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EMIGRATION AND COLONISATION CONSIDERED.

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THE natural desire of every individual is to make his condition better than it is, be it what it may. Nations composed of individuals, have the same motive principle, and however the advancement of one class may involve misery and privation to others, still improvement of the public *status* is the avowed object of every ruler, and of every pretended or true patriot. The acquisition of wealth is the most obvious, though not always the truest mode by which this end can be accomplished; and though wealth, strictly speaking, is only a means of acquiring health, comfort, luxury, refinement and power, we find these each in turn absolutely sacrificed for the purpose of what is called gain. In our time, and with our race especially, the logic of the ledger surpasses all philosophy, and he who would not be received as a visionary or a hypocrite, must speak of the wealth and welfare of nations, and of individuals, as synonymous terms.

Unbeliever, as I am, in the proposition that millions of pounds gained to the community by the degradation and misery of millions of human beings is a public good, I am not disposed to quarrel with humanity as I find it. I am willing to admit that the amount of rent of land is of more national importance than the food of the people, and the finding a market for the merchant more to be thought of than the physical or moral condition of the thousands who are his customers. If I invite attention to any motives of philanthropy, humanity, or morality, it is because these may be indulged in as cheap luxuries, and because they may be made subservient to the great end of saving and acquiring money; and if I use any suggestions merely founded on the promotion of human happiness, in the abstract, and separating the idea from the possession of money, the separation shall only be momentary. I look not for the assent of any who would be the losers in pocket by the adoption of my plans; and I have but faint hopes of the aid of any

able to promote them, unless circumstances should prove their expediency, from motives founded upon private and public economy, in the most restricted and sordid acceptance of these terms.

Emigration and settlement, in our neighbouring country, have proceeded on a grand scale; one, of which the inhabitants of Europe, and even ourselves in Canada, have scarcely any conception. I am not now alluding to the influx of Europeans into the United States, but to the still more mighty movement of the inhabitants of the Atlantic States into the western territory. Never was a nation blessed with such means and opportunities of becoming great, at a little cost, as the American Republic. England, before the revolution had not only commenced the colonisation of North America, but she had conquered it from others. The native tribes were driven from their possessions, and reduced to a state of feebleness, and this by means not belonging to the Colonists themselves. In vain did the enterprising Frenchman explore the great lakes, and establish his trading posts and forts deep within the interior—in vain did he trace the father of rivers from his source to his outlet—in vain did the Dutchman and the Swede attempt to divide the new-formed empire; the all-grasping Englishman would endure the presence of no race but his own. And when that race became possessed of undisputed sway upon this northern continent, and when, after an unnecessary and unnatural conflict, revolution and separation ensued, the Colonists were left without an enemy, with great and fertile, though unoccupied regions, at their disposal. Without the necessity of offence or defence, the great consumers of life, wealth and energy in other nations, with institutions in their foundation British, which left absolute liberty for all good purposes to each individual; without the clashing interests arising from long-vested rights and artificial distinctions of class; without the impediment of general appropriation of territory amongst princely landlords, the Americans had no difficulty in the path of future progress. And in the States of the north, especially where negro slavery was expelled, there was amongst the people a reverence for law, and a regard for order, derived from their British ancestors; a contempt for difficulty, and a sense of self-reliance for which they are not only distinguished, but which I am ashamed to say, seems to remain with them alone—which asked no protection, sought no advice, depended upon no leadership, and acknowledged no master. With these qualifications, the people of the north seemed formed for the most glorious of all victories—for the foundation of a mighty empire, not laid upon the ashes of wasted habitations or the blood and bones of ordinary conquest, but springing into light and life, as the dark forest was to fall before the axe of the emigrant; as the waving corn-fields were to appear; and as the smoke of the domestic hearth was to arise, a grateful incense at the altar of a beneficent God.

With such a spirit, and with such a field, how could there have been a failure? Onward the emigrant settlers of America pursued the setting sun—the regions where—

“ Wild Oswego spread her swamps around,
And thundering Niagara's deafening sound,”

became not the goals, but the starting places for the long race, and a thousand miles beyond them, in the deep interior,

“ The glittering towns, with wealth and splendour crown'd,
And fields, where summer spreads profusion round,
And lakes, whose vessels catch the busy gale.”

The very picture which the enraptured poet drew of European civilisation, found its prototype in America, in regions to which his knowledge did not extend, or his imagination bear him. And all this was the result of individual courage, manly enterprise, and self-directed industry.

Thus, in the few years in which the political economists and the philosophers of Europe have, within the present century, been inquiring into the means of preventing or providing for a surplus population—into the best mode of employing men whose labour is not wanted—into the distresses of landlords, and the reason why the poor will not starve in peace and quietness, a population of seven millions has occupied the Western States, where they live in all the enjoyment of present superabundance, and still expanding enterprise. A chairman of an Irish Parish Union, or of a London Colonisation Committee, may ask from what famishing population were the individuals supplied who form those new communities! But he would find that they fled, not from starvation, nor poverty, nor workhouses, but from a country, in his estimation, not yet half-peopled, simply because they would not be servants. They chose to be their own landlords rather than the tenants of others. He may ask what committee of emigration directed the movement?—where did the first emigrants find employment?—what was the rate of wages?—was not the labour market over-supplied when all were labourers and none were masters?—was not the labour market under-supplied, when all were masters, and none would work for hire? He would very speedily find that not one of his questions had entered into the calculations of the emigrant,—that he might as well have asked how they lit their fires without hearth-money, or used the light of heaven without a window tax! If inquiries were made by the emigrating population, they were, whether the land was good or bad—how could they get to it—would it produce food in abundance—and did it offer the promise of future prosperity by its facilities of communication, or its capabilities of improvement? In search of territory where these questions could be satisfactorily answered, the men of the Eastern States abandoned their homes; and for this toil, danger, and difficulty were braved and overcome. Every emigrant was looking for land—land upon which he might live in plenty, and, above all, in independence. From the rolling prairies of Louisiana to the lakes of Canada every mode of transport was put in requisition,—there was the emigrant, with his wife and children packed in a waggon, trundling along where there was no road formed by human hands, shouldering his axe or his rifle, spending his days in toilsome travel, and his nights without shelter; here the steam-boats were crowded with thousands seeking a western home, down the mighty rivers of the interior floated the boats and arks of the settlers, all with one object, *the possession of land*. If they had money, they would buy it cheaply, if not, they would buy it, some on long credit, or

what was still more easy, they would squat upon it, and hold it against the world. Strange to say, in all this, though there was unity of motive, there was no combination of plan, no direction of superior wisdom, no effort of government or legislation, no master-mind, and no legally-constituted direction. People moved by hundreds of thousands yearly, and so far were they from seeking a country ready prepared for habitation, that most of them did not pretend when they commenced their journey to know when or where it would end. They found what they sought for, land which would produce food; but it not only gave them food, but wealth; and then followed the learning and talent of the East. The colleges poured forth their graduates, and the professions their members to join the mighty stream of human life; Europe furnished her mechanics, and last of all, when canals had to be dug, and wages had to be paid, Ireland gave them her labourers.

There can be no doubt but that all this system, if system it could be called, is grievously offensive to the ordinarily received notions of political economy. No doubt but that many an English emigrant to the United States has felt, to his cost, the effects of a state of circumstances which made the investment of large capital in the improvement of land a ruinous undertaking. All balance between the demand for labour and the supply was destroyed—men could not be found to work for wages in agriculture which left sufficient remuneration to the employer on a large scale—masters had to pay extravagantly for household servants—the latter even as independent in language and demeanour as the former,—tenants (when the relation of landlord and tenant had been established, in terms which subjected the latter to rents not equal to half an English poor-rate) refused to pay their almost nominal stipend, and, in the new States, men who were neither large landlords nor capitalists, and who possessed little education, became legislators and statesmen. Natural as well as conventional politeness was to a certain extent cast aside. Men asked impertinent questions, and chewed tobacco and spit upon carpets; mobs, and strange to say, respectable mobs, sometimes usurped the sacred functions of law and justice—but *still* the country prospered—society did not fall to pieces, simply because there was room for the utmost energies of an energetic people; and it was the interest of nobody to push over the great public fabric, though often of itself it seemed tottering to its fall.

In the United States of America the vast movement of population from the Atlantic country to the westward might be supposed, by many, likely to occasion great injury to the country the emigrants abandoned; but this was far from being the true state of the case. Probably, had there been no such outlet for the growing population, the wages of labour would have become lessened, the value of land on which the labour was to be expended would have increased, property would have accumulated in the hands of individuals, and, as population became dense, the advantages attached to the possession of wealth would have become greater. What D'Israeli, in one of his novels, designates as the "*two nations*," namely, the nation of the poor and the nation of the rich, would have come into existence, and this in spite of all declara-

tions of equality, and of all determination to be republican. The nature of capital and property is to accumulate. Those, who have no capital or property of their own, must work for wages; and these wages are exactly what the employer is forced, not what he ought, to give, or what the comforts or even the necessities of the labourer require. A nation may, in the commercial sense of the term, be very prosperous, though but one man in ten thousand is a landed proprietor, or but one in ten thousand a capitalist. Money may be saved to a nation as effectually by curtailing the food and clothing of the many, as by limiting the luxuries of the few; and, to save and gather money through the privations of others, is a more agreeable occupation than accomplishing the same object by stinting ourselves. Abundance of population and concentration of property, while it places the poor in a state of dependence upon the rich, has a strong tendency to make the nation richer, for it enables one class to save and accumulate by the privations of another. From prosperity of this kind, arising from this source, the Atlantic States were saved, or perhaps, I should say, cut off, by the western emigration. There is no country in which there has been more speculation, in the way of buying and selling land, than in the Northern States of America, but investment of money in large plantations was not practicable where slavery did not exist; for, with the western territory in the rear, to which men could emigrate, and with the enterprising spirit of the people, which led them to seek individual independence by removal, it was not possible to create, in sufficient numbers, the classes of labourers for hire, or small tenants, without whom land cannot be very high in price, or the possession of landed estate accompanied with the enormous advantages which it brings in Europe.

But, were it not for another cause, the United States of America (however happy and comfortable the individual inhabitants might be) would not in our day have assumed their present imposing aspect of national greatness. The drain upon the population of the Atlantic region, caused by emigration, has produced and continued a never-glutted market for labour, and workmen and labourers of all kinds were supplied from Europe. These, and their immediate descendants, form a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the Atlantic States; they kept up and increased the population, and added to the national strength; and thus, by a combination of the most simple and direct causes, you have accounted for the present condition of the United States of America.

Had the native Americans been fixed and contented in their habits—had western emigration depended upon imported enterprise and energy, the great west would have still remained a wilderness, and the Atlantic States would have presented something like the form of European society; but, in consequence of the spirit of emigration amongst the American people, communicated in some degree to the strangers who came amongst them, there is now a most surprising transition in the condition of mankind, as they happen to inhabit one side of the Atlantic or the other. Though the climates may be similar, the productions of the soil similar, the language the same, and the laws not materially different, this difference of condition is as great, now that the American

Union contains twenty millions of inhabitants, as it was when it contained one-fourth of that number, and, probably, will be still as great, when a hundred millions inhabit this northern continent, and until the waves of the Pacific forbid the further advance of the living tide. Until that time comes, there will be no nearer approach between the relative conditions of the European and American population; and, if it were desirable, it is not to be brought about by such feeble means as the speculations of politicians or political economists as to what is best, or what ought to be.

The transatlantic emigration, so necessary to the United States, you will observe, required little of enterprise on the part of the emigrants. They learned, in their own country, that at the end of a short voyage they might obtain high, very high wages. Arrived at the end of the voyage, they either remained in or near the Atlantic cities, or, in pursuit of still higher wages, they were slowly led to the westward, where, by means of English money, the great public works were undertaken, and were accomplished principally by foreign labour. Once transported to the westward, some become proprietors of land, many congregate about the new cities and towns of the interior, and many, far too many, compose the tribes of itinerant diggers and delvers, who wander from one public work to another—who travel a thousand miles for an advance in daily pay—who cover the sides of creeks with their graves, and who continue comparatively poor because they are improvident, unambitious, and contented.

The American emigration to the westward had a re-active effect upon the greatness and prosperity of the east, which far surpassed the wildest speculations of that most speculative people. At first the eastern country was drained of its inhabitants, its money, its provisions, to supply the moving masses; at first the emigration was only felt by its demands upon those who were stationary, but in a few years the returning tide of wealth began to pour towards the sea. The rivers were crowded, the canals were choked, the wharves were piled, and the warehouses groaned with the produce of the interior. Ships for its transport crowded the Atlantic ports, to bear the superabundance to other lands; and towns, which had languished for a preceding century, with a limited population and small resources, suddenly changed from being the market places of a State or district, into the great commercial capitals of a vast continent, equalling and surpassing the famous cities of Europe—cities which were great and renowned long before their new rivals were known as the trading posts of the humble plantations in America; and opening to the old world, by the same process of re-action, profitable commerce, great and important in its present condition, and almost unbounded in its promises for the future.

I ascribe to the enterprising spirit of emigration much, if not the greater portion of this amazing progress. Many are fond of attributing it to republican institutions. They are right insofar as they give these institutions the merit of throwing no impediment in the way of prosperity—the merit of leaving an enterprising people individually free to work their own way, unfettered by the attempt to carry into effect, in

America, theories founded upon the practically inapplicable experience of the old world. So far am I from ascribing to the republican constitution of the United States their present prosperity, that, on the contrary, I look upon the continued existence of republicanism there as entirely owing to the spirit of emigration, and the field which exists for its exercise. I have no notion that the republicanism of the United States is to be permanent—no idea, if the energies of the American people should be turned in the direction of serious war, or active interference with foreign politics, that republicanism would stand the test. It is upheld by what would equally uphold a wisely administered despotism, or a limited monarchy, by the presence of universally diffused comfort, universal recognition of civil rights, and by the absence of public danger, and of the necessity for concentrated and combined effort.

The government of Napoleon, had it been peaceable, would have given more of prosperity to France than the wildest dream of republicanism. The constitution of England, throughout her glorious history of freedom, preserved to her people prosperity in the midst of the devastation of Europe, security in the midst of appalling danger, and might, majesty, and dominion, as the fruit of deadly conflict. Russia, in the one aspect of progress, is more like America than any other country; yet its prosperity is probably owing to a pure despotism. Peter the Great ordered 200,000 men to prepare the foundation of St. Petersburg; it was done, though 80,000 perished in the task. St. Petersburg was built by this means in the swamps of the Gulf of Finland, in a latitude eight degrees north of the nearest point of Hudson's Bay. America might have been settled, and New York built, under the dominion of a sovereign like Peter, or of one much inferior, but I question much if St. Petersburg would have been built under a Russian Republic. I like free institutions myself; partly because, in the history of the world, countries possessing them have generally prospered; I like them because personal liberty and civil rights are by them secured; I like them because, though the wisdom of the many may not always equal that of the few, yet great oppression, and great public evils, with free institutions, never are perpetuated; I like them, moreover, because of the moral elevation of character which a portion of self-government bestows upon a whole people; but I value them for what they really bestow. I wish to see them in the form of permanency and strength, with capacity for national exertion. I think them more secure, more permanent, more readily adapted to all changes of circumstances, in the form of a limited Monarchy than a Republic; and I think, moreover, that the United States of America owe more of the blessings they enjoy to what they have retained of British law and of the British constitution, than they do to anything new they have imported into it in the formation of their new system. Therefore, I repeat, that I cannot admit their progress as a nation to be owing to any such importation. It was founded on their possession, in peace and security, of a large unpeopled country—in their own individual enterprise, which made them disperse and occupy land as far, and as fast, as they could—and in the inducements which this state of things held out to Europeans individually less self-reliant and

less energetic than themselves, to come and take the secondary place of non-proprietors of land which the Americans were not disposed to occupy. Speaking in general, these are, I think, the sources of Northern American prosperity. With them the same course might be run at any time, without *other* aid. Without any one of them, neither the freedom of the north, nor the slavery of the south, nor British capital, nor public improvements, nor wise legislation, war nor peace, nor commerce, would have advanced them to the condition of a first-rate power—the main part of their progress being within the recollection of men now alive.

How narrow were the views and trifling the objects with which this great continent was first colonised. Canada was valuable for its trade with Indians, for the furs of its wild beasts. I hope it contains, even now, more Christian inhabitants than all the Indians and wild beasts put together. New Amsterdam was a trading post of the Dutch, I believe, founded for the purpose of dividing the fur trade with the French in these northern regions. It was, upon the English conquest of the territory, destined as an appanage for the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second—Maryland was granted as an estate to the Earl of Baltimore—Virginia was valued for its tobacco plantations. The plantations were considered in England places where it was desirable to have large proprietors and cheap labour; hence convicts were transported thither; hence men, women, and children, were kidnapped and deluded into servitude in the Colonies; and hence the dark and damning spot on American fame, the rock upon which the best hopes of that Republic may yet be wrecked—foul, accursed slavery. The relation of planter and labourer, proprietor and tenant, of the very rich and the very poor, were then contemplated. To the bleak and barren shores of New England, alone, came a race of true Englishmen with a noble object; they came in search of civil and religious liberty, denied them at the time in their own land. From these men, the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, have sprung that patient courage, that reliance of the individual upon himself, which have been the foundation-stone of American greatness. The fur trade is now gone, the great proprietors are gone, cheap labour has never come except in the shape of slavery; but that unprotected and undirected Colony of New England became, and has continued, the never-failing source of wisdom, moral and intellectual worth, and manly enterprise. New England had not the silver mines of Mexico, nor the wines of France, nor the silks of Italy, nor the slavery of the south, nor the cheap labour of Europe; but she had what was worth them all, the unconquerable mind of a noble race—a branch cut from the parent-stem of England, in what may be called the heroic period of England's history.

I have thus kept my view fixed on the picture presented by the Northern and free portion of the American States. I have done so for the purpose of founding a doctrine, that in a country like this, where land is in abundance, there may be great wealth, great happiness, and great national prosperity, without the sacrifice of one portion of the people to the cupidity or ambition of the other. For our taste, the notions of the Eastern Americans on the subject of individual indepen-

dence are exaggerated—they are in excess ; yet it is that very exaggeration and excess alone that have worked the wonders which the advance of that country exhibits. It is convenient for the purposes of my address that the same nation, with the same identical Republican institutions, affords us with like exaggeration, and in like excess, the very opposite principle. In the north we have widely-distributed proprietorship, the proprietors in general being working men, and we have dear labour ; in the south you will find cheap, very cheap labour, in the shape of slavery—a domestic institution of the United States, excused, justified, or attempted to be justified, simply on the plea of cheapness of labour, and great profit to the large landholder. We cannot say the slave-owners of the south make our plantations profitable without cheap labour, without slavery. Therefore, ravage and murder, and relentless cruelty, visited the shores of Africa—therefore, horrible captivity holds three-fourths of a population who know no law but that of the scourge—therefore is man brutalised as to his physical condition, and his mind still held in darker chains by wicked and blasphemous laws, which shut out from his mental dungeon every ray of knowledge, human or divine. For this the reprobation and scorn of the civilised world is endured by a proud people ; for this the anger of the Almighty is braved by men who pretend to be Christians.

Is this productive of profit? Yes. The landholders of the south are incomparably richer than those of the north, take them man for man. No comparison can be made between the produce of a hundred acres of a coffee or cotton plantation worked by slaves, and the moderate income derived from a northern farm. It is also profitable in a national point of view. Vast trade, immense exports, the influx of large moneyed wealth, are the fruits of this cheap labour, in the shape of slavery. It is so profitable, that no efforts of the free States, and no threats of disunion on the part of their inhabitants, will cause its relinquishment. On the contrary, for the sake of extending slavery—or, in other words, finding a market for the labour of the slaves—the United States have perpetrated, in the seizure of Texas, one of the most scandalous of public robberies, and the present Mexican war is but an unholy crusade for the propagation and extensio of slavery. Regions, sufficient to sustain the whole population of the United States, have thus been taken possession of to provide employment for a labouring population in wretched, but profitable captivity. All this is wicked and infamous, but in it I wish you to see American simplicity and directness of plan and purpose, with all the complex speculations of political economists, and all the wisdom of cockney colonisation committees. The southern and northern systems may be summed up in a few words. Cheap labour cannot co-exist with vacant territory and freedom. But, say the planters and intending planters, we prefer large incomes and cheap labour, at all events ; therefore, we dispense with freedom, and defend slavery with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour. The Northern American begins his argument in the same mode. Cheap labour cannot co-exist with vacant land and freedom, but I prefer freedom, and, therefore, will dispense with cheap labour, and its con-

comitant advantages of high rents, large estates, and rich proprietors. I leave it to political economists to say which are the most wealthy—ten thousand slave-holders and slaves, or ten thousand freemen of New York or New England. I leave it to the politician to say which is preferable—the plantation system, which leaves the State so helpless that it has to lean for protection against its own people, upon a hated confederation with abolitionists, and liable to be covered with blood and devastation upon the first tap of a hostile drum which calls the negroes to arms; or the small proprietors' plan of the north, which holds together in strength, peace, and prosperity, a large community, whose political institutions are in themselves so loosely hung as to make it the astonishment of the old world how long they have remained without explosion. I leave it to the philanthropist and the religionist to explain the good or evil tendencies of either system. What I wish to do at present is, to show the relation between property and labour, where land is in abundance, and to convince you that there cannot be cheap labour without slavery in America, where the greater part of a great continent remains vacant, and capable of affording abundant sustenance to the persons who shall occupy a portion of what is unappropriated.

In the United States they receive a foreign population yearly, to the number, of perhaps, 200,000. The official returns of 1846 show 168,000. One-third were, probably, men capable of labour; of these, many are mechanics, who, for the sake of very high wages, settle in the cities and towns on the coast, or in the interior, or are scattered through the country, where they find employment. This employment is often but a transition state between the new emigrant and the landowner. You find the European artisan continually journeying, in the western stream of emigration, to Iowa, Wisconsin, or some other newly-opened territory of the far west. I suppose that many of them suffer temporarily from poverty, but still wages are undiminished. To lower the rate of wages would be to drive all the mechanics, native and foreign, to Oregon, if it were necessary. Then, of the number who arrive, you find a large proportion have crossed the ocean in quest of land; these are agriculturists from the continent of Europe, who do not help to supply the labour market. The great number, with the latter designation, are from my own country, and from these, I believe, most of the domestic servants and labourers for wages are taken. I know of many, very many instances in which Irishmen, who commenced by working for wages as labourers, in the United States, have advanced far beyond that condition—some to respectability—some to wealth. We have here a goodly number who brought into this country their savings from wages, and have become landowners. Probably it may be said that the more energetic and ambitious amongst them emigrate, and become landowners in the west, but many, too many, remain hanging about the cities, inhabiting low and dirty suburbs; keeping shops with two tobacco pipes and a ginger-bread fish for a stock in trade, or doing the work too heavy or too disagreeable for other people; and tens of thousands of them wander about the land, going thousands of miles backwards and forwards, hither and thither in search of a public work. Some canal, dug with

the produce of repudiated public bonds, where, in the midst of the reeking *miasma*, under the sweltering summer sun, fever and whiskey, and filth and improvidence, do their work of death, and the graves of Irishmen track in thick succession the course of American enterprise. The native American turns aside from the style in which we recognise the cabin of our native hills: he, shuddering, says, this is misery! But no; misery, true misery, is more Irish still, she does not wander from her own green island; there she has mounted the shamrock for her emblem, and deigns not to visit other lands; but still it is a kind of spurious misery, sufficient to demoralise, to brutalise, to destroy. Once introduced into this mode of life, the mass of them so continue. You may have thousands of them in Canada by means of an advertisement; you may have the same men anywhere north of the slave States (where they are excluded by cheap labour) by a newspaper paragraph. They have no hope, no ambition, no home; they will follow you to the world's end for sixteen dollars a month and a quart of whiskey each day; they will work from four o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, and they will spend all they earn; but they will not understand the American ambition to own land, to become one's own master.

I cannot say that there are no agricultural labourers for hire in the Northern United States, or that there are no Irishmen so employed; but it is nevertheless true that they are not employed generally, or to anything like the extent you find them in Europe. In most parts of Europe, and more particularly in England, and still more so in Ireland, the owner of the soil is above labour; in America the owners labour for themselves, and the man who has a family of boys soon becomes rich if they stay with him. The farmers are rich enough to import labourers from Germany or Ireland, and they may with advantage employ them more than they do, but they do not seem to wish for them. The labourers form the lower order of population in cities and towns; they labour on public works, they attend upon mechanics employed in building, but, for some reason or other, as servants in agriculture, they are not much employed, nor is there a desire on the part of the people of the United States that they should come in great numbers for that purpose.

The yearly influx of emigrants is felt in the United States to produce one inconvenience which awakens alarm and provokes jealousy on the part of the native Americans. Pursuing their own peculiar political system, for which the genius of the people is particularly fitted, they extended the elective franchise until all barriers in the way of universal suffrage have been broken down, and the accumulating numbers of foreign citizens have become, numerically, a very formidable portion of the city and town population. The cities and towns forming the Atlantic *debouchures* of the great west, or lying on the great lines of communication, are growing with a rapidity greatly disproportionate to the population in the surrounding country, included in the same political divisions, and may be said to direct and govern the politics of the States in which they are placed. The consequence is, that a formidable foreign race of voters has sprung up, which, by throwing its weight into the scale of parties otherwise nearly balanced, is able to influence the

elections of the United States from that of the President to the Captain of a Fire Company. This has produced violence and bloodshed, and efforts of every kind on the part of Americans to rid themselves of their stranger associates, but in vain, for it is always the interest of a party in the country to uphold the franchise thus granted, and in the shape of labourers and servants the Americans find, to their vexation and alarm, they have admitted political masters, exercising a power and influence not always directed for good, as, indeed, how can it be by a body so little personally interested in, and so little acquainted with, the bearing of the politics they influence, and, in fact, so little skilled in any politics at all.

Notwithstanding the great accession of population from foreign sources, the wages of labour in the United States have not, within my memory, been sensibly reduced. The new comers disturb and displace the old, pushing them gradually to the westward; the emigrants of older standing, who have been provident and saving, and their children brought up in America, imbibe the American taste for holding land, and the great west opens his giant arms to enfold them all.

I believe that if the European emigration into the United States were doubled or quadrupled, it would produce no permanent reduction of wages; but it would produce great temporary inconveniences. It would disturb the present condition of the great mass of the working population of the towns and cities—it would subject all to what they would call distress—it would set them all in motion—the new comers would not move on because they would be too poor in purse and in ambition—the older ones would have to pull up their stakes and be off towards the setting sun. The influx of foreign population is now borne with many murmurings, but should a pauper or destitute population of labourers be poured in amongst them in greatly increased numbers, the legislative action on the subject, which has been so often threatened, would inevitably take place. English labourers may grumble when they see the men of Cork or Connaught interfering with the labour market, but the English workman has no vote and no mode of making his discontent felt in action. The English labourers are ten to one as compared with their employers, and yet are powerless. In America they are perhaps not one to one, but they match equally as citizens, and exercise equal power over the legislature and politics of the country.

The United States will probably receive and provide for all the foreign population which, from the operation of ordinary causes, may there seek a refuge—they will gladly receive all who are in circumstances to pay their way and obtain land, but there is nothing more certain, than that any effort on the part of the Government of England to pour into the United States, for the relief of the United Kingdom, any portion of the redundant population, sufficiently numerous to produce sensible relief at home, would be met by stern resistance on this side of the Atlantic. It may be for the interest of the American States to lower the wages of the workman, but the Americans would say No! Workmen on the contrary are citizens of these States, and it is for their interest that wages should be high—an argument more easily put than answered, in a country where one class does not legislate for another.

Now, the ordinary emigration from the United Kingdom is utterly insufficient for the relief of its swarming and pent-up population, and notwithstanding that the whole might be placed in the United States, with advantage to the mother country, yet an increased number cannot be directly sent there, though wages are high, and labourers are not, as compared with Europe, plentiful. Human beings are not like water, which will find a level; and very slight causes will often suffice to produce conditions amongst them which baffle all the inquiries of the theorist. We have very often, in speculating upon human affairs, to take things as we find them, and to judge of things not as they ought to be, but as they are.

I have a few more observations to offer before coming nearer home, and that is with regard to the reasons why poor emigrants from the United Kingdom do not become landowners in the United States, in which condition they could be provided for in any numbers.

In the first place, the emigrants are very poor. Then the way to the westward is long. The land districts are becoming very distant from the coast, though not too distant for the American who does not mete with our measure; and, moreover, the American Government which has no national duty to fulfil towards the stranger, sells the land, and does not profess to give it. The price is small; the revenue derived to the Government of the United States, not very important, but still the American emigrant to the westward is either able to pay it, or to gain a pre-emption right according to law, or to squat on land against the law, and to shoot the purchaser, who bids over his head, when he comes to take possession. The emigrants from Germany, or from the United Kingdom, who proceed in search of land, are those who have the money as well as the ambition to become proprietors. But the American Government will not give these lands for nothing to strangers, though perhaps it would be for their interest to do so; but they have enough of emigration as the matter stands, and are about as indifferent to making it more easy as they are to making it more difficult. The western lands are, therefore, closed for all important purposes to the poor emigrant population. The lands would hold them all very conveniently; but the emigrants could neither get to them nor purchase them.

As a receptacle for emigration from the British Isles, with any great object of relief to the superabundant population, the United States of America may be considered closed; and if that resource has to be looked to at all, it must be sought in the British Colonies—countries placed in circumstances very like the American States, and naturally capable of as high a destiny. They are comparatively backward and languishing, simply and entirely because the population, from whence they should be filled, want the emigrating spirit of the American. That population remains crowded at home when it should seek to expand over a large territory; that population remains poor at home when its individuals should seek property. A small space of ocean seems impassable to truth, and the example of Americans only produces stupid admiration and wonder, instead of stimulation and encouragement. Men will not believe in their own capacities for improvement. The nation will not

believe in the value of its own possessions. The inheritance of the children of the empire is lying waste, and they are starving. But the evils arising from this state of things are becoming intolerable, and stern necessity is beginning to preach what precept and example might hold forth in vain.

I have been obliged to dwell at great length upon the general outlines and principles of emigration and colonisation in the United States, as well because it is there great success has attended settlement upon land, as also because colonisation and settlement in these territories, must be influenced by the condition of society and of emigration and settlement in the United States, so much so, that all plans and theories on the subject, concocted without reference to the neighbouring country, would be idle and childish. Differences of condition among men, artificially produced, may be good or bad. It may be for good or for evil that a country should have large landholders and small tenants; that wages should be low, or that property should draw to itself the sweat of the poor man's brow, and reward his utmost labour with a bare subsistence. Australia may for a short time be colonised on these principles, because it has no neighbours, and the Government is everything, and the power of the lower class of the people nothing. An emigrant who lands in Australia may be told that it is better for him to labour for low wages than to own land; and the capitalist may feel that it is only in such a country that capital can be largely expended on wild land with advantage. The distance of the country from England prevents the trial of the experiment on a large scale, and they have not in that Colony to estimate the force necessary to keep nine-tenths of a population, the servants of the remainder, in the very sight of vacant lands which would make all independent. But to make systems in England for the regulation of the condition of settlers on this continent, even here in Canada—to say that labour shall be cheap, or land dear, is more than folly. Such a course may keep these Colonies a desert, but it cannot produce the end aimed at, namely, the transference of the frame and form of English society to America.

