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of labour, and which I have carefully examined, challenge in most of their details, my entire sanction.

I do not wish to check the progress, in these valuable colonies, of associated enterprise; I do not desire to restrict the growth of population within them, or to supersede the functions of the Board of Land and Emigration; I wish these rising communities God speed, and success to all those who take an interest in them.

But I turn from them to the North American field, perhaps because I know it best, but assuredly because I believe that to people and strengthen it will secure political advantages of the very highest importance, and because I apprehend that the Eastern Colonies, however they may prosper and improve, will offer but homœopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In the same period, 710,410 went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and a rival Power, to entrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, and to become consumers of American manufactures, and of foreign productions, seaborne in American bottoms; they and the countless generation that has already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the Crown of England.

In twenty-two years 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand; about half the number on the poor rate of Scotland in 1848, not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland, or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily-taxed industry in that single year; not more, I apprehend, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland from 1846 to 1850; and less, by 60,000, than the number of the young people who were in the work-houses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as these Eastern Colonies may be, respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that whether we regard them as extensive fields for colonization, or as industrial aids for the removal of pressure on the resources of the United Kingdom, the belief, however fondly indulged, is but a delusion and a snare. Were I to go into a calculation of the expense, to show what this emigration has cost the Government and people of England, I could prove this by pregnant illustrations. But two or three simple facts are potent, and lie upon the surface.

Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England. The British Provinces of North America but 2,500. Every Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman, who embarks for the Eastern Colonies, must be maintained by somebody for 120 or 150 days, while he is tossing about in idleness on the sea. The average passage to North America is about 40; and when the arrangements are complete to which I hope to have your Lordship's countenance and support, emigrants embarking for the North American Provinces, may reach Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 8 or 10 days, and Canada in 12. The expense of a passage to the East, is to the Government, to the Emigrant or to the capitalist, to whom he becomes a debtor, £20. The cost of a passage to the West rarely exceeds 3*l.* 10*s.*, and may be reduced to 2*l.* 10*s.*, if steam ships for the poor are employed.

But mark the disproportion, my Lord, in other respects. If a British or Irishman with capital go to the Eastern Colonies, he must pay £100 sterling for 100 acres of land. If he goes to the Canterbury Settlement he must pay £300. In Western Canada he can get his 100 acres of the best land in the Empire for £40; in Lower Canada for £20; in New Brunswick, (where Professor Johnston declares more wheat is grown to the acre than in the best parts of the State of New York), for £12 10*s.*; and in Nova Scotia for £10, where from the extent of mineral treasures, the

proximity to Europe, the wealth of the fisheries, and the facilities for and rapid growth of navigation, land is now in many sections, and will soon become in all, as valuable as in any part of Her Majesty's Colonial Dominions.

If land is purchased in the Eastern Possessions, it is clear that English capital must flow out at the rate of £100 or £300 for every 100 acres. If the poor go out they must begin colonial life by owing that amount, and £20 for their passages besides, if they aspire to become proprietors.

A poor Englishman, on the contrary, can get to North America for a few pounds. If he works a single winter at the seal fishery of Newfoundland, or on the wharves in Nova Scotia, or a single summer in the rural districts or timber forests of New Brunswick, he can save as much as will pay for his passage and his land.

But it is said that these high prices are paid, not for land alone, but for the civilization, without which land is of little value,—for roads, bridges, churches, schools; for religious services and the means of education. But all these exist in North America, to an extent and of an order, of which few persons who have not visited the Provinces have any correct idea. Nova Scotia, for instance, is divided into seventeen counties, with their magistracy, sessions, court houses, jails, representatives, and complete county organization.

Each of these again is divided into townships, whose ratepayers meet, assess themselves, support their poor, and appoint their local officers. In each of the shire towns there are churches of some, if not of all the religious bodies which divide the British people. Every part of the country is intersected with roads, and bridges span all the larger, and most of the smaller streams.

From 50 to 100 public schools exist in every county; there is a Bible in every house, and few natives of the Province grow up but what can read, write, and cipher. The same may be said generally of the other Provinces. We charge nothing for these civilizing influences. The Emigrant who comes in, obeys the laws and pays his ordinary taxes, which are very light, is welcome to a participation in them all, and may for £10 have his 100 acres of land besides.

The best criterion of the comparative civilization of countries may be found in the growth of commerce and the increase of a mercantile marine. Tried by this test, the North American Provinces will stand comparison with any other portion of the Queen's Dominions.

The West India Colonies, the Australian group including New Zealand, the African Colonies, and the East Indian, or the Mauritius and Ceylon, owned collectively in 1846 but 2,128 vessels, or 42,610 tons of shipping. The North American group, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, owned in that year 5,119 vessels, measuring 393,822 tons. Of these Nova Scotia owned in tonnage 141,093, and in number more than the other four put together, or 2583.

But it may be asserted that the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. The answer we North Americans give to this objection, is simple. Do me the honour to glance, my Lord, at the hemisphere which contains the three quarters of the Old World, and dividing the northern countries from the south, the rigorous climate from the warm and enervating, satisfy yourself in which reside at this moment, the domestic virtues, the pith of manhood, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace, the discipline of war, the political power and dominion—assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions, blessed with fertility, and containing the cradle of our race, filled up first, and ruled for a time, the territories to the north. But as civilization and population advanced northwards, the bracing climate did

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