

Appendix  
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this,—to maintain in the bosom of England a state of siege, an ever-impending civil war?

A new aspect would be given to all the questions which arise out of this condition of property at home, if a wise appropriation were made of the virgin soil of the empire. Give the Scotchman, who has no land, a piece of North America, purchased by the blood which stained the tartan on the plains of Abraham. Let the Irishman or the Englishman whose kindred chubb'd their muskets at Bloody Creek, or charged the enemy at Queenston, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them have at least the option of ownership and occupation, and a bridge to convey them over. Such a policy would be conservative of the rights of property, and permanently relieve the people. It would silence agrarian complaint, and enlarge the number of proprietors. The poor man, who saw before him the prospect of securing his 100, his 1000 acres, by moderate industry, would no longer envy the British proprietor, whose estate owed its value to high cultivation, but was not much larger in extent.

But it may be urged that if this policy be adopted, it may empty the United Kingdoms into North America, and largely reduce their population. No apprehensions of this result need be entertained. There are few who can live in Great Britain or Ireland, in comfort and security, who will ever go anywhere else. The attachment to home, with all its endearing associations, forms the first restraint. The seat of empire will ever attract around it the higher and more wealthy classes. The value of the home market will retain every agriculturist who can be profitably employed upon the land. The accumulated capital, science and machinery, in the large commercial and manufacturing centres, will go on enlarging the field of occupation just in proportion as they are relieved from the pressure of taxation. Besides, emigrants who have improved their fortunes abroad, will be continually returning home, to participate in the luxury, refinement, and higher civilization, which it is to be fairly assumed these islands will ever pre-eminently retain. Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, still enlarge their cities, and grow in wealth and population, though all the rich lands of the Republic invite their people to emigrate, and there is no ocean to cross. The natural laws which protect them would operate more powerfully here, where the attractions are so much greater.

But it is time, my Lord, that I should anticipate the questions that will naturally arise. Assuming the policy to be sound, what will it cost to carry it out?

Let us first see what the present system, or rather the public establishments, without a system, cost now:

<i>Poor Rates.</i> England, - - -	£6,180,765
Scotland, - - -	544,334
Ireland, - - -	1,216,679
<i>Constabulary.</i> England, - - -	579,327
Ireland, - - -	562,506
<i>Convicts</i> at home and abroad, - -	378,000
<i>Emigration, 1849</i> , (exclusive of cabin-passengers,) paid from private or Parochial Funds, - - -	1,500,000
Paid by Government, - - -	228,300
	<hr/> 11,189,911

The cost of prisons, or that proportion of them which might be saved if the criminal calendar were less, might fairly be added to the amount. The prison at York cost £2000 per head for each criminal—a sum large enough, the inspector observes, “to build for each prisoner a separate mansion, stable and coach-house.” A large proportion of the cost of trials might also be added; and as twelve jurymen must have been summoned to try most of the 13,671 persons convicted in 1848, the waste of valuable time would form no inconsiderable item, if it were.

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The loss of property stolen by those whom poverty first made criminal, no economist can estimate; and no human skill can calculate the value of lives and property destroyed in agrarian outrages, when wretchedness has deepened to despair.

My plan of Colonization and Emigration is extremely simple. It embraces—

Ocean Steamers for the poor as well as the rich;  
The preparation of the Wild Lands of North America for settlement; and  
Public Works to employ the people.

I do not propose that the British Government should pay the passage of anybody to America. I do not, therefore, require to combat the argument upon this point with which the Commissioners of Land and Emigration usually meet crude schemes, pressed without much knowledge or reflection. The people must pay their own passages; but the Government, or some national association, or public company to be organized for that purpose, must protect them from the casualties that beset them now, and secure for them cheapness, speed, and certainty of departure and arrival. If this is done, by the employment of steamships of proper construction, all the miseries of the long voyage, with its sure concomitants—disease and death; and all the waste of time and means, waiting for the sailing of merchant-ships on this side of the Atlantic, and for friends and conveyances on the other, would be obviated by this simple provision. A bounty to half the extent of that now given for carrying the mails would provide the ocean-omnibuses for the poor. Or, if Government, by direct aid to public works, or by the interposition of Imperial credit, to enable the colonies to construct them, were to create a labour market, and open lands for settlement along a railway line of 635 miles, these ships might be provided by private enterprise.

By reference to the published Report of the Commissioners for 1847, your Lordship will perceive that in that year of famine and disease, 17,445 British subjects died on the passage to Canada and New Brunswick, in quarantine, or in the hospitals, to say nothing of those who perished by the contagion which was diffused over the provincial cities and settlements. An equal number, there is too much reason to apprehend, died on the passage to or in the United States. In ordinary seasons, the mortality will of course be much less, and in all may be diminished by the more stringent provisions since enforced by Parliament. But bad harvests, commercial depressions, with their inevitable tendency to drive off large portions of a dense population, should be anticipated; and no regulation can protect large masses of emigrants, thrown into sea-ports, from delay, fraud, cupidity, and mistreatment. No previous care can prevent disease from breaking out in crowded ships, that are forty or fifty days at sea, to say nothing of the perils of collision and shipwreck.

Mark the effects produced upon the poorer classes of this country. Emigration is not to them what it might be made—a cheerful excursion in search of land, employment, fortune. It is a forlorn hope, in which a very large proportion perish, in years of famine and distress, and very considerable numbers in ordinary seasons, even with the best regulations that Parliament can provide.

The remedy for all this—simple, sure, and not very expensive—is the ocean-omnibus.

Steamships may be constructed to carry at least 1000 passengers, with quite as much comfort as is now secured in a first-class railway carriage, and with space enough for all the luggage besides. If these vessels left London, Southampton, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Cork, or Galway, alternately, or as there might be demand for them, on certain appointed days, emigrants would know where and when to embark,