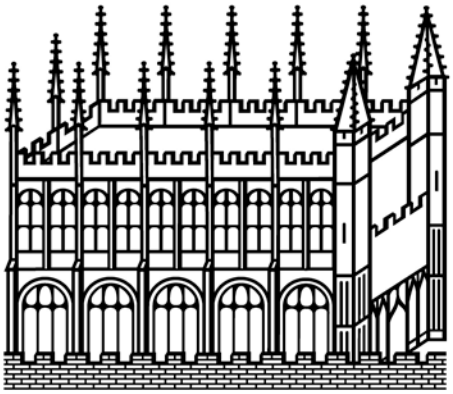

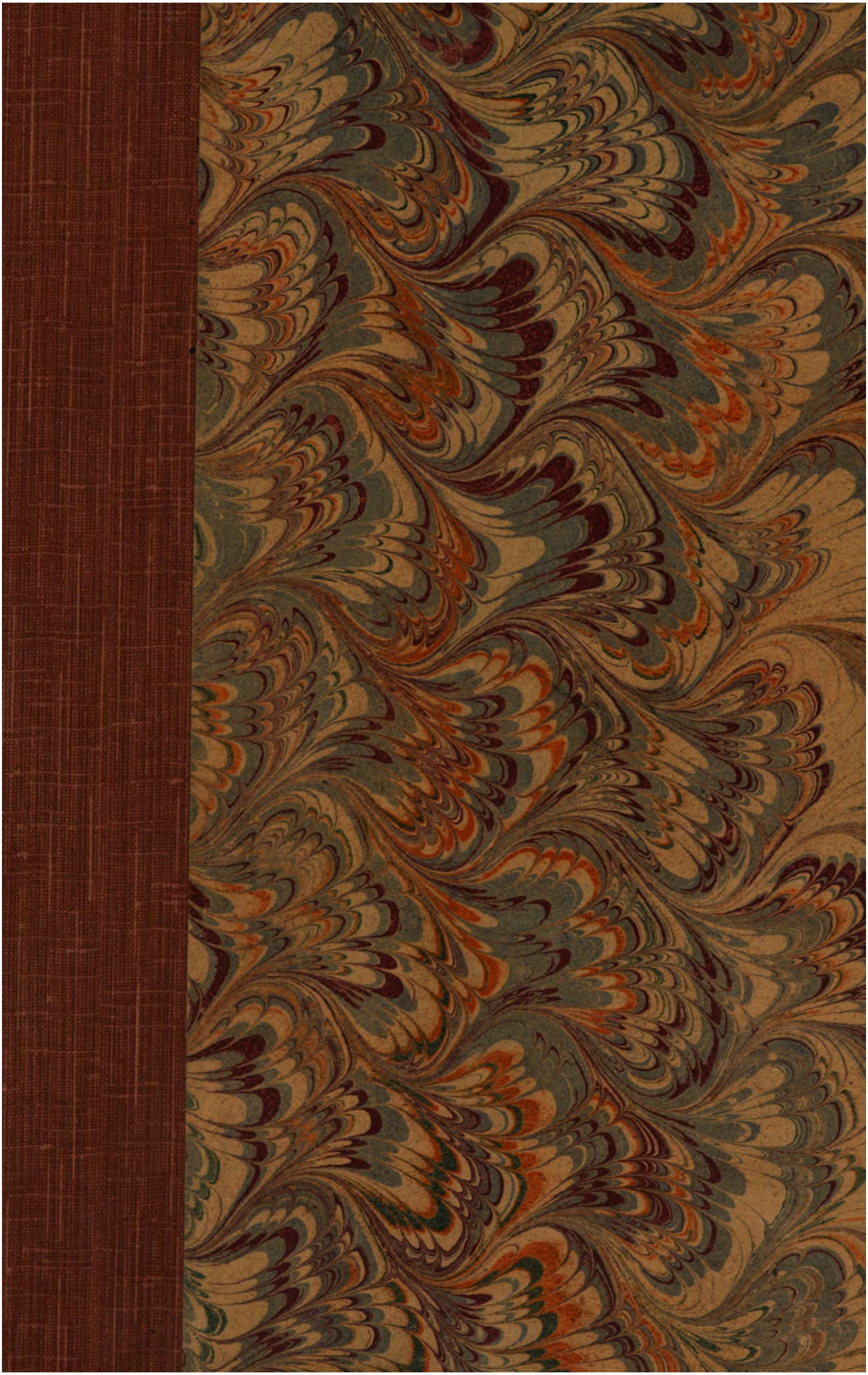

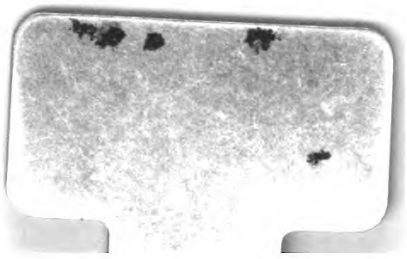

SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION.

By ARTHUR MILLS.

The will, the instincts, and appointed needs
Of Britain, do invite her to cast forth
Her swarms, and in succession send them forth
Bound to establish new communities
On every shore whose aspect favours hope.
As days roll on,
Earth's universal frame shall feel the effect
Even till the smallest habitable rock,
Beaten by lonely billows, hear the songs
Of humanized society.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1847.

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COLONIZATION,

&c. &c.

THE impressions hereinafter conveyed of our neglected policy and duty in the administration of our Colonial Empire are derived from such sources as are open to all my educated fellow-countrymen, strengthened in my own case by personal observations in our North American provinces.

I do not, as is usual on such occasions, address myself formally to the minister of that department of whose executive functions I would speak, partly because I am unwilling to intrude my unauthoritative suggestions on an officer who is already supposed to be burdened with the affairs of one-fifth at least of this planet, and partly because in the vicissitudes of our political life that minister may possibly, ere I have ended my page, have been superseded by a successor to whom my superscription may not apply.

An unfashionable interest in those countries which are destined to perpetuate the laws, language, and religion of my own, has induced me twice to visit with no official or professional pretext the new and unclassical continent of North America. I am quite aware that my travels are of no national importance. I allude to them simply because I wish to challenge for my remarks that consideration which as the results of

mere book-wisdom or meditation they could neither command nor deserve. To European exquisites, whose ideas of gentlemanly travel are limited to Italy and Greece, or who have seen enough of Transatlantic manners and institutions, through the telescopes of flippant book-makers, to repress their curiosity or excite their disgust, such unpoetical excursions may seem vulgar and inconceivable. For myself, however, I must avow that the hereafter of the western hemisphere challenges more peremptorily my interest as an Englishman than the ruins and historic associations of extinct empires—that the past, however beautiful, has in my estimate no charms to compete with the present, however homely, or the future, however indistinct. One result, at all events, of my wanderings has been an intense conviction, which no reading or reflection could impart, of the importance of right principles in the settlement and early administration of dependencies, both as regards themselves and their re-active influence on the parent state.

I explored, in the course of the past summer, the forests and least-frequented districts of West Canada, where I have settled on small fifty-acre farms a few families of English peasants, whose independence is now, if they are industrious, secured to themselves and their descendants—whom, however, no Christmas-beef or potato-plot philanthropy at home could have guaranteed against a relapse in the next generation into the poverty and helplessness of their fathers. I have also visited the prairies of the Far West, which extend between Lake Michigan and the Upper Mississippi, and which now constitute the states of Illinois and Wisconsin.

These open plains have been often favourably contrasted as a field for European emigration with the stubborn forests of British North America. Thousands of British subjects, whom, as I shall presently hope to prove, a well-ordered system, which without narrowing the current of emigration should direct its purest waters to our dependencies, might render loyal colonists of provinces equal in fertility and more congenial in institutions, abjure annually their allegiance to the British Crown, as a precedent condition of fellow-citizenship with the forgers, outlaws, swindlers, and fanatics, whom Europe has cast forth on those western states of the American Union.

