THE EARLY LIFE AND EARLY GOVERNORSHIPS

OF SIR ARTHUR EDWARD KENNEDY

by

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Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy, G.C.M.G., C.B., was in many respects a typical British colonial governor of the nineteenth century. His family was a branch of the noble Kennedy family headed by the Scottish Earls of Cassillis. His immediate ancestors were country squires in long possession of an ample and prosperous estate at Cultra, County Down in Northern Ireland. They were directly connected by marriage with the families of the Earls of Enniskillen and of Londonderry. Like other great landowners in their region, the Kennedys were resident and "improving" landlords, efficiently conscious of their obligations to their dependents. They were a typical service family, marked by a high degree of mental and physical vigour. They were members of the Church of England and Ireland and were intensely loyal to the British connection. The younger sons attained to good rank in the navy, the army and the colonial service.

Arthur Edward was born at Cultra on April 9, 1809. He was brought up by pious and enlightened parents in a secure and happy home--the fifth child in a family of eleven children. He was educated at home by private tutor until 1823,
when at the age of fourteen he went up to Trinity College, Dublin, for a year of contact with his fellows. His formal education was the typical classicism of the early nineteenth century—a process decried today, but nevertheless an integral part of a whole system that was highly effective for his class. The main effect of his youth was by its security to develop in him an assurance of the worth of his own ideas, a confident and gracious bearing, and a true kindliness.

During his youth and young manhood, Arthur was influenced by several strong currents of thought that showed plainly in his later life. His class assumed that it was possessed of a monopoly of political wisdom. His outlook was therefore never democratic. Rather was it inspired by a belief that he was responsible for the welfare of people placed under his care. His region and his family were Tory. He became a Conservative in politics— influenced by the liberalism of his age. The basic influence of his childhood was the sturdy independence of the country squire—carried down to him from his eighteenth century ancestors by oft- repeated maxims. Arthur always held a firm belief in the virtue of self-reliance. He readily absorbed the policy of laissez-faire.

Another major influence on his life was the strong force of Evangelical religion. It not only reinforced his
family training in pious, upright and honourable conduct, but also helped to produce a certain narrow intensity and an intolerance of other opinion when he was sure that any chosen course of action was basically right. It possibly contributed to his habit of blunt statement of his belief or opinion. The strong humanitarianism predominant in the United Kingdom during his youth joined with Evangelicalism to produce in him a true feeling of brotherhood towards subject native peoples, a solicitude for the welfare of the African negro, a sincere interest in prison reform and the rehabilitation of convicts, a determination to curb the evils of liquor traffic and a desire to foster Bible societies and the Sunday school movement.

Yet Arthur Kennedy was a typical product of his age in that his ideas were a product of compromise. Though he was never a radical in outlook, it is probable that he was influenced to some extent by Benthamite proposals so vigorously advanced during the period of his youth. Certainly his attitude toward education was broader than that of the average Evangelical. That attitude was to result in enlightened, practical and effective action for the establishment of common non-sectarian schools. He likewise gave strong support to mechanics' institutes and literary institutes.

One of the finest products of the enlightenment of
his childhood home was a sincere religious tolerance.

In 1827 Arthur entered the army as an ensign in the
27th (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot. In the same year
he transferred to the 11th Regiment of Foot because that
unit suddenly had the prospect of active service in
defence of the liberty of Portugal. The hope was dis-
appointed and his regiment spent ten years of garrison duty
in the Ionian isles. At the beginning of 1838, however, it
was hurried to North America to suppress any further out-
break of rebellion in the Canadas and to ward off any attack
from across the American border. At the beginning of 1839
Great Britain and the United States were brought very close
to war over the Maine-New Brunswick boundary. The 11th
Regiment was moved into the disputed territory and was there
in the Madawaska forests during this dispute until its
settlement in March. At that time Lieutenant Kennedy returned
to Britain to be married. On the return of the 11th Regiment
to the United Kingdom in 1840, he sold out and purchased a
captaincy, unattached, on half-pay. For a time he entered
imperial politics in the election campaign of 1841. However,
when it appeared again that war might break out with the
United States, he purchased a captaincy in a regiment that
was being moved to strengthen the British army in North
America, the 68th Regiment of Light Infantry. He was des-
tined, however, to serve till 1844 in simple garrison duty
in Canada.

Kennedy was always interested in politics. During his army service in New Brunswick and in Canada, he had his one opportunity to observe colonial governors in action before he in turn became a governor. In the main he observed men—Sir John Harvey, Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Metcalfe—who succeeded in uniting the functions of chief minister with that of governor. On the whole he saw successful opposition to the adoption of responsible government. In all the governors he observed, except Sir Charles Bagot, he saw men who successfully implemented their determination that the function of the governor was to govern. It is probable that these examples had a distinct bearing on his own ideas. He was always to prefer the more authoritative forms of government.

His army experience was likewise instrumental in turning his mind toward a belief in the value of prompt punishment for any offence. Yet his officer's code deepened his habit of paternal care for the welfare of those placed under his charge. The sum of the influences of his army period on Kennedy was to reinforce his aptitude for crisp and efficient action and to deepen his tendency toward imperiousness.

It was on May 18, 1839, that Arthur Kennedy married
Georgina Macartney—daughter of a family very similar to his own. They had three children, Elizabeth, born in Montreal in 1842, Arthur, born in London in 1845, and Georgina, born in Ireland in 1846.

In 1846 Captain Kennedy entered the humane service of relief of distress during the Irish famine. Early in 1847 he was a supervising inspector of relief measures under Sir John Burgoyne. From the fall of 1847 to 1851 he was a Poor Law inspector in Kilrush, County Clare, where he was responsible for the welfare of some eighty thousand people. In this service he faced danger of smallpox or fever, threats or actual attack on his person with equal indifference. Efficient in the management of his union, he demanded efficiency from his subordinates or ruthlessly drove them from the system. He was tireless and self-sacrificing in the service of the deserving poor. Yet he was determined that all able-bodied men should rely on their own exertions. When it became necessary to give them relief, he did so only in the work-house, and there he saw to it that they gave full return in hard work. His action was wisely based on his firm belief in the value of self-reliance. In this efficient union a larger part of expenditure was made for the benefit of those really in need of help than in any other union in this most distressed part of Ireland. Thereafter his memory was held in affectionate regard.
In 1852 Arthur Kennedy was made governor of the negro colony of Sierra Leone. His regime was marked by encouragement of education. It was notable also for the first organized attention to sanitary reform that the colony had known—minor in degree but in advance of the age. The work was carried on not by the state, but by a voluntary improvement society under Kennedy's leadership. The governor ruthlessly suppressed the vicious practice of selling apprenticed negro children to slavers just outside the colony—an abuse that had been the despair of his predecessors. There was some suspicion among his detractors that he had used arbitrary methods in achieving this desirable end.

Sierra Leone depended on trade. Kennedy's management of trade regulations was characterized by a high degree of administrative skill. His handling of finances was likewise admirable. His flair for courtly language and ceremony, coupled with a true feeling of brotherhood with the negro, made him successful in handling complicated extra-territorial relations. As a result of that success a rich trading region, the Sherbro country, was brought into closer relations with Britain—and in due course became part of the colony. While the governor was just and friendly in his dealings with nearby native chiefs, he was firm in his demands for reparation in the one instance when a British subject was seriously wronged during his regime. This union of courtesy, just dealing and
firmness made his handling of relations with nearby tribes a real success. British prestige was thereby increased and trade improved. In spite of the importance of all trade relations, the governor refused to use money from the colonial treasury to build a wharf for the ships of the African Steamship Company and thereby earned some unpopularity from the ship captains of that powerful company.

In Sierra Leone as elsewhere, Governor Kennedy was notable for his reverent attendance at the services of the Church of England. In this colony he sat with equanimity under a negro clergyman.

In this colony the form of government made the governor supreme. He had sole charge of executive affairs and his Legislative Council was entirely appointive, consisting mainly of highly competent negro officials. These men were extremely loyal to Britain because of their gratitude for that country's blows against the slave trade. Their tendency was to be almost excessively deferential to the Queen's representative. The courtesy with which Governor Kennedy treated them, not only in official matters but in social affairs also, must have deepened their disposition to agree with his opinions and decisions with little debate. Sierra Leone proved to be the very type of colony in which Kennedy could most successfully improve the interests of the people
and of the empire. Yet this experience tended to ingrain more deeply into him his early tendencies to dominance and to forthright statement of his opinion on every matter. These qualities of vigorous domination of any situation were shown as he returned home on the steamship *Forerunner*. When the ship was wrecked by the master's incompetent handling, the forceful governor controlled a panic-stricken crew and saved many lives.

In 1855 Captain Kennedy was appointed to the governorship of the struggling colony of Western Australia. Handicapped by a mistaken land policy at its foundation, and further hampered by the application of the Wakefield land system when it was too late, this colony had been the scene of continued gloom and economic depression. In 1850 the system of transportation of convicts to this colony had been accepted in the hopes that the accompanying large imperial expenditures and assisted free immigration would bring prosperity. However, the impact of these expenditures, in the absence of increased production, resulted in such a high rate of importation that the colony plunged into a new depression. In that situation the influx of assisted free immigration was an embarrassment. It was necessary to establish the dole and to ask that immigration be stopped. The colonial treasury was in as bad shape as the economic condition of the people. In 1855, when Kennedy arrived, there were no funds available to pay the salaries
of the officials, and the colony was deep in debt. Moreover, the imperial government, in view of its large expenditures in the colony for convicts, had just put into force a reduction of grants in aid of government. Thus the new governor arrived when the people were in a surly mood of anger against a poor land system, an authoritative form of government and the failure of heavy imperial expenditures on convicts to cure the financial ills of the colony.

Governor Kennedy met the financial bankruptcy of Western Australia with vigorous ruthlessness. He cut down the number of government employees, reduced expenditures, demanded work in return for the dole, and forced his appointive Legislative Council to agree to measures of greatly increased taxation. Although he was met with hatred for these stern measures, he succeeded in bringing the colony's decline to a halt.

Kennedy's unpopularity was increased when he turned his attention to the evils of the liquor traffic. He saw that one of the most harmful features of this trade was the possession of licences by conditionally pardoned convicts who used their position to draw ticket-of-leave men into trouble and then blackmail them. Although the only condition of their pardon was that they might not return to the United Kingdom, Kennedy pushed through a law denying conditional
pardon men the right to hold liquor licences. In this action he had the support of the leaders of his church, but his enemies rightly marked it as an arbitrary withdrawal of the rights of free men. This feature of the law was not confirmed by the home government.

The efficient but unloved governor had in the meantime turned his attention to positive measures for bringing prosperity. Under his careful supervision his efficient Executive Council worked well and successfully to devise a completely new land system, the only one that had ever given general satisfaction in this colony. In a new spirit of confidence the people began to take up farming and pastoral lands. The governor had in the meantime been pushing forward a systematic policy of exploration for good pastoral land. This policy was successful. A great new area of suitable land was discovered in the northwest. Within a decade these vigorous and well-planned measures were to bring to Western Australia the first prosperity it had ever known.

Still Kennedy was not popular. The reason anger was stirred so strongly against him was his stubborn adherence to any policy once marked out by careful investigation. He had clashed with vested interests over liquor licences. He came into conflict with vested interests again when he tried
to bring lightermen in the ports under more efficient regulation. His greatest unpopularity was occasioned when he wisely refused to build a railway for the benefit of a private copper mining company. The governor made his decision on the basis of unduly fluctuating prices for copper on world markets. However, his enemies were able to stir up great anger against him because there was now a fat surplus in the colonial treasury, and his refusal to build the railway was regarded as parsimonious.

Kennedy had other plans for that surplus. Without bothering to consult his Legislative Council, he spent it on a great programme of public works. Moreover, he earmarked a like sum from the revenues of the next year, although his term of office was up. His successor was forced to follow along the lines Kennedy had laid down and to regularize his domineering action. Yet the colony in the new prosperity brought by Kennedy's wise measures was well able to afford these well-planned expenditures.

One of the finest aspects of Kennedy's administration was his supervision of the convict system. The colonists did not like his policy because they rightly charged that he thought first in terms of imperial interest. He refused to use the convict labour to build many great public buildings for the use of the colonists. Instead, he kept the convicts away from the towns. His policy—in which he had the close
cooperation of a humane and efficient comptroller of
convicts—was as quickly as possible to get the convicts
out of prison into work on road-building and land-clearing,
and from there into private employment on ticket-of-leave.
During this period of ticket-of-leave the men had strict
supervision but were given every encouragement to succeed.
This policy of trying to rehabilitate men by the healing
power of hard work in the open country was one of true
vision.

Arthur Kennedy’s governorship of Western Australia
was marked by his imperious acceptance of the responsibility
laid on his shoulders by an authoritative system of govern-
ment. His tendency to dominance made him unpopular. Yet
this man not only brought the colony into full stride of the
only prosperity it had ever known, but his wise superinten-
dence of the convict system gave to those convicts a greater
chance to succeed in their new home. That was a gift of
great worth to the colony.

In 1862 Arthur Edward Kennedy was rewarded for his
successful governorship of Western Australia by the order of
Companion of the Bath. We see him at that time, still in the
first part of his career as a colonial governor, enlightened,
humane, efficient and upright, but marked by a stubborn ad-
herence to his own plans and by a tendency to imperiousness
that had been deeply ingrained in his character by the nature
of his early governorships.
CORRECTIONS

p. 10 - n.2 - Change Nicolls to Nichols
p. 86 - n.1 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 100 - n.1 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 151 - 1.15 - Change conformed to confirmed
p. 177 - 1.3 - Change Hubert to Herbert
p. 201 - n.5 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 203 - n.3 - Underline Edinburgh Review
p. 207 - n.3 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 249 - n.3 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 284 - n.2 - Strike out apostrophe after Governor
p. 441 - n.7 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 442 - 1.8 - Change Alsbury to Albury
p. 452 - 1.2 - Change Alsbury to Albury
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Arthur Edward Kennedy was Governor of Vancouver Island from 1864 to 1866. It was a period of economic depression and of conflict over issues raised before he arrived. An attempt to study that governorship and Kennedy's contribution to the important events of the period, especially those leading up to the union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1866, showed that a fair estimate of Governor Kennedy could not be made without an understanding of his early life and career previous to this governorship. This study was undertaken to make a contribution to that understanding.

A major part of the research was done at the Provincial Library and Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, B.C. Mr. Willard Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, and his staffs, have given ready and capable assistance at all times. Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Archivist, and Miss Marjorie Holmes, Assistant Provincial Librarian, have placed every facility at the disposal of this study. Mrs. Christine Fox has given quick, competent and cheerful help over a long period. Especial thanks are due to the staff of this library for the securing of many books and materials by inter-library loan.

Sincere thanks are also extended to Miss Mabel Lanning and Miss Anne M. Smith of the Library at the University of
British Columbia; to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, for making investigation at the Public Record Office in London on behalf of the writer; to Major F. V. Longstaff for his kindness in making accessible many sources not available in public libraries; to Dr. J. S. Battye, Principal Librarian and Secretary of the Public Library of Western Australia, for gracious provision of special information; and to the many other librarians who have always been so ready to help.

The Kennedy family has been most helpful and grateful thanks are extended to Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia; Mr. Robert Day Kennedy, Krugersdorp, Union of South Africa; Miss Maud Kennedy of Cultra; and Mr. Arthur Edward Kennedy Bunnell of Toronto, Ontario.

Kindest thanks are extended to Mrs. F. M. Kennedy and to Mr. Bruce A. McKelvie for pictures.

If some degree of historical balance has been achieved in this study, it is largely due to the wise and friendly guidance of Dr. Walter N. Sage, Professor and Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia.

Grateful thanks are extended to my wife, Katharine, for her support and assistance in this work.

H.C.G.

Victoria, B. C.,
September 1951.

Frontispiece
North-eastern Ireland is separated from Scotland by only twenty miles of water, a narrow channel that has offered but slight barrier to a movement of Scots into Ulster. In this chapter we are going to follow the story of a Scottish family from the time of its seventeenth century migration into County Down. Ideas and values absorbed from country, class, group and changing events will be sought out in that story and we shall try to discover how they have been passed on from generation to generation. In the end we may hope to disclose the deep group and family roots of thought and action of one of this region's nineteenth century sons, Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy, G.C.M.G., C.B.,--a typical colonial governor of the Victorian era.

Scottish migration into Ulster began to flow vigorously during Tudor times. When the final violent period of Elizabeth's conquest was brought to a close, the north-eastern counties of Antrim and Down were quite thickly settled by Scottish families. This stream of incoming Scotsmen increased in the years following the accession of James I to the throne of England. There was place for them on the confiscated and war-wasted estates, which

1 Dunlop, Robert, Ireland from the earliest times to the present day, London, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 43-45, 69-71, and 89-90.
could now be distributed among the king's most trusted servants. Such a one was James Hamilton of Bangor, County Down, who had been sent there by the king long before the death of Elizabeth to ascertain what would be the attitude of the Irish to his succession. Hamilton was rewarded for his services by being created Viscount Clandeboye and was granted lands along the fertile southern shores of Belfast Lough. This grant included the lovely estate of Cultra, which will presently have the centre of our attention because it was to become the home of the Kennedy family and Arthur Edward's birthplace.

These early grants were followed by a steady natural flow of population from Scotland into Antrim and Down. In 1609 there began a carefully organized plantation of the other northern counties. This influx of people into the whole of Ulster was not a mere importation of foreign landlords as were the settlements in southern Ireland. Here into the north-east, which is a natural region somewhat separated by geography from the rest of the island, there was a movement of every class of society, which resulted in the establishment of a self-contained community so securely rooted in the new soil

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as to survive many perils and set-backs. At the same time
large numbers of Presbyterian ministers, disgusted at the
restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, took refuge in
Ulster. Their earnest work discouraged intermarriage with
the native Irish Roman Catholics and thus the Protestant
character of the plantation was firmly fixed.

This separation of peoples, imposed on the wide con-
fiscations of James I, kept open among native Irishmen a
wound of resentment. When there was added, in mid-
seventeenth century, a fear that the Puritan Parliament of
England was going to suppress the Roman Catholic religion,
Ulster flamed again into violent rebellion. This uprising
of 1641 soon spread throughout Ireland. Eleven years
later, when bitter strife was brought to a close by the
victories of Cromwell, the Puritan Parliament determined to
dispossess all the native population in Munster, Leinster
and Ulster. Those Irish landowners who could prove that
they had not participated in opposition to Parliamentary
forces were allowed to take land in distant Connaught and
Clare. The only Irish Catholics left in Ulster were land-
less peasants, who became tenants or labourers on the
confiscated lands. Their lands were given to Cromwellian
soldiers or sold to immigrants from Britain. This ruthless
settlement was followed by an acceleration of immigration

1 Shearmen, Hugh, Ulster, London, Robert Hale Limited,

2 Dunlop, Ireland from the earliest times to the
  present day, pp. 90-91.
from Scotland into north-eastern Ireland. In course of time a large part of the population in this region was made up of Protestant Scots, essentially British in their attachments and ways of thought.

It was during this third quarter of the seventeenth century, when Scottish migration into Ulster was going on apace, that the founder of the Irish Kennedy family, Hugh Kennedy, M.D., moved from Ayrshire to settle in Ballycultra, County Down. He was a member of one branch of the noble Kennedy family of Ayrshire, the Earls of Cassillis, who proudly traced their lineage to that Sir James Kennedy who had married Princess Mary Stewart,

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1 Shearman, Hugh, Anglo-Irish relations, London, Faber and Faber, 1948, p. 19.

2 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H. C. Gilliland, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, February 18, 1949 and April 17, 1949, enclosure. During a visit to Cultra Manor in 1948 Mrs. Kennedy made a search through the family records. Her findings show that Dr. Hugh Kennedy moved from Ayrshire to Cultra in 1668. This date, 1668, is confirmed by Miss Maud Kennedy of Cultra in a note contained in a letter, Mr. Robert Day Kennedy to H. C. G., The School of Mines, Canborne, England, May 7, 1949. (Ballycultra means territory or place of Cultra.)

3 Burke, Sir Bernard, A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland, London, Harrison and Sons, 1912, p. 366.
daughter of Robert III of Scotland. From a study of Burke's Peerage and Gibbs' Complete Peerage it would appear that Dr. Hugh Kennedy must have been a grandson of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, County Ayr, who was second son of the third Earl of Cassillis. In 1762 the title moved into this branch of the family and Hugh's great-grandson, John, was a claimant for the earldom.

The coast of Belfast Lough, where Dr. Hugh Kennedy chose to settle, was by this time thickly populated with Scottish families. He therefore found himself speedily at home. He had married Mary, daughter of Arthur Upton, who was probably that noted Presbyterian leader, the Arthur Upton of Castle Upton at Carrickfergus, County

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3 vol. 3, pp. 79-80.
4 See below p.33.
5 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
Antrim, just across Belfast Lough from Cultra. A sturdy royalist and an outstanding leader of the Presbyterians of his area in royalist causes, Upton stubbornly survived both the displeasure of the Cromwellians and that of the Irish Parliament of James II, the latter because of his active support of William III. Since the Restoration he had been a member of the Irish Parliament, where he continued to hold his seat for forty years. Family influence continuing to be strong, his grandson, Clotworthy Upton, became Baron Templetown in 1776; and in 1806 John Henry Upton was in turn promoted to the Viscountcy of Templetown.

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, April 17, 1949, enclosure. Mrs. Kennedy says it was this Arthur Upton. The family records she consulted at Cultra included an incomplete family tree written by Charles Kennedy, son of Langford Kennedy (who was Arthur Edward's uncle). These family records prove to have more detail than the general genealogical histories which give name and marriage details of only the eldest of Arthur Upton's eight sons and show no data concerning his ten daughters. (See Stephen, Sir Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney, editors, *The dictionary of national biography*, London, Oxford University Press, since 1917, 22 volumes, vol. 20, pp. 38-39.) The time of this Arthur Upton's life, the nearness of his home to Cultra and the large number of daughters he had to marry off, all tend to confirm Mrs. Kennedy's findings.


3 Burke’s *peerage*, 1938, p. 2398
This third quarter of the seventeenth century, when Dr. Hugh Kennedy was thus establishing a family in Ulster, was a prosperous time for that region. It was prosperous in spite of the English Parliament's adherence to the current economic theory that the interests of a dependency must be subordinated to those of England. Even though England refused to admit products of Ireland's pastoral industry and, by her Navigation Acts excluded Ireland from the colonial market, Europe was open to Irish manufactures. The eastern counties of Ireland therefore saw a great increase of manufacturing, which brought employment and prosperity to thousands of people. That the Kennedys shared in this prosperity is shown by the fact that in 1671 they were able to purchase the fertile estate of Cultra from the Earl of Clanbrassil (Viscount Clandeboye). They settled this property at once on their young son, John, who was their third, his brothers having died in early childhood. This first Kennedy of Cultra was Arthur Edward's great-great grandfather.

In 1671 the estate of Cultra was much larger than it is now. Today the property, still in possession of the

3 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., April 17, 1949 enclosure.
4 Loc. cit. Mrs. Kennedy says that a large part of the property was sold to the railway company by Sir Arthur's sister-in-law after her husband died. The money was devoted to improvement of the remaining estate.
Kennedy family, comprises nine hundred acres, the demesne itself consisting of one hundred twenty acres. As the map facing page 9 shows, this estate lies on the southern shore of Belfast Lough some six miles east of Belfast and two miles east of the ancient town of Holywood. The great woods which had formerly clothed this shore had been felled long before John Kennedy became possessed of Cultra, for all the rich forests of Antrim and Down had been cut in Elizabethan times and the timber sent to England. Under the competent management of the Kennedys, however, many parts of the property were replanted until it again became a beautifully wooded area. For many miles beyond Holywood this fertile plain, pleasingly varied by gentle undulations, soon became dotted with other similarly well-managed and beautiful estates. With pleasant sunny slopes behind and a fine view of the hills of Antrim across the inlet, Cultra was happily situated on a picturesque coast.

1 Robert Day Kennedy to H.C.G., Cultra Manor, Craigavad, County Down, January 10, 1949. Robert Day Kennedy is the great-grandson of Sir Arthur and is present head of the family. Mrs. F. M. Kennedy is his mother.

2 Pronounced "Hollywood".


5 Ibid., pp. 653-654.
Along this shore passed the main road from Belfast to Bangor and on to Donaghadee, which was sixteen miles from Belfast and a most important port because of its nearness to Scotland. Cultra was consequently well placed both for pleasant contact with main centres of population and for disposal of the products of its farms. Its nearness to Belfast and its easy communications were important factors in the steady prosperity of the Kennedys.

Because of the northern latitude and rainy climate of this region, its chief grain crop was oats, and oatmeal the main food of the people. Interspersed among oat fields and pastures were occasional fields of flax, lovely bright green waving fields starred with delicate blue flowers. While flax had been cultivated and linen cloth made from remote times in Ireland, it was not until this late seventeenth century that it began to be of importance. All this area close to Belfast, because of its light friable soil and equable oceanic climate, was in the next century to see a great increase in the production of flax. It was essentially a small farmer's crop, hand-sown to get a close growth that would produce tall stems and long fibres; and cleaned, pulled, steeped, and even scutched by the farmer, his wife and children. This work was light and agreeable


2 Praeger, F. L., "The County of Down" in Ulster, the official publication of the Ulster Tourist Development Association, Limited, Belfast, Wm. W. Cleland, Ltd. 1936, pp. 159 and 168.
and the product was of high value.

Like their landlords, the farmers along the southern shore of Belfast Lough were of Scottish origin. Their Ayrshire dialect, sandy complexions, frequent redheads, tartan shawls and neat well-mended clothing all bore testimony to the likeness of this population to that of the Scottish lowlands a short distance away.

The common Scottish origin of many of the gentry and the fact that their estates were close together, helped to make their existence an agreeable one. There were visits and parties. Not far from Cultra Manor was the estate of Mount Stewart, which had been established by Alexander Stewart, son of William Stewart of Ballylawn Castle, County Donegal. It was probably on a visit to Mount Stewart that John Kennedy met Martha, Alexander's sister. In a country where family ties were close and of high political significance, John's marriage to Martha Stewart was to be of great importance to the Kennedys in succeeding generations. The

1 Charley, William, Flax, p. 130.

2 Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S. C., Ireland, its scenery, character, and history, Francis A; Nicolls and Company, Boston, 1911, six volumes, vol. 4, pp. 274-276.

3 See map facing page 9.


Stewarts were influential throughout the north, and Martha's nephew was to become first Earl of Londonderry, a powerful person in his own right, but perhaps better known as the father of the famous Viscount Castlereagh. Claiming a proud lineage of their own, the Kennedys were now linked by marriage to two other important families, the Uptons and the Stewarts. These families were one day to become strong supporters of the Irish Government in troubled political times. A basis was thus being laid for social and political alignments of Kennedys in years to come.

Meantime, one of the most stirring events in the life of this great-great grandfather of Arthur Edward Kennedy was the sturdy resistance of the Ulster gentry to the armies of James II—a glorious episode summed up in the names Londonderry, Enniskillen and the Boyne. When William III landed in the trusty Upton town of Carrickfergus, just across the inlet from Cultra Manor, and moved on to Belfast on that night in 1690 two weeks before the Boyne, all the loyal hills of Cultra blazed with welcoming fires.

However, the period following the Glorious Revolution was a hard one for Ireland, which had already been denied access to the English market for some of her products and


completely barred from trade with the colonies. Commercial influence, stronger than ever in the councils of England, was now able to compel a controlled Irish Parliament to impose heavy taxes on the export of woollens. English woollen manufacturers were thus protected at the cost of complete ruin for the industry which had been the mainstay of the Protestant population in Ireland. Meantime, the wealthier and more energetic parts of the Roman Catholic population were broken or forced into exile by penal laws imposed by the Irish Parliament—laws which hampered their ownership of land and had the effect of discouraging tillage. The result of all these forces was to inaugurate a period of great poverty and misery over most of Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century.

The third of the Irish Kennedys, Arthur Edward's great grandfather, who was called Hugh after his grandfather, therefore found his lot cast in a dark period. And yet his part of Ireland was the one section of the country that was not plunged into outright misery. While most of Ireland's land reverted to pasturage, agriculture was kept alive in


2 Ibid., pp. 131-133.

3 He lived from 1711 to 1763. *Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G.*, November 13, 1949, enclosure.
the areas near Belfast by a gradually increasing linen industry.

Encouragement of Ireland's linens was England's return for protection of her own woollens. Irish linen cloth was therefore admitted freely into England and the coarser linens could be exported directly to colonial markets. In addition the English Government assisted the industry by giving export bounties. The Irish Parliament likewise offered aid. It fostered settlement in northern Ireland of skilful French refugees, who brought better methods of manufacture. Spinning schools were also opened in every county and prizes were offered for the best linens. Under the influence of these measures the industry in the north gradually forged ahead. It was still a domestic manufacture carried on in the homes of the peasantry by women and children, its income supporting a continuance of tillage by the men. The cottages of Cultra and its neighbouring estates once again had their roofs neatly thatched and their walls made bright with whitewash. By the middle of the eighteenth century all the region around Belfast was marked by many improvements, by growing traffic, and by wealth and prosperity.

1 Lecky, *Ireland in the eighteenth century*, vol. 1, pp. 124 and 229.

2 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 178-183.

3 Ibid., p. 338
In common with other landlords in his area Hugh Kennedy therefore rejoiced in a great increase in the value of his property and his income. In 1741, as times were growing more prosperous, he married Mabel, daughter of John Curtis and sister of John Curtis of Mount Hanover, County Meath.  

The early Kennedys had been Presbyterians and the first two heads of the Irish family had married daughters of Presbyterian families. However, only a few of the landowning families in Ulster were of that faith, the great majority of the gentry being members of the established church. Providing that the Kennedys married within the ascendant class (and they always did) the introduction of a problem of divided religious loyalty was inevitable. Now it is clear that at some point in its early history the Kennedy family changed to the established church. Arthur Edward Kennedy himself was an Anglican, and there are baptismal records in the Anglican Church at Holywood to indicate that his father's family were members of that church.

1 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 2, 1864, p. 3.
4 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 4, 1864, p. 3.
5 The Reverend E. S. Barber to the writer, The Vicarage, Holywood, County Down, January 22, 1949. The records there begin in 1808, records of the Cultra area before 1806 having been destroyed by fire in Dublin.
Moreover, an old family book, now in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, indicates that the early family tombs were in St. Michael's Church in Dublin, which belonged to the established faith.

It is probable that the family change from Presbyterianism to the Church of Ireland was made rather early in the eighteenth century. Dissenters were subject to irritating disabilities in Ireland. Not only had the operation of the Toleration Act been withheld from Ireland, but in 1704 a test clause in an Irish Act excluded Presbyterians from holding office under the Crown and made their marriages irregular unless celebrated by an Episcopalian clergyman. Although Presbyterians were not prevented from open celebration of their worship, they were subject to frequent denunciation by the clergymen of the established church. Presbyterian pulpits in return thundered against the idolatry of episcopacy. Another factor that complicated the issue for the Kennedys as property holders was the strong influence gained by the Presbyterian ministers and their lay elders over the peasantry.

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, April 17, 1949. In 1948 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy and Miss Maud Kennedy of Cultra went to Dublin to search for these family tombs and for baptismal records. They found that the early St. Michael's had been destroyed by fire and with it both tombs and records. Compare the letter from Rev. E. S. Barber, footnote, p. 14. (There are two Anglican churches of St. Michael in Dublin today.)

in this region. This hold now grew so strong that landlords became apprehensive lest their almost patriarchal ascendency over their tenants should be undermined.

Consideration of family peace and of control over their tenants were not, however, the main reasons causing many Presbyterians to move into the established church at this time. It was rather the introduction into the former faith in many parts of Ulster of semi-Arian beliefs which denied the doctrine of the Trinity. When in 1726 the Anti-Trinitarian New Light Movement caused open schism in the Presbyterian body, many people who were scandalized at these new doctrines took refuge in the Church of Ireland. It seems highly probable, in view of all the above circumstances, that Hugh Kennedy was a member of this more orthodox group. Certainly the appointment of his son and grandson to office under the Crown indicates that they attended communion in the established church, for it was not until 1780 that abrogation of the Test Clause


3 Stephen and Lee, *DNB*, vol. 10, p. 1308. One of the leading Presbyterian ministers who continued to fight the unorthodox doctrine from within that church was a Gilbert Kennedy, author in 1721 of an able pamphlet, *The new light in a clear light*.

4 See below, pp. 21 and 49.
permitted dissenters once again to hold public office.

As we have seen, the Kennedys were not alone in this transition to the established church. Nor in Ulster was it a truly fundamental change. The Church of Ireland, aside from the fact that it was episcopal, had in that province tended to adopt Calvinist doctrines closely approaching those of the Presbyterian Church. In view of the radical doctrines now being so widely adopted in the latter church, the Church of Ireland was a natural haven for those of more orthodox outlook.

Like the members of this family in general, Hugh and Mabel Kennedy probably had several children, but we have records of only two of them. A daughter, Maria, married John Crawford of Crawfordsburn. Crawfordsburn was another beautiful estate some five miles eastward along the shore from Cultra. When Hugh and Mabel had their first son in


2 Shearman, Hugh, Anglo-Irish relations, pp. 25 and 36.

3 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 141.
1746, they called him John in the usual alternation between two favoured names. This John Kennedy of Cultra, Arthur Edward's grandfather, was a happy, intelligent and vigorous lad. In 1763 at the early age of seventeen he came into possession of Cultra, "a clear and ample estate which he made his constant home surrounded by a happy tenantry".  

From the fact that the family tombs were in Dublin, it is evident that the Kennedys, like other members of the ascendant class in the eighteenth century, were beginning to form close ties with that busy second city of the empire. However, it was not until the beginning of the next century that this family began to send its sons to Trinity College, Dublin. In the eighteenth century there was still too strong a link with the family's ancient homeland. Young

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1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, April 17, 1949, enclosure, which gives John's dates as 1746-1801. Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366, gives the date of his death as 1802. However, independent records in another branch of the family confirm Mrs. Kennedy's records: Mr. A. E. K. Bunnell to H.C.G., 880 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario, October 5, 1950, enclosure (copy of a clipping which gives the date of John's death as December 28, 1801.)

2 Mr. A. E. K. Bunnell to H.C.G., loc. cit.

3 See above p. 15.

4 See below p. 65.
John Kennedy therefore went to Glasgow University. In due course he was graduated with its usual degree of Master of Arts.

At Glasgow University Kennedy must have been brought into contact with its then prevalent rationalistic spirit of revolt against Church authority and Church dogma. That he did not accept this radical outlook, but rather chose adherence to the established church, is evident from his acceptance of office under the Crown. On his return to Ireland he was made a Justice of the Peace, and in 1769, at the early age of twenty-three, he was appointed High Sheriff of County Down. Thus the line of family thought and action was beginning to conform more and more closely to the typical pattern of Ireland's ascendant class: membership in the established church, an awakening interest in political affairs and a strong readiness to support the British connection in all times of stress. It will be shown in due course that John Kennedy's entry into public office in 1769 was a highly significant step.

This trend of family affiliation was further strengthened by John Kennedy's marriage to Elizabeth Cole, daughter of the

1 Burke, *Landed gentry of Ireland*, p. 366.


Reverend Henry Cole, whose father was member of the Irish Parliament for Enniskillen, and whose brother, John Cole, had been raised to the peerage as first Lord Mount Florence on the accession of George III in 1760. The Coles were strong supporters of the hard-pressed government in Dublin Castle, and Elizabeth Kennedy's first cousin, William Cole, second Lord Mount Florence, was in due course to receive two promotions in the peerage in recognition of that effective support. In 1776 he was made Viscount Enniskillen and in 1789 he was elevated to the Earldom of Enniskillen.

John Kennedy was "peculiarly blessed in his wise selection of merit with beauty". Elizabeth Kennedy, Arthur Edward's grandmother, was ten years younger than her husband. She lived till Arthur Edward was eighteen, deeply loved by her many children and grandchildren for her piety and Christian fortitude, for her bright cheerfulness, her sweetness of disposition and her affability of manner. She was a woman of remarkable intelligence and of great beauty, untarnished by pride or vanity. This intelligent and

1 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
2 Burke's peerage, 1938, pp. 950-591.
3 Ibid., p. 951.
beautiful woman was an equal mate for her able and vigorous husband. It is evident that Cultra was a place of great happiness under the guidance of this contented and kindly couple.

The entry of John Kennedy, M.A., into office under the Crown in 1769 was one of many indications of a new trend in Irish history, an awakening interest among the intelligent landed gentry in the political affairs of their country. Hitherto they had had little political power because two-thirds of the seats in the Irish House of Commons were subject to nomination by a few peers in whose hands were concentrated the ownership of those small boroughs having right to representation. It was this group of dominant borough-owners that carried on the king's business in Ireland. But now the intelligent gentry as a whole, led by a few great Irish families outside the dominant circle, began to concern itself that Ireland should have a parliament more representative of the whole Protestant landowning class. They wanted its duration limited to a few years instead of a whole reign. They wanted its members to be forced to seek re-election on acceptance of place under the Crown. In short, they wanted to make parliamentary control a reality, whereby to halt the long-continued subordination of Irish interests to those of England.

1 Lecky, Ireland in the eighteenth century, vol. 2, pp. 56, 379.

Pressure of this great body of articulate opinion soon forced a reluctant British Government to permit the placing of an Octennial Bill before the Irish Parliament and likewise forced the nominees of the great borough-owners to pass it. In return the British Government hoped for an enlargement of the Irish army and the right to draw on it for the greater security of a troubled empire. On being assured that the bulk of this army would always be retained in Ireland, the country gentlemen gave their support and this bill also was passed, but only with ungracious acquiescence by the borough-owners.

The British Government now decided that it was too dependent on this tightly-knit band of dominant peers. The policy of the Viceroy, Lord Townshend, was therefore to lure away their supporters. He bought the votes of some influential members of Parliament by their elevation to the peerage in 1768 and by conceding government offices to their friends. He now turned to enlist the support of the whole Protestant gentry, and, for a variety of reasons, he was able to gain the backing of many of them. They were happy that the country would not be denuded of those garrisons which constituted a bulwark for Protestant ascendancy. Of more importance, however, was their own desire to break the political monopoly of the great borough-owners. Finally, they were grateful for the Octennial Act, which was a great
step in the right direction. It was in these circumstances that John Kennedy accepted office as High Sheriff of Down in 1769. His cousin, Robert Stewart, later to be first Earl of Londonderry, likewise made his entry into the political field by winning election to Parliament in the bitterly contested election of that year. Nor was this to be the last time when the Stewart connection threw its weight against the great borough-owners.

Townshend's support at the hands of the body of the Irish gentry was to be very short-lived as a result of his tricking of the newly-elected Commons. Having obtained supplies, he suddenly rebuked and prorogued Parliament because it had not proved subservient. Kennedy's term of office as High Sheriff expired right at this time. It seems very evident that he had withdrawn his support from Dublin Castle, for he accepted no further office, although many were to be had at this time, when Townshend was buying support by unexampled corruption in the distribution of peerages, baronetcies and well-paid places. This

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1 Lecky, Ireland in the eighteenth century, vol. 2, pp. 78-96.
2 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
4 Ibid., p. 1233.
conclusion finds strong confirmation from a sentence in an old comment concerning John Kennedy, "He was a man of strict probity and honour, sought no patronage tho' perhaps within his reach". It seems, therefore, that Kennedy's short period in public office was prompted by an intelligent desire for moderate reform, and was terminated both by his sturdy independence and by a realization that this avenue would not lead to the desired goal.

Crisis in the affairs of empire, however, soon caused the gentry to rally once again to support the government. Trouble in the American colonies was rapidly mounting to the danger point and there were many people who declared that Ireland's interests lay on the American side. Presbyterians in the north were fiercely pro-American and strong in opposition to the government's desire to support the mother country. The Kennedys were undoubtedly at odds with their Presbyterian neighbours, for loyalty to the British connection was so strong among the gentry that they were ready to subordinate consideration of their own grievances to support of Britain in her time of danger. When war

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1 Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 5, 1950, enclosure.
3 Maxwell, C., Dublin under the Georges, p. 32.
broke out, the Irish Parliament speedily committed the country to the struggle.

Opposition to the war, however, was sufficiently strong to make Viceroy Lord Harcourt feel the necessity of strengthening loyal supporters by assisting their re-election in 1776 or by raising them to the peerage. While some of these rewards were undoubtedly given for new support, it is evident from the history of John Kennedy's family connections that their promotions were won after they had been identified for some time with the policy of outright support for Britain. Solidity of family groups in Ulster's political affairs and, for that matter, of the whole Anglican gentry in County Down, make it evident that John Kennedy was on the side of the majority in believing that the interests of Ireland were inseparable from those of Britain.

His loyalty was soon to be called upon in a more


   In 1776 Robert Stewart, later first Earl of Londonderry, (John Kennedy's second cousin) won re-election in County Down in support of Ireland's participation in the war.

   *Burke's Peerage*, 1938, p. 951.
   In 1776 William Cole, second Lord Mount Florence, (Mrs. John Kennedy's first cousin) was advanced to the Viscounty of Enniskillen.

   *Burke's Peerage*, 1938, p. 2398.
   In 1776 Clotworthy Upton, M.P. for Antrim (distant cousin of John Kennedy) was created Baron Templetown.
vigorous way. In 1778 official news came that the French navy was preparing to attack Belfast. No troops were available for its defence because the Irish regiments were engaged in the American war. An American squadron under command of John Paul Jones made threat of danger real. He captured a ship of war in Belfast Lough within sight of Kennedy's home at Cultra Manor. With danger at their very door, the whole resident gentry led their tenants to defence of Ireland. They organized their people into bands of volunteers, armed at first almost solely with scythes fixed on the ends of poles, but determined to fight any invading force. Under the leadership of great landholders like Kennedy's cousin, Robert Stewart, the Volunteer Movement quickly took organized shape and became a powerful body of armed men.

While they stood ready to repel invasion of their country, they carried on all the ordinary functions required for the maintenance of internal order and security. Ardently loyal, the Volunteers were determined nevertheless to maintain independent control of their organization. While strong in support of the British connection and of Ireland's steadfast participation in the war at her side, these early Volunteers were equally determined that the long subordination of Irish interests must be brought to an end. Hesitant

1 Lecky, *Ireland in the eighteenth century*, vol. 2, pp. 218-223.

2 Stéphane and Lee, *DNB*, vol. 18, pp. 1232-1233.
at first to embarrass the government, they gradually swung into full support of Grattan's insistence that the crippling restrictions on Irish commerce must be removed and that Britain must concede to the Irish Parliament sole right to legislate for Ireland. Since the Volunteers were now the one effective armed force in the country, the British Parliament was eventually forced to bow to their will. In 1780 commercial restrictions were brought to an end, and in 1782 the British Parliament repealed that act which had declared its right to legislate for Ireland. Thus country gentlemen like John Kennedy had not only supplied a strong force for the defence of their country; they had also forced a great measure of reform. The first step had been won toward that objective which had moved Kennedy and his compeers to enter the field of politics a decade before.

Yet these reformers were quite naturally circumscribed by interests of their class and by ideas common to their times. Tolerant in religious outlook, they heartily endorsed removal of all the oppressive economic restrictions on Roman Catholics. On the other hand, they steadfastly opposed giving them the right to vote. It was a natural position for them to take. They were not democrats. They wanted to gain self-government for Ireland and to spread


political power through the landed classes, but they had no thought of giving the vote to the uneducated landless masses. At that time a great majority of the Catholics were peasants. It was not to be expected therefore that country landlords—reformers though they were—should support a political development so inimical to their own interests and so far in advance of their times. Another mark of their distrust of democratic ideas became evident when conclusion of peace treaties ended the need for a defence force. Although the whole measure of reform they sought had not been achieved, most of these sturdy Ulster landlords—real founders of the Volunteers—were now first to withdraw from that movement. They had become alarmed at the spirit of democracy that was beginning to permeate its ranks.

Fear of increasing radicalism and gratitude for concession of legislative independence to Ireland gradually brought most of the great independent families and most of the gentry closer to the government. During the Regency dispute, the family groups to which the Kennedys were so closely allied supported the government against proposals which seemed to them likely to endanger the connection between Britain and Ireland. Kennedy’s cousin, Robert Stewart, took a place in the Irish Privy Council to replace

1 Shearman, Hugh, Anglo-Irish relations, London, Faber and Faber, 1948, p. 54.

2 Lecky, Ireland in the eighteenth century, vol. 2, pp. 246 and 395.
a borough-owner who had scurried off at the prospect of a change in government. When the crisis was weathered, due to the sudden recovery of George III, Stewart was rewarded by being made Baron Londonderry. At the same time Mrs. Kennedy's cousin, William Cole, Viscount Enniskillen, was promoted to the Earldom of Enniskillen. These men had now come into close association with John Fitzgibbon, who, like them, had up till recently shown Whig tendencies. But as a rising power in the government he was rapidly to become more and more conservative and reactionary. The Stewarts, however, for a while yet were to be found on the side of parliamentary reform.

These twenty years since John Kennedy, Arthur Edward's grandfather, had come home from college had been stirring times in Ulster. Intelligent interest, immediate danger, and family affiliation had drawn him into the current of conflicting opinion of the times and had even caused him to take a small part in public affairs. However, these years had kept him busier still in raising and providing for a very large family. John and Elizabeth Kennedy had twelve children, two daughters and ten sons. To feed and clothe

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2 Burke's *peerage*, 1938, p. 951.
3 Burke, *Landed gentry of Ireland*, p. 366. But Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 5, 1950, enclosure: this item says there were thirteen children.
and educate this large family kept him very close to the
management of his estates and to the farming of his own
fields. He was fortunate that this second half of the
eighteenth century was a period of mounting prosperity for
the country as a whole. Ulster was especially fortunate
because its steadily increasing linen industry served as
a basis for a prosperous farming in general. Fertile
Gultra lying right in the heart of this most-favoured area
therefore supplied ample means for a full share in the
prosperous and agreeable life that characterized the gentry
at this period.

Yet, as we have seen, Gultra Manor would be more than
just a gay and comfortable home. Both parents were noted
for their uprightness and piety and both were interested in
the careful instruction of their children. Of the father
it was said:

...the education of thirteen children became
the persevering and pleasing duty of the
domestic scene.... He taught his numerous
family virtue. (3)

1 Maxwell, C., Dublin under the Georges, 1714-1850,

Lecky, Ireland in the eighteenth century, vol. 1,
p. 224, vol. 2, pp. 153, 385-387, 390-392, 409, and
489-496.

2 Maxwell, op. cit., p. 21.
Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 5, 1950,
enclosure: John Kennedy was so prosperous as to be
able to leave all of his children independent.

3 Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 5, 1950,
enclosure.
Moreover, Cultra had easy geographical access to the news of the day, and the family was closely related to the most powerful political families. The children were therefore brought up in an atmosphere of lively and well-informed discussion of the great social and political issues at the turn of the century. In consequence of the enlightenment that prevailed in this home, the opinions and the inevitable prejudices that were formed in the minds of the children were by no means so harsh and so bitter as was common to members of their class in some parts of Ireland. The loyalties that were implanted and strengthened were those common to the Protestant landowning classes throughout the country—chief among them a determination to cherish Ireland's connection with Britain. For the rest, there were probably two or three main lessons inculcated by these parents in the minds of their children: piety, the uprightness and dignity demanded of members of an ancient family, and above all the tenets of sturdy eighteenth century individualism—love of liberty and realization of the virtue of self-help. These attitudes the Kennedy children carried into their several spheres of life. Most important of all, they carried with them the security of mind engendered by a happy home where mutual respect and love characterized the attitude of their parents.

It is not surprising, therefore, that John Kennedy's children were to be highly successful in life. The girls
married well, one to William Unet, D.L., and the other to McCausland of Drenagh. The sons attained to wealth or influence in many widely separated parts of the empire. Hugh, the eldest son (and Arthur Edward's father) became the Kennedy of Cultra. Henry went to India, probably like several other members of the family into the service of the Honourable East India Company. John established the estate of Dunbrody in County Wexford, where he was a Justice of the Peace. Arthur, after distinguished service in the 18th Regiment of Light Dragoons (Hussars), rose to rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Langford went into the employ of the Honourable East India Company, where he rose in the service and became a shareholder. William was Deputy Military Auditor-General of Bengal. Alexander rose to the rank of captain in the Royal Navy. Charles was Political Agent at Simla. Robert became Colonial Secretary of Bermuda. Concerning the career of only one of these sons of John Kennedy has Burke's 1 Landed Gentry of Ireland nothing to say. That was Thomas, who did not follow a service career but chose instead to migrate to the United States and marry an American. These men were Arthur Edward's uncles. Their letters and their visits when on leave brought to Cultra a wealth of

1 p. 366

2 Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 5, 1950, enclosure.
interesting news not only from other parts of Ireland but from the far corners of the empire. Cultra more than ever became a centre of well-informed interest in a wide-spaced variety of places and problems.

In 1792, when Hugh and his brothers were still in their teens, an exciting family event took attention away from public affairs. Had it perhaps irked their vigorous and ambitious father that his cousins were rising in political power and rank while he but waxed prosperous on his fertile acres? He had not forgotten his own proud lineage. Back at the time of his arrival at Glasgow University he had been brought into closer touch with the fortunes of the senior branch of his family, which were then creating quite a stir of interest. The eighth Earl of Cassillis, John Hampton Kennedy, had died in 1759 with succession in dispute. It is indeed recorded that at this time our John Kennedy of Cultra had entered his claim to the title. It is more likely, however, that he simply had his attention drawn to the disputed succession at that time and had checked up on his own position in the lineage; for according to family tradition his attempt to win the earldom was made at the later period in his life that we have now reached. In 1792 the tenth earl died unmarried and succession had to be determined by reaching far back among the family lines.

1 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.

Let us now follow the story in a note written by Charles Kennedy, one of John's grandsons (and Arthur Edward's first cousin). It says of John Kennedy:

At the end of the last century he heard of the demise of the Earl of Cassillis and that a female branch of the family then in America had taken it up for her son—Upon which he set off for London to dispute the title and recover it—He passed it through one of the houses (Committee of privileges) -- To pass it through the other required £40,000 down! Had he been sure of the £20,000 a year with the title he would have paid it—He left it to return to his turnips with the proviso that any of his descendants might pay the money and renew the suit—The present Earl's Father 185—said that at any time the Kennedy's of Cultra might take the title of Cassillis from him, therefore he had secured the Marquisate of Ailsa to himself. (1)

While John Kennedy was returning disappointed to his turnips at Cultra and his son Hugh was coming to manhood in that spring of 1793, their world was plunging into

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., April 17, 1949, enclosure.
Gibbs’ Complete peerage, vol. 3, p. 80, shows that the wealthy American claimant was son of Archibald Kennedy, Collector of Customs in New York, who was descended through second sons from Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, who was in turn second son of the third Earl of Cassillis.

2 Although turnips had been introduced into the scheme of crop rotation earlier in the century, Kennedy's use of them is evidence that he was well abreast of progress—further evidence that he was an "improving landlord".

3 A note written by Miss Maud Kennedy of Cultra Manor gives the date of his birth as 1775. This note is enclosed in Robert Day Kennedy to H.C.G., The School of Mines, Canborne, Cornwall, England, May 7, 1949. Mrs. F.M. Kennedy to H.C.G., Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, April 17, 1949, enclosure, gives his dates as 1775-1852.
turmoil. In the Irish Parliament their party, though still hoping for reform of representation, was standing firm behind the government against a move to concede complete Catholic emancipation. It is true that they spoke and voted in favour of a bill to give the vote to the Catholics. But it had been forced on them by the British Government and in their hearts they were opposed to it. They supported it only because it was a lesser evil; to the proposed additional concession to the Catholics of representation in Parliament they presented an adamant front. And once again their attitude was rooted not in religious intolerance but in concern for their own minority position in Ireland. If the majority group were to be given both the vote and representation in Parliament, Protestant ascendancy would speedily be ended, and with it the established church and perhaps eventually the British connection. This position was clearly disclosed, for example, in a letter written to a friend in Britain by Robert Stewart (soon to be Castlereagh). As his letter shows, Stewart was already beginning to believe that the only way to protect Protestant interests was by legislative union with Britain. After concession of the

1 R. Stewart to Lord C [probably Camden], Dublin, 26 January 1793, in Alison, Sir Archibald, Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, second and third Marquesses of Londonderry, with annals of contemporary events in which they bore a part, three volumes, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1861, vol. 1, pp. 12 to 14.
vote to Catholics in 1793, he announced that thenceforward he would not vote for any measure of Parliamentary reform. From now on he was willing to support the system he had fought—a system of rotten boroughs that concentrated political control in a few hands—rather than to work for a process of reform that now would inevitably lead to Roman Catholic predominance. He was not alone among the Protestant landed classes in this defection from liberal views after 1793. A striking example was the case of Sir Edward Newenham, whose granddaughter Hugh Kennedy was to marry. Newenham, who had been in the forefront of reform, was now turning away from it. The steadily increasing ferocity of the French Revolution had inspired a dread of reform in the minds of a great majority of the gentry. The cause of reform was consequently falling rapidly into keeping of radical and vehement elements.

The nineties in Ireland were therefore marked by a descent into violence. Like their neighbouring landlords,

1 Londonderry, Charles Vane, Marquess of, Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry, vol. 1, p. 8.

2 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.

3 Lecky, Ireland in the eighteenth century, vol. 3, pp. 60 and 85.
John Kennedy and his eldest son, Hugh, must have watched with concern those excesses of enthusiasm for Jacobin ideas that dominated their own area. They saw the formation of the United Irishmen. They saw the increase of lawlessness in that group. To the northern gentry as a whole it was a matter for great alarm when they realized that the United Irishmen were bringing together radical dissenters and refractory elements from the disappointed Catholic group. The gentry struggled with increasing dread against the frenzy of Protestant Peep-of-Day Boys and Catholic Defenders. They supported the enforced disbanding of the volunteers, now in the hands of "low men" and likely to be "led into any excesses by their Jacobin leaders". In place of the volunteers the government established an official militia, to which the Protestant gentry gave loyal support. Time was lacking, however, for the building of proper control over this force, and bitterness was too strong. When this ill-disciplined militia was set to searching out weapons among the rebellious Catholic peasantry, outrages were committed that provoked redoubled fury among the Defenders and United Irishmen.

Into the midst of this sequence of outrage and savage retaliation there was thrust another element of turbulence. In defence of their homes, their religion and their lives,

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"Lord Castlereagh to Earl Camden, April 3, 1793, in Alison, Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, vol. 1, p. 20."
Ulster Anglicans of the tenant class formed the secret Orange Society. Its fierce retaliations against Defenders and United Irishmen added fuel to the intense religious animosity and political bitterness that now raged throughout the country. As revolutionary activity of the United Irishmen was made more menacing by alliance with France, many great Ulster landlords and a large part of the gentry joined the Orange Society. They brought to its counsels more restraint but no diminution of anti-Catholic feeling; for the vehemence of republican and rebellious activity in the north convinced them that Protestant ascendancy, British connection and monarchial constitution were all in great danger.

Cultra was right in the heart of the region of greatest disaffection, disloyalty and violence. The minds of John Kennedy's boys were inevitably directed, by the excesses they witnessed among the lower orders, into anti-democratic channels, which indeed was the way the minds of most members of the privileged classes in the north were being turned by the frightening course of events in France and Ireland. Many people were also becoming violently anti-Catholic. In the horrible times of visitation, the Kennedys neither gave nor received offence, and the pious

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2 Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 233-237.

3 Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 18, 1950, enclosure.
and tolerant parents taught their children to view the scenes of religious strife with sorrow rather than bitterness.

Turmoil and danger were soon to increase. Fear and determination to fight fiercely for their lives and their country were intensified among the gentry by the threat of French invasion in the nineties. Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, leaders of the United Irishmen, had arranged an alliance with France. In accordance with that arrangement a French naval force appeared at Bantry Bay in 1796. It was driven off by a great storm. When the next invasion was ready, a British naval victory at Camperdown ruined its chances of success. Yet in all minds, the threat of a French invasion, that would touch off internal rebellion, was an ever-present danger. This fear increased bitterness and religious passion; but from them the gentry derived new energy for defence of their homeland.

Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh, cousin of the Kennedys, was now Acting Chief Secretary and therefore key person in the government. It was due mainly to the grim efficiency of his organization that the long-threatened rebellion was largely defeated in advance by the discovery and arrest of its leaders. When, bereft of its central direction, the revolt went ahead on the date planned, the minor northern outbreaks were quickly broken. In defiance of the pleading of their bishops, Catholic peasants of Wexford carried on the insurrection with savage massacres, and the south flared
into rebellion. But with the aid of troops hurried from Britain it was quickly crushed with ruthless severity.

The Rebellion of 1798 made it imperative for the British Government to attempt some drastic solution for the unhappy state of affairs in Ireland. Pitt therefore determined to bring about a legislative union of the two countries, thereby to give to Irishmen all the liberties and advantages possessed by the people of Britain. The task was entrusted to Viceroy Cornwallis and to Chief Secretary Castlereagh, both of whom were sincerely in accord with the plan. Castlereagh favoured the granting of complete political equality to Catholics after union was achieved, since the merger would remove any chance of their becoming the dominant group. In the tacit understanding that emancipation would speedily follow union, the Catholic leaders gave their support to the proposal. There was also a great measure of support from the area around Belfast, where it was confidently expected that a freer trade following union would give a great impetus to the manufacture of linen. On the other hand, great borough owners, foreseeing the end of their monopoly of power, were in violent opposition. Lord Downshire, whose influence was predominant in County Down, was especially active in stirring up opposition there. However, some of the independent gentlemen were adherents

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of the Londonderrys in general opposition to that great borough owner. Among that group Hugh Kennedy, as a kinsman of Castlereagh, was almost certainly to be found. Nevertheless, the general feeling towards union among Protestants of the politically influential classes was either one of languid acquiescence or outright hostility. Both British and Irish governments were rightly convinced that there was no practicable alternative to union. Resort was therefore had to the usual eighteenth century method of purchasing support in the Irish Parliament by promises of peerages or places. Castlereagh carried through this business with his usual forthright directness. Union was effected.

Disastrously, however, Pitt now discovered that George III, convinced that his assent to complete Catholic emancipation would be a violation of his coronation oath, was firm in opposition to any such measure. Although Pitt resigned, and was followed in that course of action by Cornwallis and Castlereagh in Ireland, this failure to meet the reasonable expectations of the Catholics was disastrous. Union bereft of its necessary complement failed to achieve that widespread measure of healing which had prompted its conception. Irish affairs therefore continued to be blighted by bitterness of spirit.

On the material side the first effects of union were highly profitable for Ireland. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the total value of her trade was nearly
doubled. Ulster had more than its share of that prosperity. Its linen industry which had been climbing rapidly since 1780 now spurted forward to monopolize the British market. Practically every farmer in the four counties around Belfast grew some flax (in addition to his oat crop, which was also finding a profitable market) and the women spun it into yarn. Fortunate Cultra therefore continued to flourish.

We are now able to assess those roots of thought and action which it was determined at the outset of this chapter to discover. It is evident that the Kennedys were typical members of a very special group of people—different in many respects from the landed classes both of Britain and of the rest of Ireland. These Scottish immigrants had securely rooted themselves, a tightly-knit group, in Ulster's best lands, which they had progressively absorbed as the native Irishmen were displaced from them. During two centuries of hardship and violence their industry and determination made these lands to flourish. The grim experiences and frequent threat to their tenure in those centuries tended to make them sober, self-reliant and highly individualistic. The mark of an Ulsterman came to be intensiveness, for he pursued his major objective with a doggedness that quietly

1 Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges, p. 242.
ignored other issues. Yet despite their individualistic nature, these people by virtue of their origin were strongly British in attachment and outlook. They were made the more so both by continual reinforcement of immigration from Scotland and by realization that their tenure was guaranteed only by preservation of the British connection. Two centuries of constant threat and bitter strife had hardened that realization into a bedrock of conviction. For the Kennedys this group attachment to the British connection was deepened by their careers of service to the empire.

Sprung from an ancient and noble lineage in the British peerage—and very conscious of that fact—the Kennedys had become linked by marriage to several powerful political families in the northern Irish peerage. In a country where family alliance was of high political significance, they had been drawn into the current of Irish political life. Their group was opposed to the reactionary band of dominant borough owners and was therefore in the forefront of the battle for parliamentary reform. We have seen that John Kennedy, M.A., was typical of intelligent, independent country gentlemen, as well in support of this movement as in his determination not to be swayed by corruption. We have seen that it was his group in County Down that sprang first to the leadership of the great

1 Shearman, Hugh, Northern Ireland, its history, resources and people, pp. 11 and 31.
Volunteer Movement for the defence of Ireland. It was his class also that used the power of that body to win legislative independence for Ireland. We have noted also that it was this same group of sturdy northern squires who were first to withdraw from the Volunteer Movement when it tended to swing towards radical democracy. The Kennedys and their class were not democrats. On the contrary, they opposed democracy; their ideas of reform were simply to spread political power more evenly through the landed classes. From that opposition to democracy grew their refusal to concede political equality to Roman Catholics in the period before the Union. In other respects they were tolerant in religious matters. We have seen also that the violent course of events during the last decade of the eighteenth century, both in their own country and in France, turned this whole ascendant class into revulsion against change and reform. And we have seen how the Rebellion of 1798 and the events leading up to it revived in this group old bitternesses and prejudices at the same time as it strengthened loyalties to Protestant ascendancy, to the established church and to the British connection. Such were the major characteristics of the landed gentry in County Down.

