

was constantly on the increase, labour-saving machinery reduced the number of hands employed, and there was in the present, and still more likely to be in the future, a considerable supply of labour for which no demand existed. He did not mean to say that emigration was an adequate remedy for the dangers ahead, he never had thought so; but though it might not be a cure, it was at least a palliative. It lessened impatience by lessening suffering, and gave time to deal with our troubles before they thickened upon us. There were some people who objected to emigration on principle, and there were various theories for the cure of the evils of society; but we had to deal with men as they were and with society as it now existed. If the current of emigration was suddenly changed we should very soon find the result in the growth of pauperism. Another point was that every successful emigrant—and with reasonable care nine out of ten ought to succeed—not only left his place at home vacant for somebody else to fill, but made work for those left behind. He was a pauper, or next door to one; he became a customer. Let colonists do what they would in the way of protectionist tariffs—he was sorry they did it, but they were their own masters—England for many years to come would be the chief source of supply of manufactures of whatever kind. And there was more than that. Though we might not want to see the whole globe Anglicised; though we did not want the entire human race to be a reproduction of the English middle class—for that would be a little monotonous—still we might be legitimately glad, and even proud, to think that the race to which we belonged would not be crowded out of existence, but would hold its own in the most distant parts of the globe. The settlement of a new country was, after all, the only permanent form of conquest, and it was a kind of conquest that involved injury to no man. Assuming, therefore, the right place to be chosen and the right men, emigration was good for those who went and for those who stayed behind. As to the place, there were practically only three alternatives. Tropical colonies were out of the question if a man had to live by the work of his hands. South Africa had an admirable climate and plenty of land to spare, but black men and white men didn't always get on comfortably together, and the large Dutch and native admixture did not suit every settler. Australia had every advantage for those who did not dislike a somewhat hot and dry climate, but the distance was the chief objection. Where, however, the cost of transport had to be considered, Canada was most likely to be chosen, and there the emigrant, if not content with his prospects, had the chance of moving south and trying his fortune in the United States. As to the sort of men who should go, the farm labourer, the unemployed artisan, and generally everybody who had the use of a pair of strong arms, and the will to use them, was safe enough. He would not make his position worse, and he was almost sure to make it better. The well-paid artisan should be more careful, as he might find that nominally higher wages were balanced by larger necessary outlay, and he ought, therefore, to inquire carefully before he broke with his old connections. The three main requisites for a successful colonist were these—he should be young, poor, and energetic, the last being the most important of the three. The chief difficulty of the emigration question was the danger of exciting colonial jealousy, by pouring in too many emigrants or emigrants of an unsuitable kind. In every self-governed colony the working classes were the masters, and laws were found mainly to suit their convenience. Their obvious interest, therefore, at least for the moment, was not to admit too many competitors for employment. They had got a good thing in the shape of high wages, and they meant to stick to it. He had no hesitation in saying that if any scheme were started with the help of the State, such as benevolent persons often suggested, which should pour say 100,000 settlers yearly into Australia or Canada, such a proposal would be met by legislation of some kind in the colony affected, with the view of checking an influx of population larger than could be easily absorbed, and of course the cry would be louder if among so large a number there were found, as almost inevitably must happen, a certain proportion of paupers, loafers, and bad characters. We had to be extremely careful not to irritate the colonial susceptibility on that point. The colonies would only take our best men, and they did not want too many of them. The existence of that feeling, to his mind,