When I last returned to my native country from these unploughed prairies and unfelled forests, I learnt that Ireland was in an agony of chronic tumult and famine, and that the hardy Highlanders of Scotland were patiently pining for subsistence. We were then in the first act of that tragedy which now approaches its catastrophe, and the detailed woes of which are now so painfully familiar to us all. When I reached the English metropolis I was greeted with the usual circulars and appeals from benevolent societies, entreating aid in providing shelter for the houseless, wash-houses for the unclean, soup-tickets for the vagrants, schools for the ragged, Christianity for the infidels, relief for the destitute of a city * which holds, condensed within the thronged area of its suburbs, a multitude *outnumbering the total aggregate population of British North America.*

Now, when I thought on these things—when I con-

* The population of London by the census of 1841 was 2,103,279. That of British North America does not now exceed two millions.

trasted the low normal condition of the British and Scotch peasants and artizans (irrespectively of any sufferings exceptive and peculiar to a year of scarcity) with the abundance and prosperity which industry secured to all who were fairly started in the New World I had just left—when, moreover, I thought of a *nation* of permanent pensioners on the public purse, and of the social disorganization and insecurity for property and life in Ireland, which would preclude, for a while at least, the profitable absorption of this mass of want, ignorance, and discontent—I could not but revert in thought to that vast untrodden empire of uncultivated colonial soil, which the decomposed vegetation of ages has been enriching and preparing for the hand of man, and which might afford, within the temperate zones, for ten centuries to come, a subsistence and a home for one-half, at least, of the average annual increase of the British people under a well-directed system of colonization.

But, though I knew that there was an alchemy whereby idle, criminal, wretched paupers, might be converted into happy, industrious, thriving customers, at one-fourth of the cost of their profitless and even ruinous public maintenance at home, I knew also that what we call emigration was not that alchemy. I was, moreover, convinced that to promote a wholesale exportation of paupers (unless on principles of systematic employment or allocation on land) was, under the present circumstances of our North American colonies at least, a positive iniquity. It was, therefore, with satisfaction that I learnt that the Government of the day had wisely and humanely refused to sanction a remedy for our social evils at once so inadequate, impolitic, and unrighteous.

It is not, however, as a remedy for chronic disorder, or as a tonic for a debilitated social system, but as a uniform national duty in prosperity and adversity, at all times and under all circumstances, that I claim for Colonization, in the ancient and noble sense of that word, a consideration which it has never yet received in the policy of my country. But though my observations have no especial reference to our present emergencies, I am nevertheless assured that, if the only object of Great Britain were to rid herself of burdensome responsibilities at the lightest possible rate of cost, and to accept the lowest tender which the philanthropist or the political economist could offer for her relief, systematic colonization would win the preference of those whose first object is retrenchment; and that no schemes, whether undertaken by associations, or individuals, or Government—whether speculative or benevolent, or both—which shall have for their professed object the palliation of our social evils, or the enduring interests of the labouring classes, and which shall choose for their scene of action public undertakings at home of admitted importance, or the morasses and inferior soils of the British Islands, will ever accomplish, at lower cost, happier results than may be reasonably anticipated from a well-ordered system of colonization. It is not, however, as a temporary or prudential expedient, but as a permanent and integral portion of our policy, that I would now regard it,—as essential, if rightly considered, to the fulfilment of our national functions as the maintenance of educational establishments, the defence of the country, or the administration of justice. It is because I believe that my nation is something more

and nobler than a vast joint-stock company, under parliamentary direction, for the import of produce and the export of manufactures—that colonization has intents and objects in comparison whereof territorial and commercial aggrandisement are as nothing—that I am encouraged to reiterate suggestions which have been hitherto reciprocated in high places with coldness and indifference. Where, as in the present instance, no individual or class interests of the privileged or wealthier orders are at stake, theories may be propounded and societies organized in vain; and an appeal to that self-sacrifice in middle age, whether of nations or of men, which a vicious life or a complicated and neglected system has made essential to their restoration, is seldom either popular or acceptable. The advocate of systematic colonization is accordingly either derided as an enthusiast, or his conclusions are evaded by a stale subterfuge. Inasmuch as his ideas, should they become law, may involve the better application of some minute portion of the fifty millions sterling which the costly government of this country now annually absorbs, he must be silenced at any rate. He is therefore desired to "look at home." Thirty millions of educated and industrious people might, he is told, live and thrive within narrower bounds than the area of the British Isles. Be it so. Experience has, however, proved that when all existing educational, correctional, and spiritual institutions are outgrown, the annual increment of these thirty millions is rather likely to be a source of ruin than of wealth. But he is again told to "look at home." He is reminded of what are called waste lands in the British Islands; and it is suggested that

before he serves an annual Transatlantic order of removal on 150,000 of his countrymen, he must exhaust first the resources of Salisbury Plain, Bog Allen, and the Curragh of Kildare. To the authors of such suggestions he may well say, that as regards those portions of waste British soil still susceptible of profitable cultivation, they will do well to expend their influence and money on their improvement; at the same time he may well claim for the best soils of a colony, however distant, as early an attention at least, from the citizens of a maritime state, as for the worst soils of their mother country. But the very idea of a system, with the taxation and self-sacrifice which its support seems to involve, may possibly alarm the financial caution of some and the selfish parsimony of others.

There are two popular objections to all colonization, whether systematic or otherwise, which, for lack of better arguments, have been sometimes taken up by those whose good sense should have saved them from reasonings so frivolous: 1st. That it creates a gap; 2ndly. That the gap so made is immediately filled up. I place these objections side by side, that they may mutually destroy each other without any intervention on my part. The creation of the gap means simply the withdrawal of a mass of paupers whom our manufacturing system requires to be ever ready to meet, at low wages, its fluctuating demands, and whose removal may contract the gains of those who thereby lose their cheap labour. As an illustration of a bad system the suggestion is valuable; as an argument against colonization it is worthless and inhuman. As regards the filling up of the gap, in-

asmuch as the object of colonization is not to desolate an old country, but to people a new one, the early replenishment of the void is of course the consummation most devoutly to be wished. "But to what purpose," says the more profound economist, "is this expenditure on an object which now almost bears its own cost, but for whose benefits if undertaken by the Government all would compete, and whose bounties it would be impossible to apportion? If you can bury gratis beyond the seas 64,000 paupers year by year out of your sight, why pay the cost of their interment? *Laissez faire.* Stimulate self-reliance." But first let me assure you that it is for those emigrants only who have the power and will in some measure to help themselves that I claim any consideration or assistance. On the simple maxim, "Sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas," it is this easily ascertained class of colonists only which a parent state can with justice systematically infuse into her dependencies. But if you do not fear a too sudden thaw of your calculations, and a dangerous benevolent reaction, leave your books and arm-chair, and come with me to the steerage of an Atlantic emigrant-ship. What may be the future fate of the motley crew of exiles you shall there see I cannot tell; but as a clue to their possible fortunes, and as an illustration of the system which you now so complacently regard, I can inform you, as an historic fact, that *more than* 3000 *British emigrants, many of whom had first landed in British provinces, returned to our shores in the months of May, June, and July last year, from the ports of Boston and New York alone.**