What is the present condition of the United Kingdom? Successful in war—successful in conquest—successful in trade and manufactures; and with agriculture carried to the highest point of scientific improvement England stands pre-eminent. The mistress of wealth which cannot be counted, and of strength which has only to be put forth to prove itself irresistible, every part of the earth has sent its tribute to gratify her desire of accumulation, or to pamper her princely luxury. But one terrible evil has followed in the train of all this triumphal progress—great inequality of condition. Without the tyranny of individual rulers, without fault which I am able to trace in political institutions, the ordinary labours and energies of man have become so cheap as scarcely to provide for him means of existence. The landlord has become the owner of his estate by the investment of money—he is repaid by pressing on his tenant, and the tenant lives by the privations of the labourer. The capitalist invests a vast sum in a manufactory, he contends successfully with the industry and enterprise of the world, but he can only do

it by pressing upon the working artizan, who lives on the verge of distress, and without hope of personal advancement. The middle class, who join property, fixed or personal, with labour, find the property absorbed into the larger capitals or the larger estates. Tenants become labourers, because property pays better when managed in large masses; and thus the country becomes divided into two great classes—the unlabouring rich and the absolutely poor—the latter increasing by natural causes, until the politician shrinks from the contemplation of a future, which no precaution can avert, and no wisdom provide for. I speak not of the condition of Scotland, for I know it not, and I am fearful of giving offence. It cannot, I think, be better than that of England, either in the present or in prospect. My own country, however, offers all the illustrations I require for my present argument.

'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace her melancholy history! Thank Heaven, with that my present purpose has no connexion. The same causes have been at work in Ireland as in England; and besides these, her lands have been divided into princely estates; and when did princely proprietors, in modern times, choose to reside in a province? Ireland had great fertility of soil—perhaps this is one reason why she has not become a manufacturing country—probably, in the neighbourhood of England (a country which manufactured for half the world) it was scarcely possible for her to enter into competition. At all events, if she had done so she must have taken what she gained for herself from her rival, and the difficulties of England herself would have been hastened. She has not shared in the foreign trade of England, and the time is not far distant when she was prevented from doing so by Act of Parliament. Her gentry have been improvident and extravagant, proud and idle, and this has hastened her evil day. But one cause is sufficient for the condition to which she has been reduced, as regards her poor. The great mass of the inhabitants of Ireland are dependant upon wages, or small tenancies, and the numbers of the population have increased beyond all means of profitable employment. It is not any want of fertility in the soil of Ireland that causes distress and poverty. Ireland produces more than enough of provisions for her inhabitants, and exports provisions largely in ordinary seasons. During the whole course of this year of dreadful famine I have observed Irish provisions quoted for sale in the London market, and I am told that millions of quarters of wheat and oats were exported thither. The evil is, that the labour of all the inhabitants of Ireland dependant upon labour is not required to produce all the provisions taken from the soil, and men are found in excessive numbers, beyond any use for them. The soil of Ireland, with one-half the number of its present inhabitants, and with the improved system of English farming, would produce provisions of more value than it does at present, and the exports would be twenty times as much. We can export from Upper Canada with ease a million barrels of flour in a year; and of the coarser provisions we could, in this country, produce proportionate quantities, if we had a market. We can, moreover, provide for a new population of fifty or sixty thousand yearly, and still have abundance. This is the work of the agricultural portion of a community

of half a million. But in Ireland labour is in superabundance, it is expended uneconomically and miserably rewarded. Were the population less by one-half, the rental of Ireland probably would not be so great as at present, while her surplus produce would be vastly greater, and wages would be higher, and the poor would be fed.

It is not the rich who suffer by the over-population of Ireland. They have calls upon their charity; and part of what they would, under a better state of things, have to pay in wages, and which they would pay, because they could not avoid it, they now give in charity, or in obedience to the poor laws. It is not, however, they who suffer. It is the poor man who suffers by the presence of his fellow. It is his brother and his comrade who reduce his wages to the beggar's pittance. The Irishman says he cannot part from his friends, he cannot leave his country. Oh! let him leave them, for it is his presence which oppresses them; let him leave them, for he is the unconscious enemy of those whom he would die to serve or to save.

I remember Ireland when she was said to be prosperous. It was towards the close of the war of the French revolution. Tens of thousands of my countrymen were going forth to fight England's battles; and every booming cannon which pealed forth the news of England's glory, was the signal of bereavement to a thousand families. Yet was the land prosperous. War, which to other nations brought poverty, and famine, and devastation, brought wealth to Ireland. It brought wealth to the tenant and the labourer; for agriculture was extended, waste land was brought into cultivation, and there was no excess of disposable labour. The poor fed well (at least as in Ireland they call well) though provisions were very dear. I remember afterwards, when war called not for its victims, and when there was abundance in the land; but the condition of the tenant and the labourer was reduced, plenty was no plenty to them. They were too many, and if food was cheap, they were cheaper still. Then they wished for food to be dear; and a summer came which brought no sun, and the rain poured in torrents upon the drenched and unproductive earth, and food became dear, and unwholesome famine and fever was in the land, and rich and poor became the victims of pestilence. Yet still there was no deficiency of provisions in Ireland to feed the Irish; but the value of labour was gone, and the poor man had nothing of value to offer in return for sustenance. Since then the progress of Ireland has been downward. Her political condition has been vastly improved; justice has been done her people to an extent which a few years before would have been considered chimerical to expect, and dangerous to advocate. But still the condition of the labourer has been growing worse. In his best times the Irish peasant lived scantily and poorly, but of late the milk and the salt herring have been taken from the potato, and the potato itself has been cultivated, not with regard to its nutritive or palatable qualities, but with a view to quantity and cheapness. Still, year after year added to the wretchedness of the land. Steam brought its giant force into action, to transport the produce of Ireland to market; roads were improved, and communications opened to all parts of the country. Landlords were benefited,

but the peasant was no better. The numbers of his class were too great, his labour was too abundant and too cheap, and there was more of it than was wanted. If your horses are too many, you sell them; if your cattle are too many, you kill them; if your fires are too many, you let some of them go out; if human beings are too many, beggary and starvation are the lot of the unemployed, and their misery is reflected back upon others, whose condition is but one step from the lowest depth, but it is misery still.

Many have been the speculations upon the causes of Ireland's misery, and many the plans for her relief; many the heartless scoff at her wretchedness, and many the good and benevolent prayer for her redemption; but still there was one startling and appalling fact which baffled all speculation, and should have banished all hope arising from slight or ordinary measures. Every year was adding to the millions who depended upon wages for subsistence, and the years coming brought with them no increased occupation for the labourer. The time was, when the Frenchman was taunted for his rye bread and *soup maigre*, but even the English peasant has learned to feed upon potatoes, and to endure life without roast beef or ale; even in England, infant toil has hung dozing over the dangerous engine, sick and languishing from protracted and unrelenting watchfulness, and the dark and filthy mine has contained women and children yoked and crawling like beasts of burden. Yet those who suffered were the last to complain, they were thankful for the bread they earned and they knew no better. In like manner the Irish peasant knew not the comparative wretchedness of his lot, he saw not the unwholesome filth of the den he lived in; beggary, which he saw all around him, ceased to be a degradation, and his lot was happy because deeper wretchedness was in sight. It was not the peasant or his taskmaster, or his patriot advocate, who saw most plainly the extent of his sufferings, it was the stranger who visited the country, and started in horror and wonder to find such things on the earth. Formerly the fierce contention of party, the blood and violence of a community politically disorganised, sent to us its periodical tragedy; of late the sufferings of the poor, and the cry of the rich—what is to be done with the poor?—and the plan of the minister for the relief of the poor, and the party debate which made a political capital of the woes of the poor, are almost all that we have heard from Ireland, until at length the failure of a crop of one article of food has brought famine; and the young man faints as he holds out his hand to ask for a morsel of food, and the children call in vain upon their father for food, until their faint wailings are hushed by merciful death, and the infant tugs at the breast of the dead mother, and the rats gnaw the unburied corpses. And is all this to be attributed to the visitation of Providence in the failure of the potato crop? No; but to over population. The failure of the potato has brought on more suddenly the catastrophe which was inevitably approaching; the consumptive patient has caught a cold, his death is hastened by a week, but his disease was inevitable death before. Strangers could see the fate of Ireland more distinctly than men to whom her misery became familiar by daily observation.

What was the remedy; what would have prevented this hideous summation of Ireland's wretchedness? The simple remedy was emigration; the remote cause of the evil was too contented a mind, too tame an endurance of evil amongst the people, the want of energy to avoid it, and the want of a portion of that noble restless spirit of the eastern American. To him the long, long journey had no toil, the untrodden forest no loneliness; he but looked round his paternal home and saw his father's house getting crowded, the hundred acres too small; he but felt competition for an independent condition in life touch him lightly, and straightway he is gone, not to drain an acre of bog, or to extract a living from a mountain side, but to reclaim a noble estate from the wilderness, to join in founding a new State, to become independent by removing his strength and capabilities to a place where human energies are really valuable. The want of this spirit is the real cause of the misery of Ireland.

The stag said to the tortoise when the bushes were on fire, "why don't you run?" and I may be charged with reproaching my countrymen for not performing miracles. They could not swim the ocean, or become landlords in the west without money wherewith to travel and to buy. But pause awhile. Think you of the nine millions who swarm in Ireland, there were not, at any time these twenty years, and until this year, one million whose interest it was to emigrate, who had the means of emigrating, and who might have become landholders in this country, and would have done so, if they had the knowledge to compare their own state with that of persons of the same class in Canada, and the spirit to seek the better condition?

You who are Irishmen and who belonged to the middle class of society, who are the sons of small farmers in Ireland, or of small tradesmen in Irish towns and cities, must remember well the narrow economy, the parsimonious housekeeping, which was necessary to make both ends meet. It used to be said of the Kinsale gentry that they had hake and potatoes for dinner one day, and, by way of rarity, potatoes and hake the next. You know with what anxiety parents watched their growing families, feeling them an increasing burden, and wondering where the mass of society would open places in which to introduce the wedge which was to make their children self-dependant. You have witnessed the struggles to obtain possession of small parcels of land at exorbitant rents, which would leave to the tenantry just sufficient in favourable seasons for subsistence, and hopeless arrearages, should prices be low or crops bad. Have you not had in your neighbourhood the midnight burning, the hideous murder; have you not been startled from your slumber by the clank of arms, to look abroad and see the glittering sabres of the soldiery surrounding the unhappy criminals on their way to captivity and death? What occasioned this? Some higher rent offered for a farm, which made the tenant homeless; some despairing resistance to the fate which was to make the tenant a half-employed labourer, and his family beggars. In this descending course to social perdition, were there not times when the sinking tradesman, the small farmer, could have emigrated, with more abundant means, more capa-

bility for labour, more manly strength, and more of the habit of enduring privation, than one half the emigrants who have peopled the Western States of America; with more available property to commence a settlement with, than one half the Irish emigrant population of Canada, who are now independent freeholders? What these people wanted was American ambition, they should not have struggled for what their own country contained. They should have sought for better things abroad. For several years of the period I speak of, namely from 1816 downwards, land in this country was given free, and at this moment land can be obtained on credit, at prices which an industrious man can pay in a few years with his own labour. Many have emigrated, many have come here, but how few in comparison with the multitudes left behind, how few in comparison with the multitudes which this country was capable of receiving. And yet did it require more courage to cross the Atlantic than to become an Irish labourer for hire; more exertion to clear a farm than to work from morning till night, feeding on potatoes, at sixpence a-day; more endurance to sit by a blazing wood fire, in a Canadian shanty, than to shiver over the stunted hearth of an Irish cabin; was the certain prospect of abundance in the one case, less cheering than the inscription "hope not," which may well be placed over the door of each Irish peasant.

This picture is Irish. I dare not indulge in any portraiture of society in the sister island. If there be no destitution amongst the agriculturists and artizans of England, if the accounts we read of parish unions be fables, if there is not in truth an addition of 300,000 souls to the population of England each year, if the condition of the English labourer be not worse than it was twenty years ago, if the prospects of the English farmer be as bright as they were twenty years since, if the Glasgow weavers be a prosperous class as compared with Canadian landholders, if the Highland hills afford abundance to the brave children of the soil, then all I can say is, happy island! You want no extension of tenantry, you can afford to conquer Colonies, and to give them for nothing to the needy Americans, that they may sell them, that they may found sovereign states upon your inheritance. But if there be destitution and poverty even in England and Scotland, if the increase of population overstock the labour market, if the wealth of nations flowing into your country brings no riches to the poor, if the condition of the great mass of society have anything of a downward tendency, if fathers look with any uneasiness upon the future prospects of their children, then how much more applicable to you is my reproach; for you have the means of emigrating, you have the means of settling on land with ease and comfort, you have the opportunity before you of individual independence, and of founding a great transatlantic community, of spreading the constitution, laws, and intelligence of your country over new regions, and you want the spirit, the ambition, the enterprise of the Yankee, whose manners you ridicule, and whose wandering propensities you affect to despise.

To the class I have just described, those who have the means of emigrating and of settling upon land—to those who are still more happy, in the present means of paying for land—to those who can do still better,

and choose their new position on land already improved, and in the midst of cultivation and population—to all whose condition is not one of present ease, and of a hopeful future for themselves and their children—this country of Canada offers all the inducements to emigration, arising from cheap land, fertile soil, good and healthy climate. If labour be comparatively dear, so much the better for the labourers. If this makes land cheap, so much the better for the settler. If labour were here as cheap as at home, the land which you can now purchase for ten shillings or one pound an acre, would be worth one or two pounds an acre in rent, and its selling price would be thirty or forty pounds an acre. How then could you become landowners? As the case now stands, those who have capital can employ labourers, and they can do it with profit, because the investment of capital in the price of land is small. Part only of what you would pay in rent and poor-rates is paid in wages. One hundred acres of land, held in fee simple, is not so profitable as one hundred acres of fee simple property at home, but one hundred pounds' worth of land will yield five times the profit of a hundred pounds' worth of land at home; and, moreover, every man who works a week for himself, has a tangible or calculable gain. What, I ask you, must be the profit of cultivating land, when, with its produce alone, an industrious man can, by the improvement and cultivation of thirty or forty acres, in a few years, pay the credit price and interest upon two hundred acres, and make the market value of the farm double what it was at first in the course of operation? If specimens are wanting of what Canada can produce, I ask the intending emigrant to examine the Canadian wheat and flour in the home markets. If specimens of what our poor emigrant population can do are wanted, let them inquire of the thousands at home who are benefited by remittances of money from the poorest of our people, to aid their relatives in Ireland, or to assist in bringing them from that land of misfortune and beggary. These are simple and absolute truths, and if truth can cross the sea, why do men remain under circumstances daily becoming worse? Why do they not flee while it is yet time? Why will not love for their children move them, if they are too contented themselves? An Irish emigrant myself, I feel and speak on these subjects warmly; and, addressing, as I now do, an audience of my fellow citizens of Toronto, chiefly composed of emigrants, or their children, in a city which I have seen grow from eight hundred to twenty thousand inhabitants, in the midst of a country prospering by means of emigration, do you wonder that I should feel deeply on this subject, or that I should love the land to which a kind Providence has directed my footsteps?

But I must return to my poor country, and speak of the class whose poverty closes the outlet, and who are now in a state of beggary and starvation. I need not detain you by quoting instances or going into particulars. One appalling statement is all I need make. It is said there are in Ireland at present, two millions and a half of human beings in a state of pauperism, or in other words, that number, whose labour is not worth their food. It is said that rents are not paid, that lands are not cultivated, that the country is covered with the inactivity as well as

the wailings of despair. I do not know how many were in a state of beggary last year, or how many would remain in that state should potatoes grow again in abundance. But there is no doubt that a very considerable portion of them have been destitute before, and that a larger proportion still will remain in a state of pauperism hereafter, and, if not all in that state, there is little hope that a much lesser number will be found whose only food is the potato. Ireland in ordinary seasons produces more food than would be sufficient for all her inhabitants, but it is not produced by the industry of all, and the labour of all is not a market equivalent for the food of all; this disproportion has existed whenever the food of the peasant has been depreciated in quality below that of the labouring class in other countries. The disproportion is more apparent when the whole class of labourers cannot find employment which brings them sustenance, and it comes to be fearfully exaggerated, when a large portion of the community are dependent on what is called charity. Up to a certain point it is to the advantage of capitalists and landholders that labour should be cheap, that labourers should be ill-fed and ill-clothed; but when their labour comes to be rejected and valueless, the sustenance of the unemployed becomes the care of the Government and legislature. Neither the usages of barbarians, nor the dictates of civilised and Christian humanity, permit death by starvation. Whatever may be the expense of preventing it, multitudes cannot be permitted to perish while there are means to feed them, whether they can give an equivalent or not. But if the happiness and welfare of a people be the care of a Government, the state of those who do obtain employment should also be considered. Wherever labour is so abundant as to be rejected, the condition of those who are employed must necessarily be on the very verge of starvation. This is likely to be the permanent condition of one-fourth of the people of Ireland, unless something is done for their relief, of which we have not yet the most distant promise.

Emigration is the simple and obvious means. But emigration has been going on for thirty years without averting the evil. Population has still gone on increasing. Had the people themselves looked certain coming events steadily in the face—had politicians not been too much occupied with the fleeting present to cast a glance upon the future—had it been considered as indisputable, that a labouring population who were reduced to feed upon potatoes, if they went on increasing, must come to starvation before any great length of time: it appears to me that men would not have remained like rats in a trap to devour each other, and that emigration would have been considered as worthy of expenditure as Indian conquest or Spanish warfare. But emigration has only prevailed to a trifling extent, and has been felt rather in the happy improvement of the condition of the emigrant, than in any relief in the mother country. The time for gradual relief has gone by. A great national effort is required, such a one as if the nation were roused to arms in defence of its liberties or its national existence. But famine is a worse enemy than the Frenchman or the Russian, and the millions which would be poured forth to avenge an insult, even upon one of these starving Irishmen,

may well be given to save the whole nation from the worst of evils—perennial, ever-growing beggary and starvation.

But, say the ministers, the legislators, and the patriots of England and Ireland, it is true, emigration—simple emigration—may be carried on at the public expense. It may be worth the experiment to transport emigrants across the Atlantic, but they will over-supply the labour market, and cannot be received either in the United States or the American Colonies, in sufficient numbers to afford any relief.

The argument thus used, I find fairly stated in a letter of Mr. Smith O'Brien to the landed proprietors of Ireland. I have extracted the passage, and shall now give it here:—

“Entertaining these views, I do not hesitate to invite you to discuss the propriety of considering voluntary emigration as one amongst many means, of relieving your countrymen from the pressure of their present affliction. The subject ought to be handled with the utmost caution. We never could forgive ourselves if, by our recommendations we were to induce a single fellow-countryman to leave Ireland without a certainty that he would improve his fortune by such a change of residence. Having given considerable attention to the question during several years, I have fully satisfied myself that multitudes of Irishmen have found prosperity in the United States, in British America, and in the Australian Colonies, who never would have attained comfort or independence if they had remained at home. Nor do I perceive any grounds for believing that such may not also be the lot of future emigrants. It is manifest, however, that there are certain limits to the number of Colonists who can be received in each country. It frequently happens that great suffering is experienced by emigrants in consequence of their being unable to reach those districts in which their labour is required. If 30,000 labouring families crowd into a country in which only 20,000 can be received without inconvenience, much misery must necessarily ensue; whereas if only 15,000 families had emigrated to such country, all might have been most advantageously provided with the means of subsistence.

“Colonisation may be assisted by the State, either by merely providing a passage for the emigrant to the place in which his labour is required, or by *locating* him upon land in the Colony to which he is conveyed. The former mode of emigration is attended with comparatively little expense. About £5 per head is the amount usually estimated as requisite for the conveyance of an adult from Ireland to Upper Canada. Even if the whole of this expense were to be defrayed by the counties of Ireland, it would, if considered as a mere pecuniary speculation, involve less cost than the maintenance of the same person in idleness or upon useless works at home. But a limit to this description of emigration would soon be reached. It is very doubtful whether 50,000 families could be received in America in a single year without much social derangement. On the other hand, the second mode of colonisation is so expensive that it could not be carried on upon an extensive scale without the creation of a large amount of debt. An experiment of this kind was made some years ago. A large party of settlers from Ireland were conveyed to Canada and located upon Crown lands under very favourable circumstances. The expense of their location amounted to about £22 per head. Now, if a capital calculated at the rate of £22 per head were about to be invested by the State for the Irish people, there are few amongst us who would not prefer that such capital should be expended in providing employment at home rather than in the Colonies. The relief afforded by the removal of 100,000 persons from Ireland, at an expense exceeding £2,000,000, would be scarcely perceptible—but the judicious expenditure of so large a sum in Ireland might open channels of employment which would permanently absorb a much larger number of the labouring population.”

Now, it is not true that 50,000 families could not be received in America without creating much social derangement. For that number

are yearly received in America without any social derangement whatever ; but it is true that this number will probably come to America without any assistance, and perhaps the voluntary emigration of poor emigrants is as much as the States of the American Union would be willing to receive under any circumstances. It is not that wages would be permanently lowered in the United States by any number of emigrants which the United Kingdom could furnish, but that the condition of the lower class of citizens would be temporarily much disturbed by any large and sudden access of poor population. The coming of pauper emigrants to the east, would, when it began to effect wages, start off those whom the emigrants would compete with, westward, to Wisconsin, or Iowa, or some now nameless territory in the wake of the setting sun ; but still wages would recover their rate and remain high while vacant land is to be found. Moreover, the emigrants, if in great numbers, would not find employment at once or on the spot they land, and a foreign State would not take the expense and care of an uninvited multitude. The Americans would therefore resist any Government or public emigration ; and ordinary emigration, as I said before, will go on without the care of Government.

If the British Government would undertake to transport the emigrants to the far interior, and to buy land for them, I dare say the emigration would be gladly received, for it would create no disturbance, either temporary or permanent. But this, for the reasons given by Mr. Smith O'Brien, and perhaps fortunately for us in Canada, is impracticable.

Leaving the United States, then, to receive voluntary and private emigration, we have to turn to the Colonies, and see what resources they offer for the purpose of reception of emigrants.

The settlers in Canada would, no doubt, find it profitable to receive a labouring population, if the effect would be to reduce wages. I mean to say that the 50,000 families which Mr. Smith O'Brien speaks of, could be employed easily in Upper Canada if they would work for even three times the rate of Irish wages. But we shall see in a moment what would be the consequence of such a movement. For, though the United States will not receive an extensive pauper population at the Atlantic cities, they will receive any number that present themselves on their boundaries who are able to pay their way. Let us, then, take the 50,000 labouring men and their families. Suppose them brought out to, and up the country at Government expense, they will then hang on the Government for present subsistence till they can find employers ; when they do find employers it will be at a rate of wages probably reduced to five or six dollars a month. Then all the farm servants in Canada will find their wages reduced to the same rate. Then all these will pack up and away into the United States. Your new labourers will remain with you just until they have enough of money to enable them to go away. Then you follow the same process next year, your next year's emigration displaces your old one, at your expense, all the savings of labour, all the expenditure of Government, all the private charity, will thus be employed in finding a population for the United States, and the process must continue until, by flooding that extensive continent

with your labourers, you reduce the price of labour there, and until that price reacts upon this country.

This will never do. We have seen the same course of events on a small scale, and often. It is true that we can receive into Canada, in its present improved condition, very many more labourers than ever before were received; and we can retain them by paying the same wages they would receive in the United States, and, if any be dissatisfied, we can afford to lose them. But all this will be accomplished by ordinary emigration; it will not afford the relief we wish to gain. Therefore let us leave the labour market to itself, and not attempt by any Australian quackery to regulate matters wholly beyond our control, and utterly independent of our interference.

We must then find some mode by which the mother country can be relieved of her population, in sufficient numbers to afford relief without great inconvenience, and, if possible, with advantage to ourselves.

I have shown you how the Americans emigrate, the simple mode in which they provide for a population, which chooses to consider itself in excess. They are able to do this on more advantageous terms than we can do, for their poorest people manage, without assistance, to journey to the land on which they mean to settle, and to pay a small price for it besides. The great States of Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, are in the course of rapid settlement in this manner; and in the State of Wisconsin, a country lying considerably to the north-west of this place, in one land district, 700,000 acres were disposed of last year. The American settlers would have peopled Canada, at least one portion of it, thickly, long ago, if they could have been permitted to do so. Indeed, so far as I am able to judge, they have a strong inclination to do so without our permission. Our countrymen have greater numbers, from whence to supply us with settlers, than they have—our countrymen have fifty times the inducement to emigrate, and yet this country is almost a desert; even the little peninsula on which we live, which thrusts itself forward into the United States territory, is not one quarter settled.

What is the reason? Our countrymen are too contented; they have not the restless ambition of Americans to better their condition; but poverty and privation will drive them from home. They have not the means of paying for their transport hither. But Mr. Smith O'Brien says, the landlords of Ireland would willingly pay for the passage of their poor countrymen across the Atlantic, and that it would be cheaper to do so, than to maintain them at home. Our countrymen have not the means of purchasing land; but the settlement of our rear country is of a thousand times more importance to us than its paltry price as wild lands; I never saw a dollar taken by Government from a settler, as the price of land, that I did not think it a loss to the public. Believe me, the money can be nowhere better than in the settler's pocket—if he has it, and if he has not, let us get our country settled at all events. Here is the passage paid, the land given, the settler arrived without disturbing the *status* of any one. What then remains—but, that he has not the means of settling on land; that is, he cannot feed himself until his first crops are gathered.

Mr. Smith O'Brien says, that the settlers under Mr. Peter Robinson cost, for their establishment on land, £22 a head, I suppose men, women, and children all round. Deducting the allowance for passage money, £5 a head, which is about double what it would be now, at least there is £17 sterling left for each man, woman, and child. I am not afraid to say, that one-fourth of the sum would be sufficient. In the time of Mr. Robinson's settlement, we all know that provisions had to be imported from the United States for the emigrants, at a very high price, and there were many other reasons why the settlement was expensive. Much as it cost, however, I believe the town lots, in the village of Peterboro', would sell for more at this day than the whole cost; without taking into account the immense value of the property, real and personal, now owned by the people whom that settlement was the means of introducing into the rear of the Newcastle district. We all know what it will cost to feed a family of emigrants, on their own land, for a year. How many, I should like to know, of the settlers on the Canada Company's lands, commenced their clearing with seventeen pounds sterling a head to bear their expenses. I look over the returns, and I find the most successful among them, who have acquired the most property, and paid best for their land, began with no capital whatever. Ask those who remain of the early settlers of Upper Canada, when the journey hither was almost as difficult as one to the Rocky Mountains would be in our day. You do not find they had houses built for them, or roads made for them; no, their great struggle was with the isolation in which they were individually placed. Ten to one, but the first one you meet will tell you—Sir, when my father settled in our township there was not a road, or a mill, or a neighbour within ten miles of us. Most of them went in debt for the little supplies of provisions they wanted, and thought it no hardship to pay the debt afterwards, from the produce of their lands. Five dollars' worth of flour, and a like value of pork or other food, would be abundance for each individual, taking men, women, and children, until crops would be gathered. Families of five, becoming settlers, ought to consider themselves rich with twenty pounds' worth of provisions, tools, and seed. I believe three-fourths of the settlers in the woods in this country possessed no such sum; and with assistance to that extent the new settlers ought to succeed, and would succeed well.

Our fellow citizen, Mr. George Duggan, told me an anecdote of a settler, an Irish emigrant, a few days ago. At the time the township of Monaghan was being granted he met with this man, who began his lamentations, and wished he was at home in the old country. "Nonsense, man," said Mr. Duggan, "go to Captain Fitzgibbon, and draw a lot of land in Monaghan." "And please your honour, what will I do with a lot of land, I hav'n't what will buy me a bit or a sup till I get a crop." "Never mind that," said his kind adviser, "go upon the land, get a place to live in, if it is no better than a fox-hole; work with some farmer for a bag of flour—take it home on your shoulders; when it is eaten up, come out again and work for as much more, and I'll warrant you will get on with your clearing." He was addressed by the same man some years afterwards. "Arrah, Mr. Duggan, do you remember

the man you sent to live in a fox-hole, in Monaghan? God bless you, sir, it was the best advice I ever had in my life. I have got the deed of my lot, and I have eighty head of cattle and sheep feeding on it."

This is very like the history of thousands and tens of thousands of men who are now rich and independent, who will tell you they have had hardship and difficulty; but yet who, in the whole course of their struggles in Canada, never met with any privation half so great as that of an Irish labourer in full employment, or any discomfort half so bad as a week's residence in an Irish cabin.

I know that when you come to settle numbers together, you cannot tell them to go out for a few days and work for wages; and it is quite as well otherwise. Their first efforts should be the housing their families; then the chopping and clearing three or four acres of land; then the getting in some wheat, oats, and potatoes. Then, indeed, they may leave the farm to the care of the wife and the boys, or the neighbours, go out into the settlements and earn a couple of young pigs or a cow; and by this method go on until they are comfortable for life, and independent of all aid.

When I look into the books published to guide settlers, I find one of the first inquiries set down is, how much does it cost to build a log-house? how much will it cost to clear an acre of land? how much will the first crop sell for? A pretty set of settlers they would be to whom these questions would be of any use. My answer would be, go and build a shanty for yourself, clear your acre of land with your own hands, and eat up your first crop, with the aid of your wife and children and the pigs, if you can.

I was one day riding out towards the Owen's Sound Settlement with a gentleman now dead, the late William Chisholm, whom we used to call White Oak for his truth and honesty of character, and genuine soundness of heart. At the township of Garrafraxa, a place with scarcely any inhabitants, after getting over a detestable road, and having been long without seeing a house, we fell upon a large and handsome clearing of one hundred acres, with herds of cattle grazing in the pastures, sheep clustered in the shade under the fences, wheat ripening in the fields, and apples reddening in the orchard—a good log-house and a better barn and stable in the midst of all this. Inside the house was a respectable-looking man, his wife and grown-up daughters. Their house was clean, comfortable, and abundant, and we fared well. They had books on the shelves, and one of the girls was reading, others spinning, churning, or knitting. I asked no questions, but knowing that my friend could give me the history of the settler on the road in the morning, I waited. My first exclamation was: "Well, Chisholm, I do envy you your countrymen! That man must have lived here many years without a neighbour?" "Yes," was the answer, "he was the first settler in these parts; and when he came there was no white man between him and Lake Huron." "He must have been very poor or he would not have come here?" "Yes," was the answer, "he was very poor." "He must have educated his children himself?" "Yes; there was no school within many miles of him." "He could not have employed

labourers?" "No; all this was the work of his own hands." "Then," again I said, "I do envy you your countrymen! This is Scotch prudence, Scotch energy, Scotch courage." "Well," said he, "it may be all just as Scotch as you like to make it, but after all the man is an Irishman."

