers—many of whom I see around me—who are well acquainted with his labors, with all the details of his distinguished career, and have had an opportunity of witnessing daily and hourly the manner in which he performed, for so many years, a series of most important public duties. (Applause.) But, gentlemen, it having been intimated to me that, perhaps owing to the position which I have the honor to hold, my presence here to-night in presiding over this assembly, might render, in virtue of my office, some additional interest. I felt it would be contrary to my duty to decline the task, though, indeed, I would have been much more satisfied to have assisted in the character of a guest, and to have been allowed to pay my humble tribute as an ordinary visitor to the distinguished public servant whom we have come here to honor. (Applause.) Though I appear, therefore, before you on this occasion at considerable disadvantage, I can assure you that there is no one present who more fully appreciates the many great qualities which Sir Donald McLeod possesses, and it is particularly gratifying to me as the Head of the Indian Administration to be permitted to join in this testimony of regard towards him, and to be allowed to express my concurrence in the opinions which I know you all entertain as to his spotless, character and public service. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, In his presence I am not going to attempt to elaborate a panegyric or to offer anything in the shape of fulsome praise I believe it is the last thing he would wish that

I should do ; but I merely wish to describe, in a very few words, how well he has done his duty, because I believe that, at the close of his long career, the feeling that he has done his duty to his Queen, to the Services, and to the Natives of this country, is his best reward—that is the feeling which will cheer him in his old age, and will be the happiest reminiscence of his after-life. (Loud cheers.) Though Sir Donald McLeod can hardly be called an old man—he does not look like one—(laughter), yet he is at this moment the father of the whole of the Indian Civil Service, that is, the Civil Service actively employed,—and I must say that, regarding him as such, he is blessed with a remarkable fine family (cheers and laughter) ; but of all the numerous branches that own his paternity, I must say there are none more distinguished none more promising, none more vigorous, or none more flourishing, than that branch which was brought to him by his last *love*—the fair Punjab—the goddess of the Five Rivers. (Cheers and laughter.) That branch of the family have had the honor of being foremost in the last great advance which we shall probably ever make in India ; they still form the vanguard of British power in Hindoostan, and, if the vanguard of our rule, they may justly be termed the pioneers of civilization in the East. (Cheers.)

Though you still have difficulties in administration which are not experienced by your brethren in other parts of India, yet you have shewn, and are shewing, how constancy, devotion, honesty, and energy are capable of surmounting every obstacle, and how the results of your rule are daily and hourly becoming more manifest. Daily and hourly the strength of our power grows

in this land, year by year our footsteps become more deeply imprinted on its soil, and, though we are now only in the morning of that long day of our power, which will have the effect, as it goes on, of enlightening and enriching the people of this country, yet, though we are now only in the dawn of the day of our dominion, still short as the time has been since British power has been established in the Province of the Punjab, it is wonderful to witness the great—I may almost say magical—changes that have taken place (cheers) ; and I assert, and assert it boldly that in no country in the world has the transition from lawlessness, from violence from corruption, from crime, and from all those evils which have distinguished bad governments in every age, been more rapid as it has been in this very District. (Cheers.) Well, Gentlemen, in all these efforts and in those means which have been taken by wise and great men to bring about these grand results, Sir Donald McLeod has not only taken a share, but a very eminent share, in their fulfilment. ( Cheers. ) He brought to the Province great experience, for he arrived in India so far back as the month of December 1828 ; for two or three years he was employed in the Monghyr District ; for twelve years he was attached to the Governor General's Agency in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and I may safely say, having had an opportunity of learning it myself in a recent visit to those parts, that his name is still revered and respected in the Valley of the Nerbudda. For a short time after that he assisted Colonel Slesman in that undertaking which has immortalized his name, namely, the suppression of Thuggee and dacoity. He was afterwards Magistrate and Collector in the



city of Benares, where he acquired, during the six years he held that office, the highest reputation. He effected great improvements in the municipal arrangements and Police of the city, and vastly reduced the amount of crime among a population which at that time was considered as important as that of any city in India. In the year 1849 he first came northwards and occupied the important post of Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, the Division now known as Jullundhur. In 1854 he became Financial Commissioner of the Punjab,—and, I believe I state in the hearing of many who know that, during the dark days of the mutiny, during the time when our power in India was trembling in the balance, during those days when the efforts made in the Punjab had such a wonderful effect in the preservation of British India in those days he and Sir Robert Montgomery were among the most trusted advisers of the late Governor General, whose success and whose exertions on that occasion conferred upon him immortal fame, and enabled him to be justly termed one of the saviours of the Empire. ( Loud applause. ) Well, Gentlemen, in the year 1865 he succeeded Sir Robert Montgomery as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who had, as you are aware, distinguished himself in the promotion and encouragement of every good work in his Province. I think that you can hardly imagine a much more distinguished career, and one which has offered greater opportunities of performing signal service to the country. But throughout all this career he has ever advocated the same feelings ; he has ever supported a liberal and enlightened policy towards the Native gentry and people of India. ( Cheers. ) He has

always been foremost in every good work for their advancement, and, though he was one of those who were as actively engaged as any man in the suppression of the Mutiny, I believe there is not a man in India less actuated by those feelings of resentment, which were most naturally entertained by the great mass of the Europeans in this country; and not only this, but he has devoted himself with still greater energy and zeal ever since to the improvement of the people. (Great applause.)

Among other questions of great social importance in which Sir Donald McLeod has taken a leading part, is that for the suppression of female infanticide. He was one of the earliest movers in the efforts that were made for the extinction of that abominable practice unhappily still to a certain extent in existence; but this is only one among other measures of usefulness in which he has been constantly engaged. His rule, on the whole has been a peaceful era for the Punjab, and I believe its being peaceful is the best testimony to his prudence, wisdom, and judgment. In formally and thoroughly establishing British rule and administration according to law, he has always looked to peace as the greatest blessing that can be bestowed upon his Province; he has ever raised his voice against unnecessary violence, and has ever advocated the interests of the people. (Cheers.) During his administration great improvements have been made. The municipal governments of the towns of this Province have been placed upon a legal and systematic footing.

I am informed that when he entered on office only three or four towns in the Province were provided

with written bye-laws and regularly constituted municipal committees. I am, however, now told that there are upwards of one hundred towns endowed in some shape or other with the means of self-government, and I do say that any man who has succeeded in establishing municipal institutions, which have always been in every country in the world the basis of civil government and the first germ of civilization, is entitled to the highest praise. (Cheers.) I believe by his wise rule and regulation he has induced numbers of the Natives of this country to take an active part in the administration of their municipal affairs, and has by that means laid the foundation of a future which will be most beneficial. Under his rule dispensaries have been widely established, and are now performing very valuable service. The number of dispensaries when he assumed office amounted to only forty-one, and now I am informed that they have increased to upwards of eighty, and the number of patients have risen from 263,000 to something above 400,000.

Now, it is almost impossible to conceive anything that will bring home to the minds of the Natives of this country the results of good administration, of good government and paternal rule, more than the general practice of the healing art—a thing that was totally unknown before—and which the constant recurrence of epidemic and other diseases renders universal application, and conveys to almost every member of the community a sense of relief and comparative safety, brings home to the homes of every person the advantages of a wise and humane Government. During Sir Donald McLeod's time the

Code of Civil Procedure was extended to the Punjab, the Registration Act of 1866 was also introduced. Great efforts have also been made by him to lay the foundation of what is so necessary, namely, the first elements of vital statistics. There are many other works I could enumerate did time permit; but they are so well known to you all, that I do not think it necessary to take up your time with a recital of them.

The social position of the Natives has also been materially improved, and Sir Donald has always taken every means in his power to encourage their exertion and develop their energies, and to associate them, as far as possible, with his administration. He has ever given his most strenuous support to all educational projects, and, I believe, there never was a man who ruled India who was more thoroughly convinced of the duties of the Government in that respect. Under his auspices a Lahore University College has been lately founded—an institution which, I hope, will one day develop into a centre of high learning for Northern India, and I believe it has only to pursue the course which it has commenced in order to place itself in juxta-position with the older and more firmly established Universities of India. The University of Lahore has to win its own spurs, and I can only say that it is the desire of the Government to recognise its efforts, and as soon as it can show that it is capable of administering to its pupils that description, quality, and extent of education which ought to belong to a University, the Government will not be slow in extending to it all the powers enjoyed by such institutions. The difficult question of female

education has also engaged Sir Donald's best attention, and great and most excellent results have occurred, so much so, that there are now, I am informed, 722 Girls' Schools in the Province and 14,500 girls receiving instruction. Now, that is a state of things with which any one connected with it must feel deep pride, considering the almost insurmountable difficulty which often attend the question of female education in this country. Normal schools, maintaining European female teachers, have been established, and every thing has been done that could be done for the advancement of this particular branch of education.

I have now to take this public occasion of thanking His Honor most sincerely for the support he has given to the Government in the matter of the many communications and negotiations which, since I have come to India, we have undertaken with the Ameer of Afghanistan. I am sure that all here will agree that the course of policy which has been laid down has, so far as it has gone, been eminently successful. If its success continues, it will secure peace in Central Asia, obtain for us strong and useful alliances, and create a new trade. I have only to say that, in contributing to that result, we have to thank Sir Donald and the Punjab Government for the loyal manner in which they have seconded our efforts, for the excellent advice and good assistance they have rendered, and for the prudent and wise manner in which they have conducted the communications between the Supreme Government and the Ruler of Afghanistan. (Cheers.) His greatest attention has always been given during his rule to the development of trade beyond our frontier, and communications

are beginning to be established with the wilder tribes and nations who dwell on our borders.

Under Sir Donald's auspices Dr. Cayley was first sent to Ladak, whose services are already so eminent, that he may be called the pioneer of our communications and our trade with Eastern Turkistan. Under Sir Donald's advice, the Maharaja of Cashmere has relaxed many of the restrictions and many of the burdens which have been for years past pressed upon trade. That Ruler is now pursuing a policy with regard to commerce which entitles him to all honor. The fairs of Palumpore and Peshawur have also been established, and it must be a source of the greatest gratification to His Honor to know that, during the last few months of his rule, the Maharaja has permitted a free and uninterrupted trade route to be demarcated and established between this country and Eastern Turkistan, and has, moreover, pledged himself not to permit any interference, fiscal or otherwise, with any of our traders who may pass through his territory: all are to come and go in peace and safety and thereby for the first time open up communication with those great populations, of which we have hitherto known so little at the other side of the Himalayas. (Cheers.) This has been one of the great objects of the Supreme Government during the last year, and I can only say that in all the efforts we have made in this direction, and in all the communications we have thought it our duty to make, we have always received from Sir Donald McLeod and his Government the most cordial support and valuable assistance. (Cheers.) I could go on at much greater length, and could shew you how many important, almost equally

important, measures have been undertaken in the Punjab during the last five years in the interest of good government and good administration. Gentlemen, Sir Donald McLeod bequeaths to his successor arduous and most responsible duties. I believe that his mantle will fall upon one who is in every way most worthy and most able to bear it. (Cheers.) In Major-General Sir Henry Durand (the announcement of Sir Henry Durand's name was received with loud and prolonged cheering) you will find a Lieutenant-Governor worthy to be the successor of Sir Donald McLeod; you will have one of the foremost men in the Indian Service; you will find in him all those great qualities which enable men to rule with success; you will find him firm and fearless, honest and brave. (Loud cheers). He has vast experience, gained in his military capacity, and also in a long period of civil service—experience gained by service in the Indian Council at Home, and in the Supreme Council of the Governor General of India. He has ability enough to enable him to fill with distinction the highest positions in the Public Service, and I believe there is not a man in the service of the Queen who would bring to this high office more power or greater experience than Sir Henry Durand. (Loud cheers,)

Gentlemen, I ask you, though I know it is almost superfluous to do so, still I ask you to give him your hearty and cordial support. You are justly proud of your Province, and I entirely sympathise with your feelings in that respect. You have every right to be proud of it, for it is one of the most interesting and most flourishing portions of the Empire of India.

(Cheers.) But I would ask you, in considering the many and varied questions which every officer in the Indian Service has to deal, to lay aside all feelings of prejudice, and specially to avoiding provincialism, to recollect that we are all subjects of one Queen, that we are all fellow-workers together, and that, after all that is said and done, we are nothing more or less than a body of British gentlemen endeavouring to rule for their good a weaker but still a most interesting and intelligent race; and that our mission in this country is to extend to the people of India the blessings of that civilization which has made us what we are. (Loud cheers.)

Gentlemen, I hope you will drink with all the honors, and in the old English fashion—three times three—the health of of the Lieutenant-Governor.

(The toast was received with loud and continued applause.)

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## OPENING OF THE KHAMGAON COTTON BRANCH RAILWAY.

4TH MARCH 1870.

His Excellency the Earl of Mayo, arrived at Akola on the 3rd of March 1870 accompanied by Major Burne, Mr. Aitchison, Captain Lockwood, the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, and the Cotton Commissioner. He was entertained that night by the resident, who had a dinner party of 150 people assembled to meet him. The next day the party all started for Khamgaon. The place had been decorated in every possible mode with flags and banners, and a dinner for 100 people prepared. The Viceroy's train arrived precisely at



4 o'clock. P. M. Immediately after alighting, His Excellency hammered in the last rivet of the line, and declared the line open. An hour was spent in a minute inspection of all the cotton yards, &c., and the company sat down to dinner at 5 o'clock. P. M. The following were the speeches made on the occasion.

The Resident at Hyderabad proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen. Mr. Saunders then rose and said—addressing the Viceroy —“Your Excellency has by this day's visit given us the most signal and marked assurance of the interest which your Lordship takes in all that concerns the productions and commerce of this part of the country, and to which, I believe, the prosperity and recent development of the province and of the town of Khamgaon are chiefly due.

That the first State Railway of India has been made to Khamgaon, and that its inauguration has been presided over by your Excellency in person, are distinctions which I, in common with all those who are interested, cannot fail to appreciate, and on behalf of the residents, both European and Native, of this place, I desire to offer our grateful acknowledgments to your Excellency for having attended on this important occasion. (Cheers.)

The last obstacle has been removed, and for the future, direct communication by steam exists between this—the largest emporium of cotton in Western India—and the ports of Europe, which will take every bale that can be brought into its market. In the presence of the eminent statesman—our distinguished guest, Sir Salar Jung—who has accompanied me by invitation from Hyderabad to meet your Excellency at this place, I trust that I may be permitted to offer to the Nizam's Government an assurance of the interest which we take in the Railway project which His Highness has at present under consideration in that country, and which is to be carried out by funds provided by that Government. The projected Railway to which I allude is that which is to connect Hyderabad, the capital of the Deccan, with the Great Indo-Peninsular system at or near Goolburga, and which, I trust, will equally with this less ambitious project—the completion of which we are now assembled to celebrate—develop the material resources of the country, and increase the projection and export, not only of cotton, but of all the other most important commercial staples. When I state, with reference to the present undertaking, that the first sod for the making of the Railway was turned on the 2nd June last, and that on the 25th February the line was inspected and declared fit for traffic, I trust your Lordship will not deem that the work was not either sufficiently speedy, or that

the construction was not sufficiently well carried out. With some slight and combined effort, we were able to overcome all difficulties as they arose, and if the results in your Excellency's opinion are worthy of any commendation, they are due to the efforts and energy of the engineers who were employed on the line—Messrs. Carey and Izat, who worked under the able superintendence of Major Meade, the Secretary of the Railway Department of the Hyderabad Local Administration.

I feel also that we are indebted for much able assistance and encouragement to Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner of the West Berars, and the Railway that your Excellency has this day declared to be open has been forwarded in a most successful manner by our most able Cotton Commissioner, Mr. Rivett-Carnac (cheers,) whose efforts in connection with this line your Excellency must be well aware of.

I desire also on this occasion to express the acknowledgments of the local Administration, more especially to Colonel Trevor, the Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Railway Department; and I also beg to tender my acknowledgments to the officers of the Great Indo-Peninsular Railway, and at the same time to commend to those officers the little offspring which we have this day brought forward, and affiliated to its adopted parent, the Great Indo-Peninsular Railway. In conclusion, I would again repeat my acknowledgments to your Lordship for the manner in which you have acted on this occasion, and for the powerful stimulus which you have this day given both to our commerce and trade, of which Khamgaon is a most important centre. (Loud cheers.)

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD MAYO then rose, and said.—Mr. Saunders, Sir Salar Jung, and gentlemen,—I can assure you that few things that have happened since I have been in India have given me greater gratification than being allowed to participate in the ceremony of to-day.—Though it is only but a few months since, with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State, the Government of India determined that for the future the construction of new lines of Railway should for the most part be undertaken by the direct agency of Government, it is most encourag-

ing to find that within less than ten months after that decision was announced, we have been able to open the first State Railway in India. (Cheers.) The Resident has described truly and fairly the exertions which have been made by the various officers entrusted with this undertaking, and this day shows the successful result of their labor. We were often told that it was impossible that the Government could do these things by direct agency quickly and well, but I think the statement just made by the Resident that the first sod was only turned on the 7th June last (certainly its consideration was not undertaken by the Government of India two months before), and that the middle of February saw its completion, shows at all events that when all are willing we can do things sharp (cheers), and though unlooked-for difficulties were met with—not so much in the construction of the line as in the supply of material for the permanent way, which caused some delay—we have shown that a good substantial line of eight miles can be made, without any previous preparation, in as many months; and I am in great hopes from what I have heard since I have been here that, when the most important part of the transaction has to be considered, namely, when we come to pay the bill, we shall find that the outlay has not been excessive. At the same time I am not prepared to say that in the construction of future lines of this kind we may not be able to do the thing at a somewhat less cost than for which the Khamgaon Railway has been made. Gentlemen the construction of this line bears directly on one of the most important subjects which

can be taken into consideration by any man—be he European or Native—who is interested in the prosperity and welfare of this country. The object for which this line is made is to give one of the best established, and one of the largest cotton markets in Central and Western India, easy access to the general Railway communication of the country, and therefore, when the Government of India determined that it ought to be made as rapidly as possible, it came to that conclusion with no other object than that of endeavouring, at the earliest possible moment, to do something towards the development of the cotton industry of this district. Any one who looks back to the history of cotton cultivation in the Central Provinces and the Berars must be satisfied with the great development of that industry which has occurred in late years. I do not say that it is entirely to be attributed to ordinary causes. We all know that the cotton famine in America had a great deal to do in stimulating the development and production of cotton in this country, but it is a satisfaction to know that, though a great and almost unnatural impetus was given to its cultivation at that time in India, and though we cannot look again for the almost fabulous returns which were then obtained, yet I am sure that those who understand this question will agree with me, that a great deal of good ground has been gained, though we cannot expect ever to go back to the prices of the American war. Gentlemen I am informed that in the Central Provinces and the Berars, at this moment, nearly 2,500,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of cotton, and, allowing for local consumption, the exports from these provinces in the

year 1869 amounted to something like 300,000 bales of 400lbs. each. If we consider what an immense quantity that is, and consequently what a number of people must be engaged in its production and its transport, we shall see what an important industry it is that we are trying to develop, and what an enormous service we can do to the country by opening communications to the markets where such a commodity is brought for sale. Not only is the quantity, of cotton grown and exported vastly increased, but I believe I am right in saying that there is a marked improvement in its quality. I am informed that at this moment in the English market, it is held that good Oomrau wutty and Khamgaon cotton is fit to perform nearly three fourths of the work which is performed by ordinary American, so that in the matter of quality the cotton exported from this district is running the American cotton very hard. (Cheers.) I also recollect that, as far as England is concerned, the importation of Indian cotton into that country stands at the head of the list.

By the late returns which have been furnished to me by my friend Mr. Rivett-Carnac, of whose energy and ability it is impossible to speak too highly, I find that the whole of the import of American and Brazilian cotton into England in the year 1869 scarcely exceeded the whole of the import of Indian cotton. The American import was 4,027,000 cwts., the Brazilian 739,000, while the imported cotton of India amounted to 4,757,000, which was very nearly equal to the entire supply imported from the whole of North and South America. Now, I venture to say that if any man had prophesied ten years ago—

before the American war took place—that the importation of Indian cotton into England would have greatly exceeded that from the United States he would have been looked upon as a madman. But this shows how demand will generally create supply and it shows also a most indisputable fact, that the agricultural resources of this great empire are almost unlimited.

But though we may congratulate ourselves on the position which Indian cotton has attained in the European market, there is still great room for improvement. I believe there is no fear of any cessation in the demand. The mills of Manchester are I fear still working on short time, and we know that they can take a great deal more cotton than they get. Any idea as to the probability of a cessation of demand during our lifetime may be, I hope, considered delusory. That being the case, our object ought to be to strain every nerve to improve quality and increase quantity. I have had a good deal of conversation lately with some gentlemen from England who appeared to be well acquainted with this subject. When I came out myself I was under the impression that what we most wanted was improvement in the quality of Indian cotton. I have learned sufficient since I have been here to induce me somewhat to alter that opinion, and I believe what the English market now demands is as large and as great an increase in quantity as they can get. This puts me in mind of a remark made by a well-known *bon vivant*, who used to say that “the best thing in the world is good wine, and that the next best thing in the world is bad wine, but whatever it is—good or bad—let us

have enough of it"!! (Laughter and cheers.) Now I think that this is very much what the Manchester people are saying with regard to cotton. They say "give us good cotton if you can, but give us any sort rather than none. Whatever it is we get we will find the way to spin it," and they are right, for what they most dread is the idle mill. It would be great presumption in me, in the hearing of so many men who are thoroughly acquainted with this question, to offer for your consideration precise or specific recommendations on cotton cultivation in India, but I should like shortly to explain what it is the Government of India—as a Government—are trying to do with regard to the improvement and development of the cotton industry of the Central Provinces and the Berars. You will, I think, all agree that, as far as cotton cultivation is concerned, there are three things of which the result and effect should be as rapidly as possible ascertained by experiment. The first is, the improvement of quality and increase of quantity by the careful selection of indigenous seed; the second is the use of manure and water, the effects of which, I believe, are little known; and the third, is the deeper ploughing and better cultivation of the soil. With regard to the selection of the seed: at the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and the Resident at Hyderabad, we have sanctioned the establishment of three seed gardens—one at Hinghunghat, another at Oomrawuttee, and the third at this place (cheers.) Experienced and practical men have been appointed to take them in charge. There is no doubt, I think

that if anything has been proved by experiment, it is this, *firstly*, that exotic cotton does not suit the climate of the Central Provinces and the Berars, and, *secondly*, that there is much advantage to be gained by persuading the cultivator of cotton to be careful that, in the selection of seed, he takes it from strong and healthy plants, and from the best bolls in order to secure a store of good seed for the ensuing year's crop. I say that if the exertions of the gentlemen of the Cotton Department and the district officers have resulted in ascertaining that to be a fact, and, the cultivator can be persuaded of its use and advantage, a great point is gained, and though this is not generally known, and there has been as yet but little opportunity of impressing it upon the people, its discovery ought to encourage us to go on and see what more can be done for the improvement of the growth in this country. Mr. Rivett-Carnac informs me that 30,000 lbs of improved seed have been saved this year, which will be sufficient to sow nearly 3,000 acres, and every effort will be made to induce the native cultivator to try it, so that next year we shall be in a position to speak more decidedly as to the result of this very interesting experiment. I believe there is much to be done in the way of experiment with regard to manure, but there is nothing in the world about which there is so much nonsense talked as manure. I know perfectly well, from long experience as a practical farmer, its inestimable value and that its use is the very foundation of all agricultural success. But the difficulty is to get it, and we all know that even in the very highest farming, the farmer, if he has to buy, has always to consider first what his



manure is to cost, and next, what increase of crop he has to create to make it pay. With manure and water I could grow first-rate cotton and wheat in a flower pot, but would the produce pay the price of the pot? Therefore, for the purpose of experiment, it will be very desirable to endeavour to ascertain the exact amount, quantity, and cost of manure which is most suitable for the cotton plant. We know that in the matter of manure, more especially in India, there is enormous and great difficulty. The best of all manure, cow-dung, is almost universally used for fuel, and we must, if we recommend the use of any artificial manure, be prepared to prove that the expenditure on its purchase would bring proportionate profit to the cultivator, for I am certain if we make wild recommendations to the natives on these subjects, we shall do more harm than good. With regard to water, although the effect of irrigation in cotton culture in the black soil is still to a great extent unknown, yet two or three experiments are, I hope, about to be tried in the Central Provinces and in the Berars, the result of which may turn out to be exceedingly valuable. I should be sorry to express any decided opinion as to the mode and the extent in which water can with advantage be supplied to the cotton plant, or as to the best system of cultivation to be adopted as connected with irrigation, but I believe that, under the direction of those energetic officers, who have now undertaken the matter, in the course of two or three years we shall be able to speak much more decidedly upon that point. With regard to deeper ploughing, that requires further experiment. There is really no positive

rule on the subject. In some soils the deepest ploughing is attended by the most conspicuous success. In others, where a poor sub-soil exists near to the surface, absolute mischief can be done ; but, on the whole, I think that, as far as we know, in the black soil greater fertility must attend a deeper system of tillage. I am quite aware that Government can do very little except in the way of precept and example, and the diffusion of the results of accurate experiment. I think that to a certain extent the establishment of a model farm is very useful.

Model farms are of two kinds, one purely experimental, which is useful mainly for scientific purposes and the other thoroughly practical. An experimental farm is one which ought to be conducted as much to show what people ought to shun as what they ought to do, and the conductor of the experimental farm might take for his motto the title of a well-known book, and show what his plants ought to "eat, drink, and avoid." But with regard to the other description of farm, which is a real model farm, it should be a purely commercial undertaking, and should be conducted, as far as possible, according to the ordinary mode of agriculture of the country, its object being not so much to introduce new systems and new plans as to improve and take advantage of the means—the cattle and machinery at hand. I am sure that if you can persuade the native that he can gradually improve the old implements with which he and his fathers have been working for generations, you are certain at once to teach him something that he will appreciate. You do not shock his prejudice, and you enlist his feelings in your favor, and I do believe

that if these principles are kept in view by those gentlemen who have taken so much trouble, and have given so much time to the management of model farms, they will probably find out that the development of the means at hand would be far more productive of success than the suggestion of many improvements or inventions they could themselves originate.

It is the duty of the Government of India, within a certain limit, to endeavour to encourage, as far as possible, establishments conducted on these principles but I believe that the first object of those who are entrusted with their management should be to show that the process by which they hope to arrive at the improvement of the soil and increased production is a process which is cheap and easy, and is at the same time one which would without fail bring money into the farmer's pocket.