* We hear of large sums of money remitted to Great Britain from

But we may sometimes hear doctrines on this subject to which, though we can scarcely listen without indignation, it would be useless to reply. "If," says the feudal Sybarite, whose daily luxuries and amusements cost more than the month's wages of any labourer on his estate; "if the people are destitute—though I don't believe it, for they can all have work enough if they choose—but if they are discontented, let them emigrate; it 's no business of mine." It is business of yours, Sir, on the lowest principles of self-interest. Responsibilities you don't admit; I will not, therefore, urge them: but when the mass of employment which the construction of English railways now absorbs, shall, by the completion or suspension of such works, be thrown for rates or wages on the agricultural labour-market, you will learn to your cost a lesson which no arguments of mine could impress on an understanding so obtuse, and a character so flippant and unfeeling. But there are those whom reason and reflection have convinced of the national importance of this subject, but who may have never yet been led to appreciate the importance of system in regard to it. Of this number are some whose opinions are worthy of respect and refutation. Colonial Secretaries, who, though cognizant of an annual expenditure of three millions of the national income on the military, civil, and naval establishments of our colonial empire, have yet professed themselves unable conscientiously to sanction the appropriation of one farthing of the public money for the purposes of systematic colonization. Such statesmen can expend without a scruple three

America by successful emigrants. To estimate the lottery fairly, however, we must consider not only the prizes, but the blanks.

millions sterling a-year, raised by the taxation of the British people, on distant dependencies which the enfranchisement of trade has rendered useless as commercial appanages of our empire, and which yield, in all other respects, a net return of zero to our Exchequer, and yet repudiate responsibilities in respect of those same dependencies which the grammar of ethics and politics enforce. To such reasoners, I submit, that if the colonies of Great Britain are worth the cost of a systematic military defence to protect them from their enemies, or to dragoon them into loyalty, they are also worth the cost of a systematic peaceful colonization, whereby the moral and political health of their own communities, and of the United Empire to which they belong, may be promoted.

Our Imperial zollverein is broken up. The mutual relations on which our Trade and Navigation Laws were founded are no more: the philosophy of differential duties on Colonial produce has passed into the province of the antiquarians. But the British Colonies, though bound no longer to our shores by the sandcords of exclusive commerce, cannot be scuttled and sunk as condemned ships, nor can they be safely left to the rapacity of rival powers. In the systematic infusion into our dependencies, on principles which I shall hope hereafter to detail, of a population whose periodical removal would be both painless and profitable to ourselves, and who, if not now well-affected, might by our fostering care become so, I recognise a sounder guarantee for the retention of these dependencies, so long as their interests and our own require it, than the past or present colonial policy of Great Britain can afford. "Nec meus hic sermo." Systematic

colonization has been, on political grounds, the subject of the choral suggestions of our ablest Colonial Governors to successive Secretaries of State from time to time. Let them speak for themselves in their despatches:—

Sir G. Arthur to Lord Normanby.

"Toronto, 11th Sept. 1839.

"I CANNOT refrain from expressing my earnest hope that the promotion of colonization to these provinces, on an extensive scale, will at an early period engage not only the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, but be rendered a practical measure; for each day's experience tends to confirm me more strongly in the belief which I have long entertained, that as a means towards the great end of cementing the present connexion between the mother-country and the colony, this would be found the surest and most effectual."

Right Hon. Poulett Thomson to Lord J. Russell.

"18th May, 1840.

"I AM confident that the welfare of these provinces, and their permanent connexion with the parent state, depend in great measure on the adoption of a plan, *even though it should be attended with some pecuniary sacrifice in the first instance*, by which facilities may be afforded for the settlement within them of emigrants from the United Kingdom."

Sir W. Colebrooke to Lord Stanley.

"30th April, 1842.

"WITHOUT adverting to the injurious consequences

arising from the system of colonizing with criminals, I may observe, that the practice of regarding the colonies as a refuge for the destitute, was most unfavourable to their advancement. The resort to this practice as a means of relieving the pressure of numbers in over-populous districts was obviously delusive, while the employment of the least efficient members of society in the most arduous of all enterprises could not fail to react unfavourably on the parent country in its future relations with the colonies."

Sir G. Napier to Lord J. Russell.

"Cape Town, Aug. 1841.

"ANY scheme of emigration is to be deprecated which does not clearly bear, as an essential feature in its character, not only the transplanting of the emigrants, but likewise the adoption of such measures and the foundation of such institutions as will provide for the religious education and civil government of such emigrants. The judicial, religious, and educational establishments of this colony are barely sufficient for the wants of the present population; and it is not easy to determine from what sources the means of any increase to these necessary establishments are to be obtained."

I could multiply these quotations; but from those already cited it will be evident that I am not unsupported in my opinions on this subject.

But I may perhaps be told by those who either assume as a matter of course that the country must possess a machinery so essential to its well-being, or have derived from hearsay an undefined impression of

an existing government apparatus, that a system for the promotion of colonization already exists.

For the information of those whose opinions may influence legislation on this subject, but whose attention may not yet have been called to its details, I will shortly state what this said supposed system really is, and will leave it to themselves to pronounce how far it is commensurate with the purposes of its existence.

The sale and settlement of British colonial lands, both in those colonies in which the Crown still retains its prerogative in this respect, and in those in which it has been surrendered to the provincial legislatures, has been chiefly effected through the instrumentality of land-companies. Probably not less than two-thirds of the surveyed and cultivable soil in the British Colonies is either now vested in or has passed through the hands of such associations. Three millions of acres at least in British North America are now in such hands—owned, in fact, by proprietors whose only solicitude concerning their property is that it may pay them a dividend on their shares. Such a system may no doubt in some instances, if well conducted, promote the earlier settlement of a new country, whose resources may be drawn out by combined efforts, but which may yet be uninviting to isolated capitalists. It must, however, be observed, that every land company introduces into the colonial system a class of absentee speculators who, if their scheme is successful, absorb and withdraw from the colony wealth which, on the soundest principles of justice and policy, ought to be re-invested in its advancement. By the application on the part of the Government of the purchase money paid by such companies to the

importation of labour, or the construction of roads, a sort of forcing apparatus for ripening the resources of the colony has been, in some instances, devised. The so-called South Australian scheme, born in 1836, died in 1840, is the most notorious specimen of this policy. It has been as the accessory to speculations more or less crude, not as the originator or patron of any comprehensive colonization, that the Imperial Government has hitherto borne part in the territorial distribution of our dependencies.* Much has been said and written by statesmen and economists as to the accurate proportions of labour, capital, and territory in new countries, as to theories and systems of sales, of prices and modes of sale, and the merits and disadvantages, possibilities and impossibilities, of enforced concentration, and right application of land funds; but, meanwhile, the lands themselves, the subject of these deliberations, have been left in mortua manu, vast tracts interposed between, and impeding the advancement of thin and scattered settlements, to be hereafter retailed at an advanced price by the speculators who possess them. Half-pay officers and refugees from the revolted provinces, which latter class it was deemed politic thus to loyalize and reward for their submissive endurance of bad laws, were the original grantees of estates which now engross, in the hands of their vendees or representatives, many of the most valuable districts of British North America.

The only consideration on which these grants were made, that of occupation, has been successfully evaded.

* The only instance in which the Government has taken the initiative in this matter was in the settlement of about 400 heads of families in Canada in 1825.

It is a fact in the history of Canada, that of one tract of a million and a half of acres held in 1840 by 361 private proprietors, one million acres were at that time wholly unimproved, and *only six proprietors* residing on their land. In riding through the forests of West Canada in the spring of last year, I occasionally emerged into an open space of four or five acres of dwarfed underwood, in the centre or corner of which I generally observed a ruined shanty, or log-house, without a roof. On inquiry I learnt that these were what were called "clearance duties," and that the term imported a literal fulfilment of the terms on which the surrounding estates were granted: that the shanties had never been inhabited, and that the name of the owner was unknown, and could only be learnt at the registry-office of the district. Those who have leisure and power to bestow thought on the subject will require no comment from me on such a policy as this. In the course of seven years from the first settlement of West Australia more than a million and a half of acres were given away. Though its consequences endure, the system of free-grant is now discontinued throughout the British colonies. Its only remaining vestige is the remission to military and naval officers of seven years' standing or more a portion of their purchase-money for land in certain colonies according to their rank. Colonial lands are now sold at various advertised prices; I fear, however, that the Commissioners who represent the Crown in this behalf could exhibit but a poor balance-sheet, as compared with that of the Government of the United States, which realises from its own and British subjects not less than a million sterling annually from land sales.