That strain of stubborn independence, which we noted in John Kennedy (Arthur's grandfather) when he withdrew support from a government of corruption, tended to keep the family from full participation in political affairs. The necessity imposed by large families of sticking close to
the management of their fertile acres also kept them from forging into the political leadership that might easily have resulted from their powerful family affiliations—closest of which was the Stewart connection headed by the Earl of Londonderry and his famous son, Viscount Castlereagh. By virtue of this kinship with outstanding leaders of state and by virtue of their own informed and intelligent interest, the Kennedys were drawn always into the stream of political thought and forthright opinion, sometimes into action. On the whole, however, they remained country squires and tended to conform to the habits of their station. It is true that their heads of families tended to have a higher measure of academic training than was usual; two out of the four heads of the family whom we have studied were university graduates, a training usually reserved for those younger sons who were destined for the Church. True also—that this family was unusual among the gentry in that it dedicated none of its sons to the Church. Yet the Kennedys' conformity to the ways of their class had been shown by their transference from Presbyterianism to the established church, when the introduction of radical doctrines into the former body had made the rather Calvinistic state church a haven for their orthodoxy. As country squires also they assumed their proper places as Justices of the Peace. At times they attained to the important office of High Sheriff of County Down. Their younger sons forged ahead to high rank in navy,
army or colonial service. Heads of the family, however, remained close to the soil at Cultra, to the affairs of their tenants and to the farming of their own demesne.

Yet life at Cultra Manor was by no means a backward or isolated existence. The estate was fertile and highly fortunate in its location. In the very heart of the great linen area and close to Belfast, where its produce could be sold easily, this property under able management maintained a high degree of prosperity even in times when most of Ireland was in poverty. Means of a comfortable and pleasant existence were therefore supplied to the Kennedys in abundant measure. Richness was added to their life both by the loveliness of their countryside and by the great care devoted to trimness and beauty of the estate, not an unusual thing in this region of resident landlords. Happy social times were common because homes of other landowners were near at hand and ties between them were exceptionally close. Moreover, Cultra was well-placed for broadening contact with great centres of population. Consequently we have noted visits by the Kennedys not only to Belfast and Dublin but also to Glasgow and London. There were other contacts with these centres. In this home, where a Glasgow Master of Arts presided, there was certainly a full measure of that great interest in reading that characterized the country gentlemen of Ireland towards the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. In their homes
the merits of Byron and Scott were eagerly discussed—at Cultra with a decided preference for the views of the latter. Many of them are recorded to have taken the London reviews. Cultra must also have been well-supplied with newspapers: in addition to the many papers coming from Dublin, they had available three from Belfast, the Belfast Mercury, the Belfast News Letter, and the Northern Star, the latter two of which undoubtedly stirred the Kennedys to anger by their support of revolutionary ideas. Intelligent interest in the momentous events of the turn of the century was undoubtedly deepened and made more personal as the children began to grow up and be scattered across the country and the empire. We have seen that they not only established estates in other parts of Ireland, but also went into service of the navy, the army, the colonies and the East India Company. In these stirring times, when French Revolutionary wars took the armed forces to the far corners of the world and the affairs of Indian and colonial empires were of high public interest, Cultra's horizons of thought were as wide as the world.

1 Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges, pp. 167-168.

2 McDowell, Irish public opinion, 1750-1800, pp. 143, 152, 155-157, 204.
CHAPTER II — HOME INFLUENCES

At the beginning of the new century, when the war with France was dragging toward the Peace of Amiens, Arthur Edward's amiable grandfather died. Possession of the comfortable acres of Cultra passed to his eldest son, Hugh, then in his twenty-sixth year. Two years earlier, in 1799, Hugh Kennedy had married Grace Dorothea, only daughter of Thomas and Dorothea Hughes of County Tipperary. Her maternal grandfather, Sir Edward Newenham, a notable member of the Irish Parliament, had been foremost in the ranks of the movement for reform of that parliament—in no spirit of democracy, it will be remembered, but in a desire to spread control of his country's government more widely over his own class. We have already seen how he had turned sharply back from the path of change when it began to veer toward radical democracy. At the time of his grand-daughter's marriage to Hugh Kennedy, Sir Edward was still an important figure in political life. He had many years yet to watch the fortunes of her family.

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., November 13, 1949, enclosure. Hugh Kennedy of Cultra (Arthur Edward's father) lived from 1775 to 1852.

2 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.

3 See above p. 36.

4 Lee, S., Dictionary of national biography, since 1885, vol. 40, pp. 333-334. He lived from 1732 to 1814. In 1799 he was advocating union.
On her father's side, Grace Dorothea was grand-daughter of Elizabeth Annesley, member of an Anglo-Irish family well-known for its strong loyalty to the Stuarts. The Annesleys had taken an early part in the colonization of Ulster with a vigour of mind and action that had won them three earldoms --Anglesey, Annesley and Mountnorris. One of the most notable members of the English branch of this family was that spirited Susannah Annesley, who married Dr. Samuel Wesley and became the mother of Charles and John Wesley. Thus Hugh Kennedy had chosen a bride whose background was as illustrious as his own. Grace Dorothea brought to Cultra her equal share of mental and physical vigour.

With Hugh's assumption of the headship of the family and its attendant responsibilities at the beginning of 1802, he was quickly absorbed into the busy pattern of his new role. He was immediately made a Justice of the Peace and High Sheriff of County Down. In 1802 the whole family connection was high in influence throughout this area: the Earl of

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., April 17, 1949, enclosure
4 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
Londonderry was governor of the county, and his son, Castlereagh, was its member in the Imperial Parliament.

At home the young squire had many responsibilities. We have already noticed the final outcome of his brothers' careers, but in 1802 four of his brothers and sisters were still young children, and another four had just reached the age when they must be launched on their careers. In 1803, as war was breaking out again, Arthur wanted to join the army. A cornetcy was therefore purchased for him in the 18th Regiment of Light Dragoons, which had recently distinguished itself in the campaign in the north of Ireland under the leadership of that dashing soldier, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Charles Stewart. Langford and William were eager to be off to India, probably drawn there by letters from their brother, Henry, bringing stories of glorious conquests under the leadership of the Wellesleys. Young Alexander, determined to be in the fight somehow, entered the Royal Navy as a First Class Volunteer on board the Tonnant, eighty guns, Captain Sir Edward Pellew,

1 Stephen and Lee, DNB, since 1917, vol. 18, pp. 1233-1235.

2 See above, p. 32.

employed off the coast of Spain.

But the care of his father's family did not deter Hugh Kennedy from establishment of his own. Both he and his wife came from families accustomed to have many children: Hugh's father and mother had had twelve children and Grace Dorothea's mother was one of eighteen children. By this first marriage with Grace Dorothea Hughes, Hugh Kennedy had eleven children, six boys and five girls. The first child was a daughter, Dorothy, born in Dublin in August, 1800—named after her mother and her grandmother, Dorothea Newenham. The first boy was of course called John. Then followed Robert Stewart, quite obviously named in honour of his kinsman, Robert Stewart, Earl of Londonderry. The next boy was called Thomas, evidence that that young uncle

1 O'Byrne, William R., A naval biographical dictionary comprising the life and services of every living officer in Her Majesty's Navy from the rank of Admiral of the Fleet to that of Lieutenant inclusive, London, John Murray, 1849.

For an accurate idea of his life with Sir Edward Pellew off the coast of Spain see C. S. Forester's excellent novel, Mr. Midshipman Hornblower, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1950.


3 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
By a second marriage he had seven more children—a total of eighteen.

4 Mr. A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., October 18, 1950, enclosure.
had not yet become the "black sheep" of the family by moving to the United States. There followed a daughter, Elizabeth, named after her great-grandmother, Elizabeth Annesley.

Arthur Edward, the sixth child of Hugh and Grace Dorothea Kennedy, was born at Cultra on April 9, 1809. He was named after his uncle Arthur, then a dashing young cavalry lieutenant, who was just back from Corunna with the 18th Hussars after that disastrous but glorious campaign by which Sir John Moore had saved Portugal from Napoleon. The second name, Edward, a new one in the Kennedy family, was given in honour of his mother's famous grandfather, Sir Edward Newenham. Both names came from men of whom he could be proud. And indeed he was always to be conscious of the strength of his whole family background. In old age he was often to tell his young friends, when he addressed them, that although he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth and had always to work for his bread, he had the happy fortune to come of good folk who had proved that they were made of sterling stuff.

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1 Reverend E. S. Barber to H.C.G., the Vicarage, Holywood, County Down, January 22, 1949. The date of her baptism was November 27, 1808.

2 See Appendix No. 1.

3 Chichester and Burges-Short, The records and badges of every regiment and corps in the British Army, p. 123.

4 The Courier, Brisbane (Queensland), May 4, 1883,--(a clipping in an old family book now in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia.)
Arthur Edward's family background has been shown with great care because his forbears were indeed of "sterling stuff", which fact in itself gives us insight into his nature. Stress has likewise been laid on the aristocratic quality of his origin. As we have seen the Kennedys were thoroughly conscious of that factor, for although we today may choose to regard such an interest as snobbish, it was a matter of real importance in the period of Arthur's boyhood and youth. For him this pride in family roots reaching back into an ancient past carried with it a clear consciousness of the obligations of his order. Moreover, since society regarded his origin as of major moment—since at that time there was an exaggerated respect for an aristocratic origin—he grew up in the assurance of complete acceptance. That feeling of security helped to establish in him the qualities of confidence, affability and poise that were to mark him throughout life. Here perhaps was the root of an assurance that his was an opinion to be valued—an assurance that made him speak out frankly and forthrightly in later years regardless often of the result. Or would it be correct to assume that that characteristic was just a proof that he was a true son of Ulster?


In that April of 1809 when Arthur Edward was born, Sir Arthur Wellesley was setting out for the Peninsula to start the dogged campaign that broke Napoleon. When the war was over, Arthur Edward was six years old, old enough to be very proud of his warrior uncles when they came home on leave. His uncle Alexander was now a lieutenant in the navy. His uncle Arthur was a captain in the 18th Hussars, resplendent in his silver-laced, dark blue uniform with its sable trimmings and its great busby with scarlet and white plumes—a glorious figure in a youngster’s eyes.

It is entirely probable that during his boyhood Arthur Edward had opportunity to listen eagerly to his uncle Alexander’s stories of the long, storm-tossed blockade of the Spanish coast in the eighty-gunned *Tonnant* under her dashing captain, Sir Edward Pellew; of cutting-out expeditions; of scrambling up the chains to board a prize. In his imagination he returned with his uncle in the *Culloden* to the far-off island of Java, there to witness the flaming dockyard at Griesse and the destruction of all the Dutch men-of-war. Again he thrilled with pride when Alexander described how he took the boats of the *Rainbow*

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through blue Mediterranean waters to capture a swift lateen-rigged vessel with its rich cargo of oaken planks.

Perhaps it was his uncle Arthur, home frequently from his duties with the army of occupation in France, who had the more thrilling stories to tell: how the cavalry formed the dangerous van of Moore's thrust into Spain to tempt Napoleon from his prey; how they drew off his mighty army and covered the rear in that grim, disastrous retreat to Corunna; and how they had their revenge in 1813 as they swept through the Peninsula to their honours at Vittoria, the Nive, Orthes and Toulouse—finally engaging the Imperial Cuirassiers in triumphant charges at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. The youngster exulted in these tales of glory and determined that he too would be a soldier.

The boy's imagination must have been stirred and his understanding widened through the letters from his uncles in India and their visits when home on leave—for they were as yet unmarried and Cultra continued to be their home. They could tell how Britain was forced into the conquest of India; how Lord Moira's three campaigns into the high Himalayas had brought the fierce Gurkhas into admiring and peaceful alliance; how the murderous Pindari bands were broken and the treacherous Mahrattas subdued; and how the Burmese had been thrown back from their attack.

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1 O'Byrne, *A naval biographical dictionary*, pp. 605-606.
on Bengal—until at last all eastern India had been conquered and trade was secure. That stately home at Cultra must have been the scene of frequent discussions of these stirring events and of well-informed debate on imperial policy. Without realizing it, the growing youngsters were absorbing firm opinions, often prejudiced of course, but more frequently based on first-hand knowledge of event and policy.

The old manor house of Cultra, in which Arthur Edward spent his boyhood, has since been pulled down and replaced by an even finer one. However, there is still in the family possession a picture of the old home. It was drawn by Joseph Molloy and engraved by Edward K. Pivater in 1832, when it was presented to Arthur Edward’s father. It bears the following inscription, "Presented to Hugh Kennedy, Esq., to whom this plate is respectfully inscribed by Edw. K. Pivater". This engraving shows that the old house was right down on the banks of Belfast Lough, very much lower on the estate than the present Cultra House. At the

1 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., April 17, 1949, enclosure. The new Cultra House was built by Arthur Edward’s nephew, Sir Robert Kennedy, C.M.G., M.A., D.L., F.R.G.S.

2 Published by E. K. Pivater, London, Morgan Jellett, Belfast, 1832.

3 Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to H.C.G., April 17, 1949.
CULTRA 1832 - After an engraving by E. K. Pivater

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foot of the Antrim hills on the far side of the estuary many villages and estates crowded the busy shoreline. Sailboats dotted the placid waters of the lough. On its south bank lay the extensive parkland of Cultra, the pattern of its open spaces and groups of trees giving evidence of that careful landscaping which was beginning to be so common in large estates.

On this level parkland, amid the rounded forms of oak and beech trees, rose the handsome two-storied manor-house, its vertical lines giving a pleasant sense of contrast. This house was very plainly of Scottish inspiration. Steeply pitched and slated roof, large chimney stacks, square-headed doors and windows—all these indicated the wholesome Scottish vernacular tradition. Yes, and those familiar little crowsteps on the near gable-end had marked Scottish houses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The amusingly incongruous pairing of this crowstepping on one gable-end and a straight skew on the other, suggests that this house had been built sometime in the eighteenth century when the rougher crowstep construction was being relinquished—but with lingering regret. Another mark of recent building was the smooth ashlar construction instead of rubble and rough-cast. However, the building had been whitewashed in traditional Scottish fashion, although it

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is possible that light-coloured stone was used; in any case it was cheerful and pleasant to look upon.

Apart from its bright colour, the building won its pleasing effect by the simple functional lines and excellent proportions of its roof, windows and doors, which were plain rectangular openings, destitute of ornament. However, there were two devices that added richness to the structure—the slightly advanced central tower and the crenellated parapet along the whole front wallhead. Perhaps these devices were ornamental assertions of the Kennedy family’s ancient feudal origin; it is just possible, however, that in turbulent Ulster they were built for actual use—a consideration that is given support by the narrowness of doors and windows. Back of this main block appeared the roof and chimneys of a wing facing the water. The whole effect was one of functional symmetry and regularity.

House and park alike gave clear evidence that careful attention had been given to maintenance of the beauty and value of this estate. Indeed it is surely Arthur Edward’s father, Hugh, who is depicted in the foreground of Pivater’s etching giving consideration with his steward to some further improvement. Everything about this beautiful home sent into the youngster’s mind its message of security and serenity.

The whole lovely valley stored the mind of the growing lad with many rich gifts of beauty: the wooded plain, its stately homes and thatched white-washed cottages inter-
spersed with ancient churches and ruined towers remindful of a storied past; the soft green texture of planted fields; the azure blue of flax; the hills of Antrim across a misty lough. When Arthur Edward and his brothers tired of their demesne and its tenant farms, they sometimes climbed up the valley of a little stream to the sunny cultivated slopes of the hills behind Cultra. They could look right down into Holywood, their eyes drawn to its ancient Irish church. Farther west, past the wide straight streets and handsome brick buildings of Belfast, rose a bold range of hills on the far side of the River Lagan. Down in the valley large white patches everywhere caught their eyes. These were bleachfields, this region's visible badge of an ever-growing linen industry, that in these post-war depression years somewhat lessened the heavy blow dealt to all classes by low prices for agricultural products and by falling rents. Yet, when the boys looked down from the hills into their own farmlands during ploughing season they saw the farmers using the new Scottish plough and improved harrows. They did not realize that they were living in the dawn of a new agricultural and industrial age. Boylike, they had already turned to watch a sail on busy tidal waters, or to dream of old battles in the bold towers of ancient Carrickfergus Castle across the bay.

1 Maxwell, C., Country and town in Ireland under the Georges, pp. 219, 220, 240 and 274.
Along their own shore-line there were many things for boys to do during Ulster's long summer days. Arthur Edward became a strong swimmer; and one night many years later he was to be glad of that ability, for it was the means of saving him in a shipwreck when many others were lost. And, of course, from early childhood the Kennedy boys must have spent as many hours on the water as in it. Here it was that Arthur Edward learned to sail. Probably he perfected his skill in the better sailing waters just off nearby Bangor and Helen's Bay. His cousins, the Sharman-Crawfords, owned the estate of Crawfordsburn which ran down to the sandy shores of Helen's Bay. It is probable that Arthur Edward and John Sharman-Crawford, who were the same age, spent many an hour on these pleasant yachting waters. Certain it is that Arthur Edward at a later time showed a most competent knowledge of the proper management of a sailing ship and could say, "I have sailed a good deal in my time."

Most of their play was rough. There were no organized team games. There was little supervision. There was even much unconscious approval among his class of rough and vigorous play where a boy learned to take his knocks without complaint. Arthur therefore spent much time in rowdy play with his brothers and the sons of his father's tenants, in hiking, bird-nesting, running, hard riding on horseback and

1 See below, p. 319.
2 Burke, Landed Gentry of Ireland, pp. 366 and 141.
3 See below, p. 312.
fighting. Thus he learned to face up to trouble with boldness. Steadily he developed those qualities of leadership that were demanded of his class.

Thus Arthur Edward grew in confidence in the security of a gracious family life, a beautiful home, and the rough freedom of a friendly band of demesnes that stretched from Holywood to Helen's Bay—a lovely fertile land dotted with lakes and wooded hills and owned by friends and relatives of his family. That his was a happy childhood is attested by Malcolm Sproat's story concerning a dinner party a half century later. Sproat tells how Kennedy engaged in brilliant and eager conversation with the celebrated Irish actor, Charles Kean, each recalling with joy his own youthful experiences and pranks.

1 Bryant, Arthur, The age of elegance, p. 263.

2 Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm, Memoranda on various subjects, MS., Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C. (hereafter referred to as Sproat, Memoranda).
For sons of the gentry in the early nineteenth century hiking, swimming, sailing, horse-back riding, and rough play had their important function of developing qualities of sturdiness and leadership. These things, however, were for leisure and holiday hours; the boys also had serious work to do—their study. The aim of education in their day and for their class was to make them into polished gentlemen. By their studies they were to be prepared for the life they would lead. They were to be developed into well-mannered lads who had obtained a good knowledge of adult human life and institutions, and of the opportunities that would be theirs. They were to be disciplined into habits of self-reliance and a spirit of devotion to their country, and their mental powers were to be developed by the discipline of their studies. In this early nineteenth century, when humanism still dominated educational theory, it was held that these ends of useful knowledge and of disciplined faculties were to be achieved mainly through the study of classical languages and literature.

1 Maxwell, C., Country and town in Ireland under the Georges, p. 192.

One of Arthur Edward's older brothers, Robert Stewart Kennedy, had been sent off to Dr. George Miller's school in Armagh, perhaps because it was the school to which his famous namesake, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, had gone. But the more usual course was followed for Arthur Edward, who was kept at home to be given his elementary education by a private tutor. Since he was going to try for entrance to Trinity College, Dublin, where the standard of admission in the classics was high, his preparation would have to be through. This matriculation course demanded no English composition, no English literature and no mathematics. It is therefore highly probable that the youngster, in usual fashion, was kept busy for the whole of his study time at learning Greek and Latin grammar, at writing prose composition in both languages and verse in Latin, and at the careful translation and dissection of the

1 Burtchaell, G. D. and Sadleir, T. U., Alumni Dublinenses, a register of the students, graduates, professors, and provosts of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin, London, Williams and Norgate, 1924, pp. 461 and 576. Future references will be made in the form Alumni Dublinenses.


3 Stanford, W. B., op. cit., p. 11.
prescribed texts. The course for matriculation into Trinity College, Dublin, at this time was as follows:

Homer's *Iliad*, eight books; Murphy's *Lucian*; Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, three books; Greek Testament, four Gospels and Acts; Epictetus; *Tabula Cebetis*; Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, six books; Terence, three plays; Horace, Odes, Satires, and Epistles; Juvenal, Satires, 3, 10, 13, and 14. [sic] (1)

It was in these and in similar Greek and Latin books that a dominant classicism held that a boy would find the truest appreciation of human life and institutions, most clearly and beautifully expressed. It was by means of a rigorous study of the perfectly ordered classical languages, during all the years of his boyhood and early adolescence, that his mental faculties, especially his powers of reasoning and his memory, were to be developed.

What part this formal side of his education played in Arthur Edward's whole upbringing we cannot say for sure—probably less than warranted by the effort put forth.

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1 Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University of Dublin and of Trinity College; together with appendices, containing evidence, suggestions, and correspondence, Presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Dublin, Alexander Thom, 1853; Report, pp. 64-65.

This report will be referred to from now on as Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853.
However, it was part of a whole system of upbringing which we cannot dismiss lightly. Many influences aiming at common objectives were brought to bear on the youngster: family tradition, his home, his friends and the whole order of which he was a member, and in which he would carry on his work. Although many other factors were yet to play their part in his development, these early years must have laid the foundation for many of the characteristics he was to show later; and from them we may judge that he had now developed into a well-mannered, courteous, prompt and kindly youngster—confident, high-spirited and not too borne down by the weight of his studies.

Already two of his older brothers had preceded him to Trinity College, Dublin. The records of the university carry the name of a John Kennedy who graduated in 1822 and took his Master of Arts degree in 1832. Other details are missing, a frequent occurrence in the record of graduates because the first data concerning a student were written on slips of paper, from which the Senior Lecturer in due course compiled the Matriculation Books. From the fact that this John Kennedy would be the right age and that two

1 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 3. Trinity College, Dublin, was established with complete university powers of granting degrees in all faculties.

2 Burtchaell and Sadleir, Alumni Dublinenses, p. 460

3 Ibid., p. X.
others of the family went to Trinity College, Dublin, it would appear that he was Arthur Edward's eldest brother, who must have entered the college when he was about sixteen years old—a very usual age for matriculation in the early years of the nineteenth century. The records of the next brother are complete: Robert Stewart Kennedy entered the college on November 6, 1820, took his Bachelor of Arts degree in the summer of 1824 and his Master of Arts degree at the same time as John in November of 1832, having already been admitted to the Irish Bar in 1830. The Master's degree was obtained simply by keeping one's name on the books of the university for three years after graduation and paying the necessary fees; there was no course and no examination and the final exercises were merely formal. Why the Kennedys waited so long to take their Master's degrees is not evident.

When Robert was about to enter his final year at the university, and Arthur Edward was fourteen and a half years old, his parents decided to send him up to college. Now, while that age was distinctly younger than the average for

1 Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, p. X.
matriculation, it was not uncommon; there were even cases of lads who entered at a younger age. It was considered desirable to send boys to university at an early age in order that they might gain knowledge of the ways of their fellows by immediate contact with them—especially if an older person of good character was there to guide the process. So far as the parents of Arthur's class were concerned that was the major purpose of a short period at college. If the lad wanted to make the effort needed to add a final polish to his knowledge of the classics, so much the better, but the real purpose would be served if he absorbed the culture of his class in society. Now Arthur undoubtedly was very young and it is possible that his father intended that the youngster should spend only that one year at university while Robert was there. For, in spite of the fact that general accounts of his life imply that he completed the course, the records of the university do not show that he attended after that first year, and his name does not appear in the Catalogue of Graduates. It is true that the gaps in the records for

1 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 130

2 Stephen and Lee, DNB, vol. 10, p. 1301. Other biographical dictionaries follow this one. It seems to have been a normal procedure to enter "educated at Trinity College, Dublin" for a year's stay.

3 Dr. Olive Smith, for Assistant Registrar, to H.C.G., Assistant Registrar's Office, Trinity College, Dublin, September 21, 1948.
the years around 1824 are more than usually severe, and the Catalogue of Graduates is also notable for an amazing number of errors and omissions around that time. But the fact remains that there is no positive evidence that Arthur stayed at Trinity College, Dublin, for more than the academic year of 1823-1824.

Whatever their reason for sending him to university at such an early age, the family thought it wise to enter him as sixteen instead of fourteen. Such overstatement of age appears to have been a fairly common occurrence; with reference to this practice Burtchaell and Sadleir ask, "Is it possible that our ancestors computed the ages of their sons as we do those of our horses, and described the undergraduate as 'rising sixteen'?"

Entrance examinations were conducted four times a year—\(^\text{4}\) in January, July, October and November. Arthur went up on October 20, 1813. Each candidate was examined by one of the Junior Fellows, the men who carried on most of the education-

\(^{1}\) Alumni Dublinenses, p. VII.

\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. XI. The Catalogue of Graduates was published in 1866 by Dr. J. H. Todd.

\(^{3}\) Alumni Dublinenses, p. X.

\(^{4}\) Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 64.

\(^{5}\) Alumni Dublinenses, p. 460.
al work at the college. The examination consisted of a searching oral exploration of the candidate's knowledge of two or three Greek and Latin texts chosen from the prescribed list. Young Arthur's success in passing this difficult examination was perhaps as much due to having had a tutor who was a good teacher as it was to his own ability.

After he had paid his entry fee, signed a declaration promising to obey the statutes of the university and taken the Oath of Abjuration (against descendants of James II), he was duly entered in the Matriculation books as follows:

Kennedy, Arthur, son of Hugh, Gentleman, entered October 20th, 1823, aged 16, born Down, Fellow Commoner, educated Private Tutor, James Kennedy, F., T.C.D. (3)

The term, "Fellow Commoner," indicated the rank he was to have as a student. For, depending on the amount of fee paid, there were several grades of students, each rank permitting a different duration of undergraduate course. A majority of the students belonged to the class called Pensioners (because they originally paid a fixed sum annually). They took from three and half to four and a half years to complete their course, the longer term being by far the more usual. Sons of noblemen, who paid fees four times as great as those of Pensioners, were permitted to complete their work in from

1 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 64.
2 See above, p. 64.
3 Olive Smith, for Assistant Registrar, to H.C.G., Assistant Registrar's Office, Trinity College, Dublin, September 21, 1948. See also Alumni Dublìnenses, p. 46D.
one and half to two and a half years. In consequence of this shortened time, they were allowed to omit many of the most important parts of the course. Fellow Commoners, so-called because they dined at the same table as the Fellows, paid fees double those of Pensioners and were allowed to finish in three to four years, usually answering for the Degree of A.B. in the middle of their fourth year. This hurrying through college in a less than average time was not likely to encourage a high standard of work.

Having obtained a Fellow Commoner's gown, with its long sleeves and velvet collar, and having arranged for chambers within the college walls (consisting of a living-room, a bedroom and a closet), Arthur could now take time to look around his new home. Despite his youth he must have been aware of the austere beauty of the rectangular classic forms of the college buildings—the proud Corinthian facade of the West Front, the stately matching porticoes of Examination Hall and Chapel facing each other across College Green, and the gracefully proportioned Dining Hall with its lovely Ionic pillars. He was soon to know the interior of

1 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 57. The degree is referred to in the report sometimes as B.A. and sometimes as A.B.

2 Ibid., p. 63 and Appendices, p. 260. Students from outside, who did not have relatives in Dublin, usually lived in the College. It is quite possible, however, that Arthur lived with friends or relatives. There is no record at the university of where he lived.

this beautiful building very well, for he sat at the Fellows' table at the top end under a great Venetian window. His admiration of the hall's beauty and size was perhaps somewhat obscured as it was borne home to him that he was dining in "the coldest room in Europe". But he was young, and was probably too interested in watching the exciting rough fun at the lower tables to be much bothered by the cold. Nor, when he saw the Library, was a youngster of his age likely to be greatly worried because he was not allowed to use it. For fear that they would read injudiciously, undergraduates were not permitted to consult or to use its great collection of books in any way. Beyond the college walls there were the wonders of the city to see—the splendid Bank of Ireland (formerly the Parliament Buildings), the Royal Exchange, Gandon's Custom House and many other fine buildings.

"Dublin is splendid beyond my expectation," said Sir Walter Scott when he viewed it two years later, in 1825. Arthur was probably just as much impressed, but perhaps he was

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1 Furlong, E. J., "The study of logic in Trinity College, Dublin", in *Hermathena*, vol. 60, November 1942, p. 43.

2 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, pp. 75-76.

3 Maxwell, C., *Dublin under the Georges, 1714-1830*, p. 255.
less interested in fine buildings than he was in Dame Street's bustle of life and traffic.

In Arthur Kennedy's time Trinity College, Dublin, was headed by Provost Samuel Kyle, who was assisted in the management of the university by seven Senior Fellows. Most of the educational work was carried on by twelve Junior Fellows, whose duties included teaching, examining, guiding and giving religious instruction to the undergraduates.

Religious instruction had been one of the essential parts of the work of this college since its founding by Queen Elizabeth in 1592 at request of the heads of the Established Church in Ireland. The Fellows of the university were under obligation of celibacy and were required to take Holy Orders within three years of election. Each Junior Fellow had charge of the moral and religious guidance of his own group of students, that is if they were members of the Established Church; Roman Catholics, who had been admitted freely since 1793, and Protestant Dissenters, were excused religious duties. In 1807 Catechetical Lectures on the

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1 Maxwell, C., Dublin under the Georges, 1714-1830, p. 257.


3 Ibid., pp. 3, 4, 6, 10, 17.

4 Ibid., p. 2.

5 Ibid., Appendices, p. 113.

6 Ibid., pp. 62 and 53.
Bible and on portions of Secker's *Lectures on Church Catechism* had been established. These lectures were held every Saturday. It was compulsory for all students in the first two years, being members of the Established Church, to attend these lectures, or else to pass examinations on the topics concerned, on penalty of losing their class. Members of the Established Church had likewise to attend Holy Communion in the College Chapel. They were also required to attend service every day in that chapel, there being three services a day. A careful check of the attendance was made and fines were levied for even occasional non-compliance. The students of the college were regarded as members of one family who attended worship together—regular attendance a condition of continuance at the institution. Services were conducted by the Fellows of the college, one of the most notable at Arthur's time being Franc Sadleir, who preached in the chapel between 1821 and 1824. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the poor.

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1 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, pp. 20, 70 and Appendices, pp. 113-114.

2 Ibid., pp. 53, 63.

3 Ibid., Appendices, p. 264.

4 Ibid., p. 63.

a fact which is mentioned as possibly indicating one source of Arthur's own similar concern in later years.

This intensive programme of religious education was a definite part of the function of this essentially Protestant institution founded to strengthen the position of the Established Church and to promote "the cultivation of virtue and religion". In the earnestly moral early nineteenth century such instruction was approved more than ever. Since Arthur came from a family that was closely in contact with the Church, it might be expected that he found the programme a reasonably natural procedure. Yet, for a high-spirited lad of fourteen, attendance at chapel every day was a great deal to expect. Moreover, the element of compulsion, with its elaborate machinery of checking attendance, acted as a challenge to the ingenuity of a young fellow to devise means of escape without too often being caught and fined. As for the Saturday Catechetical Lectures, they alternated between the boredom of waiting for one's turn to be questioned on some days, and on other days the greater boredom of copying questions and answers. The novelist, Lever, who attended "Old Trinity" at the same time as Arthur did, described a student in his Charles O'Malley, who "voted morning chapels above...and pronounced the statute-book, with its

1 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 5
2 Alumni Dublinenses, p. 499:
attendant train of fines and punishment, an 'unclean thing'."

Arthur Kennedy's own blunt verdict given in later years was:

He had been at school himself, and he had not found that attending chapel and lectures had done him much good, or indeed anyone else. (2)

One effect of this experience on Arthur's mind was to convince him, when he looked back in later life, that school was not the right place to instil religious doctrines. That was a task for the parents in the home, for the Church and for the Sunday School.

In spite of the shortness of his time there, Trinity made another contribution to Arthur Edward's attitudes of which he was probably unaware at the time. That contribution was a reinforcement of the liberal influence of his home in relation to religious tolerance. A true spirit of generosity marked that very Protestant university. Highly controversial centre though it was, Trinity College, Dublin, had admitted Roman Catholics in 1793, free of all religious tests, and it allowed them to go on to their degrees unhindered by mean interference for half a century before the older English universities followed suit. This generous code in the midst of clashing creeds would make a strong impression on the mind of a


2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 13, 1864, p. 3.

3 Ibid., April 4, 1864, p. 3; April 5, 1864, p. 3; April 13, 1864, p. 3.

4 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 191
fourteen-year-old.

Although new ideas were beginning to make headway in education, they had not begun effectively to influence the curriculum or teaching methods of the universities. Provost Kyle's period from 1821 to 1830 was a time of slack water just before a new tide of reform came in with Provost Lloyd in the 1830's. Thus Arthur Kennedy went to Dublin during a time when courses, methods of instruction and the system of examination were all in great need of improvement. The final year of his formal education was, therefore, to be completed in an uninspired period when an old system was dragging to its close. Like Oxford and Cambridge at this time, Trinity College, Dublin, was dominated by the old classical system. No provision was made in the undergraduate course for study of a modern foreign language, for modern history or economics, for political economy, or for English. The chief subject was Classics, its ancient dominance buttressed by the theory of formal discipline. In the Junior and Senior Freshmen years the courses comprised Logic, Mathematics and Classics. To these in the


2 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, p.182. Report of the Dublin University Commission 1853, appendices p.333. Political economy was introduced to the undergraduate course in 1833.

Junior Sophister years were added: Mathematical Physics, Astronomy, and Moral Philosophy.

Arthur appears to have followed the ordinary undergraduate course in his Junior Freshman year. The first subject to which he was introduced was Logic, his textbook the famous Murray's Logic. A second textbook in use at this time was John Locke's Essay concerning human understanding. The youngsters were set to disputation, one member defending a given theme while two others attacked it with the aid of syllogisms, the whole proceeding being carried on in Latin in such barren fashion as to cause one alumnus to report, "Students were examined on Locke on the Human Understanding before their


2 T. Olive Smith, for Assistant Registrar, to H.C.G., Assistant Registrar's Office, Trinity College, Dublin, September 21, 1948.

3 Furlong, E. J., Loc. cit.

4 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, pp. 149-150.

Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 67 and Appendices p. 125. This text was moved into the second and third year by the reforms of 1833.

own had arrived at the first stage of maturity:"

Dr. Richard Murray, author of the logic text, was also the founder of the great mathematical school at Trinity at the end of the eighteenth century, when mathematics became an important part of the undergraduate course. The first year course in mathematics comprised Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry. One noted text-book was Erlington's Euclid. Barrington's stricture that, "Euclid was pressed upon their reason before any one of them could comprehend a single problem", seems rather far-fetched, because most boys in their middle teens are able to understand Geometry, even if its study does not produce the expected general increase in reasoning power. Dublin University was producing many famous mathematicians at this time, one of the greatest of whom, William Rowan Hamilton, matriculated in the same year as the much younger Arthur Kennedy. The close association of logic


3 Furlong, *op. cit.*, p. 44. The *Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853*, evidence, p. 213, shows that in 1853 Erlington was still in use.


5 *Ibid.*, p. 198. Hamilton was five years older than Kennedy on entry.
and mathematics in the first year course held some educational promise. In theory there was to be a concurrent examination of the basic principles of reflective thinking and a conscious practical application of those principles in the hope of developing some ability in reasoning. In actuality that hope was lost in a sterile emphasis on practising the mere forms of reasoning.

As we have seen, the most prominent subject at Arthur's time was Classics, the most important part of his work to obtain a "gentleman's knowledge" of polite ancient literature. The course in his Junior Freshman year comprised: Homer's Iliad, I - XII; selections from Lucian; Vergil's Aeneid, I - XI; Sallust and Terence. In addition to studying classical literature, he had each week to make a summary, with comment, on what he had learned from his tutor during that week. He had also to write another Latin composition in prose or verse. Thus by the discipline of studying this well-


2 Maxwell, A history of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 149.
ordered classical language, it was hoped, he would develop
the higher faculties of his mind. In summary we may note
that Arthur's courses consisted of Logic, Mathematics and
Classics. Logic and Mathematics were new subjects.
Classics, the dominant subject, was a continuation and
completion of the study that had occupied the working
hours of his boyhood.

Methods of instruction in the 1820's at Trinity College,
Dublin, had a few good points, but on the whole they were
inefficient. Each student was assigned by the Provost to
one of the Junior Fellows who was thenceforward to be his
Tutor, that is, his guardian, counsellor and teacher. A
tutor received his income from the fees paid to him by his
own pupils. Normally he taught these pupils only and he
taught them all their subjects. The main advantage of
this system was that a tutor could get to know his pupil
well and a friendly spirit could grow up between them.
However, it was a heavy load to teach all subjects through
all the years. A tutor was expected to devote one hour
a day to each of the first three classes, the Junior
Freshmen, the Senior Freshmen and the Junior Sophisters.
No record was kept of attendance, and, except in the
Junior Freshman year, very few students bothered to put

1 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853,
p. 13. (p. 89: The average income for a Junior
Fellow was £600 but there were great inequalities.)
in regular attendance at their tutor's lecture-room. There were many instances also of serious neglect of their teaching duties on the part of the Fellows.

In his Charles D'Malley Lever gives a derisive picture of the tutorial methods used in Arthur's time. He tells how the students were expected to be at the lodgings of their tutor at six o'clock in the morning and to stand shivering around the walls while he conducted his lessons lying snug in bed. He tells how they frequently found a notice on the door cancelling the lecture because their tutor was visiting friends. On one such occasion an early student removed the sign, entered the rooms and successfully impersonated the lecturer from the curtained recesses of his bed. When our prankster recounted this tale to a joyful student body, some of them were wise enough to realize that, "if such were the nature of our morning orisons, we might nearly as profitably have remained in bed."

During the hour that he had to devote to the students in his Junior Freshman class, a tutor spent one half his time on Classics; the other half was devoted to Logic and Mathematics. Very often much of his time was taken up in


2 Chapter 17, pp. 87-89.

giving instruction in Mathematics to those who had none; the other youngsters, who had been prepared in good schools where Algebra and Geometry were taught, were encouraged in habits of idleness while they waited. In most of the tutorial lectures the procedure was question and answer, both of which were frequently dictated by the lecturer and copied by the students. All told, it was inefficient instruction notably lacking in thoroughness, "a want painfully felt".

Now, although Arthur's tutor had an outstanding record as a scholar, he was in many ways unsuited as a teacher for a high-spirited youngster. This man was the Reverend James Kennedy, M.A., B.D. (later D.D., Rector of Ardtrea). His father, the Reverend Nicholas Ward Kennedy, had been born in County Down and may have been a distant relative of Arthur's father. It is quite possible that James Kennedy sought the position as Arthur's tutor, for the assignment was frequently made on the basis of family friendship or relationship, and James was very anxious to have it.

2 Ibid., Appendices, p. 336.
3 T. Olive Smith, for Assistant Registrar, to H.C.G., Assistant Registrar's Office, Trinity College, Dublin, September 21, 1948.
4 Alumni Dublinenses, p. 461.
5 Report of the Dublin University Commission, 1853, p. 16
known that his was an ancient and noble lineage. He afterwards asserted this relationship to the Earl of Cassillis, but the latter refused to admit the connection in spite of the great scholar's offer to make him his heir if the relationship were acknowledged. In another search for prestige James Kennedy changed his surname to Kennedy-Bailie. He was vain and pompous in manner. It was a characteristic certain to militate against his success in teaching this lively boy, who had a quick ability to detect affectation.

There can be no doubt, however, of James Kennedy's brilliance as a classical scholar. He had indeed so many irons in the fire, in addition to the ordinary heavy teaching load of a Junior Fellow, that he may have been as prone to neglect his students as many other tutors were in this poorly organized period. Entering Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner in 1807, at the same youthful age of fourteen as did Arthur, he had moved steadily onward: to the position of Scholar in 1810, to his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1812, to the rank of Fellow of the University in 1817 and to his Master of Arts degree in 1819. During this steady progress in his academic career, he had brought lustre to his university by the publication of three notable books:


Lachrymae Academicae, a volume of stanzas in English and Greek; Select Speeches of Demosthenes, with translation and notes; and an edition of Homer's Iliad, with Latin notes. Several other books were to come from his able pen—works remarkable for their depth of research. Perhaps he had already begun his studies for the next two. In 1829 he was to publish an edition of Aeschylus' Agamemnon from the text of Blomfield, with Voss's German version and an original rendering into English blank verse, and full notes. Then followed in 1834 Praelections on the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, delivered in the University of Dublin. Between 1842 and 1849 he published the three volumes of his Fasciculus Inscriptionum Graecarum, the product of many years of research. While one wonders whether this great classical scholar might have been impatient with the necessity of teaching elementary Mathematics and Logic, surely the virility and activity of his mind must have enriched his pupil's understanding of classical literature in spite of any ostentation of manner.

In the year that he was Arthur's tutor James Kennedy had yet another preoccupation. In 1823 he had just completed the Testimonium of the Divinity School and had received ordination in the United Church of England and Ireland. His work had evidently been of a high standard for he had been elected Donnellan Lecturer for the year.

1823 - 1824. This honour carried with it the duty of delivering at least six sermons—Kennedy gave ten—in the College Chapel on certain Sundays after morning service. The series started on or about November 20, 1823, and had to be completed within a year. One part of the interest on twelve hundred pounds was to be paid to the lecturer as soon as he had delivered all the sermons and the remainder when he had published at least four of the lectures. In due course they were published in two volumes under the title, Ten lectures on the philosophy of the Mosaic record of creation. The preparation of these ten sermons must have occupied a considerable part of James Kennedy’s time during this year. Altogether his activities of preaching, of research and of publishing, when added to the overburdensome teaching load of a Junior Fellow, made it impossible for him to discharge those wide duties as guardian, counsellor and instructor that were expected of him on Arthur’s behalf.

1 *Alumni Dublinenses*, p. 460, gives the year of election, 1823.


3 Stephen and Lee, *loc. cit.*
While his tutor was busy and his brother was immersed in his Senior Sophister year, young Arthur seems to have been in need of the missing guidance. In later years he was to make deprecatory reference to the "exuberant spirits" and "elastic nature" of his youth. It is probable, therefore, that he participated fully in the favourite boyish pranks of throwing fire-crackers about the courts to alarm the Fellows, cutting the tassels off other boys' gowns during lectures, stamping in unison on the stairs and rapping loudly on each door in passing. And some Junior Freshmen felt it incumbent on them to prove that they were no longer boys by drinking, fighting, and rollicking in the streets after roll-call at night.

The university was right in the heart of a city which had many distractions to offer—fairs, tea-gardens, assembly rooms, horse-back riding in Phoenix Park and the fun of going to the Hawkins Street Theatre. Charles Lever formed his impression of such distractions at this very time and embodied them in the experiences of his hero, O'Malley. That young man was seldom at morning lecture, rose about eleven o'clock, and spent the day in fencing,

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1 Brisbane Courier, May 4, 1883, and the Alsbury Crier, late June, 1883, p. 115. (Both are clippings from the old family book.)


3 Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges, p. 211.
boxing, playing tennis, riding in the Phoenix and visiting, after which he absented himself from commons and had dinner sent in from a restaurant. His evenings were spent at balls, whist parties and rowdyism at the theatres or in the streets. Much of his time was spent in the company of young army officers; and it was in visits to their mess-rooms that army life presented itself to him in glowing colours and strengthened his desire to become a soldier. Improbable as O'Malley's experiences appear in total, it may have been in some such way that Arthur Kennedy was confirmed in his early desire to take up army life.

O'Malley spent only one year at the university. He did not even stay to try his Junior Freshman examinations. And again Arthur Kennedy's experience seems to run parallel. If he tried those examinations in 1824, "he does not seem to have been successful". The youngster had probably neglected his studies and it is reasonable to suppose that he was not adequately prepared for his examinations.

Yet it was possible for a student to lose his year through no fault of his own, because the system of exam-

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1 Lever, op. cit., Chapter 15, p. 73 and Chapter 16, p. 83.

2 T. Olive Smith, for Assistant Registrar, to H.C.G., Assistant Registrar's Office, Trinity College, Dublin, September 21, 1948.

As noted above on pages 67 and 68, the records for 1824 are defective, which is probably the reason for the caution in the above statement.
inations, like the tutorial system, was badly in need of reform. In the Junior Freshman year the students were divided into groups of about thirty for examination. To each group were assigned one examiner in Classics and one in the other subjects. Except in Latin Composition these examinations were oral and they continued for four hours a day during two days, one student being examined at a time. Under this system a majority of the candidates were idle for a large part of the time. Moreover, there was a great unevenness of incidence in the examining—some students who were badly prepared escaping with a question or two, while others were examined at length.

How Arthur came to grief in these examinations—if he actually did come to grief—we do not know. Perhaps his excuse was no better than that of Jonathan Swift, who likewise lost his first year at Dublin. Swift's examiner "treacherously" questioned him on the second book in Geometry, contrary to the laws of examining warfare, for the youth had told him that he had confined his study to the first book. Or was Arthur like that other Dublin


2 Ibid., p. 69 and Appendices, p. 337.

3 Furlong, Hermathena, vol. 60, November 1942, p. 43.
student, Oliver Goldsmith, who was incompetent in both Mathematics and Logic? Since Arthur had successfully met a difficult entrance examination in the Classics and had had for a tutor one of the most brilliant classical scholars of that time, it is hard to believe that his failure could be in Classics. We are therefore left with Mathematics and Logic. Yet when Kennedy met a real need in life for mathematics and logic, he was well able to respond. As a colonial governor he demonstrated superior ability in the mathematics of finance and an incisive power of reasoning in the field of public affairs. During his period in Vancouver Island Matthew Macfie took measure of Kennedy as a "man accustomed to quick and accurate observations". And the competent Malcolm Sproat testifies to Kennedy's clear-headedness and to his "quickness of apprehension". Although Arthur does not appear to have been endowed with either the desire or the ability for intellectual speculation of a high order, he was highly competent in carrying through extensive and concentrated study on any practical problem that concerned him and he had the happy knack of coming to sound conclusions.

3 Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
The short period that he stayed in university was not at all unusual. Parents of his class of society believed that it was more important for a young man to have direct contact with his fellows for a year or two than to gain any deep knowledge of the subjects offered at university. That belief was the basis for the extremely abbreviated course offered for sons of noblemen and for the short course possible for Fellow Commoners. In spite of the shorter courses available to them it is to be noted that in the 1820's, and probably for a good many years earlier, a majority of the sons of noblemen and a large proportion of the sons of the gentry did not go on to their degree.  

1 The statement is based on a survey of the columns of *Alumni Dublinenses* and a sampling count concerning Fellow Commoners in the 1820's:

- Of those whose surnames began with A, fifty-five percent did not go on to the degree;
- Of those whose surnames began with B, twenty-three percent did not go on to the degree;
- Of those whose surnames began with K, forty-three percent did not go on to the degree;
- Of the sixty-three Kennedys listed, fifty percent did not go on to the degree.
To leave at the end of the year, therefore, whether he failed his examinations or just did not bother to write them, does not appear to have carried with it any sense of defeat. On the contrary, the boy had got what he was sent for—a better knowledge of the ways of his caste. He could therefore correctly be described in future as having been "educated at Trinity College, Dublin".

We have been unable to discover where Arthur spent the three years after his Junior Freshman year at Trinity College, Dublin. In view of the extensive gaps in the university's records for these years it is possible that he went on to complete his work there; but preceding pages have shown our conclusion that it was unlikely. Instead he may have spent this period from his fifteenth to his eighteenth birthday preparing for his army career under direction of an army tutor. This is a possibility to which we would incline more strongly had he entered the army a quarter century later. In 1827 army commissions were obtained almost entirely by purchase without examinations.

It is more likely that he travelled. After a year or two at college it was common practice for young men of his class to visit the Continent. His kinsman, Castlereagh, had spent one year at Cambridge and then had gone on the Grand Tour. Travel on the Continent, especially in France and Italy, was a form of direct experience that was considered of more value than several extra years at university.

1 Maxwell, Country and town in Ireland under the Georges, p. 192.


3 Cf. Anthony Trollope's novel, Dr. Thorne, London, the Zodiac Press, 1949 (first published in 1858), p. 58: The young hero is about to return to Cambridge to complete his final year: "'Is it not a waste of time?' asked the countess, 'Would it not be better to send him abroad at once?"
Is is possible, therefore, that the Kennedy lads went off to Europe in 1824—to a continent of reaction. However, the tide of reaction had just been brought to a halt by the policy which Castlereagh had initiated and Canning had now completed by barring reactionary France from interference in Portugal and by recognition of the independence of Spain's South American colonies. There was another centre of interest in southern Europe that would draw the thoughts of young men who had been brought up in the Hellenic tradition. Byron was in Greece fighting for the liberty of its people. Yet, whatever sympathy the young men had for that cause was rooted in their classical education and not in any desire for democracy. In all probability they concurred heartily with Canning's pride that his country maintained a course midway between "the two conflicting bigotries" of despotism and democracy.

Arthur may have spent some of this three-year period with friends or relatives at Waterford in the south of Ireland. There were some Kennedys in Waterford but we have no assurance that they were his relatives. At the period with which we are concerned the Archdeacon at Waterford was the Venerable James Kennedy; We know that Arthur


2 O'Byrne, A naval biographical dictionary, p. 606. The information is given in the record of his son, John, who was a naval officer.
Arthur lived in Waterford at some time—and that most probably in his youth—from Malcolm Sproat's story recounted above of a dinner conversation between Kennedy and the famous actor, Charles Kean. When these two found that "they were both Waterford men", they fell to recalling happy memories of their youthful days.

Conditions in Ireland in the period around 1825 or 1826 would bring to the young man a new realization of the troubles of his native land. The apprehensions of many of his friends in the Protestant north had been aroused by the growing solidarity and strength of O'Connell's Catholic Association, which was beginning to campaign not only for Catholic Emancipation but even for repeal of the Union. Whatever indifference the north had felt towards Union at its inception had been dissipated by its economic benefits to that area and by the realization that it was the one bulwark protecting Protestants from becoming a disregarded minority in Ireland. Threat to Union therefore aroused the north to angry alarm. The trouble was made worse by a

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1 p. 61.

2 Sproat, M., Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.


4 The annual register or a view of the history, politics and literature of the year 1826, London, Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, C. and J. Rivington, 1827.
population increase of a million in every decade, which created a hunger for land and a keen competition for farms. That competition led to an increasing rate of eviction out of which grew a savage war, marked on the one hand by boycott, sabotage, and murder and on the other by search for arms, curfew and suspension of trial by jury. As it became increasingly evident that the garrison system to which Ireland had been condemned by the failure of 1800 was no longer able to cope with disorder, religious bitterness was intensified. Yet some Protestants in Ulster supported Catholic Emancipation in the hope that it would lead to the pacification of Ireland. Among them was Frederick William Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, member of Parliament for Down. We have also seen that Arthur's grandfather had trained his family in an attitude of tolerance, and presently we shall have evidence that Arthur must have been brought up in that fortunate tradition.

For the moment, however, we shall look forward through this whole harsh decade between 1826 and 1836 to note how religious bitterness became still more difficult. After emancipation had been conceded it was found that the Irish members, now elected by Catholic votes, united with the Whigs to attack the tithes and the position of the Established Church in Ireland. Then Castlereagh and his friends bitterly

1 Hansard, New or Second Series, vol. 20, columns 155, 920, 1145-1149.
regretted their support of emancipation. All of the noblemen of County Down and nearly all of the propertied gentlemen united in a great meeting in the fall of 1834 to campaign against the Melbourne government. The Whigs called it an Orange gathering. When the government fell, Down exulted in that fall, and Castlereagh raised the cry, "No Popery!"

Arthur Kennedy was forming many of his opinions and attitudes in this harsh decade. Fortunate for him that his family tradition was one of level-headed tolerance! We find that he was never bitter in his references to Roman Catholics. Two decades later we shall find this Ulsterman gratefully accepting the assistance of Roman Catholic priests in the service of a stricken Catholic population, and giving public credit to those priests for cooperation and efficient

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1 *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 27, column 808.
service. Still later, in 1864, he told how he had emphasized the right of Roman Catholic priests to have the same access to the common schools during the period set aside for religious instruction as was available to Protestant ministers. He also told with what regret he had seen the evil results of boys being brought up to denounce the religion of others. He advocated such up-bringing of children as would avoid the evil results of religious envy, hatred and malice. And he

1 Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, 29 January, 1848, in "Papers relating to proceedings for the relief of the distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, Fifth Series, 1848 (presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty)", Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes, (17). Relief of distress and union workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847- 5 September 1848, London, Printed by William Clowes and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1848, volume 17, p. 401.

Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, January 31, 1848, Sixth series, volume 18, p. 787.

Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, March 30, 1848, Sixth series, volume 18, p. 810.

2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 4, 1864, p. 3.

Loc. cit.

4 The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island, June 23, 1864, p. 3.
summed up his liberal attitude in religious matters by saying that:

he had a deep sense of the importance of religion and would always be disposed to stoutly defend his own; but this would only make him respect the more those who differed from him. (1)

Here would seem to be the most profitable place to examine other influences exerted by the age in which he lived on the whole of Arthur Kennedy's formative youth and young manhood—the period from the close of war in 1815 into the 'forties. Our purpose in this, as in the past chapters, is to assess all the factors that went into the early development of this man who was to become a rather typical colonial governor of the Victorian Age. This time of his young manhood was a period of major transition marked by many conflicting systems of thought. When in old age Kennedy was critical of his high-spirited young manhood, he failed to remember how alert his mind had been to the currents of thought, the theories and the problems of that period. Yet in common with the majority of reasonably intelligent people he did not arrange his ideas into a consistent, orderly and well-arranged philosophy. Instead his mind tended to select from the various systems of thought those ideas that had closest affinity to his own nature and to the ideas that had already

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 13, 1864, p. 3.
been instilled into his mind by his home environment. In the same way his reaction to the events of the time was influenced by the attitudes which had been built up in him by that environment.

In the period under review one of the most powerful influences in shaping the political ideas of a young member of the propertied classes was a horror of violent revolution carried over from the days of the French Revolution. We have seen how the grim events of the nineties in Europe and in Ireland had swung the members of Arthur's class and family away from their desire for moderate reform. When the war was over in 1815 this reaction did not readily die away; for at least a decade afterwards an intense fear of revolution and mob violence persisted among the possessing classes and in many minds it continued long after that. Circumstances in Ireland must again have strengthened that fear. While the region in the immediate vicinity of Arthur's home was free from the violence and intimidation which marked the agrarian war over most of the country, yet the horrible methods used by the Irish peasants in that war formed one indignant topic of every propertied family's conversation. The whole period of

1 Petrie, George Canning, pp. 150-151.
Arthur's youth was coloured by a belief in the innate savagery of "the lower orders of society". These early impressions made it hard for him to conceive the idea that the common man should share in control of the government—which, after all, was an inability common to his class for a great many years to come.

Although in course of time he became skilled in the art of governing in conjunction with representative institutions, he showed a preference for the more authoritative forms of government in the colonies. We shall discover also that his

1 Clipping from a Brisbane, Queensland newspaper probably the Courier, late June, 1883: "... During the period of his official life in Queensland, he never came into conflict with any branch of the legislature. ..." (This clipping is from the old family book in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia.)

The Albury Crier, New South Wales, late June, 1883, p. 115: "... Sir Arthur had made a host of friends in Australia and no enemies. ..."

2 The article in the Brisbane newspaper above refers to his statement on leaving the governorship of Hong Kong in 1877 that he preferred a Crown Colony.

Kennedy to Cardwell, Government House, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 16 Separate, March 21, 1865: He suggests that for the completely elective legislature in Vancouver Island there be substituted one which was one-third appointive.

Vancouver Island - Governor (Kennedy), Despatches to London, March 25, 1864 to November 19, 1866, original official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
attitude was not a feeling of responsibility to the people for proper management of their affairs, but rather a deep paternal sense of responsibility for their welfare. That paternalism was an outcome of the environment of his youth—membership in a wealthy and highly respected family of ancient lineage, a family of resident landlords deeply and successfully interested in the welfare and happiness of their tenants. Sometimes that family background of patriarchal benevolence induced in him a feeling that his class held a monopoly of political wisdom and led him into arbitrary action. Yet his sense of dedication to the public good eventually brought him to a realization of the abilities of ordinary people and enabled him to work in harmony with them.

What his political affiliations were, it is hard to determine for sure. A large part of his life was passed in a sphere of action that made it undesirable for him to express his own political ideas, for as a colonial governor he was called on to enunciate the policy of the home government. The previous period of his young manhood was one of such shifting political alignments that often it was

1 On the marriage of Arthur's elder brother, Robert Stewart Kennedy, "... in honour of the happy occasion the inhabitants of Holywood, to testify their regard for the representatives of the ancient family of the Kennedys, illuminated their beautiful village; tar brush and bonfires blazed in the streets for several hours." (from a newspaper clipping in possession of Mr. A. E. K. Bunnell, Toronto, Ontario.)

2 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C. Sproat notes his "high sense of honour" and "devotion to duty".
almost impossible to discover to what party a man belonged. It will be readily agreed that all the evidence we have reviewed so far indicates without doubt that he was not a high Tory. While he was influenced to some extent by schemes of reform, we shall see that he could not be classed as a Radical. It has already become evident, and further exploration will confirm us in the belief, that although he was called a democrat on at least one occasion he could not truly be classed as such. Some of his close friendships, notably that of the second Marquess of Normanby, and some of the men whose ideas seemed to influence him, for example Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, appear to align him with the liberal wing of the Whigs. The term "liberal" was indeed


Trevelyan, British history in the nineteenth century, pp. 232 and 325.


2 The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 8, 1864, p. 3. Letter from an Anglican.

3 Clipping from a Brisbane, Queensland newspaper, late June, 1883. See footnote 1, p. 100 above.
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used in reference to his policy in 1864. However, it appears that whenever his ideas or attitudes are correctly described as liberal—his religious tolerance, his recognition of people of other races as equal human beings, his desire for the widening of educational opportunity, and even his preference for freer trade—all were ideas and attitudes held in common by liberal people regardless of party.

There was even a liberal wing—favouring Catholic emancipation and liberal measures concerning tariffs—in the Tory cabinets which dominated affairs during the whole span of Arthur's boyhood and youth. The leadership of that liberal section of the Tories was shared between George Canning and Viscount Castlereagh. Castlereagh favoured Catholic Emancipation. He was also liberal in economic matters. In both these ways Arthur followed his famous kins-

1 The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island, July 9, 1864, p. 3.


Petrie, George Canning, pp. 156, 162 and 230.


4 Halévy, A history of the English people, 1815-1830, pp. 136 and 140.
man. Close scrutiny of Kennedy's family affiliations and of his own ideas in general, lead us to the belief that he was a liberal Conservative. Throughout the early nineteenth century the families to which the Kennedys were allied were Tory and Conservative. County Down as a whole was almost invariably on that side. When it is borne in mind that the Kennedys were country squires it follows almost automatically that they would be Conservatives.

It is true that Malcolm Sproat, who was well-versed in matters concerning British politics, said in his 1 Memoranda that Arthur Kennedy was one of the "recommendees" of C. S. Fortescue, who was Under-Secretary for the Colonies in a Liberal administration. However, the implication in Sproat's words is that Kennedy was chosen rather because he was a suitable Irishman than because of politics. Moreover, by 1863 Kennedy was well-established in the colonial service, had just completed a most successful governorship and was clearly in line for promotion. It might be more conclusive evidence of political affiliation to notice what government first gave him evidence of favour in the colonial service. That was the first Derby government of 1852—a Conservative

1 Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
administration. It was also a Derby government that gave him his knighthood in 1867. It may be argued with good reason that he was again entitled to that honour, having been largely instrumental in bringing about the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and thereby solving a difficult problem for the British Government and at the same time forwarding one of its highly desired objectives. Nevertheless, an unfriendly

1 See below p. 253. Kennedy was promised the governorship of the Gambia (gazetted in May of 1852) but secured the better position of Sierra Leone (gazetted in September of 1852) without having gone to the Gambia. This favour must be ascribed to the Conservative administration.

2 The Annual Register, a review of public events at home and abroad for the year 1867, London, Rivington, 1868, p. 260.

3 The British Colonist, Victoria, July 9, 1864, p. 3; The Evening Express, Victoria, July 9, 1864, pp. 2, 3; The British Colonist, Victoria, January 8, 1867, p. 3; Kennedy to Newcastle, Government House, Victoria, Vancouver Island, Separate May 5, 1864; Kennedy to Cardwell, Government House, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 84, Miscellaneous, October 8, 1864; No. 14, Separate, March 21, 1865; No. 16, Separate, March 21, 1865; No. 92, Separate, December 1, 1865. Vancouver Island - Governor (Kennedy). Despatches to London, March 25, 1864 to November 19, 1866, original official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
administration might easily have found many events during his governorship of Vancouver Island on which to base refusal of the honour. Moreover, we have almost conclusive evidence in that year of 1867 of Kennedy's Conservative affiliations. He and his family were present at the hustings during the bitterly fought election in West Gloucestershire in the company of the most prominent supporters of the successful Conservative candidate. In the light of the foregoing evidence it seems reasonably safe to conclude that Arthur Kennedy was a liberal Conservative.

We have ascribed the formation of his political views to the environment of his youth—to the influence of family, friends and the general current of thought in County Down. Doctor Bryant in his *Age of Elegance* has pointed out that the character and political views of Arthur's generation were also profoundly influenced by the great writers of the early nineteenth century. It has been shown that Cultra was a home where interest was taken in books, and Arthur Kennedy's later career shows him to be an assiduous reader.

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1 The Times, London, August 12, 1867, p. 12. See also *The Times*, 1867: July 15, p. 9; July 18, p. 6; July 22, p. 12; July 26, p. 10; July 30, p. 12; August 1, p. 6.

2 pp. 409 and 410.
and an encourager of reading. His own creed shows a freedom from prejudice that might easily be credited to the broadening influence of the writings of Sir Walter Scott. His ways of thought and action likewise conformed to the exhortations of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the philosophical founder of
d of nineteenth century conservatism. For Arthur did concern himself with the education of the people, and he did regard his offices as a trust to be administered in the sight of God to the greater welfare and honour of his country.

Let us recall that Arthur was the son of a country squire. One of the most powerful influences, therefore, in the shaping of his ideas was the spirit of individualism in his class. We have seen that his grandfather was a good example of the sturdy, energetic, self-reliant and independent country gentlemen of the eighteenth century—a man who held the strong conviction that the course of his life should depend upon his own character and conduct. That influence was plainly evident in the career of his grandson.