But besides these measures, I think the Government has a further duty to perform in endeavouring to improve the means of communication as much as possible. Railways are for the Government to make. Improved local roads can, I believe, best be made under the direction and supervision of those who are best acquainted with the locality (hear, hear,). With regard to railways, we are doing in this district as much as we can (cheers). We have seen to-day the opening of the first State Railway in the cotton districts (cheers), and I am in great hopes that before three weeks are over, the surveys, estimates and plans of the *Oomrarouttee* branch will be completed, and that we may obtain permission to commence work on that line at an early period (cheers). In

the Central Provinces the able and energetic officers engaged have shown remarkable zeal and expedition in conducting the surveys, for what I hope will one day be the Chanda Railway, and I had yesterday the pleasure of seeing Mr. Armstrong and Mr. O'Callaghan, who told me that in six weeks the whole of the plans and estimates for a railway east of Wurdah will be ready to be sent up to Government (cheers). As far then as railway communication is concerned, we are doing all that we can; and with regard to internal communication we must leave it to the zeal and judgment of those who are much better acquainted with the wants of the various districts than the chief departments of Government can possibly be to suggest what improvements are required. I have ridden through a large portion of the Chanda District during the last few days, and all I can say is, that though the country is wild, and much of it as yet uncultivated, yet it is proved beyond a doubt that coal, cotton, and iron can be produced in almost any quantity within a very short distance of each other, and I am not sure that nature could have provided any district in the world with three greater elements of prosperity and wealth. I have no doubt that before very long a systematic beginning will be made for bringing to the surface, and extracting from the soil, such rich treasures. We have endeavoured to provide these districts with good telegraphic communication, and under the able superintendence of Mr. Rivett-Carnac, we have also undertaken to supply the trade from time to time with the most accurate agricultural statistics that can be obtained; for we know that all men engaged in

commerce and the pursuits of industry appreciate more than anything, complete, full, and early information as to the state and future prospect of the crops. I am happy to say that though it has been the duty of the Government of India to order great reductions of expenditure in various departments, it will not be necessary materially to limit the expenditure of the comparatively small sums which have been granted for the purposes of the encouragement and improvement of cotton cultivation, and I am happy to say that the Government of India have ordered no reductions of expenditure of this nature in those provinces which are more immediately under its control.

Having shown how much we are doing to place correct information in the possession of the public, to improve communications and to experimentalise on the different forms of cultivation, we must leave it to our mercantile friends to do the rest ; and certainly from what we have seen to-day we can not but come to the conclusion that no exertion will be lacking on their part ; for when we see the bold and courageous manner in which they have invested their money in this place, and have brought with them all the mechanical contrivances that science can bring to bear upon the pressing and manipulation of cotton intended for export, I think we have nothing to complain of the exertions which the mercantile community are making to help themselves (cheers.) I can only say that the Government of India sincerely wishes them every success, and most sincerely desires that the enterprise which they have undertaken will be successful, and may bring as much advantage to themselves as it

will to the people of this country. Gentlemen in consideration of all these matters, we must first take into account, the interest of the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our first and primary object. If we are not here for their improvement and their advancement, we ought not to be here at all. We cannot therefore deal with these subjects in any way that might be deemed selfish, or entirely in an English point of view. We must first do what we think best to bring to the home of the Indian cultivator prosperity and wealth, and that must be our first object, and no doubt this object has been greatly assisted by the cotton trade. But in relation to cotton there is to us, as Englishmen, a further consideration which must recommend itself strongly to our minds, for we may remember that in encouraging and developing its culture in India, we are contributing to the happiness and welfare of large masses of our countrymen at home. It must be a source of gratification to us, that while doing our duty here we may keep that secondary object in view, and we may recollect that, when we increase the production of cotton in India, we are setting the mills of Lancashire to work, that we are conferring vast benefits on a class which at a very recent period, in a time of great suffering and distress, displayed almost heroic qualities: for weeks and months and almost years the American cotton famine brought hunger and want to the door of almost every operative in the cotton manufacturing districts. I know well what their sufferings were, and the patient endurance which they evinced in those trying times.

Gentlemen, when we now read in the newspapers

that the Manchester mills are working only three days in the week, we little know the amount of distress which that announcement involves, for among these masses of people the absence of cotton is to thousands the absence of food and clothing. It is satisfactory therefore to know that in endeavouring to develop the agricultural industry of this country, we are conferring inestimable benefits upon one of the most numerous, the most important, and the most deserving classes among our own countrymen.

Gentlemen, we are fortunate here to-night in the presence of a native nobleman Sir Salar Jung to whom, I may say without flattery, the Government of the Queen is greatly indebted. Nearly sixty years ago, not fifty miles from here, a great battle was fought,—a battle which had not only the immediate effect of establishing British power throughout these wide districts, but may also be said to have been the cradle of the fame of England's greatest Captain. For the officer who commanded at Assaye, the "Sepoy General" as his enemies used to call him when he returned to Europe, was the man who afterwards led our armies in a hundred victories. At that time the forces of the Nizam were ranged beneath the British standard; then, as now, a firm alliance was established between His Highness' Government and the Government of India; then as now the two Governments were engaged in the same objects within these regions. Times have changed since then. The voice of war is happily no longer heard; but I am proud to say that the firm alliance with Hyderabad exists, still and among all the Native Rulers and statesmen of India we can count no stauncher or stronger

friend than the Minister of the Nizam who sits beside me here. The only enemies we have now to subdue are ignorance, prejudice, and idleness; and I believe that in our conflict with these old foes we have no more faithful ally than Sir Salar Jung (cheers). At his recommendation the Government of the Nizam has within the last few days, made a specific proposal for constructing, at its own expense, a Hyderabad State Railway from that city to Gulburga. And I can truly say that, having been cognisant of all the communications that have passed on that subject, the Minister has shown from the very first a most enlightened desire to bring about with all speed the necessary arrangements, and that he has shown no disposition to do anything in the matter except what is just right, honorable, and fair. I am not without hopes that, before many days elapse, we may be able to announce to the public the outline of an engagement between us and the Nizam's Government for the construction of a most important line of railway, which though it will be to a certain extent under British management and control, yet being the property of the Hyderabad State, will, I hope, always remain for every practical purpose completely and essentially the Hyderabad State Railway (cheers). Well Gentlemen, this is very encouraging, and if the Government of India have had the satisfaction of constructing within the assigned districts of Berar our first State Railway, Sir Salar Jung will enjoy the proud honor of being 'the first representative of a native Government that has made a state Railway for itself. Though our first object in coming here is to celebrate the opening of this little line, we are here also to do all



honor to one who has set so willing an example to his countrymen in India (cheers).

I am afraid I have already detained you too long, and the darkening shades of night warn me that we must go on our way, but I cannot conclude without one more remark, and it shall be my last. During the short time I have been down here, it has been most gratifying to witness the extreme zeal and energy with which all the officers of the Government are engaging in the work of agricultural and every other improvement. Under the able direction of the Resident at Hyderabad and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, I see that the gentlemen who are administering the affairs of these districts are evincing the most active zeal in the promotion of every good work (cheers). We all labor hard in India, and as to the extent to which the heads of departments and the members of the Secretariat work, no one knows better than I; but, after all, we can in reality effect little or nothing unless our efforts are seconded, and our suggestions obeyed by the district officers of the local Administration. It is upon the executive officer, as a rule, that the real improvement of the country depends. We are endeavouring to do within the limits of a generation works that have taken other Governments and other nations years upon years to perform; and I am convinced that within that short time great development, rapid progress, and general improvements will be obtained. I am free to admit that in these matters our success is more due to the active exertions of the local and district officers who act under our orders, than it is to the Government of India itself (cheers). It is

much easier to make recommendations than to carry them out (hear, hear). Wherever I have been, it is all the same. Under the snows of the Himalayas, in feverish jungles, and on burning plains, I have always found the same class of men doing the same good work. I am perfectly aware that in many cases their reward is small. The doors of fame are in many cases not open to them, and they work in solitude and silence, but that does not seem to daunt them. They press out, fully convinced of the importance of their duties and the rightfulness of their cause (cheers).

Having seen, in a short time, much of India, I am happy to take this opportunity, thus early in my career, of paying my humble tribute to the mode in which their duties are performed by the civil-military and military-civil officers of this great Government. I believe that in the history of the world no sovereign was ever served by a body of men who were engaged in more arduous, more useful, and more important duties than are the servants of our Queen in India (loud cheers). I know that they will succeed. The power of the Anglo-Indian Administration is recognised throughout the world, and while it is conducted by such men and on such principles, it can never cease to redound to the glory of our Queen, the honor and credit of the British name, and last, and above all, to the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of the people of Hindoostan."

The Viceroy sat down amidst loud and long continued cheers Sir Salar Jung, who spoke in Hindoostani, then rose and said that it gave him great pleasure to be present as the representative of the Nizam's Government at this interesting ceremony. He desired especially

to express his thanks that the services of the Nizam's Government and the long and faithful alliance between the British Government and the Nizam, had not been forgotten, as indeed they ought not to be forgotten. He hoped that the same intimate and friendly relations would in future years be continued. Had he known before-hand that His Excellency intended to make such honorable mention of himself, he would have been prepared to express his acknowledgments in more suitable terms. The Viceroy then in a few appropriate words proposed the health of Mr. Saunders, who briefly returned thanks. The proceedings then terminated. The Viceroy, accompanied by his staff, had opened the Chanda Coal Fields on the 1st of March, and although he had ridden over 200 miles to do this, he looked well and hearty, and seemed much pleased with his hearty reception.

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### AJMERE DURBAR.

On Saturday, the 22nd of October, 1870. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India received in Public Durbar the Princes and Nobles and Native Gentlemen assembled at Ajmere. The Civil and Military Officers of Government assembled at Ajmere were also present. The Maharana of Oodeypoor was attended by nine of his principal Sirdars, the Maharaja of Jodhpoor by nine, and the other independent Chiefs of Rajpootana by six each. The Raja of Shahpoora was accompanied by two of his Sirdars.

At 7-30 A. M. the Raja of Shahpoora arrived.

At 7-40 A. M. the Maharaj Rana of Jhallawar arrived.

Thereafter, at intervals of 10 minutes, the other Chiefs arrived in the following orders :—

The Nawab of Tonk.

The Maharaja of Kishenghur.

The Maharao of Kotah.

The Maharao Raja of Boondee.

The Maharana of Oodeypoor.

The Maharaja of Oodeypore was met as he arrived at the door of the Durbar tent and conducted to his seat by the Agent to the Governor General, the Foreign Secretary, the Private Secretary to His Excellency, and to Aide-de-Camp.

The other independent Chiefs were met at the door of the Durbar tent and conducted to their seats by the Under Secretary in the Foreign Department and two of the Viceroy's Aides-de-Camp. The Raja of Shahpoora was met and conducted to his seat by an Assistant to the Governor General's Agent and by an Aide-de-Camp of the Viceroy. The seats on the right of the Viceroy were in the following order :—

The Maharana of Oodeypore.  
 The Foreign Secretary.  
 The Under Foreign Secretary.  
 The Maharao Raja of Boondee.  
 The Maharao Raja of Kotah.  
 The Maharaja of Kiahenghur.  
 The Nawab of Tonk.  
 The Maharaj Rana of Jhallawar.  
 The Raja of Shahpoora.

The Sirdars of the various Chiefs were seated behind their respective lords. The next to be provided with seats were the Ajmere Istumrardars, the Vakeels of absent Chiefs in attendance to the Agent to the Governor General, the Meer Moonshee of the Governor General's Agency, and, after him, various other Native Gentlemen.

On the left of the Viceroy sat the Agent to the Governor General, the Private and Military Secretaries, and the Political, Civil, and Military Officers present, according to their rank.

When all were assembled, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General entered the Durbar accompanied by the Secretary and Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, the Private and Military Secretaries, and His Excellency's Personal Staff. A Royal Salute was fired, the troops presented arms, and the band played "God save the Queen." As the Viceroy entered, every person present stood up and continued standing until His Excellency had taken his seat on the throne.

The independent Chiefs and the Raja of Shahpoora were then introduced by the Foreign Secretary, one by one, to His Excellency. The Sirdars of the Chiefs and the other Native Gentlemen present were introduced by the Under Secretary.

The Maharaja of Oodeypoor presented no Nuzzur but all others, when introduced, offered the usual Nuzzurs.

When the introductions were over, the Viceroy and Governor General delivered the following address :—

I am much gratified by your presence here today. It is good to see assembled around the Viceroy of India the heads of so many of the most ancient houses of Rajpootana. It is long since a Governor General has met you in Durbar within the walls of this old city ; and since the Government of India has been placed directly under our Sovereign, no Viceroy has been able to come to Ajmere. But your welfare and that of your people have nevertheless ever been objects of the deepest interest to the British Government. Her Majesty the Queen regards with the utmost solicitude the well-being of all the inhabitants of Hindustan, whether they be Chiefs or people, whether they are Her Majesty's immediate subjects, or are ruled over by Native Princes. I, as the Representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you as you have often been told before, that the desire of her Majesty's Government is to secure to you, and to your successors, the full enjoyment of your ancient rights and the exercise of all lawful customs, and to assist you in upholding the dignity and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land.

But in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this our fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of Rajpootana justice and order should prevail ; that every man's property should be secure ; that the traveller should come and

go in safety ; that the cultivator should enjoy the fruits of his labor, and the trader the produce of his commerce ; that you should make roads and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people, and swell the revenue of your States ; that you should encourage education and provide for the relief of the sick.

And now, let me mention a project which I have much at heart, I desire much to invite your assistance to enable me to establish at Ajmere a School or college which should be devoted exclusively to the education of the sons of the Chief, Princes, and leading Thakoors of Rajpootana. It should be an institution suited to the position and rank of the boys for whose instruction it is intended, and such a system of teaching should be founded as would be best calculated to fit them for the important duties which in after life they would be called upon to discharge. It would not be possible on this occasion to describe minutely the different features of such an institution, but I hope to communicate with you shortly on the subject and I trust you will favour and support an attempt to give to the youth of Rajpootana instruction suitable to their high birth and position.

Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other object but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we should say, 'Be poor, and ignorant and disorderly.' It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well-governed. It is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India ; and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the peoples' good.

I am but here for a time ; the able and ardent offi-

cers who surround me will, at no distant period return to their English homes ; but the power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England year by year to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and of peace. The hours of conquest are past ; the age of improvement has begun.

“Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way and secure to your children’s children and to future generations of your subjects the favouring protection of a power who only seeks your good.

Utter and Pawn were given by the Viceroy himself to the Maharaja of Oodeypoor ; by the Foreign Secretary to the other independent Chiefs present and by the Under Secretary to the Sirdars and native Gentlemen.

The Viceroy and Governor General left the Durbar under a Royal Salute, accompanied by the Secretary and Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, the Private and Military Secretaries, and His Excellency’s Personal Staff.

The Chiefs were conducted to their elephants in the order of their rank, beginning with the Maharana of Oodeypoor downwards, by the Foreign and Under Secretaries and the Political Officers present.

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## THE INVESTITURE OF H. H. MAHARAJAH OF PUTTIALAH.

The ceremony of the investiture of His Highness the Maharajah of Puttiala, Prince Gholam Mahomed, and Sir William Grey Lt. Governor of Bengal with the insignia of the Star of India took place on the 13<sup>TH</sup> February 1871 at Government House. Long before the hour named for the ceremony, Government House was thronged with spectators. The Marble Hall in which the investiture took place, large

as it is, was too confined a place to give the ceremony the imposing aspect that it had when His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was invested. There was, however, a goodly glitter of uniforms, and the fair sex mustered strongly, their dresses certainly vying with the uniforms and with each other in brilliancy. The dais and canopy at the end of the room were the same as used at the ceremony of the Duke's installation. There were no other decorations, and the hall consequently looked rather bare—but for the glitter of the dresses and bright eyes. A few minutes after 5 P. M. a Royal Salute was fired, and the procession of the members of the Order at once entered the hall, the juniors leading. The Grand Master, Earl Mayo, was dressed in the uniform of a Lord Lieutenant, wearing of course the cloak, badge, and collar of the Order of the Star of India. All present rose and remained standing while the procession moved up to the dais, and until the Grand Master had taken his seat. The Chapter was then declared formally opened, and the Secretary having called over the names of the Knights Grand Commanders, withdrew with the Under-Secretary to meet His Highness the Maharajah of Puttiala at the foot of the Grand Staircase, and conduct him to the top. Here he was met by the two Junior knight Commanders, and led in the following procession to the dais—the guards of honor presenting arms as he passed.

Spears,  
Maces.

Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department bearing the Insignia of the Order.

Secretary of the Order.

The two Junior Knights Commanding Officer bearing the furled banner of His Highness.

Pages and attendants of His Highness.

After reaching the foot of the dais, the Secretary delivered the Sovereign's Warrant to the Grand Master, the Under-Secretary handing him the Collar of the Knight Grand Commander.

After the reading of the Sovereign's Warrant, the Junior Knights then invested His Highness with the Ribbon Badge and Star of the Order, and lastly with the Mantle. This done, His Highness was led to the Throne, and made reverence, when the Grand Master invested him with the Collar, addressing to him the following admonition :—

*“ In the name of the Queen and by Her Majesty's command I here invest you with the honorable Insig-*



*nia of the Star of India of which Most exalted Order Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be a Knight Grand Commander."*

A salute of seventeen guns was then fired, after which His Highness shook hands with the Maharajah of Jeypore, the only Knight Grand Commander present. He was then reconducted to the table, and signed the promise required by the statutes of the Order. A grand flourish of trumpets then sounded through the hall, while His Highness's banner was unfurled, and moved over his head by his Standard Bearer, and the ceremony of investiture was completed. His Highness was very gorgeously dressed and covered with jewels; the emeralds and diamonds alone in his turban would have made in olden days a King's ransom. The Maharajah of Jeypore, though attired in gorgeous silks, wore few jewels, while His Highness the Maharajah of Vizianagram was the cynosure of all the ladies' eyes from the magnificent display of pearls and emeralds which decorated his handsome head.

In the evening His Excellency the Viceroy entertained the newly made Knights and a large number of the spectators. Instead of a ball, which would have been appreciated by only a few of the Europeans, His Excellency, wishing the natives to understand that honor was being done to His Highness of Puttiala, caused a brilliant display of fireworks to be let off in the Government House compound. This entertainment commenced about 10 P. M.; and that it was appreciated, could be judged from the extraordinary crowd of natives which thronged the streets and every available spot where a view of the scene could be obtained. The fireworks were very brilliant, and luckily went off without an accident, although there were one or two narrow escapes. One of the fire balloons fell in close vicinity to jute screw house; and if that had caught fire, there would have been plenty of work for the fire-engines and water-pipes that night. To go up like a rocket, and comedown like its stick, is an old simile, used with regard to the fall of upstart pride; but it was unpleasantly exemplified once or twice on Monday evening, when several of the rocket sticks fell on Government House steps amongst the ladies dresses and caused no little terror. No further damage, however, was done to the fair. After the fireworks, which had made the air almost stifling with sulphurous vapour, a glass of iced champagne was most acceptable, and this was ready at the well-furnished supper tables, to

which the guests made rapidly off, and did every justice to. On the right of His Excellency, the Maharajah Puttialla and His Highness of Vizianagram were seated, with the Countess of Mayo and Sir William Grey opposite. After giving the toast of the Queen, His Excellency proposed the health of His Highness the newly-made Knight Grand Commander.

His Excellency the Viceroy said:—Sir William Grey, Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is my pleasing duty to propose to you the health of His Highness Mohinder Singh, Maharajah of Puttialla, Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India. Each member of this large assembly must feel gratified at being enabled by their presence here to-night to pay a mark of respect to the Representative of one of the most distinguished Houses in India. Since the year 1809, when by Treaty Runjeet Singh renounced forever his supremacy over the CisSutlej States, the closest friendship and alliance have invariably existed between the Chieftain of Puttialla and the British Government. Differences, from time to time may have occurred, but they were only differences comparatively minor importance, and speaking generally, I may say that throughout the whole period which has elapsed since the beginning of the present century, the friendship between this Government and the Princes of Puttialla has scarcely ever been interrupted.

So far back as 1814 in the days of the Ghoorka war, the then Ruler of the Puttialla State was able to afford our Troops under Ochterlony the most material and valuable assistance. When the first Sikh war broke out, Maharaja Karam Singh, who was then very ill, afforded much valuable support to

Lord Hardinge in the military operations which ended in the great victories of the Sutlej. He died the day after the battle of Ferozeshah and was succeeded by Narindar Singh, the father of the present Chief whom we meet here to-night. (applause.) Throughout the whole of his rule, Narindar Singh ever showed the same spirit of loyalty to British rule which distinguished his predecessors. But it was principally in the dark days of the Mutiny that he was enabled to perform signal service.

There are many here who recollect the great and valuable service which the Maharajah's Father was able to render, and did render to us, on that memorable time. He showed how a Sikh Prince could recognise and repay the many acts of kindness and support, which he and his Fathers, had received at the hands of the British Government.

Many here will recollect how, the very night that the news first arrived at Puttialla of the outbreak of the Mutiny and the events at Meerut and Dehli—the Maharajah's father marched at once with all the force he had at his command, to assist and support British authority, at Umballa—how, immediately afterwards, all his elephants, camel and carriage were despatched to Kalka to facilitate the passage of the European Troops from Subathoo and Dugshie to the plains—how his troops assisted for many weeks in holding Umballa and the various stations surrounding it. many will recollect how his forces kept open the Grand Trunk Road from Phillour to Kurnal, and so kept free an important portion of the communications (applause.) We all know how he behaved during the siege of Dehli—how he sent a valuable contingent under the

command of Sirdar Pertab Singh and was only restrained from taking part in the siege in person, because our officers thought his presence in his own country would be more useful than any here else—how he furnished throughout the war a valuable contingent of 8 guns and 5,000 men—how he rejected every effort that was made by the rebel King to seduce him from his allegiance, and with what hospitality and kindness he received the various refugees who came in from Sirsa, Rhotak and Hissar, and the many districts around. We may recollect how, in the following year, his troops assisted in restoring order in the Dholepore State and what good service his Contingent did at Gwalior, and how he raised a special force for service in Oudh.

I know that the distinguished man who now leads the Army in India, were he present, would be the first to testify, as a personal witness, to the great assistance given by the Puttiala Chief throughout the bad years of '57 and '58. I doubt not that you have to-day witnessed with pleasure, how by Her Majesty's Commands, I have conferred, upon the present Maharaja of Puttiala—the son of our tried and faithful friend—the highest honor which it is in Her Majesty's power to bestow upon one of her great Indian Feudatories. Having now, for two years enjoyed the the personal friendship of the Maharajah and watched his career, I may say that he has shown every disposition to tread in his father's footsteps—that he has shown on many occasions a full appreciation of the support which he has received from the British Government in his endeavours to govern wisely and well—a support which is alike extended to every

Native Chief in India who endeavours honestly and actively to perform his duty to his State and people. He has shown during his short rule what interest he takes in the cause of education in the Puttiala State which is, I hope, rapidly progressing under the auspice of Ram Chunder some time His Highness's tutor, and now Director General of Public Instruction in Puttiala. We feel sure that in that State, education will not flourish less, or will be attended to in a lesser degree than it is in any other State in India. ( Applause. )

If any gentleman here, wishes to be informed on that subject he has only to read the very able and interesting report which the Maharaja's Director of Public Instruction has lately published. The Maharaja is now engaged in laying down at his own expense, a Telegraph Line between Puttialla and Umballa—quite lately the long and protracted negotiations with regard to the Sirhind Canal, have, under his guidance, been brought to a close, and he has pledged his revenues to assist, in one of the greatest Irrigation enterprises of the country, to the amount of *three quarters of a million* of money. I am fully assured that His Highness will continue, as he has begun, and will endeavour by every means in his power to perform all the duties of a good and wise Ruler. It may never be his fortune to assist us with his forces in the Field, as his fathers did. I hope the day of war may never come, and that the necessity may never occur, but I am certain that if occasion did arise, he would be found as faithful, as loyal, and as true, as his father and grandfathers were before him.

I have now to bid Your Highness most hearty welcome to the ranks of the goodly Brotherhood

of the Star of India. I am glad that it has been my lot to have taken the most prominent part in the ceremony which by the Queen's Command has placed your name on the illustrious Roll which contains the names of many of the greatest men who have of late years loved and served India—a list which now comprises many of those most distinguished by ancient lineage, or by services in arts—in letters—in science, or in arms. May you live long to enjoy the special honor which Her Majesty has this day conferred upon you, and may you ever prove yourself worthy Member of the exalted order of the Star India.

His Highness's health was then drunk amidst great applause, His Highness, the Maharaja of Puttialla, who seemed much overpowered with the warm and cordial reception which greeted him, replied briefly but fluently in English, expressing his cordial acknowledgments for the great honor which Her Majesty the Queen had that day done him, in bestowing on him at the hands of the Viceroy, the Grand Cross of the Star of India. He said he sincerely hoped that he would ever deserve the honor, and as long as he wore the badge of the Star of India, follow his lamented father's example, in loyalty and devotion to the British Government, whose sole aim was the happiness of the people of India and the honor and dignity of their Chiefs. He added his thanks to Lord Mayo personally for all the kindness showed to him since his accession the Musnud. The party then broke up at about 2 A. M.

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## THE OPENING OF THE SIMLA FINE ARTS EXHIBITION.

AT SIMLA, the Summer retreat of the Indian Government in the Himalyaha, on the 20 SEPTEMBER 1871 The Fourth Annual Exhibition of Fine Arts was opened by the Viceroy at "Benmore" at four o'clock. His Excellency, accompanied by Lady Mayo, entered the first room, at the head of which a row of chairs was placed for the occasion. Their Excellencies having taken their seats, supported on the right hand by the Bishop of Calcutta and on the left by the Maharajah of Puttiala. The Vice President of the Exhibition, Sir Richard Temple, requested His Excellency to declare the Exhibition open.

