

direction of adequate superintendence, often occasions great temporary suffering among the emigrants, and tends to create an unfounded impression at home with respect to the difficulties attending emigration to the Canadas. A clause was also introduced into the Irish Poor Law, to enable parishes to contribute a portion of their poor rates, to enable their poor to emigrate. It was, however, so framed as to render it extremely difficult to be brought into practical operation. It requires that, before any advance can be made out of the poor rate for the purposes of emigration, the consent of the ratepayers of the district shall be first obtained. Now, the reference of any question whatever to the general body of the ratepayers, rather than to the guardians, must always be attended with considerable inconvenience, on account of the difficulty of ascertaining the opinion of large bodies of persons; but in the case of emigration especially, it is to be feared that the farmers, who have an interest in keeping the wages of labour as low as possible, will not be much disposed to encourage and facilitate the distressed labourers to emigrate. On the part, also, of the holders of property at large in Ireland, who have recently consented to take upon themselves the payment of rates for the relief of the poor, to an extent which will probably exceed 500,000*l.* per annum, there will naturally be considerable reluctance, except under the fear of being burdened with the maintenance of the unemployed labourers in the workhouse, to subject themselves to additional taxation for the advancement of an object such as emigration, which they will justly regard as one of national, rather than of merely local, concern.

I now come to what appears to me the great era in the history of modern colonisation, — I mean, the promulgation of the Wakefield principle of self-supporting emigration. In the year 1830, Mr. Wakefield published a pamphlet, in which were set forth new views upon the subject of colonisation. In this work, he clearly showed that the mode of founding colonies which had so long prevailed, — and of which, the case of the Swan River settlement afforded the most recent and most striking instance, — by conferring upon individuals gratuitous grants of land to an enormous extent, tended to create and perpetuate evils which have the effect of greatly retarding the advancement of their prosperity. He showed that this unlimited facility of acquiring large tracts of wild land induced persons to appropriate to themselves more land than they

could possibly improve and settle; — that it caused large unreclaimed blocks of territory to be interspersed between the settlers, thereby intercepting their communication, and preventing that mutual co-operation, without which each individual becomes comparatively helpless; — that it induced the poorer emigrants to become proprietors of land before they possessed capital to cultivate it; whilst, at the same time, it deprived the capitalist — (as was remarkably the case with Mr. Peel, who obtained an immense grant of territory, and took out a large body of settlers to the Swan River) — of the means of obtaining the labour necessary to render his territorial acquisitions valuable to himself and others. In order to correct the evils arising from the dispersion of settlers, occasioned by this pernicious system, Mr. Wakefield suggested, that, in future, all land in the colonies belonging to the Crown should be sold at a fixed *minimum* price, and that the proceeds arising from its sale should be applied to the conveyance of emigrants to the district in which the land was sold. He argued, that, by adopting this simple principle, a proper ratio between capital and labour would be secured; that all favouritism in the disposal of land would be prevented; that none would pay for land who did not intend to cultivate or bring it under settlement; that the money paid for such land would, in fact, be employed by the State for the immediate benefit of the purchaser, inasmuch as it would be applied to obtain for him a supply of labour, without which his territorial acquisitions would remain valueless; that the condition of the labourer would also be improved, because, instead of possessing land, useless to him without capital, he would obtain regular wages, until he should be enabled, out of his earnings, to apply capital to the purchase and improvement of land; and that, as each additional emigrant would, after a short time, be enabled to make such purchases, the funds applicable to emigration would increase by a regular and constant process of accumulation. These views recommended themselves so strongly to the favourable judgment of the public, that they were not long in finding active supporters. A society, denominated "The National Colonisation Society," — of which my Honourable Friend the Member for Hull, who has done so much for colonisation, and myself, were members, — was formed almost immediately after the appearance of Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet, for the purpose of forwarding and giving practical effect to

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