I could fill a book, not to say a lecture, with such anecdotes, but each one of you could do the same. They could be told of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, from north and south; of men with large families, and men alone; of men who began with a little, and men who began with nothing. And, Father of Mercy! is it for such men that poor-houses are built?—and is it for such that a half a meal of potatoes is a bounty? Are such men to hold out their hands to beg? Are they to see their wives and little ones starving while the lands of *their* country, their inheritance, lies vacant and unpeopled? Can three thousand miles of sea and a three weeks' voyage make all this difference?

But let us return to our subject. I have got my settlers here, and I have got land for them, and I only want the means of maintaining them a year in Canada, instead of maintaining them for several years in Ireland. How shall this be done? Why, simply by advancing the money, and charging it on the land. Those who require but little, to be charged with little; those who require to be aided to the full extent of a year's provision, to be charged with it; their deeds to be withheld until the money is repaid, with interest. The advance, including all expenses, need not, I am sure, be more than at the rate of £4 a head, or £20 for each family of five.

Can they repay the money? Most certainly they can. Not in the first, second, or third year; but after that they can begin to pay. If any abandon the land, let the advance be a charge upon the land; in the midst of settlement it will be worth far more than the sum advanced: there will be plenty of men willing to purchase. The settler may turn labourer, or he may go to the United States, if he chooses; others will take his place, who will buy the land, and the fund will certainly be secured, for the charge upon the land will be its price. It will no longer be open for free grant, it will become the possession of some successful settler, or of some man of the country.

Then suppose the passage money to Toronto, or to the land, paid by the Irish landholders, and an advance or loan of four millions, or even five millions, sterling, by the Government, to be repaid with interest, you have a sterling of surplus population provided for, who can be received in this country faster than all available means of transport could bring them, without any inconvenience. Would not this be an object gained worth the expenditure? Twenty millions sterling was paid for the redemption of the West India slaves. Are the miseries of the poor in Ireland less, or their claims on the country less, or the difficulties caused to the Government by their condition less, than in the case of the West India slaves? The emancipation of the latter was a pecuniary loss to the revenue and trade of the nation. Is it not absolutely certain that the addition of a million to the population of Canada would be a great gain in the way of commerce and consumption of British manufactures?

There are, between this city (Toronto) and Lake Huron, I should think, two millions of acres which might be settled in this way. An appropriation of fifty acres to each family would provide for forty thousand families, or 200,000 people. Twenty thousand, at least, would be required to occupy villages and towns, and thus you would have 220,000 settlers provided for, who might as well come in in one year as in twenty.

But settlements need not be confined to this quarter; the greater part of the country between Lake Huron and the Ottawa is vacant—whole regions are without an inhabitant, and millions of men may be sustained by cultivating them. Provisions are abundant and cheap in the country. Upper Canada, with her present products, could sustain a million of additional inhabitants at once. If you bring her 500,000, she will still be an exporting country; but the best market she can have is at home.

In the course of three or four years, most of the settlers will have provisions to sell: those who do not succeed as well as others, will find provisions for their work; and all of them who want necessaries will find employment at favourable and busy seasons, by coming into the old settlements.

For several years to come, there is scarcely an article an old farmer will have to spare which will not be as good as *cash* to these settlers. Young cattle, pigs, sheep, seed, home-made clothing. Full your country thus, and you will have cheap labour, because it will be labour where it is wanting, and the men will be confined within your country by the best of all bonds, property. You will not have the wives and children of labourers to provide for, for they will be fully employed at home. You will not have to pay in cash, for you will have what is quite as valuable as cash to the settler; and what is better, it is what the farmers of this country cannot export or find a market for.

I shall be asked by some landholders, what is to become of us if lands are thus given away for nothing? But you know well that Canadians, and emigrants who can afford to buy land, would disdain the grant of fifty acres; they would not accept or live upon so small a quantity; and then the incubus which presses on the value of land, in the shape of vacant Government territory, would be removed. Land would rapidly rise instead of falling in value.

I shall be told,—You must provide roads for these people. But all the roads necessary in the Owen's Sound tract are already provided. New settlers have very little use for roads. Furnish them with their first provisions, and you do not want to hear of them or see them for several years. They have nothing to export, and what they import can be taken in on any roads. Nothing can be so wasteful and extravagant as the attempts to make good roads through the forest; trees may be cut down and a few causeways and bridges built; these the settlers can do by their own labour, under proper regulations; time will rot out the stumps, sun and air will dry up the clearances, and then is the time to make good roads. It is thin settlement and scattered inhabitants which make roads so bad and difficult. Give me a tolerably thickly settled population who have real use for roads, and I will furnish you with mail-coach roads, macadamised roads, plank roads, nay even railroads, from

Gaspé to the Rocky Mountains. You may proceed by making the road first, and it is not a bad plan when there is plenty of money, but the way I have seen succeed best, is, to find the people first, and let the roads come after.

Well then, in the next place I shall be told to provide churches and schools for the new comers. For the churches, I should like to see land given liberally; and I should trust to the people from whom the emigrants come, not to leave them without clergymen, priests, and ministers. Zealous men they must be, who have their vocation at heart, and who will not turn from a settler's fare. For their support, in the first instance, and for the erection of the first homely places of worship, I should trust to the contributions of the godly and charitable in the country from whence the settlers came—the future should be left to the emigrants themselves.

Schools I should leave to be provided for by the Legislature of the country. At first it would be absurd to think of them, but in the course of three or four years the new emigrants, with the same public aid extended to the rest of the country, will be able to provide for themselves.

I have hitherto spoken of this concourse of people, as if there were among them no men of property sufficient to build mills, set up shops, and settle on lands; but all I can say on this subject is, that if such persons do not come, they will be the losers, for such a settlement is the very place for enterprise with small capital, the place where money will return in a short time, cent. per cent. But why should I say anything on this subject? Do we not know that where farmers are thickly settled and have anything to sell, there will be shops; and when they have plenty to grind, there will be millers? I think Government (with the exception of the erection of a few saw-mills, which may be rented to persons who understand the business) may leave these matters alone. Let them take care of the mill-sites, that they fall into the hands of those who will use them—let them choose proper sites of towns, so that they may not be monopolized by some chance grantees, and I think Canada can provide trading enterprise enough for the accommodation of the new settlers, if they bring it not with them.

What would be the effect of such a settlement of the back country upon our frontier towns? Why, it is almost incalculable. When this back country, which is now unproductive and vacant, begins to pour forth its produce—when these men become able to purchase imported goods, the towns will really rise to importance. What would Toronto, London, Hamilton, be, with a million of people settled on this peninsula? What would Bytown be with the lands of the Ottawa filled with population? What would Kingston, Brockville, Cobourg, Port Hope become, if, instead of vacant lands in their rear, they had an active and prosperous population? Then would our lakes be covered with vessels; then would our streets be filled with shops; then would our artizans become the masters of large establishments; then our public works would pay; and then we may speak of rivalry of our neighbours. I shall tell you by-and-by what will become of us if these things do not take place.

I dare say by this time I have established my character for being visionary and over-ardent, and impatient; but I have to lead you yet farther. Just take the map of Canada—but no, that will not do—take the Map of North America, and look to the westward of that glorious inland sea, Lake Superior. I say nothing of the mineral treasures of its northern shores, or those of our own Lake Huron, but I ask you to go with me to the head of Lake Superior, to the boundary line: you will say it is a cold journey, but I tell you the climate still improves as you go westward. At the head of Lake Superior, we surmount a height of land, and then descend into the real garden of the British possessions, of which so few know anything. Books tell you little of the country, and what they do say will deceive and mislead you. I tell you what I have heard directly from your townsman Mr. Angus Bethune, and indirectly from Mr. Ermatinger, very lately from that country.

A little to the westward of Lake Superior is Lake Winnessy, and into Lake Winnipeg runs the Saskatchewan river—it takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains, and the Lake Winnipeg discharges its waters towards and into Hudson's Bay.

This river runs from west to east fifteen hundred miles without an obstruction—it is navigable for boats carrying ten or twelve tons, it runs through a country diversified with prairie, rich grass, clumps of forest, and in one of the branches of the river are coal beds, out of which coals can be obtained by any one with a spade in his hand or without, and the plains are covered by the wild buffalo of America.

I am told that you may drive a waggon from one end to the other of this country of the Saskatchewan, and I am told, moreover, that it is superior in soil and equal in climate to any part of Canada, and that it produces wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, in short, all the crops of temperate climates in abundance.

North of the boundary line, and still keeping within a climate equal to that of Montreal on the north, and to this place (Toronto) in the south, you have a breadth of perhaps six hundred miles, by a length of eighteen hundred. North of this again you have a country and climate equal to that of the powerful States in the north of Europe.

Here is a country worth all Canada told twenty times over, it was still more valuable until 1325, when in one of those accursed Yankee negotiations, two degrees of latitude, from the head of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, were given up to our moderate neighbours. The lost territory takes in the great bend of the Missouri, and the whole territory is nearly as accessible by the way of the Mississippi and its tributary waters from the ocean, as this place.

Now the Russian Empire contains near seventy millions of inhabitants, with Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and part of the Austrian Empire, it occupies the position in Europe which Canada and the north-western territory exhibits in America. Both seem made alike, for the scenes of great deeds and of great events.

On the one hand we have an empire, overcrowded at home with thirty millions of inhabitants, a portion of them starving for want of ground in which to raise their food. That nation is the wealthiest and fullest of resources of any in the world.

On the other hand, we have the United States—a country thinly inhabited, busy spreading its conquests to the southward—a nation by no means rich in money, having little plan in policy, and scarcely any power of executive government; and this country, by the sole and undirected energy of individual citizens, is rapidly advancing upon one splendid field of the best portion, which we have scarcely heard of, or only heard of to neglect and despise.

Already Michigan is peopled, Missouri and Iowa are filling with inhabitants. Yet now they speak of adding new States, which are to reach the British boundary; and they have the audacity to speak of the Saskatchewan as a river which they must have, with its fertile plains and beautiful lakes and streams, three hundred miles within our boundary—because they say it is the way to their ill-gotten acquisition in Oregon.

Now all the advantage they have over us is a month's voyage across the Atlantic, and their wide-awake individual energy. To counter-balance this, we have men, and brave men, two to one; wealth beyond any dream of theirs, a necessity for emigration which they have not, and territory quite equal to theirs.

What, then, will be the consequence to us, if no great movement is made to people the British territories in this quarter of the world? The United States have pressed on us in the north-east, they have got to the northward of us in the west. We are advancing slowly, our Government is speaking with complacency of their emigrants being received into the United States, and our public lands are held back from settlement, and kept up for years. Why, the consequence will be that, outflanked by a powerful population, left without the natural increase and nurture which a wholesome distribution of the people of the empire ought to cause, we must fall at no distant period into dependance on the American Republic. Then, indeed, British subjects will come and settle amongst us, and they will buy the land from strangers which their forefathers bled to win and to maintain, and England will have the satisfaction of considering that she was very careful in keeping the peace, and very learned respecting the labour market of America.

I have not the happiness of supposing, for a moment, that any, the most distant approach to my plan, will be adopted. Something I have heard of log houses being built, of acre lots being appropriated to labourers, when they can buy them, every care being taken that they might have no temptation to rise beyond the condition of labourers; something I have heard about the necessity of cheap labour, and the fear of disturbing our labour market, but I have heard of nothing which will do us, or the empire, any good. The objects I have in view are too general, they promise no immediate exclusive benefit to any class or party, here or at home; the unhappy people who would benefit by my plan are unrepresented, poor, and powerless; and I know, even in this country, none who would reap exclusive advantages from what I propose. Money would be required to carry out my system; strict vigilance and untiring superintendence would be necessary from the representative of Her Majesty, down to the lowest officer employed, otherwise the whole plan would be a job and a failure. But there is no fear of this, the attempt

will never be made, and I shall have for my share of the project, to bear the ridicule attached to the character of a dreamer and a visionary.

The facts I have stated are not new or doubtful. My opinions may be questionable, I may have been led to wish too much for my native country, and for this I may have spoken too harshly of those who, with the example of Americans before them, will think it liberal and wise to praise American enterprise and success; but who will not see the elucidation of what appears wonderful in it, and who will not follow the example of that people. I may be mistaken in my views, and what is worse, I probably have made a very interesting subject dull and tedious; at all events, however, I shall have called public attention to the subject, most important and interesting of all, both to this and the mother country, and I shall be more ready and willing to learn, than I have been to lecture.

Toronto, March, 1847.

OBSERVATIONS ON CONVICT AND FREE LABOUR FOR NEW SOUTH WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

SIR—Having but recently perused Earl Grey's observations in the House of Lords, on the second reading of the Custody of Offenders' Bill, in consequence of my arrival from New South Wales, will account for the late period at which I address you upon what took place so distant as the month of March last. The importance of these observations, however, in reference to New South Wales, and the long period that must elapse previous to communications being received in reply, will be a sufficient inducement for me to remark upon them, and will enable your readers and parties interested in Australian affairs to form an estimate of the opinions that may be entertained in the Colony in reference to the important subject of transportation of criminals. My opinions, of course, are but those of an individual, but I can confidently say that most of them, expressed in the following pages, are entertained by many inhabitants of the Colony; and in these I am confirmed by a perusal of the newspapers lately arrived, and bearing date so late as the month of February, 1847. As my remarks were written previously to the news lately arrived, and unconnected with party or interest, I have preferred leaving them as they were written, than to alter them to suit subsequent information; and have attached a few remarks, finally, on the report of the select committee, issued by the Legislative Council of New South Wales. In justification of my opinion, I will inform you that the inhabitants of the Port Phillip district have determined to petition the Home Government against the free-exile-convict system, and have at once given the preference to the transportation and assignment of convicts without extra Colonial probation. At Paramatta a notice stood on

the books of the District Council, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning in favour of the report of the Legislative Council, but was withdrawn without discussion. At Windsor the inhabitants determined on petitioning against the transportation of convicts to New South Wales; and I have no doubt that, ere this, many other petitions to the same effect have been called into existence. It seems, from the Colonial newspapers, and from what I know of the Colony, that large stockholders are in favour of the return to the old system of assignment of convicts, because they are extensive employers of labour, and that inhabitants of towns entertain directly opposite opinions; while the new system is destined to receive but little support from either.

"It never rains but it pours" is a true observation, and applicable to New South Wales, in reference to the supply of labour that Colony has from time to time received from the mother country. When New South Wales was only considered a convict Colony, labour was abundant, and to be had for asking, on account of the number of criminals sent there. This supply was afforded neither with a view of benefiting the convicts, nor those who might require their services; and, in fact, so little were these services estimated about twenty-five years ago that many persons would not accept of grants of land when the stipulation was, that the grantor should take from Government a certain number of these convicts. At this time the Government may be said not to have known what to do with them, and the stipulation was considered so disagreeable that the Government assisted those who received them by supplying, for the convicts' use, a few of the essentials of life, more particularly clothing. Convicts themselves, at this period, who had conducted themselves with propriety, had certain favours granted them, and permission to employ themselves either advantageously or agreeably to themselves, and were appropriated grants of land with assistants; and it is to these identical grants that many of the present settlers owe their wealth and advantages. For a long period land was considered of no value in New South Wales; the Colony was never imagined to be fit for anything but the reception of convicts, and the occupation of land by them was considered nothing more than an agreeable employment, and keeping a certain number of people out of idleness and mischief. By degrees it was observed that the land might possibly, by cultivation, be productive, and many obtained grants who did not intend to reside upon them, and others also subsequently had grants who did not think it worth while to register them, which have since been lost by such neglect. When these grants were considered almost valueless, it was requisite to offer inducements to get convicts off Government hands; but in the course of time, as it was discovered that large quantities of land were really good, and could be made productive, and that its productions could be converted into money and other commodities, so it became an object with certain parties, especially officials, to take grants upon stipulations that had been before refused; and at last it was found out that the land had resources for the attainment of wealth that had never been contemplated, and as this was observed so it became desirable to obtain it, and then came the disco-

very that convict labour was the very means that rendered it productive at a cheap rate, and would put the occupiers in positions they had never dreamed of. When grants of land could not be obtained gratuitously, these being abolished in 1832 by Lord Ripon, the Government thinking it could obtain some portion of the advantages it had called into existence, affixed a price to that which it had hitherto given away, this price being what was then termed the minimum price of 5s. per acre, a sum at which land could be sold; and the purchaser's motive for this purchase was to be enabled to obtain convict labour, the very thing that, some years before, would not be accepted when the land was given them, and this, too, with the additional inconvenience of being compelled to clothe, feed, and maintain the convicts. With free grants and purchases at the minimum price of 5s. per acre, the Colony gradually increased in wealth and means of procuring comforts; and when the Government observed, under this system, that the Colonists were getting fat and saucy and independent, it considered it was entitled to a further slice of the pudding the Colonists had made from the Government materials, and then established an increased minimum price for the land, fixing it at 12s. per acre, but without depriving the Colonists of that labour which rendered it productive and valuable. Its value, apparently, advanced at last with such extraordinary rapidity that purchasers of land gave willingly 20s. per acre, upon condition of having convict labourers, and as these were always abundant, so they were supplied in any number that land purchases or favour entitled them to. The minimum price of land has not exceeded 20s. per acre, and it is more than doubtful whether Government will not have to retrace its steps, now that the land has been deprived of the Government labour which gave it a minimum value, and rendered individuals wealthy. For a long time after Government had affixed an uniform minimum price of land at 20s. per acre, it continued to afford an abundant supply of labour, and the Colonists were glad to avail themselves of it; when all at once they found themselves getting "disgustingly rich," or in a fair way to become so, and then became clamorous of kicking down the ladder they had ascended in the attainment of wealth; they then first discovered the possession of moral feelings, which were contaminated by the presence of convict labour, and endeavoured to get rid of this stigma by petitioning for the abolition of convict assignment—the golden ladder that I before spoke of. Whether Government gladly availed itself of this or not, I cannot say, perhaps it was immaterial, as it continued to send convicts to Van Diemen's Land after transportation to New South Wales had ceased, which must have been attended with a similar expense. It may be as well to state, that the expense of sending convicts to New South Wales, and forming a convict Colony there, cost the Home Government during the first ten years, no less a sum than £1,037,230, £86,435 per annum.

From 1798 (the year the Colony was taken possession of) to 1811, a period of 13 years, the cost was £1,634,926, or £116,709 per annum. From 1812 to 1815, the cost was £793,827, or £198,456 per annum. In 1817, the cost was £229,152; the expenditure, it will be observed,

annually increasing, until at last the sum expended amounted to no less than five or six millions of money, which will give one some idea of the opportunities the old settlers and Colonists had to acquire wealth—wealth which those unacquainted with the Colony and its early times, have been puzzled to account for. Surprise must diminish with the knowledge, that large portions of this Government expense was distributed among those in the Colony. It is calculated that this large amount would have introduced twice the number of free emigrants that it did convicts, and with better results. The petitions for abolishing transportation were listened to, and convicts ceased to be sent, and from that date may be assigned the temporary downfall of the Colony in every point of view; though it did not show this at once, in consequence of its having attained and retained such enormous riches in itself, that it would naturally take some time to exhaust them, and to bring people to those senses from which unexampled prosperity had elevated them. Gratified by the cessation of transportation, the Colonists sought to supply themselves with labour by the introduction of free emigrants, and this the Government was enabled to do for them on account of the land sales it was effecting, the proceeds of which were devoted to that purpose.

It will give some idea of the imagined wealth of the Colony, to say that from January 1832 to December 1844, the amount received for land sales amounted to £1,116,000, a sum I have no doubt that deceived Government in its valuation of Australian land, gave it a false idea of the wealth of the Colony, and led the Colonists themselves into a belief that their property was metallic, and had only to be dug into to give them the essentials of wealth. During a great portion of this period, not much loss was felt by the Colonists on account of the payments they were making for their land purchases, nor were they as a body aware that they were experiencing any deprivation of available capital, because, if they had no money it was easy to get paper, and that easily convertible into money, and whilst they could do this, they imagined they could purchase land at any price, especially as it was held out, and they conceived that they would receive an equivalent by the introduction of free labour. It was this facility of obtaining discounts, that originated that speculative mania which extended throughout the Colony, and gave such a fictitious value to every thing within it, and for which the Colonists since have so dearly paid. It is but just to mention that out of the amount received by Government it expended the sum of £1,032,000, and that 95,775 emigrants were introduced from Great Britain, a number that would have admirably answered the purpose contemplated by all parties; but unfortunately they poured in so rapidly at one period, and just at that time when it was necessary to provide for the aforesaid bills and other etceteras, that it became palpable they had been paying away the money which ought to have been kept to maintain and employ them; and about this time, also, they began to have misgivings as to the expense of free labour, and some began to hint that convict labour was cheap and free labour the reverse. But the most notable discovery of all was,

that they had no money to employ them upon any terms, and it unfortunately turned out that the Colony was in such distress, pervading all classes, that everybody was compelled to look to his own preservation from ruin, by curtailing his expenses in every possible way, even to the discharging of servants actually required; and this unfortunately at a time when there was such an influx of emigrants that if they could have availed themselves of their labour, it could be had upon easy terms.

At this time, (1843,) Government was compelled to give employment to a great number of labourers; very many also left for Valparaiso and other places, while some benevolent individuals interested themselves to afford assistance when it was most required; and temporary buildings were allowed by the Government until these emigrants could be otherwise and better provided for. Before the years 1843-4 the convict servants had been gradually and almost completely emancipated by good behaviour and servitude; and unfortunately the Colonists in the very worst times were deprived of convict labour to any important extent; and they have since continued to doubt whether they did a wise act in petitioning for the cessation of transportation to Australia, and some have gone so far as to assert the propriety of returning to that system; while others again have turned their thoughts into another channel, and assert that land even with such labour attached, was never worth the uniform minimum price of 20s. per acre, and that the purchasers were a set of noodles to give it; for the future purchasers will have to pay for that labour that will make it useful: and many again doubt whether the land sales at 20s. will ever be the means of introducing such a supply of labour as will make the Colony prosperous, happy, and content. In the year 1841, there were no less than 32,625 emigrants introduced—a most impolitic number, and exemplifying the assertion with which I started. It may be supposed that 30,000 of them would have to depend upon their manual exertions, and were what is termed the labouring classes, but this number was so large that, even under favourable circumstances, it would be impossible for the Colonists to give employment to them all, it naturally taking in a population of 150,000 persons, a certain time to absorb so large a number. Many, therefore, had to put up with very limited means of existence, low wages and uncertain employment, all which could not exist without having an injurious effect upon the minds of the labouring classes and their transmitting those representations to their friends at home. This was the case, and those in the Colony believed they had been entrapped by false representations, into emigrating a distance of 16,000 miles, numerous were the letters sent home containing the most disastrous statements, and the contents of which were unfortunately but too true. Had New South Wales been in a prosperous condition, when they arrived in such numbers, a large majority would have had more favourable impressions, and been very differently provided for; for, as I have alluded to before, the settlers were actually in want of manual assistance, when men in Sydney could not obtain employment. In the course of a year

or two, the Colony rallied from its depression, prosperity quietly and steadily returned to its usual occupations, its exports went on gradually increasing and imports diminishing, and it may now be said to show monthly signs of improvement. I say monthly, because the resources of the Colony are so great that months will do what in older countries will require years. As prosperity advanced, so the labourer became employed at gradually increasing wages until the demand for his services exceeded the supply, and at the present time this is so limited that settlers and other employers of labour are seriously curtailed in their operations, and compelled to neglect many means of profitable advancement that the Colony presents. It has brought them to the consideration of what at one time every person had hoped had passed away for ever, the transportation question; and as it has become a consideration how labour is to be supplied, in that is involved the propriety of again returning to the old convict system. I am convinced this resumption would be boldly advocated by many of those who petitioned against transportation to New South Wales, if they could do it without accusing themselves of previous opinions wrongly entertained, or if they would not be liable to the accusation of having succeeded in kicking down that ladder they once ascended, for the prevention of others from ascending it in like manner. It is unnecessary to question the motives that have and would influence the advocacy of reassignment of convicts, perhaps many who advocated its abolition did so upon moral grounds, others believed the Colony could do without it, and be abundantly supplied with labour by free emigrants; and others believed that there would always be such a command of internal means as to keep up a perpetual exchange of money and emigrants between the mother country and the Colony.

As a matter of profit to the Colonists, there cannot be a doubt that convict labour, according to the old system, would be most advantageous; and the only thing to be put into the opposite scale against it, are those moral considerations attached to the personal and private behaviour of the convicts themselves, and the consequences of their being in contact with families. Were both convict and free labour to be had by the Colonists, there cannot be a doubt to which they would give the preference, even allowing that one was as dear again as the other; but as the alternative at the present time does not present itself, it will be necessary to open the discussion of obsolete questions, and to take some determined means for procuring the labour they want. I cannot but consider Earl Grey's expressed intention of sending criminals to Australia, after the expiration of a portion of the period of punishment, will have much weight with the Colonists in causing the revival of discussion respecting them, and I do not think I assert too much in saying that if the intention of the Home Government be to send convicts after a period of probation in this country, there will be an almost unanimous cry to have transportation resumed, and the reassignment of convicts with such additional regulations as will make it effectual to the one party and beneficial to the other. Earl Grey observes that the "culprits would be discharged free in Australia,"

which is synonymous with the assertion that the Colony is to have the services of the rogue when he can benefit himself without the Colony receiving any previous advantage by a well observed Colonial white-washing process. It seems to me that in this arrangement, the feelings of the Colonists has been the minor consideration, nor do I think that such a system of *free* emigration will be pleasant to them; in fact, I believe that they would infinitely prefer the old system, and have proverbial rogues in their employment than those half-and-half gentry, who would labour under the misfortune of being well-known, too bad to be treated as honest labourers, and too good to be considered as rogues. It is a half-and-half system to say the least of it; it is giving the Colony a rogue under the designation of a *free* emigrant; and he is placed there with a stigma upon his character, when the Colonists have not had an opportunity of seeing his behaviour subsequent to conviction. Perhaps some would be as much entitled to pity as blame, but one consideration on landing will be attached to all. That he can be placed in the Colony as a free emigrant, and be looked upon as such, is impossible; and it would be an act of injustice to those who have never been "unfortunate," and would go far with a really free emigrant population to break down those moral distinctions which they pride themselves upon retaining, and upon which also the Colony has begun to pride itself in the moral advances it has made. Lord Stanley in the same debate said, "that as an experiment he had sent fifty exiles to Port Phillip, and that the inhabitants of that district had requested, by petition, that no more should be sent;" and it will be the case with those free-emigrant-convict-exiles that are intended to be sent; and petitions now, or at some future time, will be presented by other districts, with a request that Australia be not their receptacle. If they are intended to be sent there in sufficient numbers to supply the demand for labour, it will entail upon the Colony a police and gaol expenditure that will be enormous, without those approachable corresponding benefits, attending their being sent as soon as possible after they have been sentenced to transportation. A half-and-half system will be attended with innumerable objections, and without an adjustment of advantages between the Colonists and the criminals; except in individual instances. As I have before said, it will place a man who has committed a crime in as good a position as he who has not, and with advantages that thousands of honest people would be glad to avail themselves of.

The admixture of honest freemen and criminals is objectionable in many points of view; it cannot work well; and this was seen at the first introduction of free emigrants, when there was on hand a large number of convict labourers, who looked upon these new arrivals as persons having no *right* to the Colony, no claim to its productions, or the favour of their masters; and bad feeling was engendered between them in a variety of ways. At one time this feeling was not confined to the mere ignorant man, there was a dislike upon the part of the intelligent to look upon them as that which they were not, or had not been—honest; and all this will return again by combination of emigrants. When free

emigrants became more numerous and sufficient for Colonial wants, there was no regret on the part of the Colonists to use the services of convicts, especially as for some time they had been accustomed to give them wages about the same as to free emigrants; but it was found the combination did not work well. The convicts also were becoming free by servitude and privilege, the latter being a permission to take their services to any part of a particular district, so that the few mingling with the many, they were unknown and lost among the free; but until this took place, there was sufficient discontent between the convicts and free to excite disagreeable apprehensions in the minds of those who employed them. No doubt it is estimated that the free-emigrant-exile-convicts will be merged in the mass of labourers; to a considerable extent this would be the case, if they were few and free emigrants numerous: but if they were numerous the Colonists would want much of that protection they had received with the old convicts, a great number of whom were recommended to favour by their masters, some were entitled to it by good behaviour, or especial meritorious acts; but over most of these there was restraint silently exercised by what is termed a ticket of leave, giving them permission to work for themselves, but which ticket could be withdrawn by the authorities in case of misconduct. This restraint, I presume, will not be exercised upon those it is contemplated to introduce, and the Colonists will have no means of knowing if their pernicious principles be eradicated, or only slumbering; nor will they have had any preparatory process to adapt them to Colonial wants and getting their bread. If it be intended to introduce them in numbers, say 1,000 annually at least, they will give the Colonists no benefit that really free and honest men would not; if 500 only should be destined to the Australian shores, it will be an injustice to an equal number of others who are desirous of emigrating, and for whom its advantages should be reserved. Earl Grey entertains views respecting transportation to Australia that have been appropriate to the past, but could be remedied by a future arrangement, were it considered necessary to resort to the sending of criminals again to New South Wales.

My observations will lead to the supposition that I am favourable to the recurrence of sending criminals to New South Wales, and their reassignment to the Colonists according to their wants: I am, conditionally only, and am much influenced by the intention of sending a certain class there, and from the little apparent prospect that Australia will be benefited by that introduction of free labour it is so much in want of. As an abstract question on the part of any Colony, an opinion can be immediately expressed, and the Colonists of New South Wales are as sensitive on moral grounds as the inhabitants of England, and have but little wish to receive the services of criminals; but if transportation be about to be revived in another form, without advantages that ought to belong to it, and when the very existence of the Colonists depends upon labour they cannot obtain by honourable means, they must be excused in advocating or asking for what they intrinsically object to, and for trying to get that which they dislike when they cannot get what they are desirous of.