H. E. LORD MAYO then rose and said :—

In declaring this Exhibition open, I am sure that I only express, the feelings that are felt by all present, of satisfaction at seeing how really good is the display of art this year ; and that although, owing to the causes which the Vice-President has so graphically described, there may be a slight falling off in the number of contributions, yet at the same time the quality of the pictures is, on the whole, better than it has ever been before. (*Hear.*) It is also gratifying to hear that the Exhibition has got into that condition which everybody desires great states and undertakings to reach—that is, a chronic state of surplus (*Much laughter*), and I am sure that under the vice-presidency of so distinguished a Financier as Sir Richard Temple (*Cheers and laughter*) it will turn out not only to be a solvent, but actually a remunerative concern (*Cheers and laughter.*)

I think that those ladies and gentlemen who have attempted to place a money value upon their

pictures, have exhibited exceeding modesty, and I feel sure that had the public been invited to express in the usual way—that is, by public auction—the estimate they entertain of their value, the sums obtained would have been much greater than those which have been appended by the artists themselves. Certainly, in such a country as this, where there is so much scope for art and where nature is presented in such variety and beauty, it is not to be wondered at that even those whose time is almost entirely taken up in laborious duties, have been enabled from time to time to devote a few hours to the study of that art which has enabled them to record those beauties in so attractive a manner, and given so much pleasure to their friends.

We must all confess that as far as the water-color branch of the present Exhibition goes, the charms of Nature have been most successfully portrayed by the artists whose works adorn these walls. I am not surprised that in the presence of so much that is beautiful my hon'ble friend has been carried away by the spirit of poetry. (*Laughter.*) It is a long time since I capped verses, but perhaps on the present occasion I may be allowed to embark a little in the same strain (*laughter*) and to say when we look at the views of Himalayan scenery hanging on these walls, we see hills whose height, grandeur, and extent were never even dreamt of by the Author of "Manfred" when he spoke of

"The difficult air of the iced mountain's top,  
Where the birds dare not build, nor insect's wing"  
Flit o'er the herbless granite.

Though our artists have been successful in portraying mountain scenery, they have been also equally happy in depicting other landscapes in this country.



Cashmere, the land both of mountain and vale has always been a fertile subject for the exercise of the talents both of poet and painter. Her beauties have never been more graphically described than by my own countryman, Tommy Moore, whom every one knows so well, in songs which no one but an Irishman could have written, seeing that he never was in the country in his life. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

Many have been successful here this year in representing the beauties of this lovely land, and none more so than our Vice-President; for if we look to the various sketches taken by him during his recent tour in Cashmere, we must admit that his pictures portray the beauty of that country with great truth, talent, and success. (*Cheers.*) Perhaps I may be allowed to say, without implying anything derogatory to his talents, that this success may be somewhat attributed to the fact that these sketches were taken under the inspiration of a honeymoon trip (*Great laughter and cheers*); and seeing the result of that trip, it is evident that he *did* fully enter into the spirit of that sweet poem of my countryman when he exclaimed—

What a rapture is his

Who, in moonlight and music, thus sweetly may glide  
O'er the Lake of Cashmere with that *one* by his side;  
If a woman can make the worst wilderness dear,  
Think, think what a heaven she must make of Cashmere.

*Loud cheers and laughter.*

I can only hope that as the sentiment has been so well received, some of my fair hearers may before long start upon a similar tour. (*Laughter.*)

If we return to other descriptions of scenery, we find them equally successfully portrayed here.

That scenery which is peculiar to his country—the scenery which is found in the great Vindyan and the ranges of the Central Plateau—a scenery of rock and gorge, and tree and ravine, not characterized by the mighty grandeur of the Himalayas but by a beauty and a magnificence all its own. (*Applause.*) And when I speak of that scenery which is familiar to so many here, we shall recal to our minds with what truth and beauty it is depicted and described by one now among us—the gifted Author of the *Annals of Rural Bengal*. No one who has read that book (which I feel is but the forecast of a distinguished literary career) but must acknowledge with what accuracy and truth the author describes the peculiar scenery which extends over a great portion of Central India. Then, again, there are views of a totally different land—of the countries where the lurid sun sinks on the bosom of the Holy River, whose banks are fringed with the plantain and the palm, and all that gorgeous verdure and vegetation which is common to Lower Bengal (*applause.*)

Then, if we come to birds, a lady has distinguished herself in this branch with the skill at once of an artist and an ornithologist, and so life-like and true to her feathered models are the contents of Mrs. Dalys' portfolio, that we should not be surprised if, when the book was opened, the birds began to sing, (*Laughter*). I wish I could express in more appropriate terms the various excellencies which we see here to-day.

This is the first Exhibition of the kind that has been continued for a series of years in India. I am glad to see that it is to be carried on in Calcutta during the ensuing cold season, where I am sure it will meet

with equal success. It may be the fortune of the contributors to this—the Simla Exhibition—to be among those who have sown the first seeds of true modern art in India; and I cannot but hope, as time rolls on and as the various results of civilization extend themselves to this country, that art may take a permanent position in Eastern Britain. (*Cheers.*) It is hardly possible to compare the efforts of the amateur with those of the masters whose lives and talents have been directed to painting; but at all events we can affirm that our amateurs have exhibited great talents under great difficulties; and without flattering, we may also say that they are following, though at great distance and with unequal steps, but still following, the footsteps of those whose genius has in every age enabled them to share with the poet and the historian the glory of immortalizing all that is great, beautiful, and good. (*Low and long-continued applause.*)

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### THE KANGRA DURBAR.

Early in the month of November 1871, LORD MAYO and his suite left the Summer retreat of Simla, and en route paid a visit to the Kangra Valley (in the Punjab) where His Excellency held a grand Durbar of the Chiefs and Rajahs. The whole proceedings of the Durbar were most ably managed, and most thoroughly successful. In addition to the usual state and magnificence of an Eastern ceremonial, there were on this occasion the additional adjuncts of beautiful scenery, a lovely climate, and the picturesque effects of tents, and groups of tents, scattered here, there, and every-where among the trees. The ground was kept from His Excellency's Camp to the Durbar tents, along a broad, well watered road, by detachments of the 22nd Gordon Highlanders and of the 1st Goorkha Light Infantry. There was also a party of police in attendance, and a

perfect absence of any crowd. The durbar itself was conducted in the most still and orderly manner. All went on, as if by machinery. There was no hitch anywhere, and not the slightest perceptible bustle. His Excellency was pleased to express his perfect satisfaction with all that took place, and pronounced the Durbar to be one of the most interesting he had ever attended.

The business part of the durbar over, the Viceroy and the Countess of Mayo, after inspecting the manufactures and other objects of interest on the tables, proceeded to the Court-house, where they were entertained at luncheon by Mr. Brandreth, who had invited a large party for the occasion. After the Viceroy's dinner on the evening of the 7th, there was a display of fireworks, as there had also been on the preceding evening.

The total amount of sales in the Palumpore Fair up to date is roughly estimated at one and a half lakhs of Rupees. The fair this year is entirely a local one, as no Yaskandis have put in an appearance. At the sport, which came off in the afternoon after Durbar, it is calculated that 70,000 natives were present.

The Viceroy showed his approval of all he saw at Palumpore by the handsome presents he bestowed on the Rajahs and on all who have been instrumental, among the natives, in making the very satisfactory arrangements which have awaited His Excellency's arrival at every stage in his journey; and by the handsome donation which His Excellency made to the funds in support of the games.

On the morning of the 8th His Excellency spent the few hours which he was able to spare before proceeding to Kangra, in riding out to some jungles in the neighbourhood, where it was hoped that some bears might have been found. There was, however, unfortunately no sport, as Bruin was not found at home. It is hoped that the day at Dhurmsala, which is to be devoted to a bear hunt, will not turn out a blank, and that those who are most anxious to show His Excellency sport, will not again be disappointed.

His Excellency left Palumpore under a royal salute at about 4 o'clock for a 23-mile ride to Kangra, and on arrival at the Durbar delivered the following Address:—

*Rajahs, Chiefs, and Zemindars.* I thank you for the expression of loyalty towards Her Majesty the Queen and of kindness towards myself which are contained in the address which has been read by Mean Perthee Sing.

I wish to express the gratification it gives me thus to meet in this beautiful valley so many of the Chiefs and Gentlemen connected with the District. My whole desire and that of those with whom I am associated in the rule of this great Empire is to make its government suitable to the wants of, and productive of advantage to, its many millions of inhabitants. This Fair was established by the influence of Mr. Forsyth whose exertions towards the development of distant trade with Hindoostan has entitled him to the gratitude of the public. It was established principally for the purpose of offering inducements to those who were engaged in the Trans-Himalayan trade, and if it also has the effect of promoting the commerce and ministering to the requirements of the district, it has performed a useful purpose and supplied a want that has been long felt. The development of commerce with countries lying at so great a distance as those beyond the snows and separated by physical obstacles of so formidable a character must be a work of considerable time—all that the Government can do is to secure peace to the wayfarer, to relieve commerce of unnecessary burdens and to create such conveniences and comforts on the road as are possible. The rest must be left to the industry and energy of the traders themselves, and I have little doubt that as the advantages offered, and the profits to be gained by commerce with those many nations who live far away to the north of the great mountains which we see from here, become known, that the numbers of those already engaged in the Trade will be considerably augmented.

The culture of Tea, which is a branch of Agra-

culture till lately unknown in this district, appears now to be beginning to flourish. I deeply regret the disappointments which have been met with by some of those who first embarked in this pursuit. They were the pioneers who had much to contend with and much to learn. I trust, now that the worst is over, that good time is coming, and that the production of a commodity which has now become almost a necessity of life throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world will bring wealth and plenty to this and many other communities in India who are engaged in its cultivation.

I am pleased to hear that so good a feeling prevails between the European owners of the Tea plantations and the native labourers, and that there is every reason to believe there is no possibility that the differences which have arisen between the European employer and the native laborer in other parts of India in somewhat similar pursuits are likely here to occur. It also augurs well for the future development of this industry to find that some Chiefs, Rajahs, and Zemindars are embarking in the culture of Tea. There is plenty of room for all, for the demand is now practically unlimited. To all engaged in this industry I heartily wish success—large profits and quick and certain returns.

It is with satisfaction I have heard so strong an opinion expressed against the horrible and cruel practice of infanticide which I regret to learn is still prevalent in this district among certain classes. An act was passed in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General in the early part of this year for the suppression of this crime. We anticipate good results from the passing of that measure, but we feel that it is in the enlightenment of the people

themselves and in the influence exercised by the better educated and higher classes, that we must mainly look for the suppression and ultimately the complete extinction of a custom at once so unnatural and debasing.

The handsome School House which stands close by, built by the Rajah of Mundi, shows how warm a friend of the cause of education His Highness is. This was further evinced the other day when I had the pleasure of giving away the prizes at the School in his own city, where a number of boys of various ages displayed every symptom of industry, intelligence and progress in the acquirement of the Sanscrit Hindee, and Persian language. I rejoice to hear that the foundation of a School or College for the education and instruction of the sons of native gentlemen of this district is engaging your attention. In another part of India—namely, in Rajpootana, a similar institution is being established under the auspices of the principal Chiefs, Rulers, and Thakoors of those great States. The association of boys of equal rank for the purposes education has always had the most excellent effect, not only in the mere acquirement of knowledge, but also in the formation of early friendship—in the promotion of kindly feelings which often last through life, and in the acquirement of a taste for those manly sports and exercises without which our chiefs and gentlemen cannot thoroughly enjoy the health and power that God has given them. Any plan which may be elaborated for this district will receive the warmest support of the Government and at my approaching visit to Lahore, I will take care to confer with the Lieutenant-Governor upon the subject.

The remarks made by Doonee Chund are deserving of every consideration. The Government have every desire to enlist in the administration of justice in small matters as well as in great, the assistance and co-operation of the best among the natives of the country. Proposals similar to those suggested to-day have been made by Sir R. Montgomery and others. Much difficulty however lies in the way. The Government cannot establish any new form of procedure and mode of decision unless they are satisfied that perfect purity and complete justice can be secured, but if it can be shown that in small cases of dispute arbitration councils would promote their easy settlement, save expense create peace among neighbours—then I have little doubt that the experiment ought to be tried.

I must however remark that in the Code of Civil Procedure provision is made for decisions by arbitration in cases where the parties agree thereto. I do not apprehend however that the facilities given are very generally used, and I think it very likely that measures might be devised for giving a more practical character to the principle contained in the Code.

I now bid you farewell, assuring you that your prosperity, welfare, and happiness will ever be to me and my successors an object of solicitude and care. Further, I hope and believe that under the mild and gentle rule of our beloved Sovereign, the people of these hills will long enjoy peace and plenty, and by a gradual progress of improvement will be enabled year by year to take more and more advantage of the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon them.

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## VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO SIR HENRY SUMNER MAINE

The Legislative Council met at Government House Calcutta on Friday, the 12th November 1869.

His excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, K. P. G. M. S. I., Presiding

### *Present.*

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

The Hon'ble G. Noble Taylor.

Major General the Hon'ble Sir H. M. Durand, C. B. K. C. S. I.

The Hon'ble John Strachey.

The Hon'ble F. R. Cockerell.

The Hon'ble D. Cowie.

Colonel the Hon'ble R. Strachey.

The Hon'ble F. S. Chapman.

The Hon'ble J. R. Bullen Smith.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chapman and the Hon'ble Mr. Bullen Smith each took the oath of allegiance, and the oath that he would faithfully discharge the duties of his office.

His Excellency Lord Mayo. moved the following Resolution :—

“This Council, entertaining a high sense of the conspicuous ability displayed by Mr. H. S. Maine during the time that he held office as Law-Member of the Council of the Governor General, hereby expresses to him its cordial thanks for his long, faithful and valuable service—its deep regret at his departure, and hearty wishes for his future welfare and happiness.”

His Excellency Lord Mayo said :—

The duty I propose to ask the Council to perform on this our first meeting after reassembling in Calcutta is at once a painful and agreeable one. It is painful because we are united to record publicly our

regret at the departure from among us of an able and most valuable colleague—agreeable because it is always gratifying to be allowed to participate in a recognition of private worth and public service. Gentlemen, the distinguished man who has lately ceased to be member of our body, from a very early period of his life, exhibited evidences of that capacity which enabled in after years to perform so much good service to his country. During his University career he was one of the first classical scholars of his day. His proficiency in the study of Law caused him to be elected Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge, and he afterwards discharged with much success the duties of Reader on Jurisprudence in the Middle Temple. He rapidly rose to eminence as a lawyer, but more particularly as a jurist, and the lectures which he delivered, both as Cambridge Professor and also Reader in the Middle Temple, formed the basis of that remarkable work which is now esteemed, not only in England, but on the Continent, as one of the standard books on Jurisprudence, namely, his work on 'Ancient Law. Such was his early career. In 1862 he was nominated by the then Secretary of State, Lord Halifax, as Law Member of the Council of the Governor General. He came to India in that year, and with the exception of six months till the other day, he laboured continuously and industriously in the arduous duties of his office. Although, when he came to India, the great Acts which form the foundation of modern Indian Written Law had been passed, and the Penal Code and Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, which were the work of many able and distinguished men, were in existence,

yet, still, under Mr. Maine's auspices was completely developed that *even* continued course of annual well-considered legislation which has, I believe, conferred much benefit upon this country and the necessity of which is now recognized by all classes in India. Among the 209 Acts which were placed on the Statute-book during his tenure of office, the great majority of which were actually drawn under his personal supervision, and all of which were, more or less, carefully criticized and considered by him, are to be found measures which embrace every important branch of Indian polity. There are to be found among them many measures which deal with the most important questions of general and local taxation, with the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, and, on more than one occasion, with the organization of the Police of the country. Among them are to be found Acts which deal with difficult and complicated questions connected with the tenure and improvement of land with our works of irrigation and those of inland navigation. Many statutes were passed under Mr. Maine's direction for the development of our commerce and trade, and on social subjects important Acts were inaugurated by him, which deal with the difficult questions of Marriage and Divorce and with Emigration and European Vagrancy. It is of course to be expected that, in a country like this, where free discussion in the Press and otherwise is generally practised, some difference of opinion may exist as to the wisdom and prudence of some of his measures, but no one will deny that, to the consideration of the important questions with which he had to deal, Mr. Maine invariably brought profound legal knowledge, much ingenuity, great originality

latterly vast experience and an amount of judicial fairness that was very remarkable. In the advocacy of those measures, as far as I could judge, he exhibited all the keenness of the Pleader combined with the impartiality of the Judge, and by the gift of eloquence and facility of expression with which he was endowed he was enabled to place before his colleagues and the public sound views and wise maxims in the most attractive form. The departure of such a man from among us must be looked upon at any time as a great public loss; but it is peculiarly so at this moment, in such an epoch in the history of the country as that at which we have arrived. We are now emerging, I may say, have almost emerged, from what has been called a system of discretionary government. In the early days of our rule, the system of discretionary government was to a great extent inevitable, and was necessarily practised throughout a large portion of this empire. But now, as civilization has advanced, as our power has been consolidated, as our authority is thoroughly established and intelligence is becoming more rapidly developed, it follows, almost as a matter of course, that our rule must be conducted according to the forms and procedure of Written Law, and of statutes based on those principles which wise men of every age, class and creed have thought best for the good government of mankind. Far be it from me to deny that discretionary government and rule by personal influence have not performed a great mission in this country. It has great advantages, and I would go further, and say that even still in some districts in India the retention of it may for some period be a necessity; but no one can deny that all Governments in

civilized countries, to be strong, uniform and just, must be administered according to those published statutes and well-known laws which in every country are considered by the wisest and best of men to be indispensable to freedom of action and of thought and to the security of property and life.

In the great work of the education of the people Mr. Maine invariably took a lively and practical interest. In all the discussions that took place during his tenure of office on that interesting and all-important question, his opinions, delivered with great authority and weight were esteemed and valued by all classes in this country and his eloquent addresses during the three years that he filled the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University are not among the least of his public services and will long be remembered by the youths of Bengal. But it was not only as a legislator and a philanthropist that Mr. Maine was enabled to perform great service to the State. In the Executive Council of the Empire he was always found a wise councillor an impartial adviser, and a minister of originality sagacity, and resource.

In common with the rest of his colleagues, I deeply deplore his loss, for I always found him ready to labour on any subject or in any matters, even though not directly connected with his Department, in which his assistance was required; and I am sure my colleagues will agree with me that his genial temper, his deference to the opinions of others, his modesty and forbearance, and the interesting way in which he always advanced or elucidated his opinions, made a discussion with him on difficult and important matters as agreeable as it was instructive. He has departed

from among us, but we may hope that, as he is still young and strong, so much knowledge and so much experience will not be lost to India. He never informed me of his intentions as to his future career. I know little of his aspirations or of his wishes. It is quite possible that, after so many years of labour in this climate, he may naturally wish for comparative repose. But I am sure I only express the unanimous opinion of this Council in saying that, whether it be in the Senate, the Council, or on the Judicial Bench at Home, the Indian public will still hope for a continuance of those services from which it has already so much benefited; and we may be sure that, whatever sphere he may select for active exertion, the influence of his great experience, learning and eloquence will be strongly felt and will ever be exercised for good.

\*Gentlemen, I am aware how inadequate are the terms in which I have endeavoured to recommend this resolution to your consideration, and that what I have said is hardly worthy of the conspicuous public services I have endeavoured to describe. I feel that anything that may be spoken of him to-day will add little to his character or to his fame; but we may be content to know that the best and most lasting records of his long and able service will be found in those wise laws which under his auspices were placed on our Statute-book, in the eloquent addresses delivered in this Chamber, which by the happy intervention of the Press have been preserved and given to the public, and in those numerous and able documents which have issued from his pen and which now comprise so valuable a portion of Indian Political Literature.

## THE INDIAN INCOME TAX BILL. 1869.

On Friday the 19th November 1869, Hon'ble Sir, Richard Temple Finance Minister introduced into the Viceregal Council a Bill to enhance the duties under the Income Tax Act. After an animated discussion among the Members of the Council :—

**HIS EXCELLENCY LORD MAYO** said :—After the very great amount of information which has been placed before the public, both in the Financial Despatch which we addressed some time ago to the Secretary of State, and also in the clear statements which have been made here today, as to the reasons and causes which rendered it incumbent on the Government of India to take the unusual course which has been adopted with regard to Imperial Finance, I have but few additional remarks to make. Nothing has been kept back. Everything has been fully described ; the means which we propose to take to remedy the evils which exist have been also, as far as is possible, laid with the utmost care before the Council ; and it is gratifying to me, as it must be to my colleagues in the Executive Government, to know that, however much the public, in common with us may regret the necessity of the course we have taken—however much some of the details of the proposals we have made may be criticised—yet we have received both from the public, as far as we can judge, and certainly from the Press, a generous, and I may almost say, a cordial approval. I have little doubt that those sentiments which have been so generally

expressed in India will be shared in by Her Majesty's Government and public opinion at Home, and that every candid man will, on careful consideration of the facts of the case, come to the conclusion that the course we have followed was the wisest and safest that could have been taken under the peculiar circumstances of our position.

I am quite aware that the step we have taken is most unusual, but it is not unprecedented. If history is examined and enquiry made into occurrences that have taken place in countries where a representative system of government is in full force, it will be found that, on special occasions, a similar proceeding has been adopted.

In England, financial changes cannot take place except during the sitting of Parliament. But occasions have arisen when Parliament has been called together at unusual periods for the purpose of dealing with a financial crisis, or to provide for a financial necessity. But although, happily, the necessity for such a course being taken has not very recently arisen in England, precedents may be found, sanctioned by the highest authorities, where such courses have been found absolutely necessary and entirely justifiable. Such a case has arisen here.

I have said that its necessity must appear to any man to be absolute. Now, there were only two courses open to the Government of India. Every one can form an opinion on the matter, for our financial position has been before the public for nearly two months. The facts, as we have described them in our financial despatch, being fully known and verified, we had either to adopt a policy of concealment



or of candour. Had we adopted the first course, we must have placed ourselves in this position:—we must have remained in a state of silence till next March, with the full knowledge that the public were under a grossly erroneous impression as to the true financial state of the country. This was a position in which I think no body of honourable men could for a moment have thought of placing themselves. I must say in justice to my colleagues that the resolution to take, at the earliest possible moment, the public into the confidence of the Government was unanimously agreed to, and that, as soon as our financial position was ascertained beyond a doubt, we felt that it was our duty to lay those facts unreservedly before the public, and ask for its generous support in the measures which we have deemed it indispensable to propose.

Some slight foreboding was certainly expressed in one or two quarters. It was said that by the premature disclosure of the real financial state of the empire, we should run the risk of damaging national credit and throwing a general air of discredit upon the whole proceedings of the Government.

I, in common with my colleagues, took a different view, which I think the result has shown to be the right one; for though the statements which were made have been now for a considerable time before the public, we have found that the financial credit of the country has not been seriously damaged, but that the public, knowing the worst, and feeling and appreciating the efforts of the Government to deal with the difficulty, have seen that these difficulties can be surmounted, that there is no real danger to the

permanent financial position of the empire, and that administrative reforms and strict adherence to the ordinary rules of economy and prudence, are all that is necessary to place our fiscal affairs on a sound and healthy basis.

I rejoice therefore that, casting aside the adherence to general routine, we adopted this course. I am not at all insensible to its disadvantage, and its manifold inconvenience; it is certainly not a line of action I should ever desire to repeat, and I am strongly of opinion that, except under the most extraordinary circumstances, it would be quite unjustifiable. But when we look to the situation of affairs—when we look at the State deficit into which we were for a fourth year about to be plunged—when we knew that means were in our power to avoid the evil—I think the public will agree with me in saying that routine and ordinary rules of administration were not considerations that ought to guide or control the Government at such a time.

There is no doubt that a great deal of the evil that has existed for some years has been owing, not so much to the fault of the administration, as to the circumstance that the Government have never been in possession of the great financial facts of the year at a sufficiently early period to make real use of them for the purposes of administration. I am quite aware that there are great difficulties in this matter, and when people compare our system with that of a small rich and compact country like England, they entirely forget the enormous size of this empire—the great distances which exist—the variety and complicated nature of our accounts—the amount of adjustment

which is necessarily carried on between various treasuries and various accounting bodies—and also that the system which has been in existence in England for a very long period has only been recently introduced into India, within, I may say, half the time of what may be called the present generation. Therefore, when men blame us for inaccuracy of forecast they must also recollect the peculiar circumstances of such an empire as India.

There is no doubt, also, that the cause of our present position is owing very much to the inaccuracy of forecast which has for some years existed; but I believe that, by care and firmness in administration, a great portion of the inconveniences which are occasioned from a want of early knowledge of the actual current and financial position of the empire, can be obviated. The evil is one of great magnitude, and is shown most by the discrepancy which has taken place within the last four years between the budget-estimate and the actual revenue and expenditure. Now the figures I am about to lay before you are very suggestive, and show how necessary it is that the Government should use every effort in its power to improve and to prevent the recurrence of the state of things which they disclose. I am far from saying that a recurrence can be altogether prevented during the present year or the next, or that, at any time, precise positive accuracy can be arrived at; but I am certainly convinced that, as the true merits—the publicity, safety and many advantages—of the budget-system become more closely brought home to the minds of the vast army of officials who serve the Government of India with such ability and devotion, these evils will

gradually disappear. Now, I find that in 1866-67 we budget for a deficit of £72,800, the real deficit turning out to be two millions and a half. I find that in 1867-68, a surplus of £1,764,478 was budgeted for, the result being a deficit of one million. In 1868-69, I find that a surplus of upwards of two millions was budgeted for, but a deficit of two millions occurred. In 1869-70, a surplus of £52,650 was budgeted for, but a deficit of nearly two millions is expected. I attach no blame to any one for this. I am fully aware that explanations, more or less satisfactory, may be offered, and that, during the periods I have mentioned, the fiscal policy of the country was more than once changed during the financial year; but nevertheless, the facts I have mentioned are incontestable, and betoken, to my mind, a position of danger which ought to terminate. It is a state of things, at all events, which is sufficient to justify us in using every effort to obtain, at the earliest possible moment, such knowledge with regard to our revenue and expenditure as will enable the Government to act, if necessary, according to the information that it receives. Revenue must always fluctuate to a certain extent. Expenditure may occasionally exceed the amount budgeted for, though it is more under control; but it is clear that no administration can be conducted with safety and with success, unless events connected either with revenue or expenditure are known to the controlling power almost at the time of their occurrence.

I believe, therefore, that by invoking the assistance of every department of the Government in preventing delay in forwarding useful information—in trying as far as possible to avoid the leaving of any

unequal or unusual disbursement to the end of the year—in endeavouring as far as possible to spread the expenditure over those months of the year in which it generally occurs, I think that by this means, and also by great efforts on the part of the Government of India in condensing, analysing and bringing to use the information at their disposal, much of what has already occurred may for the future be avoided. I hope it will not now be supposed, from the remarks I have made, that it is my belief that inaccurate information has been supplied to the Government. On the contrary, I believe the information which has been placed at the disposal of the Government is thoroughly accurate and completely trustworthy. But what I object to is, that that information is often given too late, and the details are not available in sufficient time to make them thoroughly useful for administrative purposes. I believe that, considering the great power of this Government, and looking also to the great advantages which it possesses in having in its service so many able and experienced officers, there can be really no substantial difficulty in obtaining at an earlier moment the vast amount of information which is in every year so carefully collected, and which has generally been found to be so thoroughly trustworthy.