The country gentleman's individualism was not a product of theoretical consideration. It was a set of ideas rooted in tradition and it was as earthy and as practical

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1 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, November 19, 1864, p. 3; November 30, 1864, p. 3; December 21, 1864, p. 3.

2 Bryant, The age of elegance, p. 410.
as his broad acres. He did not regard his property and his privileges as being derived from the state—they were his own by right of inherited position. His appointment to those positions, such as justice-of-the-peace or high sheriff, whereby he absorbed extensive local judicial and administrative powers, he likewise regarded as his by natural right—not to be purchased by subservience to a central government. In actual practice the effective source of his power in these positions was the prestige of his socially superior position, for all classes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century recognized the country landowners—noblemen and gentry—as the most important group in the nation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the squire regarded the duties that went with the ownership of land as part of his owned prestige and power, that is as part of his property. For the proper performance of these duties he looked to only one regulator—his own sense of personal dignity, his own sense of responsibility for the welfare of his dependents and his neighbours. No other agency had any right to direct him. We have seen

this spirit excellently typified in the Kennedys—their high sense of family dignity, their concern for the comfort and welfare of their tenants, and John Kennedy's sturdy refusal to countenance the actions of an arbitrary government.

Such powers as had accrued to the state the country gentleman regarded as concessions made by his class. He therefore considered any tendency to increase the power of the central government with a jealous eye, since that increase of central power could only be made by the absorption of those local powers which he considered were part of his inherited dignity and power. Parliament, which was dominated by the land-owning classes, therefore showed a strong reluctance to delegate any of its power to bureaus or other organized bodies representing and wielding the authority of the state—especially if there was any danger of their becoming independent of parliamentary control. To the ruling classes (and therefore to the people as a whole) any attempt by the state to interfere in the individual's way of life was anathema. The one exception was that the state might be expected to prevent him from

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1 See above, p. 23.
2 Stephen, op. cit., p. 28.
interfering with the rights of others. With that restriction each individual must be self-dependent and energetic in the forwarding of his own welfare. The proper working of society must depend on the right of each individual to do his duty in accordance with his own sense of need and of obligation.

It must not be thought that these ideas were held as a consciously-considered general plan in the mind of Arthur’s grandfather or of his father. Nor were they handed on to Arthur in an organized form. It is quite evident from the way he spoke in later years that they came to him in the form of old maxims—repeated over and over again in practical situations—as the basis of decision for or against any proposal. In keeping with the effective practice of their day, his parents probably repeated these old maxims to their children quite often. Thus they were inculcated into Arthur’s own ways of speech to such a degree that this sturdy individualism became the solid core of his thinking.

When, therefore, he stood in a position of responsibility as the governor of a colony, he in turn tried to teach it to the public. When, for example, it was proposed to him in 1864 that the government should provide a paid fire brigade, his first reaction was:

...a volunteer system was far more effective than a paid brigade could possibly be. He would rather have one good volunteer company than half-a-dozen hireling-ones. (1)

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 15, 1864, p. 3.
It is plain that he believed firmly in the effectiveness of self-help. When he was convinced that it might not be possible to secure the continuance of a volunteer system and that a paid staff might be necessary, he was still opposed to the provision of this service by the government. He considered that the fire insurance companies might well assume this expense since they could be expected to have a profitable interest in the curtailment of loss by fires. The virtue of individual action was so clear in his mind as to be axiomatic. He could therefore state confidently, without giving any reason for his belief, that,

...charity provided by individuals was always better than that given by the public. (2)

In like manner when he responded to the need for exploration of the mineral resources of his colony, it was on the basis that the people should first of all demonstrate their willingness to help themselves by subscribing funds before the government would be called on to make its larger contribution. This stand was consonant with his contention that,

the government...cannot do much unless supported by the people outside, who ought themselves to originate what is found necessary and expedient. (4)

1 The Evening Express, Victoria, July 19, 1864, p. 3. Cf. Bryant, The age of elegance, p. 351.
2 The Evening Express, Victoria, March 30, 1864, p. 3.
3 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 21, 1864, p. 3.
4 Ibid., April 4, 1864, p. 3.
Part and parcel of this reluctance to depend on the government or to have it interfere in the life of the individual was his insistence that,

. . . the parent was the only person who had a right to decide what should be the religious instruction of his child. . . . (1)

He reiterated this idea when he pointed out that he as governor "... was cautious not to infringe on the rights of others." We have the best example of the influence of his parents' oft-repeated maxim when it was suggested to him that the people were waiting for the legislature to take the initiative. His answer was:

I think that the people themselves are the ones who should take the initiative. It is an old saying that none knows so well where the shoe pinches as the wearer. (3)

Because the basis of his ways of thought was this belief that each individual must be responsible for his own welfare, Arthur was responsive to the theory that economic matters would work to best advantage if the government left them alone. This \textit{laissez-faire} theory was brought to his attention throughout his boyhood and youth; it had been widely accepted by many leading people in all parties since early in the century. It is probable, however, that his father accepted

1 \textit{The British Colonist}, Victoria, April 13, 1864, p. 3
2 \textit{Tbid.}, April 15, 1864, p. 3.
3 \textit{The Daily Chronicle}, Victoria, April 5, 1864, p. 3.
such a theory because he found that commercial restrictions were opposed to his own practical interests. Since they were members of the landed class, it might be supposed that they were in favour of protective tariffs. On the contrary. In the Belfast area the agricultural interest was united to the manufacturing interest through the linen industry. This union of interests had kept the people prosperous when prices of agricultural products had fallen so badly after the war. They were therefore favourable to any measures that would strengthen manufacturing industries and spread them more widely, thereby to increase the prosperity of their country. Since protective tariffs seemed to keep the price of food high and drive up manufacturing costs, they favoured the abolition of the corn laws.

In consequence Arthur too became an opponent of the use of tariffs as barriers against trade, although we shall find him willing to use tariffs as a source of income for the government. In 1864 he stated his opposition to restrictive tariffs vigorously as follows:

I have no hesitation in saying, gentlemen, that I am an out-and-out Free Trader, and that Protection in any form I consider benefits the few at the expense of the many. (2)

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This explanation was given by W. Sharman-Crawford, M.P., cousin of the Kennedys and owner of an estate close to Cultra. See above, pp. 17 and 60.

2 _The Daily Chronicle_, Victoria, April 7, 1864, p. 3.
Arthur's ways of thought seem also to have been influenced by the ideas of Thomas Malthus, whose *Essay on the principle of population* was one of the most influential books of the early nineteenth century. Nowhere did there appear to be stronger confirmation of its melancholy thesis than in Ireland, where a swarming population was straining against inability of a miserable one-crop economy to support it, where every failure of the potato resulted in famine and where it seemed evident indeed that the growth of population tended to outstrip the means of subsistence. In that country division and subdivision of every farm was the unhappy standard practice, and—except in Ulster—an "improving landlord" was the object of bitter hatred. Here appeared sure demonstration that an improvident and incontinent population by its bitter competition for land was driving its own standard of living lower and lower. This mournful picture was firmly planted in Arthur's mind. In due course we shall have evidence that he had given close attention to the problem and was deeply concerned about it.

With his class in society, however, he tended to regard extensive state interference with private property, which must accompany any thorough-going government attempt to solve the problem, as more likely in the end to work harm than good. Although we shall see that he had some plans

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1 See below, p.214.
whereby the state might help to relieve the miseries of the poor, he leaned most strongly toward the belief that the main salvation for these thriftless peasants was to help them to feel personal responsibility for their own welfare and to guide them into measures of self-help.

Most people of Arthur's generation, whether they realized it or not, were influenced to some degree by the proposals put forward by the Utilitarians. Arthur was just leaving Trinity College, Dublin, in 1824, when that group started a new drive to popularize its proposals by means of the *Westminster Review*. Let it be said at once that Arthur did not become a Utilitarian. Moreover, although he was undoubtedly influenced by some of their ideas, their proposals were modified in his mind by his own predominant individualism, which was really of a different nature than theirs.

The father of the Utilitarian school, Jeremy Bentham, contended that the individual is governed in his choice of action by his calculation of the balance of pleasure over pain that will result from the action. He assumed, without any very clear explanation, that if each individual is allowed a wide freedom of choice, he will choose, on the whole, such action as will be conducive to the general welfare. His creed was therefore basically individualistic. He believed that, in general, government inter-
ference is undesirable. Yet, since he regarded the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the chief good, he was willing to invoke the aid of legislation whenever circumstances made such a course useful.

The first way in which Arthur seems to have been influenced by the Benthamites was in connection with their plans for a new poor law system. He shared a wide-spread and well-founded conviction that the old poor law system of relief in aid of wages broke down the spirit of independence in the working class. The disciples of Bentham held that if able-bodied men did not find enough work to support themselves and their families, then they should be given the necessary relief only if they entered a workhouse; their fare should be of the simplest and they must pay for it by real work. Any tendency to linger would therefore be discouraged, if there was any possibility of obtaining a livelihood outside the workhouse. Thus would be thrust upon them the salutary freedom and responsibility of earning their own living. Such was the reasoning that formed one key principle for the English Poor Law of 1834, which was later extended with a few modifications to Ireland. This harsh but salutary code became the orthodox belief of Arthur's time and one in which

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he came most strongly to share. So far the new poor law scheme was entirely consonant with his belief that each man must be responsible for his own and his family's welfare. What is surprising is that he appears also to have acquiesced in the second key principle of this Benthamite poor law, namely that it must be controlled by a state-appointed central commission. However, he was truer to his own ways of thought in his deviation from the full Benthamite theory, which demanded the counter-balancing elective principle at the local level; for we shall presently discover in him a certain brusque impatience with the lack of clarity in thought and the inefficiency in action shown by the locally-elected poor law guardians.

In addition to the new poor law system of 1834, there were several phases of the Utilitarian programme that made strong appeal to Arthur. In the first place there was the Benthamite method of systematic investigation as the basis for the solution of social and economic problems. If it be argued that Kennedy's systematic approach to a problem was more a manifestation of his own precise, clear-headed and businesslike ways of thought and action, than of the influence of Benthamite method, the point may be well-taken. It should be remembered, however, that the disciples of

1 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia.
Bentham had made system into a veritable cult, which was widely adopted in the period of Arthur's young manhood. It may therefore have been a factor in the development of his business-like ways.

The Utilitarians likewise stirred up a great concern about health measures that interested Arthur. It should be noted, however, that when he came to deal with public health improvements, the individualism of his home environment prevailed; for he carried through his sanitation projects by means of a voluntary association rather than through a central bureau.

Other Utilitarian reforms that captured his keen interest were reorganization of prisons and establishment of police forces. He was not only conversant with the letter and the spirit of Peel's prison reforms of the 'twenties and of the Whig improvements of the 'thirties (all of which were of Utilitarian inspiration), but he had grasped James Mill's humane thesis that the purpose of imprisonment should be "reform by industry". He was likewise to show that he had given close study to Peel's establishment of a police force for London and subsequent organization of police systems in England and Ireland.

1 See below, p. 276.


3 See below, pp. 407, 418.
Because the facilities for the education of the poorer classes were extremely meagre in the early nineteenth century, one of the most eagerly pressed proposals of the Utilitarians was provision of education for all children. The disciples of Bentham were not the only group working toward that objective. The forces of evangelical religion had their own campaign. However, the latter groups were more restricted both in motive and in objective, their principal desire being to enable children to read in order that they might be able to study the Bible. The Benthamite plan was broader and more deeply rooted in general principle. It was probably their intensive campaign that caused Arthur to take a deep interest in education, although he did not accept all of their proposals by any means. However, he held a far wider view concerning the subject than that characteristic of the religious groups.

With reference to the importance of religious education, however, his position was close to theirs and far-removed from the views of the Utilitarians, who were usually hostile to religion and always indifferent to the needs of religious education. While he agreed with the Utilitarians that it must not intrude into the common school system, Arthur regarded religion as the basis of all sound education. Holding that parents, or a minister of their choice, were the only ones who should have anything to do with a child's religious training, he would have had it carried on mainly in the Sunday Schools. However, if that were not considered
sufficient, he was willing to set aside a period each day at school during which the ministers of all sects might teach their own groups. The schoolmaster, in his opinion was not the right person to deal with religious doctrine, and compulsory attendance at sermons or lectures at school probably did no good.

In the second place, Arthur does not seem to have said anything in favour of the Utilitarian contention that education must be compulsory. Since we have reasonably full records of his ideas about education, the omission is significant; we may safely assume that he retained the dislike, common to the majority of people during the period of his youth, of the government's dictating a course of action to anyone. That is not at all surprising in one who believed with all his heart in the responsibility of each individual to care for his own family. However, he did recognize the importance of making education available to all children, stating his belief as follows:

He held the firm opinion that it was strictly incumbent on the State to educate those who were unable to educate themselves. (3)

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 4, 1864, p.3; April 13, 1864, p. 3.
2 Loc. cit.
3 The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, April 5, 1864, p. 3.
In considering what form schools supported by the government should take, Arthur appears to have been influenced by the work of Archbishop Whately, who in 1831 had been placed by Earl Grey on the Irish Board of Education. The purpose for which this board was created was to assist the government in extending a measure of state support to education in Ireland. Liberal in politics as he was in religion, Whately was strongly in sympathy with many Utilitarian ideas. He brought these ideas into the new scheme. With him on the board was Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. These men cooperated in the institution of non-denominational elementary schools, in which children of every creed received instruction together for secular subjects and for non-controversial elements of Christian knowledge. Whately himself drew up a collection of Scripture readings, which were so chosen as to give no offence to Roman Catholics. They were to be read twice a week without comment. In the face of opposition from Roman Catholics, from High Churchmen, from Evangelicals and from Dissenters alike, Whately and Murray struggled for twenty-two years to make this system of state-supported, non-sectarian schools a success. However, when Archbishop Murray died in 1852, his successor
removed support from that attempt.

Now in 1864 Arthur Kennedy made it clear that his general ideas on education were of long standing. Undoubtedly they reached back at least as far as this period when a great educational experiment was being made in his own country. Arthur arrived in Britain from army service overseas in 1839 and visited his brother-in-law, the Reverend Hugh Kynaston, High Master of St. Paul's School. A great controversy was raging in London concerning education because it was supposed that Lord John Russell was about to introduce the Irish system into Britain. This problem would certainly receive full attention in the home of the headmaster of one of England's great public schools. It was discussed fully


2 The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, April 5, 1864, p. 3.

3 See below, p. 177.

4 The Times, London, May 18, 1839, p. 4.
both in Britain and in Ireland during the period from 1839 to 1841 when Arthur was at home. At this time he was paying close attention to political problems. Moreover, he referred specifically to the system of education he supported as the "National system", the name by which Whately's great experiment was known. His support of that system in 1839 would range him in opposition to his fellow Conservatives and also to his own general ways of thought. It is true that the failure of the attempt to include even non-controversial elements of Christian knowledge in the common schools produced in him the conviction we have noted above that the schoolmaster was not the right person to inculcate religious ideas.

He was vigorous in his support, however, of the key principle of Whately's system—which was also a basic principle for the Utilitarians—that education should be non-sectarian. To the disgust of his fellow Anglicans he opposed letting control of the schools fall into the hands of any one denomination. He was equally opposed to leaving the schools under the control of the several religious groups,
and had no support for the idea that government grants should be spread among them. He wanted the free, non-sectarian common school system. He offered two main reasons for his position. In the first place, it was bad to have educational funds frittered away by spreading them over many small schools. He preferred to concentrate on a few efficient ones adequately supported. His second reason had made a strong impression on his mind. He had seen the evil results of boys being educated to denounce the religion of others. Earnestly stressing the desirability of unity he maintained,

There is no use in bringing up children in one religious faith to dislike those of another. They will imbibe prejudices soon enough as they grow older. (2)

During the period of Arthur's young manhood the Utilitarian group was energetic in measures to establish facilities for adult education of the working-men. That Arthur was responsive to this influence we discover from his later support of mechanics' and literary institutes. The first mechanics' institute was established during his governorship of Vancouver Island in 1864. He encouraged them by visits and

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 4, 1864, p. 3; The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, April 5, 1864, p. 3.

2 Loc. cit.


4 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, December 21, 1864, p. 3.
by presentation of books. In like manner he helped literary institutes by officiating at their opening or by acting as their patron.

There were many phases of the Utilitarian programme that made no appeal to Arthur at all. Their irreligion, as we have seen, he rejected. He did not share their enthusiasm for universal suffrage. Nor did he concur with the Utilitarians and their allies, the Colonial Reformers, in their belief in the wisdom of devolving more and more self-government on the colonies. We shall also find that he rejected their contention that transportation of convicts to the colonies was fundamentally vicious. He was likewise cool to their schemes of organizing large-scale emigration to the colonies as a government project, although

1 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, December 21, 1864, p. 3.

2 Ibid., November 16, 1864, p. 3; November 19, 1864, p. 3.

3 Ibid., November 21, 1864, p. 3.

4 See above, p. 115.

5 See below, p. 415.

6 Halévy, A history of the English people, 1830-1841, p. 127.

he gave energetic support to a privately supported scheme. Thus we have seen that while Utilitarian schemes of reform captured Arthur's close attention throughout the whole period of his young manhood, on the whole he accepted only those parts of their policy which were consonant with his own basic adherence to self-reliant individualism.

Another important influence in shaping Arthur's habits and ways of thought was the power of Evangelical religion, which was a dominant force in the lives of the ruling classes throughout most of his lifetime. He was born in a period of moral and spiritual earnestness, which was largely the result of the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements. The influence of the latter was quickened and strengthened among the possessing classes by the French Revolution, which had taught them what dangers a light attitude to religion could release. Their new seriousness of religious

1 Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, March 1 and April 9, 1848, sixth series, vol. 18, pp. 800 and 821-825.


thought was marked among the gentry by family prayers, careful Sunday observance and regular attendance at church—visible signs of a genuine improvement in thought and living. In this period many of the strongest members of the gentry were Evangelicals, men dedicated to the service and the good of the empire. It is indicative of the influences brought to bear on Arthur's family to note that four of his uncles went into the service of the East India Company when Charles Grant, its chairman, Lord Teignmouth, the Governor-General of India, and Robert Thornton had made Evangelicalism a predominant influence in the company, and many of its employees, both soldier and civilian, were devout Evangelicals. In Ireland, as in England, the Evangelical party exercised an influence that grew steadily stronger during the first half of the century, both within the Church, where it was far greater than the number of this party warranted, and among the laity where it was a mighty

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force indeed. From its formation in 1799 the Church Missionary Society had the ardent support of Irish Churchmen, and their participation in missionary activity was steadily intensified throughout the succeeding century. The Hibernian Bible Society was formed in 1806 by pious members of the Church, both lay and clerical. The Sunday School Society was formed in 1809. From the time of their appearance in the Imperial Parliament after Union, the Irish members were steadfast supporters of the fight against the slave trade and slavery. It was Ireland and Trinity College, Dublin, that gave to the "Saints" their new leader,

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3 MacBeth, Reverend John, The story of Ireland and her Church, Dublin, the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1899, pp. 272-273.


Thomas Powell Buxton, who took on the mantle of Wilberforce in 1823 when Arthur was attending college.

In Ulster during the early nineteenth century there was a strong Evangelical movement in both the Established Church and in the Presbyterian Church. The power of the movement is indicated by speeches of Ulster members of Parliament. In 1835, Sir Robert Bateson, a Conservative supporter of Peel, and speaking for County Down, introduced these words into his speech:

He wished for a common system of education founded on the Gospel [italics mine] . . . . One or two or ten individuals were valuable in the sight of their Maker and therefore as well able to exercise their religious rights as thousands. (2)

Another northern member speaking in the same debate approvingly described the clergymen of the region as "zealous, efficient and evangelical". Thus it is evident that the Evangelical party among the members of the Established Church exercised the same direct and powerful influence on the members of the gentry in northern Ireland as it did on the lives of the upper classes in England.

1 Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S. C., _Ireland: Its Scenery, Character and History_, volume 5, pp. 55 and 56.

2 _Hansard's Parliamentary Debates_, third series, vol. 27, columns 805 and 806.

3 _Ibid._, column 795.
All of the foregoing is not to say that Arthur Kennedy became a thorough-going and consistent Evangelical, for he was too tolerant of Roman Catholics to be a typical member of that party—although it is true that both Henry Thornton and Wilberforce were in favour of Catholic Emancipation. Rather does it indicate that the whole environment of his boyhood and young manhood was strongly coloured by the influence of Evangelicalism. We have already learned that Arthur's grandparents were both remarkable for their piety. In fact the mood of this period is epitomized in a phrase already quoted concerning his grandfather, "He taught his numerous family virtue."

From the fragmentary records of the Church of Ireland at Holywood, it is evident that his eldest son, Arthur's father, carried on the close association with the church

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3 Halevy, op. cit., p. 415.

3 See above, pp. 20 and 30.

4 See above, p. 30.
in which he had been brought up.

It will be recalled that Arthur was not sent away to school till he was fourteen years old. He was therefore subject to home influence and almost certainly brought up in habits of regular attendance at church and careful observance of the Sabbath. However, we recall that at college he did not take kindly to the daily compulsory attendance at the chapel and we gather that in later life he looked back on the early years of his army life as marked by undue buoyancy. But the steady training of boyhood re-asserts itself. Moreover Evangelical influence continued to grow. Within the army many of the strongest and best-respected officers were members of that party. By the time Arthur was thirty and accepting the responsibility of marriage and the establishment of his own family, the normal churchman was the Evangelical. We shall therefore find a great many instances in which Arthur thought and acted in ways that indicate Evangelical influence, both in the narrow Puritanism of some of his ideas and in the uprightness, unselfishness and humanity that marked his character as a whole.

1 Trevelyan, English social history, p. 495.
Halevy, A history of the English people 1830-1841, p. 164;
The Evangelicals were earnestly orthodox members of the Established Church but they deliberately avoided intellectual speculation about doctrine. Their orthodoxy was satisfied by assertion of those principles over which there was little controversy among Protestants, for they were anxious to avoid stressing theological differences that might keep Protestants apart. Arthur Kennedy distinctly conformed to that pattern. His orthodoxy was demonstrated by his close association with the Church of England in every country in which he lived. He himself testified to his steadfast attendance at Church in Sierra Leone. The clergymen of the Church of England in Victoria, Vancouver Island, praised his "example of practical Christian life, of careful observance of the Lord's Day and of reverent attendance in the House of God". And, at his death, we have evidence of like close connection with his church in both Western Australia and Queensland:

Tokens of mourning were displayed on Sunday at the pro-cathedral, St. John's Church, which the late Governor regularly attended during his residence in Brisbane. . . . Bishop Hale spoke in most affectionate terms of Sir Arthur Kennedy. . . . The bishop and Sir A. Kennedy had been firm friends for 27 years. [i.e. since the time when the one was governor and the other bishop in Western Australia.] (3)

1 See below, p. 296.
2 The British Colonist, Victoria, October 22, 1866, p. 2. Cf. p. 3.
3 A clipping probably from a Brisbane newspaper (most likely the Courier), June 15, 1883. This clipping is in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia.
That he was desirous of avoiding emphasis on any but the doctrines common to all Protestants is made evident by his dislike of sectarian disputes and rivalries, and by his pleas for unanimity and harmony. This was particularly true when he was dealing with religious education. On one occasion he spoke as follows:

Let not the reproach fall upon them that was once applied to England by a foreigner, 'See how these Christians hate one another'. . . . He believed that children of all classes could be raised harmoniously. . . . He would not attempt to advise any clergyman to depart from his conscientious convictions, but he would like to see all unite to do as much good as possible. . . . (2)

On another occasion he made very plain his desire to emphasize only the well-agreed ideas:

Teach them the great truths and their religious duties, but do not teach them to dislike any other sect. (3)

And on that same occasion he again called for general unity:

. . . it would be much better in my opinion if they [all sects] would pass their time in finding out the points on which they can agree, instead of those on which they cannot agree. (4)

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, 1864, April 2, p. 3; April 4, p. 3; April 5, p. 3; April 13, p. 3.

2 The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island, June 23, 1864.

3 The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 5, 1864, p. 3.

4 Loc. cit.
This emphasis on unity among the various sects was significant. In the 'thirties and 'forties the Oxford Movement in the English Church, scornful of the spirit of compromise that dominated Evangelicalism, began to emphasize all that was Catholic in the church. The Evangelicals were therefore driven closer to the Dissenters. In 1845 a meeting of individuals from both the Evangelical group and the Dissenters met in Liverpool to explore the possibilities of union. Such an Evangelical Union of individuals from those groups was formed in 1846 and it continued to be active throughout the century. In the meantime a similar moving-together of Protestant groups had been accomplished by the union of the two Presbyterian churches in northern Ireland. Arthur Kennedy arrived home from overseas army service in each case just when these unions were taking place under the influence of the Evangelical spirit. It is therefore significant to notice that in 1864 he spoke with favour of:

Halévy, A history of the English people, 1841-1852, p. 301.


2 The Witness, Edinburgh, July 22, 1840, p. 4.
the strong tendencies towards a union of the different bodies of the same or similar creeds at home, and in some of the other colonies, and expressed the satisfaction he would feel at seeing a similar state of things here. (1)

While emphasizing the spirit of fellowship between people holding the same basic beliefs, Evangelicals, in a spirit of practical compromise, also insisted on the right of each to a quiet freedom of divergence on other points. This stress on religious freedom was a further characteristic of Arthur Kennedy.

Evangelicals avoided speculation about doctrine because they were practical men--interested in action. Their objective was to bring about a revival of personal religion. They stressed the immediate relation of each individual to God, insisting that each one might discover revealed truth through his own study of divinely inspired Holy Scripture. They sought to avoid over-emphasis on the priestly function, for they regarded the example given by a worthy Christian life as more important than precept. Once again we find their outlook was Arthur Kennedy's. When he was in Vancouver Island, he was patron of the Vancouver Bible Society. Moreover, on his arrival in that colony as

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 2, 1864, p. 3. Note also The British Colonist, Victoria, April 8, 1864, p. 3.
2 Ibid., April 5, 1864, p. 3; April 13, 1864, p. 3.
3 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, December 7, 1864, p. 3.
governor he was greeted by a loyal address from the Anglican clergymen—an address Evangelical in most of its sentiments, but one that stressed the function of the ministry and general principle. Kennedy replied:

He was fully alive to the influence which the clergy by their ministration exercised over the community, but believed example was still more important. (1)

That bluntness in itself was typical of the Evangelical, whose narrow intensity demanded steadfast pursuit of any course of action that his mind had been convinced was right, regardless of its effect on his own popularity. But two other factors merged with this one to explain this trait in Arthur Kennedy. One was the Puritan candour of the Ulsterman. It was in reality a good-humoured and honest directness of speech, but it often seemed quite otherwise to those who did not know its source. The other factor arose from his individualism—an aggressive independence that marked him as a typical man of his century and seemed to demand forthrightness of speech upon every occasion whether appropriate or not. It was one aspect of the "manliness" that his age seemed to prize.

1 The British Colonist. Victoria, April 4, 1864, p. 3.


Cf. Shearman, Ulster, pp. 159, 161, 162, 165, and 166.
The Sunday School movement, which was Evangelical in inspiration, found in Kennedy a firm and enthusiastic supporter. We have noted that he considered religion the basis of all sound education and held that it was the responsibility of the parent to see that his children got religious training both at home and at Sunday School. His support was not only verbal but also practical. He gave these schools encouragement by visiting them. On one occasion he did violence to his own belief that such matters were the responsibility of individuals by allocating government money to the support of Sunday Schools. However, we see that he was forthright in calling them "Sunday schools" rather than "Sabbath schools" in the manner of monsters like the Reverend Mr. Slope or Mrs. Proudie, the extreme Evangelicals so cruelly held up to the light by Anthony Trollope in *Barchester Towers*.

1 Halevy, A history of the English people in 1815, p. 461.

2 *The British Colonist*, Victoria, April 4, 1864, p. 3 and April 13, 1864, p. 3.

3 *The Evening Express*, March 30, 1864, p. 3.

4 *The British Colonist*, Victoria, April 4, 1864, p. 3.
There was yet another movement, the work of the evangelical forces of all churches, that influenced Arthur. That was the temperance movement in which Dissenters took the lead but were soon supported by the Evangelicals. Of course the attack on the organized liquor traffic had started with the Wesleyan evangelical revival in the preceding century. However, it was taken up anew with furious energy in Arthur's home area in 1829, when the Reverend Dr. John Edgar, Presbyterian minister, made his first speech against liquor on behalf of the Sunday observance societies of Belfast. He also wrote pamphlets striking at the traffic. Within a year one hundred thousand small works on temperance were in circulation, and within three years a quarter of a million of them had been issued by the Belfast presses alone. Dr. Edgar also edited the 3 Belfast Temperance Advocate. There was an extremely heavy consumption of liquor in Ireland and its results presented a grave problem that would undoubtedly receive consideration of such a family as the Kennedys. Arthur was not a teetotaller. He provided wine on his dinner table for himself, his family, and his guests. None the less, he displayed

1 Halévy, A history of the English people, 1815-1830, p. 165.
3 Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S. C., Ireland its scenery character and history, vol. 5, pp. 29-31 and 277.
4 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
all the narrow fervour of a zealous Evangelical when he saw problems created among the lower classes due to the abuse of liquor.

It has become fully evident by now that the Evangelicalism that was dominant in his church throughout his boyhood and young manhood did very definitely influence his ways of thought and action. That influence also brought him close to all those strands of society in the early nineteenth century that were dominated by a sincere and practical interest in humanitarian activities. The great campaign for the abolition of slavery which Fowell Buxton opened in 1833 seized the imagination of high-spirited sons of the gentry as thoroughly as it did the sympathies of the great middle class. We shall see that Arthur was always thereafter keenly alive to the wrongs and needs of the African negro. He was inflexible in his hatred of the brutalities of the slaver and sometimes over-zealous in imagining abuses where there were none. We shall see that he had a real and practical sense of brotherhood for the subject.

1 See below, p. 362.

Also The British Colonist, June 3, 1864, p. 3.
Cf. his attitude to gambling in Hong Kong, The British Colonist, June 26, 1872, p. 3.

2 See below, p. 288.
coloured peoples of the empire, both negro and Chinese, that he could achieve a feeling of equality toward them which he was never able to feel toward "the lower orders" of his own country. It was therefore with entire sincerity that he enthusiastically endorsed the rule laid down by one of Britain's great Evangelicals that all British subjects should have equal justice and equal treatment regardless of race or colour. We shall see also that Arthur was inspired in like manner with a deep concern for the improvement of prisons and for the welfare of transported convicts. And while we have said that he was unable to achieve a feeling of equality toward the lower classes in his own country, that judgment, though true in one sense, is perhaps too harsh, for we shall see that a spirit of compassion for the ills of fellow Irishmen took him among them to help them in a supreme indifference to his own safety.

1 Clipping from a Brisbane, Queensland, newspaper, late June 1883, in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia:
Sir Arthur Kennedy was exceedingly popular with the Chinese at Hong Kong. When he surrendered the Governorship of that colony the native residents presented him with a gorgeously framed state umbrella, an emblem of rule which the Chinese had never before, of their own free will, bestowed upon an English official.

2 The British Colonist, Victoria, March 31, 1864, p. 3.
3 See below, p. 406.
4 See below, pp. 223-224.
We have now reached a point where we may look back on the many currents of thought and practice that played their part in moulding Arthur's young manhood: membership in the aristocracy when such membership meant everything to an assurance of security and to the development of poise and affability; a class fear of revolution that produced distrust in the stability and wisdom of "the lower orders of society"; allegiance to the Tory affiliations of his family mellowed by the liberalism of his age into liberal Conservatism; a fortunate home environment of religious tolerance in an area of fierce hatreds; the rugged individualism of the country gentleman carried down from his eighteenth century forbears and engrained as the foremost aspect of his character by the unthinking forces of tradition; the hard philosophy of Malthus; a pragmatic adoption of *laissez-faire* by his family because it was in their own plain interests; the far-reaching Benthamite proposals for reform--not always rooted in clearly logical principle yet vigorously practical; and the powerful force of Evangelical religion. He was the product of compromise--a typical man of the times. And yet his eclecticism had a certain bold consistency for there were common threads running through these forces. In the first place most of them were not conspicuous for intellectual force. They were essentially empirical. And
Arthur Kennedy was of that nature—quick to penetrate to the heart of an issue, it is true, but never given to deep intellectual considerations, and always thoroughly practical. In the second place, a strong thread of individualism runs through these movements. In like manner one of Kennedy's most essential qualities was his sturdy spirit of self-reliance.
We have postponed till this time the consideration of another typical aspect of the process by which a colonial governor was prepared. Because the departments of war and of colonies were both under management of one secretary of state until 1854, it was natural that a good many army officers should be chosen for governorships. Information concerning them was readily available to determine their suitability. Of course, when Arthur joined the Army, he had little inkling of that other career the future held in store for him.

Arthur commenced his career as a soldier "as a stripling in a marching regiment at 18, when George IV was King" on May 24, 1827. At eighteen he was a handsome youth, tall


2 "News of the day", Brisbane Courier, May 4, 1883. From the context of the article it is evident that the writer was quoting words often used by Kennedy himself.

3 A list of the officers of the Army and Royal Marines on full, retired and half-pay with an index, London, J. Hartnell, 1832, (i.e. Army list for 1832) p. 167.
and slender with an erect carriage and easy gait to which nineteen years of army life were to impart no undue military stiffness. He had regular, clear-cut features—his long nose straight and narrow, his mouth firm. His forehead was broad and high under a thick thatch of wavy hair. His eyes, large, clear and set wise apart, looked out on the world with a friendly, confident gaze.

The unit in which this confident young fellow first became an ensign in 1827 was the famous 27th (or Enniskilling) Regiment of Foot. The Colonel-in-Chief of the Enniskillings

1 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

2 This description is based on a study of several photographs of Sir Arthur made at older ages and on a photograph of his great-grandson, taken in his early twenties. His mother says of this picture: "He is very like my husband, who again was extraordinarily like his grandfather." Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to the writer, March 28, 1950.


The army lists do not show his ensigny in the 27th Regiment. (W. Kaye Lamb to H.C.G., Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, November 18, 1950 and May 3, 1951). His period in the 27th Regiment was only three months long. The Army list for 1827 was published on February 12, 1827, before he joined the army at all. He joined the 27th Regiment on May 24, 1827, and exchanged into the 11th Regiment on August 15, 1827. He was therefore in the latter regiment when the Army list for 1828 was published. That is why his membership in the 27th Regiment is not shown in army lists.
was Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir G. L. Cole, G.C.B., 1 a relative of the Kennedys. While this family connection probably provided the necessary influence for Arthur's entry into this distinguished regiment, he still had to obtain his commission by purchase. It represented an expenditure of several hundred pounds, but of course he thereafter had a modified property in his commission, which he could sell to a candidate properly vouched-for.

The 27th Regiment was linked from early days with the history of Ulster. Its badge, the Castle of Enniskillen with St. George's banner, commemorated the gallant defence of that stronghold by the northern gentry against the armies of James II. Those original volunteers formed the regiment. From that time on it was called "the Enniskillings". At

1 A list of the officers of the Army and Royal Marines on full, retired and half-pay, with an index, War Office, 1827 (i.e. Army list for 1827), pp. 6 and 189.

2 See above p. 20.


5 This regiment was still called "the Enniskillings" in the Army list for 1827, p. 189. More recent army lists call them "the Inniskillings".
the Boyne William III honoured it by putting himself at its head. It was with him throughout his victorious campaign in Ireland. The Enniskillings enrolled men from Fermanagh, Armagh and Down for the Peninsular War, where it had distinguished service till it was transferred to North America for the War of 1812-1814. In 1827 the service companies were in the West Indies. Since Arthur found exciting cause so quickly to exchange into another regiment, it is evident that he did not go to the West Indies, but served his short time with the 27th in a depot company at home.

Arthur left the 27th very suddenly because he found an opportunity to exchange into a regiment that had hope of service in war. The 11th (North Devon) Regiment of Foot had made Ireland its main base ever since it had come over to the relief of Londonderry in 1689. It had raised its second battalion in Dublin for the Peninsular War. The regiment was with Wellington through all that campaign from 1809 to 1814 and it bore on its colours the stirring honours, Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthes, Nive, Toulouse and Peninsula. After the war the unit returned to Dublin. However, just when Arthur came up to Trinity College, Dublin, in October 1823, the 11th Foot marched north to spend the


2 *Army list for 1827*, p. 168.
winter in Belfast. From the spring of 1824 it was in Cork, augmenting its strength in preparation for a new assignment. In 1826, its establishment now complete, it was moved to Waterford to embark for Ceylon, there to fill in a long tour of garrison duty. Suddenly that assignment was cancelled and a more stirring one substituted. In December 1826 it was moved to Fermoy to be divided into six service and four depot companies preparatory to embarkation for Portugal.

The possibility of war in 1827 arose from Canning's determination to save Portugal from invasion by reactionary forces. John VI of Portugal had died in 1826. His eldest son, Pedro, content with his newly-acquired position as Emperor of Brazil, settled his right to the throne of Portugal on his young daughter, Maria. At the same time he granted to the country a more liberal constitution. However, his brother, Miguel, an avowed opponent of liberalism, determined to take the throne from Maria. Reactionary forces from Portugal moved into absolutist Spain to support his revolt. In November 1826 the insurgents, with the support of Spanish troops, invaded Portugal. The Portuguese government called on Britain for help and did not call in vain.

1 Cannon, Richard, *Historical records of the Eleventh, or the North Devon Regiment of Foot; containing an account of the formation of the regiment in 1685, and of its subsequent services to 1845*, London, Parker, Furnivall and Parker, Military Library, Whitehall, 1845, pp. VI, 41, 55, 80, and 81.

On January 5, 1827, an expeditionary force of five thousand men, under command of Sir William Clinton, was on its way to Portugal. Under their new Lieutenant-Colonel, John Keightley, the service companies of the 11th Regiment were included in this force. It soon took up its position on the well-known heights above Lisbon. The Spaniards retreated and the British advanced up the Tagus Valley toward the border. It can readily be imagined with what eagerness young Ensign Arthur Kennedy, still in the 27th Regiment, yearned to be in that peninsula so famous for glorious action and so well known to him from his namesake uncle's stories. Arthur's exchange to an ensigny in the 11th (North Devon) Regiment of Foot was completed on August 15, 1827.

However, the young soldier's desire for action was disappointed. Canning's diplomacy having bereft Spain of active support from the other reactionary powers, her troops were withdrawn from Portugal. But neither Dom Miguel nor his reactionary allies intended to give up their plans. Had

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2 Cannon, Historical records of the Eleventh Foot, p. 82.

3 The army list for 1827, pp. 48 and 510: his uncle was now a major on half-pay.

4 The army list for 1832, p. 167.
Canning lived to dominate British foreign policy, this episode might have had another ending. However, the Duke of Wellington, who came to the head of the government at the beginning of 1828, was too thoroughly identified with the settlement of 1815 to continue Canning's system of balking the forces of reaction in Europe. The British expeditionary force was therefore withdrawn from Portugal in the spring of 1828. As a result Dom Miguel moved into Portugal and imposed a pitiless reaction.

In the meantime the 11th Regiment had gone to reinforce British garrisons in the Ionian Islands. These extra forces were sent mainly for precautionary purposes while the Greek War of Independence marched on to its successful conclusion. Assisted by a wave of Philhellēnism, which had spread over Britain as it did over Western Europe, Canning's liberal diplomacy had brought about the negotiation in 1827 of a treaty by which Britain, Russia and France were to make diplomatic intervention in the war on behalf of the Greeks. They were to back it up by show of force. One startling outcome of this intervention was the unpremeditated destruction of the Turkish fleet by the allied squadrons at Navarino in October 1827. That battle led by easy steps to an outright declaration of war by Russia against Turkey in the following year. Russia was shortly joined by France. Under the reluctant leadership

1 Fortescue, A history of the British Army, vol.11, p. 80.
of the Duke of Wellington, Britain played a hesitant part. This was the time when the British garrisons in the Ionian Islands were heavily reinforced. The 11th Regiment arrived in Corfu on March 30, 1828, a month after the declaration of war by Russia. Ensign Arthur Kennedy and his comrades undoubtedly hoped that they would speedily be committed to an active part in this war of liberation. However, they were condemned to inaction while the armies of Russia and France completed the Sultan's defeat and forced him to acknowledge the independence of the Greeks.

The 11th Foot remained on garrison duty in the Ionian Islands till 1837. These nine long years were relieved only by such events as transfer from one island to another, from Corfu to Santa Maura (Levkas), to Zante and back to Corfu again by 1835; or by the arrival in that year of a new commanding officer, when Lieutenant-Colonel Keightley was succeeded in an exchange of commands by Lieutenant-Colonel George Leigh Goldie; or by the exchange of officers between the service companies and the depot companies at home. Movements of the depot companies kept the officers of the regiment conversant with the course of events at home.

In 1831 the depot was moved to various stations in Wales.

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1 Cannon, Historical records of the Eleventh Foot, p. 83.

2 Ibid., p. 83.
While it was at Brecon, in the south of Wales, the House of Lords rejected Earl Grey's famous Reform Bill. That action stirred up indignation throughout the country and brought it close to civil war. Mob violence broke out in London and in several other towns. The most dangerous riot took place at Bristol, where mob-rule reigned unchecked. The rioters proceeded to sack the centre of the city. The military authorities could not bring the situation under control. In these frightening circumstances the four depot companies of the 11th Regiment were rushed from Brecon at a few hours' notice. They succeeded in bringing the situation under control and saved the city. This event undoubtedly made its contribution to the ideas of the young aristocrats who were the officers of the 11th Regiment. In depot and service companies alike they were conformed in their distrust of the stability and political wisdom of "the lower orders of society".

That distrust was confirmed by the constitution of the army itself. There was a great gulf between the officers and their men. The system of purchase, joined with the necessity of first having influence before being able to buy a commission, made the army an aristocratic preserve. This system was highly approved by the Duke of Wellington and

1 Chichester and Burges-Short, *The records and badges of every regiment and corps in the British Army*, p. 267.
other leaders as a means of obtaining the best officers. And indeed it did get men whose code demanded that they do their duty courageously, not for honours or reward but solely from their own sense of dignity and responsibility. On the other hand the rank and file were recruited from the worst elements of society. Self-respecting members of the working class refused to join, unless they were in serious trouble or disgrace. Vagrants or the unemployed were sometimes attracted by bounties offered for enlistment. Smugglers and poachers were frequently allowed to choose service in the army in place of imprisonment or transportation.

The unsatisfactory condition of the army had its roots in the eighteenth century dislike of a standing army, which the ruling classes feared might be used by the Crown to establish arbitrary power. Therefore, while maintaining their monopoly of commissioned places, they had prevented it from being built up into a permanent and efficient organization. After Waterloo a small standing army was maintained because they reluctantly accepted it as a necessity. However, it was subject to a new unpopularity among the economists on the grounds of expense and among the radicals because it was controlled by the aristocracy. In these circumstances the army was neglected and starved of funds.

1 Stephen, *The English utilitarians*, vol. 1, pp. 33 and 34.

which kept it small and permitted no modernization of its methods and equipment. That evil was made worse by the blight-ing conservatism of the Duke of Wellington, who considered that the army, like the political constitution of the country, had proved its worth and was capable of no improvement. Therefore no improvement was made. The central administration continued to be inefficient. Responsibility for the army was divided among four principal and eight subordinate offices. As many regiments as possible were hidden in distant colonies far from sight of the economists. There they filled long tours of tedious service in fever-ridden quarters. The men continued to be ill-paid. As late as 1841 a foot soldier in the 11th, or any marching regiment, received but thirteen pence a day, out of which ninepence was deducted for food, leaving him only fourpence with which to buy shirts and stockings, beer and tobacco. Proper training of the soldiers was lacking. Discipline was maintained by brutal use of the lash. In 1812 Wilberforce was giving support, with reservations, to agitation in Parliament against excessive flogging in the army. In 1839 the London Times was

2 Ibid., p. 206.
3 The Witness, Edinburgh, December 29, 1841, p. 4.
4 Halévy, A history of the English people in 1815, p. 397.
still able to list accounts of flogging involving one hundred, one hundred fifty and even nine hundred lashes. In 1841 the Edinburgh Witness carried an account of the punishment of a soldier in that city for stealing from an officer. An old offender, he was given one hundred fifty lashes, degraded before his regiment by having his buttons and badges torn off and his knapsack labelled "thief", after which he was drummed out of the square. In 1846 it was stated in Parliament that during the five year period following January 1, 1839, the number of corporal punishments in the army was 3,355. In 1844 the Deputy-Inspector-General of Army Hospitals was forced to list many instances in the past quarter of a century when punishment in the army had resulted in death. Once a man had enlisted, there was little hope of escape from this harsh existence, because enlistment was for life. In consequence the rate of desertion was high and men maimed themselves or became convicts in order to escape from the army. Every such attempt, when detected, was dealt with by

1 October 11, p. 3; March 9, p. 6.
2 October 6, p. 4.
3 The annual register or a view of the history and politics of the year 1846, London, F. and J. Rivington, 1847, p. 203.
4 The Albion, New York, June 22, 1844, p. 295.
5 The annual register of 1846, p. 203.
further vicious repression. Thus during the first half of the nineteenth century the British army was suffered by retrenchment and neglect to decline to its lowest standard.

These conditions of army life were as degrading for the aristocratic officers as for the hardened men they had to lead. Yet it is a surprising fact that the officers were able in spite of such conditions to maintain a bond of confidence with their men. That bond grew out of respect among the men for the qualities of their leaders. From their boyhood these officers had been brought up in a way of life and an outlook that had prepared them for their task. They had learned to take hard blows in their stride. They had been drilled in a code which held that a gentleman stands up to face danger or difficulty with boldness and unconcern for personal safety. In the field they looked to the safety of their men before their own. In the management of barrack life they combined even-handed justice with their unyielding firmness. These qualities won the ungrudging respect of soldiers who joined to a rough brutality their own bold courage.

While the 11th Regiment was filling in its long tour of duty in the Ionian Islands the opportunity came for Ensign Kennedy to purchase his promotion. Now, the purchase of a lieutenancy involved an expenditure of several hundred pounds in addition to the money he would receive by the sale
of his ensign's commission. As a lieutenant his pay would still be low and his daily expenses would be higher. Well for him that his father's rents at Cultra had continued to rise as the linen industry became mechanized and brought greater prosperity than ever to that whole area. Arthur therefore purchased his lieutenancy in the 11th (North Devon) Regiment of Foot on February 17, 1832.

In 1837, as the 11th Regiment was nearing the time when it could expect relief from colonial service and several years of duty in the British Isles, a situation was coming to a head in the Canadas that was suddenly to alter the uneventful tenor of its ways. In both of the Canadas trouble arose because the elected legislative assembly was thwarted in its attempts to exercise some real control over the administration of affairs. Instead, the system of government had vested all

1 The army lists for 1856, pp. 322 and 323:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commission</th>
<th>Price of Daily Pay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ensign</td>
<td>£450 05 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>700 06 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>1800 11 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3 The army list for January 1838, London, John Murray, 1838, p. 28.
vital power in the combined forces of the governor and the privileged group which dominated the executive and legislative councils. In Lower Canada the trouble was essentially a clash of race. A long and bitter quarrel raged over the question of a civil list. The French Canadian assembly wanted control over expenditure of taxes but it angrily refused in exchange for such control to guarantee the salaries of English officials appointed by the Imperial Government. Demand for reform emphasized ways by which the French assembly would no longer be deprived of positive power by English appointees. Chief hope therefore lay in an elected legislative council. When Russell's Ten Resolutions of March 1837 made it clear that this demand would not be granted, the reformers as a whole were angered and a small minority was willing to resort to force. In Upper Canada the problem was more complicated. A privileged minority maintained its control of government because its long entrenchment secured to it the favour of successive governors, the control of appointed executive and legislative councils, and even a large following in the elected assembly. Out of political control grew privilege in economic and religious affairs. One of the most important consequences of this situation was a deep agrarian discontent. Newcomers seeking land had to pay monopoly prices or fight through official delay. Another major source of discontent was the great amount of
land set aside as "clergy reserves", mainly for the benefit of the Anglican Church—this in a country where other religious groups formed a larger part of the population. All discontents—political, agrarian, financial, religious—were complicated by diversity of objectives among the reformers. As in Lower Canada, the principal common demand was for an elective legislative council. As in the lower province also, there was a vague demand for "responsible government", but here in Upper Canada there was some true understanding of what that term meant—chiefly in the mind of the moderate reformer, Robert Baldwin, and his close followers. Moreover, he had an idea of how to solve the problem that the granting of ministerial responsibility to a colony entailed. In Upper Canada the problem was also complicated by American influence within the colony and by the danger and example alike from aggressive democracy just across the border. A further complication was introduced by new waves of immigration, which included such groups as vigorously Protestant Ulstermen who threw their support not to the reformers but on the side of the Tories. Amid this welter of conflicting forces a new lieutenant-governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, made himself into a party leader for the Tories.

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1 The Witness, Edinburgh, March 18, 1840, p. 4.
His bombastic speeches claimed all loyalty for the Tory side and appealed to anti-American and anti-republican sentiment. By these tactics he led the party of privilege to victory in the election of 1836 and drove the extremists in despair to thoughts of revolution. Russell's resolutions of March 1837 completed their swing to the counsels of despair and violence.

Rebellion broke out first in the lower province in November and December of 1837. It was quickly followed by one in Upper Canada. Both were easily suppressed because they were the work of small groups of despairing radicals only. The great majority of the people in both provinces, though still discontented and determined to have reform, were equally opposed to a resort to rebellion. The easy suppression of the uprisings, however, did not solve anything, a fact which was quickly realized in the Canadas. A new period of conflicting trends was opened and the danger was intensified by the willingness of large numbers of Americans along the border to give active support to any further action by the insurgents who had taken refuge among them. The British government was shocked by the rebellions into speedy action. Two courses were taken. One was the appointment of the radical Lord Durham as Governor-in-Chief of the British North American colonies to investigate the trouble and propose necessary reforms. The other was quickly to reinforce the regiments in North America. One of the first
actions of the government after its receipt of the news of the rebellion is related in the famous pro-British New York newspaper, the Albion, as follows:

London, December 17

The 11th and 73d Regiments, now stationed in the Mediterranean have been ordered home in ships of war instanter, and without any relief, it is supposed in consequence of the aspect of affairs in Canada. They are to land in this country, [England] where their depots will join them from Ireland. (1)

By January 1, 1838 those orders had been made more urgent. The regiments were not to come home first, but were to go to Gibraltar and from there to North America. Meantime the Bellerophon, 78, and the Vanguard, 84, were racing home to get the depot companies of the 11th and 73rd and take them to Gibraltar to join their regiments. In southern Ireland there was a great scene of activity. There the depot companies of the 11th and 73rd were recruiting to bring their regiments up to full strength. Large groups of volunteers were obtained from other regiments by a bounty of one guinea to each man.

By January 2, 1838 a formidable list of the forces that were to join the 11th and 73rd included six other regiments of the line; two regiments of cavalry, four companies of artillery, a rocket troop, two battalions of the rifle brigade, and a brigade of guards, including eight hundred of the Grenadier

1 January 27, 1838, p. 30.

2 The Albion, New York, February 17, 1838, p. 54, (quoting the London Times of January 1).

3 The Albion, New York, February 17, 1838, p. 54, (quoting the Limerick Chronicle, January 3, 1838).
Guards and eight hundred of the Coldstreams. According to the Albion the British papers in the first month or two after the news of the rebellions were full of anger against the Canadian rebels and their supporters. No less than seven thousand men were ordered to the North American colonies, which, added to those who were already there, would create an effective force of twelve thousand British regular troops, "enough to place the country in perfect safety".

The danger was not over, however, because the rebels took refuge in the border regions of the United States, where they found a large number of people willing to help them. Navy Island in the Niagara River became the centre of insurgent activity, supplied and reinforced from the American side by a small American steamer, the Caroline. At midnight on December 29, 1837, a group of Canadian loyalists crossed the river to the American side, took the Caroline from her moorings, and sent her in flames over the falls. One American citizen was killed in this affair. With the usual inconsistency that prevails when tempers are aroused, the whole American border was roused to anger by this violation of United States territory and the killing of an American. This incident was only one of many that followed in the early

2 March 10, 1838.
months of 1838 because the border states had so many people who regarded republican democracy as the best form of government and earnestly desired to help the Canadian "patriots" to establish that system. Such incidents stirred up real apprehension in the minds of many Canadians that the Americans would seize the British colonies. In consequence a spirit of war flared up on both sides of the line. That spirit was voiced on the Canadian side by the Toronto Patriot in the following bold words:

The 11th, 72d, 81st and 93d Regiments are all coming out immediately besides others from the West Indies. They are all coming in ships of war. We shall lack neither armies nor navies to inflict ample vengeance for any insults or injuries we may sustain from any quarter whatever. (2)

It was to this scene of possible war that the 11th Regiment was ordered. On January 20 it left Corfu aboard the Russell, 74, Captain Sir W. Dillon. It arrived in Gibraltar Bay on February 6 in the midst of a great storm that nearly put the Russell on the rocks. The men were not able to land till the fourteenth when they embarked at once on the Minden to start for North America in spite of the stormy seas. But the ocean seemed determined to prevent their departure. In

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the furious gale fifty-two vessels were lost on the nearby shores and the Minden also was in great danger. At last she was towed through the straits and started on the first section of her journey, which, of course, had to be with the Trades to Bermuda. A storm-tossed month later, on the tenth of April, the Minden arrived in Bermuda where an advance party of three officers and one hundred forty-five men awaited the regiment, having gone direct from the depot. Without delay, the regiment was transferred to the Cornwallis and on April 14 sailed for Halifax where they arrived eight days later. It is interesting to note that on April 23, the day after the 11th Regiment completed its rough journey of over three months, a great sensation was caused in New York by the almost simultaneous arrival of the paddle-steamers Sirius from Liverpool and Great Western from Bristol. The latter had crossed in fifteen days. Durham took from April 24 to May 29 to sail from Portsmouth.

How Lieutenant Arthur Kennedy crossed the stormy Atlantic in January 1838—whether in the Minden from Gibraltar or with that part of the depot that went direct from Cork to Bermuda—

1 Cannon, Historical records of the 11th Foot, pp. 83 and 84.

2 The Albion, New York, April 28, 1838, p. 135.
we cannot be sure. However, we have direct evidence that he went with his regiment. It would have been surprising had he not gone when the 11th was rushed as directly as possible to the scene of action regardless of extreme danger, gathering to it as it hurried along all or most of its depot companies—and those recruited above strength from other regiments in order that the regiment might arrive in fullest force. Evidence comes from Kennedy himself that he took part in this campaign of 1838-1839. When he returned to North America in 1841 he was stationed in the united province of Canada only. In this campaign of 1838 the 11th Regiment served in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Lower Canada. On many subsequent occasions Kennedy made reference to several years' experience in "our North American possessions", and again "in the North American colonies", and again "in the British provinces in the east", and to the things he had noted there—the ways of the Indians, great forest fires and the types of people best suited to life in the colonies. In each case the reference was to the colonies in the
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plural. It is evident, therefore, that Lieutenant Kennedy participated with the 11th Regiment in this dash to North America and in the subsequent activities of 1838-1839. During these two years he was deputy paymaster of the regiment. For that reason he was able to move about with considerable freedom—from headquarters of the regiment to the various stations of the companies. That mobility explains his wide-spread observation of events and ways of the people during these years.

When the 11th Regiment arrived in Halifax the situation within the Canadas was still disturbed. An even greater danger was that aggressive tendencies on both sides of the St. Lawrence might provoke war between Britain and the United States. There was trouble brewing also on the

1 Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kilrush, County Clare, December 2, 1847, fifth series, p. 385.

Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kilrush, County Clare, April 9, 1848, sixth series, 1848, p. 825.

Kennedy to Cardwell, Government House, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 80 Miscellaneous, October 1, 1864, official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

The British Colonist, Victoria, March 28, 1864, p. 3. Ibid., June 3, 1864, p. 3. The Evening Express, Victoria, July 19, 1864, p. 3.

2 The army list for January, 1838, p. 28. The army list for January, 1839, p. 28. The army list of 1840, p. 167 no longer shows him as deputy paymaster.
boundary between New Brunswick and Maine. A report made at this time by the American War Department to the President of the United States showed that while the British Army had the major share of its forces in the Canadas—ten regiments of the line, two brigades of guards and two regiments of cavalry, it also had five regiments of the line in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the total force, when the usual proportions of artillery were added, amounting to fifteen or sixteen thousand regulars. None of the regulars had yet been moved to the border, it still being guarded only by militia. The 11th was one of the regiments kept in the maritimes. Four companies were left in Nova Scotia (three in or near Halifax and one in Annapolis). Headquarters and the other four companies embarked at the beginning of June on the Talavera for St. John; New Brunswick. Lieutenant Arthur Kennedy, as a member of regimental headquarters staff, naturally went to St. John.

As Lord Durham was arriving in Quebec to commence his difficult task amidst the prominent display of the presence of British regular forces, the 11th Regiment was making similar display of its presence in St. John, New Brunswick.

1 The Albion, New York, June 30, 1838, p. 208. Five more regiments of the line were also reported to be on the way. All the regiments of the line were reported at full strength of 650 men each.

2 Cannon, Historical records of the Eleventh Foot, p. 84.
On June 28, 1838, brilliant festivities were held to mark the coronation of the young Queen Victoria. The whole population streamed to the parade ground to watch Colonel Goldie review the gallant 11th in intricate evolutions to the strains of its splendid band. The standards of the regiment were displayed with pomp and splendour. The guns of the artillery thundered in a royal salute alternately with a feu de joie of musketry by the infantry. Three oxen were roasted and a great meal was served to the regiment and the populace--topped off by plum pudding. There followed a regatta and a civic banquet. Some of the officers and civic leaders concluded the celebration by a great ball and supper at the Saint John Hotel. Five hundred others went to a Temperance Soirée at the Wesleyan School Room.

And now for a short period there was a lull in the course of affairs that might even permit the relief of the 11th and its return to Britain and Ireland for its proper tour of duty at home. However, that expectation was short-lived.

In October, 1838, Lord Durham came to the realization that he had not the support of the home government in his measures concerning the rebellion. In the flare-up of bitterness between confident loyalists and despairing

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1 The Albion, New York, July 14, 1838, p. 222.

2 Ibid., August 18, 1838, p. 262.
It was planned to replace the 11th by the 36th from the West Indies. As suddenly, it was decided that both were needed in North America.
reformers there was evidence of new danger. Sir John Colborne, who was to be left in charge of this dangerous situation, decided to strengthen his forces in Quebec. He therefore sent orders to the 11th and 93rd regiments to hold themselves in immediate readiness to start for Canada. 1

Durham left Quebec for England on November 1, 1838. Two days later rebellion flared in the region south of Montreal. Sir John Colborne was not caught off guard. 2 Speedily placing the Montreal district under martial law, he moved troops across the river and soon dispersed the rebels. But the rebellion itself was signal for new invasions by Canadian "patriots" and their American sympathisers. Several hundred men from New York State crossed the St. Lawrence to the Canadian side near Prescott. They were repulsed by the 83rd Regiment. In vain did President Van Buren call on American citizens to give no encouragement to invasion; state authorities nearer the scene took no effective measures to stop these violations of Canadian

1 The Albion, New York, October 27, 1838, p. 343.

2 Ibid., November 10, 1838, p. 357. The proclamation was signed by Thomas Leigh Goldie, acting secretary of the province. He must have been related to George Leigh Goldie, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 11th.

3 Ibid., November 24, 1838, p. 375.

4 Loc. cit.
Evidence of the formidable conspiracy that existed all along the border came in December with a new invasion of "patriots" and Americans near Windsor. In these tense circumstances the 11th received its orders to make its dash through the wintry forests from New Brunswick to Canada.

The regiment began moving on December 26, 1838, in sleighs taking along salt provisions, cooking kettles, snow-shoes, axes and bill-hooks. One company started off each day in succession, seven men to a sleigh. Their route was up the St. John River, through the great forests of the upper valley and its Madawaska tributary, along the south side of Lake Temiscouta and finally down into the valley of the St. Lawrence, which they followed to Quebec. After three days' rest in Quebec, each company recrossed the river to the south side and started a journey of some one hundred thirty miles up the valley to Sorel at the mouth of the Richelieu Valley. This last section of their journey was made in carioles each containing two men. During this quick rush through frozen forests the men suffered greatly from cold because the temperatures ranged from twenty to thirty-five degrees below zero.


2 Cannon, op. cit., pp. 84-85.
The Albion, New York, January 26, 1839, p. 31.
Having reached Sorel, the gallant North Devons must have hoped to settle down for the winter because Sir John Colborne's competent management had brought the second rebellion quickly into control. But their hopes of rest were speedily dashed. Back on the borders of New Brunswick events had taken place that were more dangerous than any so far in their threat of war between Britain and the United States. Barely a month had passed therefore before Colonel Goldie and his men received orders to rush back through the wintry forests to the Madawaska settlements in the upper valley of the St. John River.

Trouble over the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine arose out of faulty wording in the treaty of 1783. In essence the problem was where the northern boundary of Maine should be. The treaty indicated a line of highlands. But President Jefferson in 1803 correctly described this line as "too imperfectly described to be susceptible of execution" as a boundary line. From time to time representatives of Britain and the United States tried the geographically impossible task of interpretation. The British claimed as the "highland" the first series of elevation over one thousand feet. The United States claimed a line about one hundred miles north—the southern watershed of the

1 The *Aubion*, New York, March 30, 1839, p. 103.
To face page 171
St. Lawrence. Neither of these lines fitted the description laid down in the treaty of 1783. Between these two lines lay the whole upper basin of the St. John River system—the valleys of the Aroostook, the upper St. John itself, the St. Francis and the Madawaska. This vast region was the territory in dispute. In 1824 the issue was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands. His decision in 1831 was accepted by Britain but rejected by the United States. Now, in 1838-1839, this great basin of the upper St. John system had high value because it appeared to be the last reserve of good virgin timber available to New Brunswick or to Maine. Since the timber trade supported the majority of the population in each of those regions, possession of this forest wealth was a factor of such vital economic importance to the people of these two regions that they would willingly have plunged two great nations into war to obtain the prize.