The fact is, that a great proportion of our emigrant subjects, who resist the temptations of the great cheap republic, prefer the chances of unlicensed occupation, or, as it is popularly called, "squatting" on the crown lands in our colonies, to the certain cost of any contract with Government, individual proprietors, or companies. I recognise in the unlicensed occupation of wild land in our colonies, and the discouragements to thrifty cultivation and settled habits which it entails, ratified as it is by the prescriptive law of the backwoods, the germ of that unhappy state of tenure which now degrades and impoverishes the cottier peasantry of Ireland, and I am well assured that a continuous two or three years' stream of pauper emigrants who, in default of labour on public works or systematic allocation on land, will have to work their living out of the wilderness, will materially aggravate the evil.

During the last twenty years nearly a million and a half, or an average annual number of 64,000, emigrants have left our shores.* This band of voluntary exiles has been for the most part poor and ignorant. Some have emigrated at the expense and request of friends and relatives who have preceded them: of the rest the chief English element has been, since 1835, the refuse of parishes whom the Poor Law empowers its officers, under certain regulations, to expatriate. The ordinary qualifications of such emigrants have been the weakness, wickedness, or indolence which promised to render them a burden or a nuisance to their neighbours, and they have, on this account, been

* The emigration of the last year has far exceeded the annual average, comprising more than 100,000.

selected for a career in which strength, integrity, and industry are absolutely essential to success. Reduced by vice or poverty to his last shifts, it becomes a question with the pauper whether he shall leave his country at the cost of his parish as an emigrant, or at that of the nation at large as a convicted felon. The best evidence of the ordinary low estate of British emigrants, is the tax levied from them on landing in North America, as a guarantee to the communities into which we infuse them, against the contingent burden of their support.* The occasional shiploads of settlers who have, under better auspices, left this country at the expense of humane landlords on whose estates they lived, are the honourable exceptions which prove the ordinary miseries of emigration to which those benevolent men would not suffer their dependants to be exposed.† The ranks of Irish emigration have been composed of some 15,000 or 20,000 a-year, who have begged, borrowed, stolen, or earned (though the last case is rare) 50*s*. for their passage, and in former years a bag of potatoes for their food, who forsake their wretched homes to end at the port of embarkation one unhappy era of their existence, and to enter upon another which is, in many instances, unhappier still.

It was not until 1840 that the state and prospects of this portion of our subjects, the annual 64,000 in whose prosperity that of our colonies, and therefore of our shipping and commerce, was involved, were

* By a municipal regulation at the port of Boston, provision is made for the cases of *idiot emigrants*, and the mayor told me that such unfortunate creatures were sometimes landed on the quays.

† I instance as examples a party of 150 sent to Canada from Lord Bath's estates in 1831, and 183 sent out by Colonel Wyndham in 1839.

thought worthy of the attention of the British Government. Whether this neglect is to be excused by the more engrossing cares of our foreign and domestic policy, or to be ascribed to that golden principle of non-intervention with private enterprise, even for the protection of the poor and ignorant against the wealthy and acute, I do not profess to decide: but, either from inadvertence or on the deliberate principle of "laissez faire," these thousands of British subjects, every unit of whom public policy and justice, as well as their own ignorance and helplessness, entitled to our fostering care, were left, till a very recent period, without even the semblance of legislative protection, to be mercilessly spoiled by extortioners of their little substance at the water's edge, and to struggle unaided to an unknown shore. Of the hardships of the voyage, and of the trials and sufferings of those who eventually succeed, I will not now speak, nor do I dwell on casualties by loss at sea, or fatal sickness, against which no caution can uniformly provide. I will simply state, and am prepared if necessary to prove, that the pilgrimage of a British emigrant involves (all commissioners or agents, or acts of parliament to the contrary notwithstanding) a series of sufferings which need only to be known to be actively commiserated, and, so far as legislation can promote that end, abolished. As a sample from the records of past British emigration, I will mention that in 1832 seventeen hundred old soldiers and sailors, whose pensions were commuted for colonial land, were exported by the Government to Canada. A hundred acres of sea or sky would have been quite as useful to these poor fellows, who had neither capital nor energy to cultivate

their grants, as might have been expected, and, as the chief Agent at Quebec reports, they became dependent on charity: many, predisposed by intemperance, died of cholera, and about a hundred returned to the United Kingdom. As a specimen of the frauds which semi-colonial speculative associations—the spawn of Anglo-Saxon civilization—have been permitted with impunity to perpetrate, I can state, on the authority of one of the sufferers, that a party of emigrants who purchased, ten years ago, land in South Australia, at an office in the city of London (in some instances six or seven hundred acres each), were told, on their arrival in the colony, that the land had no existence save in the chart and imagination of the knave who had sold it to them. We talked indignantly of the sharp practice of our trans-Atlantic defaulters, and yet left exposed to equal villanies the poor and simple, who are, after all, the sinews of our strength.

In 1837 an officer, called "Agent-General of Emigration,"* was appointed; and it appears that the first steps taken by Government for the exportation into the colonies of the surplus labour of this country were by virtue of certain regulations framed by authority of this officer. Under these rules a purchaser of land in West Australia, to which colony only they applied, was entitled to a remission of 18*l.* in respect of every British emigrant he might import, who should fulfil as to health and age the qualifications required by the said rules. This system, which has been called "bounty emigration," was in 1845 remodelled with exclusive reference to the Cape of

* I have no peculiar official sources of information, any inaccuracies as to dates in these matters must therefore be excused.

Good Hope. It is now, however, for the present, at least, discontinued.

In the year 1840 three Commissioners, who are in the nature of an ancillary board to the Colonial Office, were appointed under the royal sign-manual. The chief function of these gentlemen, as respects emigration, is to compile from the latest reports, and publish annually, a little circular containing information as to rates of wages, expense of travelling, cost of living, and demand for labour in the various colonies. This document is doubtless useful to those emigrants who may not have made their arrangements, or left the country before its publication; it is, however, about as proportionate to their necessities as the celebrated receipt of the Duke of Norfolk to the cravings of the hungry peasantry of Sussex. As regards North America, the field of emigration of four-fifths at least of those who yearly leave our shores, the compilation of this pamphlet, and the general supervision of the subordinate agents, are the only duties of the board.* Ten agents, responsible to the Commissioners, are stationed at the principal ports of embarkation in the United Kingdom.† There are also agents at the principal ports of those colonies to which emigration usually takes place. Their principal duties are to enforce the provisions of an Act passed in 1842 for the protection of passengers in merchant-ships from fraud and extortion, and for the proper victualling and equipment of such ships in respect of berths, space

* A few emigrants have, I believe, been sent to South Australia under the superintendence of the Board. It should be added that a sort of inter-colonial emigration of Coolies to Mauritius and the West Indies has been organised by the Commissioners.