I wish to say that we have embodied these opinions in a despatch to the Secretary of State, and I have little doubt that, in the efforts we intend to make in this direction, we shall receive the hearty approval and support of Her Majesty's Government. I have merely now to say, on the part of the Government of India, how deeply we feel the general support which has been given, both by Local Govern-

ments, and also by the public generally, to our proposals as a whole.

When the financial position was at first disclosed, I received from many quarters the most hearty assurance of active assistance. From Madras, whose Government was the first to come forward without any invitation or suggestion on our part, we received by telegraph an offer saying that, if necessary, they were ready to add a considerable amount to the salt tax in that Presidency. The proposal was immediately acquiesced in by Bombay, and I may say that, though there may be some differences of opinion as to the details of the reductions we propose, we have never received any expression of doubt as to the necessity of the case, or as to the duty of the Local Governments to assist to the utmost of their ability the Government of India in the difficult and arduous task which we have undertaken.

We all know there must always be a considerable difference of opinion among men who are engaged in the conduct of great affairs, especially if they happen to be Englishmen; yet still, I believe there has never been known an instance in Indian history, that, in any great crisis the Local Governments failed in their duty and refused their support to the Supreme Government. I can only say, as it has happened before, so it has now, that the Government of India is most anxious to defer in all matters under discussion to those opinions; but at the same time we must express our firm determination to arrive, at all hazards and in the shortest time, in the least objectionable manner at great financial result at which we aim.

We are engaged in great interests, and dealing with enormous sums—we are engaged in an attempt which may be summed up in two or three words. We have to change the fiscal condition of this country in such a way as to give, at the earliest possible moment, a financial advantage of upwards of three millions of money. I am now speaking, not only the opinion of the Government of India, but also that of the Secretary of State, when I say that it is decided that—looking to the many fluctuating items in the resources of the country, to the risks to which we are liable, and the magnitude of the interests involved,—unless such a result is obtained, it cannot be said that Indian Finance stands upon a sound and substantial basis. Although the effect of this great reduction of expenditure may be, in a few cases, somewhat to injure individual interests or, what is far more important, to postpone for a short period works of usefulness in which we are all deeply interested; yet, by making these sacrifices now, we shall lay up for ourselves a great store of safety and welfare for hereafter; for unless such a course is taken, we cannot hope to carry on with success, and finish within any reasonable time, great works of improvement which are so necessary to the life, the comfort, the health, and safety of the people, and to the speedy completion of which the honour and the credit of this Government are so irrevocably pledged.

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## INDIAN INCOME TAX BILL 1870.

The following Speech was delivered by Lord Mayo at a Meeting of the Indian Legislative Council held on the 5th of April 1870. Many of the members opposed the imposition of the Tax as quite unsuited for India but the Bill passed eventually.

I am not surprised at the various criticisms that have been made, and made with great ability and force, on the proposals which have been submitted to this Council. It is very easy to find fault with the imposition of any new or additional tax, but it is not so easy, in the face of great financial difficulty, to propose an efficient substitute; and in considering this question, we must bear in mind the fact that the finances of this great Empire, with which we are trying to deal, and which we are endeavouring to put upon a sound basis, have been, and are up to this moment, in an unsatisfactory condition. It has been repeatedly stated, but a great truth cannot be stated too often, that from the year 1866 in the present time, we have been plunged in a chronic state of deficit. We have spent on ordinary expenditure in those years upwards of 6½ millions more than we ought to have done. Now, it is my opinion, and it is also the opinion of my colleagues, that looking to the present position of this Government—looking to the vast interests we have at stake—looking at the mighty industrial undertakings which we have thought it our duty to undertake, and which we intend to continue, that it is our bounden duty by every possible means to remove ourselves at the earliest possible moment



from this unfortunate position ; and I advisedly say that I do not consider we can maintain our character as an administration, that we cannot maintain our credit as a Government, and more than that, that we should not be acting honestly to those whose interests we are bound to protect, if we did not casting all other considerations to the winds, take the earliest opportunity of remedying what I may call this disastrous state of things. I would beg to remind the Council that by the prompt action which we took at Simla last year, we have been able to reduce the deficit of this year to something like a sum of £652,000. The course of events has completely justified the somewhat arbitrary course then adopted. If we had not taken that step we should probably have been obliged last Saturday to announce to the public an actual deficit of upwards of *a million and a half* sterling. A good many windfalls have occurred during the present year which were not expected. The balance of these are nearly half a million in our favour. Had it not been for these abnormal occurrences, we might have been in a state of deficit at the end of the year just concluded of something not very far from *two millions and three quarters* sterling ; it might indeed have been three millions. Surely any candid person on consideration of these matters must admit that to rescue the finances of a great country from such a condition as this required not only judgment and determination on the part of the Government, but must entail great and heavy sacrifices on the part of the public.

With regard to reduction of expenditure, I feel that it cannot be said that during the limited item

in which we have been engaged in these transactions we have not done everything that lay in our power to meet our difficulties. In proof of this I would ask my colleagues to take this sheet in their hands and observe those items of expenditure in which the principal reductions have been effected, and also those heads in which increases have occurred. It will be found that the items of expenditure during the ensuing year in which probable increases will take place, are items over which the Government of India have little or no control, and that the items of expenditure where decrease has taken place are those over which the Government can exercise the greatest authority. Observe the increases.

Take the first item, the interest on the funded debt, which has increased to £270,000. This is an item over which the Government have absolutely no control. Land revenue has increased to the small sum of £37,000, which is to be attributed to unavoidable increment of salary.

The large increase in the forests of £117,000 has taken place consequent on the desire of the Government to enhance the revenue derived therefrom. In the two great items of salt and opium, which amount to £103,000 and £164,000 respectively, the increased expenditure has been to a great extent in consequence of increased production and improvement in manufacturing, and of the measures that have been taken with a view to augment revenue from these sources. Under the head of Law and Justice I believe that the increase of £173,000 which has taken place, is mostly to be attributed to the increment in the salaries and addition to appointments

of the officers engaged in those professions : over these the Government have little or no control. The great item for superannuation, *viz.*, £126,681, is one which for some time must naturally be on the increase, according as the liberal pensions and superannuation which have for a series of years been granted to our services come into operation : also, as the number of offices increase, so will there be a proportionate increase in the charge for superannuation. The other great item for Railways, namely, £275,268, is an item over which we have no control. I think, therefore, this statement will show that those items of increase which amount to a sum of £1,271,849, are items over which the Government can, at all events on the spur of the moment, really exercise no control whatever. Now, take the great items in which reductions have been made, and you will see that they are the branches of expenditure over which the Government can easiest exercise authority. Take first the great reduction made in Police, of £120,000. This is principally owing to the representations which were made by the Supreme Government to the local Government as to the absolute necessity of decreasing their expenditure. The other item of a decrease of £731,000 in the Army has also been the result of absolute and very decisive action on the part of the Government of India. But the greatest item of reduction that has taken place during the past year, namely, £1,041,995, is that in the Public Works Department Ordinary—that particular Department of the Government over which the Supreme Administration exercises the greatest control. Therefore we find that, taking the larger heads, we have made

a reduction in these three great items over which we exercise authority of £1,892,995, and you will see that it is a far greater reduction than the increase that has taken place in those heads over which we have absolutely no control.

I wish to say a very few words with regard to the proposal the Government have made in reference to the Army. My hon'ble colleague, Sir Henry Durand, was perfectly justified in stating that it was impossible for him or any other member of the Government to enter at this moment into any general discussion on that question. Certain proposals were made to the Supreme Government, some of which were adopted, others disapproved of, others are still under consideration. And though I lament extremely, both for my own sake and the sake of the Government, that Sir Henry Durand is not in a position, as Military Member of this Council, to make a statement with regard to this matter, which, I believe, would be of very great value at this moment, and could be made by him with greater authority than perhaps by any other man in India, it will be seen that the reasons he has given for abstaining from doing so are sufficient, and that in the present state of the question it would be impossible for him to make that statement which will be made hereafter, and which, when made, will, I hope, redound to the credit of this Government. I may state, however, this much. We have not proposed to decrease the numbers of the European Army by a single fighting man. Further, if our proposals are carried out, we shall put the European Artillery in a more efficient state at the end of the

year than it is now. In the Native Army we did not propose the reduction of a single man in those portions of the service where there is any apparent probability of military employment. We believe that in these proposals we have kept steadily in view the efficiency of the service and the safety of the Empire. We do not desire to keep a single soldier European or Native, in our ranks more than necessity demands, and we object to retain, at an enormous cost, soldiers where we do not think they are absolutely indispensable for the preservation of internal peace, and the defence of our borders. My object in making these remarks is to show that the Government of India is not omnipotent in all things; that in those matters over which we have had real control we have made those reductions which are matters of fiscal necessity and are compatible with the safety of the Empire.

On the 10th September I wrote a Minute in the Public Works Department, suggesting a reduction of £297,000. A Resolution was subsequently issued in that Department early in October ordering the reduction, and on looking to the sheet, you will find that, in all probability, a saving in that Department will be effected of about £889,000. I am fully prepared to admit that many reductions thus made have been objectionable, and also that great sacrifices were made to carry them into effect, and it is impossible that so many useful works can be stopped suddenly without serious inconvenience and some loss; but I believe that the good which has been done is far greater than any evil which has occurred, and that unless some such arbitrary reduction had been made, we could

not hope to attempt to meet the great financial difficulties with which we have to contend. With regard to the Army, I have been informed by the Military Department that, if the proposals which we had made had been carried out, the Military Estimate would stand this year at a sum of something like £12,093,037, instead of the item which we have at present, namely, £12,480,000. As Sir Henry Durand showed, it is impossible for us to enter into a discussion of this matter at this moment; but it is fair that the public should know that we believe that a sum less by the sum we shall have to pay this year of £450,000 would have been sufficient for the military service of the Empire. We are not without hope that, though certain of our proposals may be objected to, a financial result somewhat similar to that which I have mentioned may be ultimately obtained, but it can have little or no effect on the Budget of 1870-71. Enormous difficulties beset the question. I find no fault with the Home Government for the course they have taken; they have had other considerations to bear in mind beyond those of Indian financial convenience or necessity. Any alteration of the European force in India necessitates to a certain extent changes in the organisation of the British Army, and therefore it is quite right that the Home Government should view the matter as a whole; and though we may not agree with them in many of the conclusions at which they have arrived, it must always take time to discuss any particular line of action with regard to the European Army in this country. We believe that we are right, and we hope that at no very distant time the principle upon which we have made our proposals

with regard to the European Army will be accepted, and that the only thing which will be left for discussion between us and the authorities of the War Office will be questions of detail.

I now wish to refer very briefly to a few of the objections that have been taken to the financial proposals of the Government. They have been replied to at considerable length by two or three of my hon'ble colleagues, but it is my duty also to refer to them. Two or three of my colleagues appear to entertain the opinion that there are other means by which the finances of the country could be improved than those which have been adopted by the Government. I believe that there are other means and very good means too, but I do not think that any of those particular measures which have been suggested would tend to the desired effect. One hon'ble member proposes that in the matter of salaries and allowances we should begin from the top instead of the bottom. If this mean a general reduction in the pay and allowances of the Indian servants of the Crown, then I say that I am not at present in favour of such a measure. But I am not aware that any satisfactory proposals have been made for the decrease of salaries, great or small.

With regard to the reduction of appointments, I may say that almost the only reductions in this respect which have taken place are those of the police, and now that this matter has been referred to, I should like to make one or two remarks, as very erroneous ideas seem to be generally prevalent with regard to the action of Government in this matter. A great deal of correspondence took place

between the Government of India and the local Governments on the subject of Police reduction. We made many suggestions as to how these necessary reductions might best be effected. These suggestions were much objected to in some instances by several local Governments. We told them, however, that they need not consider themselves bound specially to carry out the suggestions made, and that if the same financial results could be obtained in a manner more consonant with their views, and which did not interfere with the efficiency of the force, we should be glad to consider them. The consequence was, that a reduction even greater than what was proposed in those various communications with the local Governments took place. But what has been the personal effect of reduction in this branch of the service? We hear most lamentable stories of the great hardships which have been committed, and how numerous officials of long standing in the service have been sent adrift without any provision what ever. Let us ascertain the real facts of the case as regards the Police. All the reductions to which we have referred as having been carried out by the local Governments affect altogether only 61 officers. Of this number, thirty-nine have already been re-employed in various ways, 7 are waiting for re-employment, and the remainder, that is, the difference between 46 and 61, have not been recommended for re-employment. So that in the matter of reduction of appointments, the Government of India cannot be accused of any harshness in the proceedings that have been taken in respect to the Police. Nearly every efficient officer has already been provided for.



It has been said by one or two of my colleagues in the debate that, in their opinion, the Native traders could be got at in an easier manner than by the Income Tax. It is very easy to say—get at the Native trader; but I am not sure that any proposals have been made for taxing this particular class in a fairer way than by an Income Tax. It is thought that the Native traders can be reached by putting on direct taxes on articles of prime necessity, or by license duties, and adopting other financial measures of a like kind; but I believe firmly, that if you want to make the Native trader pay his fair share of taxation, you can do it as well through a well regulated and rigidly assessed Income Tax as in any other way. I am perfectly aware of the great objections that are urged to taxing trades and professions; they are objections that are incident to an Income Tax in every country, the main objection being that the rogue escapes while the honest man pays. I am afraid the evil must always remain, and can only be mitigated by careful administration. Then, a proposal has been made directly to enhance the land revenue. I cannot conceive any recommendation that could be made of greater magnitude than this. An hon'ble member said that the proprietors of the Province of Bengal under permanent settlement do not pay their fair share of taxation. That may be the case, but I own that though it is, in my opinion, quite proper to tax the land for local purposes, for roads, education, police, and the like, I believe no Administration would venture, in respect of imperial wants, to interfere with those settlements as between the Government and the landed prop-

propriators and occupiers which have been in existence for so many years, have been the subject of such solemn contracts, and to which the faith and honour of the Government is pledged ; and therefore I do say that though there are additional charges which it is fair to put upon the land, yet any attempt to disregard the settlement and agreement with the occupiers and proprietors for the purpose of increasing imperial resources is a proposals which, in my opinion, ought not to be contemplated.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bullen Smith made some very interesting remarks on these matters and I must say that, though I disagree in the severe criticisms and the strictures which he uttered on the conduct of the Government with regard to the Budget, I listened to his speech with great pleasure, for I never heard opinions expressed with greater clearness, frankness and moderation. With regard to taking the duty off shawls, that is, financially speaking, a very small matter. The reason why this duty has been removed this year is owing to certain negotiations and treaty engagements we have come to with the Maharajah of Cashmere. As the duty on shawls has been levied hitherto, it operated as a transit duty on the Cashmere fabric, we thought, therefore, after all we urged on our feudatory State in India on this subject, that we had no possible pretext for maintaining any duty, either in the shape of customs or excise, which could in the least degree partake of this character. There was an additional reason for taking this course. The Maharaja of Cashmere has, with the greatest liberality, complied with our request for the opening up of a free trade between India and those territories which lie to the

north of the Cashmere State, and so completely has he agreed to our proposals, that during the ensuing year we shall be able to appoint Commissioners to lay out the trade route throughout the whole of these wide districts—from our border in Lahoul to the border of Turkistán. That route will be placed under the absolute control of Commissioners, one of whom will be appointed by the British Government, and one by the Mahárájá of Cashmere. He has disclaimed all intention of charging any duty on goods that travel by the demarcated road. and he has done more than that in consenting to the framing of such rules as will provide a certainty of peace and safety to all traders who pass along that route. The present ruler of the Yarkund state has despatched an Envoy to the Government here ; he is now in Calcutta. He has on the part of his Government expressed himself entirely satisfied with this arrangement, and promises that he will second our efforts as far as possible. He came with a particular request that a British Officer should be deputed to visit the Ataligh Gházi during the ensuing summer, in order that these matters might be discussed, with a view to ascertaining how the trade between India and Turkistán might be improved. Therefore, this matter with regard to shawls, though it is of little financial importance, is, as you will see from what I have stated, of political and commercial significance. With regard to the duty on the export of corn, all I can say is that, in considering these matters of finance, when we are asked to relieve suffering interests we must first consider what the general financial necessities of the Empire are. If we look in other directions we may find

duties even more objectionable than those we levy on home-grown corn. I believe the burdens we place on our own sugar by the operation of the internal customs laws are less easily defended than even the export duty on rice. All I can say is, that I hope the day is not far distant when export duties will cease to be a portion of our financial resources, for nothing can be more objectionable, either in principle or in practice, than these duties, and I believe that they throw a much heavier burden upon trade than their amount brings in to Government.

The only other proposal made as a substitute for Income tax is to lay on a tax on Tobacco. Now, it is quite true that in many civilised countries tobacco is considered to be a very proper object for taxation, but I must remind the Council that tobacco in India is really an absolute necessary of life, and that if you put a tax upon the production of tobacco, you tax the two great necessities of life in this country, namely, salt and tobacco, and I am not prepared, even in the present state of our finances, to advocate the imposition of a burden upon such a prime necessary of life as that is. Well then, let us see how our present system of taxation falls on the people at large. Taking the land revenue.—It is quite true that the land revenue is paid to a great extent by proprietors, and it is very difficult to say what portion of it comes out of the pockets of the occupier, but we must all admit that a very large portion of it does come out of the pockets of the poor cultivator. I never will admit that the land revenue is anything but a rent belonging to the State. Whether it be a tax, or whether it be a rate, the greater portion of it is paid by the

poorer class. In our customs, the one article under that head, namely, the duty on cotton piece-goods, amounts to something like £800,000. That must be paid almost entirely by the poorer classes. The duty on salt, namely, £6,000,000, is also paid almost entirely by the masses, that these so great items of revenue too are paid by the general population of the country, and I own that I do not consider that we should be justified, looking to that great fact, in placing, unless some very great national exigency required, any very heavy additional charge which would fall upon almost every individual throughout the country.

These then are principal objections to the recommendations that have been made from various quarters, and it really comes to this, that as we are situated at present, unless some great radical change takes place in our whole financial system, there is no other resource, except the Income Tax, of which we can avail ourselves at the present moment for extricating ourselves from the difficulties in which we have been placed; therefore, when my hon'ble friend the Financial Member is twitted for want of invention and poverty of resource, I can only say that after every possible proposition was discussed most fully in Council we came to the conclusion that, however some of them may be fair subjects for consideration in the future—that in the present crisis it would be impossible to adopt any of them with any hope of bringing in that amount to the Exchequer during the present year which is necessary to create anything like an equilibrium in our finances. If I am asked whether I think the main principles of fu-

ture Budgets should be the same as the present, I would frankly confess that I do not think so, and I agree with Mr. Strachey that there is great room for improvement. With that view the Council will observe that we have increased the Income Tax for the present year, and if it is found necessary to continue it, either in a decreased form or in its present amount only, it will involve the necessity of further legislation; but I believe that if we ever hope to place our Imperial Finance upon a real sound and final basis, we shall have to adopt a somewhat different course to that which we have been hitherto following. In considering these great questions, we ought to endeavour to see whether we may not gradually and carefully import such principles into our finance as will lay the foundation at some future day—probably when we are all past and gone—of some such system of Local Finance as is adopted in every other civilised country in the world; and which I am not disinclined to believe has been practised from time to time in some of the districts in India.

It would be very improper, and perhaps impossible, for me to say more upon this subject; every man must be aware of the insufficiency of provision that is made in India for the great objects of education.—for providing internal communication, for sanitation and for all those civil buildings which are necessary for the decent administration of justice and for many other public purposes. Everybody must be aware of this, and that if it is attempted to carry out all these great objects, increased taxation is necessary. I believe that increased taxation would be much more palatable if it were levied under the control and sanc-

tion of local authorities, and if the people who pay it were made sensible, by daily experience, of the benefits they derived from such taxation. All I can say is, that if greater economy can be obtained in this way—if provision for increasing wants can be made—if its result should be to give greater and more freedom of action to Local Governments and District Authorities—and to relieve the Supreme Government of a large amount of work which I believe it can but inadequately perform—the question is well worthy of the consideration of every Administration and every Local Government, and will, I believe, when it comes to be understood, receive the general support of the country.

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### INDIAN INCOME TAX 1871.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency Lord Mayo in the Legislative Council, Calcutta, on the passing of the Income Tax Bill, on the 31st March 1871.

LORD MAYO said.—As this is the last stage of this Bill, and as I have not yet had an opportunity of making any remarks in Council as to the measures which, during a considerable period, the Government have thought it necessary to take to improve the financial position of the Empire, I wish, in the first place, to recall to mind, as briefly as possible, the state of things which has occasioned the necessity for these measures, to endeavour to explain what their effects have been, and also to shadow forth as far as I can what I think ought to be the future policy of the Government. I can assure the Council that to myself and to my col-

leagues, the period of the last two years has been one of the greatest anxiety. During that time unusual, and perhaps what may be termed severe, measures have been undertaken; but I shall be able to show that the circumstances of the case rendered those measures inevitable, and that the result has been all that was anticipated. In making this statement, I fear that I shall be obliged to mention many facts and circumstances which are well known, and have often been referred to in Council. But on the last occasion on which the financial measures of the Government can be discussed during the present year, it will not be out of place to bring back many of them to recollection, for I wish most earnestly to press them upon public attention. In September 1869, eighteen months ago, after a long and anxious consideration of the financial position of the Empire, we felt it to be our duty to inform the Secretary of State that we were about to take an unusual and an almost unprecedented course. We informed His Grace that the Actuals of 1868-69 which were then brought to our notice would show a deficit of nearly two millions and a quarter, the Budget estimate delivered in March 1868 having anticipated a surplus of a quarter of a million. We said that, on further investigation, we believed that if the then state of things were allowed to continue, the deficit for 1869-70 could not be less than £1,700,000, the estimate made in March 1869 being for a surplus of £50,000. We said that an accumulated deficit of nearly six millions had occurred in the three previous years, and that if the present condition of



affairs were allowed to remain unchecked, it was not unlikely that at the end of that year the accumulated deficit during four years of peace might approach to the sum of nearly eight millions. We said that, while this accumulated deficit for three years had been as we described, our cash balances had declined from  $13\frac{3}{4}$  millions to  $10\frac{1}{4}$  millions; much lower than they had been for years, that during this period of three years the permanent debt of the country had been increased to nearly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions, of which not more than three millions had been spent on reproductive works, and that we considered that this state of things was not one of temporary difficulty, but had assumed an aspect of chronic financial danger:

We said that great works were in hand, works which it was our duty to pursue and which were not only necessary, and would ultimately be profitable, but which must for a time place a heavy burden upon the resources of the Empire; and we summed up by saying that we believed that nothing less than an advantage of nearly three millions, on both sides of the account, would suffice to place the finances of the Empire in a satisfactory state. We refused to make good ordinary expenditure by borrowing. We thought that the honor and credit of the Empire were at stake. We said that great evils existed, and we intended to remedy them. In pursuance of these declarations made to Her Majesty's Government, we lost no time, but proceeded to act at once. We announced several measures of importance. We took the serious, and in most cases the objectionable, course of

ordering extensive reductions in expenditure and of increasing the burdens of the people in the middle of the year.

The Secretary of State had told us in a despatch written in January 1869, that he entertained sanguine hopes that it might be possible to bring the whole military charge to a sum of one million and a half below its then amount. We proposed reductions in Military charges which, had they been effected, would have produced, eventually, a saving of nearly a million a year. We believed, and still believe, that the greatest part of the recommendations that we then made on the highest military authority at our disposal, could be carried out without impairing the efficiency of the European or Native Army. We at once took a course which, though necessary, we regretted. We reduced the Public Works Department expenditure to the extent of £900,000, raised the income tax by one-half, and increased the Salt tax in Madras and Bombay. We ordered such measures of severe economy in the various Civil and Military Departments that the result has been that my Hon'ble friend was able to say, in stating the Actuals of the year, that instead of the deficit which he had expected of £1,700,000, he could announce a surplus of £118,000. So far for the measures of 1869.

When we came to consider the prospects of 1870-71, our difficulties did not decrease; the sudden and very large reductions that we were obliged to make in the Public Works Department could not be carried further consistent with the possibility of continuing work at all; many of the proposals

which were made as to Military reductions, were under consideration between us and Her Majesty's Government; some have been adopted, others have been altogether declined, some have been referred back to us and are still not finally decided. We felt it would be necessary under these circumstances to add to the resources of the Empire for one year. We considered long and anxiously whether it would be better to invent new taxation or to increase old and well-known burdens. We hoped, and our hopes have been realized, that the great pressure would be only of a temporary character. I am not going to fight the old battle over again as to whether we were right or not in imposing a high Income tax. Everything has been said that can be said on that point, and I will only repeat that having considered the matter most carefully, we declined to terrify the people by new forms of taxation; we refused to lay additional imposts upon industry and commerce, or to increase the burthens of the poor. We endeavoured to extricate the Empire from a great difficulty by the only mode which we considered possible, and we asked the comparatively well-to-do to contribute to the revenue about one million of money for one year. by means of an enhanced Income tax. The effect of all these measures exceeded our anticipations and the result was a surplus for the past year of £900,000. By these means two years of surplus were obtained, and we gained time to consider, to elaborate, and to inaugurate, measures which we trust are calculated to a great extent to secure us against a recurrence to that position which has caused so

much trouble to the Empire and such anxiety to the Government.

A great deal has been said with regard to reduction in expenditure. On this point much misapprehension appears to exist: we have been frequently charged with neglect of duty in connexion therewith. We said in the despatch to the Secretary of state of September 1869 that we conceived, as between the then state of things and the future, that we were bound to endeavour to obtain an advantage of three millions. What has been the result? We have not quite attained our object, but we are not far from it. The general expenditure of the country has been reduced from £52,000,000 in 1868-69 to our estimate of £49,000,000 for 1871-72. To this we must add in fairness £656,000 of receipts, which have been handed over to the Provincial Governments under the eight heads of revenue surrendered. But, in truth, we have so far attained our object, that we shall obtain in less than three years an advantage of two and half millions caused by reduction in our expenditure alone.