Earl Grey "did not think it just nor reasonable to enact penal labour for the Colonies when it was thought wrong to enact it for England," an observation that cannot fail to be admired in the Australian Colonies; but there appears some difficulty in reconciling it with the previously expressed intention of sending probationed culprits there, which is an act that will operate in opposition to the sentiment, and be but of little advantage to New South Wales if the numbers are to be few, and would be positively none if the number be considerable. The whole tenor of Earl Grey's speech will be extremely gratifying to the Colonists, in a moral sense, and proves that the Australian Colonies are receiving the attention of the Government; but in consequence of its being deprived of any congratulatory statements, the time has arrived for the Colonists to bestir themselves, and decide upon what must be done for the future advancement of the Colony. With such an earnest cry for labour it is impossible to remain stationary; and the Colony must even retrograde when it is most adapted to afford employment. Every year the demand for labour increases in greater proportion than the supply diminishes, for every year a certain number of the employed emancipate from servitude, and establish themselves as occupants of the soil, which they in a very few years are enabled to do, if they have been at all prudent and economical in husbanding their wages. There is no place in the world where industrious hard-working people can so soon become their own masters, and with advantage to the Colony at large—for there will be the means of originating a yeomanry, that Australia at some future time will be proud of, and England perhaps feel the advantage of. I could dilate upon the necessity of facilitating their location upon spots of land fit for cultivation, and the need of enabling persons of small capital to obtain advantageous positions upon easy terms—at present they cannot obtain it without dependence upon private individuals, or with much difficulty through the Colonial courts. Every servant becoming a small settler, deprives a master of a labourer's services, which, in many instances, is attended with the additional loss of another servant—it generally happening that two settle together, such a number being required for the commencing operations on uncleared land. It either happens that the loss of two domestics is permanent, by their joining in partnership, or the services of one are retained by the other sufficiently long and often to render the large settler desirous of other labourers; and it is in this way that the Colony has taken up that labour that was at the time in excess, and has at last produced that cry for labour which some means must remedy. It not uncommonly happens that a small settler deprives a neighbourhood of the services of three individuals, his own, his companion's, and his wife's; and it generally happens that these individuals are the best of the neighbourhood; hard-working, industrious, and frugal, they must have been, to enable them to begin for themselves; and with the same prudence exercised, in a few years they will have acquired a further desire for assistance, and subtract a further portion of Colonial labour, that at one time was only in request by the large

land-holder and land-occupier. It is among this rising and increasing class of people that the infusion of convictism will do much harm; and supposing that free emigrants arrived in the Colony, accompanied by the transported exiles, it is among the small settlers that the latter would probably be engaged, while the really free would be at once taken up by those whose positions gave them the priority of choice. It is possible, too, that these men would be employed upon less advantageous terms than the others, which could not fail to excite great dissatisfaction in their minds, and, perhaps, make them so regardless of themselves as to lead them into endeavours to find compensation for the labour they know to be equal in value and extent to that of other emigrants; and then would come back bush-raiding, or those old inclinations, which I doubt would not be entirely removed by the most perfect system of probation. If they obtained even equal wages to the others, to be thrown upon the small settlers for employment would give rise to jealousy that could not fail to be disastrous, and this would fall not only upon those who pointed out the stigmatising marks upon their brows, but also privately, and often undetectedly, upon those richer neighbours who had passed them over in silent neglect. It would be better to give a small settler the services of a convict at once, then they would both be under the surveillance of authorities; one would have an interest in treating him properly for the sake of his services, and would lose him were he not so treated; and the convict would feel that his extent of labour for another would much depend upon his own personal behaviour. If the convict is to be placed in Australia, it is but fair to give the Colonists the benefit of his labour while he is undergoing his probationary punishment, and the system should be such as to prepare him to exercise his faculties in accordance with Colonial wants, it generally taking two or three years to colonise a man, to acquaint him with his required services, and to climatise him. The "discharging him free," as Earl Grey proposes, will be looked upon by the Colonists as something like giving them a plum-pudding with the plums taken out before exportation; and yet they will have to pay as much for the deteriorated article as if they had extracted the plums themselves, or be at considerable expense in working it up again. That these Government men will be looked upon as deteriorated articles may be certain; and though the Colonists, like drowning men, would be glad to catch at a straw in the shape of labour, the plan suggested, or intended, will be looked upon as a bad one, and not give satisfaction to a Colony that is annually acquiring wealth and importance.

It appears that pecuniary considerations have been influential in determining the suggested system, and when we consider that the convict Colony of New South Wales cost the Government no less than five millions of pounds sterling, in the first thirty years of its establishment, we need not be surprised that Government, for its own sake, should dread its re-establishment, or be glad of an opportunity to materially limit it; but it would not be difficult to find methods by which those benefited by convict labour should repay the incidental

expenses, yet in such a way that the Colonist should feel he was receiving a boon instead of paying a tax for the convict's labour. Perhaps in making a criminal undergo a certain amount of punishment at home, two objects are in view; the one to make him pay a penalty under the observance of proper and uniform authority, the other to extract such an amount of profitable work from him as will liquidate the expenses to be incurred by his passage to Australia. The former can only be from a belief that transportation is in itself inadequate as a positive punishment for certain crimes, and which I will again allude to; and the latter can be placed beyond consideration by such Colonial taxation for convict services, as will defray all the expenses attending their voyage and superintendence in the Colony. There are at present existing establishments for the superintendence of convicts; they have never ceased to be appropriated to their original purposes, though now much less occupied than when convicts were sent in such numbers, so that some of the essentials can be called into action with but little addition to their present expense.

In the cessation of "transportation for ever" to New South Wales, it no doubt was contemplated to abolish or convert them to other uses, still their existence renders them again available. Supposing at the request of the Colonists—for I can only as a long inhabitant of the Colony suppose it will be entertained by them, from a difficulty of distinguishing any other means of providing themselves with sufficient labour—assuming it should be determined to send convicts as formerly to New South Wales, but with a stipulation that the Colonists should pay their expenses, it would not be difficult to levy a tax upon those who availed themselves of their services; and provided this were a just and fair one, and only sufficient to defray the necessary expenses belonging to the system, it could not be objected to. The Colonists have before said, that Great Britain ought to bear a proportion of this expense, because it ridded itself of those whom it was benefited by transporting; and that their annoyance and risk should be put in the scale against the advantages of their labour. This can not prevent their paying a considerable portion of their expense, and if they want them they can afford to pay for them. It must be observed that transportation again adopted, must be carried out by all, because it will be impossible, as I have before observed, to have any system incomplete, or mingled with another that has unmixable features. It would not be feasible to derive any tax from convict assignment, and appropriate its amount to free emigration; in every respect the systems are incompatible, and no greater tax should be derived than sufficient for a reasonable expenditure. Were taxation limited to this, and convict labour only available to those who paid for it, I think taxation and assignment conjointly might be made to work for the benefit of the Colony.

I have heard the question of taxation mooted by interested parties, and the assertion oft repeated, that if no other labour can be had than that of convicts upon such terms, it would be acceptable. The opinion has been gaining ground within the last two years, as well as the belief that

it will be necessary to resort to convict labour again. There is not any particular dread of recurring to it, not one tithe part of that which formerly existed. Earl Grey entertains an opinion that transportation, as a punishment, was not what it was intended to be, and in many instances was followed by reports that had a contrary tendency than the prevention of crime; and quoted a letter to show that some one "transported criminal was keeping his horse and gig, and living like a prosperous gentleman." It is unnecessary to give a definition of the term gentleman in its literal sense, and to show how different it may be from a convict's; in the case mentioned it is more than probable that it consisted in the possession of the horse and gig, or was the grand essential; but whether it was or not, it should be understood that keeping a horse and a gig in New South Wales and in England are two very different things, and attended with very different expenses. In New South Wales there are no taxes for either of these gentlemanly credentials, and with the exception of horses kept in Sydney, there is not one in a 1,000 that has more food than a good paddock will afford, never being stabled; and in travelling, a great number of horse and gig gentlemen take no more nightly care of their horses than in tying their fore legs together, which is called hobbling, and letting them loose to do the best they can for themselves. But were this otherwise, no extensive inference should be drawn from it, either for or against transportation; for no other conclusion can be arrived at than that a man has undergone his probationary punishment, and has been lucky enough, either by his own or assisted endeavours, to make some progress in his restoration to society and comfort. It would not be difficult in England to point out rogues who keep a horse and gig, and who would be more fitly accommodated at a treadmill; but it is no necessary consequence that an Australian convict, having emancipated himself from the state of probation, should be recommitted to it, because he was harmlessly indulging as a gentleman.

An apprehension is entertained that transportation not only was, but would be, ineffectual in the prevention of crime, and that it is desirable to substitute a home and uniform punishment, as being more effectual; from this one cannot but conclude that transportation is supposed to be so trivial a sentence as to be rather desirable than otherwise. If punishment were solely to deter persons from the commission of crime, perhaps the greatest amount of physical torture would be the best; happily this is a doctrine exploded—if acted upon now it would be inconsistent with our knowledge of the physical and mental structure of man. But Earl Grey observes, justly and benevolently, that "the punishment should be such as was calculated at the same time to improve and reform the unhappy object of the punishment." That opinion will, I doubt not, be responded to by every humane person who reads it. Earl Grey also observes "that civilised nations have been endeavouring to discover the great and difficult problem of the best mode of reclaiming offenders, but had not yet arrived at a complete and satisfactory solution." A complete solution has not been dis-

covered, but I am decidedly of opinion that no country has been so near a discovery as England, and that discovery would have been exemplified in the convict system of New South Wales. Where theory is no guide in elucidating this problem, an unprejudiced resident in Australia is the best judge of its effects; and I think he cannot but come to the conclusion that the assignment of convicts was the best system ever invented for the double purpose for which transportation was intended. It is the most humane system that ever was suggested, and to the convicts themselves it has been attended with such beneficial consequences that Earl Grey is fearful transportation has been deprived of its horrors, and that those it was intended to punish have been rendered better off than they would be by honest labour in England. That this has often been the case cannot be disputed; but it may be said, also, that the gaol allowance in England is an inducement to commit crime, it being a well ascertained fact that it is better than a poor-law allowance, and better than thousands of honest labourers are in the daily enjoyment of; but it does not operate as such an extensive inducement as to be made an argument of. Earl Grey observes, in allusion to the convict allowance of food, that most of these were persons who seldom tasted meat in England, and that they were better off than they would be at home, having no less than ten pounds of meat weekly, with allowances of clothing, tea, sugar, and bread; but almost all this was ordered by Government, and had it not been served out the assigned convict would have complained and been removed, if not remedied. This, therefore, in any future arrangement could, if desired, be placed upon a different and less extravagant footing; though it is not decided that starvation would be the best substitute for an imagined superabundance.

The minutiae of the treatment of convicts it is unnecessary to discuss; they could be easily arranged—the present observations have reference only to the principle. Earl Grey also observed that transportation and assignment may, and have been, in some instances, a punishment severe, perhaps even beyond what the law in its sentence contemplated; this is undoubtedly true; and it is equally certain that persons have been lightly and liberally treated whose crimes deserved the hardest and strictest penalty that could be inflicted. But I consider it would be impossible to invent any system of rewards and punishments, indiscriminately administered, that would not be liable to abuse and censure in its operations. Nor can even the same amount of crime be the criterion, the heaviest offences being often those which are committed from impulse, or under some temporary excitement; and the same punishment, it is well known, would be to one a very different sentence, when carried out, to what it would be to another. But if the end were the same, and that beneficial, and restored, or likely to restore, an individual to a honest position in society, I do not think that the strict letter should be advocated in punishing when the results had turned out to be such as were hoped for in the original sentence.

Earl Grey's remarks, also, apply particularly to transportation to Australia, as it was carried out between the years 1830 and 1840, and no allusion is made to the early period of the settlement, when convicts

met with few advantages, when it was really to be dreaded. Now, as it would be wrong to quote 25 years ago to exemplify its evils or advantages, so it may be unfair to take 12 years hence, and judge of what transportation may be made for the future. It would be easy to remedy many of the abuses that crept into the assignment system—the present improved state of the Colony would not allow of many—nor would there be any fear of a Colonial offender, at the present time, being unmercifully lashed to gratify any private pique or bad temper of a master. The Colony is so different now from what it was ten years ago, that many improvements of a reformatory, preventive, and punishable nature could be introduced to render the old system more beneficial, at the same time it would be a pity to deprive the man desirous of having his errors forgotten in a way that would check his reformatory advancement. No humane person can have seen the working of the assignment system in New South Wales without seeing that it is of good effect, to one party at least, and it is some presumption that masters have been also benefited or pleased, or so many ticket-of-leave men would not be seen about the Colony, who have been placed in good and improving situations by their former masters, and who are assisted by those they formerly served. That system must have some merit whose reformatory effects are shown by a convict becoming a free servant, and then a small settler, and many afterwards landowners, and in all these gradations, assisted, too, by those they formerly served. If one or two should, by hypocrisy, be undeserving of such advancement, it can militate but little against the 99 who are entitled to it, and do credit to the Colony. These transformations may invariably be attributed to industry and good conduct, and few would object to the advantages resulting from them, as they show that transportation does effect one good, even if it fail to convey that meed of punishment originally intended. But before a convict could arrive at this happy state, and, after all, happy only by comparison, it will take a long preparatory process in which the terrors and disagreeables of transportation will have been involved, and these are not so slight as one would imagine, after hearing that certain convicts are in the enjoyment of luxuries; but it should be recollected that these are only exceptions, and form but a small item in the general amount of convict assignment. If the feelings, denials, pains, and penalties were brought forward on the opposite side, *in terrorem*, they would be sufficient to show that transportation is not a desirable termination to a man's career, and is sufficiently degrading and severe to deter others from the commission of crime. The punishment is more or less severe according to the previous station in life and occupation of the convict, and every other punishment that could be suggested would be felt according to the circumstances of the individual, and there is no doubt that many, especially of the labouring and agricultural classes, would have their condition in life benefited by transportation; but, if we consider their hardship, their poverty, their often being driven by hunger and want to the commission of crime, transportation should not be objected to because their circumstances have been improved.

It may be observed that many of them, when placed in comfortable

situations, and removed from temptations, make excellent servants, and are as much averse to the perpetration of crime as those of the same class who arrive free. For the last few years, men who have obtained the indulgence of "tickets of leave" have been often preferred, as servants, to those who have not had the stigma of crime attached to them, and this because that ticket of leave is a guarantee for their good behaviour, knowing, as they do, that misconduct would cause it to be forfeited, and that they would again be returned to Government in the condition of convicts, to be employed upon public works. It is a proof that assignment has terrors, when it is observed that a "ticket of leave" is valued by its owner; and, even where the master is a good one, a ticket-of-leave man would much prefer his own personal freedom, with liberty to take his own services where he pleases, to the best master in the universe.

The value of personal liberty is fully estimated by a convict, and the restraint imposed by assignment is almost invariably felt as a punishment, and there is an earnest longing, on his part, to obtain the indulgence of a "ticket of leave." It often happens that a convict, thus emancipated by good behaviour, continues to reside or labour for his former master, but his condition is improved mentally by the knowledge of the power the "ticket of leave" gives him; he breathes freer, his limbs become more supple, his mind has something to be proud of, and it is a good step towards establishing himself in a creditable way, besides the privilege of forming those natural engagements man is physically desirous of, but which cannot be entered into in the servitude of assignment. From the mention of a few of the advantages conferred by a ticket of leave, it will be seen that transportation has something in it besides a name. It is an objection, urged against assignment, that its operation is uncertain, that a *good* convict may be assigned to a bad master, who possesses the power of treating him "with great hardship and continual annoyances," and of goading him into the commission of offences by which he would be subject to the infliction of the lash, while a bad convict, and deserving exemplary punishment by innate depravity, may be so favourably placed that he may say "transportation was the luckiest thing that ever happened to him." These assignments may be considered unlucky and unavoidable to the system, but are not of sufficient weight to lead to the supposition that assignment is bad. In the present state of the Colony, it would not be attended with the same results as formerly. The number and respectability of the present magistrates, and the free communications between distant places, would be a sufficient guarantee and protection for a convict against a tyrannical master, while the same power would be exercised in preventing a convict from being assigned as a favour, and when he was not required, or kept in idleness. The dread of being returned to Government keeps him in a state of tolerable rectitude. It may always be put down, as a matter of certainty, that labour, under the superintendence of Government officers, and in gangs on the public roads, is much more severe and disagreeable than the same labour in the service of a private master, and bad must

that convict be who misconducts himself so often as to require his being "turned in" to Government. Checks upon both master and servant can be established, to answer the purposes of the home Government in continuing transportation as an immediate punishment.

In reference to the opinion that transportation does not terrify people from the commission of crime, it may be as well to consider what it is in its *luckiest* form, and then, I think, the conclusion will be, that it may be continued as a punishment. It will not be proper to take into consideration particular instances of assignment, such as that of husbands to wives, who arrive in the Colony in possession of the "swag" for which they were sent abroad, and for the express purpose of getting their husbands assigned to them, and who afterwards continue in the enjoyment of that property unjustly obtained. This is an abuse, a patronage of robbery, and all the special assignments may be considered the same, and not an integral part of the system. Transportation includes, first, a voyage of 16,000 miles. I will leave out of the question the feelings occasioned by separation, though these may be looked upon as a part of the punishment, and would be severer to some than to others, still, even with the greatest rogues, who have the fewest feelings of regret at separation, it may be considered. In a general sense, the leaving one's country, friends, relations, acquaintances, coupled with the uncertainty of the future, may be considered no slight punishment in itself, and would not be felt so acutely under the proposed system, as a man would have a considerable period to prepare for it, and would have been removed for some time from the ties that he would ultimately lose for ever; consequently, the gradual approach and contemplation of transportation would deprive it of much of its terrors, and be less of a check than transportation at once. The voyage may properly be considered a part of the punishment, and no light one either; and though the average duration of a voyage is four months, yet these four months, in a convict ship, closely confined, strictly restrained, and on prison allowance, may be considered equal in severity to twelve months' ordinary imprisonment in a gaol in England; but it would be deprived of much of its severity in the proposed plan, and only put them in the position of free emigrants, with freedom and independence of motion equal to theirs. On the voyage with free emigrants they would not amalgamate, there would be jealousy, and a line of demarcation drawn between them, as Lord Brougham observed; and, were the vessel solely appropriated to their conveyance as to free emigrants, there would be one dread and one part of the punishment received or diminished, and nothing could prevent their being looked upon and treated on their arrival as what they would be—convicts, not exiles. If introduced with free labour, they would be neglected and passed over as I have before observed, and then would come all the evils of the old system, with that freedom from superintendence and control that convicts under the old system experienced. The new system is pregnant with evils, and injurious to the interests of the Colony, and can but little mitigate that demand for labour which at present so urgently exists. The first step, there-

fore, in the proposed plan, is to diminish the annoyances of a voyage. How this will operate in the prevention of crime time only can determine, but it does not seem likely to be so efficacious as the old plan. Until convicts were assigned in New South Wales, they were employed on Government and Colonial works, and the demand for them nearly corresponded to the number available, certainly in regard to male convicts. When these were assigned, there was always an understanding that they should be provided with a certain quantity of food and clothing, and there is no doubt that, with the stipulated allowance, many of them were better off than they had ever been before; but, in return, they had to give their bodily labour, and that from Monday morning to Saturday night, without more intermission than nature demanded, and this, too, with the certainty that all their labour was for the benefit of others. The daily labour was always of the duration that it was in England, and during the summer months its severity was increased by the heat of the climate, and with those agriculturally engaged, or upon public works, this was often felt severely until seasoned. To give the convict an interest in his master's service, it became a custom to give them a few articles of indulgence, in addition to those allowed by Government, such as tobacco, extra allowance of sugar, and wages sufficient to procure a few other trifling articles. With these exceptions, there was nothing before the convict but unre-mitted labour for the period awarded him, but subject, as now proposed, to have that period diminished according to a fixed rule relating to the original sentence. To those convicts who had not been brought up to manual, and even constant, labour, their destined occupation was felt acutely; nor can they alleviate this before a year or two has accustomed them to the labour required, which is enough, in all conscience, to answer the purpose of the original sentence. Those brought up to agricultural pursuits experienced considerably less the effects of this compulsory labour, and when only that which they had been accustomed to, was a punishment as easy as could be expected, but at all times, and to all these, there were restrictions in personal freedom that made life irksome.

It was remarked, on the nature of occupations, that the London thieves made the best shepherds, it was a mode of life congenial to their bodily strength, and may be considered a lazy life, having nothing to do but to walk after sheep, protect them, and see they do not go astray. This occupation also is carried on in distant and remote parts, is unvaried, and, it might be said, in solitude, and only interrupted by a weekly or monthly visit from the master, unless the station should be visited by the aboriginal natives—in that case he might chance to have a spear through his body. This is not so much to be dreaded now as formerly; but as the squatters push into the distant interior and occupy it as stations, it may be put down as one of the penalties attached to transportation. Leaving this probable occurrence out of consideration, a shepherd's life may to some temperaments be solitary enough to excite melancholy, nor are the means to relieve this by reading or any other agreeable occupation available, and, in truth, it would be inconsistent

with careful watching of the flock. There are always two at a station, one to look after the sheep whilst they perambulate during the day, the other remains at the hut to protect it and prepare their daily food, and clean or change the folds. If this solitary life were only for a month or two, it would be nothing, but when it is to be pursued for years instead of months, people can have very little idea of the occupation, if they do not consider it a sufficient penalty for a very serious offence. If a convict be retained for domestic purposes, he is certainly not exposed to the same hardships, but his is not an enviable life; it is, as Earl Grey observed, a life of slavery at the disposal of a master whose orders may be arbitrary and disposition so unkind as to excite mental misery; and from this there is no relief but what time and the expiration of the sentence will afford.

As far as punishment is concerned, I consider transportation effectual; and as for reformation, no system was, or ever can be, suggested, that will be attended with such good results. The assignment of convicts is in accordance with the benevolent feelings of the times, and any deviation from it can only be looked upon as an experiment which will place it in a better light. The foregoing remarks refer principally to transportation as a punishment, and its effects upon the convict; it will now be proper to consider the Colony, and examine if it be desirable to return to a system that was said to be abolished for ever. It may be reasonably supposed that I am favourable to the reassignment of convicts in Australia; I certainly do not see any formidable objections to it, but its advocacy depends upon considerations independent of it, and, as far as the Colonists are concerned, it is unnecessary to say that interest is the sole consideration that will influence the discussion. If it be supposed the Colonists advocate the assignment of convicts with a view of benefiting them, or receiving criminals from England, it will be a great error to fall into. They have as much dislike to rogues as those who send them; but when these can be made profitable, or the prosperity of the Colonists depends upon convict services, it may be worth while to waive a little feeling and take that which they do not like for want of something better. It is undeniable that New South Wales owes the existence of its present prosperity—unexampled prosperity in the annals of colonisation—to convict labour; it has been the means of calling into commercial existence an extensively peopled and flourishing continent, that two centuries of free labour would not have brought to the same position. The Colony deprived itself of that labour under the impression that it could do without it, and get an improved kind, an opinion that showed in itself a good state of feeling, and a desire for moral improvement; but if time has proved that to be fallacious upon which it depended, there is but little inconsistency in retracing its steps, and advocating that which had been abolished “for ever.” The Colonists believed that the Government land sales would be the means of procuring them a sufficient supply of labour; this, for a few years, supplied them with a superabundance, but the land sales have lately fallen off to such an extent, and there is so little probability of the times allowing their re-establishment

upon a sufficiently extensive scale, that it is a matter of absolute necessity to look in some other direction for a continuous supply of labour. The prosperous existence of the Colony depends upon it; deprive it of that and the land becomes valueless, and Australia is arrested in its commercial progress. It is now in a fair way to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown; to be of the utmost importance to England, territorially considered, but it must have labour! There are three methods of procuring it, by convict assignment, by the emigration of free men from Great Britain, and by the introduction of Coolies from some of the neighbouring countries. The first I have discussed; the second they find they have no means of procuring, or it is so long in being available that they have begun to despair; and the third method may be disposed of at once by the assertion that it is not adapted for that portion of the Australian continent called New South Wales. This is a matter of great congratulation to every well-wisher to the Colony and to the mother country.

Attempts have been made by those who entertain different views to excite an opinion favourable to Coolie emigration, but the general policy has been against it as impolitic and unnecessary. As it has been revived, however, for during my short residence in Hong Kong a commander of a vessel was instructed to make inquiries if Chinese Coolies could be had, these were responded to affirmatively, so that it is probable attempts will soon be made to take them to New South Wales; I affirm, without hesitation, that the introduction of Chinese Coolies into Australia would be one of the greatest calamities that could happen to it. From what I have seen of them in Hong Kong, I should have no hesitation whatever in giving the preference to British convicts. The Chinese generally, and the Coolies in particular, are rogues from their birth, liars by education, thieves from principle, hypocrites by choice, and murderers without compunction. They have no conception of God, and no belief in a hell, and their lives are spent in endeavouring to cheat each other when foreigners are beyond their reach. To rob a foreigner is meritorious, and to do this they stick at nothing. If even the Colonist should, from ignorance of them, advocate their introduction, they would rue the first importation, and England regret it on behalf of her emigrating population. I believe, in the end, the Colonists would be obliged to do as the Mauritians have done, send them away again branded as rogues, vagabonds, thieves, and liars. Coolie labourers, of any kind, I hope will not answer for the Colony; it is a pity that so fine a country as Australia should not be appropriated to the British people.

The convict system is preferable to the introduction of Coolies, therefore I will limit the present consideration of labour to free emigrants. That they could be obtained in sufficient numbers is certain, and very desirable it is on *their* account that the Colony should be supplied by them; but how are they to get them? In that lies the whole subject. Within the limits to which I must necessarily confine myself, it is impossible to discuss the question whether funds can be obtainable for emigrating purposes? It involves the price of land, and there is considerable difference of opinion as to what the minimum price of land should be,

the present opinion being, however, that it is too high, and that no large and sufficient revenue can be derived from land sales. My opinion coinciding has induced me to say more about convict assignment than I otherwise should, but whether any adequate funds can be obtained for emigration purposes from the licences for stations is a disputed point. The Colonists do not believe that, with all the revenue sources combined, funds could be obtained to introduce the required number, which has been estimated at 5,000 annually, all of whom would receive immediate employment. It is not considered fair that the Colonists should pay all the expenses, because with the labour introduced there is a large quantity that is not immediately available; there are many also introduced at their expense whose passage should have been paid wholly, or in part, by the emigrants themselves. As the country from which people emigrate is also benefited, it is only just that it should pay a portion of the expense which under the old bounty system fell upon the Colony, especially as among the poor class of emigrants it is the object of persons interested to smuggle into the batch of passengers a number who, from age and other causes, are not adapted for emigrating to a new Colony. All batches of emigrants contain a great proportion of children, who, until they become of age to be useful, involve an additional expense. Emigrants with families are the last chosen by the Colonists; they require an extra quantity of food; there is difficulty of getting them into the interior; they are not what they have immediately paid for, and the Colony will not be in a state for many years to come, to lie out of capital unprofitably incurred.

There are two periods in the life of man that are little available for profit to an employer, and these are the ones a country thickly populated is desirous to be rid of, but those who send them ought to pay their expenses of transit, and upon these terms the Colonists will gladly receive them. Persons, I have said, were introduced as bounty emigrants, who ought not to have been, though many may have required assistance, especially those with families. I consider the land fund to have been unjustly taxed by the introduction of many of these emigrants, and as yet the parties introduced have received an unfair portion of the benefit, a sufficient number not having been introduced or followed up to give the Colonists the benefit of competition. The class I allude to is composed of those engaged in the mechanical arts, persons who can earn £2 and upwards weekly, and who could well afford to make some payments from their wages in return for the benefits they and their families will receive. The old bounty system improved will answer well for the Colony, but that improvement must consist in making the bounty emigrants pay something towards the expenses incurred by them, and upon these terms I have no doubt a large number can be obtained. They would benefit themselves to an extent that never could be acquired in England, and only require the advantages of the Colony to be pointed out to them. The high rate of wages received by the labouring class would enable them to make repayment without depriving themselves of one single comfort; it would only be necessary to have the payments arranged according to their means, and the benefits they were receiving.

It has been a complaint that emigrant servants soon became masters, and then actually required that labour which they were introduced to to furnish. It says much for the Colony that such can so easily take place, but it is not desirable to render this transition so very speedy; it is right that those who paid for the emigrant's introduction should be remunerated, to a proportionate extent, by his labour; and this can be effected, and his transition delayed, by making him pay for that which has been incurred by himself.

How very hard to send a man out of the country and make him pay for it, too, some will say. Not at all. It is only dividing the pleasures and penalties between the interested parties, instead of allowing them to be unequal, and ten thousand times better this would be to the immigrant than the American emigration now extensively carried on. I think that thousands of emigrants could be obtained upon such a condition; I am sure if they knew what the Colony was there could be little hesitation. It might be left to a local board to arrange repayments, subject to such information obtained from home as would be forwarded, but again modified in the Colony by their behaviour in the positions in which they would be placed, thereby giving them an additional inducement to conduct themselves honestly and industriously.

The late distressing accounts of want, misery, and starvation, induce me to mention the immense quantity of animal food to be obtained in the Colony, and the thousands of carcasses of animals that are wasted in the process of boiling them down for the sake of their fat. They may be called wasted, because after their fat is extracted they are thrown out either for the feeding of pigs or to waste by decomposition. The superabundance of animal food, and annually increasing, is estimated at twenty times the amount required, and this without trenching upon either flocks or herds, such is the annual increase of them. It becomes necessary to boil down a certain quantity of cattle annually to limit their numbers, when they render the available exports of tallow, hides, horns, and sheepskins; but there is a large portion of both sheep and cattle that yield very little fat, consequently, were there a population these parts could be available for subsistence, while the remainder could be devoted to its destined purpose. The best part of the sheep, both in regard to quantity and quality, may be considered the legs, and these are the parts from which the least fat is procured, consequently, they are always available at a cheap rate; and it must be a matter of regret to any one who reads this to know that pigs are fed upon excellent legs of mutton in a country crying aloud for human beings to come and eat them, and yet those persons wanted are actually dying of starvation in the mother country. Nothing gave me so much regret when visiting these tallow establishments as to see such a quantity of animal food thrown out, knowing the thousands of human beings who would have been rejoiced to pick up the crumbs from the rich man's table.

Persons would believe that this animal food must be of an inferior kind—it is exactly the reverse; a bad animal will not pay the boiling down. The better the animal the greater the product of fat, consequently, the lean part must be good. It truly makes one's heart ache

to contemplate the wants of the two countries, and to know that one, by benefiting itself, could confer relief upon the other; that meat is actually so abundant as to be devoted to purposes one can scarcely contemplate with satisfaction.