† London, Liverpool, Plymouth, Glasgow, Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Sligo, and Londonderry.

between decks, and prescribed proportion of passengers to tonnage. The agents are instructed to prosecute shipowners or brokers for violation of this Act, and to report their proceedings to the Commissioners. This Act, however, only applies to vessels carrying more than thirty passengers, and it appears that of 478 emigrant-ships from England to Quebec during the years 1844-45 only 260 were within its provisions: the remaining 218 escaped all Government supervision whatever. North America is, as I have said, the destination of full four-fifths of our yearly emigrants, and yet, though as regards other colonies it is enacted that all ships carrying 100 adults or more shall take surgeons, North America is specially excepted by the Act from this provision, because, as is alleged, qualified medical men could not be found for so many ships all leaving port at the same season. Whether this evil is or is not remediable, deserves consideration; that it is an evil, fatal to the health and lives of emigrants, the Reports of the North American agents sufficiently testify.*

The employment in the transport of emigrants of such of her Majesty's ships as are now useless, however inconsistent such a practice might be with the past usages of the Admiralty, would be an interference with private trade, which, if the humane object in view cannot be otherwise accomplished, would be perfectly justifiable.

I am told that an amendment of the Passenger's Act is contemplated, or is now in progress. What

* A child, four years old, one of a party of emigrants whom I despatched from London to Quebec last year, died on the voyage: there were no medicines on board but salts and castor oil, and no one to prescribe.

may be the result of this patchwork legislation remains therefore to be proved.

Meantime my own experience in the despatch of emigrants from the port of Liverpool, and of the disgraceful extortions to which these poor ignorant people are subjected, convinces me that no law will be worth the ink wherewith it is written which does not involve a vigilant supervision of the proceedings at that port. From Liverpool more than four-fifths of our emigrants embark. In the spring and summer months of 1846, more than 70,000 emigrants left that port alone. Many ships might leave the Mersey in one morning, and yet it is supposed that one agent, whose staff consists of an assistant and a clerk, has taken the measurements, examined the provisions, counted the passengers, and generally inspected the accommodations of all these ships, whose owners have a manifest interest in evading his investigations.* These ships are moreover often delayed many days after their advertised time of sailing, during which delay, emigrants who have hastened on the faith of the advertisement from distant parts of the country, are crowded together in filthy, ill-ventilated lodgings, to the loss both of health and money; and though the law professes to entitle them to claim from ship-masters their maintenance during such detention, it is notorious that such claims are as often evaded as enforced.

It will, I think, be admitted by all who have followed me thus far, that whatever may be the ability and good faith of those intrusted with this depart-

* The present Liverpool agent is, I am told, very active; the energies of one man are, however, wholly inadequate to such duties.

ment of the public service, no system of colonization worthy of a great empire now exists. And I am willing to believe, in courtesy to the statesmanship of those who would otherwise have organized such a system long ago, that their only real plea for their inaction is, that the finances of this poverty-stricken country will not bear the required expenditure. I will, therefore, first address myself to this department of the question.

Few financial analogies exist as the basis whereon to count the cost of colonization on system. It is, however, an ascertained fact, that by the present parochial plan in England, which may be taken as a fair test of the probable cost of the system hereinafter proposed, that a man, wife, and three children emigrate to Canada for two-thirds of the expense of one year's parish maintenance of the same family at home. As regards Ireland, the comparative cost of colonization and home maintenance will be more striking. From the estimate of Sir Wilmot Horton, whose theories may have been slighted, but whose calculations have never been disproved, and who was Chairman of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate this subject in 1826, it appears that 5000 souls, or 1000 average families of three children, may be transplanted to North America, and there established as independent yeomen, at a cost equivalent to one-fourth of the public maintenance of the said 5000 at twopence a day in squalid pauperism in Ireland. Nor is there wanting evidence to support these statements. I have myself seen and conversed with several of a band of Irish settlers, comprising about 400 heads of families, who were established

each on 100-acre farms, about forty miles from the northern shore of Lake Ontario, under government auspices, in the year 1825. In spite of all the mistakes in the organization of this settlement, of which the free grants of land, and the disregard to the moral and physical qualifications of the emigrants selected to compose it, were, I think, the chief, the net result as now presented in the earlier civilization and higher tone, generally speaking, of the Newcastle district, than of those which have been left to the chances of desultory emigration, is most satisfactory and encouraging. The detailed statistics of this settlement will be found in a pamphlet, called "Ireland and Canada," published in 1839, from which it appears that its aggregate cost was 40,480*l.*, giving an average expenditure of 20*l.* on the establishment of each emigrant. This estimate would now admit of considerable reductions, suggested by sound policy and experience; but standing as it does, it appears that whereas the annual interest of the sums expended in the scheme of 1825 was less than 1500*l.*, the annual maintenance of the colonists in Ireland, on the most parsimonious scale, would have exceeded 6000*l.* We have then arrived at the fact, that the transport of paupers to a country they enrich, from a country they impoverish, to a country in which they may be happy, from a country in which they must be miserable, can be effected at one-fourth of the cost price of the bread and water of affliction on which those paupers must be otherwise sustained in permanent hopeless dependence on the legal charity of their neighbours.

It is not my province to legislate on this or any other subject. I simply offer the following sugges-

tions (which are partly original, and partly borrowed from an able writer*) to those on whom that duty may devolve. The talent and experience of those who may think them worthy of consideration, will suggest amendments and modifications. They are but outlines, which some, doubtless, will be disposed to contract or amplify—none, I trust, whose opinions I respect, altogether to erase as fanciful or impracticable.

An essential qualification of the government emigrant should be, his ability to contribute, with the help of his parish, or patron, or parties interested in his removal, one moiety of its expense. " As head of a family, he should be subject to as few special exceptions as possible, under 50, and to be in health; of character (that is to say, not a villain); desirous himself to emigrate, and at home so thoroughly an unemployed pauper, that no diminution of national production can arise by his removal. So far from an abstraction of labour and capital, in proportionate quantities, being the result of such a measure, whatever labour is about to be thus removed is unproductive labour, and, in a public point of view, worse than nothing; whilst the capital to be expended in this removal, supposing it even never to be repaid, directly or indirectly, is only a small portion of the unproductive capital which must be otherwise spent in the pauper's unprofitable maintenance at home. The money *will* be spent upon them: the only question is, Shall it be wasted here, to their misery and our total

* The passage in inverted commas I copied from a Review which I once read, and to which I would refer, but that the title and number do not occur to me.

loss, or thus advanced for their certain happiness, and with a probability of great national advantage ?"

It would be a valuable feature, as has been often suggested, of each settlement, that it should include not only agricultural labourers, but artizans—as blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers. It is this feature of the present German emigration to America which causes it to be generally more prosperous than our own. Nor is it improbable that, if our colonization were carried on systematically, professional men would be induced to emigrate.*

The selection of emigrants would have reference to the state of the home labour-market, and the ascertained requirements of the various colonies from time to time. It would be intrusted, both as to number and qualifications, and the arrangement of all other details, to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. And here I may observe, that it would be at least one merit of my plan, that it would afford these gentlemen, who have already a sonorous title and good salaries, the additional advantage of full employment, which they do not now possess. The cordial co-operation of the colonial legislatures in the allocation of land for the purposes of systematic colonization, is of course assumed, inasmuch as they are as deeply interested in the increase of their population as we are in the reduction of ours.

A superintendent, for which office qualified men exist both in this country and in the colonies, would accompany each ship or convoy of ships, or if colonial officers were employed, would organize emigrants on

* On this problematical point, however, I lay no stress. I only suggest it incidentally as a possible advantage of system.

their arrival (a function for which the present machinery of agents does not at all provide), and would cause huts to be constructed. As regards allocation on land of such as might not find employment, he would grant memoranda or tickets, revocable and conferring no powers of alienation on the holder. Fifty or seventy-five acres, the quantity of land generally estimated as sufficient for the support of a man and average family in a new arable country, would be offered to the settler on terms of repayment by instalments, commencing with his seventh year, and secured upon the land and its improvements. I am prepared for the objection of ill-informed people, that Government has no power to enforce such contracts. I am, however, well assured that it *does* possess such power; and if I thought that authority was paralyzed in a matter so essential and elementary, I should be prepared to dispense at once with an apparatus so costly and so useless as any government at all would, under such circumstances, become.