The Council must feel that during this time we incurred a deep and heavy responsibility; but having presided over all these consultations, I am glad to be able to offer my hearty thanks to my able colleagues, who throughout the whole of that anxious time have cordially supported me in the objects I have had in view. In the early days of the crisis, we had the advantage of the experience and advice of two eminent men, Mansfield and Durand. One has gone to his rest amid the lamenta-

tions of a nation ; the other, I rejoice to see, has been by the favor of his Sovereign called to the Upper House of the Legislature, and I hope that in Parliament he will continue to give to his country, as he did here, the advantage of his administrative ability and great professional knowledge. From the time the serious character of the situation was recognized, each Member of the Government evinced the most earnest and hearty desire to remedy, as quickly and as effectively as possible, the unsatisfactory state of things. At first, my hon'ble friend Mr. Strachey was in charge of the Financial Department ; on him devolved the duty of inaugurating our early measures. When the Financial Member, Sir Richard Temple, resumed his office, he entered as heartily into our objects as if he had been with us when our first efforts were made. It was not to be expected that such measures as these could be effected without encountering most violent opposition. We were quite prepared for that. I am not going to discuss the questions as to the suitability to India of a high Income tax. I am not going to revive, if I can help it, old and worn out discussions. As far as the press of this country is concerned, I fully admit that if it was the opinion of the gentlemen who conduct public organs that evils and oppression did occur by reason of the levy of this tax, it was their duty to expose them. That we turned no deaf ear to the complaints thus made is fully proved by the action we have taken during the present year, by which we have reduced the numbers of the payers of Income tax by more than 50 per cent.

I was much struck the other day by the very strong observations that were made by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Inglis, who is intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the North-Western Provinces. He presented to the Council his experience of the working of the tax. His account was alarming. It is impossible to overlook such a statement made by so eminent an official. We are about, therefore, to request the North-Western Government to furnish us with a catalogue of the cases which have directly or indirectly come to their knowledge showing either oppression or maladministration as connected with the levy of the Income tax. We are also about to ask that Government to supply us with the names of the individuals concerned, and the officers to whom this information has been conveyed. We shall ask who the subordinate officials are that were referred to, and what are the reasons why the Administration is unable to control or to prevent the abuses described. We shall further ask whether these alleged evils and demoralization are supposed to be confined to the assessment and collection of the Income tax only, or extends to the collection of other branches of the revenue. We shall further ask him whether, if these evils are found to exist, with regard to the collection of this and other branches of revenue, any remedies can be suggested to prevent their recurrence. I can hardly conceive that a more important series of questions could be put to a Government, and I have no reason to doubt that the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West will give his most earnest attention to them. I make this state-

ment to show that the Government will never turn a deaf ear to representations of oppression and evils connected with the administration of our revenue, come from what source they may, but will ever be ready to make the most stringent enquiry, and if evils are proved to exist, to administer at once an effective remedy. The hon'ble gentleman who sits beside me (Mr. Robinson) drew the other day a gloomy picture of the future of the people of India as regards taxation. It is true, and we must recognise the fact, that as civilization and wealth spread, so must the burdens of the people increase, not in proportion to increased riches, but to a certain extent. But my hon'ble friend used the term "crushing taxation" on that occasion which I think requires some notice. I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive. Mr. Grant-Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by last mail, stated with truth that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. "In England," he stated, "you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at 800 millions per annum. The income of British India has been guessed at 300 millions per annum. That gives well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum

“ as the income of every person in British India.” I believe that Mr. Grant-Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States. But as a matter of fact; are people of India heavily taxed? Figures are not always satisfactory, and calculations of this kind must be to some extent open to cavil; but still as statisticians accept the facts that I shall state, we may consider that they represent, pretty fairly, approximate accuracy.

I have made from reliable documents a comparative statement of the incidence of Imperial taxation in India, and in some European States, England excluded. I have deducted from the resources of the Indian Empire all those sources of revenue which cannot strictly be called taxation. I have deducted land revenue for the reason that it is not taxation, but is that share of the profits of the land which the Government, in its character of chief proprietor, has from time immemorial deemed its right to demand. The Opium revenue is excluded, because no one in India pays it. I have also deducted contributions from Native States, the receipts in the Army, Postal, Telegraph, and all the Spending Departments. The result is, that the revenue received from taxation proper in India amounts to  $14\frac{1}{4}$  millions from a population of 150 millions, which gives a result of 1s. 10d. per head per year. I have followed the same investigation with regard to five European States, some of which are not the richest, and I find that while Indian



taxation is but 1s. 10*d.* per head per year, the subjects of the Sultan are paying 7s. 9*d.*, those of the Emperor of Russia, 12s. 2*d.*; the inhabitants of Spain, 18s. 5*d.*; Austria, 19s. 7*d.*; and Italy, 17s. It must be remembered however that a shilling bears a larger proportion to the income of a laborer in India than to that of a laborer in any of the countries mentioned, but still there is no such difference between the value of labor here and in Europe as is represented by the difference of taxations that I have described. Notwithstanding, the financial credit of our empire is far better than that of any of those States to which I have referred. I have mentioned these facts to show that the term "crushing taxation" is wholly inapplicable to the countries subject to the authority of the Government of India. At the same time I am far from saying that this happy state is not right. I believe it is. The greatest security to Government is given by the feeling entertained by the people that they are lightly taxed. And by avoiding as much as possible additions to the burdens of those who contribute to the interests of the State, we add much to the safety of our rule.

I will now refer briefly to a few of the accusations that have been made, sometimes in this and other Councils, but more generally in the Press, in places of public resort, and in conversation, against the conduct of affairs by the Financial Department of the Government of India. As these accusations have been clearly made and oft-repeated, there can be no mistake about them. The Government of this country is in one respect in an unfor-

fortunate position, for there is no assembly or any means of discussion similar to that which prevails in other countries, whereby members of Government can give an immediate reply to statements made, and administer on the spot the negative to extravagant and inaccurate assertions. We are often obliged to wait for weeks and months before an answer can be given to even the most absurd accusations.

One of the main objections taken to the conduct of the Government is that the public was unnecessarily alarmed in September 1869. This broad assertion is incapable of the slightest proof. The deficit estimated in September 1869 was £1,727,402. To meet this, the following measures were adopted :—

The <i>income tax</i> was raised so as to produce in excess of the original estimate - - - -	350,000
The <i>salt duties</i> in Madras and Bombay were increased by $\frac{5}{34}$ thus, producing an excess of - -	185,000
The Public Works expenditure was reduced by	898,453
And severe economy was enforced in the Civil and Military Departments, producing say - -	300,000
	TOTAL - - 1,733,453

The year resulted in a small surplus of £118,668. That there was this surplus and not the estimated deficit is obviously due to the measures adopted upon the revision of September 1869, and to no other cause. It is simply silly to make the success of those measures the ground for condemning them.

Another charge made is that the accounts and estimates presented to the public by the Financial Department are unreliable and inaccurate to an

extraordinary degree. As far as account goes, there is no foundation whatever for the allegation that any inaccuracies have occurred. Practically the accounts for years past are believed to be absolutely correct. Within a certain margin it cannot however be said that they are altogether *complete*. A complete account and an accurate account are two different things. We are aware that transactions in the various departments and the various provinces may not have been completely adjusted. The matter is one of exceeding difficulty, and it is to be feared that, however we may manage for the future, it may be found very difficult to reconcile all such past inter-departmental, inter-presidential, and inter-provincial transactions. I do not say that it would be possible to compile the accounts of the last ten years into one, and present the whole as a *perfectly* true account. This is much to be regretted and the system cannot be said to be satisfactory so long as such a blot remains. I do not however apprehend that these are the errors that have been so repeatedly referred to. As far as the accounts go, they are absolutely and substantially correct, and the margin of incompleteness is exceedingly small.

But I have observed that a great many remarks have been made in which an extraordinary confusion of idea seems to prevail with regard to estimate and account. It is impossible to conceive anything more different in nature than the estimate of the Financial Department for the ensuing year and that of the account of the same Department for periods which have passed. Account is a record of fact, estimate is a matter of opinion and forecast; there is as much

difference between an account and an estimate as there is between a good eight-day clock and the divining rod of a magician. An American humourist, Mr. Artemus Ward, gave a very sound advice to his disciples when he said—"Never prophecy unless you know." Now unfortunately my hon'ble friend is obliged to prophecy when he does not know, when he cannot know, and when no one else knows. And when gentlemen accuse the Government of extraordinary inaccuracy in estimating, they forget this that an estimate is a matter of opinion and is to a great extent a prophecy. My hon'ble friend Sir Richard Temple described with great force in his financial statement the difficulties that are to be met in this respect. The Indian estimates are an aggregate of facts, collected over an immense area by a large body of officers. These facts are carefully adjusted, compared with the estimates of former years, analyzed and summed up; and from this mass of evidence deductions are drawn. Owing to the peculiarity of some of these chief items of revenue,—items which hardly exist or are totally unknown in many countries,—the difficulty is vastly increased. It is not possible to avoid error. The most sagacious man cannot foretell the price of opium for a month, far less for a year, and opium produces nearly one-sixth of our revenue. The land revenue (which gives two-fifths of the revenue) is also subject to risks which no man can foresee. The traffic receipts of the Railways fluctuate considerably, and depend to a great extent on the general prosperity of the country. The customs revenue fluctuates also to a great extent according to the condition of the people.

We have been advised to meet the difficulty by what is called "sanguine estimating." I think it is quite right in estimating to leave such a margin as will in our opinion secure our calculations from some of the disturbing causes which I have mentioned ; but sanguine estimating, which informs the country beyond or within the facts that are in our possession, for the object of diminishing or increasing taxation, is in my opinion nothing less than dishonesty. I am sure my hon'ble friend Mr. Robinson would be the last man to recommend anything like dishonesty ; but what he appears to suggest is that we should disregard the facts which were laid before the Government and come to a different conclusion from that which we thought these facts would warrant. I can not help thinking that if we had taken that course, we should not have been acting in accordance with the principles which ought to guide us in all our transactions. We think we know a good deal about finance, but certainly we do not know anything about "financing ;" and it is our duty to present the public with the most accurate results we can obtain, and the soundest opinion we can form. We never can and never will take any other course. But with regard to this accuracy of estimate, the Secretary of the Financial Department has supplied me with a curious statement, showing the comparison of English, and also the Indian, Estimates with Actuals.

The English Accounts are on the average better than the Estimates, whereas, hitherto, the Indian Accounts have been on the average worse than the estimate. It is intended to take precautions against

a recurrence of this, but it of course involves some additional severity in providing ways and means. But the Indian Estimates appear to approximate more closely to facts than do the Estimates in England. It is curious that if we compare the English Estimates for the last ten years with the Actuals, we find that the annual average difference of actual from estimate was £2,132,700 on a revenue varying from 70 to 74 millions. In India the annual average difference from estimate was £1,874,600 on a revenue varying from 41 millions to 50 millions, so that we find that, notwithstanding all the difficulties which lie in the way of the Financial Member in laying his statement before the public, his estimate does not compare unfavorably as to accuracy with that made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It has frequently been stated that a great deal of our misfortune has arisen in that we have given undue liberty to the Public Works Department in the way of expenditure. Let me remind the Council as to what has been done in this respect. It is probable that some useless works have been stopped, but at the same time a great many useful undertakings have been unavoidably postponed. The fact remains that whilst in 1868-69 the expenditure was £6,272,000, and in 1870-71 £4,797,000, for the present year it is £3,802,000; so that the expenditure in the Public Works Department has been reduced by nearly one-half in the period named.

But the most serious charge made is, that the public was unnecessarily taxed in 1870-71, that is in the present year, that there was no necessity to raise the income tax to the extent it was done, and that

the surplus of nearly a million which had been obtained shows that grievous error was committed. If after what has occurred we had been over-careful, and taken our estimates of revenue somewhat low in order to make security doubly sure, even as "skilful surgeons cut beyond the wound to make the cure complete," we should not have been much to blame. But we did nothing of the kind. The estimates on both sides were as near the known facts as we could put them. As my hon'ble friend has reminded the Council, the surplus which has been attained this year has arisen from one special cause, namely,—Opium. We had no right to take it otherwise. We took it at Rs. 975 a chest. There had been a steady fall in price for months; we consulted all the authorities which were available, and I know that my hon'ble friend opposite (Mr. Bullen Smith) entertained the same gloomy anticipations as we did with regard to price for the remainder of the year. But on this particular occasion, while the estimate was being prepared, we had the advantage of the advice of Her Majesty's Minister in China, Sir Rutherford Alcock, a man who had spent his whole life in that country; he gave us, in this very room, at great length, his views as to the course that he thought the opium trade was likely to take. Nothing will tend more to show how unreliable are any forecasts with regard to opium when I state that on this particular occasion we were in possession of better intelligence, and what might have been supposed more accurate information than we ever had before. However, all the great authorities were wrong. The market, soon after our estimate was made, took an unexpected turn; prices rose, and the result was,

that in the article of opium alone we have received about £900,000 more than we expected.

I will not condescend to notice certain unworthy charges which have been made against the Department, such as "cooking accounts", "adjustments made to suit convenience", and "credits taken which did not exist." They are utterly baseless and reflect no credit on those who made them. Had some of them been uttered against the Directors of a respectable Company, the probability is that they might have subjected those who made them to those liabilities which the Law provides as a protection against libel and defamation. But I have said enough to show that in reality there was no unnecessary alarm in September 1869, that the accounts of this great Empire are as correct as accounts of so complicated a nature can be, that in accuracy our estimates compare advantageously with those of other countries, and that unless we had been prepared to endure another year's deficit, and, I may say financial disgrace, the measures of last March were absolutely indispensable.

I now propose, with the permission of the Council, to advert briefly to our future prospects. I do not mean to indulge in any boastful or oversanguine anticipations. I know how uncertain is the future, and especially the Indian future, and how possible it is that the cerulean atmosphere which now hangs above our heads may turn to clouds and storm. But as to our duty in the present aspect of affairs, we entertain a very decided view. Our public duties are many and various. There are duties with regard to our Native and European services, and towards those men who serve Her Majesty so well in the several



departments of the State. There are duties which have been to-day referred to by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with regard to providing for the comfort and health of our European Army, which we have conscientiously discharged and which we hope to continue to discharge. There are various duties which the Government must always perform towards commercial and industrial enterprise and also with regard to national defence.

There is a great deal of nonsense talked about despotic rule in India. If despotic rule means the unrestrained and unregulated will of any one man or of any body of men, I say no such thing exists. Here private right and individual liberty is guarded as strictly as it is in any country in the world. Freedom of action and of thought everywhere prevails. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that we administer a system of Government under which the rulers are appointed by a Sovereign who by her responsible Ministers rules in a far and distant land. By this very fact are our responsibilities vastly increased; for rulers who are nominated without consultation with the people whom they govern are bound to exercise more circumspection than those who derive their powers from popular representation; and a deep obligation is placed upon us to govern with firmness but mercy, with kindness and with care, those weaker natures which are entrusted to our rule.

In administration, taxation must always form a leading feature. When you touch the pockets of the people, you touch at once their feelings and their hearts. The people of this country never had the power of self-taxation, and I am not at all clear that

if they had, they would have made a proper use of it. But for good administration in India, vast funds must be provided, great expenditure must be incurred, and Government must be carried on with much strength and some splendor. In view of these facts, our clear duty is to refrain from imposing any burden upon the people of this country beyond that which we can honestly say is necessary for good government and for the permanency of that rule which we believe is calculated to confer benefits upon the nation. How are we to avoid unnecessary taxation? We can avoid it by absolutely setting our faces against anything in the shape of waste; by rigid economy; and by retreating from many of the extravagancies which have from time to time been committed. If we set ourselves firmly to this task, we shall certainly accomplish it.

The most variable sources of expenditure have been made over to Local Governments, by which more economy and care will be exercised, and which I have reason to hope will not increase unduly the burdens of the people. We have secured the Imperial revenue from main elements of uncertainty, and if we follow the dictates of prudence, I am sanguine enough to believe that that normal increase of resources which the growing prosperity of the country must yield may be made, and can be made, to suffice for future imperial wants. But we must look at the matter in a practical point of view. We must recollect that our future liabilities are heavy, and that among other things the growing charge for interest is exceedingly serious. My hon'ble friend Sir R. Temple has stated that since 1869-70 we have borrowed ten millions of

money, throwing a permanent charge upon our revenues of £450,000 a year. The registered debt of India will this year amount to 106½ millions, and we have to pay guaranteed interest on Railways to an amount of nearly 90 millions more. In this view of the case it is necessary to consider our future liabilities and the danger they involve if they are not boldly and judiciously dealt with. No one who is aware of the facts I am about to adduce can come to any other conclusion than that the day is far distant when anything in the shape of what is called "financial pressure" will cease, and that all those who have to administer the finances of this country for the future must administer them with the most watchful care.

In the despatches which were submitted to the Secretary of State last year with regard to Railways and Irrigation, a variety of works of the highest importance were named. In Irrigation we suggested works either commenced or not yet in progress, which will cost 39 millions, three millions of which have been already spent, leaving for further expenditure under this head a sum something like 36 millions. The Railways we recommended, even if they are to be constructed on the most economical principles, must cost from 26 to 28 millions. Additional capital will probably still be wanted by the guaranteed Companies to the amount of some 8 millions.

We have lately inaugurated a system of lending money to Municipalities which, we believe, will contribute much to the health, wealth, and comfort of the inhabitants of towns. It is possible that we shall be called upon to advance in the next few years a sum to Municipalities amounting to 10 millions. We have

passed a Land Improvement Bill this year, which will also throw an additional charge upon our loan funds, and it is probable that we shall spend 3 millions or more under this head. Speaking roughly, and looking forward according to our present lights, we cannot think that anything less than a sum of 85 or 90 millions will be required to be borrowed for those purposes which we think indispensable to the improvement of the country and the welfare of the people. This is an enormous charge, but I firmly believe it can be met without difficulty, and that, if rightly dealt with, the works can be carried on without throwing any serious burden upon our general revenues.

As to Railways, we believe that most of the lines which we have suggested can be made in a manner in which they will not be likely to create any permanently inconvenient charge. This can only be done in one way, namely, by materially lessening the original cost. Indeed there is an absolute necessity for this. The future lines are never likely to bring in the return of those now in existence. The richer districts are already occupied by Railways, the great arterial lines are completed, nearly 5,000 miles are open through the best parts of the country; they impose a charge in the shape of guaranteed interest on our revenues over and above the net traffic returns of £1,856,000. We propose to build 5,000 miles more, and I believe we can do it; but not one of these can be expected to produce the returns of the Great Indian Peninsula, the East Indian, or the Eastern Bengal Lines. Now, suppose that we continue to build Railways at anything like the cost of the existing lines, it is not too much to say that at the end of 15 or 20 years we

should possibly find ourselves paying out of revenue instead of £1,856,000 something like three or four millions of interest. We may expect a certain steady increase in our traffic, but there is no symptom of a sudden rush or outburst of Railway returns such as we have often witnessed in Europe or America. It is true that since the year 1867 there has been a steady increase on the East Indian Railway of nearly half a million of tons of goods traffic in four years; but on the Great Indian Peninsula I find that in the year ending June 1867 with 815 miles of Railway open they were carrying 1,046,000 tons, and in the year ending 30th June 1870, with 1,200 miles of line open, they were only carrying 1,057,000 tons of goods. On the Madras Lines at the same period, with a considerable additional number of miles open, they were carrying in the year ending 30th June 1867, 373,000 tons of goods, whereas in the year ending the 30th June 1870, they only carried 354,000 tons. The Scinde Line in the same year carried 201,000 tons of goods, and fell off in the year 1870 to 80,000. On the Punjab Lines no substantial difference occurred between those periods; but the Great Southern of India carried in the year ending June 1867, 70,000 tons of goods, and in the year ending from June 30th, 1870, with an increase of mileage, only 66,000 tons. The native passenger traffic bears very much the same proportion to that of the goods on all our Railways. In the last days of 1867 there were 3,909 miles open, and in the end of 1870 there were 4,730 miles open. The goods traffic on all our lines increased only from 2,900,000 tons to 3,500,000. The entire traffic now on our Indian lines is 4,700,000 tons, or about one-fourth of that on

the London North-Western with four times the mileage. It appears to be doubted whether the lines that we propose will be sufficient to carry the traffic, and it is held by some that we ought to continue to construct on the 5 feet 6 inch gauge. It is said that the present gauge is not too broad nor the stock too large. I would ask the Council to compare for a moment the 1,000,000 tons yearly of the traffic of the East Indian Railway with the 10 million tons of the Midland Railway in England on a not very different length of line, or compare the 300,000 tons of traffic on the Madras Lines with the 1,400,000 tons of the London South-Western on an equal length of line, and then ask whether it is necessary to build Railways stronger and bigger in every respect for Indian traffic than those that are carrying these enormous loads.

It is interesting to calculate what would have been the result if we had built some of our smaller lines on the plan which we suggest. The following comparative statement of actual and probable charges will show that a considerable saving might have been effected, and that instead of paying 2 per cent, they would be paying nearly 5 per cent, whilst the Imperial Revenue would be saved a sum of £730,500, whilst the requirements of the public would be equally satisfied :—

*Smaller Lines.*

RAILWAY.	Miles open.	ACTUAL BROAD GAUGE.			PROBABLE NARROW GAUGE.			
		Capital, Millions.	Net Income.		Capital, Millions.	Cost per Mile.	Net Income.	
			Amount.	Per cent on Capital			Amount.	Per cent on Capital.
		£			£	£		
Madras ...	834	10	285,000	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,000	285,000	5
Great Southern ...	168	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	32,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,500	32,500	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bombay and Baroda ...	307	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	200,000	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,000	200,000	8
Sindh ...	108	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,500	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,500	7,500	1
Punjab ...	252	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	35,000	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,000	35,000	2
Delhi ...	302	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	115,000	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,000	115,000	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
TOTAL ...	1,971	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	675,000	2	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	675,000	4 $\frac{7}{8}$
Net charge per annum make up 5 per cent. ...		£748,000			£17,500			

*Saving per annum £730,500.*

This ought to prove how cautious we must be in embarking in new lines and how carefully we must count the cost if we are to continue to discharge our duty to this country in constructing these indispensable means of communication. Every day confirms the soundness of our decision in adopting a narrow gauge. An able writer who has been discussing the question in the Bombay Newspapers entitles his letters "10,000 miles of Railway for 5,000." But I say "Railways at £ 6,000 or £ 7,000 a mile or no Railways at all." We believe that the gauge we have adopted of 3 feet 3 inches will meet every requirement, and I cannot conceive why we are to construct lines which are and must be far above the requirements of the country for a great number of years when we can show that the system which we recommend will do for us all we want. If a gentleman of small means who proposed to start upon a journey purchased an elephant in order to carry a donkey load of baggage, I am afraid that his friends would consider him to be possessed of that limited amount of intelligence which nature has bestowed upon the humbler animal. The great objection which has been urged to the system is the "break of the gauge"; I admit it is serious, but I believe it has been greatly exaggerated. The cost of transshipment has never been placed above the cost of carriage of more than about 12 or 15 miles, and in some respects, as regards the native passenger traffic, and in other ways, by good arrangement, the inconvenience can be reduced to a point that will be hardly felt.

As far as Irrigation is concerned, we hope to be able to take somewhat the same course that we have



done with the Railways, and keep down as far as possible the first cost of the works. The estimates will be made and carefully criticised, and I may say without fear of contradiction that the officers who are engaged in designing these great works are in this particular branch of their profession as experienced Engineers as any in the world. I have no reason to believe that the estimates which they have made, and the opinions which have been formed, will in any serious degree be contrary to the anticipated result. But beyond this we must use every effort to make all these irrigation works really productive and self-supporting. We must establish a system of irrigation and finance that will throw the main burden for the repayment of the capital and interest expended on these works upon the land which benefits by them. We must follow the same principles which have been adopted by every other country in the world in which similar undertakings have been constructed. We must take such measures as will oblige the people who are enriched, whose lives are preserved, and whose wealth is augmented, by these works, to contribute in a fair proportion to the cost of their construction. We desire to individualize as much as possible each work, in order that the public may be made fully aware of the terms under which it is constructed, its cost and its returns. We desire to separate as much as possible the finance of our reproductive operations from the ordinary finance of the Empire. We have endeavoured to give effect to some of these principles in the Canal Bill, which is now before the Legislative Council, but which I regret to say we have not altogether succeeded in making acceptable to the public.

I am surprised at the resistance with which our intentions in this respect have been met. Everybody seems to desire irrigation, but many seem to desire that somebody else should pay for it. But as a matter of principle the people in Madras should not pay for the enrichment of the Punjab, nor the people of Bengal for the irrigation of Scinde. Unless the Government is supported in organizing a system by which these works can be constructed without placing further serious charges upon Imperial Revenue, I greatly fear many of these important operations may not be undertaken at all, or if they are undertaken they may run the risk of being stopped before they are finished. We wish to make these works as self-supporting and as independent as possible; in fact to put them in such a position that if war, famine, financial difficulty, or other misfortune occurs, they will continue to progress, and go on even to completion. But if we continue, or rather attempt (for these works are only in their infancy) to construct them on the system of mixing up their accounts with the ordinary accounts of the Empire; if we think we can pay the interest of the capital expended on them out of the revenues of the year; if we do not extend to their finance generally the severest and most business-like principles; we shall possibly have in a few years to witness either financial difficulty or the stoppage of some of these great and beneficent works. Why did some of the great Railway works in India progress during the whole of the Mutiny? They were carried on under great difficulties; but the work progressed even in districts which were disturbed; we know this was due to the lines being independent of Government, and because their finance

was entirely removed from the ordinary revenue and expenditure of the country. We can take the same course with our State works, but unless we can put them somewhat in the same position, and make them self-supporting and independent of the ordinary circumstances and fluctuations of revenue and expenditure, we shall I fear be doomed to disappointment.

With regard to Municipalities, we propose to make loans to them for carrying out works of improvement, but we do not intend to make advances of this nature without careful investigation, and until we have first ascertained that ample provision can be made and security given for the repayment of both interest and capital. I believe there will be no objection to, or difficulty in, carrying out this scheme, and I have no reason to think that the Municipal bodies themselves will be unfavorable to it. Under the Land Improvement system we have to extend the well known system of Tuccavi, and put it under more precise rules; and it is not probable that there will arise the smallest cost to Government under this head. By these and no other means can all these great works, whether Irrigation, Railway, Municipal, or Land Improvement works, be carried on, without as far as we can judge throwing any very heavy charge upon the future resources of the Empire.