In spite of what I have said about convict assignment, I must again say that New South Wales is too good and fine a country to be devoted to convict purposes; but what can we do? The cattle will actually require to be boiled down for want of people to look after their astonishing annual increase. Nothing but necessity can induce the Colonists to advocate the return to convict labour; they would rather lose even part of their Colonial advantages to do without, but it is too much to expect they will lose all without an effort, even in the wrong direction. There can be no desire to have them poured into the Colony as into Van Diemen's Land, converting that island, as it did, into one vast gaol, and giving them the preponderance over the free people in point of numbers. Such would be destruction, indeed. It may be questioned whether the public works of New South Wales will not require convict labour for years to come; without it, I know not in what other manner they are to be conducted. It will be almost impossible to find funds for private wants and public ones as well, the latter comprising the making of roads and bridges—a labour which free emigrants are always averse to, but which is appropriate to criminals of a hardened character. I think it may be considered the almost unanimous opinion of the Colonists that penal labour should be continued upon the public works, the advantage of which would return to the Government by rendering land accessible to persons desirous to purchase. To say that roads and bridges are in a dangerous state in New South Wales, is a feeble description of them, and they will continue such unless Government gives aid, by lending convicts to certain districts to make and repair them.

Earl Grey thinks that the exhibition of penal labour is objectionable, and is desirous of preventing it in the Australian Colonies—a sentiment good in itself; but from the Colonists having been long accustomed to it, and considering that the criminals have merited it, and that they are conferring benefit by their labour, it is of less weight in New South Wales than in any other part of the world, and what they are willing to be subject to in consideration of having good roads to ride upon, good bridges to pass over, and perhaps good buildings to look at. The exhibition of penal labour is seen at Hong Kong and Singapore, but it excites scarcely a passing remark. This limited system of penal labour would not interfere with the desire to give the utmost limit to constitutional institutions which the Colonists fully estimate, but which Earl Grey thinks incompatible with each other. The same incompatibility would exist with convict exiles in the Colony. New South Wales has a demand for convict labour to the amount of 500 annually introduced, or 1,000 the first year, and this number may be found employment for the next twenty years to come, for these the Colony will be thankful and glad to maintain them; or perhaps with land so high as 20s., the minimum price per acre, these expenses could be paid out of the land fund, it being a part

of the consideration, in purchasing land, that the seller should provide the purchaser with a proper and substantial road to that which is sold, the purchaser's duty of keeping it in repair commencing where the seller's leaves off. Five thousand individuals are annually required, comprising both sexes—a larger number of females the first year than subsequent ones, on account of the present disparity of sexes. The females may be considered as one-third of the number for the first year or two, but subsequently a greater disproportion may be chosen, but this is of no material consequence. Both sexes are wanted in great numbers; females can get good wages, and when they are tired of these they can get husbands who earn enough to maintain them comfortably. Five thousand persons at the present time could be engaged in less than one month; the passage-money for them would take £16 per individual. Now, as this would amount to £80,000, which must be subtracted from the circulating medium of the Colony, there is no probability of their being able to pay for what they annually want for the next few years. About half might be annually raised by a combination of methods, without being disastrously felt; but I would never lose sight of the principle of making emigrants pay a portion of that amount. Looking at the amount of exports and Colonial revenues, it may seem easy to raise £80,000 annually and appropriate it to emigration purposes, and, if this sum were thrown back upon the Colony, instead of being removed from it, it could be raised; but as the greater part would be lost to the Colony, and much of it wanted to give employment to those introduced, £40,000 may be put down as the amount that could conveniently be spared for the purpose. This must be raised, too, from those who require their services, unless the local Legislature advocate its general appropriation to emigration, and give all an equal share in the benefits arising from it. Whatever difficulties may attend any system, something must be done.

The wages of a woman servant ranges from £15 to £20 per annum; those of a man from £20 to £30. I have heard, latterly, of higher wages than £30 being given, but this is robbing capital of its just profits; yet such has been the scarcity of labour that even at this rate it was obliged to be employed, and then it was doubtful whether the man or the master conferred the favour upon the other. It shows that, with such wages (and they are always likely to be high in the Colony), the emigrants are able to pay something towards the expense of their passage; it shows, also, a necessity for caution in extra Colonial expenditure when so large a sum may be required in the Colony to pay the wages of those introduced. It may be said that a large portion of these wages also slips out of the Colony by the purchase of English manufactures, therefore the number of emigrants required implies a drain upon Colonial resources the Colony is not strong enough to support. It is to be wished that the British Government would afford some assistance—a return would be made indirectly by the revenue that would flow into the Colonial treasury, sufficient, in a few years, to compensate for a temporary inconvenience. It would be directly benefited by causing a demand for the land it had to sell, and without the introduction of emigrants it

is worthless and can never be sold. It is to be regretted that the principal stream of emigration is now turned towards the United States—a country that does not belong to us; whose climate is inferior to Australia; whose advantages are not so great to emigrants; where food, with its low prices, is not so cheap and abundant as in Australia; and where the emigrants themselves, or their descendants, may be used against British power. Much might be urged on the necessity of promoting British feeling in the distant territory of New South Wales—a territory which is now British throughout its whole extent, and whose inhabitants retain all the habits and customs of the country from whence they came; and good substantial reasons can be shown why the British Government should foster them for its own sake. It must suffice to observe, that the introduction of British emigrants is all that is required; the Colonists, in return, would show loyalty and humanity, while those introduced would be infinitely better circumstanced than by emigrating to America. All parties would be benefited.

There is no doubt that want of the necessary funds prevents poor emigrants from choosing Australia, and from their not being assisted in their choice, it is to be presumed that no Colonial funds are available for emigration, and no disposition is manifested to supply them from any other source. Intelligent persons have advocated the propriety of a Government loan for emigration purposes, but Colonial feeling has been against it, from a dislike to burthen the Colony with a debt. There has been a hope also that time would bring round a prosperous state of things, and enable it to do without attaching an incumbrance to its rising prosperity. If there were a probability that land sales would take place to any extent there could be no objection to mortgage that particular fund, but little dependence can be placed upon that prospect. It would be desirable to render the purchase of land easier than at present, by keeping blocks surveyed and divided into small farms, and which could be obtained by parties without the necessity of travelling to Sydney, waiting at auctions, and going through other expensive and troublesome forms. It would cause much land to be sold at 20s. per acre, and people of small capital would turn their attention to its cultivation—a consummation devoutly to be wished. With millions of acres of Government land to be sold, yet no easy means are presented by which some can be obtained, and a small settler's dependence for acquiring land is upon the large landowner. The facility of acquiring land in New South Wales would induce persons of small capital to emigrate from Great Britain, but at present they would find themselves in difficulties and troubles that no authorised person would assist them out of. All this could be remedied by an office, two or three surveyors, and a few agents both at home and in the Colony. Labour might be introduced to a moderate extent by giving purchasers the privilege of taking out emigrants gratuitously, in proportion to the land purchased. This was the case in the colonisation of South Australia, perhaps is so now, and if acted upon for New South Wales would cause much land to be sold, and give the purchasers a certain knowledge that they could make their land available; but, with the present scarcity of labour, the purchase of land would be a waste of money. It would not

be difficult to find means that would render convict assignment unnecessary, but it would require time and some money to bring them into activity; but the end would be that emigration should pay for itself. Without, or until, this takes place, Government may step in and give assistance from other funds than those arising from land sales, and squatting licences, and time would return an ample remuneration. I imagine that immigration could be paid for in full by the land fund, the licences on stock and stations, and the emigrants themselves; and, by these three methods combined, without going through the formality of a loan. The Colonists are in that state that they want Government to put emigration afloat again; to find immediate funds, which may be limited to £150,000, a small sum in comparison with the objects to be obtained, and that not required at once; and bad indeed must the Colonial revenues be if this could not be returned in two or three years. It would only be taking the money out of one Government pocket to put it into the other. A company might make a very profitable investment of capital by an advance, which may be either profitably invested in the Colony, and return profits that England cannot yield, or returned at stated periods with good interest; but it would be preferable that Government should take the matter in its own hands: it should be a national concern, a means of relief to a poor and largely-increasing and starving population, and Providence would bless the endeavour.

There is another mode by which emigrants of the male sex could be got into the Colony, it may be objectionable to Government as interfering with constitutional privileges, and yet something similar takes place in sending Chelsea pensioners to New Zealand. It is by introducing emigrants into the Colony as soldiers, with the privileges of working or buying themselves out of the service, the period and sum to be fixed such as will answer both Government and Colonial purposes; this would give to the Colony a body of men that may be useful in case of a disturbance between England and any other power. Australia, from its increasing importance would probably be a point at which injury to Great Britain would be attempted. It may be considered strictly an Australian corps, and could, like the St. Helena regiment, be kept as an efficient force by not allowing more than a certain number annually to become citizens, which loss would be supplied by fresh importations of soldiers. I consider it might be made a very desirable service, a tempting one for a respectable class of young men, good for Colonial purposes, and beneficial on national considerations. It would be the means of distributing over the Colony a class of men admirably adapted for it, and their preparatory habits and discipline would be such as to make them desirable and excellent Colonists. The period of service would not be so long as to unfit them for any other, nor would they be too old, like the Chelsea pensioners, to be adapted to Colonial wants. The expense would not be more than is incurred at present by keeping a regiment in New South Wales, while the expense of the voyage could be paid by those who availed themselves of the privilege of buying themselves out, the sum not being more than would defray such. Such a corps, or militia, as it may be termed, might be even less expensive than a regular regiment of the line, and equally effectual for warlike pur-

poses. Instead of a present average military force of 1,500 men, the same expense would allow 3,000 to be kept in the Colony, because their transit would be repaid; and if 1,000 annually were allowed to secede by purchase or rotation, but still with annual payments to liquidate the passage-money, I think it would be a popular service. It is worth consideration. It may be expected that at some future period an Australian militia will be necessary; with Chinese Coolies it would be required at once, for they would have to be watched like convicts, and controlled by intimidation; it may be wise therefore to commence a militia by immigrants that will be serviceable to the Colony and able to protect it. Nor would it interfere with any other system of emigration.

For the preceding remarks and suggestions I am alone responsible. I have made them with a view to benefit New South Wales, having had opportunities of observing for some years, its wants and capabilities. It is a fine country, has a beautiful climate, and is admirably adapted for British settlers, and for relieving Great Britain of a portion of its large population. It is a country where my poor countrymen may enjoy all the necessaries of life, and where the rich man may find profitable investment for his capital, and I hope it will have that public attention it merits.

Since writing the preceding remarks, I have had an opportunity of reading the report of the Emigration Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales—a report so teeming with objections and conditions that it is impossible to glean from it more than this, a recommendation to the Government to *combine* the transportation system with the introduction of free emigrants. A more indecisive report never issued from the Council chamber of a Legislative Assembly, it bears upon its face the strong presumption that its composers would gladly avail themselves of convict labour altogether, but being too bold a decision to arrive at, and inconsistent with the moral opinions of the Colonists, it contents itself with these half-and-half measures I have before alluded to. The report will have a bad effect upon the minds of persons purposing to emigrate as free agents. I will take the second condition to show its objectionable nature:—"That the transportation of male convicts be accompanied, as a simultaneous measure, with the importation of an equal number of females, to consist of female convicts as far as they exist, and *the balance to be made up of female emigrants.*" Now, I unhesitatingly assert that a more pernicious and injurious paragraph never issued from the pen of an enemy to New South Wales, and it will do more to create disgust in the minds of that class they are desirous to obtain than any assertion that ever was made. A fine temptation it holds out to young women desirous of emigrating, a vast improvement to their condition it presents, and enough in the mind of any contemplative person to damn any proceeding that may be attempted for the introduction of free labour. If such a report were to be circulated among the desired class, it would make them blush for shame, and if attempted to be acted upon would excite universal disgust. This is one of the terms upon which the Council "are willing to submit to a renewal of transportation." I regret that such a paragraph should ever have been

penned; every well-wisher to the Colony must wish it buried in oblivion. The third condition says—"That, as a further simultaneous measure, such transportation should be accompanied with an equal importation of free emigrants, as nearly as possible in equal proportion as to sexes." I have before alluded to the bad working of this combined system; it can never be acted upon with advantage to the Colony, and the effect of such a condition, if promulgated with a view to promote emigration, would be fatal to it. The fifth condition says—"That no fewer than 5,000 male convicts be annually deported into the Colony," a number in itself sufficient to prevent free emigration to it. It implies such competition of labour, that no free emigrant but a fool or a rogue would avail himself of such a Colony. In a subsequent part of the report there is a supposition, "that if one thousand convict women were transported, there would be required at the same time 4,000 free females." Monstrous! Upon such terms, and *such a report*, farewell to emigration! There is one thing among others that the report will be celebrated for; it will please two parties—those who are for returning to transportation labour, and those who are for introducing free labour, as it recommends both; but how that recommendation can be reconciled to common sense or the interests of the Colony, I will not determine. Some of the gentlemen examined by the Select Committee, upon which the report is founded, unqualifiedly recommended the return to transportation; but that the convicts should be at once introduced into the interior to supply those requiring labour—that is, the large stockholders—while the inhabitants of towns are left to get labour in the best way they can. It is not my intention to criticise the report fully—the less that is said about it the better; nor should I have made allusion to such a production, had I not the intention of endeavouring to promote free emigration by writing and lectures, but I am sorry to say that the document which should be in furtherance of my object will afford me no assistance. It is a fortunate thing for a Colony when it can speak more forcibly for itself than some of its official acts!

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT P. WELCH, M.R.C.S., &c.

REPORT ON THE FOREST TREES OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

BY M. H. PERLEY, ESQ., GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION AGENT.

(Continued from page 155.)

2. *Red Beech*—*Fagus Ferruginea*.

Description.—This species of beech is almost exclusively confined to the north-eastern parts of the United States, and the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. In some parts of New Brunswick, and generally in Prince Edward Island,

and is sure to be rendered inaccessible to worms, to which, in general, beech is very subject.

Sheep and goats eat the leaves of the beech. When gathered in autumn, before they are much injured by frost, the leaves, on account of their elastic quality, make better *paillasses* than either straw or chaff, and they last seven or eight years.

The nuts of the red beech are produced every second year. They are of a triangular form, with a smooth tough skin, and a fine interior pellicle adhering to the kernel. They are united in pairs, in capsules garnished with points, from which they escape about the first of October, the season of their maturity. In France and Germany an oil is extracted from the beech-nut, next in fineness to that of the olive, and which may be preserved longer than any other oil. But they seem to yield little oil in northern countries; Linnæus says that, in Sweden, very little oil can be expressed from them, and the attempt has not yet been made in New Brunswick. Hogs fatten rapidly on beech-nuts, but the pork is not esteemed; bears, partridges, squirrels, and mice, feed on them largely.

In Belgium very solid and elegant hedges are made with young beeches, placed seven or eight inches apart, and bent in opposite directions, so as to cross each other and form a trellis, with apertures five or six inches in diameter. During the first year they are bound with osier at the points of intersection, where they finally become grafted and grow together. As the beech does not suffer in pruning, and sprouts less luxuriantly than most other trees, it is perfectly adapted to this object.

In New Brunswick such hedges would be of great utility, and the attempt to form them is worthy of being made. The beech is reared without difficulty from the seed. The nuts may be sown at any time after October, but the most eligible season is about a fortnight after they fall from the tree; the ground should first be ploughed and harrowed.

It is commonly believed that a great length of time is necessary for the growth of a good hedge. The red beech grows rapidly, and, if the soil is in good order, a handsome and sufficient hedge may be produced in five or six years. When fully grown, hedges are indisputably the finest enclosures in the world for the country. The wall of masonry, the iron palings, or the wooden fence, may be well suited in crowded towns, or their vicinity; but, for harmony of colour, freshness of foliage, and, in short, all that is desirable, the verdant hedge is without an equal.

GENUS CARPINUS.

Of the genus *Carpinus* two species are found in New Brunswick, which are commonly known by the names of hornbeam and iron wood. The wood of each is exceedingly hard and tough, and capable of bearing great weight; but as they are trees of the third order only, their small size prevents their being so generally useful as they would be if of larger dimensions.

1. *American Hornbeam*—*Carpinus Americana*.

Description.—In New Brunswick the hornbeam is repressed by the

severity of the climate, and is less multiplied and of smaller dimensions than in a more southern latitude. Its ordinary stature is from twelve to fifteen feet, but it sometimes reaches twenty-five or thirty feet in height, and six inches in diameter; but as not more than one stick in a hundred attains these dimensions, it must be considered rather as a large shrub than a tree. It prospers in almost every soil, except in places that are too long inundated, or which are absolutely sterile.

The trunk of the American hornbeam, like that of the analogous species in Europe, is obliquely and irregularly fluted, frequently through all its length. By its form, and by the appearance of its bark, which is smooth and spotted with white, it is easily distinguished when the leaves are fallen. It sheds its leaves in Autumn, about the same time with the elm. During the time of its verdure it makes a good appearance, being well clothed with leaves, which are oval, pointed, finely denticulated, and of a deep, strong, green colour. Cattle eat the leaves, but no pasture grows under its shade; it is easily transplanted, and bears lopping. The fructification is always abundant, and the aments remain attached to the tree long after the foliage is shed.

Properties and Uses.—The wood, like that of the European hornbeam, is white, and exceedingly compact and fine-grained. It is in great request among farmers for axe handles, and for agricultural implements, or for such parts of them as require great strength. Cogs for mill-wheels are made of the wood, and are accounted superior to those made of the wood of the sugar maple, which is generally used for that purpose.

In Scandinavia, the inner bark of the hornbeam is used to dye yellow; and the Indians of America use it occasionally for a similar purpose.

2. Iron Wood—*Carpinus Ostrya*.

Description.—Though the iron wood is multiplied in the forests of New Brunswick, it nowhere forms masses even of inconsiderable extent, but is loosely disseminated, and found only in cool, fertile, and shaded situations. It rarely reaches thirty-five feet in height, and twelve inches in diameter; and commonly does not exceed half these dimensions.

In the winter, this tree is recognised by a smooth grayish bark, finely divided, and detached in strips not more than a line in breadth. The leaves are alternate, oval-acuminate, and finely and unequally denticulated. The fertile and barren flowers are borne at the extremity of different branches of the same tree, and the fruit is in clusters like hops, whence the specific name *ostrya*. The small, hard, triangular seed, is contained in a species of reddish, oval, inflated bladder, covered at maturity with a fine down, which causes a violent irritation of the skin if carelessly handled.

The concentric circles of the wood are closely compressed, and their number, in a trunk of only four or five inches in diameter, evinces the length of time necessary to acquire this inconsiderable size. The Canadian French call iron wood, *bois dur*, hard wood.

Properties and Uses.—The wood of this tree is perfectly white, compact, fine grained, and heavy. To its inferior dimensions must be

ascribed the limited use of a tree, the superior properties of whose wood are attested by its name. It is exceedingly valuable for all purposes to which its small size will permit it to be applied.

Near New York brooms and scrubbing-brushes are made of iron wood, by shredding the end of a stick of suitable dimensions.

ASH.

The ash is a very rapid growing tree, and its wood differs more from difference of soil and situation, than that of any other tree. Although only two distinct species have been recognised as existing in New Brunswick, yet there are several varieties of each, in different parts of the Province, each bearing a local name. These varieties, on close examination, will be found referable to one of the two species hereafter described, white ash and black ash.

The wood of ash soon rots when exposed either to damp or alternate dryness and moisture, but is tolerably durable in a dry situation. It is said that the best season for felling ash is from November to February; and that when felled in full sap, it is very subject to the worm. In such case, the wood is said to be much benefited by water seasoning. It is very much esteemed for its toughness and elasticity; and in consequence of these properties, it is useful whenever sudden shocks are to be sustained, as in various parts of machines, wheel-carriages, implements of husbandry, ship-blocks, tools, and the like. It has been found as useful in the arts of war as in those of peace, in ancient as well as in modern times:—

“From Pelion’s cloudy top, an ash entire
Old Chiron fell’d and shap’d it for his sire.”—*Pope’s Homer.*

The wood is too flexible for the timber of buildings, and not sufficiently durable. Its texture is alternately compact and porous, the compact side of the annual ring being the lighter coloured, which renders the annual rings very distinct.

The drip of the ash is said to be very unfavourable to all other vegetable productions. It exhausts the soil very much; the roots spread widely near the surface.

1. *White Ash—Fraxinus Americana.*

Description.—The white ash is an interesting tree from the qualities of its wood, the rapidity of its growth, and the beauty of its foliage. It abounds in New Brunswick; a cold climate seems most congenial to its nature.

The bark is of a white colour; on large stocks the bark is deeply furrowed, and divided into small squares, one to three inches in diameter.

The most favourable situations for white ash are the banks of rivers, and the edges and surrounding acclivities of swamps, where the soil is deep and fertile. In such situations, it sometimes attains the height of fifty or sixty feet, with a diameter of eighteen inches or more. The trunk is perfectly straight, and often undivided to the height of more than thirty feet.

The leaves of the white ash are opposite, and composed of three or

four pairs of leaflets, surmounted by an odd one. The leaflets, which are borne by short footstalks, are three or four inches long, about two inches broad, oval, pointed, rarely denticulated, of a delicate texture, and an undulated surface. Early in the spring they are covered with a light down of a pale green colour above and whitish beneath. As the contrast of colour between the surfaces is remarkable, and is peculiar to the species, Dr. Mechlenberg has denominated it *Fraxinus discolor*.

The shoots of the two preceding years are of a bluish-gray colour, and perfectly smooth; the distance between their buds sufficiently proves the vigour of their growth.

White ash is almost always accompanied by white elm, yellow birch, white maple, and hemlock and black spruce.

Properties and Uses.—The wood of the white ash, in young, thrifty trees, is very white, from the bark to the centre; but in large, old trees, the heart-wood is of a reddish tinge, and the sap-wood white. The weight of a cubic foot of this wood, when dry, varies from thirty-four to fifty-two pounds; when the weight of a cubic foot is lower than forty-five pounds, the wood is that of an old tree, and will be found deficient both in strength and toughness.

Representing the strength of oak by	100,	that of ash is	119.
“ stiffness of oak by	100,	“	89.
“ toughness of oak by	100,	“	160.

The ash, therefore, exceeds both in strength and toughness, and in young wood the difference is still more considerable.

The wood of the white ash is highly esteemed in New Brunswick for its strength, suppleness, and elasticity. It is superior to every other wood for oars, and second only to hickory for handspikes. Besides its use by carriage and sleigh-makers, it is in very general use for agricultural implements and domestic wares, especially for the handles of spades, hoes, shovels, forks, rakes, and scythes. Ash staves are among the exports from New Brunswick, and the wood of the white ash is acknowledged to be in many respects superior to the European ash, (*Fraxinus excelsior*.)

In Europe, ash bark is used to tan calf-skins, and the experiment would be worth making in this Province with the bark of the white ash. Cattle eat the leaves of ash greedily, but they are said to give a bad flavour to the butter.

2. Black Ash—*Fraxinus Sambucifolia*.

Description.—This ash is generally known in New Brunswick by the name of “swamp ash;” in the United States it is called “water ash.” It requires a moist soil, exposed to longer inundations than the white ash, and is usually accompanied by the red-flowering maple, yellow birch, black spruce, and white cedar. It does not often exceed forty feet in height, or twelve inches in diameter.

The buds of the black ash are of a deep blue, and the young shoots of a bright green, sprinkled with dots of the same colour, which disappear as the season advances. The leaflets are of a deep green colour, smooth

on the upper surface, and coated with red down upon the main ribs beneath; when bruised they emit an odour like that of elder leaves.

The black ash is easily distinguished from the white ash by its bark, which is of a duller hue, less deeply furrowed, and has the layers of the epidermis applied in broad sheets. It is among the last trees which put forth in spring, and the earliest that lose their leaves in autumn. The very first frost that comes, not only causes its leaves to fade and become yellow like those of other trees, but blackens and shrivels them up, so that they fall in showers with the least breath of wind.

Properties and Uses.—The perfect wood of the black ash is of a brown complexion and fine texture; it is more elastic than that of the white ash, but is neither so strong nor so durable. It is a wood, therefore, not greatly in request. As it may be separated into thin, narrow strips, it is much used by the Indians for the manufacture of baskets. In the country these strips are also used for chair-bottoms.

The black ash is liable to be disfigured with knobs, which are sometimes of considerable size, and are detached from the body of the tree to make bowls and ornamental articles of turnery. The wood of these excrescences has the advantage of superior solidity, and, when carefully polished, exhibits singular undulations of the fibre. Dishes made of these knobs, may be seen in most of the Indian wigwams (especially in remote situations), which have been used for a great number of years, and are highly prized.

The ashes of the wood of the black ash are said to be rich in alkali.

WILLOW.

Many species of willow are found in the Colonies, the greater part of which are susceptible of no useful employment. The three species here mentioned are distinguished only by their superior height, but they are all greatly inferior to European willow, in the size and properties of their wood.

1. *Black Willow*—*Salix Nigra*.
2. *Champlain Willow*—*Salix Ligustrina*.
3. *Shining Willow*—*Salix Lucida*.

Description.—The first of these three species (*Salix nigra*) is the most common of the American willows, and the most analogous to that of Europe. It rarely attains a greater height than thirty or thirty-five feet, and a diameter of twelve or fifteen inches. It divides at a small height into several divergent, but not pendant limbs, and forms a spacious summit. The leaves are long, narrow, finely denticulated, of a light green, and destitute of stipulæ. In the uniformity of its colouring, the foliage differs from that of the European willow, the lower surface of which is whitish. Upon the trunk the bark is grayish, and finely chapt. Upon the roots, it is of a dark brown, whence may have been derived the specific name of the tree.

The champlain willow (*Salix ligustrina*) is about twenty-five feet high, and seven or eight inches in diameter. Its first aspect resembles

that of the black willow, but its leaves are longer, and accompanied at the base by stipulæ,

The shining willow (*Salix lucida*) is best known in New Brunswick by the name of "red willow," from the brilliant red colour of the bark on the young shoots. It is found in moist but open grounds, and is more common on the edges of meadows and on the banks of streams than in the interior of the forests. The shining willow attains the height of eighteen or twenty feet, but its ordinary elevation is nine or ten feet.

Properties and Uses.—The wood of the black willow, and of the champlain willow, is white and soft, and the branches of each species are easily broken from the tree. Neither the wood nor the twigs are applied to any useful purpose.

The long slender branches of the shining or red willow are sometimes used for baskets, for which, however, they are rather brittle, and are therefore of little value. The Milicete Indians scrape the bark from the young twigs, and when dry mix it with their tobacco for smoking; they are very partial to the admixture, the odour of which is much more agreeable than that of pure tobacco.

The roots of the black willow afford an intensely bitter decoction, which is considered in the country as a purifier of the blood, and as a preventative, and a remedy for intermittent fever.

ELM.

There are two well-defined species of elm in New Brunswick, known as the white elm and red elm. A third species is supposed to exist, but it is not yet fully determined whether it is merely a variety of the white elm, or a distinct species. Every variety of elm is beautiful, and well adapted to make shady walks, as it does not destroy the grass; and its leaves are acceptable to cows, horses, goats, sheep, and swine. Silkworms are said to devour the tender leaves of elm with great avidity. Many insects feed upon the leaves, particularly the *Cicada ulmi* and *Aphis ulmi*; the latter generally curl the leaves, so as to make them a secure shelter against the weather.

The bark of elm, dried and ground to powder, has been mixed with meal in Norway to make bread in times of scarcity. The flowers have a violet smell.

1. *White Elm*—*Ulmus Americana*.

The white elm is found over an extensive tract of the North American Continent, but it appears to be the most multiplied and to attain the loftiest height between the 42nd and 47th degrees of north latitude. It delights in low, humid, substantial soils, such as are called, in New Brunswick, "intervale lands," along the banks of rivers or streams, or on the borders of swamps where the soil is deep and fertile. It will grow, however, on any soil that is not too dry and barren, and in any situation within its natural limits, how much soever exposed.

In New Brunswick the white elm stretches to a great height. In clearing the primitive forests a few stocks are sometimes left standing;

and insulated in this manner, the tree appears in all its majesty, towering to the height of eighty or one hundred feet, with a trunk three or even four feet in diameter, regularly shaped, naked, and insensibly diminishing to the height of sixty or seventy feet, where it divides itself into two or three primary limbs. These limbs, not widely divergent near the base, approach and cross each other eight or ten feet higher, and diffuse on all sides, long, flexible, pendulous branches, bending into regular arches, and floating lightly in the air, giving to the tree a broad and somewhat flat-topped summit, of regular proportions and admirable beauty. When growing thus insulated, this tree is often marked by two or more small branches four or five feet in length, proceeding from near the first ramification, and descending along the trunk; and the larger branches or limbs, as also the trunk, are sometimes covered with little ragged twigs as if clothed with tufts of hair. The bark of the white elm is light-coloured, tender, and very deeply furrowed. The leaves are four or five inches long, borne by short footstalks, alternate, unequal at the base, oval, pointed, and doubly denticulated. They are generally smaller than those of the red elm, of a thinner texture, and a smoother surface, with more regular and prominent ribs. This species differs, also, essentially from the red elm and European elm in its flowers and seeds. The flowers appear before the leaves, and are very small, of a purple colour, supported by short, slender footstalks, and united in bunches at the extremity of the branches. In 1846, the white elm was noticed in flower, at Hampton Ferry, so early as the 20th of April; there was then no appearance of leaves.

In autumn the bright golden foliage of the elm kindly mixes with the various hues of the poplar and the maples, which display all shades of red, and from the deepest crimson to the brightest orange. Its tint then contrasts agreeably with the pale-yellow, sober foliage of the birch and the beech, with the different shades of brown on the bass wood and the ash, or with the buff-yellow of the larch. At that season, even the gloomy blackness of the resiniferous trees, by throwing forward the gayer tints, is not without its effect.

Properties and Uses.—The quality of the wood of the elm depends, in a singular degree, on the situation in which it grows. The rich “*intervalles*” already mentioned are necessary to its perfection; but when grown in open situations, where it is vexed by the winds and exposed to all the influences of the seasons, it is still firmer and more solid. The wood has less strength than the oak, and less elasticity than the ash, but it is tougher and less liable to split. It is said to bear the driving of bolts and nails better than any other timber. The wood is of a light brown colour, and is liable to decay when exposed to the alternations of dryness and moisture. It must be either wet or dry, in extreme; accordingly, it is proper for water-works, mills, pumps, aqueducts, and ship planks beneath the water-line. It makes excellent piles and planking for wet foundations. The piles on which London-bridge stands are chiefly of elm, and have remained six centuries without material decay; and several other instances of its durability in water have been noticed.

When perfectly dry, the wood of the white elm weighs only thirty-

three pounds the cubic foot. If cut transversely, or obliquely to the longitudinal fibres, it exhibits numerous and fine undulations, which are very beautiful when polished. The wood is an excellent combustible, and its ashes yield a large proportion of alkali.

The bark of the white elm is said to be easily detached during eight months of the year; soaked in water, and supplied by pounding, it is sometimes used for making ropes and for the bottoms of chairs.

In France the wood of elm is usually employed for mounting artillery, and for this purpose it is selected with the greatest care. The trees are cut to the proper dimensions, and the pieces are stored under shelter to dry during six or seven years; the precaution is even observed of turning them every six months, that the seasoning may proceed more uniformly. When fully seasoned, the wood is highly esteemed for the carriages of cannon and for the gunwales and blocks of ships.