March and April are the months within which, for the good of the settlers in North America at least, the emigration season ought to be condensed. The officers appointed to conduct the emigrants to their destination would also organize at the port of embarkation the necessary arrangements for their departure. As regards those emigrants who would not become the subject of any systematic provisions, but might continue to leave the country yearly on their own resources, I should suggest the reinforcement in some instances of the home and colonial staff now appointed for their protection; or, if it be thought more economical, the concentration of that which now exists at

those ports from which the great mass of emigrants now sail.

If these outlinear suggestions, however criticised, should be the means of assisting others to frame any comprehensive measure of colonization, I shall have my reward. Inasmuch, however, as few educated Englishmen, who are not. either absorbed in trade or official cares, ever visit our colonies, the number of those whom personal observation will enable to appreciate with indulgence the workings of my mind on this subject will be necessarily limited. And those who have been accustomed to regard the British colonies in a merely political or commercial point of view, may perhaps be disposed to denounce the system I recommend as expensive and unnecessary. It is a prevalent opinion that a Briton, by the very fact of his transplantation to our colonies, becomes a part of a system so identical with that from which he has been severed, that all further care concerning him is superfluous.

The colony of which he has become a citizen has a constitution: it can want nothing more.

But, that our perceptions of truth on this subject may be quickened, it will perhaps be expedient to consider what our political process in colonising has hitherto been, and what has been its probable influence upon the individual units who form the aggregate of our colonial communities.

The acquisition of a British province, whether by treaty or conquest or discovery, has been ordinarily succeeded by the earlier or later transmission to that province of a miniature British Constitution. An English nobleman or gentleman, chosen sometimes

for his courage, honour, and intelligence, sometimes without reference to those qualifications, has been commissioned to represent his sovereign in the newly added satrapy of the British empire.

In those provinces which have been won from other European powers, the perplexities of colonial government may have been, in some instances, aggravated by the conflicting prejudice of race; in others, tropic suns and native tribes appear to be the only outward annoyances of our rule. But let us investigate more narrowly the actual working of this plausible machinery, and the subject matter wherewith it has to deal. We shall all admit that a principality, whether tributary or independent, whose staple human ingredient is the casual efflux of the paupers and profligates of an over-crowded country, will present no hopeful field of action to the legislator or the philanthropist. Such, however, is the raw material—such are the constituent elements, not only of the yeomanry and lower classes, but of the magistracy and parliament of a British colony, through whose agency it is attempted to reproduce in countries unmellowed by the softening influence of time and art, unennobled by the associations of ancestry, unhallowed oftentimes by the solemn ritual of religion, the spiritual, social, and intellectual civilization of Great Britain.

Well may we put faith in a political mechanism which has worn well through the vicissitudes of a thousand years, but it surely implies a confidence in the fair growth of our institutions, unwarranted either by history or reason, to transplant them heedlessly and unseasonably to an unprepared soil, and to expect that they will ripen unwatered into the beauty and

fruitfulness of the parent tree. Can this lifeless colonial skeleton of the noblest polity ever be reclothed with the comely proportions of its prototype? "Can these bones live? Lord God, Thou knowest."

It is the "art and practick part of life" which, if we would succeed either as nations or as men, must be the "mistress to our theorick." I have read somewhere of a student who was called upon, as he rose fresh from the perusal of a Treatise on Government, to apply his knowledge to an immediate insurrectionary crisis. He suggested that the most constitutional course would be to call out the posse comitatûs. He was told that this was the very class whom it was essential to peace to keep at home. Such, however, are the follies into which mere philosophy, ethical, political, or economical, betrays us. The landgraves and caciques designed by Shaftesbury and Locke for the government of Georgia, or Lord Egmont's scheme of baronial castles for Prince Edward's Island, were not more inappropriate to the social necessities of those countries than the British Constitution to those whose population is uneducated and unqualified for the exercise of its privileges. I do not undervalue, nor would I delay, the boon of a constitution to any colony; but to suppose that such a gift is a virtual acquittal of a parent state from all further responsibilities, implies, in my opinion, a very pitiable absence of good sense and right principle.

A political charter, dashed off by the ready pen of a Colonial Secretary, may travel to the remotest corner of the earth, within the narrow limits of an ordinary despatch. We may read therein of Municipal Corporations, Legislative Councils, and Repre-

sentative Assemblies, suggestive of the ideas of our own advanced civilization; and when this important document shall reach the shores of the province for whose enfranchisement it is designed, we may perhaps innocently anticipate a re-enactment of the fabled drama of Runnymede. But let us ask the toil-worn Ex-Governor, to whom the task of its promulgation was intrusted. The news of a constitution will probably have rallied round Her Majesty's representative an inconsiderable knot of needy adventurers and half-educated vulgarians, whom the struggle for subsistence, or the ordinary pursuits of gain, or the apprehension of a foray from their savage neighbours, did not absorb; but when the scramble for patronage is over, and all the newly-created offices are filled, and the disappointed candidates for political emolument have fallen back on the less exciting avocations of farm or merchandise, our chartered colony will have relapsed into the normal mediocrity of its sensations, which neither guilt nor genius shall re-awaken, till, perchance, some half-bred Jacobin shall tempt from its torpor, by a per-centage on rebellion, the commonwealth on whose ruins he hopes to found his fortune and reputation.

High-minded men, no doubt, there are in the British colonies—it is my privilege to number such among my friends; but the leaven is infinitely disproportionate to the mass it should impregnate. Hence it comes that the only political issues in their senates are on the narrowest local interests, and that scramble for patronage which they dignify by the mysterious title of "responsible government." To four-fifths of their constituencies the honour of their

province, or even the existence of the united empire of which it forms a part, never occurs. In the exercise of their franchise they have no ideas beyond the mills and markets of their own immediate neighbourhood. Withdrawn abruptly in mature life, perhaps, from all the blessed influences of Heaven, and all the humanising charities of Home, the British colonist degenerates to the animal nature of the kangaroos and opossums with whom he dwells. "The salt of early education loses both its savour and its form—that which was secular evaporates—that which was spiritual effloresces into shapes often painfully grotesque." Christianity, the advancement whereof is sometimes used as the plausible pretext for the plantation of our settlements—the truth as it is in Jesus, without which nothing is strong or holy or beautiful in men or nations or institutions, is left throughout our colonial empire to the voluntary efforts of self-organised associations and their agents. Four-fifths of its Episcopal pastors are the stipendiaries of a society, established in 1702, for the propagation of the Gospel: and though in Canada, by an act passed in the reign of George III., one-seventh of the land of the province was consecrated to religious purposes, the squabbles as to its appropriation have probably excited more bitterness and uncharitableness than the pastors who may be hereafter endowed from its proceeds will have the influence to heal. The only religious colonial effort which can be called national has been the nomination of some twenty bishops, including three whose appointments are as yet unconfirmed, who are supported partly by the Government and partly by the society to which I

have alluded. For the dimensions of their dioceses, and all other particulars of their respective functions, I refer the curious in such matters to the published accounts of their visitations: I will only express my conviction that ecclesiastical empires so utterly beyond the ken and supervision of one man, though he have the courage of Joshua or the energy of St. Paul, might almost lapse to the faith of Zoroaster or Mohammed, without his cognizance of the usurpation.