I am afraid I have already detained the Council too long and must hasten to conclude. For the future then in regard to ordinary expenditure, we shall ever labor to attain in each year such a small surplus as will show the world that our finances are in a satisfactory state. We do not propose to estimate distinctly for a surplus, neither do we propose to tax the

people for such a purpose. But the finances of a country cannot be in a perfectly healthy state, unless the receipts of the Government somewhat exceed the expenditure in each year. Surplus means sunshine, certainty, reduction of burden, and extension of important works. Deficit means clouds, uncertainty, hesitation, increase of taxation, and the stoppage of much good and useful work. Be it large or be it small, those evils must always to a greater or less extent occur. We shall therefore continue to exercise the most rigid scrutiny into every branch of our expenditure. We must also exercise that continual care which is essentially necessary to secure us against its constant growth. With this object we ask, and I do not think we shall ask in vain, the generous support of all those who are concerned in the conduct of Indian administration. We are bound to act on our belief, that if increased cost takes place under certain heads of expenditure, which I fear is to some extent probable, it must be met by reduction of expenditure under others. I ask, therefore, the various Governments and the various Heads of Departments not to bombard the Government with applications and demands for increased expenditure except in cases of the most urgent necessity. We are determined not to run into debt, nor to borrow for ordinary expenditure. We expect that in our efforts we shall receive unanimous and hearty support. We say to the public,—“criticise severely every part of the expenditure, discuss it, offer opinions about it, do not advocate petty parings and savings in small details, but devote your criticisms to general expenditure and to the large establishments for there it is that safety is to be found.”

We labor for two objects which must command universal support : first to restore Indian Finance to a healthy state ; and, secondly, to avoid any further increase of Imperial burden. For the present, at least as far as I can judge, we have secured the first, and for the second we must ever and constantly labor if we are to attain success. I will not, as I said before, further refer to the violence of the various attacks which have been made upon the Government because we endeavored to do our duty. In the success of our schemes we can well afford to forget the acrimony with which they have been assailed. My hon'ble friend (Sir R. Temple) has sustained an amount of odium and has endured an amount of abuse which to him would have been perfectly intolerable had he not known that his object was good and that success was nigh. I say of the terms in which my hon'ble friend has been assailed, that a great deal of it has been cowardly and almost all of it unjust. Whether it will continue I know not. But one thing I know that when all these misstatements and this abuse and odium are forgotten ; when all the malice and uncharitableness that has been expressed towards men who have been honestly doing their duty has passed into oblivion, the future historian of India will be forced to record that in eighteen short months, the finances of a mighty empire were rescued from a state of chronic deficit and certain danger. That in six months, not without great sacrifices and much risk, equilibrium between revenue and expenditure was obtained ; that in the following year substantial surplus was shown in the imperial accounts. That all this was effected not by swelling the burdens of the masses,

not by cheeseparing and cutting down the pay and allowances of the humbler servants of the Government, not by wild and temporary reductions which so impair efficiency that they ultimately lead to greatly increased expenditure, but by increasing for one year the burden of taxation, four-fifths of which fell only on the well-to-do part of the population and from which the very poor escaped. He must also record that this end was also attained by a calm and critical search into our expenditure and by great reduction of outlay ; and that future security was gained by associating with ourselves in financial responsibility a large amount of local authority and local interest. He will have to record that during this year, those great works of irrigation and preparations for the commencement of a new system of Railways have been pushed vigorously on, and that in many ways, though a reduction in our military charge has been effected, our military strength has been materially increased. New and improved arms for the Army have been provided ; large and costly defences have been added to our principal harbour, and in many other ways our defensive strength and that of our military marine have been increased. No other story than this can ever be told except at the expense of truth ; and be it now or hereafter, wherever it is really known and impartially discussed, I am certain we shall receive that full mead of public approval which is the highest reward of public service.

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# APPENDIX.

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## EARL MAYO AT ADEN.

*Aden the 9th December 1868.*

THE Settlement of Aden was all gaiety, animation and rejoicing from Tuesday morning to Wednesday night, in consequence of the visit of the Earl and Countess of Mayo, and Lord Napier of Magdala en route to India. Extensive preparation had been made by the Aden-ites to give their future Governor-General and the hero of Magdala right hearty reception. General Sir Edward Russell, K. C. S. I., accompanied by Captain Goodfellow, Assistant Resident, went on board for the purpose of meeting and receiving their Lordships, who disembarked at about 7 a. m. The harbour, Steamer Point square, and the flag staffs, were gaily decorated with flags and the first gun of a salute of twenty-one guns was fired immediately on Lord Mayo's putting his foot on the steps of the *bunder*. Sir Edward Russell introduced to their Lordships several civil and military officers of the station, also the deputation from the residents and mercantile community of Aden, the President of which, Mr. Cowasjee Dinshaw said:—"My Lords,—We welcome your Lordships to the shores of India. The resident and mercantile community of Aden greatly desire to express their joy, and your Lordships will do us great honour by accepting our invitation to receive publicly, expressions of our esteem and goodwill." Lords Mayo and Napier thanked the deputation for its kindness, and accepted their polite invitation for receiving addresses the next day, 9th December, at half-past five o'clock in the evening. Their Lord-

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ships passed through the ranks, and proceeded at once to inspect the several batteries, forts, and the establishments at Steamer Point. During the forenoon, a levee of officers and others was held, and in the afternoon, they proceeded to view the Isthmus defences and barracks. The Countess, accompanied by Captain Goodfellow, proceeded to see the tanks.

The Reception Committee (wholly Native residents and merchants) had arranged an excellent programme. Both in town and at Steamer Point, triumphal arches were tastefully erected, with "Mayo. Welcome. Napier." on one side, and "Mayo. Farewell. Napier." on the other. At all the shops in the town and Steamer Point, flags were displayed. The minaret, in town, was the point at which their Lordships were to receive their addresses, and the preparations made here for their reception were magnificent for Aden, and were erected under the superintendence of Mr. J. Miles, Locomotive Superintendent.

The morning of the 9th was spent by their Lordships in a general inspection of the cantonment of Aden, Serah Island, Marshag, and the Isthmus range of fortifications.

At 5 P. M. the whole party proceeded to town, for the presentation of the addresses. The avenue was crowded with people, and at every house and gallery in the large square were seen native ladies and children, in their best humour and best costumes. On arriving at the town triumphal arch, their Lordships and the Countess of Mayo were loudly cheered. Having taken their seats on the platform, along with those who accompanied them, the President, Mr. Cowasjee Dinshaw said:—"My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The Secretary will read the address to Lord Mayo, our future Governor-General; from the residents and mercantile community of Aden." The Vice-President, Mr. Hussonally Rujubally, a wealthy Arab merchant, and Government contractor, handed the address to the Secretary, Mr. Lalcaea, who read it fluently and well:—



TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF  
MAYO K. P. &c. &c.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—We, the residents and mercantile community of Aden, venture to approach your Lordship with our sincere congratulation on your appointment as our future Governor-General and as Viceroy of India ; we beg to hail the arrival of your Lordship within the limits of your Vice-royalty with the assurance of our most profound respect and of our most cordial welcome. We assure your Lordship that it especially gladdens the hearts of the inhabitants of India to find that our most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has been pleased to nominate a Peer for this post. We earnestly trust that your Lordship, so auspiciously selected, may fulfil the eager wishes and expectations of that great country, and that you may gain for yourself the love of her people. Your Lordship is about to guide the destinies of a generous and affectionate people, who will always regard your Lordship with profound respect and tender solicitude. We are happy to think that India was never in a greater state of prosperity than at this moment. Your Lordship is about to enter the high and dignified position of Governor-General of the greatest colony in the world, where every prospect of profound peace and the blessings of a bountiful harvest, holds out the hope of internal contentment and happiness. Our population is contented and loyal, and by all these means, we are happy to say, we believe that the commercial and material prosperity of the country has reached a point which it has never attained at any former period. We congratulate your Lordship on this happy state of things, and we are indeed greatly indebted for it to the reign of that beneficent Sovereign under whose mild and enlightened rule we have the good fortune to live. Most earnestly do we pray that the same success which has hitherto blessed our Queen's representatives in India may continue to attend your Lordship, our future Governor-General. We would respectfully beg to take this opportunity of offering

our cordial welcome to the Countess of Mayo, who will, we confidently trust, take a deep interest in this distant land, where the education and moral enlightenment of many millions of Native females is now attracting the earnest attention of our rulers. We have every reason to believe that your Lordship will take a deep interest in whatever may tend to promote the advancement of either the moral or the material good of the people of India, a country which has spread over its surface many millions of human beings. May you prosper under the favour of the Almighty, and in a short time may you have the satisfaction of witnessing the beneficial results of the further growth, vigour, and prosperity of this continent under your Lordship's rule. That the health of your Lordship and your noble Countess may long be spared, and that you may be a glory to India, a support to the Queen's Government and a blessing to the people, is the heartfelt and earnest prayer of the community of Aden.

“COWASJEE DINSHAW, PRESIDENT,

“HUSSONALLY RUJUBALLY, VICE-PRESIDENT,

“D. M. LALCACA, Secretary.”

The address was put in a gold (kinkhab) bag, ornamented with oriental gold coins, and the president presented it to his Lordship on behalf of the residents and mercantile community of Aden.

LORD MAYO,

Who was received with applause said :—

“MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I receive with gratitude the address which you have done me the honor to present, and thank you most sincerely for the great kindness with which I have been received at Aden, and the hearty welcome you have offered to me on this my first landing on an eastern shore. It is most gratifying to hear from your lips,

expressions of such ardent loyalty to our most Gracious Sovereign, and attachment to her mild and beneficent rule. In the arduous and responsible office to which, by Her Majesty's favour, I shall shortly succeed, it will ever be my object to preserve unbroken peace, to encourage and promote every measure which may have for its object the social or material improvement of the people of India. I am fortunate in being accompanied, on this occasion by the distinguished man, under whose brilliant leadership, that enterprise (Abyssinian War) which has lately shed such lustre on British arms has been brought to so honourable a conclusion. Many there are here, who were partakers of his toils and sharers in his glory. The community of Aden, it is well known, rendered to Lord Napier much valuable support and assistance. It must be a source of great gratification to many of you to feel that you were enabled in any way to contribute towards the success of an expedition in which the interests of humanity and the honour of our country were so amply vindicated. I witness with satisfaction the rapid increase of your population, and the development of your trade, and it will be my duty to support those plans which are being matured by your able Resident and his colleagues for the improvement of the town, and for increasing the comfort and well being of all its inhabitants."

THREE CHEERS FOR THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF MAYO AND  
THREE FOR LORD NAPIER, WERE GIVEN.

Their Lordships and Countess of Mayo, with their respec-

STEECHES OF EARL MAYO [ 16TH DECEMBER ]

five suites, were guests of Sir Edward Russell, K. C. S. I., during their stay in Aden. They re-embarked on Tuesday night at 11 P. M. on board the *Feroze*, very much pleased and gratified with their visit to Aden. The vessel left the harbour at about 1 o'clock that night for Bombay.

The following letter was addressed, on the 10th instant to the President of the reception Committee

"SIR,—LORD MAYO has desired me to express to yourself and to the members of the community, how gratified he was at the reception he received from the community here, and has left with me ( 25 ) twenty-five sovereigns for the benefit of the poor, to be distributed as the members of the deputation, the representatives of the community, may think best. Will you favour me with the opinion of the deputation committee as to the best means of carrying out his Lordship's wishes.

Your's Obediently,  
" E. L. RUSSELL."

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LORD MAYO AND THE DEPUTATION  
FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER  
OF COMMERCE.

*Bombay December 16th 1868.*

At a Special general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, held on the 16th December, 1868 an address prepared by the Committee of management and read to the members present by the Secretary, was on the motion of the Hon'ble A. H. Campbell, of Messrs Ritchie Stuart & Co., seconded by Mr R. Ahlers, of Messrs. Volkart Brothers, unanimously approved

and ordered to be presented to the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Mayo, K. P., Viceroy and Governor-General of India Elect, on a convenient occasion as early as possible after his arrival. A few days before the Chairman of the Chamber accompanied by the Secretary waited upon Lord Mayo, on the subject of the address and to ascertain when it would suit his Lordship's convenience to receive a deputation of the members of the Chamber for the purpose of formally presenting the same. Lord Mayo received them very cordially, but explained at the same time that he could not receive an address in any public or formal manner before he assumed the office of Viceroy and Governor-General, that his visit to Bombay was of a private and unofficial character, but that it would afford him much pleasure to meet a few of the merchants and to confer with them on the leading topics mentioned in the address as well as on other matters affecting the Commercial interests of this part of India.

The address from the Chamber to Lord Mayo, of which printed copies had been sent to his Lordship, is as follows :—

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF MAYO K. P.,  
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, ELECT.

MY LORD,—The Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, while uniting with all other classes of the community in giving to your Lordship a cordial welcome on the occasion of your first landing on the shores of India, further avail themselves of the opportunity of bringing personally to your Lordship's notice some of the commercial wants of this Presidency, on the eve of your assuming the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to which Her Majesty has appointed you.

Nearly twenty years ago the merchants of this city took advantage of the presence amongst them, for a few days, of one of the most illustrious of your predecessors in the Government of India, the Marquis of Dalhousie, to represent to him the serious disadvantages under which the Bombay Presidency

then laboured from the absolute want of anything like adequate means of intercommunication between Bombay and the various districts in the interior. The merchants of that day most truly stated " that with a population, after London and Paris, greater than that of any City of Europe or America, the trade of Bombay was far less than that of many, in other respects, much inferior to it." So inadequate were then the means of communication with the interior, that in the memorial from the merchants to Lord Dalhousie it was represented-- " that many valuable articles of produce were, for want of carriage and a market, often left to perish in the fields, while the cost of those which did find their way to this port was enormously enhanced, to the extent sometime of two hundred per cent." Happily such remarks, descriptive of a state of things justly of in 1843-50, do not apply with the same force in 1868.

Within the last eighteen years, Railways, the Electric Telegraph, and cheap and improved postal communication have been introduced into this country, and the Bombay Presidency, in common with the rest of India, has participated in the benefits that have already resulted from these important engines of progress and civilisation.

We thankfully recognise the advantages that have accrued to this part of India by the introduction of two great trunk lines of Railway, viz. the Great India Peninsular and the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railways, which have their termini at Bombay ; but at the same time we have respectfully to submit to your Lordship, that unless something more be specially done in supplementing the existing trunk lines, by local lines or feeders the principal seats of agricultural industry, and by the introduction of new lines into important districts still unopened, the resources of this Presidency must continue to a great extent undeveloped.

Bombay unlike, and in this respect comparing disadvantageously with Bengal, possesses no navigable rivers or canals, and there is scarcely a good road, or indeed with one exception, any other than a fair weather road in any part of the Presi-

dency. To this day the fine province of Guzerat, the richest and most fertile on this side of India, remains but partially developed, even after the introduction of a trunk line of Railway, because the province is without roads or feeders by which the producing districts may be brought into contact with the Railway, and their produce by these means conveniently and rapidly carried to market.

With a view of opening up the Northern portion of Guzerat and the important province of Kattiawar, a proposed short extension of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway from Ahmedabad to Veerungaum, was strongly recommended by this Chamber, to the consideration of the Government of Bombay. The scheme received the cordial support of the local Government, but it has been refused sanction by the Government of India, pending, we were informed, "the consideration of other Railway lines thought to be of greater State importance.

Within the last few days it has been pointedly brought to our notice on reliable official authority, that the people from Marwar and other Rajpootana States, where famine has already set in or is imminently impending, are crowding in thousands into British Guzerat to seek the necessaries of life. We would respectfully suggest to your Lordship, that by giving immediate sanction to this short line of Railway, the means of living would be provided for numbers who are at present destitute, and a public work of great value and importance would at the same time, from this unlooked for abundance of labour, be executed at a comparatively moderate cost.

Two years ago the members of this Chamber laid before the local Government their views in reference to the commercial importance of two great Railway schemes that have been long under the consideration of the Government of India, namely, the Indus Valley Line, intended to connect Kurrachee with the Punjab, and a line of Railway through Rajpootana that

would connect Bombay, *via* Guzerat and Rajpootanah, with Delhi and Northern India. It would be difficult to conceive two lines of Railway more necessary to India generally, or calculated to confer greater benefits on the inhabitants of the Western and Northern parts of it.

The proposed Rajpootana line especially is urgently needed for the convenience of a trade of great value that has long existed between Bombay, and the Rajpoot states and the districts north of these; the trade suffers at present from the difficulties connected with the existing means of inland transit, while with railway communication it may, on the evidence of those who are thoroughly conversant with the trade and habits of the people, be expected to expand to an almost indefinite extent.

The Government of Bombay have urgently pressed on the Government of India the commercial and political importance of the proposed Rajpootana line, but we believe no practical steps towards its early construction have yet been taken, while our latest information on the subject, we regret to state, is to the effect, that the matter is now entirely at a stand-still in consequence of another route having been suggested in supercession of that which had been previously thoroughly surveyed and all but sanctioned to be carried out.

The southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, popularly known as the Southern Mahratta country, and one of our most important cotton fields—where, through the persevering exertions of the present Cotton Commissioner under the sanction and encouragement of the local Government a description of cotton grown from acclimatised American seed has attained a high character amongst the other varieties that find their market in Liverpool—is at the present moment without roads, or any suitable means of transit for bringing either the valuable produce of the districts to the seaboard, or merchandise to the interior,—and as a consequence, European manufactures have as yet found there but a comparatively limited market.



There is probably no part of this Presidency where railway communication is more needed than in the Southern Mahratta country, or where the introduction of a Railway would produce more beneficial results. A line to the Dharwar Col-lectorate would not merely give facilities for the development of an improved cotton culture, and the extension of trade but would also be a means of opening up the province of Mysore and the adjacent districts, and of bringing their produce to Bombay, the great market of Western India.

Six months ago, the Chamber called the attention of the local Government to the state of the upper part of the Harbour of Bombay, which on reliable evidence laid before us, appears to have been steadily silting up for years past : and at the same time stated that if measures were not speedily taken to remedy the evil, that portion of the Harbour would by and by be unavailable for ships even for moderate tonnage.

The representation of the Chamber received prompt attention from the local Government, and the question is now receiving their deliberate consideration. Our object in bringing this important subject to your Lordship's notice, is to make a respectful request that such measures as the government of Bombay may deem it necessary for removing the injurious action that has been so long going on may receive the ready support and the sanction of the government of India ; for promptitude in applying a remedy to the silting up of Bombay Harbour is a matter not merely of local but of national importance.

The uncertain and unsatisfactory working of the Indo-European Telegraph still continues a constant source of complaint and annoyance to the Indian public. Under the conviction that so long as we are dependent on countries but partially civilised, beyond the control of the British and Indian Governments, our Telegraphic communication with Europe can never be efficient,—this Chamber, in common with other Chambers of commerce in this country, memorialised the Government of India for a submarine line between Suaz and Bombay. The

object was viewed favourably by the present Government of India, though discouraged in reference to the question of guarantee by the Secretary of State; but we trust, on a fitting occasion presenting itself, your Lordship will give your support to the only plan of telegraphic communication between England and India, which, seems likely to meet the requirements of Government and the public.

The increase in the rates of overland Postage imposed at the beginning of this year, simultaneously with the introduction of a weekly mail, was met with a general feeling of dissatisfaction throughout India. The mercantile community and the numerous residents in this country having relations with England consider their interests have been injuriously affected by the action of the Home Government in this matter, and we would now solicit your Lordship's assistance, in getting the objectionable impost rescinded.

We would respectfully but earnestly beg to call your Lordship's attention to the question of irrigation and water supply, for which so little has yet been done in this Presidency. The subject is brought forcibly before us at the present time by the wide-spread distress in large and populous districts north of Bombay, where the rain-fall this season has been altogether inadequate to the necessities of the people.

The Government of Bombay are sensible of the great importance of the schemes we have taken the liberty of bringing to your Lordship's notice, and they have repeatedly urged the consideration of most of them on the Government of India, though hitherto without effect.

The Marquis of Salisbury, when replying, a few weeks ago to an address from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce is reported to have said—"In the main, the question of cotton and the question of commerce in general in India, is a question of conveyance. It is the opening of navigable rivers and the opening of railways to which you must look." In the spirit of these views we entirely concur; and we trust that when

your Lordship assumes your high position as head of the Government of this country, the programme for India of all your predecessors for years past, viz : Railways, Irrigation, and other public works, may as regards the wants of this Presidency, receive, not merely a more practical application than has hitherto been vouchsafed by the Supreme Government, but that it will be applied in a measure fitting the important position which Bombay occupies in its relation to the great commercial interests both of England and India.

By order, and on behalf of the Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

HAMILTON MAXWELL, Chairman.

JAMES TAYLOR, Secretary.

Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 21st December 1868.

Accordingly by appointment a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen :—Mr. Hamilton Maxwell, Chairman of the Chamber, the Hon'ble A. H. Campbell, the mover of the address Mr. R. Ahlers, of Messrs. Volkart Brothers, seconder of the address, Mr. Donald Graham, of Messrs. W. and A. Graham and Company. Mr. A. E. Ashley, London Asiatic and American Company, Mr. J. P. Negroponte of Messrs. Ralli Brothers, Mr. G. A. Kittredge, of Messrs. Stearns Hobart and Company, Members of the Committee of Management, Mr. W. Knox, Agent G. I. P. Railway, Mr. C. Currey, Agent B. B. and C. I. Railway Company, and Mr. Taylor, Secretary to the Chamber,—waited on Lord Mayo at Parel on Monday, the 28th December 1868. Lord Mayo who was attended by Major O. T. Burne, his private Secretary, after the introduction of the deputation, said :—

“ I have already explained to Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Taylor the reasons which have led me to consider that I ought not to receive any public address until I have been sworn in as Governor General of India. My

visit to Bombay is entirely of an unofficial character, my sole object being to inform myself to the utmost on all matters connected with this portion of our Indian Empire. I thank you therefore most sincerely for having given me this opportunity of conferring with you upon the important topics referred to in the paper which I hold in my hand (a printed copy of the Chamber's Address).

“It will be my duty to give the most earnest attention to those questions and to consider with care and respect every suggestion that may be made for developing and extending those great interests which are centered at Bombay. I hope therefore that you will kindly permit me frankly to discuss these with you, feeling sure that I shall derive much advantage from ascertaining as far as possible your opinions thereon.”

After these preliminary remarks Lord Mayo proceeded to discuss with the gentlemen who formed the deputation, each of the subjects alluded to in the address, especially those referring to the questions of cotton supply, facilities for the transport of produce and merchandise, Railways and Irrigation, to which his Lordship said “he attached the greatest importance.”

The conference, which was of a most interesting and animated character, lasted for nearly two hours, and left on the gentlemen who composed the deputation a most favourable impression as to the interest taken by Lord Mayo on the questions of utmost importance to the welfare of India, and of his Lordship's judgment and good sense in the manner in which he considered and discussed them.

## ARRIVAL OF EARL MAYO AT MADRAS VIA BEYPORE.

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Lord Mayo left Bombay per steamer *Coromandel* for Beypore *en route* to Madras. The following are the particulars of the arrival at Beypore of His Lordship and his suite, and their reception by Lord Napier, and their transit thence to Madras. Beypore, the once obscure fishing village of Malabar, now the Western Terminus of the Madras Railway, was the focus of interest and attraction on New Year's Day, 1869. The special train arrived at the Beypore Terminus at eight minutes past 7 A. M., having, among the passengers, Lord Napier, his son, the Hon'ble Mr. Napier, Colonel Fordyce, the Military Secretary, and Lieutenant deRobeck, A. D. C., with some of the leading Railway officials (Messrs. Elwin, Church, Anderson and Collinson) There were also the Honorable R. S. Ellis, C. S. the Chief Secretary, the Honorable Mr. Justice Wells, Captain Ellis, Doctors Busted and James, Mr. Ballard the Collector of Malabar, Major Shaw Stewart the Consulting Engineer for Railways, and several other gentlemen already in waiting at Beypore for the Viceroy. All eyes at Beypore were anxiously directed towards the wide sea, every one apparently vying with each other as to who should catch the first glimpse of the steamer *Coromandel* which was bringing in the Noble Lord and his party Half past 10 A. M. having arrived and the steamer not having been signalled the whole party of gentlemen in waiting at the Hotel including Lord Napier and his suite, numbering about 30 gentlemen sat down to breakfast not a little disappointed at the non-arrival of Lord Mayo. During the course of the day, a stream of the inhabitants of Calicut and the adjacent places were seen running into Beypore, so that by the evening, what with the triumphal arches across the road all along from the landing-place to Framjee's hotel, with festoons of ever-greens, the decon

rations and preparations at the hotel, with mottoes, in large characters, of "Welcome," and flags of all colors waving, Bepore was in a state of great excitement. At last, the *Coromandel*, was sighted at 6 P. M., having the following party on board: the Earl and Countess of Mayo, Major and the Hon'ble Mrs. Burne, Captain the Hon'ble E. Bourke, and Captain Scott, A. D. C. Boats gaily decorated and made comfortable for the accommodation of the passengers, were at once, with a right good will, started off in one of which a deputation consisting Lord Napier's Military Secretary (Colonel Fordyce), Lieutenant deRobeck, A. D. C., and Mr. Ballard the Collector of Malabar, greeted the noble Earl in the name and on behalf of Lord Napier, and, in a barge specially fitted out for the Vice-regal party, brought ashore the illustrious company, where they were received with all the military and civic honors that, under the circumstances, modest Bepore, the once secluded fishermen's village of Malabar, could possibly afford to give. The party landed upon a temporary pier erected for the occasion under the superintendence of Mr. Ballard, the Collector, Lord Napier receiving them and leading the Countess of Mayo and the Earl of Mayo to the entrance of the hotel. Here the Guard of Honor with the Band saluted the Viceroy Designate, and the whole party entered the hotel and sat down to dinner. While the parties were discussing the good things of this life the Band of the Guard of Honor was discoursing sweet music and at 10 P. M. the party entered the special train, and started off amid much cheering. Up to the *Mallapooram* station there was nothing noteworthy, but at that station the Earl of Mayo and Lord Napier, accompanied by the Honorable R. S. Ellis, and Mr. Elwin, got out of their compartment and mounted on the Locomotive.

The special train arrived at Royapooram Terminus at 5 P. M. on Saturday 2nd January 1869. In Lord Mayo's suite were Major Burne, and the Honorable Major Bourke, and in Lord Napier's were Honorable R. S. Ellis, Colonel Fordyce, Major Shaw Stewart, the Master Napier, Captain de Robeck, Mr.