As the vigorous and profitable lumber trade of the 1830's used up the more accessible resources, lumbermen from both Maine and New Brunswick began to push into the Aroostook Valley, the south-eastern part of the disputed territory and therefore the closest area to each of the competing regions. Efforts were made by the two local

governments to control these depredations but the great wealth to be obtained from this timber set in motion a train of events too powerful to be easily controlled. In the winter of 1838-1839 lumbermen from each side were vigorously cutting timber. In opening his legislature in Maine in January 1839, Governor Fairfield made a belligerent speech warning that the boundary question must be settled in favour of Maine; war was calamitous but it might be necessary. In opening the New Brunswick legislature a few days later on January 15, Major-General Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of the province, made pointed reference to the recent American invasions of the Canadas but was silent on the boundary question. Each side now sent into the disputed area a civilian officer with armed men to stop the looting of timber, the Maine group taking along a six-pounder. Each officer, with some of his men, was captured and carried off to the opposite capital. The "Aroostook War" had begun. Governor Fairfield's response to this development was to send in a still larger and more heavily armed force to take over the Aroostook territory. On February 13 with corresponding aggressiveness Sir John

1 The Albion, New York, January 12, 1839, p. 15.
2 Ibid., February 2, 1839, p. 39.
3 The Times, London, March 21, 1839, p. 3.
4 The Albion, New York, March 2, 1839, p. 71.
Harvey sent a message to Governor Fairfield demanding the withdrawal of Maine's armed forces from the disputed territory and warning that he had directed a strong force of regulars to be put into readiness to support Her Majesty's authority. Fairfield's response was to call out eight thousand militia. The Maine legislature voted eight hundred thousand dollars for military operations and appealed to Congress for help. Maine's desire for war was echoed in both houses of Congress. On February 28 and March 1 a warlike bill was passed appropriating ten million dollars and authorizing the raising of a force of fifty thousand for the support of Maine.

It was in these circumstances that the 11th Regiment received its orders to race back from the St. Lawrence Valley to the Madawaska Settlements. This region was the part of the disputed area which was most important to Britain. It had long been an area of British settlement but in recent years American settlers had begun to push in with the support of the Maine authorities. Moreover, the Madawaska Valley was an essential part of the best route from St. John to Quebec. Since the St. Lawrence Valley was

3 *The Times*, London, March 26, 1839, p. 5.
closed in winter as a way for the movement of troops and
supplies, the Madawaska area was part of a military route
of major importance. With war threatening it was nec-
essary to hold this region at all costs. Back over the
now familiar way the carioles of the 11th Regiment there­
fore forced the pace. The rumour of their coming raced
before them. In Maine they were reported to be in the
disputed territory while they were still in Quebec. There­
fore more of Maine's militia poured into the Aroostook
valley. And indeed the 11th was travelling rapidly. Part
of the regiment arrived in Quebec city with Colonel Goldie
on March 4. They pushed on their way the same afternoon
"on a forced march of 18 leagues per day". They arrived
in the Madawaska settlements on March 9. Each side now
had armed forces within the disputed region—the Maine
Militia in the Aroostook Valley and the 11th Regiment in
the Madawaska. Sir John Harvey was moving other British
regulars from Fredericton towards the disputed region.

1 The Albion, New York, March 16, 1839, p. 87.
The Times, London, April 2, 1839, p. 4.

2 The Times, London, April 11, 1839, p. 5; quoting
the Quebec Gazette of March 4, 1839.

3 Cannon, Historical records of the 11th Foot, p. 85
The armed forces of two angry peoples now faced each other within gunshot. However, the British minister to Washington, Mr. Fox, and the American Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, now proposed the withdrawal of military forces by both sides. Sir John Harvey agreed to this proposal. Maine refused. To the editor of the Albion in New York it appeared that outright war could not be avoided. However, President Van Buren sent Major-General Winfield Scott to take charge of negotiations and to persuade Governor Fairfield to be reasonable. His efforts were successful. Having tried each other's mettle in the War of 1812-1814, Generals Scott and Harvey had strong confidence in each other. On March 21 and 23 they exchanged agreements that neither side would take the disputed territory by military force during negotiations by the governments of Britain and the United States. The Madawaska territory was tacitly left as before under British management. But Sir John Harvey virtually conceded the management of the Aroostook Valley to Maine until final decision was made, a serious recession from the position Britain had always maintained.

1 The Albion, New York, March 16, 1839, p. 87.
2 March 23, 1839, p. 95.
4 The Albion, New York, March 30, 1839, p. 103.
Thus it was as a result more of British concession than of American that war was averted. While the London Times, which was sixteen days away, was just beginning to get alarmed and angry, the "Aroostook War" was over. In loyal accord with the agreement made the 11th Regiment moved out of the Madawaska Settlements on March 29. Nine days later they were in Quebec.

However, Lieutenant Arthur Kennedy did not stay any longer with his regiment in Canada. As soon as the crisis was over, toward the end of March 1839, he must have obtained leave to go home. In all probability he did not even go back to Quebec with the regiment but went straight to Halifax. Passage from North America to Britain with the advent of the paddle-steamer was regularly made in about sixteen days. Arthur probably arrived in Britain on April 13, 1839, p. 119; May 11, 1839, p. 151; June 23, 1838, p. 199; July 27, 1839, p. 229.

1 MacNutt, W. S., "New Brunswick's age of harmony; the administration of Sir John Harvey", The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 32, no. 2, June, 1951, pp. 117-120.

2 March 27, 1839, p. 5. The steamship "Liverpool" had arrived in 16 days with news up to March 7.

3 Ibid., p. 4 editorial.

4 Cannon, Historical records of the Eleventh Foot, p. 85.


The Times, London, March 27, 1839, p. 5.
sometime after the middle of April. A month later, on Saturday, May 18, 1839, he was married at St. Faith's Church, by his brother-in-law, the Reverend Hubert Kynaston, M.A., High Master of St. Paul's School, to Georgina, third daughter of Joseph Macartney, Esquire, of Farm-hill in County Down.

It is interesting to notice that St. Faith's Church was a section of the crypt at St. Paul's Cathedral. That section of the crypt had been used by the congregation of St. Faith's since the church itself was demolished in the thirteenth century and it was so used until 1855. There is still a section of the crypt known as "St. Faith's under St. Paul's".

1 A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., Toronto, October 18, 1950, enclosure: the Reverend Hugh Kypraston married Arthur's sister, Elizabeth Selina on August 2, 1838. She was just a year older than Arthur and evidently they were good friends for his first child was called after her.


Burke's Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366, shows their home as Hollywood House (which is the way the name is pronounced but it should be written with only one "l", i.e. Holywood House.)

Hollywood House, Georgina Macartney's home, was a mile to the south-west of Cultra. It lay on gently sloping ground overlooking Hollywood and that is probably why the estate was called Farm-hill. The Macartney property was somewhat larger than Cultra's nine hundred acres. Because of the nearness of Hollywood House and the close contact that was maintained between families of the gentry in this area it is probable that Arthur had known Georgina since she was a child. The Macartneys were descendants of ancient Irish chiefs from near Cork, who had moved to County Down in the early fourteenth century. Assisted by Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, they had led an unsuccessful rebellion. In consequence of its failure they fled to Scotland. The family returned to Ulster and settled in Belfast in the early seventeenth century—just before the Kennedys had moved to County Down from Scotland. Georgina's great grandfather, William Macartney, was a famous member of Parliament for Belfast for over forty years. Her grandfather was Sir John Macartney of Lish, first baronet, M.P. for Antrim. One of her brothers was an army colonel, another the Chief of Police in Ceylon, and a third, the aide-de-camp to Shah Sujah. It is evident, therefore, that Georgina came

of a family very similar to that of her husband—proud in
ancient lineage and successfully competent in present service.
Georgina, herself, was a beautiful girl. A picture taken
many years later shows her a happy and gracious person. Of
that graciousness and keen interest in the life of the
people wherever she lived we also have testimony. We shall
see that she did not hesitate to go with her husband
wherever his career called him, even when it led to the
deadly West African coast, from which wives usually stayed
away. Her influence on Kennedy's life and career must have
been a very fortunate one and the descriptions we have of
their home life prove that it was happy.

We do not know where Lieutenant Kennedy spent the first
year of his married life—whether he rejoined his regiment
in Canada or whether he was attached to the depot now being
established in England in preparation for the return of the
11th Regiment after its twelve long years away from home.
If he returned to Canada—and we shall have evidence that
he preferred service there—he arrived in time to witness
Poulett Thompson's skilful combination of the office of
governor with that of his own chief minister. Of that we
shall take notice presently. He would also take part in

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1 The British Colonist, Victoria, March 21, 1864, p. 3.
2 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
one more clash over the Maine boundary. Once more the Maine militia pushed into the disputed area and erected log forts--this time in the vital Madawaska area. Once more the 11th was called to dash from Quebec, two companies being posted on the southern shores of Lake Temiscouta and one in reserve at Riviere du Loup. When the Maine border problem had again quietened down, the 11th Regiment--having travelled some thirteen hundred miles in the snow during the two winters of 1838 and 1839--prepared for its journey home. It arrived at Plymouth in June, 1840.

For over thirteen years the 11th Regiment had been on foreign service--from time to time buoyed up with the hope of action. Kennedy's own sense of frustration, expressed at a later time, was that these years "were not exactly eventful, for in those days there was not much scope for martial enterprise". The regiment could now look forward to

1 Cannon, Historical records of the Eleventh Foot, p. 85.

Compare MacNutt, W. S., "New Brunswick's age of harmony, the administration of Sir John Harvey", The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 32, no. 2, June, 1951, pp. 120-121. The companies mentioned on p. 121 were of the 11th Regiment.

2 Cannon, op. cit., p. 86.

3 The Courier, Brisbane, May 4, 1883. (A clipping in the old family book in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia).
a long tour of garrison duty in the British Isles. Evidently
Arthur Kennedy did not like that prospect, for he had already
made plans for the sale of his lieutenancy in the 11th
Regiment. This transaction was announced by the War Office
on June 12, 1840.

On the same date he purchased his captaincy, unattached,
and retired for the time being on half-pay. A possible
explanation for this quick series of events in Arthur's life
--his marriage and his purchase of a captaincy on half-pay--
was that his eldest brother had died unmarried in 1839.

1 Cannon, op. cit., pp. 86-87.
The 11th remained in the British Isles for five years,
until July 1845, when it embarked for Australia, where
it served for thirteen years.


3 Loc. cit.;

4 The Albion, New York, April 24, 1841, p. 148.

5 The army list of 1856, p. 323 and 322:
The cost of a captaincy on full pay was £1800 and on
half pay £1100, which was £400 more than the amount
he would receive from sale of his lieutenancy.

6 Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland, p. 366.
Arthur's father could therefore make an adjustment in financial arrangements for his sons, which would permit him to undertake new responsibilities and to purchase higher rank. He was probably now waiting for a satisfactory opportunity to purchase a full-pay captaincy in a regiment going to Canada.

This period of waiting would appear to be the time referred to by Gosnall when he said of Kennedy, "Retired on captain's half-pay, he had mixed in Imperial politics, and was a fluent and graceful speaker." The period was a fruitful one for a Conservative to attempt an entry into politics. Melbourne's second Whig administration was tottering to its fall—opposed and disliked by landed class and Church alike. Under the efficient leadership of Sir Robert Peel the Conservatives had been steadily increasing in strength. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, this period leading up to the election of 1841 witnessed many vigorous debates that strongly influenced Arthur Kennedy's ways of thought. His friends in County Down had been more strongly wedded to the Conservative side than ever by Whig onslaughts against the position and revenues of the Established Church in Ireland. The landowners of the region near Belfast were already taking a favourable attitude toward abolition of protective tariffs—a position to which their party's leader, Sir Robert Peel, was gradually to be forced during the next few years.

1 The Witness, Edinburgh, January 16, 1841, p. 2: His area continued to be highly prosperous in 1840.

Chartist agitation, which reached its peak of violence in this period, revived fears of revolution and deepened in the minds of Arthur's class their conviction that the lower orders had not the wisdom to share in the control of affairs. Whig proposals for the establishment of normal schools, where religious and moral instruction as well as general education were to be considered, stirred deep wells of mistrust in most minds lest the state should take control of the moral and religious ideas of the people. Canada and Jamaica had thrust colonial problems into the centre of thought. Amidst prevailing assurance that one day the colonies of settlement would drop away—and desirably so—there were some like Durham who were beginning to have faith in the value of freedom in empire. It was not a faith that Kennedy would learn till half a century had brought its mellow wisdom. Nor like his leader, Sir Robert Peel, did Kennedy share the frequently expressed willingness to let the empire go.

1 *The Times*, London, 1839, May 4, p. 6; May 8, p. 5; May 15, p. 5; May 16, p. 5; May 22, p. 3. These articles refer to Chartist disturbances—several of them riots which necessitated the use of troops to quell them. These events occurred right at the time when Kennedy came home from New Brunswick in 1839.

2 *The Times*, London, 1839, May 18, p. 4; May 24, p. 3; May 27, p. 4; May 28, p. 5; May 29, p. 5.

These were the topics that crowded into these years just before the election of 1841. If Captain Arthur Kennedy had hoped, like so many army officers, to become his party's candidate in an Irish constituency, he did not succeed. The county nominations in Down went almost by natural right to the current Viscount Castlereagh and Earl of Hillsborough. In any case an opportunity had come for Kennedy to return to army service in Canada: By the time the election was over in July he was on his way to join his new regiment. However, he must have marked with joy that not only Down but Ulster as a whole had voted Conservative. Even Belfast sent its representatives to swell the phalanx of support that swept Sir Robert Peel to victory.

During this period while he was still at home, other issues that were not political were strongly pressed on Kennedy's attention. A temperance campaign was making great progress through Ireland. The union of the Presbyterian churches in Ulster, which so favourably impressed Kennedy, was achieved in 1840; There was another development of even greater import for Kennedy's future, a vigorous renewal

1 The annual register or a view of the history, and politics, of the year 1841, London, Rivingtons, 1842, appendix, pp. 139-140.

2 The Witness, Edinburgh, 1840, August 1, p. 1; December 30, p. 2.

3 See above, p. 134.
of the humanitarian and evangelical campaign for the protection of the African negro. In May of 1839, when Arthur was in London, there was a great meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society with Thomas Fowell Buxton in the chair. In July Buxton's book on the African slave trade accumulated for the nation the horrors of a trade which he showed was more extensive than ever. In June, 1840, the attention of the country was centered on a great public meeting in Exeter Hall of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa. With His Royal Highness Prince Albert, President, in the chair it was resolved that the trade must be stopped by the vigorous introduction into Africa of Christianity and British trade.

While Kennedy had been deeply interested in all the currents of life and thought at home, his main attention naturally centered on the situation in North America. There had been a temporary lull in tension between Britain and the United States in 1839 when he had seized the opportunity to

1 *The Times*, London, May 22, 1839, p. 3.
go home to get married. But while restraint was being
exercised by the two governments in hope of amicable settle­
ment, bitterness remained in the minds of leaders on both
sides over the events along the border in Canada and New
Brunswick in 1838 and 1839. In London the Conservative
Times had been hammering away at the declining Whig govern­
ment condemning Palmerston for his failure to get England
ready for war and contending that he was guilty of weakness
in dealing with the Americans. The truth was quite the
opposite. Palmerston had not been fully aware of the war­
like attitude of Congress in February and March of 1839
until the crisis had been settled locally by Sir John
Harvey's concession concerning the Aroostook Valley. That
settlement had been accepted, but the way it had been gained
had undoubtedly rankled in truculent Palmerston's mind. A
quiet determination had been taken to continue strengthening
the Canada establishment. In March 1840 Winfield Scott made
the disturbing report to his government that Britain now
had twenty thousand of her best regulars in North America.
More were to come. By August 1840 orders had gone out for
the movement of many more regiments to Canada.

1 March 30, 1839, p. 4; April 4, 1839, p. 4; April 27,
1840, p. 4. In 1839 while condemning Palmerston for
weakness in preparation, the Times was willing to make
concession of some territory in New Brunswick rather
than be drawn unprepared into war. (March 21, 1839, p.4).
In 1840 it was thundering for a more aggressive policy.
London,
2 The Times, April 27, 1840, p. 4:
3 The Witness, Edinburgh, June 19, 1841.
On the heels of that order came an incident that added fresh fuel to the smouldering fires of bitterness. It was the arrest of Alexander McLeod in November 1840. McLeod was a Canadian sheriff who unwisely and untruthfully boasted in his cups, while in an American tavern, that he was the one who had killed the American during the seizure of the Caroline. His prompt arrest stirred tempers on both sides. Palmerston added to the tension by contending that the men who had participated in the destruction of the Caroline had done so under orders. Their act was an act of the government of Britain itself in lawful defence of its territory. McLeod therefore could not be held responsible and must be released. This case dragged on through 1841, exciting a truculence on both sides that brought the nations to the verge of war. The strengthening of British forces went on apace. By the spring of 1841 it was plainly evident in Britain that a major reinforcement was under way.


Edinburgh _Witness_ of March 31, 1841, showed the strength of reinforcements to embark in April as sixteen hundred men. All the regiments on the Canada establishment were being brought to top strength.

In these stirring circumstances of rumours of war and mounting preparations for the conflict, half-pay Captain Arthur Kennedy purchased his full-time captaincy on the 68th (The Durham) Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry) on March 19, 1841. The depot of the regiment was in Cork and the service companies were in Jamaica making their final preparations for moving to Canada. The 68th, 70th and 89th regiments made rendezvous on Barbadoes from which they sailed for Canada on the first and second of May 1841. The move required six transport ships and two troop ships. They arrived at Quebec during the month of June. In the meantime

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1 Page 4. See issues of April 3, 1841 and April 13, 1841, for long lists of the regiments involved.

2 _The Witness_, Edinburgh, March 24, 1841, p. 4. _The Albion_, New York, April 24, 1841, p. 148. The extra cost was £511. (See _The New army list for 1856_, p. 323.)

3 _The Witness_, Edinburgh, October 24, 1840, p. 4: ordered to go to Canada; November 11, 1840, p. 4: presented with new colours on September 16, 1840 in preparation for leaving.

4 _Ibid_. , June 19, 1841, p. 4.

5 _Ibid_. , June 26, 1841, p. 4.
plans had been made for troopships to bring drafts from home to reinforce the regiments on the Canada station. Right on the heels of the regiment's arrival in June, the Albion, four hundred eighty tons, arrived from Britain with fourteen officers and two hundred men for various regiments, including two officers and thirty-six men for the 68th. She was followed by the Orbit which included in her drafts two more officers and one hundred twenty-eight men for the 68th. Since we shall have evidence presently that Captain Kennedy was with the 68th in Canada, it is a reasonable assumption that he arrived with these drafts in June 1841. The headquarters and three companies of the regiment were stationed at Sorel, one company went to Three Rivers, and two companies were established at Temiscouta from which they could readily reach into the Madawaska Settlements if need arose. These were familiar grounds for Kennedy. In this same summer of 1841 there was appointed as aide-de-camp on the staff of the army in Canada Lieutenant the Earl of Mulgrave of the Scots Fusilier Guards.

1 The Witness, Edinburgh, April 17, 1841, p. 4; June 26, 1841, p. 4.

2 Ibid., November 10, 1841, p. 4. The depot was now at Chester, England.

3 Ibid., July 24, 1841, p. 4. He became the second Marquis of Normanby in 1863. (Stephen and Lee, DNB., since 1917, vol. 15, pp. 1118-1119.)
Mulgrave and Kennedy became life-long friends.

These young men and their fellow-officers were well-informed. They knew that they were close to war and almost certainly welcomed that prospect. Anger over the McLeod case was steadily mounting. In Kingston Sydenham in opening the legislature of the now united Canadas recommended large appropriations for military purposes, stating that the home government intended to devote annually a large sum for the defences of the provinces. He announced "the fixed and settled determination which I have the Queen's commands to declare, that her North American possessions shall be maintained at all hazards as part of her empire." In England an aroused sentiment was indicated by the forthright anger of the Times which declared that the nations were now at a point of utmost danger because of "the arrogant unjust and turbulent spirit which the 'pattern democracy' is apt to carry into its controversies and negotiations with foreign states". However, McLeod's weary case in the courts of the State of New York was at last brought to an end by his acquittal. With the closing of that case the war fever died. Much of the credit for that result should be

1 Clipping from a Brisbane, Queensland, newspaper, late June 1883: "On his way to England last month he [Kennedy] passed through Melbourne, and stayed a short time with the Marquis of Normanby who was an old friend of his." (This clipping is in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia.)

2 The Times, London, July 5, 1841, p. 5.

3 August 18, 1841, p. 5. (leading article).
ascribed to a proclamation by the new president, Tyler. He called on border American people to withdraw their support from the secret lodges which had been trying to stir up another revolution in Canada. Settlement of the accumulated causes of resentment between the two nations was handed over by Tyler and Sir Robert Peel to negotiation by special envoys, Lord Asburton and Daniel Webster. They negotiated a treaty in a spirit of compromise. For our purposes it will suffice to notice that the north-eastern (Maine) boundary settlement gave to Britain a larger share of territory than the award of the King of the Netherlands had done. The Madawaska region, so vital to communications between New Brunswick and Quebec remained in British hands.

In spite of the very real danger of war, Mrs. Kennedy had come to Canada to be with her husband. Their first child, Elizabeth Henrietta, was born in April 1842 at Montreal.

The 68th Regiment remained in Canada until 1844 when it returned to the British Isles. After the crisis of 1841

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2 A.E.K. Bunnell to H.C.G., Toronto, October 18, 1950, enclosure.

was over, the army in Canada settled to a life of garrison duty. Captain Kennedy, and other officers who were interested in politics, could now give more attention to the development of the constitutional struggle. He had been able to observe developments in that struggle both at home and in these colonies ever since the Rebellion of 1837. The period from then till 1845 was a most important one in his unplanned preparation for the role of colonial governor, for he was in a position to observe at fairly close range the work of Harvey, Sydenham, Bagot and Metcalfe. With one exception he saw them firmly maintaining control of affairs in their own hands. His concept of the kind of "responsible government" suitable and desirable for a colony was developed in these years of struggle before the home government was brought to realize the impossibility of governing such colonies without a wider vision.

Kennedy's first opportunity to watch a colonial governor in action was in New Brunswick. There for the first time he saw a governor playing the role of unifier--attempting to unite all parties around him to lead them on to progressive measures. He could not fail to realize that Sir John Harvey

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1 It is suggested that what we are about to say concerning Kennedy applies with even greater force to the subsequent career of his friend, Lord Mulgrave (later second Marquis of Normanby), because Mulgrave was to be governor of colonies of settlement only. It is suggested also that in course of time Kennedy learned the lesson his century had to teach, but Normanby did not. (See Stephen and Lee, DNB., since 1917, vol. 15, pp. 1118-1119).
was his own chief minister. Moreover, Harvey's skill in management of affairs made it appear that such a position could be maintained by a governor with little more than minor frictions with the assembly. An atmosphere of cordial cooperation was even more noticeable while Kennedy was there because of the unity produced in the province by the Aroostook War.

From New Brunswick Kennedy could be aware of little more than the meteoric flash of Durham's five months in the Canadas. But he was back in the United Kingdom in 1839 in time to take part in the discussions concerning the wisdom of establishing ministerial responsibility to the Legislative Assembly in a colony. Like the vast majority of the upper classes he undoubtedly agreed that it was impossible to do so without destroying the proper subordination of the colony to the mother country. Lord Stanley, the colonial expert in the Conservative party and soon to become Peel's colonial secretary, had declared his position with vehemence. He regarded the proposal that the Assembly should control the Executive Council as sheer confusion. He was to express


2 Ibid., p. 110. Professor MacNutt makes it clear that the resistance of the legislature was greater than appeared on the surface of affairs.

his belief that the family compact men in Canada were the loyalists in whom one could place his trust. Sir Robert Peel had considered that the question of responsible government was not worthy of notice. He undoubtedly agreed with his lieutenant that it would lead to the separation of Canada from Britain, and he did not intend readily to permit that to happen. These were the opinions of Kennedy's political leaders at a time when he was participating actively in politics. Their opinions were akin to his own ways of thought.

He did not arrive back in Canada in time to witness Poulett Thompson's accomplishment of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, but he was of course aware of the marks of approval attendant on that achievement, and the lesson was tucked away in his mind to function a quarter of a century later on the other side of the continent. He was there in time to witness Thompson, now Baron Sydenham, in his brilliant management of the first legislature of the united

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2 McDougall, op. cit., pp. 378 and 379.

3 See above, p. 100.

4 See above, p. 105.
colony. Again he saw a governor firmly holding the reigns of government in his own hands—trying always to win the cooperation of a majority of the Assembly by giving skilful leadership in progressive measures such as the planning of needed public works, the establishment of a common school system and the initiation of the first satisfactory institutions of local government. He saw Sydenham's success in creating a party of his own made up of moderate, practical men—a means whereby the governor was able to ward off Baldwin's demands for the establishment of cabinet government insofar as all local matters were concerned. To the end of his regime Sydenham appeared successfully to unite the office of governor and prime minister in one. It was only apparent later and to one behind the scenes that the smooth success of his scheme could not have lasted.

When we consider the impact of Sir Charles Bagot's governorship on Captain Kennedy, we should recall that Kennedy was an officer in the 11th Regiment when it was rushed in 1838 from St. John to the St. Lawrence Valley at the outset of the second French Canadian Rebellion. Now he was an officer in the 68th—a regiment that had been in Canada from 1834 to 1837. Moreover, he was a Conservative whose colonial ideas were closer to those of Stanley and Peel than Bagot's proved

1 Chichester and Burges-Short, The records and badges of every regiment and corps in the British Army, p. 722.
to be. Finally, his work and station in life brought him into contact with the most professedly loyal and British inhabitants of the province. With such a background Captain Kennedy could hardly have appreciated how real was the statesmanship of Sir Charles Bagot. When that gentle governor, in honest acceptance of the ultimate logic of a pact agreed to by the Colonial Office took Lafontaine and his colleagues into his Executive Council, anger was widespread among the Tory party in Canada. He had handed over the province to suspected rebels, and its British citizens "to the vindictive despotism of the French mob". Kennedy was surely among those who failed to realize that Bagot had laid the foundations for the eventual establishment of responsible government.

Captain Kennedy's fellow officers had approving words to say about the next governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe. They knew him with high approval from their service in Jamaica. They knew him capable, firm, courageous, honourable and British to the core. Nor did Sir Charles disappoint

1 The Sydenham-Harrison resolutions of September 1841.


3 The Witness, Edinburgh, July 15, 1840, p. 2; July 22, 1840, p. 2.

the high expectations of his admirers—either in North America or in the government at home. His outlook was close to that of Stanley, for his evaluation of the people in the colony was in terms of their loyalty to the mother country. Moreover, his conception of the system that Sydenham had established was that "the Governor is the responsible Government". He held that there should be cordial cooperation between the governor and his council, he should receive their advice with careful attention at all times and he should consult them on all matters of adequate importance. However, he held that responsible government should not mean that the Governor was to be denied the exercise of his own judgment and to become a mere tool in the hands of the Council. It could not mean that the patronage of the Crown was to be degraded to the exclusive party use of the Council. Lafontaine and Baldwin, of course, insisted that the


2 His policy was thus explained to the people in the election campaign that followed the resignation of Lafontaine, "Sir T. Metcalfe, Governor-General to Warden and Councillors of Gore District", The Albion, New York, February 10, 1844, p. 6.
Governor should accept their advice on all matters of purely provincial concern. In November 1843 their group resigned. Metcalfe did not want to be a party leader, but he was sincerely convinced that responsible government as Baldwin interpreted it would lead to the destruction of the British connexion. He therefore became the real leader of the Tories who arrogated to themselves the name of "loyalists". Captain Kennedy left Canada with the 68th in 1844 with the vigorous insistence of Metcalfe clear before his eyes that the true function of a governor is to govern. Like the New York Albion he almost certainly agreed that Metcalfe had taken the "... firm and manly course".

At home in Britain Kennedy watched the apparently triumphant outcome of Metcalfe's courageous fight and witnessed the universal acclaim accorded to his loyal stand.

We have seen that Harvey, Sydenham and Metcalfe were the governors whose methods and ideas would have the most influence on his own conceptions of what a colonial governor should be. He had seen them, in colonies having represent-


2 Chichester and Burges-Short, The records and badges of every regiment and corps in the British Army, p. 722.

3 January 20, 1844, p. 35.
ative institutions, steadfastly holding the reins of power in their own capable hands. Although the full story of Kennedy's own first experience with a colony having an entirely elective Legislative Assembly—Vancouver Island—is outside the scope of this essay, it is worthy of notice here that at the outset of his administration there he began to emphasize the unfitness of the colony for party government. While he was careful to avoid interference with the functions of the Legislative Assembly, yet from the outset he appeared to be attempting to place himself at the head of the great party of the public by his encouragement of public deputations and by his frank explanations of his own policy as opposed to that of the legislature. Moreover, he was as steadfast in his despatches to Downing Street in opposition to responsible government as he was in his public utterances in the colony. In an influential confidential despatch he had this to say:

... . . . A measure such as that proposed . . . could not at present possibly pass the Legislative Council, but if the desire of

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 2, 1864, p. 3.
2 Ibid., 1864: April 11, pp. 2, 3; April 12, pp. 2, 3; April 13, p. 3.
3 Kennedy to Cardwell, Government House, Victoria, No. 16, Separate, March 21, 1865, paragraphs 18, 19; No. 27, May 4, 1865, paragraphs 15-19; No. 73, August 24, 1865; No. 48, Separate, June 20, 1866, paragraph 9, official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
the Assembly to 'make the official heads of Departments responsible to the people' (i.e., the Assembly) were acceded to, the safeguard would cease to exist and British rule become impossible. (1)

It would appear that Kennedy's experiences in the British North American colonies between 1837 and 1845, and especially the government of Sir Charles Metcalfe, had a very distinct bearing on his preparation as a colonial governor.

When the 68th Regiment returned to the United Kingdom in the summer of 1844, it most likely went to the depot station which was at Chester. Mrs. Kennedy went to live with Arthur's sister, Elizabeth, in the hospitable Kynaston home at St. Paul's School. There on July 16, 1844, Arthur's sister, Grace, was married to Arthur Woodgate, nephew of the Right Honourable Viscount Hardinge (member of Peel's cabinet). There also in 1845 Arthur Kennedy's

1 Kennedy to Cardwell, Government House, Victoria, Confidential, December 16, 1865, Archives of British Columbia, photostat obtained from the Colonial Record Office, London. T. F. Elliot's notation is illuminating of the effect of this despatch: "Mr. Forster . . . 'Responsible Govt.' in a Little Community like Vancouver would be a mockery and a scramble it seems to me."

2 It is interesting to note the similarity of Kennedy's early governorships to those of Metcalfe. In both cases these early governorships were such as to bring out whatever tendencies to dominance a man had.

3 The Witness, Edinburgh, November 10, 1841, p. 4.

4 A. E. K. Bunnell to the writer, October 18, 1950, enclosure--copy of a clipping.
son was born. He was called Arthur Herbert. His second name was in honour of the Reverend Herbert Knyaston, High Master of St. Paul's. When the Kennedy's third child, Georgina Grace, was born in 1846, the headquarters of the 68th Regiment had been moved to Dublin.

Captain Kennedy had already shown that he was chafing at the great scarcity of chances for promotion or distinction. Moreover, in every case his hopes of active service had been dashed. And now the 68th faced a long period at home. We have seen that Kennedy did not like garrison duty at home, which so often involved the harsh work of coercion. However, in 1846 he was seconded from his regiment into the emergency relief of poverty and distress. It was an exacting work that "sobered the spirits of even his elastic nature", but it seized on his sympathies and gave him the useful outlet

2 A.E.K. Bunnell to the writer, October 15, 1950, enclosure.
4 Chichester and Burges-Short, The records and badges of every regiment and corps in the British Army, p. 722: The 68th was at home from 1844 to 1851 when it went back to the Ionian Islands where it had been when the 11th was there.
5 The Alsbury Crier, New South Wales, late June 1883, p. 115. (A clipping in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia).
for his energies that he had been so restlessliy seeking. It was therefore the route by which he was to leave the army. He had completed nineteen years of service on full pay and nine months on half-pay (the period of his entry into politics from May 1840 to March 1841). In 1848 he sold his commission and retired from the army for good.

Nineteen years in the army made their distinct impression. Kennedy was soldierly in bearing, proud of his army training, and always interested in military affairs, about which his knowledge was sure. The army had confirmed the training of his youth: he knew that the only way to deal with danger was to stand forward to face it boldly. He had likewise learned how to control men under his authority with a true concern for their welfare and with a friendliness that did not permit familiarity. Finally, he was willing and able to lead where he wanted men to follow. In other words, he was the best type of army officer.

1 Hart H. G., The new annual army list for 1847, p. 220.
3 The Evening Express, Victoria, March 26, 1864, p. 3; March 28, 1864, p. 2.
4 "Address of heads of departments", The British Colonist, Victoria, October 26, 1866, p. 3.
5 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.
6 "Address on departure from Australia", The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 21, 1864, p. 3.
Disastrous famine in Ireland was the force which drew Captain Kennedy from the army into the humane service of relief of distress. In a period when population was rapidly outstripping production, famine was frequent. The greatest sources of danger in this situation were dependence on the potato for food and inefficient methods of its cultivation. Of the eight million people in Ireland, more than half relied exclusively on the potato. With the remainder it was a major part of the diet. This reliance on one crop was worst in south-western Ireland where the people used the laziest methods of getting food.

In October 1845 word reached London that a blight had caused the loss of half the potato crop in Ireland. It was evident that other foods would have to be used. Since they could not be supplied from within the British Isles, a wet summer having spoiled the grain crops, they must be imported. This fact completed the growth of the realization that

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1 O'Connor, Sir James, "Ireland", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1947 edition, vol. 12, p. 612. The population in 1800 was 4,500,000. By 1841 it was 8,175,124.


in the mind of Sir Robert Peel that protective tariffs against foods would have to be lowered. For our purpose it must suffice to recall that Peel forced through the abolition of the Corn Laws against the opposition of a large part of his own party. When that task was completed at the end of June 1846, that group turned on him by combining with the opposition to destroy his administration. In the meantime, however, he had taken extra steps to deal with the famine. In the first place, he imported Indian corn and retailed it to the Irish peasants at a penny a pound. They did not like it because they thought it would turn them black, and called it "Peel's brimstone". However, they got used to it. In the second place, in January 1846, Peel secured approval from Parliament for a great plan of public works relief. Two methods were available to local authorities. They could initiate rather general works, half the cost of which they must eventually repay, or they could undertake works of a more local nature the whole cost of which the property owners must repay to the government which would advance the money in this emergency.

1 It will be recalled that Captain Kennedy favoured freer importation of food and would therefore approve of the great leader's action.


3 Dunlop, R., Ireland, p. 174.

These measures limited the distress. However, they had many drawbacks. Since the government was bringing in grain and selling it cheap, private grain merchants stopped importing. Moreover, local authorities tended to avoid initiating the type of work for which they would in due course have to pay the whole cost. They chose instead the type for which the government would pay half. Finally, the Irish peasants preferred the easy work on relief projects to the more arduous labour that was expected of them by private farmers. In consequence, while the peasants were crowding into the relief work in the summer of 1846, the farmers of the nation were short of labour. Instead of improving the situation the government measures, though carefully conceived, were making it worse.

When Lord John Russell came to power in July 1846, he initiated a new policy which he hoped would obviate the abuses that had grown up. In the first place, the importation of Indian corn was left to private enterprise. In the second, it was decided that the whole cost of relief works must eventually be repaid by the region where they were carried on. Such projects were to be initiated by a board of the magistrates in any stricken area. The work was to be carried out under the management of public

officers. Along with other army and navy officers, Captain Arthur Kennedy was selected for this work of supervision in 1846. He was made a county inspector under the Board of Works.

These preparations for dealing with a possible recurrence of famine were still being made when new disaster struck. At the beginning of August 1846 the potato crop was destroyed by the sudden onset of a horrible rot. The people flocked at once into the public works projects. In October one hundred thousand were on relief. The number was more than doubled in each succeeding month till there were seven hundred thousand in January. It was a trying task for the superintending officers to manage these people, who were far more interested in the wage they would get than in the amount of work they would give in return. In fact there were so many of them that it was impossible to exact from them any reasonable amount of work. Many who came into the road gangs were


2 Birch, A. M. and Robinson, W., The Colonial Office list for 1867 comprising historical and statistical information respecting the colonial dependencies of Great Britain with an account of the services of the principal officers of the several colonial governments, London, Harrison, 1867, p. 226. (hereafter referred to as The Colonial Office list for 1867).

3 Walpole, op. cit., p. 299.
not really in need of help. But they gladly left their farm work to take advantage of easy work and relief wages. For this reason and for fear of the blight, a smaller acreage of potatoes was planted. It soon became evident that famine would be worse in 1847.

Realizing that this public works system was demoralizing the nation, the government took the grim decision that relief must be discontinued. The superintending officers were instructed to discharge one-fifth of the people from the rolls in March 1847. More were to be dropped in each succeeding month. In March three quarters of a million people were on relief; by August all had been struck off. For the superintending officers this process was a heart-rending though necessary business. Although he fully concurred in the necessity of trying to throw the people at least partly on their own resources, Kennedy found this Irish famine period the most trying experience in his whole life. However, before this phase of the relief procedure had closed, he was moved to a position of even greater responsibility.

1 Edinburgh Review, January 1846, p. 250.


3 The Alsbury Crier, New South Wales, late June 1883, p. 115. (a clipping in the possession of Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia).
The government had been preparing new plans to take the place of the expiring relief act. In January 1847 a Relief Commission was established in Dublin with Lieutenant-General Sir John F. Burgoyne at its head. Relief committees were reorganized throughout the country. Their job was no longer to initiate relief works; instead, they were to expend government funds in giving food where necessary. To prevent abuse it was stipulated that the whole cost of this relief must in time be repaid to the government by the local property owners. Greatest assistance was to be given to the western and south-western districts where there was a complete dependence on potatoes and no satisfactory grain trade. Sir John Burgoyne was empowered to select, from those who had gained successful experience in relief work, certain officers to be senior inspectors at the disposal of the Commission. Their job was to proceed to any area of urgent distress to superintend the work of the committee, or to investigate or to assist in any way possible. Captain Kennedy was appointed to one of these supervisory inspectorships under Sir John Burgoyne's commission. His service in the bitter spring and summer of 1847 was therefore mainly in the provinces of Munster and Connaught where calamity had struck most fiercely.

1 The Colonial Office list for 1867, p. 226.
Famine was widespread throughout the country in that dreadful summer of 1847, with its starvation, misery, disease and their concomitants, insubordination and violence. At two periods more than a third of the population was on relief. In July the authorities cared for over three million people, in most cases not only supplying the food, but cooking it and feeding the people at their own doors. In these circumstances the responsibilities of an inspector were heavy. He superintended the proceedings of the local relief committee, decided what projects should be undertaken by relief workers, and what wages should be paid. He had supervision of the selection of workers and of the progress of the work. He kept farm work going by assigning labour to it, furnished food to the destitute, supervised the burial of the dead, made provision of temporary hospitals, and initiated sanitary measures. The magnitude of an inspector's task becomes more evident when it is realized that over twenty thousand people died from sheer starvation in the five years following 1846 and that pestilence accounted for many more—the total mortality for this period being close upon a million. Pestilence

2 Edinburgh Review, January 1848, pp. 264 and 270.
consequent on famine claimed not only the unfortunate peasants: by 1849 seventy work house officers and nine inspectors had fallen victims of the disease. 

After the summer of 1847 the highest crest of famine and death had passed. The government was able to assess the toll. It became evident that the heaviest damage was to the morale of the people. The indiscriminate charity enforced by the crisis had demoralized them. They now seemed to prefer to accept relief rather than to exert themselves in growing their own food. This horrible condition was most evident in County Clare where demand was made for continuance of complete government support to all activities of life. However, the government had determined to make the people self-supporting again. As we have seen, the whole salutary philosophy of the age was that people not only make greatest progress, but they are happiest when they are dependent on their own efforts. Therefore the third phase of the government's plans was entered upon in the fall of 1847 by a return as far as it was possible to the principles of the Poor Law.

The Irish Poor Law of 1838 had theoretically been in effect all along, but it had been unable to cope with the

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1 Edinburgh Review, January 1851, p. 249.
famine, which had necessitated the special measures we have been following. Based on the English Poor Law of 1834, it had never envisaged relief on the vast scale we have witnessed. Its main purpose had been to protect the old people, the very young and the sick. Theoretically, able-bodied people might obtain relief if they entered the poor house. Actually, there was never any room for them in the Irish poor houses. The giving of relief outside the poor houses to able-bodied adults was, of course, a violation of the whole basic principle of the act.

The Irish Poor Law of 1847 reluctantly admitted the necessity of continuing "out-door" relief (i.e. food given to the people at their homes or in any other place than a work house). It was to be confined to the most distressed parts of the country, mainly in the south-west. But such relief could be given to able-bodied people only if the workhouse was crowded. Moreover, it could be given only with special permission from the Poor Law Commissioners in Dublin and for limited periods. For able-bodied men it was to be accompanied by a rigid labour test. It was intended as soon as possible to cut off such out-door relief altogether and thus to throw

1 See above, p. 116.

2 The Irish Relief Extension Act (10 Victoria, cap. 31) passed June, 1847.
the people on their own resources.

As this new poor law policy was initiated, Captain Kennedy was moved to the forefront of the battle, to the unhappy county of Clare, where the evils of pauperism were most evident. On October 25, 1847, he was appointed to western Clare as Inspector for the Union of Kilrush, the darkest spot in all Ireland. His letter of appointment stated that his position was one equivalent to that held under the former system by an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, and that his selection for this position was based on his acquisition of successful experience in famine relief.

1 "Papers relating to the proceedings for the relief of distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, fourth series, 1847" presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (16), Relief of distress and union workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847--5 September 1848, London, William Clowes and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1847, pp. 6, 18, 19, 20. (hereafter referred to as Relief papers, 4th series, A and P, vol. 16).

2 Relief papers, 4th series, A and P., vol. 16, p. 35.


In Kilrush Union the population had long depended on the hazardous potato crop, and life was always on the bare margin of subsistence. Here there was little hope that famine would be easily controlled because the demoralization of dependence had eaten so deeply into the spirit of the people. Kennedy was now called on to manage the whole life of a region containing eighty-two thousand people, where it had been necessary to give government support to nearly every activity. He would be faced with the necessity of defeating intimidation, insubordination and outright violence. As at nearby Limerick, at Galway and in western Clare as a whole, it was necessary to arrange military protection for the movement of food from one area to another. Horses were shot and wagons were pillaged. Mobs tried to prevent food carts from leaving central towns for nearby villages and country people were angry to see a wagon going on through their own region.

1 "Papers relating to proceedings for the relief of distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, sixth series, 1848", presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (18), Relief of Distress and Union Workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847-5 September 1848, London, William Clowes and Sons, 1848, p. 1008. (hereafter referred to as Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18.)

Excerpts from Captain Kennedy's reports give a clear picture of why conditions were so bad in Kilrush Union:

I have . . . walked through a large portion of the Union during the week. The general destitution is undoubted and the people patient under their privations. Their usually wretched state of living accounts for this apparent apathy. I have gone from house to house, where I was quite unknown and judged from personal observation.

The north and west of the Union . . . are in a most lamentable state. The parts on the coast are most densely populated, with a turf-digging, sea-weed gathering, fish-catching, amphibious population; as bad fishermen as they are agriculturalists. They have no regular mode of gaining a livelihood. They are inert, improvident and utterly without foresight. Lavish and constant expenditure may keep them from starvation, but it will require years of good management and well-devised measures to make them independent or self-supporting. A few acres of reclaimed bog planted with potatoes has heretofore supplied their wants, and rendered them content on the lowest possible scale of existence. (1)

Moyarta . . . is a fearful example of demoralization . . . Many of the habitations are no better than fox earths, and the inmates, in their appearance, clothing and mode of living hardly human.

Their mode of scratching the land does not deserve the name of cultivation. Their attempts are inferior to that I have seen among North American Indians.

1 Captain Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kilrush, November 25, 1847, "Papers relating to proceedings for the relief of the distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, Fifth series—1848", presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (17) Relief of Distress and Union Workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847—5 September 1848, London, Printed by William Clowes and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1848, p. 381. (hereafter referred to as Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17.)
This division (Moyarta) contains upwards of 10,000 inhabitants upon 13,000 acres, and the net annual value under 5000£. Without potatoes, it is a permanent pauper colony; the swarms of children incredible. \(1\)

In framing the Irish Poor Law of 1847 the Russell ministry had hoped to cut down the rate of evictions because that law now gave the Irish peasant a legal claim to wider relief than the old act had done, and the local property owner would eventually have to pay the cost. Unfortunately, each owner seized on this provision for relief as an excuse to clear his property of poverty-stricken tenants. This harsh action was taken more quickly and more widely in Kilrush Union than in any part of Ireland. The act went into force in August; by November Kennedy was forced to report that six thousand notices to quit had been given. The act itself facilitated

\[1\] Kennedy to the Poor Law Commissioners, Kilrush, December 2, 1847, Relief papers, 5th Series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 385. Parts of this and the preceding quotation may also be found in "Relief of Irish distress", Edinburgh Review, vol. 89, January 1849, pp. 221-268. This article quotes extensively from Kennedy's reports using his views in support of the Whig administration's policy.


this brutal process because it contained a provision that no one who held more than one fourth of an acre was eligible for relief. The unfortunate peasant was forced to give up his land or starve. As soon as these wretched people were out of their cabins, the owner's agent had them torn down lest any excuse be seized to use them again. Captain Kennedy made the saddening report:

When driven from their cabins they betake themselves to the ditches or shelter of some bank, and there exist like animals till starvation or the inclemency of the weather drives them to the workhouse. (2)

This callous action by owners was horrible to one who bore in his mind a picture of happy Cultra, where the first concern of his father had always been the welfare of his people. Kennedy's anger flowed out against the absence of the owners from their estates, where they were so badly needed to give assistance, advice and example. Nor did he hesitate in his anger to speak out boldly of this evil:

There are no resident gentry, and the general condition of the people is lamentable. On one

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1 K to PLC., March 30, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P., vol. 18, p. 811.


3 K to PLC., April 16, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P., vol. 18, p. 828.
gentleman's estate (an M.P.), adjoining the village there are 51 families upon 48 acres. (1)

Nor only did the agents drive out the miserable tenants at every opportunity, but they cheated the labourers in wages, taking advantage of universal hatred of the workhouse to pay them the minimum that would keep their families alive. On the whole, however, the owners refused, even when able, to give much employment because they contended that the government should take over the full burden of relief. In their opposition to the law of 1847 they were "more intent upon verifying their own predictions of the failure of the law, than ready to assist its working." Kennedy was puzzled by this hopeless blindness of the owners to their own and the country's interest, for they thereby failed to make the land productive. That failure caused his heart to ache when he recalled how every acre of Cultra's own demesne was brought to bear bountifully by draining, trenching, manuring and crop rotation. What

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1 K to PLC., February 11, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 790.


4 Loc. cit.
amazed him most of all was the general indifference of the owning classes towards disease, suffering, death and coffinless burials of their tenants. His sorrowful verdict was that the proprietors were "deeply responsible and 1 culpable".

But Inspector Kennedy was not content simply to describe the sad state of Kilrush Union and to assess the cause. He got to work at once to correct the results of past neglect. He arrived in Kilrush on November 9, 1847. He reported that arrival two days later and at the same time reported some of his plans. He had already prevailed on the Board of Guardians to build new quarters in order that the children might be moved out of the workhouse itself. He had not yet succeeded in convincing them that the hospital must be moved farther away from the workhouse, but he hoped to succeed. To its proximity he ascribed much of the peasants' reluctance to come into the workhouse, for they had great terror of the fever. In immediate defiance of his instructions he now urged upon the Poor Law Commissioners the necessity of a more generous granting of relief to 2 people in their homes.


That request was refused. The commissioners in Dublin were soon to learn, however, that when their inspector in Kilrush had made up his mind to the necessity of a certain course of action, he fought tenaciously until he had won his way. For two months every report hammered away at the necessity of a more generous scale of out-door relief. It was necessary, he explained, because these people were terrified of the workhouse:

I have not in any part of the country seen so great a repugnance to enter the workhouse; and the great majority of those who avail themselves of it are evidently in an advanced stage of starvation. (1)

He continued to show what horrible conditions prevailed.

On December 16, 1847, he wrote:

The tide of destitution is rolling steadily on. . . . The number of utterly destitute in the spring will include a very large proportion of the population . . . . Fever is, I regret to say, again upon the increase, and small-pox prevails to a very considerable extent. . . . There is an utter absence of employment of any kind and the idea seems to be abandoned by the poor themselves. . . . I unhesitatingly state my opinion that it [a wider measure of out-door relief] is a measure of absolute necessity, and one which it would be imprudent and impolitic to defer. (2)

On December 21 the commissioners gave in. They authorized out-door relief for two months. It was to be in the form of cooked food. No relief was to be given to any one in

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1 K to PLC., November 25, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 381.

employment nor to any member of his family. If relief was given to an able-bodied man, eight hours at least of daily work must be exacted from him—preferably at stone breaking, since any form of productive work would compete with private industry and weaken it. This was only the first of many incidents that showed how determined Inspector Kennedy was that no genuine distress should be allowed to continue if there was any provision in the law to alleviate it.

When no means could be found under provisions of the law, he quickly asked the commissioners to secure a grant for his union from the voluntary British Association. His request was denied by the commissioners. When the steady battery of supporting evidence began to flow in from Kilrush, the commissioners hurriedly wrote that they had made the required application. It is interesting to note that while Kennedy refused to allow public money to be spent beyond the amounts permitted by law, he did not hesitate on several occasions to seek help from voluntary sources.

Meanwhile, he had been bending all his energies to improving the workhouse which housed over a thousand

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2 K to PLC, 1848, February 18, February 24, March 9, March 10; PLC to K, March 9, March 14; Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, pp. 794, 795, 802, 803.
people. He had been working hard to get the Guardians to take more distant quarters for the hospital because hungry and sick alike were herded together into the workhouse. On November 18, 1847, he reported admission of two hundred people:

Such a tangled mass of poverty, filth, and disease as all applicants presented I have never seen . . . numbers in all stages of fever and small-pox mingling indiscriminately with the crowd . . . . I had them separated as quickly as possible . . . . I was in the house from 11 o'clock A.M. till 6½ o'clock P.M. and returned to my lodgings covered with vermin! (2)

A week later he was able to report that sufficient temporary hospital quarters had been secured for all the sick. Shortly thereafter separate quarters for the children were in a state of forwardness. All this time he had been driving a lazy workhouse master to improve the house itself in discipline, order and cleanliness. His great objective was to have a clean, warm, well-ventilated and efficient house in order to overcome the prejudice against it. He knew that

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1 K to PLC., December 23, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 390: On December 16 there were 1708 inmates.

2 K to PLC., November 18, 1847, Relief papers, 4th series, A and P., vol. 16, p. 155.


the people's horror of it was so great that many deferred applying for admission, lingering on with little food in their miserable, unventilated hovels until their health was broken and their poor children starved beyond recovery. Therefore, when he had brought the workhouse nearer to the standard he desired, Kennedy began to encourage people to look into it and to come in to inspect it, in order to demonstrate the groundlessness of their prejudice against it. He likewise saw to it that urgent cases were admitted at any time although that policy often kept him at work till late in the night.

With truly splendid courage Kennedy set about to fight the disease that mounted in his union as the brutal tide of evictions rolled on. Some of the dispossessed went into the fields and the ditches. Others crowded into the miserable cabins of friends, thereby causing disease to spread more rapidly. The great task was to get the people themselves, the attendants at the workhouses, and the field workers to do something for the stricken people instead of hurrying away. Inspector Kennedy therefore set an example of going boldly to their aid:

I went into a house with a relieving officer a few days since, and found the mother and

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2 K to PLC, March 16, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 804.
three children stricken in fever at one side of the cabin: the father, with a child who had been dead three days, at the other. . . . I cannot conceal from myself that numbers must perish in spite of every effort. (1)

On another occasion he found a young father who refused to enter his cabin. The Inspector went in, to discover the wife and four children lying on their wretched pallets of straw—beyond hope of recovery. No one had been in for twelve days. The husband's defence was, "Sure I brings thim the turf, the male, and the water to the door evry mornin!"

There was no doctor at the workhouse hospital. Kennedy went there every day to inspect and to do what he could. He was forced to confess defeat:

The mortality in the temporary hospital is also very serious, and, to me, unaccountable. I frequently see patients who appear to be in a fair way of recovery in the afternoon, dead the following morning. Coffinless burials in the country are becoming daily more frequent as well as a matter of indifference. (3)

In these circumstances the commissioners sent him a doctor who taught him how to direct his campaign against disease more skilfully. Further representations finally brought

1 K to PLC., December 30, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 394.

2 K to PLC., February 24, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 797.

3 K to PLC., January 5, 1848, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 397.
Kennedy a permanent medical officer for his workhouse and hospital, a Mr. O'Donnell, whose spirit was very like Kennedy's own—a methodical, hard-working and self-sacrificing man. Together they worked in the infirmary and the fever hospital, the medical officer seldom an hour absent from workhouse or hospital, the inspector in at all hours to see that ample food, cleanliness and ventilation were supplied for the wretched sufferers. Having made some headway at Kilrush itself, the inspector now set about to convince the commissioners that he must have three more doctors for the outlying districts of his union. In this request also he was successful for the commissioners were now convinced that this indomitable man was working without waste of money or effort to save his people.

With that thorough-going attention to detail that was always to characterize him, Kennedy had also turned his interest towards improvement of the people's food. He came to the conclusion that one cause of excessive mortality was the type of Indian corn meal they were using. It was

1 K to PLC., April 16, 1848, Relief papers 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 827.

2 K to PLC., March 23, March 27, April 16, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, pp. 808, 809, 827.

3 PLC to K., Dublin, March 27, 1848, Ibid., p. 809.
adulterated to start with, and the people failed to cook it properly; even in the workhouse Kennedy was unable to force sufficient boiling of this meal. He therefore determined to bring in rye meal, and immediately ran foul of the meal sellers who spread rumour attempting to frighten the people out of using the new food. With typical Ulster bluntness and penetration he reported this episode:

I was prepared for this opposition; as buying Indian meal at 9 l. and selling it to the Union for 11 l. per ton was too profitable a trade to be abandoned without an effort. (1)

By now it is almost needless to record that Kennedy had his way. The rye meal became "popular with all save meal dealers" and checked the dysentry.

Driven forward by humane determination to save the people in his care, Inspector Kennedy thus coupled an undoubted administrative ability with unremitting hard work and bold leadership to bring his union into a higher state of efficiency. This progress had been made within six months of his arrival.

But it had not been made without opposition. Kennedy had run foul of selfish interest and official sloth. And here we have a rare opportunity to study his ways of dealing with subordinates and colleagues. Both among his assistants

1 K to PLC, February 18, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P., vol. 18, p. 794.

2 K to PLC, March 19, 1848, op. cit., p. 805.
and in his Board of Guardians he found men who were not animated by the same singleminded desire to alleviate distress as he. Since the whole success of his regime depended on raising a sufficient income, his first attention was centred on his rate collectors. We must recall that western Clare was a region where violence reigned supreme. Kennedy expressed it, "Intimidation paralyzes all from high to low." The collectors of their own accord had not dared to act vigorously nor had the guardians the courage to force them to do so. Kennedy's first impression of these collectors was that they were timid creatures thus to be supine under threats. His instinct was to get rid of them. But he decided to try what support would do. From the reluctant guardians he therefore forced authority to proceed against certain gentlemen of standing who were in arrears of their rates. That procedure worked. Assured of backing, the rate collectors went about their task with spirit, and many who had refused before, now began to pay their rates. Thereafter the inspector had nothing but praise for his collectors.

In his determination to have an efficient workhouse

1 K to PLC., November 25, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 382.

2 K to PLC., November 18, November 25, December 30, 1847; March 23, 1848, Relief papers 4th, 5th and 6th series, A and P, vol. 16, p. 157; vol. 17, pp. 381, 394; vol. 18, p. 808.
Kennedy came into immediate conflict with the workhouse master, who had obviously obtained his position through influence rather than merit. He was lazy and inefficient. Probably the reason the inspector disliked him at once was that he had no natural desire for order, cleanliness and discipline. Kennedy forced an improvement of the house only to find in a week that it was falling back into its old ways. He therefore bluntly reported the master to the commissioners as incompetent, and continued to do so until he secured an order from them for that official's dismissal.

He now recommended to the guardians the promotion of the assistant master, who had won his approval because he was well-educated, active, hard-working and, above all, systematic. That latter quality undoubtedly was the one that recommended him most of all to his inspector. But the assistant master had enemies. He had fought overcharging in tradesmen's bills and had exposed other jobbery. Moreover, some of the guardians had been threatened with being shot if they did not vote right. To Kennedy's great anger the board appointed to the position the dismissed master's young son, in every way inferior even to his father and utterly incompetent for such a charge.

1 K to PLC, November 25, 1847; December 2, 1847; December 23, 1847; PLC to K, December 5, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, pp. 381, 386, 391.
However, the inspector's experience in the army as a paymaster came to his aid. He speedily uncovered serious discrepancies between the number of paupers in the house and the number of rations claimed to have been issued. The new master was dismissed. It should be realized that there was more involved here than a simple insistence on honest service. Here, opposition to corruption could easily provoke murder. In nearby Limerick three men had recently been shot and killed in open day. In October 1847 in Clare, Limerick and Tipperary fourteen men had been shot and killed and half as many wounded, all in open day. The murderers, protected by the people, one and all had escaped. In addition, the lives of many people depended on the efficiency of the workhouse master. Having got rid of the incompetents, Kennedy carried on with the efficient assistant master in temporary charge until that day when he might hope to install him permanently.

Back at the time of his arrival in Kilrush, Inspector Kennedy had very quickly made up his mind about the worth of the schoolmaster:

The school is undoubtedly neglected—a mere farce. The master utterly unfit for that or any other calling; attending his school is a

1 K to PLC, January 5, 1848, February 18, 1848; PLC to K, February 26, 1848, Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 397; vol. 18, pp. 791, 793 and 795.

Kennedy saw to it that the school was brought into order at once. For the time, he was too busy to give attention to its curriculum; but he pointed out that it was unsuitable for these children and promised to return to its consideration.

For the management of relief in the countryside Kennedy had to depend to a great extent on the courage and energy of his field workers, who were called relieving officers. He gave them encouragement by frequent visits to each division of the union, and by an example of boldness in giving help to those who were sick with fever or small-pox. It was essential that food and other assistance reach right into the homes of those who were in real need. It was also important to make sure that badly needed supplies were not dissipated among impostors. The relieving officers had to be active and very firm. Those who neglected their work were quickly dismissed. Those who did their duty had Kennedy's unflinching protection even when it meant drawing fire on himself. On more than one occasion when a relieving officer was charged with permitting someone to die of starvation, Kennedy took the whole responsibility on himself.

1 K to PLC., November 25, 1842; December 2, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P., vol. 17, pp. 382,385.

2 K to PLC., January 20, 1848; March 28, 1848, Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P., vol. 17, p. 400; vol. 18, p. 806.

3 K to PLC, December 24, 1847; January 17, 1848, Ibid., vol. 17, p. 279; vol. 18, p. 400.
We have already discovered that the inspector found his Board of Guardians not always so single-minded in discharge of duty as he was. He found them difficult to deal with, and was frequently impatient with the slow process of debate and division of opinion that characterizes any locally elected board. It should be noted at once, however, that Kennedy was one of the last inspectors to demand the discharge of the elected Board of Guardians and the substitution of appointed vice-guardians in its place. Nor did he think badly of all the guardians. He had a high respect for the ability of many of them. Concerning Colonel Crofton Vandeleur, the chairman, he had this to say: "... the firmness, foresight and business habits of the chairman are beyond my praise."

The board as a whole was difficult to move in such matters as enforcing the collection of rates or building new accommodation. Colonel Vandeleur and several other members were loyal in their attendance at meetings and gave

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1 Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 1008 (statistical summary).

2 The Vandeleur family was the leading Conservative family of the county. In 1841 a Vandeleur was defeated by the Radicals for County Clare (The Times, London, July 24, 1841, p. 5). In 1865 Colonel Crofton M. Vandeleur was elected as Conservative candidate for Clare. He had also been the member in the preceding parliament. (The Times, London, July 25, 1865, p. 5).

One of Kennedy's companion Fellow Commoners at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1824 was a Crofton Vandeleur, son of Crofton Vandeleur, "miles" (i.e. a soldier) — Alumni Dublinenses, p. 835.

3 K to PLC, February 18, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P., vol. 18, p. 791.
Kennedy every assistance in screening candidates for relief. Many of the guardians, however, were only brought out by the excitement of awarding a contract or appointing a new official. Then party feeling ran high. Early in January 1848, Colonel Vandeleur fell ill and had to drop out of the work. No other member commanded a like respect as chairman. Thereafter each meeting became a day of brawling, speech-making, execration and intimidation. The business of the union was often brought to a halt.

It was over the collection of rates that Kennedy came to fiercest disagreement with the guardians. His policy was to collect vigorously and spend wisely but freely to help the poor. Their policy was to restrict local expenditure and return to the days of wider government assistance. Therefore they would not give him the support he wanted in rate collection. A careful perusal of the list of defaulters disclosed the reason. Several of the guardians themselves were in arrears. Kennedy therefore carried a list of all defaulters to a meeting. He read out this list and proposed its publication. The angry offenders had enough friends to see to it that the list was not even allowed into the minutes of the meeting, and they refused to grant him an order for vigorous action against the defaulters in general.