But if the ecclesiastical mechanism of European Christendom be inapplicable or inadequate to the spiritual necessities of our dependencies, it is at least doubtful whether the political mechanism of Great Britain can ever by any modifications or expansions become so Catholic in character as to embrace them all, without the compromise of that central authority which is essential to dominion. Various political suggestions, either tending to promote the closer union of the Colonies to Great Britain, or the readier vindication of their provincial wants and interests, have been offered from time to time. With a view to the better home government of them all, the establishment of a board of Colonial ex-governors, or of a tribunal analogous to the India Board, has been proposed. As regards North America, the possible future fusion of its provinces under the independent rule of a member of the House of Brunswick has been suggested, or the representation of its interests and those of other Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.

This last idea is, however, now generally abandoned by its advocates, from the admitted impossibility, among other reasons, of finding men in the colonies able and willing to undertake the office of trans-

oceanic legislators, without a remuneration for which their services would not compensate their constituencies. It is not my present province to discuss the merits of these or any other merely political propositions.

The problem I have at heart is, not whether the dependencies of Great Britain shall be hereafter monarchies, or aristocracies, or republics; but whether they shall be healthy Christian communities. A doge, or an emperor, or a president, may do some good or evil in his day; but he can neither mar the happiness of a well-founded, nor mitigate the misery of a neglected state. Neither is it to secure to Great Britain the longest possible dominion over the various provinces of her colonial empire, that will be the object of the patriot's ambition.

It will be a problem worthier of our solution, whereby the earliest possible political maturity of these provinces might be attained, and their consequent power to choose wisely and happily their own form of government may be secured. To ourselves, in a commercial point of view, they would, if systematically and liberally colonized, be more valuable as independent than as subject states. We have learned in our intercourse with the United States, that to traffic with an equal is better and more profitable than to traffic with an inferior; and when the expensive follies of custom-houses and the undignified policy of hide and seek shall, by the collective sense of Europe, have been banished for ever from our systems, we shall perhaps further discover that it is but a costly pastime after all, to dot our little garrisons on continents and oceans, and to spend our national substance

in encircling, with a "belt of martial music," the earth which yields its fruits to all, whether friends or strangers, who will repay with their merchandize or money the labourer for his toil. But be it remembered, that, whether bond or free, the value of our colonies as recipients of our manufactures can be but for a time. Wheresoever and whensoever iron and coal, and capital, and Anglo-Saxons brains, shall in any colony co-exist, there will also arise as the certain result of such combination, the Sheffields and Manchesters of the parent state. Nor is the day of this commercial independence of our colonies so distant as we may in our present imperial security suppose. The rapid progress of the United States is, as it were, a dial whereon we may read our commercial destinies as affected by the probable advance in material civilization of our dependencies. The coarser hardware and cotton fabrics of the New England and Pennsylvanian factories, already compete successfully with our own. Twenty years hence the American market will be almost valueless to us. Improvements in machinery, repressed with us, because labour is cheap and excessive, are with them stimulated, because labour is dear and scarce. Their population doubles in twenty-three years, ours not in less than forty. The history of cities presents no parallel to the rapid growth of Cincinnati—40 years ago a forest, now the metropolis of the west.

It is quite possible that when the obstacles which now retard it shall be removed, the advancement of our own colonies may be as rapid. Even now, factories are rising on the shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; and when the navigation of that river

shall be perfected, and the winter access to the port of Quebec from the ocean be ensured, and their own energies have been quickened by the enfranchisement of British trade, our North-American colonists will have no reason to fear the competition of their neighbours. As regards Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Mauritius, and indeed almost all our plantations, whether their chief commercial relations be hereafter Asiatic or European, the resources of all afford a sufficient guarantee for their material prosperity and eventual independence.

There is an outward physical growth incidental to the early years of nations and of men which education and legislation can neither hinder nor promote: but "Nature crescent does not grow alone in thewes and bulk;" and inasmuch as there is an inward service of the mind and soul which unfolds with the expansion of the outward temple, so is there a parental function coeval with the earliest infancy of nations and individuals, which it is delightful to fulfil, and disgraceful to neglect. Tariffs, and garrisons, and hierarchies, and constitutions, valuable and efficient as they may be in the ordering of national middle life, presuppose no less than the educational office of tutors and professional taskmasters an earlier influence as a condition of their value.

It is in the eleventh hour of a long probation day—in the solemn evening, perhaps, of our national life, when the communities which are our offspring—born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsions, have attained a hardened maturity wholly inconsistent with respect or love, that we are conjured by that instinct of self-preservation, which is the first necessity of common-

wealths, to realize in our colonial relations the forgotten and hitherto fictitious functions of a parent state. The British advocate of systematic colonization in the 19th century has been compared in his activity to the "engineer who has a fancy to place his fort on a projecting rock, which the waters and whirlwind have already undermined." But I believe that the cause of truth is never desperate; that there is a principle which can even inbreathe life beneath the ribs of death.

And in an appeal to the Anglo-Saxon mind in this behalf, I am encouraged by the assurance that a sense of interest no less than of duty commends this cause to our thoughts—that if rightly understood, the instincts and principles of the political economist and the Christian will converge in its support, and that the material no less than the spiritual and moral advancement of a great country are involved in its success. It is to the fearful and selfish, no less than to the hopeful and patriotic; as well to those who think only of their own short lives, as to those whose thoughts penetrate into the dim hereafter of their country, that the advocate of systematic colonization may with confidence appeal. We have consecrated, it is true, the best centuries of our national existence to the construction of an empire whose foundations are the shifting sands of commercial interchange, which have hitherto proved treacherous to all nations that have trusted them; but, high above the tide of war and revolution, the base still endures on which to rear, even in these latter days, a social superstructure, the strength of whose citizens shall be in quietness and in confidence: to whom the storm shall speak peace, nor time nor change shall ever harm. There may be those in

whom the spirit which dictated our Navigation Laws still survives, and whose policy as to colonies is like that of children with their cakes, to make the most of them while they last: I trust, however, that this school, if it exists at all, is as powerless as its principles are worthless.

But if this Queen of many Waters, whose merchants are princes and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth, would fulfil the high purposes of her present existence, and would secure to herself a name which shall endure when this planet shall have passed away, or have been re-distributed to other nations, she will draw to herself by the cords of a peaceful Christian colonization those yet unalienated provinces of her empire, whose sympathy may be her strength, but whose hatred must be her ruin—whose common name and origin, and early associations forbid neutrality, and which will be therefore the chivalrous supporters of her power or the insulting scoffers at her fall. I am too hopeful of the destinies of my country—too trustful in the energies of the few noble who may control them, to apply to her in thought or word the eloquent denunciations of the Hebrew prophet, who foretold the fate of the renowned city of the Eastern Seas. I cannot, however, forget that Tyre, and Carthage, and Constantinople, had once all, and perhaps more than all, the elements of material and commercial strength which are now possessed by any nation on the earth. I am, moreover, well persuaded (all hard materialism to the contrary notwithstanding), that cash and paper payments are *not* the only nexus of nations: tapes, and muslins, and cotton prints, and wool, and timber, and molasses, may be very profit-

able symbols of a transitory relationship, but it is as the centre of reverence and affection, if at all, that the British empire shall endure, or shrink, withered and powerless, within the narrow limits of her island shores, and dwindle to the national unimportance of the Sicilies or San Marino.

Even to young and half-civilized states, whose rulers the problem of over-population has not yet puzzled, the command to subdue and cultivate the earth was not given lightly or unmeaningly: to the self-interest of mature nations, its significance is quickened by the consciousness that its neglect may react penally on themselves.

It was, for the most part, the instinct of adventure, coincident perhaps with a political crisis, which drove from their native home the early Greek colonists of the Ægean and Adriatic shores. It is the imperative, unromantic alternative of workhouse or starvation which nerves the Saxon and Celtic peasant to his hard-fought battle with the ocean and the wilderness.