Elwin, Mr. Herbert Church, and Mr. Anderson. On the platform the Commander-in-Chief and Heads of Departments were assembled, Military Officers being in full uniform, and Civilians in morning dress. Immediately the train stopped, while a Royal salute was being fired from the Fort, Lord Napier alighted and assisted the Countess of Mayo out of the carriage, Lord Mayo and Captain Bourke followed. There was a slight pause, during which Lord Napier presented the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, the Archdeacon, and scions of the Carnatic family to Lord and Lady Mayo. Lord Napier then conducted his guests to a temporary *porte cochere*, and the party were saluted by a Guard of Honour comprising the Governor's Body Guard, 100 rank and file of H. M's 45th, with complement of officers and the Queen's Colour and Band, and the Infantry Volunteer Guards. The procession went down Thumboo Chetty Street, an unsavoury but characteristic Madras artery, which was lined with troops.

Lord Mayo presented decidedly a prepossessing exterior, and his face was that of a good-natured, able, and firm man, in the prime of mental and physical strength. He reminded somewhat of the late Sir Robert Peel. Personal appearance is a matter of no small consequence in an Indian Viceroy, and in Lord Mayo's case this was added to a stature above that of the average of Englishmen. Lord Mayo looks, in short, a ready, and capable man, of whom high expectations might be formed.

### LORD MAYO AND THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

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Agreeably with appointment a deputation of the Chamber consisting of the Chairman Mr. A. J. Byard, the Vice Chairman the Hon. W. R. Arbuthnot, the Hon'ble J. C. Loch. Mr. W. Scott, Mr. W. B. Liddell, and the Secretary, Mr. C. A

Lawson, waited upon Lord Mayo at Guindy Park on Tuesday the 5th January 1859. The following address was prepared by the Chamber, and a copy submitted to His Lordship :—

TO THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF MAYO, K. P.,  
&c. &c. &c.,

*Guindy Park Madras.*

We the Members of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, desire to offer to your Lordship our warm congratulations on your appointment as Viceroy and Governor General of India, and to express our great satisfaction at your presence in this city.

From your Lordship's general experience as a Statesman as well as one of the Ministers of the Crown, and from the prudence and firmness which distinguished your discharge of the duties of Chief Secretary for Ireland during a period of peculiar difficulty, we feel confident your Lordship brings to the discharge of the duties of your new and important office qualifications which will ensure the continuance of the good government of this great Empire.

While we regret your Lordship's brief stay among us, we doubt not, short as it is, your intercourse with our excellent Governor, and the leading officials will enable you better to appreciate and comprehend the measures and suggestions hereafter brought under your consideration relating to the welfare of this Presidency.

Your Lordship will, we feel assured, promote and sanction all measures calculated to increase the happiness of the numerous races under your Government, and the General prosperity of the country. We anticipate your Lordship's support to the extension of Railways, and opening up of the country generally by improved and increased means of communication, the extension of Irrigation works and of the Telegraph, as well as other works of public utility in this country. These objects cannot yet be left, as they may be in nations



more advanced to private enterprise, but need the encouragement and substantial aid of Government. And here we would respectfully venture to urge upon your Lordship's attention the enlightened views expressed recently by the Marquis of Salisbury, a Statesman whose interest in and knowledge of the wants of India is well known to you. He remarked "that Government should not be deterred from the construction of new lines of Railway by the mere fact that the proposed works did not promise to be immediately reproductive ; but should be influenced by the feeling that such works scatter wealth along their path, and by stimulating commerce, by opening out the resources of the country, by bringing out new ideas to increase the diligence and thrift of the natives of the country, open out to the Government new sources of revenue, make the people a more tax-paying people than they were before, and so, through the hands of the tax-gatherers, if not on the surface of the Railway account, the Government will be reimbursed for the advances it has made." We shall rejoice if your Lordship participate in the opinions thus expressed.

Your Lordship will not fail to notice the inhospitality of our Coast, and the entire absence in Madras of all natural advantages as a Port. The adoption of some means to afford protection to shipping and facilities to our external commerce, is now under official investigation ; and your favourable consideration will, we feel assured, be given to any well digested plan that may hereafter be submitted to you by the Local Government having these, to us important objects in view.

Engaged as we are in mercantile pursuits, we are especially interested in the freedom of trade from undue burdens and restraints. We therefore, took occasion, before the passing of the Imperial License Tax, to represent to the Secretary of State for India our sense of its objectionable nature and application, inasmuch as it is an exceptional burden on industry, while wealthy portions of the community not engaged in trade or professions, are exempt from its operation. We are pre-

pared cheerfully to bear our fair share of any taxation necessary to place the finances of the country on a sound footing ; but, without entering now more at length into our objections, to the Tax, we trust on a convenient occasion it may be reconsidered, and if its retention be still deemed necessary, that it will be levied in a manner more commending itself to the feelings of fairness of those brought under its operation. We doubt not that in dealing with these and all other questions affecting the trading and industrious classes, your Lordship will be animated by the enlightened spirit which has distinguished modern legislation.

In conclusion we heartily wish your Lordship the enjoyment of health for the performance of the duties of your high Office.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce,

MADRAS,  
4th January 1869 }

A. J. BYARD,  
Chairman.

Lord Mayo received the deputation very cordially, and regretted that he could not accept the address in the manner they desired, as he felt bound to abstain from receiving any addresses until he assumed office. He was glad however of the opportunity of conferring with the representatives of the Mercantile interests of Madras. The Chamber had made special reference to the extension of Railway and Irrigation Works in India, and on these points he cordially concurred with his late colleague Lord Cranbourne. The present, he was satisfied, was a suitable time for the Government of India to urge on the Home Government, the prosecution of additional means of communication in this country, public opinion being greatly in favor of such schemes being undertaken in a liberal spirit.

The construction of the Madras Railway seemed to his Lordship very substantial, and he discussed the relative advantages of the broad and narrow gauge, the expediency of constructing light railways in a permanent and economical manner, and the necessity for extending the Bangalore line of Railway to Mysore and Coorg.

In regard to the breakwater and harbour projects his Lordship thought that the Government of India could not do better than refer the plans approved, or thought well of, by the Committee appointed to inquire into the subject, to Engineers at home, adding that he thought they ought to be submitted to Mr. Hawkshaw and Mr. Bateman, the two most eminent and experienced Engineers now living, in all matters connected with Marine works.

His Lordship also made some inquiry in regard to the state and prospects of the Cotton trade in this Presidency, and, in reference to the Cotton Frauds Act said that it was his opinion that as a general rule, trade could be safely left to protect itself without the interference of Government.

Mr. Perkes then submitted plans of his harbour scheme, the features of which he explained, regarding which Lord Mayo asked several questions—and the deputation afterwards withdrew.

LORD MAYO AND THE CALCUTTA CHAMBER  
OF COMMERCE.

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ON the 20th January 1869 a deputation, consisting of about seventy gentlemen, Members of the Chamber of Com-

Perce, waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy at Govern-  
ment House, to present an address of congratulation on His  
Excellency's appointment to the office of Viceroy and Govern-  
General of India. His Lordship was attended by Captain Lock-  
wood and two other members of the staff. Mr. Rome, the Presi-  
dent of the Chamber, was introduced to His Excellency, and  
then proceeded to read the address which was a lengthy one,  
and almost realised Dr. Watts' description of the truth which,  
"touched and glanced on every land."

The following is a copy of the address:—

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the EARL OF MAYO, K. P.,  
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

MY LORD, —We, the President, Vice-President, and Members  
of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, desire to offer your  
Excellency our cordial congratulations on your Lordship's  
accession to the high office which Her Majesty has been pleased  
to place in your hands, and our hearty welcome on your Excel-  
lency's arrival in the Capital of British India.

In the selection of your Excellency as a successor to the  
series of the illustrious statesmen who have administered the  
Government of this Empire, we recognise the wisdom of Her  
Majesty. We also share the common satisfaction with which  
your Excellency's appointment as Viceroy and Governor-General  
of India has been received by all classes in this country,  
and that the substantial services rendered by your Lordship  
to Her Majesty's Government at Home have been appropriately  
acknowledged by the choice of your Excellency as the rep-  
resentative of the Queen in Her Majesty's Eastern dominions.

We rejoice that your Lordship's career in India commences  
at a time when tranquillity reigns throughout the land, and  
earnestly trust that that State may continue undisturbed; but  
we are confident that, if circumstances arise to endanger the  
peace of the country, your Excellency will apply the resources  
of the Government with an irresistible power, and uphold the  
authority and supremacy of the Crown.

It is equally a matter of gratification that your Excellency assumes the Government of India at a period when it is believed that the finances of the State are in a condition which will enable your Excellency to conduct the public service with all needful efficiency, and to promote works of national necessity, utility, and improvement.\*

It has been the frequent duty of those who now have the honor of addressing your Excellency to communicate with the Government of India upon various questions affecting the interests of the port of Calcutta, in which the mercantile community are specially concerned, and on matters touching the prosperity of the commerce of India generally; and they doubt not that in any representations which the Chamber of Commerce may hereafter submit for the consideration of your Excellency in Council, your Lordship will be pleased to give their suggestions such attention and weight as they may, appear to merit.

Your Excellency needs not to be reminded of the position which the trade of this city occupies in the commercial world; how large a proportion of the manufactures of Great Britain is absorbed by it: and to what a material extent it reciprocates by the interchange of the products of an inexhaustible soil.

It is our earnest hope that during the Viceroyalty of your Excellency, the commerce of this port may be encouraged and protected by the extension of local works now in progress, and by the adoption of improvements calculated not only to facilitate existing traffic, but to embrace the future wants of a rapidly growing trade.

The river which flows past the city is visited by fleets of magnificent vessels from all parts of the world, carrying a trade of the value of many millions sterling, which contributes a large share of the imperial revenue; yet so little has been done by the State for the port which stands on its banks that the inconveniences, experienced by those who are concerned in conducting its traffic, are almost incredible.

We may briefly state for your Excellency's information that in order that provision should be made for the construction and maintenance to ware-houses, embankments, wharves, quays, jetties, piers, tramways, and other works, for raising the funds necessary for such construction and maintenance and for imposing tolls and rates on vessels and on merchandise a river trust was created by legislative enactment nearly three years ago; but the trust was so constituted that it became practically inoperative, and caused to exist after a few months of abortive endeavours to carry out the object for which it was established.

We respectfully recommend this important matter to your Excellency; and we pray that the necessities of the port may share the attention given to other branches of the public service; and that when they are submitted for the consideration and orders of your Excellency in Council, they will be regarded with due reference to the magnitude of the interests involved, and receive a prompt and practical recognition by the Government.

Intimately connected with this subject, we desire to place before your Excellency another question which has engaged public attention for several years, *viz.*, the construction of a bridge over the Hooghly. The imperfect means of maintaining communication with the western bank of the river, and of conducting into the business part of the town the traffic in connection with the East Indian Railway (which carries it hundreds of miles from the interior, but stops short at a terminal point on the river, hardly a mile distant from its destination) has long been felt as a very grievous drawback. The construction of a bridge, connecting both banks of the river, and bringing into co-operation the lines of Railway on both sides of the Hooghly, has been long declared a local necessity, and we believe that that necessity presses so heavily and urgently on the public that the desired improvement will, in course of time, be secured; but your Lordship will confer a great benefi

on the city and commerce of Calcutta, if, when the question comes before your Excellency in Council, occasion be taken to give all possible encouragement to any well-considered project, and all needful aid to bring it to an early and successful issue.

The subject of telegraphic communication between India and Europe is brought under notice, with the view of praying your Excellency's attention to the necessity of supplementing a system, under which that communication is conveyed through territories independent of our own control, for while that system alone is continued, it is hopeless to look for the removal of the inconveniences which attend its present working.

A sub-marine line between Suez and Bombay, which shall be under the control of the British Government, appears to be the most effectual method of maintaining a telegraphic service upon which we can rely with any confidence or satisfaction; this undertaking has been strongly urged upon the consideration of Government; and, if in your Lordship's judgment, efficiency of communication can be secured by no better means, your Excellency's advocacy of the proposition will, we are sure, influence a speedy determination of Her Majesty's Government in its favour.

In view of the recent recommendation by the Director-General of Telegraphs for a direct sub-marine line to Rangoon, and the steps which are being taken for a cable from Singapore to the Australian Colonies, the extension of a line from Burmah to the Straits, which would supply the missing link between Australia, India, and Europe, and be an important step for the extension of a line to China, will, we trust, have the sanction of your Excellency.

The introduction of a gold currency throughout India as a legal tender has long engaged the thoughtful consideration of Government; but the establishment of a monetary system which shall embrace the concurrent application of a gold and

silver coinage appears to be attended with difficulties not easily to be overcome. Information of considerable value has been gathered on this question; the desire for a gold coinage has been very generally expressed; its introduction would be welcomed by the public as a measure of material benefit and convenience to the community at large; and it remains for your Excellency to deal with the subject in such wise that it may receive the advantage of your Lordship's experience and judgment.

The establishment of a weekly mail service between India and the United Kingdom was hailed with universal satisfaction as tending to promote the general interests of both countries; but the imposition of a large addition to the rates of postage previously levied on overland correspondence was received with as universal disfavour; and it was the duty of the Chamber of Commerce to present a remonstrance against the action of the postal authorities at home in this respect, to point out how unfairly a heavy burden had been placed upon the public of India, who were thereby immoderately taxed for the maintenance of other services in which they had no direct interest, and to endeavour to obtain the removal of a palpable injustice to the Indian community.

When this matter comes before your Excellency in Council, we are not without hope that your Lordship will confirm our view of all the circumstances under which we have appealed against the inequitable enhancement of a tax which fully covered India's legitimate share of the cost of the service in question.

The introduction of a uniform standard of the weights and measures, authoritatively recognised for use throughout British India, has been and continues under discussion; and your Excellency will doubtless appreciate the expediency of modifying a custom which tolerates a varying practice in almost every village.

The question is a large one, and involves the two-fold difficulty of dealing with the habits of the people, and of determining



the adoption of either the long-established usage of England or some plan more in accordance with the systems obtaining in Europe and in America, and with which the English system may possibly assimilate hereafter.

The paramount importance of those great public works which will at once enlist your Excellency's watchful interest renders a reference to them on this occasion almost superfluous, but we venture to submit that in the internal administration of your Lordship's Government, no undertakings will need more attention for their further development and advancement than irrigation and increased facilities of communication by land and by water.

Abundant as are the resources of the country, yielding varied and valuable products for the necessities of its immense population, occasions are unhappily not rare when unfavourable seasons paralyse the agricultural industry of entire provinces, and famine, with all its attendant miseries, desolates the afflicted districts. We are now witnessing one of those terrible visitations and the calamity forcibly directs attention to remedial measures which it is the interest and duty of the State to apply.

To avert the consequences of an inadequate fall, or a total failure of rain at ordinary seasons, we can employ no other means than an artificial supply of water obtained by means of canals, reservoirs, and distributing channels, and by controlling and regulating the course of rivers and of smaller streams. Irrigation is the chief security against such a danger; Government has acknowledged its supreme urgency, has felt its pressure of necessity, and is anxious to give the country at large all the advantages that can flow from it: and we are satisfied that your Excellency will not only not permit any relaxation in completing works which are in course of construction, but will vigorously prosecute a scheme upon the extension of which life and property so materially depend.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which have of necessity attended the establishment of Railway communication in this

country, vast progress has been made since its introduction : and the policy of the late Marquis of Dalhousie, whose wisdom and prescient comprehension of her political, commercial, and social requirements have conferred innumerable and inestimable benefits upon British India, has been steadily pursued by his successors.

To improve, extend, and accelerate the means of internal transit can be regarded as no subordinate duty of Government : the progress of Railway communication is identical with the prosperity of the country ; the convenience, comfort, and general amelioration of the condition of the people can be advanced, by no instrumentality more powerful in its operation, or more influential in its civilising effects ; and we are satisfied that in your Excellency's hands, it will be so directed and applied that an abundant manifestation of its results will testify your Lordship's devotion to the highest interests of the nation.

A line hence to Nagpore direct as a shorter Railway route to Bombay, as well as an extension of the Eastern Bengal line to the foot of the Darjeeling Range, seem to us to deserve priority of attention, and we respectfully recommend them to your Excellency's consideration.

Your Excellency's attention will probably be directed to the advantages of intercommunication, with those parts of the Chinese Empire which may be rendered accessible to the trade of Bengal, and if the agricultural and exporting districts of China could be conveniently reached from our North-Eastern Frontier, it can scarcely be doubted that a commercial intercourse would follow with satisfactory results. To explore the best land route between India and China would be an object not unworthy of the attention of the Government ; and a well organized expedition for the purpose of ascertaining that point would, we believe, be attended with encouraging success.

Your Excellency cannot receive with unconcern tidings of the grievous distress prevailing in the Upper provinces and in some

districts of Bengal ; the failure of crops from drought, and the compulsory cessation of agricultural labour, have resulted in excessive scarcity of food and forage, and the severest pressure of want among the poorer classes ; we are sure your Lordship would be touched by the sufferings of the people, and adopt every means for suppling their immediate necessities. The distress is unhappily on a scale, that the most open-handed charity of individuals cannot reach it ; but your Excellency may rely on the commercial community of Calcutta for co-operating with other classes of the public and with the Government towards its relief. We close this address by the expression of our sincere trust, that your Lordship may be blessed with health and strength to sustain the arduous duties, the toils and anxieties inseparable from the Government which your Excellency has assumed : and we pray that the deliberations and proceedings of your Excellency, as the Chief Ruler over the many millions committed to your charge may be marked by the trust and appreciation of the responsibilities of your Excellency's exalted position, and by statesmanship that shall command the confidence and enduring gratitude of the country.—

We have the honor to remain,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's most obedient servants.

The Members of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce.

The following is the reply of the Viceroy ;—

GENTLEMEN,—I accept with gratitude the address which has just been read ; and thank you, most sincerely, for the kindly expression of welcome contained therein.

The reception that I have met with from all classes in India has been to me most encouraging ; and I trust that my public conduct will justify the hopes which so many of my countrymen entertain for the success of my administration.

I can assure you that no man entered upon the office of Governor-General under a deeper sense of responsibility, or a fuller appreciation of the magnitude of the interest which, by the favour of my Sovereign, have been committed to my care.

Under the able rule of the distinguished man who yesterday left our shores, India has enjoyed a long period of almost unbroken tranquility. While it will be my duty firmly to maintain in every part of the country the complete supremacy of the Queen, I shall spare no effort to secure to the Empire the continuance of the inestimable blessings of peace.

The present state of our finances must be a source of gratification to all who are interested in the prosperity of India. I shall endeavour to promote in the various branches of the public service the utmost economy that is compatible with efficiency.

I shall always be prepared to give the most careful consideration to all proposals that may be made for the development of the great commerce, of which the Capital of India is the centre; and to encourage any effort that may be made for rendering more available for all the purposes of trade, the great natural capabilities of this noble river.

With the assistance of the able colleagues by whom I am surrounded, I hope to press forward, with rapidity and energy, those measures which are now in progress for the increase of railway communication, the commencement of irrigation works on an extended scale

and the improvement of our telegraphic communication with Europe.

The wide-spread scarcity occasioned by the long continued drought has incessantly occupied the attention of the Government. Every means within our reach will be taken for the mitigation of the sufferings of the poorer classes ; and we hope we shall be able considerably to alleviate the distress which it may be impossible altogether to remove.

To the other important matters referred to in your address, the care of the Government will be constantly directed, and I pray God that such success may attend our efforts that the prosperity of this mighty Empire may be steadily advanced, and that the highest object of good Government may be obtained by the daily increase of the happiness, comfort, and enlightenment of our fellow-subjects in Hindoostan.

At the conclusion of his reply, his Lordship said :— In addition to what I have said in my formal reply, I wish to say that if any gentleman present would desire to see me upon any of the very important matters which are referred to in the address, I can only say that I shall be most happy to receive a visit from any of you, and I think that perhaps great advantage might be derived from discussing some of the important matters referred to in the document, which has just been read, with a small number of gentlemen who may be deputed by the Chamber to communicate with me.

His Excellency was then introduced to a number of the members of the Chamber, and the deputation retired.

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**Address of the Landholders' Association to Lord Mayo.**

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE RICHARD  
SOUTHWELL BOURKE, EARL OF MAYO, K. P.

MY LORD,—We, the Members of the Landholders' and Commercial Association, beg respectfully to offer to your Excellency our sincere congratulations on our safe arrival in Calcutta and the assumption of the Viceroyalty of British India.

We entirely believe that the experience gained during your Excellency's administration in your late responsible office, will enable you to deal successfully with all the varied requirements of the Government of this great country.

We feel confident that after the changes which have been made in the Laws relating to Land Tenure, commencing with Act X of 1859, your Excellency will see the advantages to the country, that will result from a final settlement of this important question, upon which the value of Land so much depends.

The burden imposed upon the transfer of Landed Property in 1862, will, we are equally confident, be considered by your Excellency sufficiently heavy, looking at the present depressed position of the landed interests.

The Members of the Association, through whose agency so large an amount of British Capital is spread over the country in carrying on various industries peculiarly their own, look with perfect assurance of receiving from your Excellency's Govern-

ment, all the protection that they can fairly claim, and that, at the same time, the interests of the native population will be so carefully guarded that the prosperity and contentment of all will be secured.

We have the honor to remain,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's obedient and humble Servants,  
*for the Landholders' and Commercial Association,*

T. M. ROBINSON, *President.*

H. H. SUTHERLAND, *Vice-President.*

CALCUTTA,

11th January, 1869.

*LORD MAYO'S REPLY.*

To

MR. ROBINSON AND MEMBERS OF THE  
LANDHOLDERS' AND COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most sincerely for the kind congratulations on my arrival in India, and assumption of the Viceroyalty, which are contained in your address.

I am fully sensible of the importance and magnitude of the interests you represent, and of the great advantages which have arisen from the establishment of the industrial enterprises with which you are connected.

To all the difficult questions connected with the tenure and improvement of land, and the burdens affecting its transfer, my constant and earnest attention will be given.

In India, national safety and advancement depend mainly on agricultural prosperity. It will therefore be my duty to support any measures that will encourage the investments of capital in developing the resources of the soil—that will guarantee to the owner the complete security of his property, and ensure at the same time to the laborer, just remuneration for his toil, and alleviate, as far as possible, the hardships that are incident to his condition.

ADDRESS OF THE TRADES' ASSOCIATION.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE

THE EARL OF MAYO, K. P.,

ETC., ETC., ETC.,

*Viceroy and Governor-General of India.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE, THE MEMBERS of the CALCUTTA TRADES' ASSOCIATION, desire to join in the welcome which has greeted your EXCELLENCY on your arrival in INDIA, and hail with satisfaction your assumption of the high Office of VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

As the REPRESENTATIVE OF OUR BELOVED QUEEN, we tender to your Lordship our respectful homage, and earnestly hope that under your EXCELLENCY'S rule peace and prosperity will prevail throughout the Empire.

It was permitted to none of your EXCELLENCY'S predecessors to pass their period of office in India in unbroken peace, but we trust that a firm foundation for the future security of this Empire has been laid in the liberal and enlightened policy pursued by your predecessors in office, and in a truer recognition of the inestimable advantages flowing from the extension of COMMERCE



and the humanizing influences of EDUCATION. We do not doubt that your EXCELLENCY'S administration will be marked by such a beneficial exercise of the Viceregal authority as will bind the hearts of the People of India, varying in race, creed, and sentiment, more closely in affectionate devotion to the THRONE of our GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN QUEEN VICTORIA. But should there, unfortunately, arise in any portion of India commotions engendered in misguided hostility to the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, we are satisfied that the prudence, firmness, and energy which characterised your EXCELLENCY'S course of procedure during the recent unhappy disturbances in IRELAND will in like manner be manifested in sustaining the honor of GREAT BRITAIN in the EAST.

The TRADES' ASSOCIATION is not a political body, but it represents a Class having a large stake in the Country ; whose lot is cast in it for the best part of their lives ; and whose success depends upon the general prosperity of the People. We therefore are deeply concerned in the good government of the Country, and take a strong and abiding interest in all measures for the improvement of the laws and for their more efficient administration.

We gladly acknowledge the courteous recognition which the claims of the Non-official Classes to take an active interest in the Legislative measures of GOVERNMENT have of late years (and more especially by your EXCELLENCY'S immediate predecessor) met with, thereby cultivating and cherishing a connection between the GOVERNMENT and the Non-official Classes which, we believe, has not been without advantage to both. We would venture to hope that the liberal consideration which has hitherto been shown to our representations on matters in which our interests are more peculiarly concerned, will be continued by your Lordship.

Assuring your Lordship of our loyalty to the State, and of our desire to support and aid the GOVERNMENT of the Country, so

far as our position in it will admit, we beg to express our humble hope that the ALMIGHTY will be at your right hand to direct your EXCELLENCY in well and rightly governing this EMPIRE, and will give you health to discharge the duties to which you are called as VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Your LORDSHIP'S most obedient and humble servants,

On behalf of the COMMITTEE and MEMBERS of the

TRADES' ASSOCIATION,

JAMES G. BOWERMAN

*Master.*

*LORD MAYO'S REPLY.*

To

MR. BOWERMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE  
CALCUTTA TRADES' ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of the welcome and good-will contained in the address you have honored me by presenting.

I most cordially agree in the hopes you entertain, that during my administration the tranquility, which the able and prudent administration of my distinguished predecessor secured to India, may be continued.

It will be my duty to promote all the efforts that are being made for giving as rapidly as possible to our Indian Fellow Subjects all those blessings and advantages which follow in the train of civilization,—to extend Education, to develop Commerce, to increase Railway communication, and to press forward those works of Irrigation which have been sanctioned, or are now under the consideration of Government.

I am fortunate in being associated with able and experienced colleagues to whom all these great undertakings are dear. I therefore believe and hope that every day will serve to exhibit more plainly and decidedly to the world, the blessings of British Rule in India; and that the end and aim of our Government is the improvement, the welfare, and happiness of the people.

It will always be my desire to promote the most friendly feelings between the Non-official Class and those who are employed in the service of the State; and I shall always value most highly the independent support which may be accorded to our measures by those who are occupied in Agricultural, Commercial, or Professional pursuits.

I humbly pray that Providence may guide our counsels, so that all our acts may serve to strengthen in India the power of our beloved Queen; and that Her Majesty may long reign with undisputed sway as well over Her wide Dominions, as in the hearts and affections of Her Indian subjects.

### ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE,  
EARL OF MAYO, VISCOUNT MAYO OF MONYCROWER  
BARON NAAS OF NAAS, K. P., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR  
GENERAL OF INDIA.