2. Red Elm—*Ulmus Rubra*.

Description.—This species of elm bears the names of red elm, slippery elm, and moose elm, but the first is most common. The Canadian French call it *orme gras*.

The red elm is less multiplied than the white, and the two species are rarely found together, as the red elm requires a substantial soil free from moisture, and even delights in elevated and open situations, such as the steep banks of rivers. This tree is fifty or sixty feet high, and fifteen or twenty inches in diameter. In the winter it is distinguished from the white elm by its buds, which are larger and rounder, and which, a fortnight before their development, are covered with a russet down. The flowers are aggregated at the extremity of the young shoots. The scales which surround the bunches of flowers are downy like the buds. The leaves are oval, pointed, doubly denticulated, and larger, thicker, and rougher than those of the white elm. The bark upon the trunk is of a brown colour.

Properties and Uses.—The heart-wood of the red elm is less compact than that of the white elm, coarse grained, and of a dull red tinge. It has been remarked, that the wood, even in branches of one or two inches in diameter, consists principally of perfect wood. It is said to be stronger, more durable when exposed to the weather, and of a better quality than the wood of the white elm, although coarser in the grain. In the United States it is accounted the best wood for blocks, and its scarcity is the only cause of its limited consumption.

AMERICAN LIME, OR BASS WOOD—*TILIA*.

Although several species of the lime tree are found in North America, yet but one species flourishes in New Brunswick, which is usually called bass wood. It is generally found associated with sugar maple and white elm.

Bass Wood—Tilia Americana.

Description.—The presence of the lime tree indicates a loose, deep, and fertile soil. It is sometimes more than eighty feet high, and four

feet in diameter; and its straight uniform trunk, crowned with an ample and tufted summit, forms a beautiful tree. The leaves are alternate, large, nearly round, finely denticulated, heart-shaped at the base, and abruptly terminated in a point at the summit. The trunk is covered with a very thick bark; the inner bark, separated from the outer, and macerated in water, is formed into ropes, and also the broad plaited bands used by the Indians for carrying their burthens. They formerly made their fishing-lines and nets of this bark. The name bass wood is supposed to be a corruption from *bast*, which is applied to the European lime tree by the rustics of Lincolnshire, because ropes were made from the bark.

The twigs and buds of the bass-wood tree are very glutinous when chewed, and afford considerable nutriment. In severe winters, when fodder is scarce, the farmers in Maine and Vermont, and sometimes in New Brunswick, drive their cattle into the woods of a morning and fell a bass wood or other tree, on which they eagerly browse during the day. In winter this tree is easily recognised by the robust appearance of the trunk and branches, and by the dark brown of the colour on the shoots.

In newly cleared lands the stumps of the bass wood are distinguished by the numerous sprouts which cover them, whose growth can only be prevented by stripping off the bark, or by fire. The stumps of other large trees, the elm, sugar maple, and ash, left at the same height of three feet, do not produce shoots.

Properties and Uses.—The wood of the American lime tree when dry weighs thirty-five pounds to a cubic foot. It is very white when green, but becomes of a light brown hue when seasoned. It is soft, easily worked, and is used for the panels of carriage bodies, seats of chairs, and the fans of fanning-mills. The wood is useless as fuel, being too full of sap when green, and of but little value when dry.

(To be continued.)

FREE INSTITUTIONS IN AUSTRALIA.

OUR ministry of the Colonies appear at length to have taken up in good heart the question of representative government in Australia. Early in the present session of Parliament Earl Grey expressed his hope that before its termination he should be able to introduce a measure for giving to the Australian settlements "the benefits of English institutions;" and again the hope has been expressed in the House of Commons, by Mr. Hawes, the Under Secretary, with the rider, however, that the pressure of business might possibly send the question into the next session. If these continued delays arise out of the general business of the country, diverting the attention of Lord Grey from his proper departmental duties, then we may regret that the machinery of the Colonial Office is not more inde-

pendent than it would appear to be of home and European affairs; and, indeed, the discussions on Lord Lincoln's recent motion on colonisation show a pretty general idea amongst leading men that that office, as at present organised, is not equal to a discharge of all the functions of Colonial administration. But if the retardation of the promised fulfilment of what the Colonists have so long and earnestly prayed for arise only from the apprehended difficulties of the projected measure; if the delay is only for the purpose of gaining the most ample and trustworthy information, and so producing a well-digested scheme of local legislation; then may the Colonists and those who in England take an interest in their affairs be satisfied to give Her Majesty's Government a little longer grace.

The subject is of interest, not merely to those whose future social and political well-being is identified with its future development, but it involves a problem in political philosophy which must recommend it to every reflecting mind. The question is how to apply to societies, differing in many respects from all others that have ever existed, a system of local administration which shall involve the principle of representation and popular control. It is only in that very general way that the term "English institutions" can reasonably be used in this place. The outward form in which this principle is to be applied must necessarily be regarded as variable. English institutions are Queen, Lords, and Commons: an immediate sovereign who "can do no wrong," with responsible advisers; a body of hereditary dignitaries formed into a legislative chamber, into which, by virtue of an old feudal usage, certain baronial bishops are admitted; and lastly, a house of representatives of the people. "The Church," too, is an English institution, identified with the State, and incorporated with the administration of the law. To take all these institutions, which have gradually moulded themselves upon a fitting state of society in an ancient kingdom, and apply them to a modern Colony, is an evident absurdity; which, however, has not wanted enthusiastic supporters. There can be no doubt that in Colonies the aristocratic, and strictly speaking, the royal portions of the British constitution, can have no existence. There may be substitutes for each; but you might as well attempt to transplant the oak of centuries from an English forest to an Australian cattle run, as to take those institutions in their integrity and endeavour to set them up at the antipodes.

It may be desirable as preliminary to the remarks which we shall have to offer on this occasion, to refer to the past and present constitutions of the different Colonies in the Australian circle.

We believe it will be found that, previously to the year 1824, the Government of New South Wales, then including that of Van Diemen's Land, was merely the Government of the Crown administered by its local representative. We collect this from Commissioner Bigge's Report on the Judicial Establishments of those Colonies, addressed to Lord Bathurst in the year 1823. Any legal gentleman may set us right on this point; but we gather, that the Colony and its civil Government were established merely by orders of the King in Council. It is certain

that the old governors reigned supreme. The statute of the 27 George III., c. 2, however, enabled the Crown to establish a Court of Criminal Judicature in New South Wales; but again the civil judicature of the Colony rested solely on the authority of letters patent of the Crown.

In the year 1823, the Imperial Parliament seems to have been first resorted to for regulating, in future, the internal administration of the Colony; when what has been generally termed *the first New South Wales Act* was passed, under the authority of which, in the year following, a Legislative Council of seven members was appointed, to whom was entrusted the power of "making laws and ordinances for the welfare and good government of the Colony." (4 Geo. IV., c. 96). In the next year, 1825, under powers given to the Crown by this Act, Van Diemen's Land was made a distinct Colony, with its separate Council. This Act was passed, apparently, only as an experiment for a limited period, its duration being confined to July, 1827; but in that year it was extended by a short Act to December, 1829. Before this latter date, however, that is in 1828, the Act of 1823 was repealed by what has been commonly called *the second New South Wales Act* (9 Geo. IV., c. 83), which authorised the Crown to appoint a Legislative Council in each Colony, to consist of not more than fifteen nor less than ten members, at whose deliberations the Governor was to be present as presiding member; the power of *initiating* laws being at the same time vested in him alone. The practice resorted to by the Crown under this Act was to appoint a majority of the Council from the higher public functionaries and the remainder from the body of the private Colonists; while, besides this Legislative Council, the Crown appointed several functionaries, as the Commander of the Troops, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, and the Colonial Treasurer, to be an "Executive Council," whose office it was to advise the Governor, whenever its advice was required. This is still the existing form of government in Van Diemen's Land; as it is in the Colonies of Southern and Western Australia, excepting that in South Australia, and I believe also in Western Australia, the Legislative Council has fewer members, though still preserving the preponderance of official votes.

This form of government was, however, changed in the year 1843, as respects New South Wales, by the Act of Parliament passed in July of the previous year (5 and 6 Victoria, c. 76), by which the constitution of the Legislative Council was changed. It was now to consist of twelve nominees of the Crown, and twenty-four members *elected by the Colonists*. And of this new legislature the Governor was no longer to sit as presiding member, with his double vote, but the members were, in the fashion of our House of Commons, to elect their own "Speaker;" while they had the power of introducing bills into the legislature, excepting such as regarded appropriations of the revenue, which were still left to the executive to initiate. This is the present constitution of New South Wales; the only one of the Australian Colonies that has the least ingredient of the representative principle.

By this *Constitutional Act*, as it is termed in the Colony, the

country is divided into electoral districts. This was done by the old Legislative Council, according to a provision of the Act, but with the limitation that the district of Port Phillip and the towns of Sydney and Melbourne were to be severally districts, and, that Port Phillip should return at least five members, the town of Sydney two, and Melbourne one. The qualification of electors was fixed at a freehold of the clear value of £200, or being a householder occupying a dwelling-house of the clear annual value of £20. The qualification of members was a freehold of the clear yearly value of £100, or of the full value of £2,000. Of the twelve members to be nominated by the Crown, not more than one-half are to hold any office of emolument under the Crown. A session of the Council is to be held every year, and the duration is to be quinquennial, unless dissolved by the Governor, who has that power in his hands. The Governor may propose laws to the Council, and return bills amended for re-consideration. The usual power is given to the Governor, of withholding his assent to bills; but the Queen may disallow acts to which the Governor has assented. The Governor may also reserve assent to a bill until Her Majesty's pleasure is known. A reservation is made of a "Civil List," embracing the salaries of the Governor, Superintendent at Port Phillip, Judges, Law Officers, and three of the principal public departments, the total of which amounts to £51,600 annually; and a further provision is made, to the extent of £30,000 annually, for "public worship." These sums are placed beyond the power of the Colonial Legislature to alter—they are standing appropriations, made by the "omnipotence of Parliament;" but, beyond them, no appropriation of the Colonial revenue can take place except with their authority. The act also provides for a species of rural municipality, called "District Councils," the members to be elected, and both members and electors to be qualified respectively as for the Legislative Council. These bodies are empowered to make bye-laws for the construction of roads, erecting public buildings, and other local purposes, as well as for levying assessments on the inhabitants. The Governor, however, has power to disallow any of the bye-laws of the District Councils. The expenses of the Police Establishment are to be met, one half from the general revenue of the Colony, and one half by district assessment. Finally, the Crown was empowered to divide the present Colony of New South Wales into two or more Colonies; while the form of legislature in Van Diemen's Land, and which had always before been the same as that of its sister Colony, was left untouched. This may have arisen, and very probably it did arise, from the intention of converting Van Diemen's Land into the exclusive receptacle of convicts—thus stamping at once a social and a political degradation on that unfortunate Colony.

By the Act of Parliament which established the Colony of South Australia, a free constitution was to be given to the inhabitants when they amounted to 50,000; but, by an Act passed in July, 1842, which repeals the former Act, the Queen is empowered to convene a "General Assembly" at her future pleasure, and, in case of so doing, to reserve

a Civil List out of the Colonial revenue, provided that the amount so reserved shall not exceed the annual sum previously assigned for the services therein indicated.

The Province of Port Phillip has lately been agitating for a "Repeal of the Union" with New South Wales; and it will now be seen that the Crown has the power to accede to its wishes without recurrence to Parliament.

The superior administration of justice in each of the Colonies is now confided to a tribunal styled the "Supreme Court," having the various powers and jurisdiction of the Courts of Chancery, and of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in England. In New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land the authority of the Supreme Courts is derived from Royal Charters, issued under the Acts of Parliament of 1823 and 1828; the constitution of these tribunals being withdrawn by those acts from the cognizance of the local legislatures. But in 1839 an Act of Parliament was passed (2 and 3 Victoria, c. 70), in which this prohibition was removed. In the Colony of South Australia the plan of proceeding was different. The Crown being empowered, by the original South Australian Act of Parliament, to establish an executive and legislative authority in the Colony—an enactment of the *local* legislature called the Supreme Court into existence with the same powers as those courts in the other Colonies. All these tribunals, besides their powers as courts of law and equity, possess the ordinary jurisdiction of the English Ecclesiastical Courts in the case of wills and granting letters of administration. The New South Wales bench consists of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges, one of the latter residing at Port Phillip. In Van Diemen's Land there is a Chief and a Puisne Judge; and in South Australia there is but one "Judge of the Supreme Court." Unlike the English judges, these Colonial functionaries hold office only during the pleasure of the Crown, which means, of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or of the Governor of the Colony, should he choose to incur the responsibility of dismissing or suspending a judge.

The law of England is the basis of the law in the Colonies; all the common and statute law of England, in force in England before the constitution of the present Supreme Courts, being the law of the Colonies, so far as the same may be applicable to their condition. This *applicability* of course presents a field for occasional conflict among the local lawyers, but the prescribed course is for the Colonial legislatures to "settle doubts" by authoritatively enacting that particular laws do or do not apply to the Colony. In order, also, to keep pace with modern ameliorations in the law of England, recent British statutes are frequently made to extend to the Colonies by enactments of the local legislatures. This general extension of *English law* to the Colonies of course renders them, as to their legal structure, English rather than British. The Scotch law has no force whatever in the Colonies: the English law alone has, and that only as far as applicable. It has thus been contended that there is no Established Church in the Colonies; no Scotch Church established, for that is established only in

Scotland where Scotch law prevails; and no Church of England established, for in the circumstances of the Colonies that Church, as it exists in its temporal condition in England, could not be extended to them. In practice the plan has been, in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, to give regular support from the Colonial revenues to the three great Churches, the Roman Catholic, the Church of England, and the Presbyterian. In South Australia, we believe, some comprehensive system of support to all recognised Churches has been recently acted upon.

We have thus given a glance at the present condition of the Colonies in their constitutional, legal, and ecclesiastical aspect. It is in this condition of the Colonies that Lord Grey now proposes a general measure for the whole of them, which means, of course, altering in some way the existing representative system in New South Wales, and extending the amended scheme to all the Colonies.

It cannot be doubted that his lordship has given attention to the workings of the present New South Wales constitution, and has well considered the state of society in that and the neighbouring Colonies, as well as the varied statistics of their material condition. If he has done this, and brings to his subsequent speculations a liberal spirit—if he has no timid misgivings as to the result of leaving the Colonies more to themselves (and his *words* in Parliament would show that he has none, but has a bold and healthful confidence in popular principles)—then we may augur well for the measures now in embryo. But we could wish that some intimation had been given of the nature of the Australian constitution. We wish this the more that there are rumours that the New Zealand scheme of local administration, with its communal institutions, and its electoral colleges, was the model set up for imitation. We heartily trust not; and here we cannot but express our surprise at that extraordinary medley as proceeding from the present Administration. We have already indicated that in extending English institutions to the Colonies, it is not the outward form that can be always retained; but in the New Zealand scheme of indirect representation, both the form and spirit of the English constitution seems to have been completely disregarded; which, considering that it was an English community for which Parliament was called on to legislate, considering that English habits and sentiments formed some of the *conditions*, seems quite unaccountable, or rather wears a freakish and experimentalising appearance.

Looking at the operation of the New South Wales Constitution of the year 1843, we regard it as faulty in several respects; what might have been theoretically predicted of it is verified in the result. The chamber of mixed nominees and representatives does not work well. In the North American and West Indian Colonies, the plan has been to have two chambers; one of Crown nominees, constituting a kind of upper house, usually called the Legislative Council, and the other of popular representatives. The plan for New South Wales was to unite both these bodies into one. But the consequence was, that the nominated members appear as intruders; their origin from authority

appears in opposition to the more popular origin of the elected members. The two *sets* are at once stamped with an antagonism towards each other. Time might settle this down into a well working plan; but in the present day we look for new institutions contrived to fit at once, and not so as to wear into shape half a century hence. For our own parts we are greatly disposed to consider that the nominee system is an injudicious one for the Australian Colonies under any form in which it may be introduced. Unseemly personal opposition is almost certain to take place when the two classes of legislators are joined in one chamber. And if there were a second chamber, of nominees solely, we suspect that it would operate in one of two ways: either it would exercise too systematically an obstructive power in opposing the representative branch of the legislature, or it would be too systematically acted upon by external popular influences (after the members had got well used to their dignities), and then it would merely follow the lead taken by the other chamber. It might indeed act a truly independent part, under the force of the personal character of the individuals selected as its component parts; but we must, we fear, reckon upon only average humanity for even an Australian Legislative Council. Undoubtedly the leading talent, energy, and activity, will always seek the representative branch of the legislature as their field of action. Nor can there be any analogy between these nominee bodies and our House of Lords—men born to great wealth, possessing independent personal rank and privilege, generally well educated and well informed, and hereditarily divided into the popular and anti-popular parties of English society. *We incline to a second chamber, in which the representative principle in some form shall also be introduced.*

Again, the non-representation of the "squattling interest" in New South Wales was a great omission. The readers of this magazine are scarcely to be told that the squatters occupy the unlocated Crown lands as sheep farmers and graziers. They constitute a large proportion of the respectable and educated part of the population, have extensive property in flocks and herds, and are the great producers of what has made New South Wales so flourishing. But the English test of landed property, or house occupancy, does not always, or perhaps generally, apply to them, and they are accordingly, to a great extent, unrepresented in the local legislature, though several squatters have been returned as representatives.

The *District Councils* have been generally a complete failure. Indeed, there has been a curious state of things arising out of their institution having been made imperative. We believe that almost all these bodies are now in a kind of illegal abeyance. The truth was, that in the case of a very scanty and widely scattered population these petty legislatures were, if we may say so, unnatural. Settlers could neither be *bothered* with them, to the neglect of their affairs, nor could they stand the local taxation with which they threatened them. On the other hand they liked a voice in their general legislature at the seat of Government. We do not object to the system of local municipalities altogether; it may occasionally be a very beneficial one. The error con-

sists in making an universal and compulsory rule, in place of, at most, a general one, and one which should be applied only as districts might themselves require. Such as have been long settled, and are densely populated, might enjoy their councils and be benefited by them.

Other omissions in the existing constitution of New South Wales might be noted, but we fear we are leaving ourselves little room for the few remarks we contemplate offering on the general subject.

First, we would hope her Majesty's Government will prevail on themselves to give up the fixed "civil lists." Let them risk the inconvenience and embarrassment of supplies not being voted; in other words, let them confide more in the good management and popular qualities of their governors.

Let them renounce all local patronage, as they have done in Canada, and let the governor of each Colony have the appointment of his own administration from among the Colonists. This, we are certain, is the necessary complement of representative legislation. It is following a practice which is now as much a part of the English constitution as the formal estates of Parliament. It is the only way by which a parliamentary majority can be brought into friendly co-operation with the executive. Without the adoption of this principle the leading Colonists have no object held out to their ambition but in a turbulent opposition. That is the only road to power and distinction. In following it they incur no responsibility, need originate nothing, but may confine themselves to the easy task of finding fault with what is proposed by others.

Let the qualification of voters be low. There is in society, more than in political forms, abundance of correctives against the abuse of the franchise; and it is sorry work to be always falling short of the popular demand, only to fill up the measure at last with a bad grace. And let us have no indirect representation—no filtering of the popular control through electoral colleges; but plain direct voting by the popular constituency.

Let the rights of the Crown as to the rejection or non-approval of laws of purely local interest, if formally preserved, be exercised very sparingly. But Parliament would do well to prohibit the Colonies carrying on a system of protective reprisals in the shape of duties on each other's products. Let the Imperial Legislature once for all proclaim free trade between all the Colonies as respects their own products.

Let nothing be done to give anything approaching a constitutional supremacy to any one or more churches or religious communions.

Finally, let the greatest care be taken to nominate fit men as Governors. Every scheme of government is a theory, in which it is assumed that men, under certain combinations of circumstances, will act in a certain manner. It is comprised in this theory that the men selected, as we might almost call it for the chief motive power, should be equal to the function assigned to them. We must have no haughty Martinet, making a point to scorn popularity, despising conciliation as a weakness, distant, and unapproachable—that class of potentate which is often engendered in the person of individuals suddenly brought from

the mediocrity of English life into the position of ruling men. What is needed is a man who values popularity, but would be guilty of no mean compliances to attain it; who has hearty sympathies with the masses, yet who upon occasion would not scruple to resist their delusions; who could be firm without ceasing to be temperate and well-bred; who should have respectable talents, and be able to penetrate into the characters of others. This is the kind of man to be diligently sought after for a Colonial Governor.

J.

London, June 10, 1847.

COLONISATION, A NATURAL, SAFE, AND EFFECTUAL MODE OF RELIEF FOR NATIONAL DISTRESS.

"Emigration (Canada).—Address for 'Returns of the assessed value of those Townships in the Newcastle District in Western Canada which were settled by pauper emigrants from Ireland, between the years 1825 and 1828, at the public expense:'"

"Of the number of the various Emigration Societies formed in Canada in 1840 by Canadian Proprietors desirous of settling emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland upon their estates."—(*Mr. Poulett Scrope.*)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

SIR—The above returns, so kindly moved for by Mr. G. P. Scrope, at my earnest request, together with the recent interesting debate in the House of Commons, during which sounder and juster views of Colonisation were propounded than have been enunciated for the last twenty years, justifies the hope that the important subject of Colonisation is at length receiving that attention, both from the Legislature and the public, which its intrinsic efficacy and unequalled advantage so eminently deserves. These returns, when obtained and placed before the public, will fully demonstrate the wisdom and success of Sir R. W. Horton's most humane and benevolent experiment in the years 1825 and 1828, and prove the priority of his Colonisation plans, to those reveries and emanations from the cells of Newgate, which appear to have fascinated so many who have since written, spoken, and turned their attention to this subject. One would imagine, from the manner in which Mr. Wakefield's name has been so often thrust before the public in connection with Colonisation, that the theory of Colonisation was some mighty discovery of this individual, although the illustrious Bacon had been its eloquent advocate and champion, and Penn and Boone its successful promoters in Pennsylvania and Kentucky. Long before Mr. Wakefield's theory was announced the Island of Manhattan, at the extremity of which stands the city of New York, with its half million of inhabitants, had been purchased from the Indians by the Dutch in 1614 for 24 dollars, and owes its present glory,

greatness, commerce, population, and wealth to the colonisation of the extensive and fertile territory in its rear. What matchless presumption in Mr. Wakefield! what measureless folly in his panegyrists to set him up then as the founder of a system of Colonisation that was to eclipse all its predecessors, and transfer, as if by magic, the over-peopled inhabitants of some countries, to the vast wilderness of others. His movements in this cause may be well summed up by the following graphic and pertinent extract from "Tancred":—

"Enunciating second hand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe—a compromise. Abstract principles with him ever ended in concrete expediency. The aggregate of circumstances outweighed the isolated cause—the primordial tenet, which had been advocated with uncompromising arrogance, gently subsided into some second-rate measure, recommended with all the artifice of an impenetrable ambiguity."

The following most just appreciation of Lord Bacon's merit, in this exalted work of Colonisation, is happily expressed in the leading article of the *Standard* of the 2nd June, and is eminently worthy of deep attention from the sound sense by which it is characterised throughout:—

"Bacon, it is true, wrote when British Colonisation was in its infancy, and when emigration was to be directed to countries altogether unclaimed, and therefore his letter of advice contains many minute directions at which statesmen of Sir R. Peel's class could easily raise a laugh; but Bacon wrote in this case, as in every other case, for all times; and the wisdom of his ample directions for the treatment of growing and established Colonies has been as fully attested by experience as the prudence of his suggestions for a first plantation—attested by complete success as often as these directions have been followed, and by utter failure whenever they have been departed from. Sir Robert Peel will not improve upon Lord Bacon. If we were called upon for a short advice upon the subject of Colonisation, we should feel that we gave a sound admonition in saying, "do exactly the opposite of what you have been doing for 30 years;" and we could have no difficulty in supporting this advice by the authority of the father of true philosophy. Let us, however, for a few minutes lay on one side the *argumentum ad verecundiam*, and try if in the particular instance common sense does not concur, as it does in all others, with the principles of a sound philosophy. We suppose that the design of emigration is either to relieve the United Kingdom of an actual or supposed surplus population, or to benefit the Colonies, or both, as both objects may be easily reconciled. Now as you cannot yet banish men guilty of no crime but poverty, and as forced emigration is banishment, you can get rid of your surplus population only by holding out some temptation to those of whom you wish to get rid, to remove themselves; but this temptation you can offer only by preparing for their reception some place where they may expect to be more happy than in their native land. *It is, then, in the Colonies to be established, or in the Colonies already established, that you must begin your*

preparations. This is the truth that has been overlooked for thirty years, and hence the failures hitherto—failures of which the most simple analogy might give warning. When a man wishes to drain a field he begins, if he is not a fool, by preparing a place for the reception of the redundant water, and he is careful that the place may be such as that the stream shall run to it by a natural descent; he does not direct the outlet against a wall or a hill, still less does he substitute a greater for a less evil, by directing the drainage of his swampy field upon his well-stocked and highly cultivated garden. Now the analogy of Colonisation as a means of relief from a surplus population to this draining process is complete—you must find a place for emigrants to which they will naturally tend, and you must be careful not to throw them upon places where their presence will be mischievous, not beneficial; but it is plain that if you throw them from you at haphazard, you run the risk of misdirecting them to their own ruin, or to the ruin of others. Such haphazard extrusion will, however, be inevitable if you do not begin by making preparation for the emigrants in the Colonies before sending out a single ship-load.”

I propose in this article—1st, to set forth the appalling evils which Colonisation is to remove; 2nd, to prove that Colonisation is effectual for that purpose; and 3rd, to point out the mode by which this remedy can best be carried into effect. As a proof of the gigantic evil calling loudly for some immediate and effectual antidote, I subjoin the following powerful delineation of Irish misery from an Irish pen:—

“Haggard famine and gaunt destruction overspread the land.

“The breath of pestilence has blasted our fields. A destroying angel has passed over our Tabernacles. The bountiful earth has refused to give food to the people. The iniquity of man has been labouring for three centuries with unabated and unrestrained activity in the work of ruin. But now the elements of heaven and the vengeance of the Lord are come to complete the destruction of the poor. There are shrieks of woe on the high road—the people are crying madly for bread in the streets, or pining away in silent sorrow and decay, in their comfortless homes. The bounty of the priest and the charity of the farmer, hitherto the chief available resources of indigence and distress, are already exhausted. The potato is gone—the turnips are eaten up—the cabbage is quickly disappearing. Even the dogs are no longer seen about the house of the cottager, and the crows themselves have fallen victims to this destroying famine. Our houses of worship are thinned almost to solitude—a dread silence reigns through the land—our market-places are deserted and may be compared to the wrecks of a ransacked city, or the remnants of a broken army fleeing from defeat. Josephus has recorded nothing in the siege of Jerusalem more shocking and revolting than the scenes at Skibbereen and Ballydehob. Wolfish hunger is at every door, death is in every cabin. The dead lie unburied and the dying are often found entangled in their cold embrace. The people are mute with horror and evidently stupefied with this colossal disaster, are variously inclined to sink in ignoble despair, or follow the sturdiest impulse of natural right and duty.

“ But a deeper depth is still yawning before us. The circle of misery is widening and will soon embrace the entire population of the land. The fields are untilled—there is no grain to sow them, no adequate provision made for the ensuing season.

“ We have the poor-houses, but they are filled and detested. We have the Labour Act. It gave partial relief for a season ; but can a single Act of Parliament feed a people, no matter how benevolent the intention of that Act may be ? The evil consequences of three centuries of misrule require something more than the petty provisions of a temporising scheme, which professes merely to help the starving, and mocks even them by its austere and insulting regulations. The heroic patience of the people, under all their sufferings, is justly admired and praised. But I have witnessed, with indignation, the indignities to which they have been subjected by the operation of this Act. All their little family secrets, all the humiliating circumstances of their distress, exposed in open court.

“ After travelling a long journey, with hungry stomachs, and waiting a whole day under the open air, in rain and frost and snow, or pushed about by rude and saucy policemen, they were often dismissed in the evening without promise of employment, perhaps without an answer. The second, the third, the fourth, the tenth scrutiny came ; the same heartless inquiries were repeated, the same cheerless scenes re-enacted ; or if a few of them succeeded, at length, by positive proofs of destitution, in gaining the high honour of being enrolled in the list of labourers, another sea of misery was before them. At the beginning and even still in most cases, only one member of a family could be admitted into this legion of honour—the wages were limited to 10d. a day—those wages were paid only once in the week, many of the days were broken and the wages of course diminished—we may say 7d. a day for the entire winter season. Then there were gaugers, overseers, and clerks, and check-clerks, and surveyors, and committees, and inspectors ; and a cross word or a crooked look at any of them ended generally in the dismissal of a labourer. In a family of six, or eight, or eleven, 10d. a day payable at the end of a week, and, perhaps, after allowing for sickness, broken days, the humour of the pay clerk, and other contingencies, only half that sum paid, was equivalent to an edict of starvation or murder, when meal was sold at 3d. per lb. The same reasoning may by anticipation be easily applied to the Drainage Act, with this difference—that the drainage of the land has the permanent effect of remotely contributing to the production of food for the people, and of rent for the landlords. These measures may have their faults or advantages. They are auxiliaries, but withal, only auxiliaries. Temporising schemes, such as these, will never succeed in restoring the broken frame of society, or in lifting up a people beyond the recurrence of such afflicting destitution.

“ In circumstances so truly awful the first immediate duty of the Government was to take care that no one died of hunger ; for that purpose grain should have been sought for wherever it grows, the Navigation laws should have been suspended—every available vessel in her Majesty’s navy and empire should have been despatched to carry

home provisions—every restriction on the free import of corn should have been removed—and food depôts established in every town in Ireland, upon the very first sound of this desolating famine.

“ Yet not one of these things were done by ministers until famine had spread its wings all over the land, and thousands had fallen victims to its tormenting sting. Ministers have cruelly neglected their duty, and up to the very meeting of Parliament used all their influence to support a monopoly that aggravated this awful visitation of heaven.

“ It becomes, in consequence, the right of the people, and the duty of their leaders, to proclaim in their aggregate strength, that, unless our future *wants* be amply provided for—reparation is impossible—the Whigs shall no longer rule this country. Lord John Russell may, like Tamerlane, behold with pleasure or indifference the piles of human bones, which, as monuments of his disastrous policy, whiten the plains of Connaught or of Munster. But if the old system of economy be pursued, no good man can wish to see an administration prolonged, resembling so much, in an abandoned disregard for human life, the bloody career of the Mogul conqueror.