1 K to PLC., January 1, 1848; February 18, 1848, Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P., vol. 17, p. 395; vol. 18, pp. 791, 792.
In these circumstances Kennedy sought and obtained an order from the Poor Law Commissioners in Dublin discharging the elected Board and appointing Vice-Guardians in their place. Kennedy's first action was to secure permission to proceed against all prominent defaulters, including the ex-guardians, in the superior courts. Several of them now tried to get up a petition to secure Kennedy's recall, but they failed. It became evident that a majority of the ex-guardians had nothing but admiration and support for the inspector's boldness. Subsequent reports contained acknowledgment of their assistance to Kennedy in carrying on his work.

With the replacement of the elected board by appointed vice-guardians, Kennedy was able to get rid of incompetent officials and to appoint the hard-working, systematic type of men he desired. The workhouse improved steadily in cleanliness and comfort under the management of the former assistant master, Macmerny, whom Kennedy again praised as capable, intelligent, systematic, and a good disciplinarian. The hard-working, capable and systematic O'Donnell was now given his outright appointment as medical officer for the fever hospital, which was managed with devotion and success. Decrees against poor-rate defaulters were secured in the superior courts in large numbers, a rigorous step which had

1 K to PLC., 1848: January 29; February 18; March 1; March 16; March 30, Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P, vol. 17, p. 402; vol. 18, pp. 791, 798, 804, 805.
never before been taken in Kilrush Union. Rate collection mounted rapidly. By the end of his first six months Kennedy had secured an efficient team of men who worked enthusiastically under his leadership. In spite of his ruthlessness in ridding his organization of all obstructive forces, he likewise had the cooperation of a majority of the intelligent public leaders in his union.

In this connection it is worthy of notice that this Ulsterman had the best of relations with the Roman Catholic priests in his union. At the end of January 1848 he reported:

The Roman Catholic clergymen, who are rate-payers, generally set a laudable example, which has influenced the poorer classes. (2)

By the end of March of the same year when he was beginning to feel the success of his struggle for efficient control, he had these words of praise:

I cannot too strongly express my obligations to the Catholic clergy of the Union. They have given me their cheerful support and assistance when I required them; and they discriminate between the imperfections of the law and the misdeeds of those who attempt too successfully to pervert it. (3)

Kilrush Union, with its eighty-two thousand people, had the largest population of any union in County Clare. The

1 K to PLC., 1848: March 16; March 23; March 28; March 30; April 16; May 7; Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, pp. 804, 806, 809, 811, 822, 829, vol. 18.


3 K to PLC., March 30, 1848, Ibid., p. 811.

annual value of its property was low. As we have seen it had the greatest amount of destitution of any part of the country. Yet Kennedy's handling of the finances of the union was skilful. His rate of collection was good which permitted him to give greater aid to his poverty-stricken people. Yet he kept his expenditures within his collections, partly it is true, because of his success in getting grants in aid from the voluntary British Association. In spite of this financial caution which, of course, was his duty under the act, Kennedy enlarged and improved his workhouse, took new quarters for a hospital and got extra accommodation for children. He also succeeded in getting more people who were in real need of help into the workhouse--partly by driving out the malingerers. At the same time he succeeded in giving relief in their homes to a larger and larger number of old people, widows with children and the sick. That was the major


3 Loc. cit.

4 Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P., vol. 17, pp. 384, 390, 396 and 401; vol. 18, pp. 795, 813 and 817: The number in the workhouse during the first six months of Kennedy's regime averaged 1300.

5 Ibid., vol. 17, p. 401; vol. 18, pp. 794, 808, 811, 826: The number of this class receiving outdoor relief climbed in six months from 8,500 to 14,292.
objective of his policy.

In order that he might give more and more assistance to the truly destitute Kennedy had three other major phases in his policy. Firstly, he was determined to resist fraud in all applications for relief. Secondly, he aimed to make any able-bodied man who came to his workhouse give value for his relief in hard work. Thirdly, he set his face rigidly against giving relief outside the workhouse to able-bodied men; if he was forced by circumstances to do it, then he would see to it that whatever help was given was paid for by a full day's labour. These policies were based on two main principles. In the first place, the available relief must be saved for those who needed it most—it must not be squandered among frauds or those capable of earning their own living. Secondly, Kennedy knew that uncontrolled charity, especially the spoon-feeding of able-bodied young men in idleness, would complete the demoralization of a people who had always adopted the easiest and laziest method of gaining a bare subsistence. As always, the value of self-dependence ranked as the basic principle of his ways of thought.

Captain Kennedy had no sooner taken charge of Kilrush in the fall of 1847 than he routed the men and boys out of their habit of sitting around the fire in the workhouse dayroom. He took them out into the workhouse ground and set them to spading it and trenching it ready for cropping
in the spring. Others were set to breaking stones and
gravelling parts of the yard. He found them quite tractable.
But he was going to have no such easy victory with the
people of this union. They were going to test their new
inspector. A rumour was spread that he was going to restore
out-door relief and public works. A serious press of
applicants therefore crowded into the yard on the next ad­
mission day, with several turbulent fellows moving through
the crowd stirring them to clamour for out-door relief and
public works. An offer of the workhouse dispersed them.
Kennedy knew these Munster people far too well to believe
that the contest was over. He was not surprised at the
next week's development:

On my arrival at the workhouse . . . I found
about 1000 persons assembled in the neigh­
bourhood . . . a general cry for out-door
relief was set up, accompanied by unmistak­
able symptoms of turbulence and riot; a
plentiful crop of blackthorn sticks appear­
ing above the heads of all . . . a
simultaneous rush was made to force the outer
gate . . . . While I was in the act of
assisting the officers to bolt the gate, one
of the ringleaders struck at me with a stick;
I dragged him in, shut the gate . . . and put
him in the lock-up. (3)

1 K to PLC, November 18, 1847, Relief papers, 4th
2 K to PLC, November 25, 1847, Relief papers, 5th
3 Ibid., December 2, 1847, vol. 17, pp. 385, 386.
By this time another two thousand people had streamed in from the countryside. Colonel Vandeleur had meantime ordered up the police and a detachment of troops stationed in the village. The mob was dispersed, leaving Kennedy to go about his business of admitting people to the workhouse. Of the three thousand people who had stormed the gate only three hundred really wanted to come in. Among them were many who were truly destitute and miserable. The inspector had his doubts about the tales of misery told by some of the men, however. A day's hard work with hammers and shovels caused seventy of them to seek discharge and a hundred more were gone the next day. With utter absence of shame they admitted as they left that they had only been trying to extort out-door relief.

A hard worker himself, Kennedy believed that it was good for anyone. He continued to take more land for the workhouse men and to prepare it for cropping in the spring. The continued recurrence of this theme in his reports gives rise to the thought that he would gladly have been the eldest son and a sturdy country squire farming Cultra's happy demesne and looking well to the comfort of his tenants. His mid-December report shows him on a hunt for

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1 K to PLC., December 2, 1847, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, pp. 385, 386.

2 K to PLC., December 23, 1847; January 13, 1848; May 7, 1848; Relief papers, 5th and 6th series, A and P, vol. 17, pp. 390, 398; vol. 18, p. 828.
extra spades in order that his men should trench more of
the workhouse grounds. It was with sorrow that he found
far more spades than he needed—hundreds of them as good
as new—"pawned by their indolent or despairing owners".
This discovery explained to him why so great an area in
the union was left idle, the peasants having neither the
capital nor the energy to crop them.

Time after time his army training stood Captain
Kennedy in good stead. On December 20, 1847,—before he
was able to put Macmerny in charge—he found two hundred
men sitting in front of a blazing fire in the dayroom.
Unable to work they said. Kennedy sent at once for a
doctor who examined each man and found all but a dozen
perfectly fit. The inspector did not leave the workhouse
grounds until the malingerers were hard at work. He left
them with a clear understanding that the amount of rations
they would receive depended on the amount of work they
accomplished. One hundred people applied for and received
their discharge at the end of that day and more wanted out
in succeeding days. They cheerfully confessed to an or-
ganized plan to overcrowd the workhouse in hopes of forcing
him to discharge able-bodied families on out-door relief.

1 K to PLC., December 16, 1847, Relief papers, 5th

His energetic measures had forced them instead to fall back on their own resources. His frequent statements of his ideas on this head bear the marks of a clearly formulated policy long reiterated:

My great object is to obviate the necessity for out-door relief to the able-bodied. I am so deeply impressed with its ruinous tendency upon such a population as this. The great difficulty and danger here is in relieving a people who are not disposed to help themselves; and the landlord and tenant class set them the culpable example of doing nothing. They all alike seem ignorant of the use of land, labour or capital. Those farmers who have money job in meal, instead of growing it. (1)

When Arthur Kennedy was convinced of the ultimate rightness of a principle he sometimes considered that that fact lifted him beyond the necessity of obedience to the law. Thus it came about that the workhouse was full one day to the utmost limit permitted by the law. The people knew it. Then indeed the clamour arose for initiation of out-door relief. In these circumstances, as the inspector quite readily reported to the commissioners, he recommended to the guardians to admit a number of the healthy, able-bodied men beyond the authorized number, "well-knowing from former experience that one day's stone breaking would thin the house." It was not often the commissioners had need to

1 K to PLC., Kilrush, February 24, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 797.
2 Ibid., April 6, 1848, vol. 18, p. 817.
rebuke this inspector, but this time there was a cautious but firm warning that, though he was no doubt actuated by a thorough knowledge of the local situation, he must not break the law.

The persistence of the people in demanding out-door relief arose from several causes. In the first place, forty-five thousand people, that is more than half the population of the union, had been on out-door relief under the Relief Commission before Kennedy came to Kilrush. Now, under the extended poor law and his administration there were fourteen thousand—and none of them were able-bodied men. Secondly, all the other inspectors of unions in County Clare had long ago given in to public clamour and secured permission from the commissioners to give out-door relief to able-bodied men. Finally, many of the owning class encouraged turbulence in hope that the government would be forced to revert to a relief system under which it relieved the owners of at least part of the cost. It did not take people long to conclude that Colonel Vandeleur and Captain Kennedy were the only obstacles to general and indiscriminate relief. Other members of the board had urged trouble and danger to themselves and to the officers as reasons for adopting the

1 PLC to K, April 10, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 817.

2 Mr. O'Donnell to Kennedy, March 29, 1849, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 813.
easier path. Trouble, as we have seen, Kennedy took in his stride. Danger materialized rapidly. On the last day of 1847 a notice was posted on the gate:

Take notice Crofton Vandeleure if you don't change your mind and give Relive to the Young as well as the Old, and not to put a stop to the Publicke Worke as you are, and also Captin Kennedy if you don't be said by this Notice believe me I will do with you as I did with Perce Carrige, so have you Wills made in Time. (1)

A notice like that was no idle threat in County Clare. The Russell ministry, which had come into power by defeating a coercion bill, had been so worried by a wave of brutal open murders in Clare and nearby counties that it in turn had just been forced to push through a new Coercion Bill. But danger was of the same stuff as trouble to Kennedy. His report four days later shows that he had already tracked down the four culprits, secured the necessary evidence against them and clapped them into the Ennis gaol to await their trial. It is quite evident that he was not indifferent to the dislike that centred on him, for his report concludes sadly, "No proper object has been refused relief in or out of the workhouse".

Neither that threat nor subsequent ones turned him from


his policy. He steadfastly refused relief to able-bodied men, offering them admission to the workhouse whenever they asked for relief. When they came in, he tested them with work on the land or on the rock pile. The broken stone he sold to drainage contractors and thereby paid for extra supervisors for his testing. Nor did he permit fraud to creep in and vitiate the success of his wide relief to the old, the sick or the truly destitute. In his union relief was always in cooked food, whereas in other nearby unions it was often in uncooked food or money. Again and again he made a sweep through his union, division by division, to check the rolls with the aid of local ratepayers. By this method he found and struck off the rolls many who did not need help—old people who were property owners or whose sons, with property or employment, were well able to care for them. He was anxious also to drive out of the minds of all the people any idea that they might look upon relief as permanent.

As one follows Kennedy's reports, noting this tenacity of purpose in defeating the wiles of these volatile and improvident Munster peasants, the thought often comes that the Victorian character was harsh in its unflinching

1 K to PLC., January 20, 1848, Relief papers, 5th series, A and P, vol. 17, pp. 400-401.
3 Ibid., 1848: February 18, February 24, May 7, 6th series, vol. 18, pp. 794, 796, 829.
adherence to principle. It must be recalled, however, that
where the people who needed help most of all were concerned,
this thirty-eight year old inspector was administering a
harsh law with great liberality. This was the man who struck
away official rules and himself stayed up into the night to
admit urgent cases to his workhouse or hospital. This was
the man who carried food and drink into lonely cabins to the
fever-stricken bedsides of those whose own kin had fled from
them in terror. This was one who, as the tide of destitution
and misery continued to mount in spite of his efficient work,
was forced to cry,

I sometimes feel despair when I see the
trifling impression my unceasing efforts
can effect.  (1)

Kennedy was now coming to realize that a system of relief
alone could not solve this problem:

The general state of the Union is little
changed from what I have . . . described it:
disease, suffering, and mortality are not
abated. The apathy of all for the suffer­
ings of the poor is indescribable; disease,
death, and coffinless burials are unheeded.

the relief list . . . now comprises nearly
a fourth of the population . . . the
destitution is great in amount and fearful
in character. The latter cannot be remedied
by law, the evils and causes are social
[italics mine]; some of the sufferers have
no idea or instinct, beyond planting
potatoes and digging them up when they are
hungry.  (2)

1 K to PLC., April 6, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series,

2 Ibid., March 23 and May 7, 1848, 6th series, vol. 18,
pp. 809, 828 and 829.
He therefore turned eagerly to other solutions of the problem. Back in the period before the Board of Guardians was dismissed, a property owner by the name of Joly, seeing his tenants unable to raise enough food because of repeated potato blight, offered to assume two-thirds of the cost of their emigration to Canada if the union would assume the other third. Kennedy favoured acceptance of this positive measure since these people were still healthy. Having come so recently from Canada, where Irishmen were doing well, Kennedy was enthusiastic that these people also should have the opportunity of a new start in life. The Board of Guardians, however, refused. As soon as they were dismissed, Kennedy had the scheme approved. On behalf of the Poor Law Commissioners he inspected and listed all the heads of families and certified them healthy:

Mr. Joly's people . . . to Quebec . . .  
124 souls reckoned as 102 adults . . . .  
The whole of the adults, without an exception are unusually healthy and hardy, and the children very promising. I have spent several years in North America, and I think these emigrants admirably suited for that colony.  (2)

1 K to PLC., March 1, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and E, vol. 18, p. 800.

2 Ibid., April 9, 1848, 6th series, vol. 18, pp. 821-825. See also PLC to K, April 5, 1848, Ibid., p. 815.
As early as December 2, 1847, Kennedy had taken note of a "lamentable absence of industrial employment or training" in his union. Now that he had realized that if these people were left to the workings of the poor law alone they would never improve, he began to give careful thought to what education might do for the children. He reported to the commissioners that he was laying his proposals before the vice-guardians:

I am desirous that they should turn their serious attention to some industrial training for the children, without which they will be a permanent charge to the country . . . the number of orphans in this district is daily increasing. I have been considering the feasibility of a joint school, between Ennistymon and Kilrush Unions, being established at Miltown Malbay, where I think suitable premises could be had. (1)

It is to the great credit of the Poor Law Commissioners that they did not once refuse the representations of their energetic inspector in Kilrush. Although a joint school was not possible under the present state of the law, they proposed to ask the government for an alteration of the law on this point at the current session of Parliament. In any case they approved his idea of a school for industrial training to be carried forward in his own union alone if necessary. It is an interesting consideration that Captain

1 K to PLC., May 7, 1848, Relief papers, 6th series, A and P, vol. 18, p. 829.

2 PLC to K, May 12, 1848, Ibid., vol. 18, p. 829.
Kennedy, so conservative where political or organic matters such as forms of government were concerned, has shown himself in this Irish famine period in many ways liberal and advanced where social or economic ideas were involved.  

Captain Kennedy's scheme for an industrial school was in keeping with the government's own train of thought. It was determined to close off the relief system altogether as soon as possible. In the meantime it would help the people to fend for themselves. A system of loans for the drainage and improvement of land was adopted. Relief work was turned to projects of major drainage and to road and railroad improvements. Most important of all was the attempt made to educate the farmers to better practices. Practical instructors were placed in each district and an attempt was made to show the people how to introduce new crops such as turnips.

The close of the 'forties enabled the government to plan the closing-up of the relief measures. Famine had struck Ireland a blow from which it had not recovered a

1 Cf. Walpole, S., History of England, vol. 4, pp. 378-381 with reference to Sir Robert Peel. After Peel the middle decades of the century was a period of confusion where party ideas were not clear-cut and men tended to make decisions according to their own ways of thought. (Cf. Feiling, A history of England, pp. 902-903).

century later. Yet it was completely foreign to the trend of thought in the United Kingdom in mid-nineteenth century to continue state support of a people. Death and emigration had made a grievous correction of the initial imbalance of population and production. The abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 had permitted a bountiful flow of grain into southern and western Ireland. New crops had been introduced to supplement the potato. Land had been drained and improved methods of agriculture had been introduced. The flow of emigration had not stopped but, except in unhappy County Clare, the demand for out-door relief was dwindling rapidly. In 1851 the government terminated the system that Sir John Burgoyne had called the "grandest attempt ever made to grapple with famine over a whole country".

As for Captain Kennedy himself, it might be supposed that an officer who stood firm on principle, where others had taken an easier path, would be universally execrated. Yet to an Irish people Kennedy's coolness and quick decision in face of danger were traits to inspire liking. His integrity and impartiality were recognized by all. His strength of purpose in carrying out a policy and his stern

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1 Between 1845 and 1849 the population of Ireland dropped one million, from 8,295,061 to 7,256,314. (Walpole, S., England, vol. 4, p. 351n.) By 1851 it was down to 6,500,000. (O'Connor, Sir J., "Ireland", Encyclopedia Britannica, 1947 edition, vol. 12, p. 595.)


3 Ibid., January 1848, p. 269.
insistence on obedience, commanded respect. Moreover, his genuine concern for the true welfare of his charges was plain to everyone. His officer's code that the welfare of his people must come before his own, his devotion to duty and his genius for routine administration—these characteristics were invaluable in ministering to the needs of the Kilrush poor. No one worked harder, no one more readily faced danger in any form—whether violence or pestilence—to alleviate real suffering. For these things they loved him. Thereafter, Limerick's Munster News and other south-western papers followed his career with kindness and admiration. The Munster News on one occasion of his promotion in the colonial service paid high tribute to his "uprightness, firmness, superior intelligence and impartiality", to his "goodness of heart", his "clearness of judgment and strength of just purpose". It went on to say:

His services . . . have been spoken of in this journal, and . . . his generous and manly vindication of the rights of the poor in West Clare more than once adverted to in terms that scarcely expressed our admiration, founded on knowledge, of the humane and honorable officer.

In the famine period in Ireland, no one of all
the benefactors or adherents of the poor encountered more risks for them, made greater sacrifices, or more anxiously sought to alleviate their sufferings. (1)

With the closing of the poor law system in 1851, Captain Kennedy's job was ended. But the character of his service had drawn favourable attention to him. Partly because his district was one where conditions were most lamentable, partly because of his ability to portray those conditions in vivid reports, partly because those reports had been made widely known by extensive quotation in the *Edinburgh Review*, partly because the policy he advocated so skilfully was akin to the current of thought in his time, partly because he had displayed high administrative skill, he was a man who could hope to secure other work with ease.

His service had made his future secure; its more important contribution was the rounding out of his character. It was the most important work he had ever done. Of service honestly, vigorously and successfully given; of a real contribution to the welfare of his fellow man, he was always to be justly proud. These Irish famine years had justified

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1 Quoted in the *British Colonist*, March 17, 1864, p. 3. Other extracts March 21, 1864, p. 3, and "extract from an Irish paper", March 23, 1864, p. 3. The *Munster News* was published in Limerick each Wednesday and Saturday. (*Thom's Irish almanac for the year 1866*, Dublin, Alexander Thom, 1866, p. 336.)

2 The *Colonial Office list for 1867*, p. 226.

3 The *Alsbury Crier*, New South Wales, late June 1883, p. 115. (clipping owned by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia).
all that had gone before in his career; they had grooved more deeply the lines of his special abilities: the skilful management of those under his authority by an honest interest in their problems, by a genuine concern for their welfare, by impartiality and by firmness; the tendency to quick and capable analysis of a problem and speedy adoption of a policy; bold frankness in the statement of his ideas and tenacious adherence to just purpose. These were qualities his government could use in many spheres—perhaps most effectively in the government of backward subject peoples in Britain's far-flung empire. The preparation of a Victorian colonial governor was complete.
On May 25, 1852, Arthur Edward Kennedy, Esquire, was gazetted to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Her Majesty's Settlements in the River Gambia. Appointments to governorships were not lightly made in the mid-nineteenth century. The Colonial Office was most anxious to get good men. When Captain Kennedy's application for appointment to the colonial service came in, the office had plenty of information readily available concerning him. Because war and colonies were under the same secretary of state, his record in the army was easily obtained. His service during the Irish Famine was so recent as to be equally accessible. Choice of Captain Kennedy for the Gambia was therefore made with full knowledge of his record and abilities.

1 The annual register, or a view of the history and politics of the year 1852, London, F. and J. Rivington, 1855, p. 346. Sir John Burgoyne, his former chief as Irish Relief Commissioner, had been honoured in the previous month with the K.G.C.B. in recognition of his services in Ireland.

The first Derby ministry—Conservative but dependent on Peelite votes—was now in power (February 1852 to December 1852). Sir J. S. Pakington, the Secretary of State for Colonies, was a liberal Conservative.

It is conceivable that Kennedy might have been appointed to the colonial service just as readily had the Russell ministry—Whig but dependent on Peelite votes—remained in power.

A post in West Africa was the usual first assignment for a colonial governor, a rather unenviable one because of unwholesome climate and consequent separation from family. The Gambia was the least important of the West African stations, a tiny pin-point on the map of empire. But it did have the best river leading into the western interior.

Kennedy's predecessor, Richard Graves MacDonnell, formerly Chief Justice of the Gambia, was an energetic administrator who had led exploration expeditions up the river. He had served his full period, which was usually limited to three years in western Africa because of the trying climate. He was due for promotion. Moreover, the natives in the period from 1849 to 1851 had attacked both exploring expeditions and river ships in general. In 1851, inter-tribal warfare had broken out. Despite the British government's lack of desire to assume full colonial responsibility in this area and despite its policy of neutrality and non-interference in tribal affairs, it appeared necessary to appoint a governor with military training. Kennedy was a logical choice for

1 Sproat, G. M., Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

2 Birch, Arthur N. and Robinson, William, The Colonial Office list for 1867 comprising historical and statistical information respecting the colonial dependencies of Great Britain with an account of the services of the principal officers of the several colonial governments, London, Harrison, 1867, pp. 250-231. His career was to be a distinguished one, including the governorships of St. Vincent, South Australia, Nova Scotia (April 1864-October 1865), and Hong Kong.

this position.

However, although his record carries the governorship of the Gambia as his first step in the colonial service, it is almost certain that he did not rule that tiny settlement. Gazetted to the Gambia on May 25, 1852, he was promoted on September 13 of the same year to the far more important position of Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Sierra Leone. His salary had jumped from one thousand to two thousand pounds.

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1 Birch, A. N. and Robinson, W., compilers, *The Colonial Office List for 1862*, in its section on the Gambia, p. 60, list Kennedy as fifth governor; the 1863 list likewise, p. 35. In Kennedy's own record in the list of 1867, p. 226, however, it is indicated that he was appointed to the Gambia and transferred to Sierra Leone in 1852. The *DNB* makes the same emphasis, p. 413. His obituary in the *London Times*, of June 13, 1865, p. 12, does not include the Gambia in his record. Moreover, J. M. Gray's *A history of the Gambia*, p. 365, lists all its governors and in succeeding pages deals with each fully. He does not list Kennedy at all. Now Gray says that he was working with local records only; he did not have access to London records. This omission from an all-inclusive list is final convincing proof that Kennedy did not go to the Gambia.

2 The *Annual register of 1652*, p. 349. Major Luke Smythe O'Connor went to the Gambia in Kennedy's place. This exchange was part of a rather general reorganization of governorships. This was still the period of Sir J. S. Pakington, Colonial Secretary, in the first Derby administration.

3 *The Times*, London, April 26, 1855, p. 7.
In the colonial service Sierra Leone bore the reputation of having the worst climate in the world. Mean annual temperatures ranged from 72° F. to 88° F. and rainfall from one hundred fifty to one hundred eighty inches annually. In Kennedy's capital, Freetown, rain averaged one hundred sixty-seven inches. Throughout the rainy season, which lasted from the end of April into November, it was necessary to keep charcoal fires burning steadily in an attempt to counteract the all-pervading dampness. At the beginning and close of this period tornadoes were frequent. This miserable, hot, moist season brought to the white man a dreadful lassitude and limpness that made life a burden and exertion irksome.

1 Her Majesty's colonies, a series of original papers issued under the authority of the Royal Commission (Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886), London, William Clowes and Sons, 1886, p. 516.


The dry season was equally bad. From the north-east came a drying wind, the "harmattan", bringing with it clouds of fine dust called "smokes". With diminishing rainfall swarms of mosquitoes came from the swampy coastal lowlands that surrounded Sierra Leone. It was to miasmic swamp airs, however, that people attributed the malarial fever that caused a high mortality among both negro and white at this time and gave to Freetown its sinister name, the "White Man's Grave". In the twenty-five years preceding Kennedy's arrival six governors died in office. A governor's period of service was therefore set at a year or two; and it was jestingly said that Sierra Leone always had two governors, one just preparing to leave England for the west coast, and one getting ready to leave Freetown.

1 Griffith, T. R., "Sierra Leone", PRCI., vol. 13, pp. 69-70. The beginning and close of the rainy season were the most sickly times.


Bad climate was not the only drawback in that port. Despite a good supply of pure water that ran down the mountains to a place called "King Jimmy", none was piped into homes. Governor Kennedy, like other residents, must have had a servant whose sole duty was to roll barrels to "King Jimmy", fill them with water, and roll them back home. Sanitary conditions were deplorable, the people being accustomed to throw their refuse behind their homes. This habit was probably one of the most important causes of the frequent epidemics of fever that gave this colony such a bad name.

Since the thought of going to Sierra Leone was contemplated with horror by most people, Mrs. Kennedy's decision to accompany her husband was most unusual. Yet her presence in Sierra Leone during the first year of his governorship must have contributed to its success. Perhaps the inauguration of a speedy new service between the coast and the homeland was the reason he permitted his wife to make this dangerous trip. Sailing vessels had taken forty-nine days to go to Sierra Leone, but a steamship should be able to make the journey in much shorter time.

1 Alldridge, T. J., PRCI., vol. 40, pp. 43-44. His account is specific for a later period but he says this custom had prevailed since early days.

2 The Times, London, April 10, 1877, p. 10.

This projected steamship service to the west coast of Africa was causing great interest in the United Kingdom because it promised a good increase in trade. The great mercantile organization of the area was the African Steam Company. Its officers planned to start the service with the screw-steamer *Forerunner*, which had recently been launched at John Laird's shipyard at Birkenhead. At her trials she had been pronounced a fine vessel. She was made of iron—a small ship of four hundred tons and drawing only eleven feet of water. An auxiliary type vessel, she was to be driven by steam engines and a screw propeller, but she was to make as much as possible of her sails. She had three masts. Altogether with her clipper bow and her graceful masts, the little ship was a handsome sight.

Having already loaded her cargo at London, the *Forerunner* left Plymouth with her mails and twenty-two passengers on September 24, 1852. Governor Kennedy, his wife and servant were of course the premier passengers. The ship carried one hundred thirty tons of tobacco leaf

1 *The Times*, London, July 12, 1852.

2 *The Times*, London, September 27, 1852, p. 6; October 19, 1852, p. 8; October 23, 1852, p. 5; November 11, 1854, p. 7; November 20, 1854, p. 5; November 21, 1854, p. 5; November 23, 1854, p. 10.

for Goree and Sierra Leone, which was as far as she planned 1
to go on this first trip.

The Forerunner reached her first stopping place, Madeira, five days later. A letter from there carried home the story of her trip that far:

On Monday we had a regular gale from W.N.W. in which the little vessel behaved most nobly. The sea was very high, and we carried everything to it, making in the 24 hours 248 miles. The rest of our runs were about 220; consumption of fuel 8 cwt. per hour. We were only 120 hours from land to land and had the breeze held up we might have made a clipping passage. (2)

It was an auspicious beginning of a good trip. The Forerunner completed her run to Sierra Leone in nineteen days, arriving 3 on October 12. However, even nineteen days on a small crowded ship made a rather tiring trip.

As they approached the shores of Britain's most important 4 West African possession, everyone was eager for the loom of land. Sierra Leone in 1852 consisted mainly of a tiny peninsula twenty-five miles long and ten to twelve miles in breadth. This peninsula is made by several thickly wooded

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1 The Times, London, September 27, 1852, p. 6. The complete service was to reach as far as Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea. See below, p. 272.


3 Ibid., November 23, 1852, p. 5.

ranges of low mountains running parallel to the sea on a coast which for miles on either side consists of swampy plains. It was because of frequent lion-like thunder among the cloud-covered tops of these mountains that the early Portuguese gave this peninsula its name. When its welcome hills came into sight, old coasters on board would be quick to direct the governor's attention to Sugar Loaf Mountain whose twenty-five hundred feet altitude lifted it slightly above the other conical peaks.

The tricky navigation of coastal shallows safely accomplished, the Forerunner passed the new lighthouse built in 1850 and ran for five miles in deep water up the broad estuary of the Sierra Leone River which forms the only good harbour on the whole West African coast. Even


5 Alldridge, T. J., A transformed colony, Sierra Leone as it was and as it is, its progress, peoples, native customs and undeveloped wealth, London, Seeley and Company Limited, 1910, p. 21.

in this rainy season passage up the broad estuary was intensely interesting. Cloud-covered mountains formed the background. Many bays and inlets indented the shores which were clothed with feathery cocoa-nut trees, wide-leaved bananas, and towering graceful oil palms. Soon the Captain-General could see his capital. Freetown lies on a plain sloping gently up to the base of the mountains. First to catch his eye was the block of barracks on Tower Hill at the back of the town. He could just see the top of his new residence above its surrounding garden trees. The plain but solid St. George's Church stood out clearly, and off to the east loomed the dim mass of Fourah Bay College.

Her Majesty's ships Polyphemus, Pluto and Ferret and Her Majesty's brig Crane, were in the harbour to welcome the new governor, for Sierra Leone was headquarters of the fight against the slave trade. These ships of the "sentimental squadron" could not report having taken any slavers, but all on board were in unusual good health. With the aid of their sturdy boats and the still water that Freetown alone can boast on a coast where most landings are made in surf boats, this landing could be made comfortably.

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1 Alldridge, A transformed colony, p. 24. Fort Thornton was remodelled into Government House in 1803, Fourah Bay College established in 1828, and St. George's Church built in 1839. Goddard, T. N., op. cit., pp. 30, 35 and 38 respectively.

A short breathless climb up the steep rock gradient, and they were on Water Street amid a feast of colour made by brightly clad Sierra Leoneans and by natives from the hinterland. Reception of their new Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief most certainly would be a glorious affair, clothed in all that ceremony so dear to the negro heart. First of all there would be a negro guard of honour to inspect. The 2nd and 3rd battalions of the West India Regiment were stationed in Freetown. The waiting Chief Justice and Colonial Secretary were coloured men. Their welcome to Governor Kennedy was undoubtedly exceedingly loyal, for Sierra Leoneans were always deeply grateful to Britain for her blows to slavery in 1807 and 1834. On his part, Kennedy was able to meet this loyal reception with that natural urbanity and graciousness which was an outstanding characteristic. With equally typical speed of action, he was sworn in and took charge of the government at once.

1 The Times, London, November 23, 1852, p. 5.
2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 31, 1864, p. 3.
4 The Times, London, loc. cit.
Five minutes in sedan chairs brought the Kennedys along George Street to their new home. This solid stone structure was not beautiful for it was originally Fort Thornton, built in the days of the Sierra Leone Company and made into a governor's residence in 1803. Yet one side of the building was made lovely by its covering of purple bougainvillea, and it was surrounded by many flowering shrubs and trees. Entrance was through a narrow doorway in a forbiddingly solid masonry embrasure, and the entrance hall was a cold dungeon-like place. Upstairs, however, on the first floor there were spacious and comfortable living apartments and executive offices. Although this ancient fortress had no pretention to architectural grace, its solidity and dignity made an impressive residence.

The population of Freetown was made up of about one hundred whites and seventeen thousand coloured people. The population of the whole colony was forty-five thousand.

1 Kingsley, M., *Travels in West Africa*. She says the streets were covered with green Bahama grass when she visited Freetown at the end of the century.

2 Alldridge, *A transformed colony*, p. 66.

3 See above, p. 260, footnote.


The Sierra Leoneans, locally called Creoles, were descended from many strains of non-indigenous negro peoples—run-away slaves who had made their way from the United States to British North America or to England; negroes who had served in English ships during the American War of Independence; others from Jamaica who had taken part in an uprising; and many more who had been rescued by the British navy during its suppression of slave trading. By this last means nearly every port of the whole west coast of Africa must have contributed to the population of Sierra Leone.

While Governor Kennedy was establishing himself in control of these people of heterogenous origin, the Forerunner was loading her return cargo of palm-oil. The history of this graceful little ship was intertwined in a curious way with Arthur Kennedy's governorship of Sierra Leone. Both the governor and the ship were on the west coast of Africa as a result of the strange conjunction of two opposing forces—hard-headed mercantile enterprise on the one hand, and humanitarian sentiment on the other. It


2 The Times, London, November 23, 1852, p. 5. On her return trip she took Major O'Connor to his governorship in Gambia. Near Gibraltar she was dismasted in a storm and had to put into that place for refitting. She took from October 18 to November 21 to make the return trip to Plymouth on this, her first voyage which inaugurated the first steamship service to West Africa.
was the alternating pull of these forces that created for
Britain a second empire, which a majority of her leaders
did not really want. The story of West Africa is typical
of the way in which these forces caused Britain to accept
new colonial responsibilities.

The first settlement of freed negroes in Sierra Leone
was begun in 1787—the work of a humanitarian and
Evangelical group under the leadership of Henry Thornton
and other members of the Clapham Sect. The joint-stock
colony they formed for this philanthropic purpose was not
highly successful, but it was notable because negroes
there enjoyed full civil liberties. In 1807 humanitarian
sentiment in the United Kingdom gained a further triumph.
The slave trade was declared illegal, and Sierra Leone was
taken over as a Crown Colony to be the base from which a
squadron of British naval ships would hunt down slave
ships. The recaptured slaves were to be established there
in freedom. Thus, in no mood of expansion, but in the
cause of humanity, Britain had acquired a new Crown Colony.

During the next twenty years a determined—and tremen-
dously expensive—attempt was made to carry out this
humanitarian policy. To Sierra Leone the "sentimental

1 Wadstrom, C. B., An essay on colonization,
particularly applied to the western coast of Africa,
London, Darton and Harvey, 1794. Part second of
this book gives an interesting detailed account of
the origin and early history of the colony. For
easier reference see Griffith, T. R., PRCI.; vol. 13,
pp. 59-61, or Cana, Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 20,
p. 625.
squadron" brought thousands of freed negroes who original homes had been all along the west coast of Africa. The task of building a successful colony out of these varied elements was expensive, difficult and disheartening. When it was found in addition that the slave trade was not being defeated, but was in fact increasing, a wave of pessimism swept over many people in Britain. Advocates of economy now successfully demanded that the country must limit its commitments in West Africa.

Around 1828 a new policy was therefore initiated. Expenditures in Sierra Leone were reduced, and the trading posts on the Gold Coast to the southward were cut adrift and abandoned to private enterprise. One group of merchants banded together under control of a committee in London. They organized trade, maintained order along the Gold Coast and even began to extend their power into the hinterland. From Liverpool another group under the leadership of Macgregor Laird directed its activities to the opening up of the palm-oil trade in the mouths of the Niger—the Oil Rivers, as they were soon to be called. To carry on an exchange of Manchester cottons and Birmingham brass wire for palm-oil

this group in 1830 formed the African Steamship Company. They turned to John Laird's Birkenhead shipyard to make a bold test of the theory that iron ships would be lighter than wooden ones. They would therefore have a shallower draught, which would make them suitable for trade up the west African rivers. During the next quarter of a century this venture expended a large amount of capital and suffered many set-backs before it finally began to reap rich profits. These trading groups regarded humanitarian and missionary interference as one of their chief handicaps.

The humanitarian party had meanwhile been preoccupied with a successful attempt to protect subject peoples in other areas--chiefly in the West Indies. In the late 'thirties they came back to vigorous intervention in West African affairs. The home government had been struggling unsuccessfully to limit the cost of its involvement in Sierra Leone. Critics of empire were suggesting that that colony should also be given over the the hard-headed management of private traders. That suggestion had to be defeated. Moreover, the evangelicals were suspicious that the merchants on the Gold Coast were so interested in their profits as to be indifferent to the continuation

of the slave trade in that area—perhaps even worse! They likewise viewed the newly opened Lower Niger region as a fruitful area for their missionary and anti-slavery activities.

We have noted that Captain Kennedy returned from New Brunswick in 1839. He was in the United Kingdom during that great campaign in which Fowell Buxton led his evangelical and humanitarian forces triumphantly to greater domination of public opinion than ever before. The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa was formed with strong support from the Melbourne government. As one phase of its fight against slave trading this society prepared a great expedition to establish legitimate trade and missions in the Lower Niger region. The government also initiated a policy of making treaties with the chiefs of West Africa for the suppression of the slave trade. While this treaty-making continued apace during the next decade or two, the domination of the humanitarian and evangelical group was weakened, for the time being, by the tragic failure in 1841 of the great expedition to the Niger.

In 1842 West African affairs were handed over to investigation by a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

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1 See above, p. 185.

The pendulum had now swung back to the point where a majority of the members of Parliament would gladly have washed their hands of all responsibilities in West Africa. The committee quickly realized, however, that Britain could not get rid of the commitments which had been gradually established as a result of humanitarian sentiment or private enterprise. To withdraw, once having assumed responsibility, would throw great regions into turmoil. They therefore recommended that the government must again accept responsibility for the proper management of all Britain's West African involvements. It must resume control of the Gold Coast forts. It must even regularize some of the power the merchants had been wielding in the hinterland. These recommendations were accepted by the Peel administration which had succeeded to office in 1841. In order that colonial authorities might recover escaped criminals or liberated Africans who had been stolen again, Parliament also passed an act permitting the exercise of extra-territorial power beyond the limits of the colonies. The policy of treaty-making inaugurated under Buxton's influence was continued.

1 Newton, A. P., CHHE., vol. 2, pp. 666-667. A very large part of the responsibility for this orderly re-organization of West African affairs must be attributed to the appointment of James Stephen as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1836. (p. 659).
Nevertheless, the government hoped to fulfil the obligation of suppressing slavery and of maintaining order without assuming sovereignty over any more territory. That was traditional policy, and it was to continue. This attitude was well indicated by the remark attributed to an early Secretary of State, "Oh, these West African colonies; we have got them, we must administer them; but we often wish they were at the bottom of the sea." From Goderich in 1827, through Russell in 1840 and Grey in 1850, right on to Cardwell in 1865, successive Colonial Secretaries reiterated this insistence that no further territorial acquisitions should be made in Africa. Moreover, the government was determined that some way must be found to limit expenditure in these colonies, and particularly in Sierra Leone, which was the greatest cause of expense. To remove some of the burden in that colony emigration of negroes to the West Indies under indenture was encouraged.

1 PROI., vol. 40, p. 54. This remark was reported by the Right Reverend Bishop Ingham as one made to him.


In the meantime Macgregor Laird and his associates in the African Steamship Company were pushing their enterprise steadily ahead in the Lower Niger region. Their operations were based on the nearby island of Fernando Po, which was nominally Spanish but neglected by that government. Captain John Beecroft, unofficial representative of the British government, was the real ruler. The merchants would gladly have persuaded the home government to assume complete responsibility and sovereignty along the whole coast from the Oil Rivers to the Gold Coast in hope of obtaining security for their trade.

They were joined in this desire by the opponents of the slave trade, now working under the leadership of the Church Missionary Society. Between the Oil Rivers and the Gold Coast lay the Slave Coast with its two chief ports, Lagos and Whydah. Here French merchants were seeking indentured labour for their sugar colonies. To the Church Missionary Society this activity appeared to be slave trading under thin disguise. Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in the Russell administration, was willing to act. In 1851 he appointed Captain Beecroft British consul for the Slave Coast. The native king of Lagos, however, refused to cooperate. When he had usurped the throne six years earlier,

he had made a profitable alliance with Portuguese slavers. In December 1851 Lagos was therefore stormed by a British naval force. Its uncooperative ruler was driven out and the former king restored. This king agreed to a treaty whereby the slave trade was abolished in Lagos. A British vice-consul was appointed to supervise the carrying out of the agreement and to protect British trade. In 1852 the Church Missionary Society was also able to stop the movement of indentured labour from Sierra Leone to the West Indies because it regarded that procedure as closely akin to the slave trade. Since its great celebration in 1848 the Church Missionary Society and evangelical forces in general had been exercising some considerable influence again on the public mind and on governmental policy. It was during this period of renewed influence that Arthur Kennedy was appointed Governor of the great philanthropic colony of Sierra Leone in 1852. His governorship was to be marked by a great warmth and a feeling of brotherhood towards the negroes of his colony.


The year 1852 also marked a great step forward for the African Steamship Company. Under Macgregor Laird's efficient leadership it had forged steadily ahead. Now he had negotiated a contract with the British government to carry the mails to and from the West Coast in a fleet of iron steamships using screw propellers. The *Forerunner*, as we have seen, inaugurated the service when she took Captain Kennedy to Sierra Leone. In the following year the company built three larger ships of nine hundred tons each. One would almost think that the names of these ships had been chosen by the rival missionary group, for they were called *Faith*, *Hope* and *Charity*. Macgregor Laird's subsidy for the first year was to be £23,250. It was to diminish by £500 each year as the venture became more securely established.

The service was to run from London and Plymouth to Fernando Po and back, seeking out the trade of the whole west coast north of the equator. En route both ways the African Steamship Company's vessels were to serve the Madeira Islands, the Canary Islands, Goree in Senegal, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cape Coast Castle and Accra on the Gold Coast, Whydah and Lagos on the Slave

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3 Today Goree is replaced as a great centre of trade by Dakar which is just a few miles away.
Coast, Bonny on the Oil Rivers, Old Calabar and Cameroons. It was therefore in a period of the bustling culmination of a great commercial venture encompassing all West Africa that Arthur Kennedy was to carry on his governorship of its premier colony.

Like everyone else in Freetown, the Kennedys looked forward to the arrival of the company's steamers. Aside from their vital assistance to the colony's trade, they brought the mails from home. Moreover, they brought news from all the other colonies and trading stations along the coast, which joined these regions together in bonds of interest. That factor and the new ease of communication paved the way in due course for the unification of all these centres under one government—a development that was to have a strong bearing on Kennedy's career, for fifteen years later he was to return to Sierra Leone as Governor-in-Chief of all the West African Settlements. The greater ease of communication with the homeland paved the way for a happier social life for officials. In the six months after the opening of the steamship service in September 1852, some twenty ladies followed Mrs. Kennedy to Sierra Leone to be with their husbands.

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1 The Times, London, June 30, 1852, p. 8; September 8, 1852, p. 1 advertisement; November 23, 1852, p. 5; March 10, 1853, p. 5.

2 The Colonial Office list for 1885, p. 355.

There were many other interesting events to keep life from being dull in Freetown. Admiral Bruce, who was in command of the anti-slavery squadron, frequently made his headquarters there. The ships of that fleet were often in port. Her Majesty's ships Bloodhound, Pluto, Firefly, Cygnet, Britomart and Ferret were all on this coast in 1853. Few slavers were being caught but the squadron was still needed because slavery continued in the back country and the trade was ready to break out anew at short notice.

To an interest in the navy Freetown added one in military affairs. The West India Regiment was based on Sierra Leone, and there were always some of its companies quartered in the barracks on Tower Hill. Some companies of the 2nd and 3rd West India Regiments and part of the Gold Coast Corps were in Freetown when Governor Kennedy arrived in October 1852. On her return trip the Forerunner took a detachment of them along with Major L. S. O'Connor to the Gambia. Early in

1 The Times, February 28, 1853, p. 5.

2 The Times, April 14, 1853, May 11, 1853, etc.; Each steamer brought news to London of the movements of these naval ships.

3 Martin, R. M., The British colonies, p. 183. In 1851 there were stationed at Tower Hill Barracks eleven commissioned officers, ten non-commissioned officers, four drummers and two hundred fourteen men.

4 The Times, November 23, 1852, p. 5.
February 1853, the senior officer commanding the companies in Freetown, Captain Taylor, and the other officers were relieved by Captain Macdonald and a new group. The presence of these officers and their troops not only added to the social life of the port but gave colour and dignity to the many ceremonial functions Governor Kennedy had to carry on.

In Sierra Leone the question of health was always one of major concern. The first winter the Kennedys were there was a healthy one because the preceding summer had been an exceptionally rainy one with over two hundred inches of rain. Before the next wet season ended Governor Kennedy sent Mrs. Kennedy back home. She left on board the *Hope* on July 27, 1853, and arrived at Plymouth at midnight on August 14. Soon after she left, the colony was reported to be suffering from a wave of fever of a mild type. Governor Kennedy was quite ill. By mid-October, however, he was well enough to go aboard Her Majesty's *Britomart* as guest of Commander Heseltine for a health restoring cruise to the southward.

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3 *The Colonial Office list for 1863*, p. 193. The beginning and ending of the wet season are the most sickly parts of the year.
Kennedy had already turned his attention to the problem of improving Freetown's sanitation. He was the first governor to tackle this problem with energy. His method was typical of the man. Instead of carrying out improvements at state expense, he formed a voluntary Local African Improvement Society. Under his direction this organization brought about many sanitary improvements. However, thorough reorganization of sewage and sanitation was not made in Freetown until the last quarter of the century. Indeed it was not until that time that such improvements were made in earnest in the United Kingdom itself. Therefore it is noteworthy that in the year 1852 Kennedy initiated the first hygienic reforms in Sierra Leone.

1 Butt-Thompson, F. W., Sierra Leone in history and tradition, London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1926, p. 248

2 See above, pp. 110-111.

3 Cf. PBCI., vol. 13, p. 96: Criticism by C. G. Rosenbush, of all the early governors, including Kennedy, for failure to reorganize sanitary facilities. Cf. The Times, London, April 10, 1877, p. 10; May 29, 1877, p. 8; and June 7, 1877, p. 5, levelling criticism at the governors for their failure in sanitation, and criticizing Sierra Leone because it was still as bad as ever in 1877.
When Captain Kennedy took charge of Sierra Leone, the task of welding its varied peoples into an industrious and self-supporting community was by no means complete. Progress of the colony had been slow in spite of all the money it had cost. The Sierra Leoneans had a strong aversion to agriculture—a heritage from their fathers, who associated cultivation of the soil with their days of bondage in America. Moreover, the peninsula's somewhat rocky soil did not readily adapt itself to agriculture. Food supplies for Freetown, as well as the products it exported, were produced by indigenous native tribes of the hinterland. Manual labour such as coaling ship and building roads was likewise performed by native tribes from the surrounding areas.

While the Sierra Leonean despised agriculture, he loved trade. And he found a great opportunity for trading because Freetown was so well located as a port of call for merchant and naval vessels in search of supplies and of good water. This trade had produced a wealthy upper class; but so many


2 Alldridge, A transformed colony, pp. 77 and 45.

of the people crowded into this the only occupation to which they took kindly, that a great many made only a precarious living. Producing nothing and dependent upon overcrowded trading, Freetown had in fact an unsound economy. In the port itself it was the women hucksters who did most of the selling. But the paying trade was with the hinterland to which each trader went off alone with his petty wares. From this area these Creoles and the natives themselves brought down palm-oil kernels, dried hides, ginger, and ground nuts to the European trading houses at the port. To this interior area went the bulk of Freetown's imports—Manchester cottons, spirits and tobacco.

This hinterland, which was the real source of wealth for both Creole trader and British wholesale merchant, was still in native hands. Nor, as we have seen, did the home government want to add to its responsibilities on this coast. However, philanthropy and trade both conspired against that reluctance. Indifference to the hinterland was impossible

1 Martin, R. M., *The British colonies*, p. 184. The imports in 1851 were valued at £103,477 and the exports at only £80,366. Some of the difference would be made up in payments by the Imperial Government for supplies and services to the navy and to the army.

2 Alldridge, *A transformed colony*, pp. 44 and 47.

3 Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 184. It will be recalled that the *Forerunner* brought 130 tons of tobacco leaf on her first trip.
because of the steady movement of trade between it and the colony. Moreover, the existence of treaties whereby native chiefs had agreed to suppress slavery and to keep the paths of trade open demanded some measure of supervision. Parliament's decision to permit the exercise of extra-territorial power was a further cause of involvement. In 1650 Lord Grey laid down to Kennedy's predecessor that such extra-territorial jurisdiction must be exercised only in areas where treaties embodying the right to do so had been concluded with local chiefs. The result of this decision was an added impetus to treaty revision and treaty making in Kennedy's administration and succeeding ones.

These compromises of home policy between reluctance to acquire new territory and a realization that Britain was so deeply involved in West Africa as to have to reorganize its extra-territorial relations, presented a complicated problem to Governor Kennedy. He must promote a demand for British goods. He must insist that channels of trade be kept open. He must protect his people. He must initiate the making of new treaties for the suppression of slavery and the freedom of trade. He must attempt to supervise the fulfilment of these terms. He must secure the insertion in new and old treaties of the right to exercise

extra-territorial jurisdiction. Having secured that power he must use it with the greatest of restraint. Although he had a strong detachment of infantry in his capital he must at all costs avoid its use.

Now the hinterland with which he had to deal made this many-sided assignment no easy task. Although the interior tribes were not naturally a brave and warlike people, they were continually engaged in inter-tribal wars, in part because the area behind and around Sierra Leone was one into which many varied tribes were moving frequently. These wars not only constituted a handicap to trade but often involved the Creole traders, who were not well liked by the indigenous natives. One cause of this dislike was that the Sierra Leoneans were Christians and the natives were either pagans or Mohammedans. Moreover, in spite of treaties, the hinterland continued long after Kennedy's time to maintain domestic slavery and to give countenance to the slave trade. Chiefs were ever alert to acquire new

1 Her Majesty's colonies, p. 516.
2 Alldridge, A transformed colony, p. 281.
4 Cana, op. cit., p. 626.
5 Luckach, op. cit., p. 15.
slaves either by war or from traders. Interruption of trade, violence toward Creole British subjects, violation of treaties with respect to slavery, inter-tribal war—these were the contributions of the hinterland to the problem already posed by the policy of the home government.

In the absence of a right to use force freely, this problem demanded of Governor Kennedy the exercise of a skilful blend of dignity, firmness, friendliness and diplomacy. It was incumbent on him to promote a feeling of friendship for Britain among tribes both near and distant. That was done in two ways. In the first place, when the governor sent out commissioners to negotiate treaties or treaty revision, he must send with them skilfully composed messages of warm regard to all chiefs through whose territories they would travel. In the second place, he must be able to receive properly the many paramount chiefs who came down to visit Freetown. These chiefs loved to be received with ceremony. On such occasions Kennedy's command-

1 Alldridge, *A transformed colony*, pp. 280-281 and 292-293, passim.

2 During Kennedy's governorship, in 1853, liberated Africans domiciled in the colony were declared by act of Parliament to be natural-born subjects of Her Majesty. Butt-Thompson, F. W., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

3 Griffith, *PRCI.*, vol. 13, p. 79.

4 Alldridge, *A transformed colony*, p. 46.
ing presence, his innate courtesy and his courtliness were assets of great importance to British prestige.

Since it was vital to the African Steamship Company that Governor Kennedy should be successful in maintaining that prestige at a high level in order that trade might flow down to the coast without interruption, the company's ship captains watched his progress with keen interest. At the end of February 1853 the report carried home was that, "The new Governor is universally liked, and is anxious to forward the interests of both white and coloured inhabitants."

Six months later, however, Captain Barnwell, master of the Forerunner left Freetown in a mood of great disturbance over Governor Kennedy's handling of affairs. In publishing the report of conditions in Sierra Leone brought by the Forerunner the Times, which had such a strong commercial bias, was equally critical:

War had again broken out in the Sherbro' country, much to the injury of trade at the colony. The colonists had hoped that the recent visits of the Sherbro' chiefs to Governor Kennedy would have terminated the feuds which have so long kept this fine country under the influence of the slave dealers of Gallinas; but these hopes have proved fallacious. The chiefs were allowed to leave the colony without having their

1 Sproat, Memoranda, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.,

differences adjusted, and, now, the chance of this palm oil, rice, and camwood producing country, devoting itself to the humanizing pursuits of commerce, is more distant than ever . . . . Governor O'Connor seems to have been successful in his efforts to secure peace in Gambia. (1)

Now the Sherbro was a large tract of coastal country fifty miles south of Freetown. It consisted of a large island and over one hundred miles of mainland coast. This region was the richest and most important trading district in the area surrounding the colony of Sierra Leone. Failure there was certainly a matter of deep concern. However, Governor Kennedy had not failed. The "war" was over quickly.

Moreover, Kennedy had secured the friendship of the most influential chief of the Sherbro country, Chief Richard Tucker, who was a graduate of London University. Through the good influences of Chief Tucker, Governor Kennedy was able to establish British influence in that rich trading country to a greater extent than ever before. In quick recognition of Kennedy's successful management of this affair, the home government in 1854 appointed him British Consul General in the Sherbro country (in addition to his governorship of Sierra Leone). The process he had

2 Butt-Thompson, Sierra Leone in history and tradition, pp. 215-216.
initiated resulted seven years later in the annexation of the Sherbro to the colony of Sierra Leone. While this annexation was at odds with Britain's basic policy, such acquisitions of territory and influence were not so distasteful to administrators on the spot. It is extremely likely that, when Arthur Kennedy came back to this coast as Governor-in-Chief of all the West African Settlements, he viewed this extra section of Sierra Leone with secret satisfaction and some pride.

Creoles from Freetown were not the only traders who pushed up the rivers far past the boundaries of the colonies. Representatives of British houses had factories many miles up the Sierra Leone River. Others had gone up the Scarcies


Lord Palmerston was in power again when Lagos was annexed in 1861 and the Sherbro in 1862.

2 In his last governorship, before his death, namely that of Queensland, almost the last of Governor Kennedy's actions was to acquiesce in a daring annexation of eastern New Guinea to prevent the Germans from taking it. This annexation was renounced, however.

3 The Sierra Leone is a great estuary. Farther up the river is called the Rokell. It is navigable by steamers for fifteen miles above Freetown and by small boats for another forty miles. (Lucas, *A historical geography of the British colonies*, vol. 3, pp. 298-299.)
which emptied into the sea about thirty miles north of the colony. In 1854 word came to Governor Kennedy of an unprovoked attack on a British trader at Mahala on the Scarcies River. His home and stores had been pillaged and burned. Kennedy at once made demand on the chiefs of the area for reparation. His relations with them had been marked by friendliness and consideration. Now he was stern and unyielding. Without further delay his terms were met and the flow of trade was resumed. At a later period Kennedy gave expression to the principles that animated his dealings with primitive people as follows, "The true mode of dealing with savages here or anywhere else is with strict justice, good faith and the greatest firmness." All told, therefore, Governor Kennedy's handling of extra-territorial relations was marked by a distinct success, which as we have seen, was appreciated by the home govern-

1 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, June 8, 1864, p. 2.

Cf. Kennedy to Colonial Office, Government House, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 80, Miscellaneous, October 1, 1864 (paragraphs 4 and 6) and No. 48, Executive July 4, 1865, Official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria,—with reference to the correct method of dealing with Indians who have destroyed the white man's property.

It may be noticed that in course of time the further expansion of trade led to the annexation of the Scarcies country to Sierra Leone.
ment—their approval shown near the end of his regime by his extra appointment in the Sherbro.

To realize how much trouble could grow out of lack of skill in handling a situation like the Mahala affair it is only necessary to consider the outcome of a similar attack on a British trader at a place called Malaghea in the administration succeeding Kennedy's. The comparison is not entirely fair because the governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, was absent from Sierra Leone on leave. The colony was administered in his absence by the able mulatto Queen's Advocate, Robert Dougan. In Dougan's hands this Malaghea affair grew into a sad debacle which involved a serious repulse of a British naval and military force and a casualty list for the British forces of seventy-eight killed and sixteen wounded. Others were taken prisoner. In the end this affair was cleared up without further difficulty. Yet a strong contrast is evident between the troubled mismanagement of this affair and Kennedy's effortless closing of the Scarcies River incident.

1 Butt-Thompson, F. W., *Sierra Leone in history and tradition*, pp. 229-231.

Although Dougan was retired from office for a while, his abilities were so high that he was recalled to office after a few years and served ably as Queen's Advocate through most of Kennedy's second governorship on this coast until his death in 1871. (Butt-Thompson, *op. cit.*., p. 250).
It was not only the hinterland that presented difficult problems for the governor. Kennedy found that the people of the colony itself were secretly involved in the slave trade. This trouble arose from an apprenticeship system for liberated Africans. Against the evils of this system many governors had struggled with incomplete success. When slavers were captured they were taken to Freetown where the slaves were liberated. Most of the adults were indentured as apprentices either to individuals or to the Public Works Department. Those for whom they worked were supposed to clothe them. For wages they received food, the daily ration promised being one quart of rice, a half-gill of palm-oil and a quarter-gill of salt. While most of these adults passed safely through their apprenticeships and became full-fledged members of the colony, some of them disappeared into the hinterland. The worst evils of this system had been partly remedied before Kennedy’s time insofar as adults were concerned. Not so with relation to liberated children. When they were rescued from slavers, they were sent from Freetown to the various villages in the colony. There the Church Missionary Society placed them in foster homes where they divided their time between service to their "protectors" and attendance at school. Unfortunately, up to Kennedy's

1 Butt-Thompson, _op. cit._, p. 162.
time, no register was kept of these children, no supervisory visits were made to the foster homes, and no penalties were provided against those "protectors" who failed to hand over their charges when their period of apprenticeship had come to an end. "Run-away" was accepted as a sufficient explanation. Yet a hinterland chief told one governor, "... of all spots in Africa, Freetown is most favourable to the slave dealer."

Governor Kennedy decided that this situation, the despair of so many governors, could be tolerated no longer.

He started his campaign within four months of his arrival, for when the **Forerunner** arrived at Plymouth at the conclusion of her second voyage she brought this news:

> The slave trade was almost extinct along the coast, but at Sierra Leone several cases of kidnapping had been discovered and tried by His Excellency Governor Kennedy. (2)

1 Butt-Thompson, op. cit., p. 163.

2 *The Times*, London, March 10, 1853, p. 5.

On this second trip the **Forerunner** had inaugurated the complete service by going all the way to Fernando Po. There she was welcomed by the British consul, Captain John Beecroft, with a salute of fifteen guns, a display of flags during the day and illumination at night to celebrate the beginning of a new era in trade. The complete round trip, Plymouth to Fernando Po and back, took about seventy-six days.
Six months later the news brought by Captain Barnwell of the *Forerunner* carried the very strong suggestion that Governor Kennedy had been both precipitate and arbitrary in his campaign against kidnapping. The *Times* account was as follows:

The grand jury had recently thrown out bills against respectable liberated Africans for purchasing and selling children, doubts having risen in their minds as to the credibility of the single witness on whose evidence alone many people have recently been convicted, several of whom have died from the effects of their imprisonment in the Free Town gaol. (1)

Kennedy however would not be shaken from his position. He reported that "the Liberated Africans resident in the colony were deeply and habitually implicated in this disgraceful traffic." Defeated in one line of attack he now turned to another by vigorous suggestions that resulted in the passage of the Protection of Alien Children Act. The system devised by this act brought to an end the evil system of apprenticeship and stopped the sale of children into slavery. It is

2 Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, p. 163.
greatly to the credit of Kennedy's administration that he was able to put an end to an abuse against which his predecessors of half a century had offered mere palliatives. Yet, if the Times account is to be accepted, this campaign against kidnapping discloses in Kennedy a certain harsh ruthlessness. When he was sure that a certain objective was a righteous one, he pursued his course, not only with indifference to his own popularity, but with a tendency to regard the end as justification for the means.

Since Sierra Leone drew its main livelihood from trade, regulation of trade both within the colony and into the hinterland was one of the main problems and preoccupations of the government. Here was great scope both for the exercise of Kennedy's ability to handle routine and for the further ingraining of method in his character. A free-trader, he was forced to become a student of tariff regulations because the revenue of Sierra Leone was mainly derived from import duties. The new tariff that was set up in 1853 was almost certainly not a result of Kennedy's

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1 Cf. pp. 239-240 above.

2 See above, p. 113.

3 Martin, R. M., The British colonies, p. 164, vol. 2. Seventy percent of the revenue in the period 1840-1850 was from customs duties. In 1851 the annual revenue from all sources was £17,605 of which customs duties supplied £12,217.
suggestion because he had just taken over when it went into force. This new tariff consisted of an *ad valorem* duty of four percent on all imports except wines, spirits, tobacco and similar products. On these imports specific rates were charged. Other revenue was obtained by licence fees, taxes on houses and land, and a poll tax for the repair of roads. 

During his administration of the tariffs in this colony, Kennedy formed a strong aversion to *ad valorem* duties. His preference was for light specific duties for revenue rather than for protection. In all probability he was at least partially responsible for a major change that came in 1872 at the end of his second term of four years in Sierra Leone.

By that change *ad valorem* duties were wiped out. So were all duties except light specific duties on liquor, tobacco and gunpowder and an export tax on ground nuts. In his first administration Kennedy won the gratitude of the people by securing an equitable readjustment of the tax on houses. At the end of his second governorship that tax was abolished altogether.

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2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 7, 1864, p. 3.

3 The Colonial Office list for 1883, p. 193. The measure was the work of the first Gladstone ministry (1868-1874) which was initiating widespread measures of freer trade. The advice of the administrator on the spot would undoubtedly have some bearing.