MY LORD,—We the members of the British Indian Association meeting in this metropolis representing various classes and

interests of the Native Indian community, crave leave to tender your Lordship our respectful and cordial welcome upon your arrival in this city, and to express the gratification we feel at your assumption of the exalted office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Her Majesty's Eastern Empire has been not inaptly called the brightest jewel in the British diadem. The vastness of the country, the boundless resources which it possesses, the teeming millions which inhabit it, the various creeds and nationalities and the multitude of interests which they represent, and their remarkable docility and peaceful character, which considerably diminishes the difficulties of practical administration—all these open a sphere of usefulness, a field for philanthropy, and a prospect of administrative success, which will, we have no doubt cheer the mind of a statesman, like your Lordship, and call forth the highest energy in the interests of civilization and humanity.

As Chief Secretary for Ireland your Lordship displayed a judgment, decision of character, even-handed justice and conciliation, qualities of mind and heart, which exercised on a far wider theatre of action, and under much better conditions and circumstances, can not fail to lead to much more brilliant success.

Peace reigns through the length and breadth of the Indian Empire, the cause of progress has received an impetus which nothing can stay, the resources of the soil are developing rapidly, commerce expanding, and the revenues increasing. Although certain tracts of the country have been suffering from the effects of a wide-spread Famine, for the mitigation of which timely and benevolent measures have already been adopted, still such is the elasticity of the resources of this land that with the return of better seasons, the restoration of the springs of industry may be soon looked for, and it is the fervent prayer of the community we have the honor to represent that these

advantages may fructify the more gloriously under your Lordship's beneficent rule, resulting in the happiness and contentment of the people.

We have the honor to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servants,

THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

No. 18, *British Indian Association Rooms*, }  
*Raneemoody Gully the 28th January 1869.* }

### LORD MAYO'S REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,—The kind congratulations and cordial welcome, to which you give expression in your address, are most gratifying to me and I offer you in return my most sincere thanks.

I am perfectly sensible of the mighty interests which are entrusted to those who form the Government of this great country. It will ever be the object of my administration to secure to every class and creed of Her Majesty's subjects in India the most careful consideration of their wants and requirements, and actively to promote all measures which may tend to their improvements and their good.

I sincerely hope that the peaceful era through which, under the administration of my predecessor, India has passed, may long continue and that nothing may occur to arrest or retard the industrial, social, and moral advancement which is progressing so rapidly in every part of the Empire.

MAYO.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE KHANGAM  
MUNICIPALITY.

To

THE MEMBERS OF THE KHANGAM MUNICIPALITY,  
GENTLEMEN.

Accept my best and warmest thanks for the kind and gratifying terms in which you have been pleased to address me this day.

I can assure you that it gives me the sincerest gratification to have been permitted to take part in the interesting ceremony of the opening of this little Railway—thereby giving practical proof of the desire of the Government of India to do everything that lies in its power for the increase and development of the cotton Industry of Central and Western India.

I agree with you that it is in most cases impolitic to attempt to divert from its natural centres and ordinary lines the course of trade—and I believe it is wiser in considering the construction of Railways and other means of communication, either to follow, whenever it is possible, the old Commercial Land-marks of the country, than to embark in the always difficult and sometimes impossible object of moving markets from their ancient sites. It is often easier to bring the Rail to the Market than the Market to the Rail.

I sincerely hope that the undertaking which we have this day commenced will fulfil the expectations which have been formed of it, and will confer material advantage not only on the town and neighbourhood of

Khangam but on the Agricultural Industry generally of the surrounding district.

ADDRESS OF THE AJMERE MUNICIPALITY.

To

- H. E. THE RT. HON. RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE,       
 EARL OF MAYO.  
*Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas*  
 K. P. G. M. S. I. &c., &c.  
*Viceroy and Governor General of India.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We, the President, Vice-President and members of the Ajmere Municipal Committee, appear before your Excellency to-day, on behalf of the Residents of Ajmere, to offer your Excellency a sincere and hearty welcome to this the ancient Capital of Rajpootana; and at the same time to express to your Excellency, as the representative of our Most gracious Queen, the Empress of Hindoostan, our affection and loyalty towards Her Majesty and the Royal Family.

It is now nearly forty years since this city was honored by the presence of the Governor-General of India, and it is therefore with feelings of peculiar interest that we hail your Excellency's visit to Ajmere. Your Excellency comes among us while we are still suffering from the effects of the late disastrous Famine; but we trust that in spite of this and other drawbacks, we shall succeed in our earnest wish, which is, that your Excellency may carry away with you a favorable impression of this time-honored city and of its inhabitants.

With heart-felt wishes for your Excellency's long life and happiness, and trusting that the remaining period of your vice-regal rule in India may be as prosperous and peaceful as heretofore, we beg to subscribe ourselves.

*Your Excellency's humble servants & well wishers;*

PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF AJMERE MUNICIPALITY.

*LORD MAYO'S REPLY.*

*Mr. President, Vice President, and Members of the  
Ajmere Municipal Commission.*

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you most sincerely for your hearty and dutiful address. Her Majesty will be gratified to hear of the expressions of loyalty which emanate from one of the most remote, but at the same time one of the most interesting portions of Her Empire. The disastrous Famine which has desolated Rajpootana has been to me a source of the greatest sorrow. Although the continued want of rain in some Districts is still deeply to be lamented, I trust that the worst is over; and that it may please Providence to restore to the people of these provinces the seasonable weather which alone can give to them the kindly fruits of the earth.

I have come here to see for myself the conditions of the country to meet the Chiefs and Princes of the neighbouring States, and to make such arrangements as will ensure the immediate commencement of the Rajpootana Railway.

I am persuaded that when that undertaking is completed, the recurrence of such misfortunes, as have, for the last two years, afflicted the country, will be rendered almost improbable.

I thank you much for your expressions of kindness, and wish that you may ever enjoy all health, happiness, and prosperity.

*Ajmere 20th October 1870.*

MAYO.



## ADDRESS OF THE St XAVIER'S COLLEGE

The Ceremony of the Distribution of prizes at St. Xavier's College a well known Roman Catholic Institution, went off, most successfully, the Hon'ble Ashley Eden being present on the 14th, and His Excellency Lord Mayo on the concluding day.

The following Address was presented to His Excellency Lord Mayo by the pupils :—

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K. P. G. M. S. L., Viceroy and Governor General of India.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—In acknowledging our heartfelt thanks to your Lordship for the great honour conferred on our College by your presence at this our Annual Distribution of Prizes, we are moved by no ordinary feeling of gratitude. Under any circumstances, such an act of condescension must be felt to be the highest encouragement, not only to the five hundred students on the rolls of St. Xavier's College, but to their friends and families in this city, and in many other parts of the noble Empire which owes to your Excellency that loyalty with which the British name is so inseparably associated.

Loyalty, your Excellency, is no mere return of gratitude for favors received, but it is the most manly, most graceful and the pleasantest expression of obedience to lawful authority. Though it is our bounden duty, as British Indian subjects, to be loyal, without reckoning the favours we receive from our Ruler's hand and though in expressing our loyalty we only give what we are bound to give, we hail with delight the additional claim of gratitude under which your Excellency lays us by your presence here this evening.

There were many among us who were present in this very hall when your Excellency's predecessor, LORD LAWRENCE, in reply to our address on a similar occasion, expressed his agreeable

surprise at the manifestation of feelings, rare as he remarked, in these days of discontent and criticism. There were, we believe and hope, but few who were not touched by an avowal, thus frankly made, of our illustrious guest's faith in the sincerity of our sentiments and of the pleasure which they gave him. We fervently hope that our present address will be believed by your Excellency to speak our mind, when we say, that an act of condescension, valuable under any circumstances, is more than ever prized by us, when the administration of this vast Empire, at all times a harassing and absorbing duty, but rendered more than usually so by the present aspect of affairs in Europe, might easily dispense your Excellency from extending to your youthful subjects a token of interest which you take in the great cause of education and of your benevolence towards us.

In spite of the great endeavours which we make to render our Annual Distribution of Prizes as attractive as we can, it would be folly to suppose that your Excellency comes here in quest of recreation. Without prejudice, then, to our humble efforts, we must fain acknowledge that not to these are we indebted for the presence of the Viceroy of British India, but your Excellency's zeal for the welfare of education and to your disinterested benevolence for your Catholic subjects, whose fidelity and obedience we pray may never be wanting to your Excellency. That it never shall be wanting on our part is the assurance which I have the honour to make to our noble guest and Ruler in the name of

THE PUPILS OF ST XAVIER'S COLLEGE

To the above LORD MAYO made the following gratifying reply :—

Very Revd. Sir, Professors, Students, and Pupils of Saint Xavier's College.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to be present here to-day, and to witness the benefits that have been

conferred upon so large a number of young men and boys, by the disinterested efforts of the Reverend gentlemen, who are in charge of this admirable institution. It is most gratifying to see that while the benefits of elementary education are given to such a large number as 467 children, there is an evident desire on the part of some to continue their studies, to take advantage of the great boon offered, and to advance to the higher paths of knowledge.

I rejoice to see by your Report that a student of this College, has in the present year acquired the great distinction of winning the Gold medal of the University of Calcutta.

This is a signal proof of the excellence and high character of the instruction given, and I trust that Mr. Elias Younan's success will prove a powerful incentive to the many whom I see around me, to follow his steps and endeavour to earn so great a distinction.

I thank you sincerely for the sentiments of loyalty expressed in your address; I know they are but a reflex of the principles inculcated within these walls. Happily for us obedience to the Law, submission to authority and Loyalty to the Queen are associated with the utmost freedom of action and of thought, and that in yielding a cordial, hearty, and loyal adherence to British power in the East, you avow yourselves to be the willing subjects of a sovereign, who secures to all her subjects the full enjoyment of Civil and Religious liberty in its best and widest sense.

Though I came here to-day to assist in the distribution of your Prizes, quite as much from a sense of duty, as from an anticipation of pleasure, I may unaffectedly say that the dramatic performance which we have just witnessed has afforded to me, I am sure I may say to all, most excellent amusement. I can only hope that the young gentlemen to whom we are so much indebted for this agreeable afternoon may perform their parts in the great drama of life, upon which they are now entering with as much success as they have played this evening upon the mimic stage.

I have now only to wish both to the Teachers and the Pupils of St. Xavier's College every prosperity and success, and I feel sure every one who desires the advancement of sound Education and the progress of true knowledge must heartily desire the welfare of an Institution, whose governors have realized the object described in their Prospectus, who have given to its children a full course of liberal education and who are ever laboring to train up their young hearts to virtue and to adorn their minds with every useful and becoming branch of knowledge.

His Excellency, bestowed special prizes on two of the pupils, Joseph Hamilton and Berchmans Roston, for good conduct.

#### ADDRESS OF THE MAHOMEDAN LITERARY SOCIETY.

At 4 P.M. on Monday the 15th February 1869, a Deputation of the Members of the Calcutta Mahomedan Literary Society waited on His Excellency, The Viceroy at the Government House consisting of the following gentlemen.

Moulvie Abbas Ali Khan *Vice President*; Moulvie Abdool Lutteef Khan Bahadoor *Honorary Secretary*, Moulvie Kadim Hossain, Moulvie Mohamed Abdool Rowoof, Hukeem Syud Ahmud Mirza, Moulvie Abdool Hukeem, Doctor Meer Ashruff Ally; Members of the Committee of management; Prince Mohamed Shah Allum, Prince Mohamed Hoormuz. Shah, Prince Mohamed Walagohur Shah, Prince Mohamed Azeemooddeen, Nawab Ahmud Ally Khan *Members of the Mysore Family*, Nawab Syud Ahmud Ruzza Khan, of the *Chitpore Family*; Nawab Mohamed Ali Shah of Sirdhana: Hajee Mirza Abdool Kurreem Sheerazee; Hajee Mohamed Jaffer Isfihanee; Syud Moortuza Bihbihanee; Shaikh Ibrahim; Hukeem Mirza Ally Khan; Nawab Medhy Kooly Khan; Nawab Syud Ahmud Kooly Khan; Captain Hedayut Ally Khan Bahadoor. Aga Mohamed Hossain Shrazee; Moulvie Mohamed Allum; Intizamoodoolak; Moulvie Syud Abdool Hussain; Moulvie Syud Aulli Ahmud; Assud Ally Khan; Moulvie Nawab Jan; Moonsee Mohamed Murdan Alli Khan; Khajah Wujeed Jan, Moulvie Zoolfukur Ally; Moulvie Syud Busharut Ally; Meer Mohamed Ismael; Moulvie Kulleemon Ruhman; Meer Ufzul Hossain.

On His Excellency Lord Mayo coming to the hall, where they were assembled, Moulvie Abdool Lutteef introduced to His Excellency the Vice President and members of the committee of management, and other noblemen and gentlemen that were present. He then read the following address, and in doing so made the following remarks.

I regret much to inform your Excellency that the President of our Society Kazeer Abdool Baree, is exceedingly indisposed, and therefore unable to do himself the honor of waiting on your Excellency on this occasion and he has desired me to inform your Excellency of the great regret he feels for it. He and other members of the Committee and Society have requested me to read the address and I do so with your Excellency's permission.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE

EARL OF MAYO VISCOUNT OF MONYCROWEL. BARON

NAAS OF NAAS, K. P. G. M. S. I. VICKROY AND

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

On behalf of the Mohamedan Literary Society of Calcutta, we beg to approach your Excellency to say a few words of welcome to their shores and to solicit from your Excellency a continuance of the countenance and favor which your Excellency's Predecessor extended to the Society, thereby increasing its sphere of influence and usefulness.

As may perhaps be already known to Your Excellency, the Society which we have the honor on this occasion to represent, is composed of Mohamedan Noblemen and Gentlemen of various ranks and professions from many of the Provinces of India British and Native; for though having its Head Quarters in Calcutta, the Society has succeeded in enlisting in active co-operation in its objects, the leading members of Mohamedan Society throughout Bengal and the Northwest Provinces and even of the Punjaub, Oudh, Rajpootana and the Deccan. And they have combined together for the purpose of promoting to the best of their ability, the growth of an inclination on the part of the rising generation of Mohamedans to share in the benefits of education and the means of general progress so freely held out by the British Government to all classes in the Empire. This the Society has undertaken to do by means of Lectures in Arabic, Persian and Oordoo, delivered at monthly meetings on subjects connected with Western Literature and Science or on select portions of Arabic and Persian Literature; selections from which Lectures are afterwards printed and circulated throughout the Country.

The Society has also had the advantage of Lectures in English delivered by English gentlemen of learning and ability, which have been interpreted to the audience in the Vernacular, and some of which have been illustrated by experiments. Lastly, the Society holds an annual *Conversazione* in the Town Hall, at which members and friends have the opportunity of meeting European gentlemen in friendly, rational intercourse, and of having their interest excited and attention directed to some of the most important physical Sciences of the West.

A consciousness of material progress and prosperity under the protection of the British Power is no doubt an essential element in the feeling of loyalty by which that Power is regarded by all its Indian Subjects : but the Society believes that education is the most essential agency by which that consciousness can be induced, and the Society strictly confines itself to the aid of educational efforts among the community for which it exists. As it thus endeavours as far as lies within its means to help the educational policy of the Government, we respectfully request that your Excellency will vouchsafe to it a continuance of the encouragement which has hitherto been bestowed upon it by your Predecessor.

His Excellency then made the following reply :—  
MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, NOBLEMEN, AND GENTLEMEN.

I thank you most sincerely for the words of welcome to the shores of India contained in your Address.

The objects for which your Society has been formed must always command the sympathy and support of every man who really desires the extension of education throughout the Queen's dominions in India.

Though it is the duty of Government to assist and encourage, by every means in its power, the progress of knowledge, yet it is to the independent efforts of the Natives of India themselves that we must mainly look for the most important results.

An organization, such as yours, commanding such

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE  
 EARL OF MAYO VISCOUNT OF MONTCROWER. BARON  
 NAAS OF NAAS, K. P. G. M. S. I. VICEROY AND  
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An organization, such as yours, commanding such

wide ramifications, and spreading over a large portion of the country' must have the effect of 'developing among thousands of your countrymen a desire not only for the study of Oriental Classics, but for a full acquaintance with the Literature of the west.

Most cordially, therefore, do I wish that your efforts may be crowned with success, and it will always be my duty to offer to you any encouragement or assistance which it is in my power to afford.

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ADDRESS TO LORD MAYO, BY THE MERCANTILE  
COMMUNITY OF RANGOON.

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The following address was presented to H. E. Lord Mayo at Rangoon a few days before his assassination:—

May it please your Excellency,—We the undersigned members of the mercantile community of Rangoon, beg to express our deep gratification at the visit of your Excellency to this important province, which will doubtless ever find a place in the history of British Burmah. At the same time we gladly avail ourselves of your Excellency's gracious permission to briefly recapitulate those measures which, we believe, would more immediately promote the commercial prosperity and moral and material well-being of this quarter of Her Majesty's dominions.

2. We have already submitted our humble memorial to your Excellency's Government, praying for the adoption of a Government standard measure for rice in British Burmah. The variations in the cubic capacity of the basket now in use are almost endless. Whilst the increase in the cultivation and exportation of rice has been most marvellous under British rule, the competition is no longer one of price, but one of misrepresentation and fraud as regards the basket. The boatmen are induced by the native brokers to sell

their cargoes of rice to some particular firm on the understanding that a small basket would be used as the measure, but, subsequently they often find that they have been deluded, and that they must either submit to a loss by using a larger basket or proceed to another broker and go through another round of trickery, which your memorialists are unable to check. This evil has been largely increased of late years, consequent on the magnitude of the trade; but it would be entirely removed by the introduction of a government basket as a standard measure, which should be compulsory upon all concerned in the trade in unhusked rice throughout British Burmah.

3. We would next respectfully invite your Excellency's attention to the subject of coolie immigration from India or elsewhere. Whilst the population is overflowing in many parts of India, Burmah has waste lands in abundance, and is in crying want of labour; but the immigration from India is carried on by native maistries and others, without any control from British authorities, and under a system which, as far as women are concerned, bears but too often a resemblance to slavery. Meantime the supply of coolies is utterly insufficient to meet the wants of the province. We would accordingly urge the extension to Burmah of the contract Law which prevails in Cachar, Sylhet, and Assam, under which coolie emigrants are sufficiently protected, whilst employers of labour are secured from loss.

4. The attention of your Excellency's Government has often been drawn to the exceptional export duty on rice, which amounts to about 14 per cent. on the value of the unhusked grain. We do not press for its repeal, but we would respectfully express the hope that on this account a larger grant may be made from the imperial treasury for the improvement of this province especially as regards embankments, roads, and canals.

5. We next venture to remind your Excellency that the large mercantile community of British Burmah are suffering from the want of a Bankruptcy Law, which would protect them from fraudulent debtors. We should prefer the extension of the Bankruptcy Act recently passed in England; but should this be deemed inexpedient by your Excellency's Government, we should pray that the Act now under consideration for British India may be extended to British Burmah.

6. We beg to express our humble hope that your Excellency's visit to Burmah may be speedily followed by the construction of a railway to Prome, as this measure will tend, perhaps more than any other, to extend the cultivation of waste lands and encourage further immigration into this sparsely-peopled territory.

7. Finally, we would submit for your Excellency's consideration that under existing arrangements both the local administration and the trading community of Rangoon are completely cut off from all telegraphic communication with the shipping in the bay, whilst the important port of Bassein is shut out from all telegraphic communication whatever. We should respectfully suggest that the most economic way of removing that evil would be to extend the wire from Henzadah through Bassein to Pagoda Point opposite Diamond Island and near Cape Negrais, where, if the communication were established, the shipping in the Bay of Bengal would undoubtedly make it a general part of call for orders.

8. Having thus brought our local wants to the attention of your Excellency, we beg also to express our admiration of your Excellency's wise administration, not only as it affects this province, but the whole of our Indian Empire. The peace and tranquillity which generally prevails throughout Her Majesty's Eastern Dominions and the States beyond the Frontier are mainly due to the firm and liberal policy which has hitherto characterised your Excellency's rule. The financial crisis which had grown somewhat alarming when your Excellency assumed the Viceroyalty has now, we believe, passed away; whilst, as affects ourselves, we are grateful to know that the affairs of this province have received a large attention from your Excellency's Government, as is evinced by measures to which we need not more particularly revert on the present occasion.

9. In conclusion, we take this opportunity to congratulate your Excellency upon being the first Viceroy of India who has favoured Burmah with a visit, and the first Governor-General who has landed in Burmah since the visit of the great Marquis of Dalhousie; and we would also express our fervent conviction that this auspicious event will prove of the utmost benefit to the loyal population of this province, and our equally fervent prayer that every blessing may attend the future lives of the Countess of Mayo and your Excellency, and those of the distinguished guests who have accompanied your Excellency on your voyage to these distant shores.—We remain with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servants.

Lord Mayo then addressed the deputation as follows  
Gentlemen— In thanking you most sincerely for the kindly terms in which you have addressed me, I beg to express to you my gratitude for the generous and warm reception I have met with here. It is most gratifying to witness how firmly British enterprise and industry are implanted in this land, and considering that so short a time has elapsed since Burmah has been annexed to our empire, it is wonderful to see how much has been done. A great future is in store for this country, when we recollect that out of 93,000 square miles only 3,000 are at present under cultivation. We can conceive what this great province will be when the effects of Western intelligence and enterprise are thoroughly developed throughout its wide limits. An answer has already been forwarded to your memorial of the 14th September last, regarding the standard measures to be employed in the buying and selling of rice. The memorial would have been replied to sooner, had it not been that the measure, which is now Act XXXI. of 1871 was being passed by the Legislative Council. you will find by that letter that the Government were prepared to meet the wishes of the memorialists to the utmost extent that the law permits.

The smallness of the population is one of the greatest difficulties under which the province now suffers. I shall at once consider with my colleagues whether it may not be possible by some such measure as you describe to stimulate immigration from the more populous portions of the empire, and even from foreign parts; but as you are aware experience has shown that the proper regulation of coolie emigration is one of the most difficult questions that can engage the attention of an Indian Government.

The construction of a railway to Prome has been for some time under the consideration of the Government. The information is now complete, but I have delayed coming to any final conclusion until after my visit to Burmah is concluded, and I have had an opportunity of hearing all that can be said upon the subject. I can only say that the matter has been the subject of most careful enquiry, and that shortly after my return to Calcutta, I shall be able to declare the decision of the Government on the subject.

I have no doubt that the mercantile community of British Burmah are, in common with several other communities in different parts of the empire, suffering from the want of a good Bankruptcy Law, but great difficulties are experienced in coming to any practical conclusion on the subject, arising principally from the difficulty of framing a measure which will equally be applicable to the larger towns and to the widely different state of things that are found in the rural districts.

The Government of India has done more for the establishment of good telegraphic communication than any Government in the world. Any well-devised plan for improving the telegraphic system in this province will be thankfully received, but I must remind you that we have arrived at that stage of telegraphic communication in India that it will be difficult to sanction any very large additions to our system unless there is a reasonable prospect of their becoming fairly remunerative.

The export-duty on grain is doubtless an impost which every Government would be desirous of removing. It would be manifestly improper for me immediately before the production of the Annual Budget, to enter into the discussion of a matter so nearly connected with the general finance of the empire as this is. All I can say is, that the subject is constantly in our minds, though I cannot believe, that the financial position of the country or the claims that are pressed for relief in other directions will enable us at present to propose the repeal of the rice-duties. I am happy to say that, under the influence of the measures that have been taken for the last three years, the finances of the country are daily becoming more and more sound, and I cannot but hope that when my hon'ble colleague, the Financial Member, presents in a few weeks his Annual Statement, he will be able to describe a fiscal position of increasing prosperity and unmistakable security.

I join most heartily in your wishes that under the good guidance of Providence this great province will rapidly but steadily advance, and that the firm establishment of British rule and the development of British enterprise may prove a lasting and unmixed blessing to the Burmese people.

For myself and Lady Mayo I may say that our visit to Burmah will always form one of the happiest recollections of our Indian career, and we shall never forget the warm-hearted kindness, welcome and hospitality, which have been so lavishly displayed towards us by every class in the province.

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LAST SPEECH OF LORD MAYO AT THE DURBAR  
IN RANGOON.

Officials and Gentlemen of British Burmah,—It gives me sincere gratification to meet you here today. I thank you not only for coming, but for the splendid and hearty reception you gave me on my arrival. This is the first time since India has become an integral part of the British Empire that a Viceroy has visited British Burmah, In doing honor to me you do honor to our Gracious Sovereign, who has sent me to represent Her Majesty and British Rule in this land. Let no man tell you that any change is likely to occur. Arracan, Pegu, and Tenasserim are British, and British they will remain for many generations of men ; but we rule you only for your good—we govern in order that you should live in peace, prosperity, and happiness—that you should be free to come and go—that whatever you possess should be secure—that all your rights should be preserved and your national customs and habits respected. In the Chief Commissioner and the officers under his control, you have men who will attend to your wants—who will administer strict justice, and endeavour in every way to increase the prosperity of all. In such duty they will always receive the warm support of the Viceroy and the Government of India. Whatever petitions you have presented will be carefully considered, and all representations that are made by you will be inquired into.

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BRAMHO MARRIAGE BILL.

The Bill, as it now framed, explained, and discussed by the powerful arguments of my honble friend, is necessary to relieve a portion of our fellow-

subjects from a distinct disability—I may say penalty—under which they labour. It is in thorough harmony with the fundamental principles under which this Government has been carried on, namely, complete and entire liberty and tolerance in respect of every religious sect in this Empire; and I cannot conceive that any one can have any valid objection to this Bill. On the part of Government I must say that we are determined to carry out this principle in this matter, and that we intend to relieve this or any other sect of our fellow-subject from the manifest disability under which they labour. Other religious sects in India have been similarly relieved, and no matter what reasons are brought to the contrary, I am prepared here to say that this Government will never consent to continue a state of the law which has the effect of imposing a severe disability upon a portion of our fellow-subjects, going possibly to the extent of making their wives concubines, their children bastards, and rendering the devolution of their property insecure. Therefore, as far as the principle is concerned, I may state the firm determination of the Government to enforce it in this matter. With regard to its details, the Bill as it now stands interferes in no way with the religious freedom or practice of any sect, be it new or old. I don't believe that the most orthodox Hindoo—a Hindoo who is most attached to his religion—would declare that persons who secede from that religion are to suffer disabilities with regard to marriage; in fact, if I am not very much mistaken it will be found in the earlier papers that have been published upon this subject that great Hindoo authorities have declared laws affecting the marriages of other persons other than those of the Hindoo creed, a matter of indifference to them, and that in the discussion of such measures they, as Hindoos, would have no concern.