“ But it is not enough to provide for the present wants of the people. The recurrence of another season’s famine must be guarded against: the lands must be tilled and sowed and liberal precautions taken that the coming harvest may be sufficient to feed the people. The people are destitute both of seed and money, and want even bodily strength to dig or plough the ground. The Government must either advance money for these purposes now, or be prepared for a double outlay hereafter, in importing foreign food to avert starvation. It is formally admitted by ministers, that half the expenditure made on the unproductive works of the Labour Act, shall be charged on the general resources of the empire. But as the calamity is national, why not meet it by the Imperial treasury? The outlay required for the projected tillage of the land will be gratefully repaid by the persons whom it may concern; and even that outlay may be materially diminished, to the advantage of the poor people, by setting soldiers and policemen to work the fields under the inspection of their officers, and tackling the dragoon horses to the cart and the plough. If the navy and army of England were engaged in these glorious works of mercy, all the nations of the earth would praise, all future generations would bless the peaceful reign of Victoria.

“ Strangers, unacquainted with the peculiarity of Irish distress, and whose attention of late has been forcibly attracted by the universal famine—whose sound has filled the earth, may hastily take up the notion that this terrific disaster is to be reckoned among those ordinary visitations that sometimes ruefully fall upon nations, and is by no means a proof of deep antecedent distress, or in any way connected with it; and such persons, judging from the analogy of history, may limit their benevolent hopes to an expectation, that after this tide of ruin has passed away the people will be replaced in their former condition, and that consequent prosperity and contentment will prevail. It is the object of this paper to correct that flattering delusion. In my picture of Irish distress

I have introduced the existing famine, merely by way of episode, and have put it in the foreground chiefly for colouring and illustration.

"This famine, great and shocking as it is, is only a specimen of our distress; it reaches back to a long existing cause, and, comprehensive as it is in all its horrors, is far from giving an adequate view of all the physical privations of the Irish people which I have undertaken to record. In proof of these assertions, I must go back to a period antecedent to the famine, and reveal a state of things which will convince every thinking mind that the duties of Government extend far beyond the temporary alleviation of a disaster which Providence has permitted to rebuke and warn our oppressors.

"Long before the occurrence of this terrible visitation the ordinary food of the people was of the coarsest and most unsubstantial kind. It was on the potato that they were doomed to subsist, at breakfast, at dinner, and at supper. The old, the young, the sick, the strong, the labourer, the ordinary artist, the cottier, the small farmer, had nothing but the potato. Our land produces in plenty all the necessaries of life, but the leaf, the mutton, the pork, the poultry, the butter, the eggs, the wheat, the corn, and not unfrequently the milk and vegetables—all must be sold and sent to foreign markets to satisfy the rapacious claims of the landlord.

"This obscure but excruciating system of oppression was so wisely contrived that the people might have a supply of potatoes just sufficient to support life, and give strength enough to make up the rent for the landlord: but they could not aspire to any higher luxury. All the other products of the earth were secured and mortgaged, in perpetuity, to the landlord by repeated acts of the Legislature. Without a formal enactment to that purpose, the effect was, that the existence of the peasant was permitted only as an instrument to uphold the enormous rental of the proprietor; whilst everything else was, by law and usage, the sacred and indefeasible property of the landlord. Thus was the life of an entire people left dependent on a single root; and if a substitute inferior to the potato could subsidise a people, I am persuaded that another Necker would have been found to enforce the use of grass.

"It was impossible for a people so circumstanced to make any provision for adverse contingencies, or to have any resources treasured up beyond the daily food of their families. The destruction of the potato, by the necessary operation of such a system, has involved the entire nation in misery; and by a just retribution of Divine vengeance has left both landlords and lawgivers embarrassed by inextricable confusion and ruin. A timely and equitable arrangement between landlord and tenant, a law based on the just and humane consideration that the peasant's toil is entitled to something beyond a bare and precarious subsistence—a law sternly enforcing the duties, while it guards the rights, of property—a law, for instance, reclaiming waste lands into a productiveness of human food, colonising those lands with armies of Irishmen annually emigrating to America, or rotting in workhouses, and giving the Colonist a permanent and proprietary interest in the care and tillage of the little estate entrusted to him—a law of searching revision into all the existent relations of landlord and tenant—these and other such measures

of justice, wisdom, and benignity, would call forth an order of things in which famine would never recur; would secure to the proprietor a sure, ready, and a large return; would have empowered the people to meet, with their own resources, a calamity which has borne them down; would have saved many a life already sacrificed to hunger; would have shielded the land from this ruinous and confiscating assessment by which it is so heavily burdened: but distant ages will point with scorn or with horror to the numberless victims sacrificed to the mismanagement and inhumanity of England's laws, and, in refutation of the boastful pretensions of England's writers, will record the hideousness of this excruciating famine, and expose the more secret history of the antecedent privations which led to it.

"The raiment of the people is thin and ragged. The clothes they wear are scarcely sufficient to cover their nakedness in summer; and it is a well ascertained fact, that the great majority of the people are confined as prisoners to their cabins on Sundays and holidays, through shame of appearing abroad in the squalid and hideous raggedness of their every-day garb. At night they have scarcely any other covering than the poor damp rags they wore during the day. Parents find it impossible to make those separate arrangements at night between the members of their little families which religion and decency require, and instinct itself suggests. But when the cold winter wind is blowing it is sickening to contemplate their privations both by day and night; no matter how inclement the weather, they have no other covering at night, no other clothes by day, than the tatters that scarcely kept them alive during the summer and autumn; or when sickness visits a cold, damp, and ill-thatched cabin, what fancy can picture the torture of the patient and the anguish of the sympathising family and neighbours. The imagination is shocked, and all our feelings are confounded, by the mere contemplation of these heart-breaking scenes of distress and woe. All this is aggravated by want of fuel, even in those parts of the country where turf-bog is abundant, for the cottier classes have none but what they can purchase out of their scanty wages. I forgot to speak of shoes, another indispensable comfort in this changeable climate of ours. Even under the frost and snow, and cold, biting wind of winter, numbers both of the old and young, females especially, are met in our streets and highways either altogether unshod, or, to save appearances, wearing some cast-off old things that resist neither wet nor cold; hence cough, asthma, fever, decline, and a legion of plagues, that thin the people and bring them to an untimely grave.

"But what shall we say of their habitations; they are generally built in some low, damp situation, on a worthless spot of ground, the avarice of the landlord refusing a more suitable place. The house of a cottier consists generally of a kitchen and a room; sometimes a single apartment is the abode of the entire family. The chimney, for want of sufficient materials, being an insufficient outlet, the smoke escapes through the door. Where there happens to be a window there is rarely glass. The door is not unfrequently an open hurdle or texture of ill-jointed boards, through which wind and storm can find an easy

admission. The roof, consisting of decayed sticks and rotten straw, opposes no resistance to cold or rain, but aggravates the misery of the inmates by the unwholesome and mephitic stench it is continually emitting. In consequence, the floors, the walls, the roofs, and the beds, are damp, and always transpiring a noxious vapour.

"Their turf, their poultry, their pigs, their potatoes, when they had them, were generally, for want of accommodation, stowed away in some corner of their wretched cabin. It is painful to dwell on such a picture, especially where there is a family of infant children, or sickness and infirmity visit these comfortless abodes."

Not to harrow the feelings by entering into the minute details of the direful horrors of the disease, death, terror, and desolation, that has stricken this unhappy land, I may quote an extract from an address of the inhabitants of the county of Cork to the people of Ireland generally, in order to contrast it with an address from the Irish settlers in Canada to the Queen in 1838:—

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.—Famine rages in the dwellings of the poor—the young and the old lie on the ground in the streets—the tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst—the young children ask for bread and no man breaketh unto them.—Lamentations iii, 21. Hundreds of thousands have already fallen victims—the doom of hundreds of thousands more has already been pronounced. We stand among the bodies of the coffinless dead—amongst our graveyards glutted with victims—our bones are scattered upon the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth.—Ps. cxlii, 7. With still solemnity from the depths of our stricken souls we ask, who slew all these? Our garrisoned cities bereft of wealth, of trade, of independence; our deserted hills, valleys, and plains, deserted, save in some favoured spots, by all but the foreign landlord's driver, and the poor despised plundered drudge, who has not the means or the energy to depart, all give one united answer and point to *England and English rulers*. We are a conquered people and *foreigners* make our laws."

What a cheering—what a startling contrast to the above revolting picture of human woe and despair by the faithful portaiture of the contented and prosperous Irish settler.

"It is spring time, and as we walk forth to enjoy the morning air, the whistle of the ploughman salutes our ears, and calls our mind to agriculture. Let us cross the fields to yon neat farm-house, with its commodious out-buildings, and its well-tilled lands. The history of that family and that house conveys a useful and beneficial lesson. Fifteen years ago the owner was dragging on a miserable life, as a sub-tenant, on a few roods of land in Ireland, participating in the follies and vices, alas! too common, of faction and debauchery. Poverty at length compelled him to seek a refuge and a home in Canada; and the lot which he now occupies was a forest. He soon roused the native energies of his character, and the wood gave place to his sturdy axe. He fore-swore that which had been the curse of his early life, and his industry was crowned with success. His affairs prospered—his sons are growing

up to fill a higher station than ever their father dreamed of, and when he departs from this earth he will leave behind him a respected name and an independent family. We had been talking of his early career ; and, as when we sat down to a plentiful breakfast, he returned thanks to God for all his mercies and all his kindness—his thoughts found utterance in the language of pure and simple piety and gratitude. ‘Should we not be thankful (were his words) for our lot is happy. Here we have no taxes, no tithes, no visits from cruel police. It is true, Sir, that in Canada no man need be poor if he be industrious, if he avoid quarrelling and contention, obey the laws, and attend to his own affairs.’”

On the 4th April, 1838, the Irish settlers in Upper Canada resolved to address the Queen ; and to the address passed unanimously by them on this occasion, I refer you especially to the following extract :—

“We most humbly thank your Majesty for the determination expressed by your Majesty’s Ministers in Parliament to protect and defend the loyal inhabitants in Canada, in the possession of the many blessings they enjoy in this part of your Majesty’s dominions. In this determination we see a new commencement of prosperity—an impregnable defence from anarchy, and a prospect of permanency to our institutions, which will not only restore confidence in these Provinces, but will induce thousands of your Majesty’s subjects to come among us, and partake of the rewards of industry and enterprise to which they are invited by our fertile and thinly-populated country, and its extensive and untried resources. It renews in our minds the hope of yet seeing here millions of your Majesty’s subjects, many of them from our native land, living in freedom, peace, and plenty, under the protection of the British Empire and your Majesty’s mild and beneficent sway.”

I have now to prove that Colonisation is the most natural, obvious, and effective remedy for this appalling distress, and, in suggesting the mode by which it can be carried out, I shall set forth some unanswerable facts to demonstrate its practicability and self-sustaining character. I am persuaded that no remedy of equal power, certainty, and advantage, could be devised, to remedy the want and poverty of Ireland, as a bold, comprehensive, enlarged, and well-matured measure of Emigration, and that such an undertaking can and might be carried into operation without a shilling cost to the Imperial treasury. Colonel Torrens, in his very interesting little pamphlet, called “Self-supporting Colonisation, or Ireland Saved without Cost to the Imperial Treasury,” amongst other equally just and forcible statements, declares, “The question, whether the cost of Emigration can be defrayed out of the value which systematic Colonisation confers on the wastes of a new country, has been set at rest by experience. When the present Earl Grey’s important regulations for putting an end to the gratuitous alienation of crown lands, and for applying the proceeds of their sale to emigration, came into operation in New South Wales, in 1844, the sums yielded by the sale of public lands amounted to nearly two millions sterling. Mr. Hutt has shown that, from 1833 to 1839, inclusive, the planting of a population of 15,000 souls, in the previous wilderness of South Australia,

imparted to the lands of that wilderness a marketable value which enabled the Colonisation Commissioners to realise, by the sale of 282,500 acres, the sum of £262,000, a sum which exceeded by £85,000 the cost of emigration."

Still more remarkable, startling, and conclusive are the proofs to be derived from the vast rise in value of property in Canada, a few examples of which I shall have occasion to cite. The *mode* of Colonisation is, however, by far the most important consideration; and, although there are difficulties inseparable to every plan, they are neither so many nor so great as not to be overcome. After a review of some of them, I will offer a practical suggestion that may tend to lessen, if not altogether remove them. Amongst the many potential and distinguished advocates of Colonisation, as a means of removing the evils of pauperism, there are few who have paid more attention to the subject than the Honourable R. B. Sullivan, of Toronto; and certainly, there has been no one more calculated to demonstrate its advantages, remove the difficulties in its path, or render its acceptance more secure with the public. Possessed of great natural endowments—quick perception with sound judgment—ardent temperament with much perseverance—he has devoted his genius and philanthropy to the prosecution of this measure for many years, and the success which has already followed his praiseworthy efforts at Owen's Sound, on Lake Huron, has induced him to look for a larger field for the prosecution of this glorious and God-like work. A recent address, delivered at the Mechanics' Institute Hall, Toronto,* displays his just and comprehensive views, and cannot fail to awaken the attention as well as ensure the admiration of every British patriot.

Independent of this vast region, so well adapted for colonisation, Mr. Srope's return, when obtained, will show what large blocks of land, in the immediate vicinity of large and prosperous settlements, would be allocated by the Canadian landowners on most desirable terms for the prosecution of this laudable enterprise. With such auxiliaries there is every encouragement to persevere. Amongst the various modes of Colonisation adapted for a large and comprehensive measure, incomparably the best, easiest, most original, and most successful yet devised, or attempted, has been that of Mr. Frederick Widder, Commissioner of the Canada Company, a gentleman of untiring industry, sound judgment, great integrity, much experience, and considerable ability. His plan, already in active operation in the Huron District, has answered admirably, and, as far as it goes, is unexceptionable. I would, however, amplify and extend it considerably. The system adopted by the Canada Company, on the suggestion of Mr. Widder, is that of granting a lease to the settler, requiring no payment for the first year, commencing with a small rent the second, gradually increasing it yearly until the expiration of the time fixed, when the payment of the last year's rent entitles the occupant to the land as freehold. The addition to Mr. Widder's plan which I would suggest is the settlement of families containing a fair proportion of old and young, on similar blocks of land, on each of which a log-

* The first article in our present number, ante p. 257.—EDITOR.

house should be erected and one or two acres cleared. I would further advance agricultural implements, seed, cow, and a yoke of oxen, everything to facilitate the operations of the settler, inducing him to remain, and adding to the value of his security, carefully guarding against too much assistance, so as to cause improvidence on the one hand, or too little, so as to check or impede his industry on the other. In communities of this sort, if the grants or locations were not too large, a proportion of skilful artificers, a schoolmaster, and a clergyman might be placed. A system of centralisation to this extent would be desirable, and between every large community of settlers, a site for a village or town might be reserved, always having reference to convenient situation, hydraulic powers, and healthiness of the spot. The following notice of Mr. Widder's plan from the *Toronto Patriot* will enable me to append my views, and suggest the additions that I think would make it a most effectual mode of Colonisation.

"We have great pleasure in directing public attention to the advertisement of the Canada Company, in which a new method of disposing of their rich and valuable lands is laid before the agricultural interests of the Colony. The advantages of the plans proposed are obvious, and present to the poor, but industrious emigrant, a rare opportunity of settling himself in life with a certain prospect before him of independence—the unflinching premium on honest exertion.

"The Company will lease a lot for ten years, for example—suppose the value of the land to be, say 10s. the acre, the charge as rent is merely the interest of such appraised value at six per cent.

"The tenant has the option of purchasing at any time during the first five years at an advance of 1s. 3d. per acre; during the second five years, or for the full term of ten years, at 2s. 6d. per acre.

"By this system of leasing the Company will materially lessen the demand for employment, so frequently dreaded from large immigration, as emigrants, with very limited means, will, on their arrival here, obtain instant and profitable employment on their own account, thus preventing the necessity of their competing for work with those who are totally dependant on daily labour for their existence.

"We have seldom seen a plan so admirably calculated to ensure the settlement of wild land on terms at the same time highly encouraging to the settler and advantageous to the ultimate interests of the Company, who deserve every credit for thus evincing their determination to pursue a liberal and enlightened policy in the disposal of their lands, which must be the means of attracting to this great agricultural Province a large portion of the surplus population of older and richer countries.

"We are gratified to learn that during last year the Company placed 1,706 additional settlers on their lands in the Huron District—1,005 being new emigrants, and 701 settlers from other townships. Their sales of land for the same amounted to upwards of 73,000 acres.

"A large and fertile district—the Huron—is rapidly filling up with a loyal and British-hearted population, and is destined, ere the lapse of many years, to be inferior to no section of Western Canada of similar extent in the exhibition of a marked and regularly progressive improvement."

Now then, be it remembered, that the Canada Company offer these lands for sale on terms which, while they are most easy and accommodating to the settler, are also most profitable to themselves. If, therefore, the Government, or what would be still better, a combination of Canadian landowners and British capitalists, aided by the Government, overlooked by the Government, and controlled by the Government, were formed into a company for the furtherance of Colonisation and laying out of their land, reduce the minimum quantity of land sold, charge less for it, give a longer period for its payment, and more effectually assist the settler upon it; and if, in addition to this, they were to facilitate, on a large and comprehensive scale, the removal of settlers, *in families*, to it, there could be no question of the value of their security, and the certainty of the repayment of their outlay. The great matter is to place a settler in a locality, and in so favourable a position as that by his industry, frugality, and perseverance he may cheerfully repay the advances necessary to secure his future independence, and the welfare of his family. That late incomparable character, as Governor, statesman, philanthropist, and patriot, Lord Metcalfe, a few days previous to his departure for Canada, the last scene of his glory and greatness, wrote the following letter to Mr. Crawford, a gentleman who has always deeply and zealously interested himself in the cause of emigration and the welfare of his suffering fellow-countrymen:—

“ Mivart’s Hotel, 41, Brook-street, 1st February, 1843.

“ SIR—I shall have great pleasure in an interview with you and Dr. Rolph on the subject of emigration from Glasgow and Paisley to Canada, being satisfied that the measure is most desirable for both this country and that.

“ In the mean time, I beg leave to assure you of the most cordial co-operation on my part, to every extent within my power, in the proposed undertaking; the chief difficulty of which I conceive would be in taking due care of the emigrants after their arrival in the Colony, until they are in a condition to take care of themselves. I should have proposed an interview to-day, but my duty carried me to Windsor.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“ C. T. METCALFE.”

“ John Crawford, Esq.”

Lord Metcalfe’s chief solicitude was the *due* care to be taken of the emigrants on their arrival. This *due* care forms one of the principal securities for their steady and cheerful settlement of their land, and at the same time removes one great objection frequently and forcibly urged against Emigration, viz., that the able-bodied labourers will be removed, whilst the aged and the young are left behind. I propose that a proper proportion of all ages should go; I have been a frequent eye-witness of the use, advantage, and comfort to a settler, which the care, solicitude, assistance, and kindness of an aged branch of the family has been. Useful in looking after the children, nursing the sick, superintending the household, providing for the domestic wants, attending to the dairy, and many other important occupations. I view a proper mixture of aged

and young as not only an important, but an indispensable ingredient in a large and sound system of Colonisation. They are hostages for the continuance of the settler on his location, and a security against any temptation to quit it. After land has been laid out, surveyed, apportioned, and prepared, the following method, suggested in 1841, might be adopted:—

Instead of the present mode of stationing an agent at all the principal landing-places, three chief agents should be stationed, one at Quebec, one at Montreal, and one at Toronto; and it might be found necessary to have a subordinate officer at one or more of the intermediate places along the route. The duty of the agent at Quebec would consist chiefly in attending to the debarkation of immigrants, and all matters connected therewith. Montreal, as the grand emporium, would also be the centre of the system from which, like the arteries and veins of the human body, extending its ramifications in every direction the tide of immigration would be likely to flow; and as the duties of this agent and of his minor officers will explain the principle upon which the whole system will be put into operation, I shall not carry the reader beyond the district of Montreal. The chief agent being appointed at Montreal, and having instructions from Government to settle any tract or township, or any number of them, shall select a fit and proper person to act as agent in such township, division, or tract. Three qualifications would be indispensable in this officer—sound practical knowledge of agriculture in Canada from the moment the axe is first raised upon the tall forest trees till the flour returns from the mill; a competent knowledge of book-keeping; and above all, sterling honesty. This agent or officer proceeds at once to the division or township allotted to him, and in the most central part of his charge he takes up his abode—here he opens a *dépôt* of all things actually needed by settlers—provisions, clothes, and tools. The immigrant having decided at the principal office in Montreal or elsewhere in what section of the country he is desirous of locating himself, receives a ticket to the officer in charge of the settlement of that division, who immediately places him upon a farm, and at the same time opens an account with him, advancing to him food, clothes, or tools, as he may require, *taking care at the same time that he is improving and clearing at least in proportion to the amount he advances*, so that no loss may be sustained in case of the settler running away. Thus each settler will be provided for till a return crop places him independent of the agent, for provisions at least. Now suppose the immigrant goes on his farm at November, he will require about ten months' provision before his own crop is ready for use; this may be reckoned at four dollars per month for food, and if he has a family, three dollars a month will find a supply of food for every additional number, so that a family of five persons will subsist during ten months for about forty pounds, and as very little clothing will be needed the first year, say ten pounds more will suffice for tools and clothes. Thus a family of five persons will be maintained on a farm till they can maintain themselves for fifty pounds, even suppose they produce nothing for ten months. The second year scarcely anything will be needed, save clothes, and perhaps a cow, and on the third year the settler commences

to pay back in cash or kind, as the case may be, and so continues till the seventh year, when principal and interest are paid up in full; and the same funds can be spent in the same way in another division or section, and so on, scattering with prudent benevolence the means of independence to thousands, and literally "making the wilderness and solitary place to blossom like the rose." A small compensation will suffice for the country agents, who, if they have acted faithfully, will have secured the respect and esteem of the whole settlement, and after the depôt is removed will remain in their locality, where they will open a store on their own account, will be looked up to as the leading men of the place, and will become their magistrates, &c. &c., in time. According to this system the Government cannot be imposed on, as it may treat rich and poor on the same terms, forwarding all, and settling all who desire it, and *at the same time giving nothing that will not be received back again.*

There is much, very much in Mr. Godley's plan to recommend it, more especially that portion of it which purposes to enlist the District Councils in the promotion of it. Lord Lincoln thus speaks of it:—"Mr. Godley's plan had excited great attention. He proposed to give stimulus to the demand for labour and for emigration in the North American Colonies. His plan was, that for the first year the emigrant should work for wages, with a view to his settling on the land at the expiration of a particular period. This would be the means of forming what he called *nuclei* for settlements, and these *nuclei* would further be rendered attractive by the aid of social and civilised advantages, and by making provision for the material and moral well-being of the settlers. It was difficult to describe in a few sentences a plan that took up a pamphlet with its details; but he believed he had not incorrectly stated the substance of these various plans. The plan put forward by the head of the Colonial Department was more extended in its views. Villages were to be planted at the expense of Government, Government were to send out emigrants, and to feed them by a species of commissariat. This he believed was a tolerably fair exposition of the plan." The preparation of the locality and the superintendence of the location would be far better managed by those resident in the Colony, than by those who are alike strangers to it as well as to the mode of clearing and cultivating the land, and this renders the supervision of the District Council most desirable. The profits derivable from settlement, population, and improvement are so abundant and undeniable as fully to justify the outlay of a large capital, on this security for its future payment. Sir Charles Bagot in a despatch dated April, 1842, after much valuable matter, stated, "It is now a recognised axiom among a large class of proprietors to make free grants of a certain portion of their land, to increase the value of the rest; and there are probably few individuals who would not willingly grant 50 out of every 200 acres to resident settlers with small capital, in the certainty that the remaining 150 acres would infinitely repay them."

Of the large and unavoidable expenditure, aided too, as it has been, by the most liberal and generous donations of the English people, for the purpose of supplying the starving inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland

with food, I make no complaint. It was unavoidable, but its recurrence should be carefully guarded against.

Eight millions of the public money were expended in a few months for an alleviation of this misery, never to be repaid. Surely five millions might be advanced, with a certainty of its repayment, for the prevention of a similar calamity. What security does the Government offer when raising money for the prosecution of a war? The industry of its inhabitants! What indeed did they recently offer when raising the money to arrest this awful famine? The industry of the people! And is there anything in the past history of Colonisation that should induce them to hesitate in offering as a natural, just, and ample security the future value of the lands they colonise? When the citizens of Toronto felt desirous of concentrating the trade, commerce, wealth, enterprise, and population of the Province in their noble city, by improvements in draining, lighting, paving, supplying water, widening streets, securing the health, and adding to the comforts of the inhabitants, they did not hesitate to raise the means whereby they were enabled to carry them on, by the issue of corporation notes, which were not only current in Toronto, but throughout the Province, because no one doubted the future wealth and prosperity of this noble city. From a recent report of its flourishing corporation we find under the head of its finances "the estimates for the current year would stand as follows:—viz.,

REVENUE.

City taxes	£6,225	0	0
Drainage	250	0	0
Rental	2,975	0	0
Market fees	1,100	0	0
Licences, &c.	375	0	0
Fines, &c.	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£11,025	0	0

EXPENDITURE.

Printing	250	0	0
Police expenditure	125	0	0
Fire department	650	0	0
Gas	1,080	0	0
District for gaol	600	0	0
Interest on debt	4,350	0	0
Salaries, &c.	2,420	0	0
Miscellaneous	650	0	0
Add for indispensable road repairs	400	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£10,525	0	0

Leaving a surplus revenue of £500 0 0

"These latter estimates, however, embrace only the necessary and indispensable expenditures, and appropriate nothing for extending further improvements in the wards and streets of the city.

"There is one view of the comparative state of the city finances in

1834, when the city was first incorporated, and in 1847, which is calculated to demonstrate the important fact that the general prosperity of the city, and the increase of its financial resources, have fully kept pace with the increase of the public debt, and the progress of improvements; and is calculated to remove any alarm which may have been felt at the large increase of the public debt.

“ In 1834 the corporation came into existence with a debt upon its shoulders of about £10,000.

Gross amount of assessment for 1834	£2,500
Interest of the debt of £10,000	600

Surplus of taxes over the interest of the debt in 1834 .	£1,900
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The public debt in 1847 is £72,500.

Gross amount of assessment for 1847	£6,400
Interest of the debt of £72,500	4,350

Surplus of taxes over the interest of the debt in 1847 .	£2,050
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Showing a greater excess in the amount of the assessed taxes, after paying the interest of the public debt, in 1847 than in 1834, the rate of taxation being the same in both years, while the other branches of the city revenues show a corresponding progress during the same period. The rental of city property has increased from £1,000 to £3,000, the market fees from £200 to £1,100, &c. &c. &c.; and it was stated during the recent discussion that there would next year be an accession to the city revenues of £500 from the rental of the market block, and £1,500 from tavern and shop licences, which would then fall in to the city—say, together £2,000—without any indispensable addition to the expenditures; while the anticipated acquisition of the turnpike roads and gates within the city might be productive of a still greater addition to the city revenues.”

The following evidence, from a vast body of similar testimony, must be considered quite conclusive as to the ever-augmenting value of property, from the effect which remote settlements produce on the trade, commerce, travel, enterprise, and advance of the towns and cities connected with them. The *Toronto Herald*, in noticing the report of the corporation, thus alludes to the wisdom of its large expenditure:—

“ But, if the city finances have not only been undepressed, but have actually improved and flourished during the progress of the large expenditure and great increase of the city debt, which the extensive public improvements during the last fourteen years have occasioned, who shall estimate the *inestimable* advantages which the city of Toronto at large has derived from those improvements and that expenditure? Or, who shall presume to calculate the value of the additional worth of property, the increased personal comforts, and the improved health, which, to a greater or lesser extent, have accrued to every man, woman, and child, in the city, from the improvements which have caused that increase of the public debt? Who, that remembers the ‘dirty,’ sickly town of ‘Little York’ of 1834, when at certain seasons of the year no man

ventured to step from the sill of his door without first tucking his trousers into his boots, and without, at the very first step, finding himself sunk half-way to the top of those boots in mud; when no female durst emerge from the homestead—when the smallest loads were dragged through the streets on ox sleds—when all our streets and open spaces were studded with frog ponds, coated with green slime, and sending forth, under the sun's influence, poisonous exhalations which invalidated one-half of our inhabitants—who, that remembers this state of things, and at the same time contemplates the beautiful city of Toronto of 1847—with the splendid tunnels which now run through all our principal streets, and effectually carry away those fertile sources of disease, the stagnant pools and muddy surface waters of our roads; with excellent macadamised, paved, or planked streets; with splendid planked side walks, which for comfort and convenience are not excelled in any city in the known world; and, above all, with the immensely increased number, value, and beauty of the buildings, both public and private, which have grown up in every direction around us during the progress of those improvements—who is there, we repeat, that, in contemplation of this comparative state of things, does not feel impelled, instead of blaming the corporation for incurring this public debt, to award to that body the very highest meed of praise for effecting those magnificent improvements, which have conduced so largely to the wealth, the health, the comfort, ay, and to the happiness of every individual within their jurisdiction! What honest, sensible man is there in the whole community, who does not desire to see the same policy continued until every street and lane in the city shall have a full participation in the like advantages? What unprejudiced reflecting person, in fine, is there to be found among our numerous population, who, instead of traducing and abusing the corporate body for their disinterested exertions in this behalf, will not rather say to the present and to future corporations—'Go thou and do likewise.' ”

Of the vast value of the property of this city, I may also mention that a small strip of garden-ground, fronting the lake, was sold for building purposes last year for £5,000! The value of the property in its principal streets may be judged by the following notice of a sale by public auction:—

“ Perhaps the best illustration which can be adduced of the advancing prosperity of our good city, is the value of real estate when brought to the hammer. A striking proof of the force of this argument came under our observation the other day, when Mr. W. Wakefield, auctioneer, of this city, sold to the highest bidder, pursuant to a decree of the Court of Chancery, a building lot of land, on King-street, 22 feet frontage, by 100 feet in depth, for the sum of *eleven hundred and fifty pounds, cash!* being at the rate of about seventeen dollars per inch frontage! The purchaser was John Radenhurst, Esq., and before evening he was offered a handsome advance on the bargain. On the same occasion, another building lot, closely adjacent to that above mentioned, with a frontage of 20 feet, was knocked down to Mr. John Eastwood, clothier, for nine hundred pounds, *cash*. These are sound indications of prosperity, which

cannot be mistaken, because the respective purchases being paid for in cash, were bought for *investment*, and not speculation."