5 The Colonial Office list for 1883, p. 193.
At the inception of the new steam service by the African Steamship Company, the question of provision of pilots became an important one. This company's ships had been made of iron in the successful hope that they would be lighter and thereby have shallower draught to enable them to go up the mouths of the West African rivers. When the Hope got home to Plymouth at the conclusion of her first trip on July 13, 1853, her master, Commander W. H. Bowan, had vigorous comment with reference to pilot service being supplied. On the Oil Rivers at Bonny no pilot was available at all and the Hope had to send in her boats. At the Gambia a pilot service had been established but the salary was paid by the government, and consequently no pilots were available until after a wait of five and a half hours at daybreak. At Sierra Leone, however, pilotage had been thrown open to competition. The pilots were therefore seen two or three miles from the cape, pulling their utmost to be first to reach the ship. To prefer the competitive method over that of supplying the service at government cost was of course entirely typical of Governor Kennedy. He believed in that system. He was probably

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1 On this first trip the Hope's most notable piece of cargo was a present from the African merchant, John Wood, to a Gold Coast potentate. It was a "magnificent ... silver hip and shower bath most elaborately chased and ornamented ... The cost ... little short of 1,000 l". (The Times, London, May 9, 1853, p. 8).


3 See above, pp. 110-111.
pleased to know that the great company had praise for his method but that praise was a matter of very secondary consideration to him.

The governor was consistent on the next issue—the company inconsistent. Kennedy was resisting its suggestion that a stone wharf be built at Freetown at government expense. After the Forerunner arrived at Plymouth on September 9, 1853, the Times carried this comment:

The commanders of the mail boats complain sadly of the want of a convenient wharf; this is a great drawback to a place with such a fine harbour; particularly when there is so much facility, from the depth of water and proximity of stone, for building a pier at comparatively trifling expense. (1)

Thus it is evident that throughout his governorship of Sierra Leone, Kennedy maintained his preference for freedom of trade and for private enterprise. His experience in that colony tended to confirm him in those beliefs.

His service in Sierra Leone was also to result in confirming his opinions with respect to both education and religion. This colony was plentifully supplied with places

and forms of worship. The evangelical fervour of the founders of the Sierra Leone Company had shown itself in 1791 by the erection of a church in Freetown as one of its first projects.

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Henry Thornton, Zachary Macaulay, William Wilberforce and other members of the Clapham sect were likewise prominent in the formation in 1799 of the Church Missionary Society, which sent its first missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1804. In 1811 an ordained Wesleyan missionary arrived. By 1816 the work of evangelism was in full swing, the workers paying the terrible price of a mortality greater than fifty percent within a year. American missionaries arrived in the 'thirties. All these missions trained negro Sierra Leoneans and hinterland natives to become religious teachers and finally ordained ministers.

In Kennedy's time the great Anglican minister, Samuel A. Crowther, first liberated African to be ordained in England, was back in the hinterland of Lagos preaching to his own people in the Yoruba country. He was soon to become Bishop of the Niger. Kennedy had opportunities in his second administration to observe and to admire the great qualities and abilities of this negro minister. Some of the liberated Africans preaching in the colony during Kennedy's first governorship were: the Reverend Joseph Wright, the Reverend Charles Knight and the Reverend Joseph

2 Griffith, PRCI., vol. 13, pp. 75-76.
3 Butt-Thompson, Sierra Leone in history, p. 187.
May of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; Anthony O'Connor, a Wesleyan who founded the West African Methodist Society; George Weeks, who preached in the Baptist stone church; Anthony Elliott, General Superintendent of the Countess of Huntingdon Connection, a skilled river pilot and special constable on week days; and the Reverend Scipio R. Wright, ordained in 1853 in the same church.

The first Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone, the Right Reverend Owen Emeric Vidal, D.D., arrived in Freetown on December 26, 1852. He was an English missionary who had penetrated into the hinterland of Lagos, where he learned the language of the Yorubas and preached to them in their own tongue. In 1854 Dr. Vidal ordained the Reverend Thomas King and the Reverend Thomas B. Macaulay, the first

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1 Butt-Thompson, op. cit., pp. 181, 182, 205, 181-182, 176, 178, and 178-179 respectively.
Liberated Africans received their names from the officials in Freetown at the time of their arrival after rescue from slavers.
In his second administration of West Africa Kennedy chose Anthony Elliott's son, J. B. Elliott, as officer in charge of the mapping of British Quiah. (Butt-Thompson, op. cit., p. 222.)

liberated Africans to be ordained here in Sierra Leone as Anglican ministers. Others had been ordained in England. Governor and Mrs. Kennedy attended St. George's Cathedral where there was a specially enclosed space for the governor and his suite. It was in this church, therefore, and perhaps to either the Reverend Thomas King or the Reverend Thomas B. Macaulay that Kennedy had reference when he said that he had sat regularly under a negro minister with edification. He formed a very high regard for the abilities of these negro ministers.

Sierra Leoneans were mainly Anglicans and Wesleyans although, as the list of ministers above will testify, many other sects were represented. Scattered over Freetown were many fine churches of these various denominations. The

1 Dr. Vidal died on Christmas Eve, 1854, on his way back from a visit to Lagos. (Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, p. 185. It is interesting to notice that Western Australia was also to receive its first Anglican bishop when Kennedy was governor there—the Right Reverend Matthew B. Hale, who became a life-long friend of Governor Kennedy.

2 Butt-Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

3 *The British Colonist*, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 31, 1864, p. 3.

4 Griffith, *FRCI.*, vol. 13, pp. 75-76.
Creoles sampled with zest the many forms of worship available. Kennedy was later to remark on the friction engendered between the various sects by this habit and by the way in which Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians were continually proselytizing from each other and the Mohammedans from all. While the Creoles thoroughly enjoyed this process, the governor regarded it with concern. His conviction of the bad effects of sectarianism was more deeply impressed on his mind than ever.

Sierra Leone owed its advanced system of education to the evangelical zeal of its founders. Early reports of the Chairman and Board of Governors of the Sierra Leone Company described with pride three or four hundred children at their books in the 1790's. It is true that early liberated negroes may have had mixed motives in so readily sending their children to school. One of them is reported to have said,

1 Lukach, A bibliography of Sierra Leone, p. 14.
2 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 2, 1864, p. 3.
3 See above, p. 97.
4 Wadstrom, An essay on colonization, p. 121.
"Read book, and learn to be rogue as well as white man."

The work of providing schooling was carried on by the various missionary societies who established day schools not only in Freetown but in the villages of the peninsula. In 1850 there were fifty-eight schools in the colony, with 6,795 pupils of both sexes. In the main these schools were established and supported by the Church Missionary, the Wesleyan Missionary and the Baptist Missionary societies. Training for the masses was sketchy and, since the curricula copied those of similar church schools in England, most unsuited to the true needs of the people. However, they regarded their schooling as highly satisfactory largely because of its use in trade which they conducted throughout the colony in pidgin English.

For brighter youngsters higher education was available. The Church Missionary Society founded a college in 1816 which was moved to Fourah Bay in 1828 to become famous as Fourah Bay College. Among its first students was the negro youth, Samuel A. Crowther, mentioned above, who was to become Bishop of the Niger. In 1845 the negro Governor

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1 Griffith, PRCI., vol. 15, p. 78.

2 Martin, The British colonies, p. 184.
of Sierra Leone, William Fergusson, laid the foundation stone of a new building which was opened in 1848. One of the principals of this college was the Reverend Edward Jones, born in South Carolina of parents who were negro slaves. An eloquent preacher, a skilful journalist, and a capable leader in education, this principal set a high standard for his successors.

In 1845 the Church Missionary Society also established a Grammar School in Freetown. At the time of Kennedy's first governorship the principal of this school was the negro, James Quaker, under whose leadership the school became self-supporting. One of the negro members of his staff, David Carroll, was busy studying law. Kennedy was later to make him Registrar of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction. During Kennedy's first administration, the young negro, Samuel Lewis, later Sir Samuel first elected Mayor of Freetown, was attending the Church Missionary Society Grammar School in Freetown. Wesleyan missions had also established grammar schools in the colony. Many Creole families at great

1 Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, pp. 201-203, passim.


3 Martin, *The British colonies*, p. 184, lists the curriculum of this Grammar School as follows: algebra, Euclid, English, Greek, Latin, geography, music, lineal drawing, mensuration, singing and writing themes.

sacrifice to themselves sent their sons to England for college and university education.

Governor Kennedy approved the love of schooling evident among Sierra Leoneans. He admired the splendid progress made by so many of them. He became convinced that they were as capable of profiting by education as any other people. However, he was confirmed in his dislike of sectarian maintenance and control of schools. He observed that its tendency was to promote division among his people. He likewise considered that scattering of educational effort among many denominational schools was inefficient. As we have already learned, he considered that education for those who could not pay for it themselves would be better managed in a common state-supported school.

In consequence of opportunities for higher education in the colony and of the willingness of wealthy traders to send their sons to England for higher education, there was not only a highly literate leadership among the trading class, but also a well-educated professional class. Among the most prominent and hospitable merchants of Kennedy’s time was William Grant, mentioned below for his great loyalty to Britain, who was to be a member of the

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 4, 1864, p. 3.
2 See above, pp. 123-124.
3 See below, p. 305.
Legislative Council in Kennedy's second administration.

Another wealthy negro trader was William Lewis, father of the negro knight. Many of the prominent negro ministers and teachers have already been mentioned. All clerical positions in the civil service were filled by locally trained Creoles.

Many of the colony's highest offices were likewise filled with ability and dignity by well-educated negroes. Two officers high in the ranks of the post-office in the 'fifties were Moses F. Campbell, Postmaster-General, and James T. Cole, Assistant Postmaster-General. We have already noticed the able Robert Dougan, a mulatto lawyer, who had now risen to the post of Queen's Advocate and who took over the administration of the colony when Kennedy went home on leave in 1854.

The Chief Justice at this time was John Carr, a negro born in the West Indies, who had been promoted to his high office in 1841, an office he was to fill with distinction for a quarter of a century. Since it will give us a clearer

1 Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, p. 223.
3 Butt-Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
idea of the quality of these people, let us notice Chief Justice Carr's career more closely. His formal education was completed at University College, London, where he obtained the first certificate of honour and the prize in history in 1838, and the first certificate of honour and the first prize in English law in 1839. He was graduated Bachelor of Laws, University of London in 1839. He was called to the bar at Gray's Inn in May 1840 and in the same year appointed Queen's Advocate for Sierra Leone. He administered the government of that colony from April to September in 1841. He was appointed Chief Justice in August 1841. He was also a judge of the vice-admiralty court and sole judge of the supreme court. He was the senior member of the council of the colony and, in the absence of the governor, its president. His salary was £1500.


2 Ibid., p. 78.
There is no indication in any of the Colonial Office lists that this man was a negro. The same is true of other negro officials.
Arthur Kennedy was happy in his association with these men. The black man was as welcome at his table as the white. He formed firm friendships among them and he rightly regarded many of them with profound respect, holding that they were quite as capable as any other people of filling high position with dignity and ability. While this firm opinion, based upon experience in this advanced laboratory of racial progress, was to place him in the forefront of liberal-minded opinion, it was later to serve as a distinct handicap to him among a more narrow-minded people in North America.

The form of government in which these negroes assisted Governor Kennedy was one which placed all real local power in his hands. This policy was based in a belief current in mid-nineteenth century British colonial policy that representative government was not suitable for colonies in which primitive people predominated. It did not take into account the fact that the Sierra Leoneans had demonstrated a high capacity for informed participation in control

1 The British Columbian, New Westminster, British Columbia, April 6, 1864, p. 1: "We also learn through private sources that His Excellency carried these same principles of equality into practice in social circles—that the black man was as welcome at his Excellency's table as was the white."

2 The British Colonist, Victoria, April 2, 1864, p. 3.

of their own affairs. In Kennedy's time the governor had complete control of executive action, there being no Executive Council. The Legislative Council was entirely appointive. It consisted of the Bishop of Sierra Leone, the Right Reverend O. E. Vidal, who was absent in Lagos and Nigeria much of the time, the negro Chief Justice, John Carr, B.L., the negro Colonial Secretary, the Collector of Customs, J. T. Commissiong, whose career would indicate that he was a negro, the mulatto Queen's Advocate, Robert Dougan, and one or two merchants who were almost certainly negroes. This council met behind closed doors, its members sworn to secrecy. Thus Governor Kennedy had complete control—legislative as well as executive. His dominant position was strengthened by his being well supplied with clerical assistance. Not only did he have a white private secretary but

1 Newton, CHBE., vol. 2, p. 645: Since 1816 the governor had had complete independence of his council in the executive sphere.

2 The British Colonist, Victoria, V.I., April 2, 1864, p. 3.

3 The Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 168.

4 Martin, The British colonies, p. 183.

5 Loc. cit.

6 The Times, London, August 16, 1853, p. 9. His name was Captain Searle.
he had negro writers and messengers all eager to do his bidding.

Now the attitude of all these negroes was exceedingly loyal and cooperative. Just three years earlier a despatch from Acting-Governor Pine had borne testimony to the zeal and alacrity of all influential Creoles in lending support to the government. One of the influential citizens of Kennedy's first governorship was the wealthy merchant, William Grant, whom Kennedy was later to appoint to his Legislative Council. Speaking in 1882 at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, the Honourable W. Grant had to say:

Taking the negro as he is, he feels grateful to the English people... he looks upon them as a father—as, in fact, more than a father; and he reveres them as one who is superior to himself. ... And I, as a representative negro, stand here and bow my head in token of reverence to this nation for what they have done for my people and for my country. (3)

This hearty and almost subservient loyalty must have been available to Governor Kennedy in high degree for he was not only courteous and affable to his people, but he had drawn them into honourable cooperation with the government in management of their local affairs. Moreover, he had given

1 The Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 78 and Her Majesty's colonies, p. 516.
3 PRCI, vol. 13, p. 90.
them real cause to be grateful for material benefits. Concom­
currence with his expressed ideas and policies must have been almost automatic.

We have already seen that his military and Irish Poor Law experience had tended to make him rapid in decision and ready in statement of his opinions. This Sierra Leonean situation, in which his statements were received with deep respect—almost with reverence—must have tended to ingrain this tendency to the rapid adoption of firm opinions and their statement in a forthright and authoritative way. We have seen that Kennedy did in fact form or strengthen strong opinions in Sierra Leone: that ad valorem duties were cumbersome, that sectarian control of schools was inefficient, that wide diversity of religion was undesirable in a community, and that peoples were essentially equal in their ability to learn and to hold high office with skill and with ability. These strong opinions were formed in the presence of convincing evidence. The absence of any vigorous statement of contrary opinion tended to make them absolute in Kennedy's mind. Yet other circumstances could easily alter the validity of some of them, and they were all of controversial nature. In yet another way did Sierra Leone buttress his army and his Irish experiences. That was his habit of expecting and of receiving prompt obedience to his commands. This was his first governor-
It was strongly formative of his habits as a governor. He therefore carried with him to other lands these decided ways, these firmly entrenched opinions, and this imperiousness. Yet they were masked, their impact was delayed by his natural affability. And that characteristic also had been strengthened and polished by his duties on this West African coast.

Arthur Kennedy's government of Sierra Leone had been highly successful. He had handled extra-territorial relations with tact and skill, on the one hand using gracious speech and action to bind to the British connection the rich Sherbro trading area in the south, on the other hand moving with decision and firmness to exact reparation for attack on a British trader to the north. He had managed with consummate ability the routine of trade regulation and revenue: his decade was to see a tripling of both imports and exports of the colony, due in large part to the Sherbro connection. He had brought to an end

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Cf. Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 77.
By 1856 the imports were £152,907 and the exports £180,385. Part of this improvement was due to a great increase in the production of goundnuts during Kennedy's regime. (The Times, London, September 10, 1853, p. 8).
the evil system of apprenticeship, the despair of all his predecessors. All this in a government of two years' duration. And above all, he had managed internal affairs of the colony smoothly. By his formation of the African Improvement Society he had succeeded in associating the natives with him in improvements in sanitation so badly needed and so long neglected. Likewise he had succeeded in making improvements in the police system. By his equitable adjustment of the hut and land tax he had earned the gratitude of his people. His memory therefore continued long after to be held in high regard by the population. Speaking some thirty years later, in 1882, T. R. Griffith, Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, said that four governors were held in special remembrance by the people and he listed Arthur Kennedy next to the famous Sir Charles McCarthy. When it is known that some fifty-five governors or acting-governors held office between the

1 Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, p. 248.


It was in the year 1881 that Kennedy was promoted in The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George from Knight Commander (K.C.M.G.) to Knight Grand Cross (G.C.M.G.) the highest class of the order available to others than members of the royal family. The K.C.M.G. was restricted to 150 living members. The G.C.M.G. was restricted to 50. (The Colonial Office list for 1883, p. 228-229.)
creation of the Crown Colony and 1882, Arthur Kennedy's inclusion in this list of four well-loved governors is high testimony to his success in dealing with this negro people. With such a record of successful administration it is not to be doubted that the assistant Permanent Under-Secretary for Colonies, T. F. Elliot, was well-satisfied with Kennedy's first governorship. And above him, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies at this time, must have noted with strong approval the progress of this new recruit to the colonial service. In their estimation Kennedy had earned a promotion. And they had in mind for him a task well-fitted to the abilities he had disclosed—an appointment that would take him to a region adapted by equable climate to strike a balance against his period of duty on the dread West African coast. His new governorship was to be again in Mr. Elliot's sphere of responsibility. Arthur Kennedy closed his first governorship secure in the knowledge that he had done a good job.

1 Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in history*, pp. 234-253 passim, for number of governors.

2 The Colonial Office list for 1867, p. 8: Mr. Elliot had special responsibility for West Africa, Western Australia, and for the North American colonies.

3 Kennedy took office on October 12, 1852, and went home on leave October 13, 1854. The Aberdeen Ministry, with Newcastle as Secretary of State for the Colonies, held office from December 1852 to January 1855.
He sailed for home on board the African mail-steamer, Forerunner, on Friday, October 13, 1854. The melancholy history of this little four hundred ton three-master was now to prove concurrent with that of Kennedy's governorship of Sierra Leone. Two years before he had come out with her on her maiden voyage. Now it was his strident letter to the Times that was to give first full news of the strange story of this her last trip. Kennedy's long letter started as follows:

Sir—The total loss of the African contract mail-packet Forerunner, her valuable cargo, with 14 of her passengers and crew, may now be added to the list of reckless and appalling steamboat disasters.

The untimely fate of this boat, at all times unsafe for Atlantic navigation, has long since been predicted by sea-faring men, though her end was anticipated in a different manner. (1)

Even before she reached Freetown on this homeward voyage the Forerunner had been in trouble. As she was feeling her way out of the Bonny River, skilled navigators who were passengers had warned Captain Johnstone that he was too far from the marker buoys. Almost on the heels of his curt rejection of this advice she bumped the bar. And she scraped twice more before he got her out of the

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1 Kennedy to the Editor, The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.
As the over-crowded little ship left Freetown her master may have wished ruefully that he had on board a group of passengers less aware of their own skill and importance. Two successful retiring west-coast sea captains and the lieutenant of Her Majesty's Ship *Pluto* had proved themselves all too quick to proffer advice uninvited. Now he had a successful colonial governor going home from the scene of his triumph—a man likewise known to be quick in the statement of his ideas. On their part, these senior passengers were plainly doubtful of the master's competence. And their fears were to be confirmed all too quickly. Let Kennedy's letter continue the story:

On the 19th of October at 10 o'clock a.m., going at full speed, under sail and steam, with a heavy sea on, the vessel ran over the Arguin banks .... One of the passengers fortunately observed the discolouration of the water and the lead-line was used. The first cast was seven fathoms, then five, then two-and-a-half fathoms! (2)

Captain Gregory and Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N., both had warned the master that he was running too close to the African shore. And now as the leadsman sang out, "Two

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1 *The Times*, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5—testimony of Merchant-Captain Thomas Gregory and of Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N., at the official investigation of the wreck of the *Forerunner*.

"fathoms!" it was the naval lieutenant rather than a ship's officer who struck the mainsail. The helm was swung hard over. Being small, the vessel came round quite rapidly. Yet it took two hours of running straight off-shore before she was safe in deep water again. Concerning this phase of the voyage Kennedy's letter had these biting words:

Seafaring men may be able to tell you what business a steamer en route from Goree to Teneriffe in fine weather had in such a position. (2)

Nor was the governor dissatisfied with the ship's master only, he had condemnation for most of the crew also. His testimony at the official investigation relating to the leadsman was:

... it seemed to me, from my knowledge (and I have sailed a good deal in my time) that he had a very imperfect knowledge of using the lead at all. (3)

And so the Forerunner arrived in Madeira with a very disgruntled group of passengers.

1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5 and November 23, p. 10—testimony of Governor Kennedy, Captain Gregory and Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N.

2 The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.

3 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5. This criticism was confirmed by both Captain Gregory (The Times, loc. cit.) and Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N., (The Times, November 23, 1854, p. 10.)
They left Funchal, Madeira, on October 25 at four o'clock in fine clear weather. It was a beautiful evening. Governor Kennedy sat on the deck reading a newspaper—absorbing reading because his old regiment, the 68th Light Infantry, was going into action in the Crimea. Yet despite his absorption he frowned now and then as he noticed the course "inconveniently and improperly close to the beach". He was not alone in this concern. Before sea-captain Gregory went below to his cabin he went forward to remonstrate with the master against this hugging of a rock-studded shore. Captain Johnstone replied that these rocks were not dangerous. "We might rub our yard-arms against those rocks," he said. As they rounded St. Lorenzo, the easternmost point of the island of Madeira, and much too close in toward shore, Kennedy put down his newspaper and walked rapidly to the forward part of the poop deck to demand of the master why he did not pull away from shore and straighten out for England. Captain Johnstone made vague answer. As the governor stood at the compass calculating what course they really should be on, the ship

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1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5—Kennedy's testimony.

ran at full speed upon a sunken rock plainly laid down on the chart and only 200 yards from the bold precipitous cliffs of the shore . . . . (1)

The vessel seemed to me to go with a grating sound, and to tear exactly like a piece of brown paper. The captain at the moment seemed to me perfectly bewildered—in fact he did not seem to know what he was doing or what was to be done. . . . By this time there was a sudden change from light to darkness—the day was closing. A bluelight was then lit, which, of course, had the effect of making the darkness more intense. (2)

With a muttered order to see to the lifeboats, the master hurried below to rescue his papers, his chronometers and his money box. Kennedy's bitter words describe the scene that took place during this abdication of command:

There occurred in this rapid and trying scene the usual contrast of self-possession and firmness of the few and the selfish pusillanimity of the many . . . . . a panic-stricken crowd of engineers, stokers and greasy-jackets rushed at the boats, which were secured like fixtures. (4)

As he saw the port boat "lowered without order or discipline" and instantly swamped, Kennedy now took command. He

1 Kennedy to the Editor, The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.


3 The Times, London, November 21, p. 5—testimony of Governor Kennedy and of Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N. The latter said: "I saw nothing of the master after he gave orders to look to the boats until we picked him up. He said he had been below getting his money." Kennedy's testimony was to the same effect.

4 The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.
controlled the excited crew while he saw to the lowering of one starboard lifeboat and sent Lieutenant Bedingfield to lower the only other one—an iron boat on the starboard quarter. Now ship's officers and crew broke control, in their panic swarming down into these boats with their bags—"a more selfish, pusillanimous, and incapable herd I have never had the misfortune to meet with", said the governor.

Enraged, Captain Kennedy seized up a grain-staff. He shouted to those still swarming to the rail that he would knock their brains out if they stirred. No passenger had yet been able to get near to a life-boat; there was one lady and her child on board. Army Lieutenant Child promised Kennedy to go below for Mrs. English and her small girl. Now the governor turned his attention to the boats again. Looking sternly down he ordered the crew out. Some seamen responded at once to this one steadfast and authoritative voice. They came back on deck and took over the duties he assigned to them. Then he saw the second mate and the chief engineer huddled down there with their bags. He ordered them to come back aboard.

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1 Kennedy to the Editor, The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.

Engineer James Stewart was later to justify his refusal to obey Governor Kennedy's order with this testimony: "I thought it was my duty to save my own life." The second mate came out of the life-boat. Calling to him and to Bedingfield to hold the life-boats at the vessel's side, Kennedy raced below for Captain Gregory, who was not entirely well. He put his own life-belt—a special gift from friends on his departure from England—on Gregory and hurried him toward deck. And he had the cool commonsense to pick up another life-belt for himself at the first opportunity. As they raced along the passage-way near the captain's cabin they were forced to hurdle the money-box and the men struggling with it. To their surprise they saw that the second mate had left the deck to come down to help with this task.

On deck again the governor again took charge. Looking down into a life-boat he saw the chief mate safely en­

sconced. He said, "Moore, I am ashamed of you, you ought to be the last to leave the boat." And to his credit Mr. Moore did come back on deck, but he seemed incapable of assuming command. At this time the unfortunate master

1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5--testimony of Chief Engineer James Stewart.


reappeared on deck. He too appeared bewildered and lacking in steadiness necessary to cope with this situation. Governor Kennedy was the one man on deck with mental force, physical vigour, and habit of authority adequate to this crisis. Command remained in his imperious hands. Turning to Gregory he said, "Do you take charge of this boat, for the ruffians will all go away and not come back afterwards." Grain-staff in hand and warning the crew that he would make an example of that one who disobeyed his orders, Kennedy marshalled the passengers towards the two life-boats. In his boat Captain Gregory was throwing overboard the seamen's bags to make room for passengers among sullen firemen who grumbled at the loss of their kit. To one such Gregory replied, "You are an infernal vagabond to think of saving your clothes when there is human life to be saved. If you don't be quiet I'll pitch you in after them." Since the ill-fated Forerunner had struck, all this rapid and trying scene had been encompassed in less than ten minutes.

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1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5—testimony of Lieutenant Bedingfield, R.N.
2 The Times, London, November 23, 1854, p. 10—testimony of Captain T. Gregory—testimony of John Evans, R.E., clerk of the works at Sierra Leone.
And now Lieutenant Child struggled on deck with Mrs. English and her little girl. Down to Gregory they swung the child. The hysterical mother clung tenaciously to the rail. Gregory and Bedingfield were becoming apprehensive that the ship would go down. The former urged Kennedy to get into his life-boat. The governor replied that there were more in that boat than she could safely carry and that Gregory should proceed at once to a nearby Portuguese fishing boat, discharge his passengers and come back. Seamen in Lieutenant Bedingfield's life-boat now cried out to be allowed to push off also. Furiously berating them as cowards, Kennedy ordered them to remain alongside until Mrs. English could be pried loose from the rail and lowered down to them.

At that moment, with the governor's forceful figure dominating all the scene in a weird glow of blue light, the vessel lifted up in a rapid way and went down forward with all the persons in her. Kennedy's awful experience at that moment imbued his description with vivid power:

1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5—Kennedy's testimony.

a heavy roller struck the ship: She slid forward about half her length, and went down headforemost in 120 feet of water, her propeller standing perpendicular to the water as she descended with the rapidity of a stone dropped from a height ... Eighteen or nineteen souls were carried down in this frightful vortex, the quenched fires and the steam roaring like some huge monster struggling for life . . . . I was carried down to a considerable depth with the sinking ship, came to the surface, and, being a good swimmer, escaped the despairing clutches of those who sank around me, and was taken into one of the boats (at one time out of sight and hail) after being half-an-hour in the water, when the night had become pitch dark.

Had there been sufficient boats and properly found, all might have been saved, but with the wretched and insufficient means at hand, all those saved have to thank a merciful God alone for an almost miraculous escape from death. (1)

Of the eighteen persons carried down with the ship only four were saved, the last two to be picked up being the master of the ship and Governor Kennedy. Lieutenant Bedingfield testified that only ten minutes elapsed between the sinking of the boat and his picking up Governor Kennedy. Most people will be sympathetic with the gallant governor's conviction that he swam in that menacing blackness for half an hour.

Kennedy's long letter to The Times gave a vivid picture of the wreck of the Forerunner. It also disclosed the man who wrote it. In the first place we see again

1 Kennedy to the Editor, The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.
that he was not hesitant to show his own action in the
light it deserved. Note this characteristic section of the
letter:

As for my personal share in this appalling
disaster, I did all I was capable of doing, by
word and act, to restore order and confidence
and to save all, by recalling officers and crew
to a sense of duty. I declined to leave the
ship while any remained. I was carried down to
a considerable depth with the sinking ship ... .(1)

We have seen, of course, that every word of this modest but
not any statement was true. In the second place, we see
him a masterful person able at need to drive people to their
duty. We see him, however, cool and systematic in the midst
of panic. In the third place, we see him a man of strong
opinions, determined that the action they required should be
taken. Not only his letter, but his firm and decisive
testimony were carefully calculated to justify and to move
a change in policy relating to Atlantic steamship service.
He wanted closer supervision of ocean steamships as to fit-
ness for their work, as to life-saving equipment, and as
to choice of route that would place safety before rapid time-
tables. He was determined to bring home to the minds of all
seamen their duty to place the welfare of passengers first.
His scathing condemnation of officers and crew must have cut
deeply into the minds of all those who survived. Look again

1 See above, p. 236.
at some of the cutting words his letter hurled at them:

... a panic-stricken crowd of engineers, stokers and greasy-jackets rushed at the boats ... a more selfish, pusillanimous, and incapable herd I have never had the misfortune to meet with. (1)

No matter how clear it is that harsh words are deserved, the people to whom they are directed resent them bitterly. Being called a coward had rankled in the mind of James Evans, one of the Forerunner's crew. Publication of Kennedy's letter moved him to secure aid in writing a reply which was published just before the official investigation. It runs in part as follows:

Sir -- I am one of the 'selfish, pusillanimous, incapable herd' described by Mr. Kennedy, ex-Governor of Sierra Leone. ... I am bold to assert ... that but for the ill-timed, arrogant, and meddling interference of Mr. Kennedy, all lives would have been saved.

Lieutenant Bedingfield, of the Pluto, wished the life-boat to heave off, and let the cutter (in which I was) come along-side for the passengers, when Mr. Kennedy said he would knock their brains out if they did with a grain-staff which he held in his hand; and the vessel went down with 14 who might have been saved.

... His coolness, self-command, and determination 'not to leave the ship', the weather (as he says) being fine and clear,

1 Kennedy to the Editor, The Times, London, November 15, 1854, p. 10.
may be attributable to the fact of his having on a life-belt preserver, and, I believe, another in his hand. Certain I am he had one on when I and Humphrey Brumner hoisted him into the boat, and this may account for his calling himself a stout swimmer.

I beg to call your attention to Captain Johnstone's written statement, 'I am happy to state the crew all behaved themselves with coolness under the circumstances and were and have been obedient to command at all times.'

A public inquiry will settle where the original fault lay (if any), but since Mr. Kennedy has chosen to calumniate a whole crew because he thinks they are too poor or too helpless to defend themselves, I promise him that if ever I have him again under similar circumstances, he shall not escape a much severer ducking before he is saved by

Your obedient humble servant,

John Evans, Seaman.

10 Wood Street, Nov. 17.

It will be evident at once that the vital second paragraph of James Evans' letter was at distinct variance with the actual facts as they were disclosed at the official inquiry through witnesses more reliable than a disgruntled seaman who had disgraced himself by being one of the first to rush to the life-boats. Kennedy's immediate reply pointed out that the imminent official investigation would disclose the truth. He continued:

I will not attempt to defend myself from the grave charge brought against me by James Evans. I plead guilty to using the 'grain staff' as the first and only weapon within my reach, to deter a herd of panic-stricken, greasy-jackets from following the example of James Evans, and taking possession of the boats, to the exclusion of comparative-

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1 The Times, London, November 20, 1854, p. 5.
ly helpless and sick passengers

Had James Evans and those he writes for shown as much 'pluck' on board the Forerunner as he does in your paper of today, there would have been fewer heartaches and vacant places at English firesides, and none would have thought the worse of James Evans.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,
A. E. Kennedy.
Junior United Service Club, Nov. 20. (1)

At the official investigation James Evans under oath gave evidence closer to the truth, but he stoutly maintained his claim that Kennedy was to blame for loss of life:

Lieutenant Bedingfield wanted the lifeboat to shove off, which Governor Kennedy would not allow . . . if we had been allowed to go away, then more people would have been saved . . . . The woman was holding on to the rail. I consider if we had gone off we might have returned for more passengers, but Governor Kennedy ordered us out of the boats and called us cowards. (2)

When Admiral Beechey, the chief commissioner, pointed out to Evans that Kennedy was justly angry to see boats filled with crew when passengers were on deck, Evans replied, "I consider our lives as sweet as the passengers'. It is every one for himself."

In consequence of the public accusations made against Kennedy by Evans, the Naval Commissioners of the Board of

1 The Times, London, November 21, 1854, p. 5.

Trade were careful to examine that phase of the story. The questioning of sea-captain Thomas Gregory went as follows:

Admiral Beechey — "What was the effect of Governor Kennedy's interference?"

Witness — "If Governor Kennedy had not interfered I think we all should have been lost."

Mr. Yardley — "Why?"

Witness — "Because he did his work so systematically and energetically and there was no one else to give orders." (1)

The Naval Commissioners reported very succinctly that the *Forerunner* was lost by being "negligently run upon a well-known rock". The master had quitted his post to go below to save chronometers and money. His certificate was cancelled. Of Arthur Kennedy, Admiral Beechey said that he was "a person, who according to the testimony of the other witnesses, was behaving most meritoriously, and who took a part very different from the crew and firemen of the ship, who were providing for their own safety, while he was providing for the safety of those who were around him."  


3 The Times, London, November 23, 1854, p. 10. This same issue of The Times carried the story of the gallant action of the 68th Light Infantry in the Battle of Inkerman. Many of Kennedy's old comrades were killed or severely wounded in this heavy engagement of the regiment.
In this stirring episode of the wreck of the *Forerunner*, Captain Kennedy had shown himself in his forty-fifth year at his prime of physical and mental vigour—a leader of determined will, able in face of crisis and the failure of weaker men to dominate and to triumph. Those heart-warming words "behaving most meritoriously" were a fitting ending to his governorship of Sierra Leone.
Arthur Edward Kennedy's appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in the Colony of Western Australia had been determined even before he arrived home from Sierra Leone. This new appointment, announced on November 6, 1854, was clear indication that his previous work had been satisfactory to Assistant Under-Secretary Elliot, who had special responsibility for the good government of both colonies. Elliot very naturally would be glad to keep a good man and to provide him with promotion within his own departments. Thus Kennedy's transfer from the pestilent shores of West Africa to the salubrious coast of Swan River Colony comprised both a step upward for him and the placing of a safe man in control of the destiny of that struggling young colony.

On the last day of April 1855, the Kennedys sailed from Gravesend aboard a fine new clipper ship, the Avalanche, Al, 783 tons, "with superior accommodation for passengers". This superior accommodation consisted of a completely bare cabin. It was the passenger's responsibility and privilege to furnish

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1 The annual register, or a view of the history and politics of the year 1854, London, F. and J. Rivington, 1855, p. 386.
Sir George Grey was Secretary of State for Colonies, Newcastle having retained the seals for the War Office when the Secretarship was divided on June 12, 1854.

2 The Times, London, May 1, 1855, p. 12.
Ship News: "By submarine and British Telegraph, from Lloyd's."

Advertisement: James Statt was commander.
it according to his own ability and desire. The Avalanche passed Deal on May 1 and settled down to her long two-and-a-half months' passage through the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Eighty-one days later, with ensign flying at the main to indicate the presence on board of the new governor, the Avalanche hove in sight of Fremantle. The next day, Saturday, July 21, 1855, His Excellency landed under a salute of seventeen guns. To a cordial address of welcome he replied with his customary skill and graciousness, earnestly reciprocating that hope for unanimity "without which their extended efforts would be as ropes of sand".

1 The Times, London, November 15, 1862, p. 10. The Melbourne correspondent compared ships hailing from London (Gravesend) unfavourably with those working from Liverpool which had now adopted the American policy of supplying furniture in cabins.

2 The Times, London, May 2, 1855, p. 12. It is curious to note that Lord John Russell took up the seals of the Colonial Office on May 1 on his return from Vienna, where, due to the Russian refusal of proffered terms, his efforts to conclude the Crimean War had failed. (The Times, London, May 1, 1855, p. 9). He laid down those seals on July 21, the day Kennedy landed in Fremantle. (The Dominions and Colonial Office list for 1940, p. ix). Thus his second secretariats for the Colonies lasted exactly for the period of Kennedy's passage down to Australia.


4 Loc. cit.
On Sunday he proceeded fourteen miles up the estuary of the Swan to Perth, the seat of his new government. A contemporary account described the first view of Perth as singularly pleasing, the river here forming a pretty sheet of water a mile wide, with wooded shores opposite and a forest plain stretching away to distant hills in the east. Rich gardens clothed the shores—gardens of lemon, orange, almond, fig and mulberry, while trellised vines and olive groves rose up the slopes. Despite the slow progress of the colony, Perth was now a regular town with good houses of brick and stone, fronted by comfortable verandahs and set among neat gardens. There were some substantial buildings: stores, hotels, the Bank of Western Australia, two schools, a club house, a hospital, barracks and a court-house. The most pretentious structure in this pretty little town was Government House, a stone building with sturdy

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2 Martin, R. M., The British colonies, vol. 4, Australia, London, John Tallis and Company, n.d., p. 729. From internal evidence it would appear that this volume was written in 1851. (The last date used in the volume is generally 1848, but on the last page 1850 is mentioned.)

3 Ibid., pp. 729-730 and p. 740.

4 J. S. Battye, Principal Librarian, Public Library, Perth, to the writer, October 8, 1947: ... There is not a description extant of that building but I have a drawing which was made of it and it certainly was the most pretentious building in the Colony at that time.
Doric columns and very pleasing lines.

With that systematic expedition which was one of his most important characteristics, immediately on assumption of control on Monday, July 23rd, Kennedy got away his routine despatches to the Colonial Office. It would be all of three months before they got there.

1 There is a coloured sketch in a pamphlet entitled an historic retrospect on the occasion of the 150th anniversary celebrations of the founding of Australia. Pages are not numbered. Data for this commemorative pamphlet was supplied by the Royal Australian Historical Society. Copy in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.

2 "Governors of Western Australia", Jose, A. W. and Carter, H. J., editors, The Australian Encyclopaedia, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, Limited, 1927, 2 volumes, vol. 1, p. 572. The same date is given in the article on Kennedy, p. 695. This authority in conjunction with the clear-cut story of the arrival of the Avalanche on July 20, and of Kennedy's arrival in Perth on July 22; (The Times, London, October 26, 1855, p. 6.) is sufficient proof of accuracy, despite the fact that the Colonial Office list for 1863, p. 161, says he took this office in January and that the Colonial Office list for 1883, p. 197, gives June as the time, and has in agreement with it the Australian Handbook for 1902, Greville, the Honourable Edward, editor, the Year-book of Australia, 1893, Sydney, Turner and Henderson, 1893, p. 312.

3 The Times, London, October 26, 1855, p. 6: "Windsor, October 25th. Despatches from the Governor of Western Australia . . . were received yesterday at the Colonial Office."

An analysis of ship news in The Times shows that this trip of the Avalanche was an average one. The usual time out to Australia in 1855 was two and one-half months. The return trip averaged two and a half to three months.
During the long journey out and during the preceding six months' leave in England the governor had undoubtedly been preparing himself for his new charge by careful study of the history and problems of the colony. Born of a reluctant spirit of dog-in-the manger, Western Australia had dragged out its twenty-five years in poverty and privation. The imperial government had no desire to establish a colony there until the presence of French ships along the south coast of Australia in 1825 created alarm in the minds of the colonial authorities in New South Wales and prompted action to shut out the French. Preliminary exploration by Captain James Stirling in Her Majesty's Ship *Success* determined that the basin of the Swan River had good soil. A syndicate of private cap-

1 Compare the exact knowledge of affairs he was to show on arrival in Vancouver Island, a knowledge based on inquiries at home. The *British Colonist*, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 5, 1864, p. 3; April 12, 1864, p. 3.

He had also added to his information by conversation with J. D. Pemberton who travelled with him. Urmsby, Margaret A., "Some Irish figures in colonial days", *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 14, nos. 1 and 2, January-April, 1950, p. 79.


italists urged that the area be opened to settlement. Therefore the British government in 1828 issued an order-in-council to provide for the establishment of a colony. But the grudging basic premise of home policy that no expense should fall on the imperial treasury boded ill for an infant settlement so isolated as this one would be. However, generous inducement was held out to those settlers who would go out at their own expense. They were promised grants of land in proportion to the capital invested by them in the improvement and working of their holdings. The rate was forty acres for each £3 invested and two hundred acres for each labourer taken out at the expense of the grantee.

The first investors set out under the leadership of Captain Stirling, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. They arrived in the hired transport, Parmelia, in June 1829. By August a port had been established at Fremantle at the mouth of the Swan Valley and a


3 Battye, J. S., Western Australia, a history from its discovery to the inauguration of the commonwealth, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 65.
capital at Perth, fourteen miles up the river in a good agricultural area. Unfortunately, large groups of settlers were leaving England for the colony without sending out anyone to make advance preparation for their reception. They arrived in mid-winter. The largest group thus mismanaged was headed by Thomas Peel, only survivor of the original syndicate that had pressed for the colony's establishment. His people, like many of the others, were so ill-prepared for hardship that thirty-seven of them died. Thus the first large scale attempts at settlement failed dismally.

Lack of efficient advance preparation on the ground was the first cause of failure here as it was to be later in South Australia. A greater drag on the colony's hope of early progress was inherent in the system of land grants. An undue amount of land was reserved for governor and officials, and all the early investors took such full advantage of the over-generous scheme of grants that all the accessible land was speedily alienated. A colonist who arrived toward the end of 1830 reported that all the land


2 The same practice resulted, as we have seen, in a handicap to the development of Upper Canada.
on or near the banks of the Swan and Canning rivers was taken up and that there were no roads in the colony. This unfortunate prodigality of land grants, far beyond the ability of the owners to make use of it, was to force a dispersion of later settlers that made road building prohibitively expensive, a circumstance that constituted a continuing hindrance to the colony's progress. Moreover, many of the early arrivals were unaccustomed to pioneering, unused to isolation, and even unsuited to agriculture. Within a year many of them were abandoning the struggle. Unfortunately for the colony they were able, under the terms of their grant, to retain possession of their land for years after their departure, thus locking up immense portions of the best and most accessible land. To make matters worse, their gloomy reports raised a barrier to further immigration. The first year of the colony's life found it thus encumbered with a heavy burden of mistakes that was to overtax its strength for many a long year.

The real settlers, however, hung on desperately, convinced that the favourable reports that had drawn them

1 Coghlan and Ewing, The progress of Australasia, p. 256.

2 Compare the difficulties placed in the way of proper development of Prince Edward Island by "absentee proprietors".
here were based in fact. Indeed this south-west corner of Australia was a lovely spot. Both coastal plain and low, round-topped hills of the Darling Range, twenty miles inland, were covered with a mighty eucalyptus forest containing excellent timber. While the soil appeared at first sight to be too sandy, the river valleys were found to be highly fertile. Beyond the hills an undulating plain stretched to the east, wooded but open, presenting few obstacles to the plough and offering excellent pasturage.

West Australians were convinced that their climate was "the best and healthiest in the world". It was a typically "Mediterranean" climate with hot, dry summers and mild, moist winters. These short winter rains were neither bleak nor excessive and bright sunny days predominated throughout most of the year. Everyone was charmed by the clear air and the tinted lights and shades of a semi-tropical climate.


3 Loc. cit.

Well did these early settlers need such advantages of climate and attractive physical features, for their economic path was to be a rugged one.

Exaggerated accounts of failure in Western Australia gave strong emphasis to a pamphlet which had appeared in the year of the colony's birth under the title, *A Letter from Sydney*. In it, and in succeeding publications, Gibbon Wakefield denounced half-hearted colonization based on grants of land, and boldly proclaimed the great worth of colonies if only they were systematically established on the firm basis of a stable labour supply. That boon was to be secured by the sale, rather than the free granting, of the lands in the colonies, the proceeds of such sale to support the immigration of labour. Now the price of land must be fixed sufficiently high to prevent the labourer from too readily saving from his wages a sum that would enable him to buy land of his own. For in that way he would not only rob his employer of needed assistance, but would cause a dispersion of settlement that would demand too rapid extension of roads and other facilities. This systematic colonization, organized and controlled from England, was by the magic of "sufficient price" to keep the labourer from obtaining land until prosperity resulting from concentrated
settlement would sustain a further expansion. This well-conceived scheme was very convincing—as are so many blanket schemes which fail to take into account the many local and human factors which must enter into reckoning. It received a speedy acceptance in England because the Industrial Revolution had reached a point in its development in the 1830's where there was a large surplus both of capital and of labour. Pressure by capitalists, the problems of providing work for a growing population, and the accession to the Colonial Office of a new Secretary of State who was profoundly influenced by the Wakefield theories, caused a radical change to be made in Australia. In a despatch to the Australian governors, Viscount Goderich in 1831 ordered that the free granting of lands should be replaced by their sale, not at a fixed price, it is true, but by auction, with an upset price of five shillings an acre.

It was too late in the day for Wakefield principles to be of use in Western Australia—too many factors complicated

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1 Reeves, W. P., State experiments in Australia and New Zealand, London, Grant Richards, 1902, p. 206.


3 Coghlan, Labour and industry in Australia, vol. 1, p. 239.
the problem. This unimaginative application of the wrong remedy had a seriously retarding effect on the colony. Because of the evident unsuitability of this remedy to their needs, it simply added further discouragement to a black situation and convinced the settlers that all their troubles were rooted in the new land policy. The truth was that these troubles were in a greater degree attributable to factors already in operation, namely, unprofitable locking up of readily accessible land in large estates resulting from original over-granting, want of labour caused by desertion to better settled eastern colonies, gloomy reports that had frightened away further recruits, dissipation of capital by importation of provisions that could not be produced in the colony owing to scarcity of labour, steadfast refusal of the home government to give any aid to the struggling colony, and failures in judgment and foresight on the part of Governor Sir James Stirling. A combination of these causes and of the new land regulations of 1831 were to result in an almost complete cessation

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, pp. 112-125, 142, passim.
2 Ibid., pp. 137, 146.
of immigration by 1836. When Governor Stirling's term of office came to an end in 1838 the colony was in deep depression.

Yet in 1839 Lord John Russell, likewise influenced by the Wakefield theory, ordered an increase of the upset price to twelve shillings an acre, even though private lands far closer to settlement than any available for Crown sale were being offered at half the new price. Nevertheless, an imperial act in 1842 introduced a uniform system for the disposal of public lands in all colonies, that forced another increase of the upset price to twenty shillings an acre in Western Australia. The persuasiveness of the Wakefield coterie had led Colonial Office authorities to believe that the magic of the formula

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 142.
2 Ibid., p. 146.
4 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 152.
would bring uniformly good results regardless of local circumstances. In actual operation the blanket application of this policy continued to handicap the development of Western Australia for many years to come.

The development of government had also been a source of unhappiness. At the inception of the colony, so authoritative a system of government had been decided on that it was necessary to pass an imperial act whereby the Legislative Council could be made appointive rather than elective. That body was therefore made up of the same five officials as the Executive Council, namely Governor, Commandant of Military Forces, Colonial Secretary, Surveyor-General, and Advocate General. It should be kept clearly in mind during the reading of this chapter that Western Australia did not even have representative government. It was an authoritative form of government which placed the main duty of government squarely on the shoulders of the governor.

1 Compare the equally bad effect of this policy on the settlement of the Colony of Vancouver Island established in 1849. Cf. Sage, W. N., Sir James Douglas, p. 159.


3 It was only at the beginning of Governor Hutt's administration in 1839 that four unofficial members were appointed to the Legislative Council. Since there was still a majority of officials and since all members were appointive, the system of government was still not representative government. The governor was still charged with the main responsibility of governing. (Loc. cit.)
The colonists were angry on all scores, angry because the unofficial members of the Legislative Council were to be nominated rather than elected, angry at the new land system involving sale rather than granting, angry at new taxation in their depressed condition, and deeply disappointed with the meagre grants-in-aid made by the home government and its steadfast refusal to make them any loans to tide them over their depression. The colony's first administration therefore closed in an atmosphere of unmitigated gloom.

John Hutt, who was an associate of the Wakefield group, became governor just when the upset price was increased to twelve shillings in 1839. While he did not put this increase into effect blindly, he set about to systematize the administration of the colony, with reasonably good judgment except in financial affairs, but with such a cool ignoring of the wishes of the colonists and even of his appointive Legislative Council that he became thoroughly unpopular.

During his governorship the large scale settlement of Australind was attempted. It was organized on Wakefield principles from England and established in a new area one hundred miles south of Perth. Yet the factors of planning from a distance, inadequate preparation on the ground, other

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1 Australian encyclopaedia, vol. 1, p. 637, in the article on Hutt.
quite normal failures of management, and unsuitability of many of the investor-settlers, caused it to fail as dismally as had the first large-scale attempt at settlement.

When in 1843 the entire revenue in the colony from land sales fell to £8 a year and local revenues fell quite as sharply, the Legislative Council tried to stop the implementation of the twenty shilling price on lands. They attributed the colony's depression to the policy of sale of lands, not realizing that the 'forties was a period of general depression in all the Australian colonies and in England too. Probably the cause of this condition was a fall in prices and the drying up of capital in England after the economic crisis of 1839, with a consequent drop in the price obtainable there for imports from Australia.

This depression of the mid-'forties saw governor and Legislative council therefore at odds. Hutt resolutely put the new upset price into effect and defended the viewpoint

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2 *Australian encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, p. 637, in the article on Hutt.


4 *Loc. cit.*. But see: Scott, E., "Transportation", *CHBE*, vol. 2, p. 434. Professor Scott shows that to a large extent the Western Australians were right in ascribing most of their troubles to the 20 shillings price of land.
of the Colonial Office. The Legislative Council in its turn made sharp cuts in his proposed expenditures for 1845 and 1846. This was vigorous action for a completely appointive council. Against the governor's advice, they decided to stem declining revenues by increasing licence fees and by placing further ad valorem duties on imports. Reluctantly he refrained from use of his power of veto; but disallowance of the protective duties was eventually to come from the imperial government, a natural repercussion of affairs at home but one that did not improve the temper of the colonists.

With rapidly worsening conditions, the year 1845 saw a total income of only £7200 and a deficit of £450. This apparently hopeless condition of affairs worried everyone so much that there was a strong tide of emigration—immigration had long ago come to a standstill. In 1846 Governor Hutt closed his administration, which had been upright, impartial and reasonably efficient, a thoroughly unpopular official.

2 Battye, Western Australia, pp. 169, 171, 172 and 181 (disallowance).
3 Ibid., p. 174.
4 Ibid., pp. 177, 175.
5 Ibid., pp. 148, 172 and 179.
The short regime of Lieutenant-Colonel A. Clarke was notable mainly for arrival of disallowance of the recently imposed protective tariffs, an event which caused disaffection toward the governor. Attempts to develop timber and mineral resources brought little success through lack of ships in the first case and lack of markets in the second.

The equally short administration of Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Irwin in 1847 and 1848 was a troubled period; the governor decidedly unpopular. A people made irritable by long years of struggle and depression threw all the blame on the unfortunate governor. Their discontent led to renewed criticism of their form of government, which, as a result of an increase in the number of officials, had become more authoritative. For, whereas there had formerly been five official and four nominated unofficial members in the Legislative Council, there were now seven officials and only three non-official members. Despairing of moving the imperial government to introduce the elective principle, the colonists demanded the appointment of several more unofficial members. In due course Earl Grey was to reply that there would be no alteration until the colony was

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, pp. 183-186.
prepared to relieve the British government from all payments by way of parliamentary grants. Nor during this administration did there seem to the colonists to be any improvement in their economic prospects. It is true that for some time the pastoral industry had been making its slow beginnings, but its value was not yet apparent. All that could be seen was that the colony was in an evident state of depression. Sandalwood, which formed about half of the colony's exports in 1848, and wool, which was next in value, were both selling at bottom prices. After twenty years of struggle the population was only 4,622.

In 1848, Governor Irwin, unpopular and subject to continued misrepresentation, gave way to Captain Charles Fitzgerald, R.N., whose arrival was hailed with delight.

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 189. See above p. 157 for similar trouble over the acceptance of a "civil list" in Lower Canada. The same problem was to trouble affairs in Vancouver Island from 1863 to 1866.


3 Battye, op. cit., p. 192.

4 Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 1, p. 556.


6 Battye, op. cit., p. 190.
The explorations of A. C. Gregory and his brothers at this time raised high hopes because of their discovery of coal on the Irwin River and lead in the Champion Bay district. The starting of the Geraldine Lead Mine in the latter district had the important result of opening up a good pastoral area in the surrounding region. But with failure to finance coal exploitation on the Irwin and concurrent failure to finance jarrah and karri lumbering, hope flickered out. Deep depression held sway because wool which was now the country's mainstay, was selling at prices that brought little return to the producer. A disgruntled public gnawed on its old bone of contention, the land system, but Earl Grey turned as deaf an ear as his predecessors had done to their demands for a reduction in the price of land. Nursing their grievances against a retarding land system, a backward form of government, and a Colonial Office that was deaf to all appeals for financial help and yet did not hesitate to deny their protective tariffs, the people were convinced that the colony was on the verge of complete

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, pp. 220-221.
disaster. As Governor Fitzgerald put it, they were ready to grasp at the first hope of rescue that offered, like drowning men.

In their desperation the people of Western Australia turned to a desperate remedy. This colony had been founded on the understanding that it would be free from the taint of convict labour. In 1831, when immigration had first begun to falter and faint hearts had suggested asking for the establishment of a convict settlement here, the settlers in general had sternly repulsed this thought. Now in the 'forties acuteness of depression brought forward this retrograde suggestion with renewed force. Both Governors Hutt and Irwin advised against this desperate measure, pointing out the determination of the eastern colonies to rid

1 Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the acts relating to transportation and penal servitude, two volumes bound together in Volume 21 of the British Parliamentary Papers, 1863, London, George E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1863, vol. 1, paragraph 73, pp. 59-60. The Commissioners state that in 1850 there was serious apprehension that the colony would have to be abandoned.


3 Ibid., vol. 1. p. 313.

4 Battye, Western Australia, p. 197.
themselves of the transportation system. But the movement began to gain widespread support by 1847.

In England a parallel hardness of times, with consequent increase both in number of paupers and of convictions to prison, caused the government to try to force all Australian colonies to accept convicts and other surplus labour. However, the eastern colonies had so grown in stature by becoming a chief source of supply of wool for British industry, that they were rapidly approaching the time when they could force the discontinuance of transportation. Earl Grey therefore turned hopefully to Western Australia. In 1848 he instructed Governor Fitzgerald to make inquiries as to whether the colony would receive men serving time in Pentonville Prison for trivial offences, to be freed on their arrival. The governor asked at once for one hundred such men. The desperate people of the colony were willing to go much further. They were not truly as much interested in free labour as in imperial expenditures

3 Ibid., p. 119.
4 Battye, Western Australia, p. 202-203.
that would accompany a convict establishment. In 1849 a public meeting in Perth asked for the setting up of a penal settlement with the necessary government establishment and expenditures, the whole cost to be borne by the home government. Fitzgerald duly made this momentous request. An imperial order-in-council speedily named Western Australia a place to which convicts could be sent from the United Kingdom. Earl Grey stated also that the home government intended to send out free persons equal in number to convicts. The convicts were to be employed in public works and made available to the colonists as labourers when good behaviour had earned them tickets-of-leave. Thus twenty years after its founding Western Australia had become a convict settlement at the very time when transportation to other colonies was coming to an end.

On June 1, 1850, the first small group of convicts arrived at Fremantle, men carefully chosen for their good conduct in prison. Under the able management of Captain W. Y. W. Henderson, they were at once set to work building a gaol. Large expenditures for supplies brought joy to

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, pp. 204-205.

2 "Western Australia", *Australian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, p. 656.

3 Battye, op. cit., pp. 207-209. Cf. Price, A. G., CHRE., vol. 7, part 1, p. 229: "Largely through the ability and tact of the strong and just Comptroller-General E. Y. W. Henderson, Western Australia escaped the many horrors which characterized the semi-slavery of the older colonies . . . ."
the hearts of the settlers. The colony took hope and thankfully asked Earl Grey for more convicts—for a really large-scale penal settlement. The home government responded to this plea with such alacrity that by the end of 1853 some 3500 convicts had been sent out. Discontent soon arose, however, because many of these convicts were almost at once entitled to tickets-of-leave, which reduced the numbers in the government establishments and thereby reduced imperial expenditure in the colony. Further concern was caused in 1853 by news that the home government was reconsidering the whole problem on account of the large expenditures involved. The rumoured probability of the stopping of transportation to this colony acted as an immediate brake on investment and caused great anger among the settlers.

Nor was the other side of the picture a happy one. During the first three years after the introduction of transportation, the home government also sent out a steady stream of ships bearing assisted free immigrants. By 1853 the total amounted to close on 2000 assisted free immigrants.

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2 Battye, Western Australia, pp. 207-214.
3 Ibid., p. 212.
immigrants. Now each succeeding shipload added to the embarrassment of the administration because work could not readily be found for these people. Since opportunity for their employment fluctuated with the seasons, a steadily increasing number had to be maintained at government expense in the immigration depots until work became available. Eventually it became necessary to establish a dole of one shilling a day to supplement the casual earnings of many able-bodied persons. At last the home government was made to understand how difficult it was for these assisted free immigrants with families to support to compete for employment with ticket-of-leave men who had no such obligations. At the end of 1853 assisted free immigration was therefore halted.

Yet another factor was operating to cause dejection. Gold had been discovered in 1851 in the eastern colonies and a tide of emigration from Western Australia to the gold fields had begun. Only the provision, in force because this was a convict settlement, that no one could leave without a

1 Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 2, pp. 640-643, passim. The figure did not include several hundred pensioners and several hundred free immigrants who came at their own expense.

2 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 761.

3 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 643.
permit from the Colonial Secretary, kept this desertion in check.

In these circumstances bickering again broke out. The Australian Government Act of 1850 had given the right to all colonies except this one to make their own constitutions, thus paving their road to responsible government. To Western Australia this imperial act had offered a partially elective Legislative Council—providing that the colony agreed to defray all its expenses. Although extremely desirous of gaining the elective principle, the colonists were not willing to pay the price. It was quite evident that they wanted the British government to supply the money for their representatives to spend without restraint. In this spirit the appointed Legislative Council in 1851 decided that the salaries of all officials should be raised. Surprisingly Earl Grey approved this plan. But his despatch of approval carried a horrible sting in its tail. In view of the evidence of prosperous feeling contained in


2 Fitzpatrick, The British Empire in Australia, pp. 143-144.


4 Battye, op. cit., p. 216.
their request, wrote the Secretary of State, and in consider-
ation of the large imperial expenditures on the colony on the
convict establishment, the amount of direct grants-in-aid
would be radically reduced after the financial year ending
March 31, 1853. In consternation the unfortunate council
begged for postponement of this stunning blow. Their cries
brought only one year of partial grace. In 1853 the sum of
£1,973 would be withheld from grants-in-aid. In and after
1854 the sum of £5,673 would be cut off. The council's
chagrin at this hard stroke, due to come so soon, could only
take the feeble form of angry demands for an increase in the
number of nominated non-official members—a thrust all too
deftly parried by the Colonial Office.

It was not long before there was another clash with the
Colonial Office over finances. By the end of 1853 some

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 225.

2 Ibid., p. 227.

Martin, The British colonies, vol. 4, p. 741, shows that
the grants-in-aid for 1848 were £7128. A reduction of
£5,673 was therefore a hard blow to this colony.

3 Battye, op. cit., p. 228.

The Colonial Office simply asked for further information.
Lord John Russell to Kennedy, May 13, 1855.

It is to be noted that Kennedy was to inherit the
odium of this evasion which amounted to a refusal.
four thousand convicts had been sent to Western Australia. A large number of them had received freedom contingent on continued good behaviour. On the whole their behaviour had up to this time been reasonably satisfactory, although greedy demands for more and more convicts were resulting in a slackening of care in the choice of prisoners to be sent here. However, there were quite frequent, though isolated, crimes, more often trifling than serious and not beyond the power of the police to control. At the inception of transportation the imperial government had agreed to pay two-thirds of the cost of policing. But the cost had been climbing steadily. Now, in 1854, the estimated cost of policing for 1855 was placed at £10,000. The Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary in the Aberdeen Ministry, rejected the amount as extravagant and notified Fitzgerald that the home government refused to contribute more than £6000 a year towards cost of police. The Legislative

1 Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 1, p. 559. In these first few years the home government was adhering fairly closely to its plan to send about 500 convicts each year.

2 Loc. cit.


4 Battye, Western Australia, p. 234.

5 Ibid., p. 234.
Council's anger at what it claimed was a breach of contract was emphasized by public clamour. Dissatisfaction with the whole system of government continued also to vent itself in open disapproval of almost all the actions of the Legislative Council and in bitter criticism and frequent misrepresentation of Governor Fitzgerald's administration, the usual hard lot of a governor in this colony.

Public criticism of the administration was probably justified where land policy was concerned. Land settlement had been stagnant for so many years that it was thought that the introduction of a leasing system might help. A slow increase of the pastoral industry had also caused attention to be turned to the squattting problem. The committee appointed in 1849 to make recommendations on land policy was unwisely made up entirely of land-owners, no representatives of the pastoralists being included. In these circumstances its brief recommendations appeared to be formulated with a main intention of keeping squatters away from good water supply. In effect this committee made a negative rather than a positive approach to the problem of encouraging small farms. In spite of many meetings of protest, the

1 Battye, Western Australia, pp. 217 and 228.

2 Ibid., p. 194.
Legislative Council endorsed these recommendations which were put into effect by an order-in-council forwarded by Earl Grey in 1850. By this order pastoral leases on lands near towns, rivers or the coast could be secured for only one year with no guaranteed right of renewal. In areas more distant from settlement, leases might be secured for eight years, but all or any part of such leases could be put up for sale at the end of any year. Tillage leases could be secured only at a rental of two shillings an acre, which was prohibitive considering that good lands could be purchased from private owners at five shillings. In a natural widespread dissatisfaction with this whole leasing system, land policy, as always, continued to be the sorest spot in the colony's economy.