Utterly unlike as are the national characteristics of modern England and ancient Greece, I may, nevertheless, appeal without the imputation of pedantry or puritanism to a heathen historic precedent for an example of colonization on nobler motives than mere accumulative instincts can afford.

Colonization was no integral element in the politics of Greece, either for the sake of commerce or aggrandizement; yet we know enough of the Æolic, Ionian, and Dorian migrations, and of their Italian and Sicilian colonies, to assure us of the earnestness wherewith the individual heroes of that time, either actuated by pride or patriotism, watched and nurtured those infant

settlements which were destined to impregnate with the influences of truth and beauty the after ages of the world.

There were, no doubt, in those days, as in our own, selfish masters of miserable slaves, who had the conduct of such enterprises, and it is well known that the early settlement of Sicily involved its pioneers in much hardship and privation; but the germ of Agrigentum and Crotona was no promiscuous ragged horde of paupers expelled at a minimum of cost and a maximum of suffering by the harsh suspicious officials of the parent state. A poet, a priest, and an artificer of taste and skill were doubtless to be found among the ranks of every band of those spirited buccaneers. The Greek emigrant bore with him to every shore the arts, philosophy, and traditional divinities of his native home. To the self-satisfied citizens of modern European states, to whose conceptions of greatness fleets and armies, busy workshops and rapid communications are essential, that little knot of confederated republics whose most solemn parliament was a chariot-race, and whose only bond of union was poetry and patriotism, may seem, through the dim distance, almost childish and contemptible. It is, however, certain that the Greek could realise one truth at least, which the Englishman has lost—*the responsibility of a parent state.* The title of "Mother Country" was not a metaphorical piracy, but a realized idea, in the practice and vocabulary of Greek colonization.

From the records of national relations, so noble in their spirit and so glorious in their results, in which patriotism seemed almost to anticipate the yet unrevealed holier instincts of Christian love, the student of

the future annals of Australia and America will pass on through the less interesting intermediate periods of the world's history to the story of the birth and parentage of his own peculiar commonwealth. I cannot conceive a literary transition more shocking to a believer in the uniform advancement of the human race, or more calculated to strengthen and illustrate that soberer faith which recognises in the alternate triumphs of truth and falsehood, and the oscillations of prosperity and adversity in men, and nations, and centuries, the simple natural consequence of the rejection or acceptance of the eternal laws of God and reason. There is a fashion now of talk, and, with some fanatics, even of belief, in what they call the westward course of this world's civilization. The extinct empires of Central Asia, the ruins of Greece and Rome, the fallen republics of the middle ages, and the already detected tokens of decay in certain European states, are pointed out in vindication of their theory. The ashes are indeed there, but we look in vain for the Phœnix. It would be more true to say, that man marches westward to mar the beautiful creation of his God. In the valley of the Upper Mississippi, that last and most magnificent dwelling-place ever prepared by God for man's abode, the Anglo-Saxon colonist is rapidly repeopling the once happy hunting-grounds of a nobler race, whom his corrupt and treacherous civilization has poisoned.

A type of human character at once more savage, selfish, and acute than any age or nation can present, may be recognised to-day in the enlightened and independent citizen of the Western States of the American Union.

The extermination of native races by force or fraud may be a necessary precedent condition of the civilization of the countries they inhabit—a fulfilment of that mysterious economy which we can neither control nor comprehend. There is no reason to expect that the Kaffir or the New Zealander will escape the fate of the Pelasgian and the Amorite. Responsibilities, nevertheless, there are for the moral and material interests both of the expiring and the conquering race, which, whether we regard the world in which we live, and so large a portion of which we rule, as the field of the community or of God, are equally imperative and inevitable.

With the delinquencies of other states we have no immediate concern, but to deplore them. The faithlessness of other races, to whom a task like our own may have been intrusted, will receive at other hands its appropriate condemnation.

Our national and peculiar liabilities are sufficiently serious to absorb our thoughts. Of our dealings with the tribes we have exterminated, I will not now speak. We have however in evidence the sad but certain fact that the Anglo-Saxon race everywhere has been worsened by colonization, and is now in a course of moral and political deterioration. I would that it were as easy to arrest the progress as it is to detect the causes of this decay, which must ere long reach the vitals of our commonwealth.

I would appeal (but I know it is in vain) to those whose rank, and wealth and talent, and I might add inactive and desultory life, point them out as the appropriate representatives of the Hengists and Calverts of other days. But I am told that patrician exiles

are only the creatures of persecution—the self-ostracised victims of religious and political discontent, and that the class has disappeared with the motives and causes which created it. Among the ranks of the higher classes we may search in vain, unless a spirit to which they are now strangers should be evoked, for leaders of the emigrant host.

The charities of home are too endearing—literature, field-sports, home politics, the oscillations of theological controversy, the minutiæ of physical science, the bustling nothingness of fashionable life, are too absorbing.

A colony may indeed sometimes be unwillingly adopted as a sort of penal settlement for a worthless or unpromising younger son, who hopes to make a fortune in his exile and come home to spend it, and cut the ungentlemanly connexion altogether. The deserved disappointment of his hopes is comparatively unimportant: but the evil consequences of a precedent so vicious, it is impossible to over-estimate. The prodigal son graduates in the solitude of the backwoods in the boorish and sottish propensities in which he had previously matriculated; he dies perhaps in exile, or returns to his native land, after a short hopeless struggle with difficulties he was never qualified to master, a bankrupt in health, purse, and character—a warning beacon even to those future adventurers who might have prosperously advanced in the same track. For there are those to whose intellectual and physical energies an over-crowded country, with its over-stocked professions, offers no career, but who might become the honourable instruments in the colonies of a civilization which (humanly speaking) may, perhaps, without their agency, never be effec-

tually promoted.* Stout, stalwart men there are, whose only appointments are their wearing apparel, and only certain expectations death and half-pay, whose profession a long peace has reduced to a mere pipe-clay and parade pantomime, and to whom, one would think, the active extermination of moose-deer and mosquitoes would be more tolerable than the tedium of their present existence. But colonization is a chimera. The attainment of perfection in billiards and the elaborate cultivation of moustache, for which the present period of leisure is most favourable, possess a practical and personal importance.

Inasmuch, then, as unaided private enterprise declines as yet any implication or enlistment in this great cause, which though it may need neither patronage nor sympathy for the acknowledgment of its truth, yet must necessarily invoke both for its practical vindication, I appeal to the Minister to whom this department of the public service is intrusted (and never within my memory could I do so more hopefully than at present), to assume a dignified initiative —not as the co-partner and abettor of money-makers and speculators, nor as the instrument and victim of benevolent monomaniacs, but as the organ and exponent of public thought and feeling on this subject. A nation which once voted twenty millions for the vindication of a principle less palpably important, and with which its material interests were rather in conflict than in coincidence, will not refuse to support

* If it should be insinuated, by those who wish to escape my conclusions, that I probably belong myself to the class contemplated, and ought to set the example, I answer that I have already made some humble efforts in this cause, and hope, if my life lasts, to renew them.

him in a cause in which its pride, covetousness, and conscience are alike enlisted.

It is not to a policeman or mere administrative functionary that the seals of the Colonial Department are committed. It is his higher calling to control and influence the destinies of unborn states. I know of no statesman whose functions are more pregnant with everlasting consequences. I would remind that Minister, in the earnest language of a great man to whose writings he has himself in a recent public document appealed, that "if there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest period of the world's history—that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected, or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the importance of not wasting the time still left to us may well be called incalculable. When an army's last reserve has been called into action, every single soldier knows that he must do his duty to the utmost: that if he cannot win the battle now, he must lose it. So, if our existing nations are the last reserve of the world, its fate may be said to be in their hands—God's work on earth will be left undone, if they do not do it."

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