Yet the settlers themselves were not free from blame. Despite greater abundance of cheap labour made available by the imperial government from 1850 to 1853, there was no commensurate development in agriculture in the mid-'fifties. This condition was caused to some extent by the greater ease of sheep raising but probably more by a fear that additional agricultural production would result in a sharp reduction

1 Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 1, p. 400.

2 Statistical register of the colony of Western Australia for 1897 and previous years, Perth, Richard Pether, Government Printer, 1899, Part 12, Miscellaneous, p. 5 (a large tabular sheet). (Subsequent references will be in the form Statistical Register of W. A.)
in prices obtainable for produce. People hoped to obtain a high return from imperial expenditures without too much work.

This unhealthy condition was plainly disclosed by trade figures for the middle 'fifties. In the absence of effort in the colony it was necessary to import produce, and the value of imports was at least three times that of exports in these years. Home industry might certainly have met the increased demand for produce that caused the high rate of imports. However, it is true that there had been a falling off in the price obtained for exports, especially wool which now formed more than half the exports. Sandalwood was a glut on the Singapore market and its export had dwindled away to nothing. Nor had it yet been possible to develop an export of the colony's important timber resources. In these circumstances the number of ships inward and outward dwindled steadily to a low point in 1855.

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1 Statistical register of W. A., part 12, p. 5.

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2 Loc. cit.

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The period that had opened in such high hope in 1850 with the beginning of transportation had thus ended in failure again when Governor Fitzgerald gave way to Captain Kennedy in July 1855. The colony was in bad condition and discontent was rife. As we have seen, there was dissatisfaction because a large proportion of convicts received tickets-of-leave soon after their arrival and expenditure on convict establishment was not as high as had been hoped. There was fear that transportation might be discontinued. Large immigration of assisted free workers had proved an embarrassment necessitating the institution of a dole. And yet the desertion by everyone who could leave this colony for the gold-fields of eastern Australia was another cause of dejection. As always, there was a well-justified anger at a very poor land policy, which undoubtedly had a hampering effect on the colony. In spite of a good market for agricultural produce, established by convict establishments and increased immigration, there had been no commensurate increase of production; and undesirably high rate of importation had had to supply the need. The exports formed only one-third of the value of imports and shipping had dropped to a low point. Surly antagonism directed against an authoritative system of government was accompanied by a frustrated unwillingness to pay the cost of a freer one. An unfortunate attempt to raise official salaries at the cost of the mother country recoiled on the
colony in a radical reduction of imperial grants-in-aid. That reduction had just gone into force during the current fiscal year. Public anger was still at the boiling point over this reverse and over the very recent confirmation by the Colonial Office of its determination not to contribute more than £6000 a year toward the cost of policing. The sum of public grievance, both real and imaginary, was large; and yet the condition of the colony was worse than its people realized.

The treasury was empty. Fitzgerald's estimate that on December 31, 1854, there would be a surplus of £691 had proved false. Insofar as colonial revenues and expenditures were concerned, the financial year had ended with a real deficit. Now, as he handed over to Kennedy, there was no money to pay July salaries. Moreover, Fitzgerald, in common with all his predecessors, had no clear idea or record of how much the public debt of the colony was. For

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1 Sir George Grey to Fitzgerald, January 26, 1855, referred to in Battye, Western Australia, p. 234. This despatch would arrive in the colony at the end of April 1855.

2 Battye, op cit., p. 228. Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 2, p. 761. Coghlan does not go into the detail on this point that Dr. Battye does, but his brief "... when Kennedy became Governor he found Western Australia in a far from thriving condition" is worthy of record here.

3 Statistical register of W. A., part 12, p. 5. Until Kennedy's arrival the records were spotted with blanks; neither complete debt figures nor record of lands held on lease were available. Kennedy, of course, would not tolerate such nonsense. From his time onward statistical records are in proper order.
all his prior study, the incoming governor must have known only the general unsatisfactory trend of affairs and could have had no realization that it had reached a point of black and angry crisis.

Arthur Edward Kennedy was not the man to shirk the vigorous measures required by a bad situation. After making temporary provision for payment of July salaries, he set the whole administration to face actualities by ferreting out a clear accounting of the colony's debt. His investigations disclosed its staggering total to be £14,205. Ignoring the apparent surliness of public temper, he at once applied the pruning knife to public expenditures with such force as to mark him at once as a fit object for public disfavour.

Kennedy's experience in administering poor relief in Ireland readily supplied his remedy in one phase of this

1 The Times, London, December 12, 1855, p. 5. In a letter to the editor, H. M. Ommoney, just back from Western Australia, described conditions at the outset of Kennedy's regime in midsummer of 1855. He listed as causes of public anger: fear that transportation would be discontinued; concentration of convict labour on gaols, convict depots and other public works useful to imperial authorities with a failure to use them sufficiently on the building of roads, bridges, etc., and the absurdly high figure of 20 shillings an acre for land. Especially loud was public grievance over refusal of the home government to bear more than £6000 of police costs.

2 Battye, Western Australia, p. 228, quoting Kennedy to Lord John Russell, August 17, 1855.
campaign of curtailing expenditures. As we have seen above, the government had been giving a dole of one shilling a day to many able-bodied persons. The new governor at once required work in return for the dole and opened useful public works for employment of those who were destitute. The result of this action was quite in accord with his Irish experience. There was a speedy reduction in the number of claimants for the dole.

Implacably Kennedy next turned to the problem of a gradual liquidation of the debt he had so roughly uncovered. This whole situation was strong and bitter medicine for a Legislative Council that had so recently embarked on a policy of adding to the number of public servants and increasing their salaries, and that had been subjected to such crushing reverses at the hands of the Colonial Office. This new governor must have appeared to Legislative Council and embittered colonists alike as an agent chosen by a parsimonious home government to whip them with a whip of scorpions. And whip them he did. Reluctant though this Legislative Council was to accede to his requests, a majority of its members were appointed officials under his direct control. Accordingly he forced the council to

1 See above, p. 350.
authorize new taxation. One increase of revenue was secured through an increase in the cost of liquor licences. Other sources of income were obtained by establishing licences for boatmen, pawnbrokers, hawkers and pedlars. The principal improvement in income under the new laws, however, was to be secured by an increase in duties on imports, estimated to yield £5700 a year. The populace of course recognized that here was a very definite tax—a tax that was a severe blow to a people who supplied such a large proportion of their needs by an unhealthily high rate of import. Now indeed was Governor Kennedy at the very outset of his regime marked for an unpopularity that was to follow him throughout his career in Western Australia. Yet every relentless, skilful stroke of the scalpel was urgently demanded by a tumourous

1 Contrast Kennedy's success in working his will with Governor Hutt's failure to control his appointive council. See above p. 342.

2 James, J. C. H., Historical table of the statutes and an alphabetical index of their contents, together with proclamations, orders-in-council, etc., and a list of the imperial statutes adopted in the colony and unrepealed, Perth, by authority, 1896, p. 20: 19 Victoria No. 15, 1856.

3 Ibid., p. 23: 24 Victoria No. 17, 1860.


5 Battye, Western Australia, p. 228.
financial condition which had been allowed to become malignant by faint-hearted delay. It was high time for an uncompromising surgeon to take over.

While he was in the process of raising more revenue by increasing the cost of liquor licences, Governor Kennedy turned his attention to correction of abuses that had grown up in connection with the sale of liquor. Within a short time of his arrival he expressed himself as astounded at the prevalence of drunkenness and at the laxity of liquor laws in this colony. Early in 1856 he caused a law to be passed to enable a Total Abstinence Society to be formed and to raise money for its work. By the summer of 1856 Kennedy had prepared a new consolidating and amending bill with stringent provisions for control of the sale of liquor. Among these provisions was one which forbade the holding of licences by conditionally pardoned convicts. These reforms were pushed rapidly through the Legislative Council into law. In this as in all other measures passed during his regime, Kennedy worked his will with little effective opposition, for the system of government placed all real

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1 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 229.


3 James, *op. cit.*, p. 20: 20 Victoria No. 1, an act consolidating and amending the laws relating to public houses, 1856.

power in the hands of the governor. It was his duty to govern and he accepted that responsibility.

All the hot and churlish anger, which had been so ready to burst forth at the time of Kennedy's arrival, now found its vent. Many of the holders of liquor licences were conditionally pardoned men. A loud cry went up that men entitled to freedom were being placed under a disability and that the governor had interfered with vested rights.

An examination of Kennedy's reasons for the provisions of this Act relating to public houses, 1856, will bring us close to an understanding of Kennedy's mainsprings of decision and action. He was quick to form strong opinions and tenacious in his support of them because he always based his opinions on information sought out with vigorous industry. When he had made his decision on such careful bases, he took the course that duty seemed to demand regardless of its effects on his personal popularity. The source of information we shall use to study Kennedy's position and action in this matter is his evidence given six years later before the Commission on Transportation and Penal Servitude. In that evidence he made clear his views relating to conditional-pardon men and the liquor problem. That commission contained

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 229.

as its most prominent members Earl Grey and Sir J. Pakington, former Secretaries of State for Colonies, and Sir A. J. E. Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice. It is a highly significant fact (to which we shall return again) that the commissioners adopted Kennedy's views concerning conditional pardons and specifically stated that it was his view on which they based their recommendation.

To understand our problem clearly it is necessary first of all to know the difference between a ticket-of-leave man and a conditional-pardon man. After a convict had served a portion of his sentence with good behaviour, he was allowed to go into the colony to work for a private employer on ticket-of-leave. He was subject to careful surveillance, to residence within a named district and to the necessity of making frequent report to the prison authorities. In case of misbehaviour he could be brought before a magistrate without a jury and sentenced to recommittal to prison for any term up to three years. On the other hand those who

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One member of the commission, the able Hugh Childers, who was later to be one of the most capable administrators in Gladstone's first ministry, took vigorous issue with Kennedy's opinions relating to conditional pardons and tried unsuccessfully to show flaws in them. By virtue of quick wits, secure knowledge and unwavering certainty of the correctness of his opinions, Kennedy had much the better of a spirited clash. (Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, items 2504-2511.)

2. Ibid., vol. 2, item 2462.
gave evidence of a desire to become good settlers were given every encouragement. A conditional-pardon man likewise had not served the full time to which he had been sentenced, but he had earned his freedom within the colonies. He could go where he liked and choose whatever occupation he desired. If he committed an offence, he was not subject to summary jurisdiction but, like any other free person, must be tried before a jury.

Now Governor Kennedy found that conditional-pardon men did not settle down as workmen on farms. They tended instead to drift from town to town engaging in the occupations involving greatest ease until their time was up and they could leave for another colony. Many of them were holders of liquor licences. And many of them tended to fix themselves like leeches on unfortunate ticket-of-leave men who had made some small transgression of the conditions of their freedom and feared that its disclosure would result in their return to prison. What better place than a public house to weave such a web of blackmail? As the proprietor of a public house the conditional-pardon man was in a strategic position to encourage drinking. Moreover, Governor Kennedy found

2 Ibid., vol. 2, item 2401.
3 Ibid., vol. 2, items 2401, 2504-2511, 2617.
that drunkenness was indeed prevalent and that over fifty percent of the crimes committed in the colony were caused by drunkenness. Kennedy's great object was the prevention of drunkenness among ex-convicts. He stated:

If you stop that you will have no trouble; but every facility that is afforded for drunkenness, or every act of drunkenness that goes unpunished creates a great extent of evil. (2)

Nor was Captain Kennedy unsupported in his evidence before the commissioners. Another witness was that able official, Colonel E. Y. W. Henderson, Comptroller-General of Convicts in Western Australia, who was equally noted for the strictness of his discipline and for his insistence to his subordinates that in dealing with convicts they must always remember that those convicts were men. Colonel


2 Ibid., vol. 2, item 2650.

3 Battye, Western Australia, p. 253.
Cf. Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, item 6373, where an address from the convicts to Colonel Henderson on his retirement contains these words:

We have no costly testimonial to present you with on leaving us, but the blessings of many will follow you.

Cf. Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 183:
On completion of his work in Western Australia, Colonel Henderson was appointed in July 1863 to succeed Sir Joshua Jebb as superintendent of convict prisons in England. Cf. above, note p. 348.
Henderson stated that he had worked in constant close cooperation with the governor ever since the inception of the latter's administration and had always found their ideas on the system very much the same. The comptroller's further evidence made clear how closely in accord the two officials were in their conception of the rehabilitation of convicts after their release from prison. This evidence made clear their joint anxiety that ticket-of-leave men be given every inducement and opportunity to behave well. In further confirmation of Kennedy's conclusions we have the testimony of the Reverend G. W. Pownall, Dean of Perth, who, referring to convicts on ticket-of-leave and conditional-pardon, had to say:

Drink is their great temptation, and if anything could be done to back Governor Kennedy's efforts to put down public-houses it would be a great boon to the colony. (3)

Dean Pownall at the same time pointed out that in all places except Perth, where there was a bank, most working people had to lodge their savings with storekeepers and public-house keepers and take it out in trade. This circumstance undoubtedly offered opportunity for control over unfortunate ticket-of-leave men by conditionally pardoned holders of


2 Compare Kennedy's answers to questions 2395-2398, and especially 2615 with Henderson's answers to numbers 6130-6132, 6238, 6334-6336, and especially 6290. See also paragraph 47 of the Report itself, vol. 1, p. 39.

3 Ibid., item 6390.
liquor licences.

In the light of all the preceding evidence it becomes plainly apparent that the liquor problem was a much more important one in a convict settlement than elsewhere. There was a wide prevalence of drunkenness. That drunkenness was responsible for more than fifty percent of crime in the colony. The lack of banks and the holding of liquor licences by ex-convicts tended to draw ticket-of-leave men more frequently into public-houses, thereby hindering their speedy rehabilitation. That situation was especially dangerous because some conditional-pardon men tended to fix themselves on ticket-of-leave men and to blackmail them into further trouble. In these circumstances a governor, bound by obligation to the home government to make the transportation system as successful as possible and bound by duty to speed the transformation of ex-convicts into useful citizens and to protect the general interests of the colony from any bad effects of the system, had but one course open to him. It was plainly apparent that reorganization of the laws relating to the sale of liquor was as urgently necessary as reformation of the finances of the colony. Kennedy's Act relating to public houses was therefore a wise measure regardless of the unpopularity

1 Report of the commissioners, item 3507.
that would accrue to him for tightening control over the sale of liquor.

Yet, regardless of how thoroughly the facts and circumstances indicated the desirability of excluding conditionally pardoned convicts from the liquor business, the section prohibiting their holding of licences was an arbitrary one. In this respect his enemies were right. Conditionally pardoned convicts legally were free men with the one condition only that they must not return to the United Kingdom. In due course Kennedy's act was confirmed by the Colonial Office with the exception of the section excluding conditionally-pardoned men from holding a licence. Thereafter, Kennedy took the proper constitutional means for the correction of the abuse by steadfastly advocating in his despatches to the Colonial Office that conditional pardons no longer be issued. Moreover, we can readily agree that he was right in his desire to have them discontinued.

We cannot leave this topic without giving attention to Kennedy's tendency to arbitrary action. We saw it on one occasion in his administration of the Poor Law in Ireland, when he readily set the law aside—in a minor way it is true.

1 Labouchère to Kennedy, January 1, 1857, referred to in Battye, Western Australia, p. 229.

but yet with clear realization that he was placing his own 1 will above the law. We had some reason to suspect ruth-
lessness in connection with his drive against the kidnapping 2 of children in Sierra Leone. Now we have undoubted evidence of wilfulness here in Western Australia when he permitted his own righteous indignation to predominate over the rights of free men. In every instance he had the best of reasons for his actions. In every instance he was opposed to the true spirit of the British people, who regarded the sanctity of the law as a major article of their faith. Is it possible that one influence that helped to produce this tendency to arbitrary action in Kennedy was the facility with which even liberal administrations in the United Kingdom, in their dealings with his native country, deserted their faith in civil liberty? They readily turned to coercion acts, to suspension of habeas corpus, to curfew laws and to other interruption of the normal rights of British citizens. Or was it the corroding influence of twenty years' association with the army's harsh code? For that experience had built up in him an admitted desire where every evil was concerned to have "the power of certain and prompt punishment".

1 See above, pp. 239-240.
2 See above, p. 289.
We must recall that our suspicions were based on a newspaper report inspired by a ship's captain who was disgruntled at Kennedy's refusal to build a wharf.
3 Report of the commissioners, item 2403.
The ease with which Governor Kennedy had forced his wide-reaching financial and liquor reforms through his Legislative Council turned angry attention again to the authoritative nature of the government in Western Australia. At this time the colony did not even have representative government. Even after the colony did obtain that form of government some fourteen years later, the power of the governor was still great, as can be seen from the following description:

... the Governor was the Alpha and Omega of the community. His powers were almost autocratic and it was only his sense of right and reason which prevented him from becoming a despot. Not an appointment of the humblest description but had to be personally approved by him, and his patronage was virtually only limited by the means and the departmental requirements of the Colony. (1)

Since the form of government that Kennedy was called on to administer was even more authoritative than the one described above, his power was commensurately greater. His Executive Council was of course appointive, its members holding office during pleasure. Now we know Kennedy well enough to realize

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2 Cf. Russell to Poulett Thompson, October 16, 1839, Kennedy, W. P. M., Statutes, treaties and documents of the Canadian constitution 1713-1929, London, Oxford University Press, 1930. This despatch was a circular drafted by James Stephen originally for South Australia. It was intended to strengthen the power of a governor in any colony.
that he would not hesitate to draw the attention of his 
Executive Councillors to that fact as Poulett Thompson had 
done so smoothly in a far less authoritative form of 
government in Upper Canada. On the whole that was not nec­
essary because, like Poulett Thompson in this respect, 
Kennedy worked so hard and so systematically that he usually 
had the facts in any case so thoroughly marshalled that his 
council saw the wisdom of his proposals. However, Kennedy 
was the master of his council. In considering his regime 
we must keep constantly in mind that under the system of 
government possessed by Western Australia it was the function 
of the governor to govern. During his regime the wise meas­ 
ures were his, as we have seen in the financial reforms at 
the outset of his government; the mistakes were also quite 
typically his, as we have seen in the arbitrary exclusion of 
conditional-pardon men from holding liquor licences.


2 Cf. The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, 
April 6, 1864, p. 3. Surveyor-General J. D. Pemberton, 
member of the Executive Council of Vancouver Island, tes­
tifying before the Crown Lands Committee of the Legislative 
Assembly: "I had to ask the Governor's permission to come 
here, so strict is he." (He was referring to Kennedy) 
Vancouver Island had representative government which was 
far in advance of the Western Australian system. Moreover, 
even the backward form of government bestowed on the 
united colony of British Columbia in 1866--partly as a 
result of Kennedy's representations to the Colonial Office 
(see above pp. 199-200)--was more advanced than that 
possessed by Western Australia up till 1870.
The Executive Council consisted of the Governor; the Commandant of the military forces, Lieutenant-Colonel John Bruce; Colonial Secretary F. P. Barlee; Comptroller-General of Convicts E. Y. W. Henderson; Surveyor-General J. S. Roe; Advocate-General R. Birnie; and Treasurer A. O'Grady Lefroy. These men were capable and efficient.

1 Fraser, M. A. C., Western Australian Year-book for 1896-97, p. 103. In Kennedy's Royal Instructions the position of Commandant was omitted by mistake from the members of the Executive Council. The governor therefore was forced to exclude Lieutenant-Colonel John Bruce until this mistake was rectified. Colonel Bruce resumed membership in the Council on December 28, 1855, and served throughout this administration into the next. (See Australian Encyclopaedia, vol. 1, p. 571).

2 The Times, London, December 27, 1854, p. 4, contains notice of Barlee's appointment. This energetic and able official remained as Colonial Secretary with steadily mounting prestige and power until he was made Governor of Honduras in 1875. (See Coghlan, Labour and Industry, vol. 3, p. 1269).


4 The Colonial Office list for 1862, pp. 46-47.

5 Battye, Western Australia, p. 216: R. Birnie was appointed to this office in 1854 (the year before Kennedy took over the governorship). The Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 207. In February 1860, G. F. Stone succeeded to this office, promoted from Crown Solicitor, a position which he had held from 1852 to 1860.

6 The Colonial Office list for 1862, pp. 46-47. Lefroy held this office throughout the administration. Since Kennedy always took an exceptionally keen and efficient interest in the treasury, it was fortunate that Lefroy appears to have been efficient and cooperative.
officers, the very kind of men with whom Kennedy could work happily. Despite the close control he maintained over subordinates, he always got on extremely well with efficient men—a fact that is clearly shown by his relations with the negro Chief Justice, John Carr, in Sierra Leone, with Colonel Vandeleur in Ireland, and with Colonel Henderson here. Frederick P. Barlee was serving in England in the ordnance department before his appointment as Colonial Secretary for Western Australia. As his appointment was made before Kennedy left England, it is quite possible that he was Kennedy's choice for the position. He was the competent sort of officer that the governor liked to have with him. John S. Roe had been a naval lieutenant before his appointment as Surveyor-General. This heroic and well-loved official

1 See above, pp. 301-303.
2 See above, p. 230.
3 See above, p. 367.
Compare his excellent relations with the efficient Alexander Watson, Treasurer of Vancouver Island during his (Kennedy's) governorship there, 1864-1866. (See The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 21, 1864, p. 2, and Kennedy to Newcastle, May 20, 1864, official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria: "... Mr. Watson appears to be an industrious and accurate officer."

4 Kennedy was gazetted Governor November 6, 1854. Barlee was gazetted Colonial Secretary December 27, 1854.

5 Coghlan and Ewing, The progress of Australasia, p. 293.
was to be brought into especially close cooperation with the governor by virtue of their joint interest in exploration and in the land problem. His work in this administration was to be far more successful than it had been in any of the preceding ones. Kennedy succeeded in gaining the close cooperation of this capable council and with their help he was to turn this poverty-stricken area into a hive of industry.

The Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, the six officials who made up his Executive Council, and three appointed unofficial members. At the outset of Kennedy's regime the unofficial members were W. Clifton, John W. Hardey and Lionel Samson. By virtue of the overwhelming official majority, the Legislative Council could be little else than a useful tool for the governor.

We have seen that this thoroughly authoritative form of government had long been a source of embitterment among the colonists, who returned again and again to this bone of contention, but were unwilling to pay the price of representative government, namely the assumption of the entire cost of their government. It has been shown also that the

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 229.

2 See above, p. 351.
temper of the colonists had been raised to the boiling point, just before Kennedy's arrival, by a series of financial reverses at the hands of the Colonial Office. On the heels of these reverses came the new governor's necessary and ruthless financial reorganization, comprising curtailment of expenditure, requirement of work for the dole, new taxation, and new restrictions on the sale of liquor. It was on this last point that malcontents and advocates of representative government united to renew their agitation for a freer form of government and to attack Governor Kennedy, symbol and embodiment of arbitrary government.

There had been many meetings of protest in this colony—it was the colonist's favourite form of expression. But the protest meeting held on August 6, 1856, just one year after Kennedy's arrival, was a monster mass meeting—the largest ever held in Western Australia. At this meeting the restrictions of the Liquor Licensing Act were bitterly condemned, especially that one which denied the right of holding licences to conditional-pardon men. On the basis of this arbitrary violation of vested interest and of the rights of

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 229.
Cf. The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 12, 1864, p. 3. Kennedy seemed to have a temperament that stirred up violent feelings one way or another. Within a month of his arrival in the Colony of Vancouver Island there was a monster mass meeting—the largest ever held in Vancouver Island—over his concerns. This one for the moment was favourable to him.
men entitled to freedom, the cry again arose for introduction of the elective principle for choosing the Legislative Council. However, knowing what inexorable response the home government would make to this demand, the meeting decided to ask once again simply for an increase in the number of unoffical members in the council. The whole tenor of this meeting was a strong condemnation of Governor Kennedy's administration. Emphasis was added to this public protest by the resignation from the Legislative Council in October of Lionel Samson, who stated that he was convinced that unofficial members had no power in the council.

Meeting and resignation alike had little important result except as a momentary relief for the long exasperation of the colonists. It is true, as we have seen, that the exclusion of the conditional-pardon men from holding licences was overruled, but in all other respects the Act respecting public houses was sustained. Where the form of government was concerned, however, imperial policy was inflexible: while this colony failed to assume the cost of its expenses and while it remained a convict settlement, it should not have representative institutions. Another demand for representative government in 1858, pointed this time by the resignation of W. Chilton from the Legislative Council, and yet

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 229.
2 Loc. cit., referring to: Labouchere to Kennedy, January 28, 1857.
another within the council in 1860, had similarly no effect. The governor was to remain the source of power in this colony. And Kennedy, courteous always and ever careful to avoid giving public personal hurt to anyone, "never forgot, nor did he allow anyone else to forget, that he was the Governor." Yet how philosophically he accepted outbursts against the system he was called upon to administer, how little of vindictiveness there was in him, and how anxious he was to hold the services of good men, are all shown by the subsequent renomination of Lionel Samson to the Legislative Council in 1859. It was the latter who again lifted up his voice in the council in 1860 to declare that unofficial members were of little value as the government was then constituted. Significantly enough, however, Samson remained in the Legislative Council throughout the

1 New appointees to the Legislative Council in place of L. Samson and W. Clifton were J. W. Hardey and S. P. Phillips. (Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 229).

Cf. the words of Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, relating to Kennedy in his Vancouver Island governorship: A handsomer man, or a more courtly or friendly, seldom could be encountered. Yet it was not easy for me, his inoffensive personal friend, waiting the announcement for dinner, to rid myself entirely from a suspicion that I was in the guardroom and that I deserved it. (*Sproat Memoranda*, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.)

regime. For, in spite of recurrent bursts of exasperation, it was becoming evident to people and council members alike that this governor's ability, industry and force were leading them to a better day. A new feeling of confidence was beginning to grow throughout the colony.

This appears an appropriate place to take notice of another official in whom Kennedy placed a great amount of confidence because of his systematic efficiency. That was his private secretary, Henry Wakeford, who held the extra appointment of clerk of the councils. In 1861 when the governor's period of office was coming to a close, he had Wakeford made police magistrate at Perth. It is of interest that this officer took leave on half-pay to follow Kennedy to his next governorship. There Wakeford was given several appointments including that of Acting Colonial Secretary (at half-pay rate) and later the concurrent positions of Private Secretary to the Governor and Auditor of the colony.

1 The Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 212. His salary as Private Secretary was £150, as Clerk of the Councils £200. His salary as Police Magistrate at Perth was £360. See p. 93.

2 Kennedy to Newcastle, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 23, Executive, June 4, 1864, No. 29 Executive, June 4, 1864. Salary £300. The appointment was vigorously condemned as "nepotism" and based on "family considerations alone" by the Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island, May 26, 1864.

3 Kennedy to Cardwell, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 47, July 1, 1865. Salary as Private Secretary £350, as Auditor £1200.
In 1867 he was appointed Comptroller-General of Convicts in Western Australia. He found the system in an unsatisfactory state. Without waste of time he reverted to the successful methods built up by Kennedy and Colonel Henderson and placed the system once again on an efficient and satisfactory basis.

This portion of Wakeford's career gives a good insight into the patronage possessed by a colonial governor. But it has been followed in some detail to show that when a man gave Kennedy efficient service, he could in his turn count on the governor to use his every effort for the protection of his subordinate's interests. Of course in this instance the governor gained by having at his elbow well-tried and efficient service. We do not know whether Wakeford was Irish. Yet this recital of a part of his career calls to mind a few words from the Limerick Munster News that went as follows:

"... in none of the Governors of British Dependencies had Irishmen ever a more unchanging patron than Captain Kennedy in that Australian settlement in which he held the highest place. (4)"

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1 The Colonial Office list for 1668, p. 275. His salary was £800.

2 Battye, Western Australia, p. 255.

3 See above, p. 371.

4 Quoted in The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 17, 1864, p. 3.
In Western Australia as in his other colonies Kennedy had close association with both religion and education. The Anglican church he attended in Perth was called St. George's just as the one he attended in Freetown had been. And as his capital in Sierra Leone had become a cathedral city with the institution of a bishopric there at the outset of his governorship, so in 1856 the Diocese of Perth was established with the Right Reverend Matthew Blagden Hale in charge. Bishop Hale and Governor Kennedy became firm friends—a friendship happily renewed when they served together again in Queensland. The Dean and Chaplain at Perth was the Very Reverend G. P. Pownall who also worked in close harmony with Governor Kennedy. Under the direction of Bishop Hale many Anglican churches and schools were founded. There was also an expansion of Roman Catholic, Congregational and Wesleyan churches during the period of Kennedy's administration.

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1 Australian Encyclopaedia, vol. 1, p. 268. Cf. Battye, Western Australia, p. 242. Archdeacon Hale arrived to establish the bishopric in 1856, returned to England for consecration and arrived back in the colony near the end of 1858.

2 See above, p. 132. Kennedy was Governor of Queensland 1877-1885. Hale was Bishop of Queensland 1875-1885, when he retired and returned to parochial work in Gloucestershire.

3 See above, p. 367.

4 Battye, Western Australia, p. 242.
As we have seen, the governor believed in religion as the true basis for education. He believed that religious education should be carried on either by the parents or by a minister of their choice—and above all not by the schoolmaster. He therefore arranged to have ministers of each denomination go to the schools for a religious period—especially enjoining upon the Roman Catholic priests that it was equally their privilege. However, as a means of avoiding dissension he preferred religious education to be carried on in Sunday schools. He therefore set aside public funds to aid the creation of such schools. Soon each denomination had its own and the governor's objective of diminishing religious debate was achieved.

As the financial circumstances of the colony improved under Kennedy's firm control, he made provision for some common schools for the younger children. During this administration little was done to provide for public secondary

1 See above, p. 119.

2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, April 4, 1864, p. 3. The various circumstances—presence of an expanding group of Roman Catholics and larger provision of education by common schools—have been the reason for assigning Kennedy's reference to these measures to Western Australia rather than to Sierra Leone, where religious education had been provided for most vigorously by all groups long before he came there.
education. However, a majority of the children were given the opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of elementary subjects—either in church schools or in common schools provided by the colony. It is noteworthy that at least a beginning was made in provision of common schools.

Governor Kennedy’s military career had made a deep impression on him. He frequently wore military uniform, and reference to army ways came readily to his mind. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that in 1861 he encouraged the formation of a Volunteer force here in Western Australia, as he was to do also in his next governorship. He arranged that the arms and accoutrements for this West Australian Volunteer Force should be supplied by the government.

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 242.

2 The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island, July 9, 1864, p. 3.

3 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, May 26, 1864, p. 3.


4 James, Historical table of the statutes, p. 23: 25 Victoria No. 3 Volunteer Force, 1861.

5 Kennedy to Cardwell, Victoria, Vancouver Island, No. 34, Military, June 14, 1864, official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

Governor Kennedy's first step towards establishing the economy of the colony on a sound basis had been to cut down expenses and to institute a vigorous search for new sources of revenue. While these measures were taking effect, he was energetically seeking out positive means of establishing prosperity. First of all he turned his attention to securing a resumption of free immigration. It will be recalled that the preceding administration had put a stop to such immigration because it could not manage the influx. It had also been forced to establish the dole. Having speedily solved the problem of the dole by well-conceived and unyielding measures, Kennedy made request in 1856 for a carefully controlled flow of free immigration. In response to his specifications the home authorities sent shipments of labourers in small lots. At Kennedy's insistence, sufficient time was allowed between these shipments to permit proper placement of the men in employment where they were needed. At the same time Kennedy drew attention to the fact that there was a slowing down in the shipments of convicts and he urgently requested again and again that larger numbers be sent. The home authorities did their best in this respect.

1 See above, p. 350.
also. However, an improvement of economic conditions in the United Kingdom had resulted in a lessening of crime and the authorities were finding it difficult to maintain the promised supply of convicts. This diminution of labour supply was to prove a handicap to Kennedy's ambitious plans, but not insuperable to one so determined as he. The whole effect of his optimistic but well-regulated resumption of immigration had the result of increasing confidence within the colony.

The vigour of the new administration also made itself evident in the renewal of intensive exploration. Its object was to discover good pastoral land in large contiguous blocks, lack of which had been hampering the growth of the sheep-raising industry. After an unsuccessful exploration into the region east of Perth by John S. Roe in 1848, the previous governor had dropped such exploration. There had been a discouraged lull in the succeeding half dozen years. The Kennedy period, however, was to see unremitting

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 1, p. 59. Cf. "Transportation", Australian Encyclopaedia, vol. 2, p. 587: the average number was to drop from the promised 500 to 300 a year from 1858 to 1861—a large part of Kennedy's administration.


3 Coghlan and Ewing, The progress of Australasia, p. 293.
exploration vigorously supported by the governor. A systematic progression was undertaken, starting at the northern edge of the settled area and working steadily northward. The man placed in charge of this exploration was Assistant Surveyor Frank T. Gregory, who had accompanied his famous brother A. C. Gregory on several of his explorations. Gregory was one of several assistant surveyors in the government's employ and his selection for this work—probably made by Surveyor-General J. S. Roe—was an excellent one. In 1857 Frank Gregory was sent to complete the exploration and survey of the Murchison Valley. The Murchison empties into Gantheaume Bay on the west coast about three hundred miles north of Perth. In the following year he was sent to explore the next great valley, that of the Gascoyne River, which lies one hundred miles to the north of the Murchison and flows into Shark Bay on the west coast at 25° south latitude.

1 Australian Encyclopaedia, vol. 1, p. 582.
2 The Colonial Office list for 1862, p. 131. F. T. Gregory was an assistant surveyor in the service of Western Australia since 1849. He left the public service in 1864 during Governor Hampton's administration. The Colonial Office list for 1864, p. 180, is the first one to state that he "is no longer in the service".
4 Loc. cit.
This 1858 exploration of the Gascoyne Valley was rewarded by the discovery of some good pastoral lands and proved an impetus to settlement.

Meanwhile Kennedy was pushing to successful completion a new land policy which will be described presently. The immediate success of this policy was to make further exploration for good land even more urgent. The spirit of confidence consequent upon the success of the new land regulations now exploded into a great search for new land. Not only did the government continue to support northward exploration, but private explorers pushed into the interior from Shark Bay all the way around the area of settlement to the borders of Southern Australia.

This burst of energy on the part of the settlers was the type of activity that Governor Kennedy most highly approved, for he was always an earnest advocate of self-help. In the new spirit of public confidence, private subscriptions were readily forthcoming in support of Frank Gregory's proposal to explore the region back of the northwest coast, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn—a region hitherto neglected because of seemingly impassible desert along the coast. Through the support of the Royal Geographical Society the imperial government offered assistance of £2000 if the remainder was raised locally. Kennedy's Legislative Council

1 Coghlan and Ewing, Progress of Australasia, p. 294.
quickly voted another £1350 and the remainder was subscribed by the public. Frank Gregory was now sent off to the northwest in the barque *Dolphin* with a large and well-organized party. Gregory was a competent leader. The expedition established a secure base at Nickol Bay and worked from there. The explorers landed near the mouth of a small river and worked up its valley. By courageous effort they surmounted the difficulty and hardship occasioned by the barrier of sand ridges. When they had won their way through this barrier, they discovered a splendid country drained by three great

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1 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 258.

In his next governorship, that of Vancouver Island, Kennedy followed the same pattern to initiate the first important organized exploration of that colony—namely financing by private subscription and government assistance. He showed a high degree of leadership in stirring up public interest by an offer to put up two dollars for each dollar of public subscription. Thereafter he showed a complete willingness to profit by the local knowledge and organizing ability of local leaders, and a remarkable degree of tact throughout. Cf. *The British Colonist*, Victoria, Vancouver Island, 1864: April 21, p. 3; April 29, p. 3; May 11, p. 3; May 20, p. 3; May 24, p. 3; May 26, p. 3; etc.

2 Fraser, *Western Australian yearbook for 1896-7*, p. 24; Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 259.
river systems. These rivers, on exploration, were found to make their way through the sand ridge country to the coast. They were named the Ashburton, the Fortescue and the De Grey. Their upper valleys had excellent grazing land which the report of the exploration estimated to be some two million acres—an estimate that was to prove conservative. That report was published three days before Kennedy's governorship closed and he was not there to see the splendid outcome. It must nevertheless be credited to his administration since he provided the incentive for this and the other successful explorations of his regime. In the following year the land was proclaimed by Kennedy's successor, Governor Hampton. By the end of 1865 some three million acres were under lease in the northwestern area. In 1866 the town of Roebourne was founded on Nickol Bay. In 1868 six million acres of leasehold land carried forty thousand head of stock.


3 probably in honour of Kennedy's Surveyor-General, J. S. Roe.

A second outcome of Gregory's expedition was the discovery in the vicinity of Nickol Bay of valuable pearl shells and the beginning of a pearling industry which brought a substantial yearly accession of wealth to the colony from that time onward.

Nor was the well organized and highly successful expedition into the northwest the only one in 1861. Several other parties were exploring in various parts of the colony. It will suffice to mention the expedition of D. B. Clarkson, A. Dempster and C. Harper, who pushed into country to the east of the main area of settlement. Having proved the possibility of penetrating the dense scrub barrier, they came into a country of good soil and rich grass—a region dominated by Mount Kennedy. The farthest point of their exploration was Georgina's Range.

While Kennedy's encouragement of exploration was primarily directed to the discovery of new pastoral areas—a policy intended to supplement his revision of land laws—he did not neglect the possibility that this colony might prove to be as rich in gold as its eastern sisters. In 1860

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1 Coghlan, Labour and industry, vol. 2, pp. 1080-1082. It is interesting to notice that the exploration of Vancouver island initiated by Kennedy in 1864 was marked by the same characteristics of government encouragement, public support, careful organization and competent leadership.

2 Fraser, Western Australian yearbook for 1896-7, p. 24. Mrs. Kennedy's Christian name was Georgina.
his government therefore employed E. H. Hargraves, discoverer of gold in Victoria, to come to Western Australia for the purpose of making an extended survey of its auriferous possibilities. Hargraves did not arrive until the close of Kennedy's administration, and his six months' exploration did not reach far enough eastward to discover those great gold-fields that were to make this colony eventually pre-eminent in gold-mining. This exploration took place in Governor Hampton's administration and many histories seem to take it for granted that it was on his initiative that Hargraves was invited. The credit, of course, belongs to Kennedy. Nor was that vigorous man content to wait for Hargrave's arrival. Inspector Panter searched the district around Northam in 1861 and brought in good specimens of gold at the end of the year. On the strength of this find, Kennedy's government offered a reward of £5000 to the discoverer of a paying gold-field within one hundred fifty miles of Perth, a condition being that five thousand ounces of gold should be secured before the first of July in 1863. This offer appeared in the Western Australian Gazette on February 11, 1862, six days before Kennedy's government closed. Thus from the outset of

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1 Fraser, Western Australian yearbook for 1902-04, Perth, Acting Government Printer, A. Curtis, 1906, p. 244.
2 Northam lies fifty miles up the Swan River Valley to the east of Perth.
3 Battye, Western Australia, p. 274.
his government to its very close he encouraged and directed an active, well-organized and many-sided search for natural resources that was an outstanding credit to his governorship. Moreover, it was crowned with brilliant success in the disclosure and opening up of those rich resources of good land that, in conjunction with his truly great land policy, were to form the basis of an agricultural and pastoral industry that was to bring prosperity to Western Australia.

We turn now to consideration of the brightest aspect of Kennedy's administration of Western Australia—his land policy. Land policy for this colony had always been badly formed and badly administered by both imperial and local authorities. It had retarded progress, destroyed confidence and embittered all relations between colonists and government. This question therefore imposed itself on Kennedy's attention at the outset of his regime. The immediate problem was that, due to lack of foresight in regulations put into effect in 1850, the newly opened country around Champion Bay had been taken up in over-large squatting leases far out of proportion to the amount of stock carried. This problem was drawn to the attention of the Legislative Council by Marshall Clifton in 1856. The Legislative Council

1 See above, pp. 332-341, 345, 354, 355, 357.

2 Champion Bay was on the west coast about 250 miles north of Perth—the town of Geraldton is there.
Arthur Edward Kennedy

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took the unusual course of referring the problem to the Executive Council which in essence meant referring it to the governor. This unusual action was more probably inspired by the current protest of unofficial members against their lack of power than by realization of the new governor's powers of organization. But it was a fortunate decision for the colony's welfare.

With Governor Kennedy's careful guidance the Executive Council set about the problem of making a brand new land policy in the well-organized fashion to be expected of any group working under his direction. First of all a list of queries sought out suggestions and information from all settlers. Secondly a sub-committee was appointed to study replies, examine all phases of the problem and formulate recommendations. This sub-committee consisted of Surveyor-General J. S. Roe, Colonial-Secretary F. P. Barlee, and Treasurer A. O'Grady Lefroy. Any sub-committee of a Kennedy Executive Council had the advantage, not only of his keen interest and encouragement, but of his intelligent, informed

1 Battye, Western Australia, pp. 230-231.

2 Ibid., p. 243.

Dr. Battye emphasizes Kennedy's unpopularity—and in fact he seems to share the settlers' exasperation against all the early governors. It is almost with reluctance that he admits:

And yet to Governor Kennedy's careful guidance the settlers owed the only system of land regulations which had up to that time given anything like general satisfaction.

3 Ibid., p. 231.
and industrious guidance. This sub-committee returned to the Executive Council in June 1857 with a broad plan which carefully covered every phase of the land problem. Consideration by the Legislative Council of the policy now put before it by the governor disclosed no flaw. It was adopted unanimously. Publication of this scheme also proved that at last a government land policy had been formulated that had the unanimous approval of the colonists.

This well-conceived policy boldly drove right at the heart of the problem with intention to place the immigrant of limited means on a medium-sized farm and to prevent the further unprofitable locking up of land in large estates. First of all, this scheme proposed a radical reduction in the price of Crown lands. Sale by auction with its minimum of twenty shillings an acre was to be replaced by a fixed price.

1 Compare the intimate control he maintained over the work of his subordinates in Ireland, above pp. 226-229.

In his government of Vancouver Island sub-committees were led to seek out every necessary source of information and to make frequent progress reports to the governor. An examination of the documents of his regime in the Archives of British Columbia shows his pertinent and valuable comment or inquiry or direction in margin and on up-turned corner.

Further evidence of his close personal attention to all important business is contained in the following excerpt from an address to Governor Kennedy at the completion of his task in Western Australia:

... neither the dignity of your station, nor the great ability with which it has been associated in your Excellency's person, has led you to claim exemption from close daily application to the important business of your trust.

(The British Colonist, March 21, 1864, p. 3, requoting from "an Irish paper").

2 Battye, Western Australia, p. 232.
of six shillings, for payment spread over three years—five shillings for cash. A second positive feature of the plan was the intention to guide the small settler to a farm within his means yet large enough to make possible a healthy diversity of production. Therefore it was recommended that a free settler paying his own way to the colony should be permitted to buy not less than forty acres. He was to receive free an additional twenty acres to be selected within a year of his arrival; title was not to be given until he had resided on his farm for three years. A third proposal whereby to smooth the way for small settlers, was a recommendation that cost of title deeds be substantially reduced and that application fees be abolished altogether. In sum, this side of the policy was well-calculated, not only to keep speculators from tying up land unproductively, but actually to get new immigrants onto the land and, by preventing early sale, to keep them there until temporary discouragements had been safely surmounted.

Turning to pastoral lands, the committee proposed no basic change in the provisions whereby leases in readily accessible areas—denominated Class A—could be taken for one year only, and in other parts—called Class B—for eight years. Nor were rental prices in either class reduced. One real contribution of this revision where pastoral leases were

concerned, was a series of proposals whereby to give fairer protection to lessees of B category lands by guaranteeing them against too early sale of any part of their holdings. An even more important clause was calculated to force the size of Class B leases into closer correspondence with the amount of stock carried. This end was to be achieved by a reduction of the maximum amount of land available from 20,000 acres to 10,000 acres. To pave the way for eventual expansion of agriculture it was proposed that the Executive Council be empowered to transfer B lands into the A category if they were within a mile of future purchasers, subject, of course, to non-interference with the above-mentioned protection accorded to pastoralists. Within the same protective restrictions anyone could select for purchase forty acres of land, but not less, in these B areas. Thus while large lessors were given a reasonable protection not contained in the provisions put into force in 1850, the progress of real land settlement, especially by small investors, was to be made easier.

This, the broadest and most practical land scheme ever proposed in the colony, was entirely typical of Arthur Kennedy's genius at its best. The plan was drawn up by a committee composed of officials directly under the governor's control and working under his able guidance. It was based
on the widest information available. It was buttressed on every side against any miscarriage of its intention. And it offered protection to large pastoral investors without weakening the success of its major goal, promotion of the rapid purchase and close settlement of the land. It was a splendid example of Kennedy's meticulously planned and positive boldness.

Kennedy forwarded this wise proposal to London in August 1857. As we have seen in examining his despatches from Kilrush, this man marshalled cogent argument in favour of any course of action of which he approved. It is a striking evidence of the high estimation of his judgment held at Downing Street that a plan so broad, so minute in its details and so radical in its departure from the past as this one, was approved with only two exceptions. The first was a refusal to permit renewal of eight-year pastoral leases—a change actually in line with the obvious intent of the plan which had made such extensions almost prohibitively expensive. In the second place, the Colonial Office, still motivated by Wakefield's concept of "sufficient price"
declined to make the selling price of land less than ten
shillings an acre. Now, a reduction from twenty shillings
to ten was in itself a victory. Kennedy made another effort
to gain his proposed price of six shillings, but was over-
rulled by the Home Office, where the idea still prevailed
that it was desirable to keep the poor man off the land
except as a labourer. It was directed that the plan now
be put into operation.

In August 1859, Kennedy proclaimed the first phase of
his plan, that relating to leasing of grazing lands. All
preceding regulations had provided no organized advancement
of the pastoral industry—only a sporadic, greedy and un-
profitable locking-up of lands and a weakening dispersion
of effort. But there was a new wind of confidence blowing
in Western Australia—confidence in the hard integrity and
driving force of a competent, if unloved, governor—confid-
ence that this colony was at last under full sail to
prosperity. Within two months of the publication of the
new regulations, 1,914,522 acres of land were let on lease
or licence. Moreover, three-quarters of this amount was in
areas close to settlement, and it was leased in the main to

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 232 referring to
Kennedy to Secretary of State, October 13, 1858;
Sir E. Bulwer Lytton to Kennedy, May 19, 1859;
Lytton to Kennedy, May 20, 1859 enclosing a report of
the Land and Emigration Commissioners. The two des-
patches were received in the colony in August.
persons of small means. Kennedy could never be accused of hiding his light under a bushel. By October 22 he jubilantly reported progress in an address before his Legislative Council. He chose to emphasize progress made by a comparison between 1852 and 1859 as yet uncompleted. Thereby he could show that land held under lease from the Crown had more than doubled. Had he waited till the year was completed he could have shown an even more impressive contrast.

On April 16, 1860, the governor moved into the second phase of his programme by publishing provisions for sale of land at the reduced price of ten shillings an acre. Sales to the value of £3,050 were made on the very first day. Within two months ten thousand acres were sold, most of it in minimum-sized blocks of forty acres to men of the working class. The total of lands alienated from the Crown in this first year was 18,193 acres, an eightfold increase over the year preceding the new regulations. During the first three years of the plan, the last years of Kennedy's governorship,

lands sold amounted to the splendid total of 43,297 acres.

Speaking before the Commissioners on Transportation and Penal Servitude in 1863, Kennedy referred to the success of his policy in the following words:

If you look to the number of acres of land which have been purchased in fee simple within the last three years, it is something very remarkable that the greater number of those acres have been purchased in small blocks by bona fide labouring men. (2)

Triumph of the new programme was signalized in 1860 by the establishment of a new town to be a collecting and distributing centre in a rich farm area. This lovely town was named Newcastle after the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Duke had been in charge at Downing Street when Arthur Kennedy was at the height of his success in Sierra Leone. Now he had taken up the seals again as the

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1 Statistical register of W. A. Part 12, p. 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lands Alienated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1,715 acres (Kennedy's first year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>2,456 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>2,713 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>3,368 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>2,231 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>18,193 acres (New plan in effect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>13,153 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>11,951 acres (Kennedy's last year)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3 Fraser, Western Australian year-book for 1902-04, p. 38.
governor was displaying competent leadership in Western Australia.

The success of the new land policy in bringing about greatly increased and productive occupation of the land was based on several important factors. Most important of all was that new feeling of confidence mentioned above. In the second place, large investors had assurance that they might invest with protection of their capital and certainty of a reasonable return. In the third place, working-class men were encouraged to save their wages in order to take advantage of the opportunity to become independent now so skilfully placed within their grasp. Moreover, the way had been paved for this land policy by resumption of assisted immigration and by renewal of exploration on a well-organized basis. Thus Kennedy's positive measures of reform were keyed together with vision. This man, working through many of the same senior officials who had served in earlier ineffective administrations, had at last turned immigration from a liability into an asset. With firm, skilful hands he had placed Western Australia on its feet at last. In a letter to the London Times the Venerable James Brown, Archdeacon of Western Australia had this to say about Kennedy's

The progress of the colony since the last census was taken in 1854 has been more rapid, it may safely be stated, than at any former period in its history. (1)

One would be happy to recount that grateful colonists now took the governor into their hearts. Quite the reverse was the case. These people of Western Australia had criticized and disliked all their governors—mainly because those governors represented the will of a Colonial Office that refused to let them control affairs until they were willing to pay the cost, and also because governors frequently made decisions partly on the basis of imperial interest rather than entirely for the interest of the colony. This was true of Governor Kennedy. However, his new unpopularity arose because he was making a thorough reorganization of the colony which once again led him into a clash with vested interest. In the fall of 1860 he introduced a bill to consolidate the whole system of customs duties and to bring all personnel of the ports under regulation. Public opposition was expressed against several features of this complicated bill. High controversy raged in particular over the clauses intended to bring lightermen

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1 The Times, London, October 24, 1861, p. 7.
James Brown to the editor, York, Western Australia, August 19, 1861.

2 James, Historical table, p. 23. 24 Victoria No. 5, Customs.
under regulation by requiring them to put up bonds before being allowed to unload cargo from ships not brought in to the wharf. The usual lightermen stated that they were unwilling to give such bonds. The unyielding governor, undoubtedly expecting that they would give in, pushed through his legislation as he had planned it. He was proved wrong on the arrival of the first ship after the new law. No one could be found who would put up the required bonds. Kennedy was forced to see to the unloading of the ship. Without further ado he suspended the offending clauses and afterwards had them repealed. Bitterness ran high against the governor. This year of 1860, which found the colony striding forward under his sure guidance into its first real prosperity, was a period of intensification of his personal unpopularity.

The succeeding year saw an undeserved increase of bitterness toward the governor. While the root of his unpopularity was a result of his unyielding adherence to any line of action once marked out for him by an intelligent and industrious study of the true needs of the situation, yet it must be noted that in every instance that unpopularity grew out of clashes with special and selfish interest. There was his necessarily rigorous curtailment of employment for government job hunters and of expenditures on government

1 Battye, *Western Australia*, pp. 243-244.

2 James, *Historical table*, p. 24. In 1861 Kennedy continued with his reorganization by regulating the carriage of passengers in coastal vessels within the colony. 25 Victoria No. 9.
employees in 1855. There was his wise requirement of work from beneficiaries of the dole in 1856. There was his well-deserved but arbitrary attempt to withdraw liquor licences from conditional-pardon men in 1856. There was his unsuccessful attempt to regulate lightermen in 1860. Now in 1861 it was his refusal to spend government funds to build a railroad for a private mining company that caused his enemies to rage against him.

It will be recalled that in 1848 a lead mine had been opened up in the Northampton district. In succeeding years the discovery of excellent copper in good quantity nearby had resulted in the starting of other mines. The owners were soon to find that their profits were cut down by the expense of transport to the coast at Geraldton. They therefore requested that the colonial government build them a railroad. In the light of fluctuating copper prices in world markets, Kennedy refused. It was now proposed that the imperial authorities be requested to guarantee the cost of construction. Kennedy duly forwarded this request. As was to be expected the home government refused. Pressure was therefore renewed on the local government in 1861. Kennedy, having already studied this problem and having

1 The Northampton District lies on the west coast two hundred fifty miles north of Perth. Geraldton is its port. See above, p. 345.

2 Battye, Western Australia, pp. 240, 244.
decided that the railway should not be built at public expense for private profit, was unyielding to the pressure that the owners brought against him and indifferent to the public clamour that they were able to stir up. For there was a public feeling, quite correctly founded, that because of the success of the new land policy the colonial finances were in a healthier condition than ever before. The people were mistaken, however, in their belief that Kennedy's refusal to spend this money was rooted in a pinch-penny desire to leave a fat surplus in the treasury at the end of his regime. His decision against this proposed expenditure had been weighed in the cold light of public interest and it was the right decision. He was to remain quite unmoved by the unjust anger it stirred up.

One of the most important of Governor Kennedy's duties in Western Australia was to superintend the convict service and to have a care concerning its effects on the interests of the colony. This was a task for which he was particularly well fitted by virtue of his experiences in the management of men both in the army and in his Irish Poor Law inspectorate. The undertaking was made a much smoother one for him by the fortunate circumstance that he had to work

with so efficient a man as Colonel E. Y. W. Henderson, Comptroller-General of Convicts. These men worked in close harmony because they were so much akin in their efficiency, their liking for regularity, their belief in strict discipline, their humane desire to do their best for the men under their charge, and their common ideas in general concerning the best way to manage the system.

The first improvement to which they turned their attention related to a system of marks which regulated a convict's progress from prison at Fremantle into road gangs. The governor was convinced that long imprisonment unfitted a man for his destined role as a settler. He stated his reasons as follows:

I have no doubt that lengthened imprisonment unfits a man for a life of labour afterwards; I am perfectly satisfied that after a certain period it ceases altogether to have the desired effect, and a man becomes a sort of routine creature . . . . (2)

Before the man's spirit was broken Kennedy wanted to speed up his progress into work on road-building and land-clearing.

1 Henderson's rapid advancement from Captain through Major to Colonel during Kennedy's regime was probably partly due to the governor's influence. Kennedy was always ready to praise an efficient subordinate and to help him in every way.

See above, pp. 348, 366, 373, for other information about Henderson.

2 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, item 2609. See also 2611, 2616, 2337-2342.
work that would at once fit him for bush farm-life and aid in the progress of the colony. The governor and the comptroller therefore turned their attention to making a new system of marking the behaviour of convicts to achieve this speeding of their transition from prison to work parties. They took as a model a system in use among intermediate prisoners in Ireland, a system with which the governor was acquainted. Colonel Henderson was the more willing to make a change because the old scale of marks was complicated, hard for the convicts to understand, and a constant source of irritation. He soon produced a new scale of marks that the governor approved as simple, easy to understand and providing the desired acceleration. In fact when the scheme was put into operation a convict who had been sentenced to fifteen years was able by good behaviour in prison and in road gangs to earn his ticket-of-leave in five years and nine months. Kennedy proposed this change to the Colonial Office with such skill that he secured its endorsement without the plan having been submitted to the Home Office, which had a joint right of decision in such

1 Report of the commissioners, items 2343-2357. (Kennedy's evidence).

2 Ibid., items 6170 (Henderson) and 2343-2357 (Kennedy).

3 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 17, paragraph 16.
affairs.

Under the control of these strict but humane officers the new system worked well. Firmness of the new regime had already been demonstrated at its outset in 1856 when a convict in prison at Fremantle attacked a warder and severely injured him. The convict was executed and there was never a second case. In the following year Governor Kennedy even took a party of friends into the prison at Fremantle to listen to a lecture on music given by a convict and exemplified by the prison choir.

However, the governor was much happier to see the convicts removed from dangerous massing in prison and scattered about the colony in small road gangs, where he tried to keep them

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, appendix no. 18, p. 261. T. F. Elliot to H. Waddington, Downing Street, March 2, 1863, in which he summarizes Kennedy's submissions of June 12, 1858, September 13 and 15, 1859, and October 15, 1859. Elliot makes the rueful comment, "Looking at them now, and after the fact, the foregoing rules will probably be judged too indulgent." In the meantime Kennedy had had his way throughout his governorship. In 1863 he stoutly maintained the value of his system, but in this respect, and this one only, he failed to influence the report as fully as he wished. While praising his scheme as a great improvement, the commissioners recommended a tightening up in the granting of marks towards ticket-of-leave. See vol. 1, paragraph 70, pp. 56-57.

2 Ibid., vol. 2, items 2444 (Kennedy), 6164-6165 (Henderson).

3 Battye, Western Australia, p. 460.
as long as possible until they had become well-adjusted to conditions in the colony. These work parties proved a splendid success. They consisted of groups of twenty to fifty convicts with only one warder and no guards. Yet their behaviour was excellent because by steadfast good behaviour only could they obtain their tickets-of-leave. They were maintained at a relatively small expense because they built their own simple huts which were easily replaced when they moved on. And their work supplied the colony with cleared lands and with badly-needed roads, bridges, culverts and drains.

Arthur Kennedy was eminently practical. He would never apply labour without concrete results. Yet in his mind these roads, bridges and cleared lands were secondary. His first consideration was rehabilitation of the men. He wanted to condition them to an outdoor life, in the hope that when they obtained their freedom they would settle down to farm life—as far away from towns as possible. Therefore he kept them out in the country as much as he could. The vocal colonists in Perth and the other main towns would have preferred that convict labour be concentrated on the con-


2 Ibid., vol. 2, items 2337-2342, 2309-2310 (Kennedy), 6162 (Henderson).
struction of fine public buildings in their towns. They contended that Kennedy was neglecting their needs and criticized his system as inefficient. Today, as we consider that system of getting convicts speedily out of prison into healing and productive work in the open country, we must say that it was a policy of vision for which Kennedy and Henderson should receive great praise.

When a convict received his ticket-of-leave after such a period of conditioning, he tended to become a satisfactory and useful member of society. Governor and comptroller were at one in encouraging them in every way to succeed, and in removing from their path every barrier to successful rehabilitation. That was the genesis of Kennedy's unsuccessful attempt, already described, to exclude conditional-pardon men from holding liquor licences in order that they might not lead ticket-of-leave men into trouble. Both Kennedy and Henderson believed that a ticket-of-leave holder should be watched carefully and subjected to quick punishment if he gave any trouble. A holder of a ticket-of-leave was therefore allocated to a certain district beyond which he could not wander, and he must be in his own home after ten o'clock at night. For misbehaviour he could be brought before a

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, items 2327, 2330, 2331 (Kennedy), and 6219-6220 (Henderson).

2 Ibid., vol. 2, items 2615 (Kennedy) and 6132, 6290 (Henderson).

3 Loc. cit.
magistrate and sentenced to any term up to three years, without trial by jury, after which he was forced to continue his original sentence. The governor was not satisfied with the provisions relating to drunkenness among ticket-of-leave men. He attributed its prevalence to the fact that the men were punished simply by fines of five shillings, a punishment that he found to bear unevenly because some men could find the money readily and others in their inability to do so were forced to return to prison. Convinced both of the danger of drunkenness to their rehabilitation and of the unevenness of the operation of punishment, he issued a direction to the magistrates that in all cases of drunkenness on the part of ticket-of-leave men they should immediately be sent back to the convict establishment for a period dependent upon the gravity of the offence—a month being the longest sentence.

Now there appear to have been repercussions from this order that were to add to Kennedy's unpopularity in the colony. When in 1861 he removed the names of Drummond, Lukin, and Wallace Bickley from the Commission of the Peace, it was widely believed without any sure evidence that his action was a result of the objection of these magistrates to being

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, items 2408, 2462 (Kennedy), and 6130, 6354 (Henderson).

2 Ibid., vol. 2, item 2644 (Kennedy).
regarded as mere creatures of the Executive. In his determination that there should be no weakening leniency in control of ticket-of-leave holders, Kennedy ignored newspaper attacks and enforced his policy. While the evidence is not at all clear on this point, there is at least the suspicion that there was arbitrary direction of the courts by the governor.

When he arrived in the colony, Kennedy found that it was the habit of unemployed ticket-of-leave men to return for maintenance to the depots where they also received pay of sixpence a day. Under this system he found some five to six hundred men hanging around the depots, a heavy charge on imperial funds. He at once abolished the sixpenny payment. Nor were the men to be received at all unless they could show quite satisfactorily that they were unable to find work. Those who could gain admission were to be given their food, a red shirt and a pair of trousers. With surprising speed the men found that they did not like to go to the depots and when forced to do so they did not stay long. Practically the whole charge against imperial funds on this score was swept away with improving results for the men themselves.

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 244.

It is interesting to notice that as late as 1877 Lord Salisbury held that the judges of India were not independent of the executive authority. Many people held that the executive might reprimand or remove judges in India for failure to carry out justice as the executive felt it should do. Opinion generally, however, was that the courts should be independent. (See The Times, London, 1877: May 31, p. 9 and p. 10; June 2, p. 8; July 7, p. 6.)
Kennedy's Irish Poor Law experiences had proved their worth again. By the end of his administration his friend, the comptroller, was admiringly to report that there was little unemployment among ticket-of-leave men, the system of strict yet enlightened control having proved highly successful.

We may now briefly recall the grounds on which Governor Kennedy was dissatisfied with the provisions resulting in early granting of conditional pardon—the sole condition being that the ex-convict should not return to the United Kingdom. He found that these men drifted about the country always seeking the easiest means of livelihood, usually in the towns, sometimes fixing themselves on ticket-of-leave men, generally failing to become useful contributors to the wealth of the colony, and as soon as they could, leaving it altogether. He believed that the granting of conditional pardons should be discontinued, and the men kept for a longer period on ticket-of-leave whereby they could be controlled and guided into settling down as useful citizens of the colony. In these circumstances he turned the hardest side of his nature to the conditional-pardon men. He had been outraged to find them holding liquor licences, and had tried

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, items 2396-2399 (Kennedy) and 6355-6336 (Henderson).

2 Ibid., vol. 2, items 6217-6220, 6130 (Henderson).

3 Ibid., vol. 2, items 2400-2408, 2504-2511, 2617, 2620, 2655-2660 and 2674 (Kennedy).
unsuccessfully to withdraw that right from them. While he was in the colony he achieved their exclusion as jurors by the simple expedient of ordering the sheriffs to see that they were not chosen. When his governorship was over he carried a demand that they be excluded from juries by law to the Commission of Transportation and Penal Servitude.

Before the commissioners he earnestly stated:

I think, in the case of a conditionally-pardoned man, a man with an unexpired portion of his sentence, perhaps for forgery, perhaps for robbery or perjury, to let that man sit in judgment on his fellow men, having been guilty of a crime of that sort, is very monstrous. (2)

So firm was his opinion concerning the desirability of abolishing conditional pardons, so forthright was his evidence, and so cogent his argument, that the recommendation of the commissioners on this point went as follows:

Captain Kennedy, the late Governor of the colony, expressed a strong opinion, in which we entirely concur, that the practice of granting these conditional


2 Ibid., vol. 2, item 2656.

In due course they were excluded from jury service in Western Australia: 25 Victoria No. 8, section 1. See CHBE., vol. 7, part 1, p. 293.
pardons should be discontinued. (1)

This is probably the best place to deal with Governor Kennedy's influence on that important commission in general, although it did not hold its sittings until he had returned to England after his governorship was concluded. The question of transportation had become an urgent one in the United Kingdom again because of a large increase in crime in 1861 and 1862. The mother country once again had large numbers of people in prison. Insofar as recommendations of the commission with reference to Western Australia were concerned, they were shaped to a very great extent by the opinion of this strong-minded man. He contended that the convicts, while dangerous at home, were not so in the colony because they could be separated over wide areas. He showed that on the whole they tended to become good citizens and useful to the colony as such. He held that the colony could receive one thousand convicts a year at once, with a gradual yearly increase in numbers, providing only that the

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 1, paragraph 71, p. 57. The recommendation was speedily put into effect: Newcastle to Hampton, September 26, 1863, wherein it was directed that conditional pardons be no longer granted. Every convict was thereafter to remain under surveillance during his ticket-of-leave period until the end of his sentence. See Battye, Western Australia, p. 248.

ones sent should be sturdy men and regardless of whether they had committed such crimes as robbery with violence or murder. He preferred such men to sex perverts or pickpockets, for he held that the bolder and sturdier men could be rehabilitated in the colony under such a regime as Colonel Henderson and he had maintained. Their labour could be used for further building of roads and clearing of land to their own advantage and to the benefit of the colony. Eventually they would become successful and law-abiding citizens conveying to the population no moral taint but rather the contrary. These opinions were strongly maintained against the attacks of Hugh Childers, member of the commission, who opposed transportation. In each clash of opinion Kennedy's sure knowledge of all the facts, his firmness and his swift-moving mind, made him the victor over a clever, vigorous and high-minded opponent. A typical example of this attack and counter-attack is found in item 2557:

(Mr. Childers): So that we are expending a large sum of money in a very barren colony . . . and if we ceased to expend that money the end would be that the colony would cease to be willing to take our convicts?

2327 (Kennedy): "They cease to be a burden on society, and become in fact useful members of it--No doubt of it."
(Captain Kennedy): No; I think that you are expending money to get rid of people who are dangerous in this country, but who are not dangerous there . . . and at no greater cost than you would maintain them in England for. (1)

Kennedy's strongly expressed opinions prevailed. The commission recommended that all male convicts sentenced to penal servitude, except those failing to meet the standards laid down by the ex-governor, should be sent to Western Australia in increasingly large numbers. In the opinion of the commissioners they would add to the prosperity of that colony.

As Captain Kennedy had helped to shape the major recommendation of the commission, so he strongly influenced its plans for conduct of the system of penal servitude in every important detail. Nor were the commissioners in any way hesitant to acknowledge their debt to him, for his name is mentioned again and again as basis for decisions. Thus he helped to determine all the following policies: Longer sentences of penal servitude were to be imposed, but time actually spent in prison was to be shortened. Using the Kennedy-Henderson system of marks, with a slight reduction in leniency, convicts were to be moved speedily from prison

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 2, items 2474-2483, 2504-2511, and 2525-2557 contain the questioning by Childers.

2 Ibid., vol. 1, paragraphs 44, p. 35; 66, p. 52; 72, p. 58; 80, p. 67. The chairman of this commission was Earl Grey. Another ex-Secretary of State for Colonies on this commission was Sir John Pakington.
into work parties in the open country. There they were to be retained for a longer time than formerly, working on road-building and especially in clearing land until they had learned how to live successfully the life of a bush farmer. Conditional pardons were to be abolished and convicts kept on ticket-of-leave under guidance and supervision for the whole remaining term of their sentence. No female convicts should be sent to the colony. Finally a plan already adopted by Kennedy in the colony was to be confirmed and widened, whereby policemen and guards were to be retired after five years' service and given a good farm already cleared and with some buildings. Thereby it was hoped to attract a high quality of man into this service of guidance of convicts and ticket-of-leave holders. In every instance these policies originated in Arthur Kennedy's carefully weighed experience. By their wide scope, their close

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation by commissioners</th>
<th>Evidence of Captain Kennedy - vol. 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Longer sentences: par. 46</td>
<td>2627-2629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Shorter time in prison: par. 47</td>
<td>2609, 2611, 2616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Use system of marks: par. 40</td>
<td>2343-2357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Speedily to road gangs: par. 68</td>
<td>2611, 2336-2365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Retention in road gangs: par. 65, 68</td>
<td>2355-2353, 2666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Land clearing: par. 80</td>
<td>2570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Discontinue conditional pardon: par. 71</td>
<td>See above pp. 413-415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Longer ticket-of-leave: par. 47</td>
<td>2615-2616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) No female convicts: par. 84</td>
<td>2416-2420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) Recruiting good policemen: par. 78</td>
<td>2367-2371</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
integration and above all by their wisdom for the rehabilitation of men, Kennedy's plans for the management of convicts were marked by competence and humanity. Both Kennedy and Henderson in their handling of these men are shown not only to have been efficient planners and administrators, but also men of considerable vision.

In spite of the recommendation of the commissioners in favour of sending convicts to Western Australia, the imperial government was forced to discontinue the system. Several factors united to produce this result. In the first place, the eastern Australian colonies did not want any more convicts sent to the continent. They were becoming important enough for their desires to count. In the second place, the prosperity that came to Western Australia as a result of the new land system devised under Kennedy's guidance made it unnecessary for the colony to get its labour supply through convicts. The settlement of the north-western area, opened up by the exploration in Kennedy's regime, dealt a final blow to transportation. In essence Kennedy himself defeated the system he wanted to continue. In 1868 Britain stopped sending convicts to Western Australia. There were

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1 But compare the judgment of Dr. J. S. Battye, authoritative historian of Western Australia; See below p. 423.

many convicts whose term of service was not over for another dozen years. It was fortunate for them that the enlightened Kennedy-Henderson system of management was reinstated after 1867 by the appointment of Henry Wakeford as comptroller-general.

In fighting for the continuation of transportation Arthur Kennedy was out of step with the trend of the century. So long as that system continued Western Australia must be denied representative government. Kennedy did not seem to realize how much that denial handicapped the development of a sense of responsibility in its people. He was more concerned that the convicts themselves should have an opportunity for growth and recovery of their self-respect in the open spaces of the colony—an opportunity which was denied them in the crowded homeland. Yet so long as transportation

Letter from the Venerable James Brown, Archdeacon of Western Australia, York, Western Australia, August 19, 1861. It is evident that Governor Kennedy, Bishop Hale, Dean Pownall and Archdeacon Brown had a common policy. Archdeacon Brown stated the argument as follows:

... criminals placed amid scenes entirely new, presenting few incentives to crime, and affording as regards some crimes scarcely any opportunity for their commission, are not only likely to be themselves the better for the change, but would do less evil to society than where they return amid a dense population to old haunts, old companions, and all their former evil associations. Again he argues:

Western Australia is thus a prison roomy enough not to obtrude its bars and bolts at every turn of the convict, secure enough to tame his spirit as well as to prevent mischief to neighbouring colonies, and containing means of remunerative employment sufficiently varied, abundant, and certain to kindle each prisoner's hopes of new character and honest independence.
was possible, the people of Britain would delay a complete reform of her own penal system. In the over-all interest of both homeland and colony it was therefore desirable that transportation should stop.

Administration of the convict system was closely associated with public works during Governor Kennedy's administration of Western Australia. Before his time almost nothing of importance had been achieved. Up to 1850 only five miles of fully cleared roads had been constructed and only one bridge. Moreover, Governor Fitzgerald had been criticized for keeping convicts too steadily occupied in building prisons and convict depots rather than turning their labour to a purpose more conducive to prosperity of the colony.

As we have seen, Kennedy's policy was to get convicts out into the country, for their own benefit as well as to open up the country by road-building and land-clearing. In spite of the diminution of supply of convicts in the middle part of his regime, he was able to report that his administration had achieved the building of 192 bridges, 219 culverts and 1030 miles of roads, cleared but not metalled, in addition to keeping them in good repair. Even that amount of prog-


2 See above, p. 359.

ress did not satisfy the colonists, who disapproved of Kennedy's desire to keep the men more at land-clearing than anything else. He replied to their complaints with dry Ulster bluntness, that it was no easy task to provide sufficient means of communication in a country where there were only eleven thousand people and they so scattered that it would take eleven thousand miles of road to connect them.

Only occasionally were the convict gangs moved closer to the towns. At such times their work was to drain the great swampy area back of Perth, or to build a few wharves and jetties at coastal towns, or to build a great new clean and efficient central convict establishment at Fremantle, or in the smaller towns to build branch convict establishments, depots, barracks, police stations and court houses. The colonists complained that these works were just like those of Kennedy's predecessor--too much for imperial advantage, too much for the comfort of the convicts and their warders and too little for the welfare of the colony.

However, most of the anger directed against Kennedy's system was caused by his keeping the convict gangs away out in the country at the work of land-clearing. This work fitted in very well with his schemes of renewed immigration,

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1 Battye, *Western Australia*, p. 235.
exploration and land settlement. He had already begun to experiment with the plan he later successfully pressed upon the transportation commissioners. It was the clearing of large tracts of good land and the building of farm houses on them by convict labour. These farms were then to be sold on easy terms to immigrants and to ex-convicts or granted free to men who had served satisfactorily as policemen or warders. The colonists had little patience with these fine schemes. They had agreed to accept the homeland's unwanted convicts. In return they contended that imperial expenditure and convict labour should be directed primarily to building fine buildings in the towns—buildings that the colonists themselves could use. Since Kennedy stubbornly refused to meet their needs they branded his policy as inefficient. In that judgment they have the concurrence of the authoritative historian of Western Australia, Dr. J. S. Battye, who says of Kennedy:

Complaints against his administration of the convict system were to some extent justified. It lacked efficiency, and was not usually in the interests of the colony. In fact, all through his term Captain Kennedy was an Imperial officer, bent on conserving Imperial

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 1, p. 64, paragraph 75; vol. 2, items 2570, 2372 to 2375.
interests, and where these clashed with the requirements of Western Australia he leaned in every case toward the Motherland. (1)

Dr. Battye's sentence, "It lacked efficiency, and was not usually in the interests of the colony." is directed against Kennedy's refusal to use the convicts to build great public buildings in the towns rather than against the management or control of the men. All the witnesses before the transportation commissioners in 1863 agreed that the system under Kennedy and Henderson was efficiently handled. The colonists on Kennedy's departure from Western Australia testified as follows:

... his administrative ability and untiring zeal were recognized and appreciated by every order.

... to him is due ... the security of life and property ... notwithstanding that many dangerous men were at large ...

1 Western Australia, p. 245.
Compare his judgment of Kennedy's successor, Governor Hampton, who, he says, was justifiably criticized by the colonists because of his inefficient and tyrannical management of the convicts. However, he praises Hampton's use of convict labour in the construction of "many public buildings still in use". He goes on to say that "after all, Western Australia was entitled to any benefit she might receive from that labour as some return for consenting to allow the incubus of a criminal population to rest upon her. On the whole the benefits he conferred were lasting in nature, while his mistakes were but ephemeral". (Western Australia, p. 279).
... the firmness, the mildness, the judgment of men possessed by the Governor, dissipated the danger, and utilized the force. (1)

Moreover, Dr. Battye himself says that during the regime of Kennedy's successor, Governor J. S. Hampton, there was a serious decline in efficiency of handling of the convict system. Finally let us hear the judgment of Kennedy's system made in 1861 by the Venerable James Brown, Archdeacon of Western Australia:

Upon the convicts themselves the effects of transportation under the system pursued here have been extremely beneficial. (2)

The second part of the criticism against Kennedy is that he was bent on conserving imperial interests. The complaint is well-founded. In Western Australia he undoubtedly considered that it was one of his main duties to make the transportation system a success. That objective he could only achieve if the convicts were successfully rehabilitated, for it was only by that means that the colony might continue to

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1 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 23, 1864, p. 3, quoting an "Irish paper" which in turn was quoting from Western Australian testimonials.

2 Western Australia, pp. 253-254. See also above p. 380 to notice that efficiency was restored, according to Dr. Battye, by the appointment of Henry Wakeford as Comptroller and his restoration of the system as he had known it in the Kennedy period.

serve as an outlet for people not wanted in the motherland.

The one great public building initiated in the capital by Governor Kennedy gives weight to the charge that he was bent on strengthening imperial interest. He always considered that the residence of the Queen's representative should be one of dignity and importance. Of course, he himself was used to fine homes. He had been born and brought up in a stately manor at Cultra. He had associated with noble relatives in their splendid homes. He had been provided with a dignified and impressive castle in Sierra Leone. Here in Western Australia he lived in the most pretentious home in the colony; but it was sadly in need of repair and he considered it too small for the governor of a colony that was now well on its way to prosperity. While he did not plan to complete this building in time to live in it himself, he decided that it must be set under way. Therefore he turned his mind to plans for the building of a new Government House. Its estimated cost was £7000 but it was conceived on a grand scale that was eventually to drive its cost up to £18,000. Its corner stone was laid in 1859 and the work went ahead slowly.

1 See above, p. 416.
2 Battye, Western Australia, p. 236.
3 Fraser, Western Australian year-book for 1902-04, p. 38.
But Kennedy did not bring the convicts from their land-clearing in the country and set them vigorously to work at the new building. In fact there was a general slow-down of all public works in 1860. That circumstance, added to the governor's steadfast refusal to build a railroad at public expense for the private mining company at Northampton, deepened public suspicion that he was hoarding money in order to leave a fat surplus at the nearing close of his administration. The real cause of this slackening of public works was, as we have seen above, a decline in the influx of convicts in 1859 and 1860. The governor was undoubtedly as anxious as were the colonists to see work again under rapid way, for he was not the man to withhold money when there was solid progress to be made by spending it. His whole scheme of reforms called for more roads and more land-clearing. And there was indeed a sum of about £22,000 available for expenditure at the beginning of the new fiscal year in March 1861. That surplus spoke volumes for the progress that had been made since an empty treasury had greeted the dawn of this governorship. And Kennedy was quite willing to spend it to increase that prosperity. When, therefore, the

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1 See above, p. 384-385.

2 Battye, Western Australia, p. 244.
flow of convicts began to pick up in 1861 and the governor received word that such labour would be available in quantity again, he was so eager to get started again that, without seeking the sanction of his Legislative Council, he authorized a resumption of public works on a scale which not only used the money in hand, but earmarked a like sum to be charged against expenditures of succeeding years. Why the governor should have taken such unilateral action when he had a majority of cooperative officials in his Legislative Council is not clear. In any case, it gave the colonists, who had just been belabouring him for failure to spend money, an opportunity to vent their dislike by accusing him of unwarranted and arbitrary extravagance. Kennedy's action does seem to have all the earmarks of an arbitrary determination to set into process his own carefully considered works plan—delayed to his disgust by lack of labour—and thereby to bind his successor to their continuance. Governor Hampton was, of course, forced thus to abide by Kennedy's commitments and to bring in a measure legalizing the unauthorized action of his predecessor. However, this expenditure

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 245-246.

2 Ibid., p. 245.
could not properly be called extravagant. The sound basis of prosperity he had laid warranted a policy of boldness in public works for the further opening up of the colony. And indeed on that secure foundation of prosperity Governor Hampton was well able to carry on the policy marked out for him. However, by this arrogant procedure, Arthur Kennedy betrayed again the alloy that was mixed with his gold. A solid and shining program that had so securely guided Western Australia from dark despair to the door of a bright future was thus dulled by a domineering certainty that his clear mind alone could mark out the path to continuance of progress. It was actions such as this that gave to the editor of the Perth Gazette some basis for his harsh judgment that the governor was entitled to "every credit for great ability, and for great unscrupulousness in carrying out his plans regardless of public opinion however expressed."

It would be most unfair, however, to withhold credit from Governor Kennedy for the very great material prosperity that came to the colony under his guidance. He found the country in poverty with an empty treasury and a debt of unknown amount, its finances in an inefficient snarl. He brought order out of this chaos, laid foundations for sound financing in an accurate system of accounting, made provision for

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1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 243, quoting from the Perth Gazette of January 24, 1862.
speedy retirement of debt, and reduced expenditures to the colony's capacity to pay. Then, during the first five years of his administration, his wise measures for opening up resources increased the revenue by over forty percent. His success is made evident by the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Land Revenue</th>
<th>Customs Revenue</th>
<th>General Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>£ 7,258</td>
<td>£20,490</td>
<td>£48,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>£14,815 (100% increase)</td>
<td>£32,488 (58% increase)</td>
<td>£69,407 (40% increase)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once he had placed the finances on a sound basis, he was as bold in his use of money as he had formerly been cautious. Yet the income was now on such a flourishing basis that the country could take in its stride the heavy public works expenditures of his last full year and pay with ease for its bold continuance.

1 Statistical register of Western Australia, part 12, p. 5. The general revenue in 1860, the first year of the new land regulations, was £69,863.

2 Loc. cit. The general revenue for 1861 was £67,261. Expenditures were in the startling sum of £81,087. Yet finances were in balance in two years and a fine programme of public works was paid for. The debt of the colony was only £1750 and that in turn was extinguished in three years: All the lines of this policy had been laid down by Kennedy before he left. If there is any justification for his arbitrary action, it lies in this success of a bold financial policy when there was good basis for it.
He took over a colony with a paltry few miles of roads—a colony held back by an unimaginative works policy. He left it with a grand new Government House under construction, with great areas of swamp drained and made useful, with over one thousand miles of cleared roads in good repair and well-supplied with all necessary culverts and bridges, and with a bold programme of road-building, swamp-draining and land-clearing well under way.

He found hundreds of people on the dole and all immigration weakly brought to a halt. He speedily got people into productive employment and brought about an orderly resumption of free immigration. The population of the country was increased by forty-two percent between 1855 and 1862.

1 Statistical Register of Western Australia, part 12, p.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Works Department Expenditures from Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>£ 6,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>12,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>26,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>15,683</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition Kennedy was, of course, able to use convict labour for his works programme, the great cost of this labour borne by the imperial government.

2 Loc. cit.

Population 1855 = 12,858
Population 1862 = 17,246
He discovered that exploration had languished in dull discouragement for a half-dozen years prior to his arrival, and he pushed forward a systematic, unremitting and successful search for new resources.

He inherited an unworkable land policy that had been a source of discouragement and embitterment since the inception of this colony. His was the brilliant genius for organization that guided the formation of a well-integrated scheme of productive close settlement. Inner areas were soon dotted with small farms and sheep stations. Sheep-raising, which was to be the basis of an increasing prosperity, was steadily pushed northward and eastward into new blocks of land disclosed by vigorous and systematic exploration. Within his period the amount of land held under pastoral leases was increased by one hundred percent. The annual sale of land was increased one thousand percent! By far the larger part of this land was taken in small holdings by persons of moderate means. During his period both the amount of stock and the land under cultivation were doubled, and within

1 See above, pp. 385-392.
three years more they were tripled.

He found a country where imports far outweighed exports because the settlers had not addressed themselves to producing enough provisions to meet the needs of the convict establishments. His administration caused trade to take on a healthier colour through a rapidly diminishing preponderance of imports. In 1855 the value of exports was only forty-three percent of the value of imports. By 1862 it had climbed to sixty-three percent and within three years the exports had passed the imports in value:

1 Statistical register of Western Australia, part 12, page 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lands held under lease:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855 and preceding years - not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>4,131,368 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>7,079,386 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lands alienated during the year:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total amount of stock:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land under crops:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Loc. cit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>£105,320</td>
<td>£ 46,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>172,991</td>
<td>119,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>168,414</td>
<td>179,148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
His land and settlement policy had so increased production that between 1855 and 1862 the value of exports had grown by one hundred seventy percent. The export value of wool, which supplied over half the value of all exports, had more than doubled. Before he came, shipments of sandalwood had ceased altogether, but now that commodity contributed some £21,000 to the value of exports. There was a good increase in the export of copper ore. And, though the country was now supplying itself with more foodstuffs, it was even able to send away some provisions.

In every material aspect Governor Kennedy's administration had been good for this people and for this colony. His financial policy was sound—cautious at the outset when conditions were bad, bold when a foundation for boldness had been laid. His programme of public works was effective. His policy of immigration was controlled but optimistic. His

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1 Statistical register of Western Australia, part 12, p. 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1862</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of all exports:</td>
<td>£ 46,314</td>
<td>£ 119,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of wool exports:</td>
<td>£ 25,672</td>
<td>£ 60,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of sandalwood</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>£ 21,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>export:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of export of</td>
<td>£ 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copper ore:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of export of</td>
<td>£ 902</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provisions:</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
direction of exploration was vigorous, systematic, and highly successful. His guidance of land settlement was the only successful one this colony had ever known. At the opening of his regime everything was black. At his departure the colony was well on the road to prosperity.

The Colonial Office was well aware of Kennedy's brilliant success, for he was always as forthright in reporting his own achievements as he was willing to give praise on behalf of efficient subordinates. Yet if anyone was to blame for the fact that historians of Western Australia have emphasized the dissatisfactions stirred up by his vigorous administration and have failed sufficiently to stress his splendid contribution to the welfare of this colony, it was Arthur Edward Kennedy. A man who always turned all his power to the accomplishment of his objectives, he led a group of Western Australians before the Commission on Transportation and Penal Servitude in 1863 determined to secure the continuation of transportation to that colony. In order to win their objective Kennedy and his cohorts set about to demonstrate that the colony's new prosperity was a result of the introduction of the labour and the imperial capital that accompanied transportation. In this campaign the Western Australians had the entire support of the chairman of the commission, Henry, Earl Grey, who had first turned transportation towards the colony. Contrast was therefore made
between the poverty of the colony in 1850 at the beginning of transportation and its prosperity a decade later. No attention was drawn, even by Governor Kennedy, to the first five years of failure. The objective was to show transportation the great cause of prosperity. Thus people lost sight of the truth that transportation with its accompanying assisted free immigration and heavy imperial expenditures in themselves did not bring prosperity. It was forgotten that the colony plunged downward into a new depression by 1855. It was forgotten that during the first years of Kennedy's administration imperial expenditures declined from £132,000 in 1854 to £92,000 in 1859. It was forgotten that, in spite of that decline, his hard-headed financial policy was lifting the colony from bankruptcy into a healthy readiness to profit from his new land policy of 1859. These things obscured, the tendency has been to give more credit for the prosperity of the 'sixties to the system than to the governor who so skilfully made it effective.

1 Report of the commissioners, vol. 1, paragraphs 72-74, pp. 58-60; vol. 2, items 2309, 2310 (Kennedy), 169 (Fitzgerald), 6338 (Henderson). Similar evidence was given by Captain DuCane and Mr. Sanford, vol. 1, paragraph 72, p. 58.

2 The Venerable James Brown, Archdeacon of Western Australia to the Editor of the Times, York, Western Australia, August 19, 1861. The Times, London, October 24, 1861, p. 7.
Thus, Dr. Battye, in explaining the change that took place between 1850 and 1860, tends to put main emphasis on imperial expenditures of £450,000 in pay and allowances to officials administering the convict system and £250,000 spent in the colony on the purchase of foodstuffs for prisoners. Now, no one can doubt that an expenditure of close on a million pounds within ten years had a great part to play in bringing about prosperity. On the other hand, one should not forget that pump-priming is of little value to the economy of a country if no one works on the pump handle. That, however, is exactly what happened until Arthur Kennedy came. The settlers accepted the flow of imperial expenditures in easy-going contentment, and refrained from expanding production lest the high prices they were receiving for produce should fall. Production dragged, prices spiralled upward and imports rose out of all proportion to exports. The flow of imperial moneys was diverted outside the colony to pay for these imports. In the absence of increased production, assisted free immigrants could not be absorbed; local funds were used unproductively in doles to maintain them in idleness. Stationary local revenues could not stand the strain. The treasury

1 Battye, Western Australia, p. 239.
was emptied. That great outpouring of imperial expenditures had not brought strength to the colony, but weakness. Western Australia had fallen again into depression at the time of Captain Kennedy's arrival.

We have seen that he knew the only cure for that bad economic situation—namely work and production. We have watched his well-balanced and energetic policies turn an inflow of capital and labour from liabilities into assets by discovering opportunities for their productive union.

When Arthur Kennedy left the country on February 17, 1862, Western Australia was in full stride into the only real prosperity it had ever known.

Nor did he leave his charge unthanked. From every corner of the colony and from every institution in it came tributes of admiration and of regret at his leaving. Their testi-


2 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 21, 1864, p. 3, lists tributes from the following:
the landowners and inhabitants of the Murray District
the inhabitants of Fremantle
the Swan River Mechanics' Institute
the Chairman and members of the Perth City Council
the inhabitants of Perth
the Executive Council
the members of the Civil Service
onials were unanimous in acknowledgment of his administrative ability and untiring zeal, his true kindness, his courtesy, his patience, his firmness, and his knowledge of men. His great contribution to the country's prosperity was recognized again and again. Here is a typical excerpt from one of their tributes:

He has left the Colony unencumbered with debt; and with an adequate revenue fairly and equally raised; with large and increasing exports; and undisturbed by religious or political dissension. (1)

Great as was Kennedy's contribution to the material welfare of Western Australia, his finest gift was intangible. We have already quoted a significant sentence from one of the memorials. That sentence reaches out toward a suggestion of this humane officer's great gift to the colony:

... the firmness, the mildness, the judgment of men possessed by the Governor, dissipated the danger, and utilized the force.

The true force that Arthur Kennedy used was the healing power of hard work in the open countryside. That policy gave to Western Australia sturdy citizens who served her well in the gladness of a new start in life.

1 The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, March 23, 1864, p. 3.
A grateful home government signalized the conclusion of Kennedy's government of Western Australia when Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to appoint him a Companion of the most Honourable Order of the Bath. It is possible that this first step into the order of knighthood carried more joy to his Irish heart than all the succeeding honours that were to come to this upright, competent and successful governor.

1 The annual register, or a view of the history and politics of the year 1862, London, J. and F. H. Rivington, 1863, p. 422.
APPENDIX NO. 1

The date of Arthur Edward Kennedy's Birth

1. Two authorities agree that Arthur was born on April 9th. (The Australian Encyclopaedia, Volume 1, p. 695 and DNB., Volume 30, published 1892, p. 413).

2. Alumni Dublinenses, p. 460, records that he entered Trinity College, Dublin on October 20, 1823, and that he was then entered as 16 years of age. That would indicate that he was born in 1807. It has been shown in Chapter III that the age entered at matriculation is suspect because Sadleir says that probably Irish gentlemen "computed the ages of their sons as we do those of our horses, and described the undergraduate as 'rising sixteen'." (See above p. 68).

3. The annual register of 1883, p. 152, says that he was "born in 1808".

4. The London Times obituary, June 15, 1883, p. 12, says that he was "74 years of age, having been born in 1809".

5. The Brisbane Courier, May 4, 1883, says of him, "Commencing life as a stripling in a marching regiment at 18 . . ." Now we know that he entered the army in May 1827 (The army list of 1832, p. 167). That would indicate that he was born in 1809.

6. Beaton's Australian men of the times, quoted in a newspaper clipping loaned to the writer by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, says he was "born 1809".

7. The Alsbury Crier, New South Wales, late June 1883, p. 115, says "he had attained the advanced age of 74". That would indicate that he was born in 1809.

8. Mrs. F. M. Kennedy to the writer, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, November 13, 1949, says that in a family tree written by Charlie Kennedy, son of Langford Kennedy and cousin of Arthur Edward, the date of Arthur's birth is given as 1809. This family tree was obtained from records at Cultra Manor.

9. Thomas Seccumbe, author of the article on Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy in DNB., volume 30 (published 1892), p. 413, gives the date of birth as April 9, 1810 and most yearbooks published since DNB. adopt its date, e.g. Crone, A concise dictionary of Irish biography, p. 111; Hyamson, A. M., A dictionary of universal
biography, p. 344; Australian Encyclopaedia, Volume 1, p. 695; Wallace, W. S., The dictionary of Canadian biography, Volume 1, p. 318. It would appear that all these smaller works have just followed DNB.

Now consider the items above. No. 4, the London Times obituary, and No. 5, the Brisbane Courier obituary, were both written in June 1883, and could not have influenced one another. Yet they agree on the year 1809. The Alsbury Crier obituary agrees. Moreover, the family tree written by Arthur Kennedy's cousin and preserved till recently among the records at Cultra, agrees with that date 1809.

In view of the concurrence of these accounts close to the time of Arthur Kennedy's life, the date April 9, 1809, has been adopted as the correct date of his birth.
Most of the materials consulted in the preparation of this work are in the Provincial Library and Archives at Victoria, British Columbia, the Public Library at Victoria, British Columbia, and the University of British Columbia Library at Vancouver, British Columbia.

Many materials were obtained on inter-library loan through the courtesy of Mr. Willard Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Victoria, British Columbia, and his staff. The source of such materials will be indicated with each title.

Although Arthur Kennedy's governorship of Vancouver Island does not form a main part of this study, materials relating to or written during that governorship have played an influential part in forming the picture put forward here. These materials include his own comment concerning the period discussed in this study. They also include estimates of his character advanced by observers who had this period in mind. They also include his Vancouver Island despatches because they disclose his methods and ways of thought. The number of such Vancouver Island materials included in the following lists has been restricted to the ones that had most definite influence on the picture of Kennedy here advanced.

In similar fashion some materials relating to Sir
Arthur Kennedy's governorships of the West African Settlements, Hong Kong and Queensland, have contributed to the picture of his early governorships.

**MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS**

Alston, Edward Graham, *Letters to H. Crease*. Original letters in the Archives of British Columbia. Alston was extremely cautious in references to Governor Kennedy, but some revealing allusions are made. Kennedy regarded Alston as a competent official and assisted him to get an appointment in Sierra Leone.

Colonial Office Vancouver Island Original Correspondence (C.O. 305) Volume 22, Kennedy to Newcastle, Confidential, 30th March, 1864. A photostat of this despatch was obtained by the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

Colonial Office Vancouver Island Original Correspondence (C.O. 305) Volume 26, Kennedy to Cardwell, Confidential, 16th December 1865; Kennedy to Cardwell, Confidential, 30th December 1865. Photostats obtained by the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

Elliott, A., *British Columbia politics*. Original of this manuscript is in the Bancroft Library, University of California. Photostat in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C., was used.

Ermatinger Papers. Letters to Edward Ermatinger from John Tod and others. Original letters are in the Public Archives, Ottawa. Typescripts in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C., were used.

Helmcken, Dr. John Sebastian, *Reminiscences*. Typescripts in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C. Pertinent sections of this document were read to the writer with explanatory comment by Dr. Helmcken's daughter, Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, in 1937. Her comments and explanations often made the reminiscences far more revealing.
Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm, *Memoranda on various subjects*. Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

Sproat was a highly competent observer and much weight has been placed on his observations. The original of his *Memoranda* is more valuable concerning Governor Kennedy than is the typewritten copy because Sproat's ideas are as well revealed by his deletions during composition as by the more restrained statement with which he finished.


Vancouver Island - Governor (Kennedy). Despatches to London, March 25, 1864 to November 19, 1866, original official letter-book, Archives of British Columbia.

Although Sir Arthur E. Kennedy's governorship of Vancouver Island lies outside the field of this study, these despatches and the ones obtained in photostatic form contributed strongly to the picture of Kennedy put forward in this work.

Vancouver Island - Despatches from Downing Street, 1864 to 1866. The originals of these documents are in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

PRINTED MATERIALS USED FOR CHAPTERS I TO IV: Family Background, Early Life, Formal Education and Young Manhood. (i.e. those mainly concerning action in the United Kingdom)


Alison, Sir A., *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart*, second and third Marquesses of Londonderry with annals of contemporary events in which they bore a part, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1861, three volumes.

Frankly and at times fulsomely admiring of both his subjects, Alison brings the atmosphere of the period he describes to life. Moreover, despite his lack of restraint in admiration, this author appears to be reasonably accurate. It was a useful source.
# Annual Registers. The annual register or a view of the
history; politics and literature of the year, 1826,
London, Baldwin, Craddock and Joy; C. and J. Rivington,
1827.

Many other volumes of the Annual register were used,
especially those of 1836, 1840, 1841, 1845 and 1848
(usually the publisher was F. and J. Rivington). This
work is a wonderful source of information and of leads
to other ways of getting data.

# Army Lists. A list of all the officers of the army and
marines on full and half-pay with an index and a
succession of colonels, War Office, 1st January 1802.

Other army lists used were those of 1817 and 1838
(both published by John Murray, London). These lists
were used in following the career of Lieutenant-Colonel
Arthur Kennedy, uncle of Arthur Edward.

The writer is indebted to Major F. V. Longstaff for
their use.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of British Columbia,
San Francisco, The History Company, 1887.

For this study Bancroft was used for a fragment only
--his judgment of Kennedy is based on an opinion given
by A. C. Elliott. He would have been better advised to
use the words of his informant than to try to interpret
them in his own.

Bready, J. W., England before and after Wesley, the
evangelical revival and social reform, London, Hodder and
Stoughton, Limited, 1940.

While Dr. Bready tends to attribute reforms that were
really part of the trend of the age too definitely to the
influence of John Wesley and his followers, nevertheless
he presents a good case and a valuable picture of the age.
This book was mainly useful as background for this study
rather than as a direct influence on it.

Bryant, Arthur, The age of elegance, 1812-1822, Collins,

Dr. Bryant's splendid account gives a well-balanced
picture of the period of Arthur Kennedy's childhood.

Burke, Sir Bernard, A genealogical and heraldic history of
the landed gentry of Ireland, London, Harrison and Sons,
1912.

This standard authority formed the starting point for
research concerning Arthur E. Kennedy's family background.

# Indicates a primary source.

Burtchaell, George Dames and Sadleir, Thomas Ulick, Alumni Dublinenses, a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin, London, Williams and Norgate, 1924. Alumni Dublinenses is a primary source both with reference to Trinity College, Dublin, and to some members of the Kennedy family.

This book was obtained on inter-library loan by the Provincial Library at Victoria, B. C.

Charley, William, Flax and its products, London, Bell and Dady, 1862.

Chart, D. A., "Three post-reformation leaders of the Church--James Ussher, William King, Richard Whately", Bell, W., and Emerson, W.D., editors, The Church of Ireland, A.D. 432-1932, the report of the Church of Ireland Conference held in Dublin 11th-14th October, 1932, Dublin, Church of Ireland Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, 1932.

Several articles from this report of the Church of Ireland Conference of 1932 have proved useful in studying the Church of Ireland and its influence on Arthur Kennedy. The writer is indebted to Archdeacon A. E. deL. Nunns for use of this book.


This is a useful source.


Day, the Right Reverend J. Godfrey, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, "The missionary contributions of the Church of Ireland", in Bell, W. and Emerson, W.D., editors, The Church of Ireland, A.D. 432-1932, the report of the Church of Ireland Conference held in Dublin 11th-14th October, 1932, Dublin, Church of Ireland Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, 1932, pp. 86-92.

The writer is indebted to Archdeacon A. E. deL. Nunns for this article.

Dunlop, Robert, Ireland from the earliest times to the present day, London, Oxford University Press, 1922.
This source was used in study of the career of Arthur E. Kennedy's uncle, Langford Kennedy.


Professor Feiling's restraint and balance bring many topics into clearer focus. For example, he places Castlereagh in a fairer light and shows that his policy helped to lay a basis for Canning's great foreign policy. This history was used extensively in the study of the period of Kennedy's young manhood.


Fraser, James, Handbook for travellers in Ireland, Dublin, McGlashan and Gill, n.d.

This issue of Hermathena was obtained on inter-library loan from the University of Toronto by the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C. Hermathena is an invaluable source for the study of Trinity College, Dublin.

Gibbs, the Honourable Vicar, editor, The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant, London, the St. Catherine Press, 1913, 12 volumes.

This book was used at this time only for an over-all opinion of Governor Kennedy. Gosnell depended on D. W. Higgins for opinions on the early governors.


Because of the carefully detailed nature of his work, Halevy's several volumes proved to be of great use in the study of the periods of Kennedy's childhood, youth and young manhood.


Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S. C., *Ireland, its scenery, character, and history*, Francis A. Nichols and Company, Boston, 1911, 6 volumes.

Written for popular distribution, this work is none the less useful for description of the countryside.


Other volumes of the Parliamentary Debates used were New Series (Second Series) Volume 20; Third Series, Volumes 26, 27, 31, 83, 87 and 89.


Volume 2, Chapters 12 and 13, helped to form the picture of Kennedy advanced in this study in some degree— but to a limited extent only.


Lecky, an outstanding Professor of History at Trinity College, Dublin, is a secure authority on Ireland. He has been used freely in the first chapter.


Since Lever attended Trinity College, Dublin, at the same time as Kennedy, the parts relating to that university have been regarded as contemporary description of life at that university, exaggerated perhaps for the novelist's purpose, but none the less useful.


This article was used in research concerning the manor house at Cultra.

Londonderry, Charles Vane, Marquess of, Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry, 2 volumes, London, Henry Colbourn, 1848.

An outright proponent of Castlereagh, the author is nevertheless a most useful source. Moreover, modern historians are taking a position much closer to the one advanced by this author than the harsh opinion held at an earlier time.

MacBeth, the Reverend John, The story of Ireland and her Church. Dublin, the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1899.

This book was useful in tracing the influence of Evangelicalism in the Church of Ireland. The writer is indebted to Archdeacon A. E. deL. Nunns for its use.


This source was used in passing only—for the events of William III's campaign in northern Ireland.


This book will be valuable for a study of Kennedy's Vancouver Island governorship. For this study it was used only to obtain Macfie's opinion of Governor Kennedy and his ability. The Reverend M. Macfie was a Congregational minister in Victoria who appears to have been a competent observer.


A copy was obtained by the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C., on inter-library loan from the Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

Dr. Maxwell is a professor of history at Trinity College, Dublin. Her several books here listed are colourful, detailed and have been most useful for this study.


Dr. Maxwell's history is a colourful and authoritative source of information about Trinity College, Dublin. It was this work that indicated the further sources (*Hermathena* and *Alumni Dublinenses*) that were necessary to find the more specific information needed for the exact period of Arthur Kennedy's attendance there.

# Navy Lists. Steel's original and correct list of the Royal Navy, hired armed vessels, revenue-cutters, etc., with their commanders and stations, corrected to September 1806, London, Steel's, 1806.

Other navy lists used were those of 1809, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1817, 1820, 1837, 1859, 1841, 1847, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1864, 1865. The usual publisher was John Murray, London. These lists were used in following the career of Captain Alexander Kennedy, R.N. The writer is indebted to Major F. V. Longstaff for their use.
Newspapers.

# The Alsbury Crier, Alsbury, New South Wales.
Clippings loaned by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia. A valuable source which contains a long obituary article.

# The Brisbane Courier, Brisbane, Queensland.
Clippings loaned by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia. A valuable source containing a long obituary article.

# The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island.
The British Colonist in conjunction with The Evening Express and The Daily Chronicle constitute a primary source of the utmost value since quotations of Kennedy's statements of his views can be checked one against the other. At the outset of his governorship in Vancouver Island, Arthur Kennedy made copious reference to his former governorships and frequent statement of his views in general.

# The British Columbian, New Westminster, B. C.

# The Daily Chronicle, Victoria, Vancouver Island.

# The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island.

Copies of clippings in the possession of Mr. Arthur Edward Kennedy Bunnell, Toronto, Ontario.

The Provincial Library at Victoria has the second edition of The Times from 1839. It is an invaluable source. Palmer's Index is also available and indispensable.

# The Witness, Edinburgh, Scotland.
The Provincial Library at Victoria has a few years' issues only. Those used were 1840-41, 1842, 1845 and 1846-47.

Norie, J. W., The naval gazetteer, biographer and chronologlist, containing a history of the late wars from their commencement in 1792 to their conclusion in 1801 and from their re-commencement in 1803 to their final conclusion in 1815 and continued, as to the biographical part, to the present time, London, J. W. Norie and Company, 1827.

This book was used in a search of the career of A. E. Kennedy's uncle, Captain Alexander Kennedy, R.N.; the writer is indebted to Major F. V. Longstaff for the use of this book.
O'Byrne, William R., *A naval biographical dictionary comprising the life and services of every living officer in Her Majesty's Navy from the rank of Admiral of the Fleet to that of Lieutenant, inclusive*, London, John Murray, 1849.

The writer is indebted to Major F. V. Longstaff for use of this excellent source.


This magazine was obtained on inter-library loan from the University of Toronto which has a complete file of *Hermathena*.

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain.

"Papers relative to the proposed union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island", *Imperial Blue Books*, Canada, volume 39, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1866, 1867.

This book is indicated only as a printed source of Kennedy's despatches relating to Union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. It is of minor interest only to this study.

Report of Her Majesty's commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University of Dublin and of Trinity College; together with appendices, containing evidence, suggestions, and correspondence, Presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Dublin, Alexander Thom, 1853.

The report itself is numbered from pp. 1 to 104;
Appendix A, Evidence is numbered from 1 to 283.
Appendix B, Suggestions, is numbered from 284 to 351.
Appendix C, Correspondence, is numbered from 352 to 382.
Index to the Report of numbered from 1 to 53.

This report is a primary source, which was indispensable in discovering conditions and courses at Trinity College, Dublin, during the time of Arthur Kennedy's attendance.


This excellent and enjoyable book was of real help in assessing the period of Kennedy's young manhood.


A picture of this engraving was given to the writer by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, who now owns the engraving. This picture has been a most valuable source of information.

Shearman, Hugh, Anglo-Irish relations, London, Faber and Faber, 1948.

Hugh Shearman is the outstanding authority on North Ireland today. His work is careful and authoritative. His writing are influenced by an outspoken belief in the separateness of Ulster—geographically and as a result of historic influences—from the rest of Ireland. His several works here listed have been accepted as worth-while and useful sources by this writer.

Shearman, Hugh, Northern Ireland, its history, resources and people, Belfast, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946, pamphlet.


This magazine was obtained on inter-library loan from the University of Toronto.


The earlier edition by Sidney Lee, since 1885, was also used and was so indicated in footnoting.


(Volume 1 was the one mainly used here).

Of the many sources consulted concerning the Utilitarians, this work proved to be the only one that could resolve the basic inconsistency of Utilitarian ideas for this writer. Therefore, the other sources have not been listed.


Trollope records his age with minute accuracy in his various novels.


Woodward's excellent account deals with the main period of Arthur Kennedy's life and with many of the currents of thought that influenced him strongly.

PRINTED MATERIALS USED IN CHAPTER V: The Army.

# The annual register.
Issues of 1841, 1846, 1847, 1852 and 1883 were used.

# Army lists.
Lists of 1827, 1828, 1832, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1847, 1856 were used. The first three were obtained from the Archives of Canada on inter-library loan. The others were used in the library of Major F. V. Longstaff.


Burke, Sir Bernard, A genealogical and heraldic history of the colonial gentry, London, Harrison and Sons, 1895, 2 volumes (edited by Ashworth P. Burke).
This source was used in tracing the family background of Arthur Kennedy's wife, Georgina Macartney. It is also useful with reference to the names of his children.

Cannon, Richard, *Historical records of the Eleventh, or the North Devon Regiment of Foot; containing an account of the formation of the regiment in 1685, and of its subsequent services to 1845*, London, Parker, Furnivall and Parker, Military Library, Whitehall, 1845.

A microfilm of this book was obtained by the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C., on inter-library loan from the Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

This account was published while Captain Kennedy was still in the army. The information concerning his period in the 11th Regiment was therefore contemporary and for that reason this source is listed as a primary source. It was used as a major reference for the movements of the 11th Regiment. In nearly every instance where contemporary newspaper accounts were found they agreed with this record. Where there was disagreement later newspaper accounts indicated that this source was correct.


Colonial Office lists.

Lists for 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, and 1883 were used.


Volume 11 only was used. Although this great work is the authority in this field, it did not prove as useful as Chichester and Burges-Short in providing leads for further research.


Professor Kennedy's findings still prove remarkably sound.


Newspapers.
# The Albion, New York.
The Albion proved an invaluable source for following the movements of various regiments. Moreover, since The Times was not available in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C., for years before 1839, The Albion for 1836 was highly useful. The editorial policy was extremely pro-British and Conservative.

# The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island.
Captain Kennedy's army career is made evident through many references quoted in the Colonist.

# The Evening Express, Victoria, Vancouver Island.

# The Times, London.
The Times is highly useful where the army is concerned.

# The Witness, Edinburgh.
The Witness seemed to carry even fuller and more regular records of War Office releases than The Times. Moreover, it frequently showed the movements of individual officers. Furthermore, since there were only two issues a week in the period concerned, it was easier to find army information here than in The Times. (Palmer's Index is sometimes a handicap rather than a help). The Witness for 1840-41, 1842, and 1845 was used for this chapter.

Where this chapter is concerned, this source was used with reference to the Portuguese campaign of the 11th Regiment.


Stephan, Leslie, *The English utilitarians*, London, Duckworth and Company, 1900, 3 volumes. Volume 1 was used.


PRINTED MATERIALS USED IN CHAPTER VI: Irish Famine Years.

# The annual register.
Issues of 1845, 1846, 1847 and 1852 were used for this chapter.

Written at the time of Kennedy's service as a Poor Law Inspector under Lord Clarendon's administration, this source was distinctly useful.

The Colonial Office lists.
Issues for 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1868 were used.

Dunlop, Robert, Ireland from the earliest times to the present day, London, Oxford University Press, 1922.


This contemporary account of the Irish famine and attempts to alleviate it was a worth-while source of information.

Newspapers:
# The Albury Crier, Albury, New South Wales.
Newspaper clippings loaned to the writer by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia—especially the obituary article—show how great an influence his Irish famine work had on Sir Arthur Kennedy.

# The Munster News, Limerick.
Articles reprinted in The British Colonist, Victoria, Vancouver Island, show how Kennedy's Irish famine service was regarded in the area where he worked.

# The Times, London.

# The Witness, Edinburgh.

The parts of this article written by Sir J. O'Connor proved to have most direct reference to the Irish famine period especially pp. 611-615.

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain.

# "Papers relating to the proceedings for the relief of distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, fourth series, 1847" presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (16), Relief of distress and union workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847-5 September 1848, London William Clowes and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1847.

This volume and the two succeeding ones give very vivid and direct testimony concerning Arthur Edward Kennedy since they carry his despatches. These three volumes of British Parliamentary Papers form one of the main bases on which the picture of Kennedy advanced in this study is built.

# "Papers relating to the proceedings for the relief of distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, Fifth series, 1848", presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (17), Relief of distress and union workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847-5 September 1848, London, Printed by William Clowes and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1848.

See note on preceding item.

# "Papers relating to the proceedings for the relief of distress and state of the unions and workhouses in Ireland, sixth series, 1848", presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Accounts and papers, twenty-eight volumes (18), Relief of distress and union workhouses (Ireland), Session 18 November 1847-5 September 1848, London, William Clowes and Sons, 1848.

See note on volume 16 of this series.


This article quotes extensively from Captain Kennedy's reports from Kilrush—sometimes amalgamating paragraphs and sentences from separate reports and giving inaccurate reference. Yet, on the whole, the picture presented does not do undue violence to the
nature of the reports themselves. The intention of the article was to use Kennedy's reports to mould opinion in favour of a discontinuance of relief. This article pointed the way to the reports themselves and search by letter at the Public Record Office in London disclosed their place in the Parliamentary Papers.

*Thom's Irish almanac for the year 1866*, Dublin, Alexander Thom, 1866.


Volume 4 gives a useful account of the steps taken by the Peel and Russell ministries to cope with the Irish Famine. His clarity and detail are lacking in other sources. Walpole was therefore a most useful source for this study.

**PRINTED MATERIALS USED IN CHAPTER VII: West Africa.**

# The annual register.

Issues of 1852 and 1854 were used.

Alldridge, T. J., "Sierra Leone up to date", *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, London, the Institute, 40 volumes, 1869 - 1909, Volume 40, 1909, pp. 38-52. Discussion of the article is printed on pp. 52-55.

T. J. Alldridge held various government posts in Sierra Leone for many years. He visited the colony as early as 1871 during Kennedy's second administration. His information is therefore regarded as valuable.

Alldridge, T. J., *A transformed colony, Sierra Leone as it was and as it is, its progress, peoples, native customs and undeveloped wealth*, London, Seeley and Company, Limited, 1910.

See note on preceding item.


This book is a useful source of information because Captain Butt-Thompson was in Sierra Leone during Kennedy's second governorship on the West African coast.

Colonial Office lists.

Lists for 1864, 1866, 1867, 1883, 1910 and 1939 were used. Maps in the 1883 list are excellent.


First published in 1897, Egerton's work is a classic where colonial policy is concerned. It did not prove specifically useful concerning Sierra Leone itself, but was used for an understanding of trends of colonial policy.


Griffith, the Honourable T. Risely, "Sierra Leone: past, present and future", Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882, 40 volumes, 1869 - 1909, volume 13, pp. 56-84. Discussion of the article is printed on pp. 84-98.

T. R. Griffith was Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone at the time he gave this address, which with the discussion it provoked from the Honourable William Grant, a negro member of the Legislative Council and Colin Graham-Rosentush, ex-consul for Italy and Holland in Sierra Leone, proved to be a valuable source of information.


Lucas gives a useful general picture but does not give much detail concerning the period of this study.


Written at the time Arthur Kennedy went to Sierra Leone, Volume 7 brings a good contemporary account of the colony.


An excellent source.


Newspapers:

- **The British Colonist**, Victoria, Vancouver Island. Several direct references to his government of Sierra Leone made by Arthur Kennedy are quoted. Since most of them are repeated in either the *Daily Chronicle* or the *Evening Express*, cross-checking is possible.

- **The British Columbian**, New Westminster, B. C. Evidence concerning Arthur Kennedy's period in Sierra Leone is given.

- **The Daily Chronicle**, Victoria, Vancouver Island.

- **The Evening Express**, Victoria, Vancouver Island.


This authoritative article has been used extensively.
Wadstrom, C. B., An essay on colonization, particularly applied to the western coast of Africa, London, Darton and Harvey, 1794.

Part two gives an interesting, detailed account of the origin and early history of the colony.

"West African Settlements", Her Majesty's colonies, a series of original papers issued under the authority of the Royal Commission (Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886), London, William Clowes and Sons, 1886, pp. 514-531.

This work was supervised by Professor J. R. Seeley (Cambridge). It gives useful information.

PRINTED MATERIALS USED IN CHAPTER VIII: Western Australia.

The annual register. Volumes for 1854, 1855, and 1862 were used.

The Australian handbook for 1902, London, Gordon and Gotch, 1903:

This is a large useful handbook with topics arranged in alphabetical order. Western Australia is dealt with in pages 225-250.

Battye, J. S., Western Australia, a history from its discovery to the inauguration of the Commonwealth, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924.

This authoritative work was obtained from the Public Library of Portland, Oregon, on inter-library loan. It was used extensively. Dr. Battye in this work gives a more unfavourable picture of Arthur Edward Kennedy than does the writer of this study. In particular, Dr. Battye marks Governor Kennedy as one moved primarily by imperial interest. He likewise regards all the other early governors as unsatisfactory for the same reason.


Sir F. N. Broome was Governor of Western Australia when he gave this address.


This work has splendid maps. Chapter 14 deals with the expedition of Francis Gregory to the north-west.
The author is specific in his statement that F. T. Gregory was appointed by the home and Western Australian governments to carry out the explorations to the north-west. In this respect he concurs with M. A. C. Fraser. Other sources, including Battye's *Western Australia*, are vague concerning most of the explorations. Their vagueness obscures the fact that the major explorations of the period under study were carried out under government direction—a point on which Calvert is specific.


This splendid source deals in detail with each period and therefore proved of great value to this study. The work is undocumented. Sometimes slips of one year appear in a date, or an export or import is attributed to the year before or after the proper one. Some historians (e.g. Fitzgerald) say they sometimes mistrust Coghlan's judgment, yet they all use him freely. He was Registrar-General for New South Wales and membre de l'institut international de statistique, able to put his hand on a wealth of information, and with a mind capable of using it. This was a most valuable source.


T. A. Coghlan wrote most or all of this book; it is in his style. This book gives some valuable detail concerning the period under study. It would not otherwise be regarded as a valuable source.

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Further references:

* The Colonial Office list. Volumes for 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1883 and 1940 were used. A map in the 1883 list is most useful.


This book devotes considerable good attention to economic factors as they affected imperial policy in relation to the Australian colonies. The author gives little credit to other factors as determining policy—a lack of balance that weakens his value. No credit is given British authorities for any vision in relation to shaping responsible government. Contrast Egerton.

Fraser, Malcolm A. C., Western Australian yearbook for 1896-7, Perth, Richard Pether, Government Printer, 1898. This book is written with clarity and definiteness on many points on which other writers are vague. It was therefore most useful.

Fraser, Malcolm A. C., Western Australian yearbook for 1902-04, Perth, by authority, A. Curtis, acting Government Printer, 1906. This excellent book gives historical information from pages 1 to 94. Malcolm Fraser, F.R.G.S., F.S.S., F.R.C.I., was Government Statistician and Registrar-General for Western Australia. His work is characterized by a most desirable wealth of detail for the early period. This book is a valuable source of information.


An historic retrospect on the occasion of the 150th anniversary celebrations of the founding of Australia, no place, publisher, or date. Information for this commemorative pamphlet was supplied by the Royal Australian Historical Society. Copy in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.

James, J. C. H., Historical table of the statutes and an alphabetical index of their contents, together with proclamations, orders-in-council, etc., and a list of the imperial statutes adopted in the colony and unrepealed, Perth, by authority, 1896.

This work is a splendid source of information. Information has been obtained on Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, Governor Fitzgerald, A. C. and F. T. Gregory, Bishop M. B. Hale, Governor Hampton, Colonel E. Y. W. Henderson, Governor Hutt, Governors of Western Australia, Perth, Transportation and Western Australia.

Martin, R. M., *The British colonies*, London, John Tallis and Company, n.d., 12 volumes, Volume 4, *Australia*. From internal evidence it would appear that this volume was written in 1851. This book is regarded as a valuable source for this essay because it was written so close to the time Kennedy was there. From the list of subscribers it would appear that this series was influential in forming ideas about the colonies among the governing classes in Britain. It is therefore a source of some considerable importance.


Newspapers.

# The British Colonist.

Quotations from memorials to Kennedy on his departure from Western Australia are given.


Since Western Australia was indeed the Cinderella of the Australian colonies, *The Times* carries few articles about that colony during the period of this study. Palmer's *Index* is less useful here than is usual. However, search of *The Times*, issue by issue, was rewarded with a few valuable letters.

Ormsby, Margaret A., "Some Irish figures in colonial days", *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, volume 14, nos. 1 and 2, January - April, 1950, pp. 61-82.

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain.

questioning is in Volume 2, pp. 185-211 (printed numbers). A continuous pagination has been added by hand for the whole of Volume 21. Captain Arthur Edward Kennedy's questioning is found on pp. 471-497 of this hand-written pagination.

Since Kennedy's spoken answers to questioning is spread over some twenty-seven pages, this work constitutes a primary source of the most vital nature for an understanding of his character, opinions and methods. These papers have therefore formed a most important basis for the picture of Kennedy drawn in this study.


Reeves, W. P., State experiments in Australia and New Zealand, London, Grant Richards, 1902.


Robertson, Sir William, "Western Australia", Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, the Institute, 40 volumes, 1869-1909, Volume 26, 1895, pp. 351-367; Discussion of this address is printed on pp. 367-374. Sir W. Robertson was twice governor of Western Australia. His speech is therefore useful.


# Statistical register of the colony of Western Australia for 1897 and previous years, Perth; Richard Pether, Government Printer, 1899.

This source is invaluable since it gives statistics relating to the various years of Kennedy's government of Western Australia. It was prepared when Malcolm A. C. Fraser was Registrar-General of Western Australia. He
appears to have been an energetic and accurate statistician. The register appears to be accepted as authoritative by Western Australian historians. It has served as an invaluable primary source in this study. The percentages given in this study have been based on figures given in this register.

"Western Australia", Her Majesty's colonies, a series of original papers issued under the authority of the Royal Commission (Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886).

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**Sources of Illustrations**

   From an illustration in the Albury Crier, New South Wales, late June 1883, p. 115: a clipping loaned by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia. Negative now in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.

3. Cultra 1832 - after an engraving by E. K. Pivater, facing page 57.
   From a photograph sent by Mrs. F. M. Kennedy of the engraving by E. K. Pivater which is in her possession.

   From a cut generously loaned to the writer by Bruce McKelvie.
REGISTER OF RESEARCH CORRESPONDENCE

Research correspondence with the Provincial Library and Archives of British Columbia at Victoria, B. C., and with the University of British Columbia Library has been omitted from this list.

# The Reverend Eric S. Barber, the Vicarage, Holywood, County Down.
1. To him: December 30, 1946 (asking for information concerning A. E. Kennedy's date of baptism).
2. From him: January 22, 1949 (giving information concerning the baptismal registers and dates of baptism of the Kennedy family).

Dr. J. S. Battye, Principal Librarian and Secretary, Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.
1. To him: August 19, 1947 (with a series of questions); July 17, 1948 (with further questions and discussion).
2. From him: October 8, 1947 (with answers of questions and extracts from his History of Western Australia).

# Mr. Arthur Edward Kennedy Bunnell, 880 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario.
1. To him: October 5, 1950 (with a series of questions); November 8, 1950 (asking for one item to be rechecked in his records).
2. From him: October 18, 1950 (with enclosures—nine pages of copies of newspaper clippings and other family data); December 5, 1950 (with correction of one item).

The Right Honourable, the Earl of Clanwilliam, Montalto, Ballynahinch, County Down, Northern Ireland, August 18, 1947 (asking for information concerning A. E. Kennedy from the family archives).

Mr. F. A. Hardy, Parliamentary Librarian, Ottawa, Canada.
1. To him: November 8, 1950 (query); December 29, 1950.

# Mrs. F. M. Kennedy, Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia.
1. To her: April 3, 1949 (with thirteen questions concerning A. E. Kennedy); July 25, 1949 (with three pages of tabular questionnaire); February 23, 1950 (with request for further information and pictures); April 14, 1950 (with questions concerning the home and estate at Cultra); November 8, 1950 (thanking her for pictures and information).

# Indicates a primary source.
2. From her: February 18, 1949 (with four pages of notes copied from the old family book); April 17, 1949 (with answers to my questions of April 3 and with many valuable newspaper clippings); November 13, 1949 (with dates and other information filled in on the tabular questionnaire); March 28, 1950 (with enclosures relating to the family today).

# Mr. Robert Day Kennedy, Krugersdorp, Union of South Africa.
1. To him: (addressed at first: Head of the Kennedy family at Cultra) August 18, 1947; December 30, 1948; June 24, 1949.
2. From him: Cultra Manor, Craigavad, County Down, N. Ireland, January 10, 1949; The School of Mines, Canborne, Cornwall, England, May 7, 1949 (with an enclosure from Miss Maud Kennedy of Cultra, County Down).

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist.
1. To him: May 16, 1948 (asking him to look up Kennedy's first nine Vancouver Island despatches while in London); November 8, 1950 (asking him to consult army lists and pay lists concerning A. E. Kennedy's army career); April 5, 1951 (asking for further information from the same sources); subsequent request was made for inter-library loan of these sources.

2. From him: May 17, 1948; November 18, 1950 (answers to questions); May 5, 1951 (answers to questions).

Assistant Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Public Record Office of Ireland, Four Courts, Dublin, Southern Ireland.
1. To him: April 17, 1950 (asking four questions concerning A. E. Kennedy's service as a Poor Law Inspector).
2. From him: May 6, 1950 (confirming possession of many records of the service involved but regretting inability to give the required information after some research: Long and intensive research would be required).

# The Secretary, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W. C. 2, London, England.
1. To him: August 19, 1947 (asking confirmation of A. E. Kennedy as Poor Law Inspector at Kilrush); October 6, 1947.
2. From J. E. Fagg for Secretary: September 5, 1947 (confirming); October 30, 1947.

3. Willard Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C. to Secretary: September 29, 1947 (asking on behalf of this research for information concerning three confidential despatches of Governor A. E. Kennedy not then available in the Provincial Archives).

4. Charles Drew, Secretary, to W. E. Ireland: October 20, 1947 (confirming existence of these despatches —30 March 1864, 16 December 1865, 30 December 1865). Photostats were obtained (W. E. Ireland to the writer, February 9, 1948).

J. W. Spurr, Chief Librarian, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario.
1. To him: November 8, 1950 (asking for abstract from certain army lists).
2. From him: November 23, 1950 (with abstract).

The Librarian, Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1, April 17, 1950 (asking for information concerning A. E. Kennedy's army service).

# T. Olive Smith, for the Assistant Registrar, Trinity College, Dublin.
1. To Trinity College, Dublin: September 10, 1948 (with sixteen questions); January 3, 1949.
2. From T. Olive Smith: September 21, 1948 (with answers available).