It is useless to cite further examples; the matter to be most deeply considered is, how to turn these facts and this knowledge to the best account. Before offering my concluding suggestion, I cannot refrain from noticing and offering a few observations on the recent debate arising out of Lord Lincoln's motion. The Noble Lord, in his excellent speech, commences by declaring that "his simple object was to obtain from the Government an inquiry, by means of an unpaid commission of able men, whose services the Government could command, into the means by which Colonisation might be carried out with reference to the immediate relief of Ireland, and as bearing upon its present condition. Secondly, in inquiring whether Colonisation might be made applicable to the relief and benefit of those remaining in Ireland, as well as to the increased happiness of those who left it; and thirdly, and not least in importance, whether it could be carried out consistently with the interests and feelings of the Colonies themselves. It followed, that his motion had reference to Colonisation, as distinguished from Emigration; for, if the result of the inquiry should be, that any of these three objects could not be accomplished, he should certainly be, thereafter, an advocate of a measure of this kind. He would not place himself in the position of bringing forward any measure which might be justly characterised as 'a shovelling out paupers,' a most applicable term which had been applied by the present Judge Advocate to Emigration conducted without proper management. He believed, cruel as was the condition of the people of Ireland at this moment, and cruel as would be the alternative, it would be far more humane and justifiable to leave them in their present condition to starve and perish." Again, "he would be told that Colonisation removed the bone and sinew, the vigour and strength, of the country from the land of Ireland, as only those of which the land most wished to be relieved would be left behind. He for one, however, did not think nor wish that such should be the case. Those whose strength had been exhausted in the cultivation of the land were legitimate objects of parochial relief, and, as such, no doubt would receive it; but he believed he had already proved to the satisfaction of the House that there was a redundant able-bodied population in Ireland ready to establish themselves advantageously in other countries, and only wanting to be sent out of their own. He would recall to the recollection of the House that every committee and every commission appointed to consider the social condition of Ireland had invariably, more or less, strongly advocated Colonisation as one of the remedial measures for that country. The committee of 1830 stated that Emigration might be considered as a remedial measure for both landlord and tenant; and it recommended that facilities should be afforded in the shape of funds to defray the expense of a passage to America for a large number of emigrants. The report of the commission to which he had before referred, likewise stated that emigration should be adopted as a mode of relief for destitute able-bodied men. He was anxious to establish the fact that every committee and every commission had made the same recommendation." By far, however, the

most valuable part of Lord Lincoln's speech was his just tribute to the worth and value of the Irish as labourers and settlers in America. "Another objection was, that the Irish invariably made the worst Colonists. If they had hitherto been shovelled out from some estates, and obliged to emigrate, it was no wonder that they had been bad emigrants. But he asked whether in reality the Irish were bad emigrants, and whether that assertion was not refuted by abundant testimony and by patent facts? Perhaps one of the most gratifying features during the distress which existed in Ireland was the remittances made by the Irish to convey their friends and relations to America. Last year no one would have ventured to suppose one-twentieth part of the sum would have been remitted for such a purpose. This was one proof that, when removed from their own soil and placed in a position where they could exercise their industry and talents, they could thrive as well as the people of other countries. He believed that the character for indolence of the people in the south and west of Ireland arose from external circumstances, and was not inherent in them. He did not believe in that difference which some persons believed to exist between the Celt and the Saxon. With respect to those characteristics which enabled a people to be honest and industrious, he believed there was nothing in the blood of the Celt which could incapacitate him from industrious and orderly habits either in the Colonies or in his own country, if the external circumstances to which he was subjected could be removed. (Hear, hear.) He might appeal to the Hon. Member for Sunderland whether some of the best labourers on the railways were not to be found amongst the Irish, and he was fully convinced that the same remark applied to them when employed by the landlords. But as the opinion to which he had alluded had been deliberately put forward in print, he would endeavour to show that it did not exist in those quarters where it would be most mischievous, namely, in the Colonies themselves. A higher authority on Colonial affairs could not be found than Chief Justice Robinson, and that learned judge stated, in a letter to Sir R. Wilmot Horton, that, 'taken as a whole, the resident Irish agricultural population of the United States are a most valuable class of settlers, and have done credit to the country from which they came;' and he afterwards said, that throughout the Province their conduct was 'pre-eminently good.' The same views were fully corroborated by Captain Hall. (Hear, hear.)"

Mr. Hawes said, "He could assure the noble lord that there was no want of an anxious desire on the part of her Majesty's Government to carry out the objects he had in view to the utmost of their power. There would be no difficulty in finding fertile land for Colonists, or in finding emigrant labourers. The only obstacle in the way of the attainment of the objects of the noble lord was the want of adequate funds, and unless a commission could devise some means of procuring those funds its labours would necessarily be abortive." Further, Mr. Hawes complains "that the opinions of Colonisation entertained at the present day differed materially from those entertained by the friends of Colonisation in former times. The old Charter Colonies and the later attempts at Colonisation had sprung entire from *private enterprise*; but it was a remarkable feature

in all the Colonisation schemes of the present day, that they rested entirely on large grants of public money from the State, and which, if the Government refused to support, they were accused of being indifferent to Colonisation. Now he (Mr. Hawes) believed that no less than from £300,000 to £400,000, in small sums, had been remitted home by persons in the Colonies to enable their friends here to go out and join them."

Sir R. Peel expressed himself favourable to Colonisation, and in reply to Mr. V. Smith observed, "The right hon. gentleman (Mr. V. Smith) said that the noble earl had proposed a plan in December which he found it necessary to abandon in January; but surely that was no reason why the whole question of Colonisation should be abandoned. If they could open up a permanent outlet for the population of Ireland, they would not only be laying the foundation of the cure for the present and future evils of Ireland, but be establishing new points of connection between this country and the Colonies, to which the population might emigrate. The right hon. baronet then proceeded to express his gratification at the remittances which had been made from Irishmen settled in the United States and in Canada to their friends in the mother country, and which he regarded not only as most honourable to the character of the parties making them, but most encouraging with a view to Colonisation, showing that Irishmen planted in other countries were not inferior to any people on the face of the globe. They had a new and a well-known and tried Governor in Canada, in Lord Elgin. The passage to that Colony was now much cheaper—there was the feeling of a common race prevalent amongst those settled in that Colony and in Ireland, and they might introduce into Canada a loyal and faithful population which would ensure that the connection of that Colony with the mother country would be perpetual. He thought that the circumstances of the country were such that the noble lord would not hesitate to defer to the wishes of the house and make the attempt to see whether they could not devise some plan to relieve Ireland from some part of her redundant population, and by so doing relieve the people of England of a great burden."

Last, and not least in importance, was the speech of Lord John Russell, who said: "And as to information relating to Colonisation, he should conceive the best information that could be obtained, and remained to be obtained, was to be had from the British American Colonies. But how was that to be obtained? Mr. Godley had suggested that the members of a commission should go over to Canada and hold public meetings in different parts of the Province, and there explain their plans of Colonisation, and ask the assent of those meetings to them. If that were to be the plan adopted to obtain the information, nothing could be more unsatisfactory. The assemblage, not knowing what amount of taxation should be imposed, or what the practical details of the scheme would be, would come to a resolution in the way persons did who went to hear a good speech at a meeting, and they would thus have some forty meetings in Canada approving of the scheme of Colonisation submitted to them, without considering the details of execution. But if they did really want to get valuable opinions, they should first take that of the

Governor-General in Council; and as they had talked of the merits of other governors, he should say that no man was more capable than Lord Elgin of fairly placing before the Government of this country and that House a clear and distinct view, both as to the general principles of policy and matters of detail by which their measure should be regulated. They should next get the opinion of the Executive Council of Canada, who had great experience as to the mode of employment and remuneration of labour; and lastly, they should have the opinion of the Provincial Assembly. It was through such channels, and not a commission, that they should seek information; for what authority could a commission have to call upon the Executive Council or Legislature to give their opinions? A message for inquiry should come from the Crown to those organs of the Crown who were accustomed to transact business with the Executive and Legislative bodies. Instead then of appointing a commission, they had three gentlemen of considerable experience in the subject, and who had been devoting themselves to it year after year, who would call upon practical men of weight and authority, of public companies, and of the different landed societies, and others connected with Canada, who could give the information required.

“ Many of the emigrants went out upon their own resources—many, principally in Scotland, went out with means furnished by their landlords, and a very great number went out with means furnished by their friends, who had emigrated in former years. He had great satisfaction in stating that, from good information, he was able to say that the amount furnished by the latter mode, during the present year, was not less than £200,000. (Cheers.) Of all the plans which he had seen that had been under consideration, that which appeared to be the most practical was the one for aiding and assisting in public works in those Provinces to which the emigrants were likely to be directed; but he did not think that the adoption of such a plan depended merely upon general maxims, or upon abstract principles upon the subject of emigration. He thought at this time, with the difficulties of the money market—with the immense absorption of capital in railroads in the United Kingdom, that, asking the House for some fresh drain of money—for some large diversion of capital, in order to aid public works in British North America, would be a most inopportune and unseasonable proposal for Government to make. He therefore thought that such a proposal was not to be merely measured by its abstract wisdom and justice, but must be suited to the particular time in which it was made; but that it was in principle far better than any of those plans of making villages—of settling the emigrants in small communities, he was fully persuaded. He was persuaded of it not from any reasoning to which he had come in his own mind on the subject, but because he heard such universal testimony from all acquainted with the progress of Colonisation in North America. They said that if you sent men out—able-bodied men, who could obtain wages, whether as farm-labourers, or on the roads, or on public works, and thus, by earning good wages, come in time to be able to buy little properties—these men would do well, and finally be useful settlers, good subjects, and promote the civilisation of the country; but if you sent

them at once from their habits in the United Kingdom to a small community in the back woods of Canada, you would find this settlement would fail, that their want of experience, want of knowledge, and the deficiencies to which the noble lord had alluded in the despatch—the difficulty of having a plough or a spade mended—the difficulty of having corn ground, and those other difficulties which occurred, would dispirit these men in beginning their career, and the settlement, instead of being a prosperous village, would become deserted and abandoned. Such being the case, while he fully agreed in the opinion which he had stated from his noble friend's despatch, he agreed likewise in the sentence in which, speaking of such a measure, he said, 'But great as would be the disadvantages of such a measure, they would still be less than would flow from the hasty adoption of an immature and impracticable scheme; nor did he think it possible to proceed without the hearty co-operation of the Provincial Legislature.' That conveyed fully his (Lord J. Russell's) opinion on the subject."

This debate was the most important of the session; important for its admissions and omissions, its facts and fallacies, its desires and its fears. First, with regard to the commission suggested by Lord Lincoln. What more satisfactory mode of obtaining a practical solution to all the difficulties, real and imaginary, that were urged by the respective speakers, than a commission appointed in the Colony? Let clever, practical, patriotic, and influential men, be selected for this useful purpose; appoint a commission consisting of the Honourable Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Elmsley, Sir Allan McNab, Sheriff Jarvis, Dr. Dunlop, and Messrs. Widder and Creighton, together with the President and Secretary of each district emigration society that was formed in 1840, for the purpose of aiding the settlement of Canada, and they would soon determine a safe practical plan of Colonisation that would effectually disprove the oft-repeated falsehood of Mr. Buller, that there were no lands for Colonisation in Canada, and would show to the people of the United Kingdom who are so deeply and vitally interested in this matter, that the Colonisation of Canada needs neither the theory nor cajolery of E. G. Wakefield. It is equally a libel against the sense, as well as against the integrity of the Canadian proprietary, to suppose they cannot succeed without this man's crudities, speculations, and intermeddlings. There is ample scope for his knavery and ingenuity in his New Zealand schemes and projects, without inflicting on Canada the calamity and curse of his agency or advocacy.

Another cheering feature in the debate was the admission that the Irish could be, and actually were, good settlers in America. It is peculiarly the province of hard-working industrious men, tried in the furnace of affliction, to subdue the forests of the New World. The great public works in all the Trans-Atlantic cities, the canals, the railroads, indeed, every enterprise of physical power is the labour of their hands. Another fact mentioned, and with fear and trembling, was, that 54,000 of these wretched beings had left the shores of the United Kingdom in the month of April last to seek that refuge and support in America which was denied to them at home. The following resolutions adopted at

two meetings in the city of Toronto, one for relieving the Irish distress, and the other for directing the current of emigration, will demonstrate how anxious the Canadian population are to co-operate in this glorious and most Christian work.

The Hon. Robert Baldwin was called to the chair, and John Duggan, Esq., appointed Secretary.

1st. Moved by the Rev. J. McCaul, L.L.D., seconded by Skeffington Connor, Esq., L.L.D., and

Resolved—"That the awful state of destitution to which vast numbers of the inhabitants of Ireland have been reduced, by actual deficiency of necessary food to sustain life, calls for deep commiseration and active sympathy."

2nd. Moved by George Duggan, jun., Esq., M.P.P., seconded by W. B. Jarvis, Esq., and

Resolved—"That we owe unbounded gratitude to Almighty God for granting to the people of this Province abundant harvests and plentiful supplies of the necessaries of life; and that we recognise in the visitation of famine which has fallen upon our unhappy fellow subjects, an undeniable demand upon our most extended benevolence and brotherly liberality."

3rd. Moved by J. H. Hagarty, Esq., seconded by Lucia O'Brien, Esq., M.D., and

Resolved—"That while those amongst us who are Irish feel it our duty more especially to respond to this call, we entertain the deepest sense of obligation towards those of different origin who generously come to the aid of our suffering countrymen."

4th. Moved by the Hon. R. B. Sullivan, seconded by J. W. Gwynne, Esq., and

Resolved—"That we earnestly hope that the present distress may have the effect of turning the attention of the Imperial and Local Governments to the subject of emigration and Colonial settlement, so that the territories, now lying waste and unproductive, may be beneficially cultivated; and the surplus population of the Mother Country, instead of remaining a burden at home, may add to the wealth, strength, and safety of the Colonies of the Empire."

A public meeting was also held in the City Hall, his Worship the Mayor in the chair, Mr. Thomas Champion, Secretary. The meeting was addressed by several gentlemen present, and the following resolutions were adopted:—

Moved by the Hon. H. J. Boulton, seconded by the Rev. Dr. McCaul, and

Resolved—"That there is every reason to expect that a much larger number of emigrants will arrive during the approaching summer than any former year, and that it is highly important that prompt and immediate measures be adopted to prepare for their arrival, and make arrangements for their relief, employment, and settlement of their families in permanent situations in the interior of the country."

Moved by the Hon. Robert Baldwin, seconded by Lucius O'Brien, Esq., M.D., and

Resolved—"That there be formed a society, to be called 'The Emigrant Settlement Society,' whose particular duty it shall be to put the emigrants, on their arrival, in the way of procuring steady employment without delay, at moderate yearly wages, and of settling themselves and families in the interior of the country; and, generally, to afford information to all persons desirous to settle in any part of the Province."

Moved by E. W. Thompson, Esq., seconded by W. M. Gorrie, Esq., and

Resolved—"That the following gentlemen do form a committee to consider this very important subject, and to adopt such a course of procedure as they shall deem most advisable for the purpose of effecting the objects of the foregoing resolutions, with power to add to their numbers:—The Honourables Mr. Justice Jones, H. J. Boulton, R. B. Sullivan, R. Baldwin, J. E. Small; His Worship the Mayor; George Duggan, Esq., M. P. P.; C. Gamble, Esq., Mr. Solicitor-General Cameron, J. W. Gwynne, Esq., Dr. Workman, J. H. Price, Esq., M. P. P.; J. Cameron, Esq., Commercial Bank; Dr. Hayes, Mr. Sheriff Jarvis, Thomas Galt, William Baldwin, Charles Bercezy, Maurice Scollard, J. Lesslie, S. G. Lynn, Hugh Scobie, George Gurnett, Andrew Mercer, John Ewart, George Brown, J. S. Howard, Donald Bethune, George A. Barber, J. H. Hagarty, James Browne, W. M. Gorrie, Ogdan Creighton, Thomas Bell, Thomas Helliwell, T. O'Neil, Alexander Badenach, E. R. Rutherford, William Proudfoot, T. G. Ridout, E. McElderry, Skeffington Connor, M. J. O'Beirne, R. Grapper, Thomas Champion, and E. W. Thompson, Esquires; Lucius O'Brien, Esq., M.D.; and the clergy of all denominations."

Time admonishes me to close, but there is still another subject elicited in this debate, so strongly corroborative of all that I have ever spoken, written, or urged on this subject—of such material and intrinsic importance—indeed, the sum and substance of it all, that I cannot pass it by unnoticed; I mean the prosperity of the settlers, the conversion of British paupers into that embodied mass of industry, which has levelled the Canadian forests, tilled the fields, worked on the wharves, dug the canals, suppressed rebellion within its territory, and defended its borders from aggression—in fine, which forms one of the main features of the natural strength and prosperity of the Province, and the source of encouragement to our untiring perseverance. Mr. Hawes speaks of £400,000, sent in small sums, by these happy and grateful settlers, to enable their poor relatives and friends to quit the starvation in Ireland, and partake of the plenty of Canada. The late Earl Egremont, by whose munificence and benevolence thousands of English paupers, the inmates of its workhouses, have become Canadian proprietors; and when the returns, which Mr. Scrope has moved for, are obtained, it will be seen that never was any public expenditure more blessed than that obtained by Mr. Wilmot Horton, which converted the starving paupers of Ireland into the wealthy, happy, loyal, prosperous, and contented yeomanry of the Newcastle district, in Canada.

What a field is here opened for the patriotism and benevolence of those who desire to turn the wholesale famine and pestilence of Ireland

into agriculture, commerce, and wealth, in Canada. This glorious undertaking throws into insignificance all the enterprises of vulgar speculation. In the glowing language of a late illustrious divine, commerce may flourish or may fail, and, amid the ruin of her many fluctuations, may elevate a few of the more fortunate of her sons to the affluence of princes; but the transfer of a broken-hearted, poverty-stricken people, to a field where their industry and energy may be rewarded by happiness and wealth, is a glory which far outweighs in true dignity all the blazing pinnacles that glitter round the wealth of the nobles of the land. It is, indeed, a cheering thought to the true Christian philanthropist, that near us, and belonging to us, lies a territory so ample, and a soil so fertile, and a resident population so willing, and success so general in those who have already gone before, as are to be met with in Canada—where, for all our pains, and all our sacrifices, and all our outlay, we should be certain of a repayment more substantial than was ever wafted by richly-laden flotilla to our shores—where the return comes to us, not only in that immediate relief from the most dire and dreadful calamity which can encompass a people, but in that solid increment of value fixed and perpetuated on the recipients of our aid, their conversion from objects of our sympathy and compassion into sources of our admiration and delight.

The neglect of a Colony, says Bacon, is a sin:—"It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons." Let it not be longer our reproach as a nation that scenes of such shuddering horror and frightful extent should again take place when we have a Colony like Canada, with such a people ready, willing, desirous of co-operating with us in the removal of such a giant evil and such great disgrace. In the hope and prayer that this glorious consummation may be realised, I conclude with the same desire, so beautifully and fervently expressed by its late incomparable governor, Lord Metcalfe:—"Long may it be one of the most splendid gems of the British Crown; long may it flourish a land of liberty, loyalty, industry, and enterprise, increasing daily in population and wealth—a place of refuge and comfort for a large portion of the superabundant numbers which the genius of Britain sends forth to fertilise and civilise the untenanted regions of the earth; long may the happy connection of the United Kingdom and this Colony in the voluntary bonds of mutual affection, be an unfailing source of benefit and prosperity to both; and long may Canada rejoice in aiding and upholding the grandeur, might, and integrity of the British empire."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Portsmouth, June, 1847.

THOMAS ROLPH.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing article, the files of Canadian papers have arrived, containing the opinions of the respective editors on Mr. Godley's plan. They are almost all condemnatory, not so much from an impartial consideration of the plan itself as the apprehension that it is another scheme of E. G. Wakefield's, which would prove as abortive in the promotion of Colonisation as his notorious Beauharnais job, which did nothing but enrich himself, and divert a national canal from its legitimate route

through the lands of a public company. The views of the editor of the *British Whig* are nearly those of the Province of Canada:—"We should not be surprised to hear that that arch vagabond, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, has had a hand in the concoction of this scheme. The memorial! is well written, and with a knowledge of Canada unlikely to be possessed by either of the three gentlemen, whose names are at the foot of the circular to the press, published in our last. Mr. Wakefield, by this time, in all probability has spent the money he gained by the Beauharnais Land Company job, and is doubtless willing and able to embark in some other money-making project."

(To be continued.)

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNORS—CAPTAIN GREY AND COLONEL GAWLER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

SIR—In the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 1st instant, on Lord Lincoln's motion on Colonisation, as published in the *Times*, Mr. V. Smith remarked, "that the system of Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield had been tried in respect to South Australia, and the commission to carry it out failed, not from any difficulty in the plan itself, but from the circumstance of great extravagance connected with it. The Colony, however, was restored to great prosperity through the instrumentality of the Governor who was selected for it, Captain Grey; and this was a proof that one of the most important duties devolving on the Government was the selection of good Governors for the Colonies. Captain Grey found South Australia bankrupt, and left it flourishing." And Sir Robert Peel, on the same subject, came in with these observations, fathering Mr. Smith's panegyrics: "The Right Honourable gentleman says that emigration to South Australia failed at first, but that you sent out a good Governor, that through Captain Grey all difficulties had been overcome, and that by his energy he had converted what had been a Colony of despairing paupers into a Colony which boasted an affluent population. Well, why can you not have a good Governor in Canada also?"

Really, Sir, with the utmost respect for these right honourable gentlemen, there is both absurdity and injustice in these remarks. They allot to Captain Grey more merit than can by any possibility be his due; and serve, by an unfair exaltation of that gentleman, to depress his predecessor and the Colonists at large far below the fair standard of their merits. Nor is this the first occasion upon which gentlemen in Parliament have indulged in similar extravagant statements, and they have been echoed by various portions of the press until they have attained an established currency whenever allusion is made to the past affairs of the Colony in question. With your permission I will trouble you with a few remarks to show how strangely erroneous these statements are.

Captain Grey never found *the Colony bankrupt*; nor was it by *his in-*

strumentality that it became flourishing. When Captain Grey arrived in South Australia, that settlement was suffering in common with all the Australian settlements from the reaction of those wild speculations in land, houses, cattle, and sheep, which had been so generally indulged in during the three or four years preceding. It was no worse off than Port Phillip, or New South Wales, or Van Diemen's Land. It was a period of panic and depression, such as we have not to travel to the Antipodes to find as the result of over-speculation and gambling investment. But while there was great individual distress and monetary derangement, *the Colony at large was unavoidably better off than it had ever been.* It had greater assets for the entire community; useful and substantial buildings had increased in number, among many indeed that only represented labour and capital thrown away; its lands had become more widely cultivated; its sheep and cattle had multiplied; its annual products had greatly increased; and above all the settlers had gained experience from the past, and learned that wealth was to be acquired not by a series of transfers of the selfsame property (be it land, or sheep, or cattle) with a nominal profit on each transaction, but by augmenting products. The monetary distress having had its run, the Colony went on prospering more than ever, in obedience to laws which Captain Grey could no more control than he could the winds of heaven. The grass will grow, sheep will breed, mines will be productive, and men will take advantage of all these and many other sources of gain, let who will be Governor.

Thus far as to the Colony. But it may be said *the Government* was bankrupt. Whatever people may feel themselves entitled to say of the condition in which the finances of the Colony were at the time of Governor Grey's arrival, Governor Grey did not apply the remedy. The British public did that, and in the usual John Bull style—*it paid the money.* Colonel Gawler had drawn largely on the Colonisation Commissioners and on the British Treasury, chiefly for what he not inaptly termed the "outfit" of the Colony—*matériel* for the public stores and departments, the erection of public buildings of various kinds, the mounting and equipment of a police force, &c. &c. The British Treasury paid what was owing, with the exception of, I believe, some £20,000 or £30,000, which remains as a small funded debt on the Colony, its revenue being chargeable with the interest. For the rest, the Government of the Colony has since been maintained by the usual Colonial imposts, continued from Colonel Gawler's time, and South Australia, as a Colony flourishing by the energy, activity, and judgment of its inhabitants, now affords a public revenue out of which a local Government can be efficiently maintained without the cost of a shilling to the parent country. In this respect, however, it is only in the same condition as its neighbours, New South Wales, Port Phillip, and Van Diemen's Land. It is now, in fact, a "self-supporting" Colony; as Colonies always must become in the end, though they may require a little foreign aid at first a outset. Port Phillip never required that aid, because it was not at first a separate Colony, but was an offshoot of New South Wales; and had South Australia been similarly established it would have been equally independent of the British Treasury. But New South Wales, the common

parent of all these Colonies, has had many millions of John Bull's money lavished on it; but look at its annual export and import trade, and who shall say that the investment is a bad one?

But it is to be further observed that Captain Grey found great advantage from much of the expenditure of his predecessor. Instead of having to erect public buildings and construct extensive public works, he had the use of those already erected and constructed. He found a large amount of stores in the hands of Government, and an immense extent of land surveyed—always one of the costliest services that can be performed in a young and unexplored country. The expenditure of his predecessor therefore was practically an augmentation of his own revenues: at the same time that after his arrival the prices of commodities and provisions of all kinds, and of labour, had fallen greatly below what they were during his predecessor's administration; so enabling him to carry on the same services at diminished cost. The fact was that he arrived at a most favourable juncture. The Colony, ceasing to be a mere consumer, and having become a producer, had entered upon that career of rapid improvement which it has ever since persevered in; and with a confusion not uncommon, perhaps, in the history of the world, a man having been contemporaneous with certain events has been set down as their cause.

I do not make these remarks in a spirit either of hostility to Captain Grey, or of advocacy of Colonel Gawler. I wish simply to state the truth; and while desiring to show that Captain Grey was no conjuror in South Australia, I think that gentleman's admirers may find in his zeal and assiduity, and his administrative abilities, quite sufficient to found his reputation on as a clever Governor.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

London, 15th June, 1847.

AN OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

REMINISCENCES OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA; OR, THE SMITHS AT THE HAVANA.

BY CHARLES F. E. LERMAN, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "THE AMNESTY; OR, THE DUKE OF ALBA IN FLANDERS," &c. &c.

(Continued from vol. x., p. 213.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FUGITIVE.*

ON reaching the opposite shore, Silva de Copan sprang from the light skiff, and fled, without even looking back to see whether he was observed or pursued; but, ere proceeding many steps, he sank half insensible at the foot of a tree, overcome with terror and emotion. Ten

* The absence of the writer on the Continent has prevented, until now, the continuation of these papers.

minutes elapsed ere his mind was restored to its wonted calmness, and it was then that the events of the evening rushed back to his recollection. For the first time in his life, tears came to his assistance; and as the bitter drops chased each other rapidly down his blanched cheeks, his breast by degrees felt less oppressed—whilst his iron will, hitherto impliant and stubborn, became subdued. The recollection of the PAST flashed across his mind. Scenes of boyhood, long forgotten, now passed like a diorama before his steadfast gaze. Then came the period when he first met Blanca, beautiful and innocent. The effect she then produced upon his senses was refelt in pristine force, and De Copan for the space of an instant felt his heart throb with that same degree of delight he experienced when exchanging vows of eternal fidelity and constancy with the orphan. But when the angelic form and face of Blanca disappeared like a dissolving view, and the less elegant though beautiful Leonora Pizarro, the coquette who principally caused all his misfortunes, stood smiling on him, he actually tore his hair, and cursed his stars so loudly, that the very sound of his voice scared him, and recalled the visionary to his senses. It was then that the scene of horror in which he had been the chief tragic actor returned to his sight. Whichever way he turned his eyes, he saw Blanca stretched on the ground, with the black print of his fingers on her throat, and the luckless negro weltering in his blood. He rubbed his eyes, but yet—it was there! Whether he closed his eyelids, or whether he gazed on the stars, or on the surrounding dark foliage, the horrible *tableau* was still before him. He fell on his knees and tried to pray, but Heaven was deaf to his entreaties; the sanguinary scene continued palpably to haunt his distracted imagination.

Conscience, that inward monitor, now loudly upbraided him, and De Copan felt all the horrors of his situation. Alas! of what avail is repentance when it comes too late? Repentance cannot undo what has been perpetrated, especially if the deed be one of blood. Remorse is but the attendant on guilt—it follows, but never precedes crime. He had seduced, then strangled a girl who adored him; he had stabbed her faithful slave, all for the sake of basking in the sunshine, smiles and affection of a worthless coquette, who perhaps had already denounced him, and set the slaves on his track.

“Can it be possible!” exclaimed the fugitive, “that in so brief a space of time I have become an outcast—nay, a murderer?” And he shuddered as this expression escaped his trembling lips. “What will become of me?” cried he, “What shall I do? If I return not to the house my absence will be observed: perhaps Leonora’s trouble will betray us. What—what, oh God! what shall I do? Ah! I thank thee, Holy Mother—” exclaimed Silva, as a thought flashed upon him, “I may yet be saved, and the onus be laid upon the slave. Necessity hath no law; as I cannot recall Nicolo to life, let the suspicion of this foul deed rest upon his head. What is he but a slave, perchance still an *idolater*! Perhaps Blanca yet lives; I shall return to the spot, yes, and if my fertile brain does not come to my aid, the propitious fates will.”

Having thus consoled himself, he returned to the skiff, buoyed up by

HOPE. He swiftly recrossed the lake, landed at the very spot where he had embarked about half an hour before, and lent an attentive ear. Not a sound was to be heard. The night breezes and gusts of air, which usually animated the luscious fruit and caused the emerald leaves to tremble, seemed spell bound, linked in the arms of Morpheus. All nature appeared to enjoy that repose, which was denied to the destroyer of innocence, and that life which God gave and which no man has a right to take away. Slowly and on tip-toe De Copan advanced towards the fatal spot. He trembled as he approached the grove where the tragic scene had been enacted. The moon peered above the tops of the dense foliage, and cast her beams vertically upon the grass plot, but the victims had been removed, the only vestiges which attracted Silva's gaze, were traces of the scuffle, and a pool of blood, which seemed to cry for vengeance. Even the deadly weapon had been carried off.

It was then that terror returned with fourfold horror; that he gave himself up for lost. Oh, yes! his presence, and perchance that of Leonora, had been missed, or she had turned informer to save her honour. Rooted to the spot, with eyes fixed on the pool of clotted blood, stood De Copan, perfectly unconscious of what was passing around him. The dew oozed from his brow, his heart beat quicker and quicker—so loud that its palpitations scared him. Raising his eyes towards Heaven as if to implore pardon, he was horror-stricken on perceiving the figure of a woman standing at a little distance, who seemed to all appearance like the figure of one just risen from the dead. There she stood, wrapped in a sheet or white mantle, with hands extended towards the sky, in an attitude of defiance. The criminal quailed beneath her steadfast gaze; his heart sank within him—his knees shook—his legs tottered—and overcome with dread and awe, the assassin sank to the ground.

"Holy Virgin!" exclaimed Silva in broken sentences. "Who in the name of—who art thou? my evil genius—some fiend from hell—speak?"

A moment elapsed ere the figure replied; that moment seemed an eternity to De Copan. At last she spoke.

"Demon!" said she, "demon, and has it come to this? Fiend, villain, heartless wretch, well mayest thou cower beneath the gaze of one who nursed thee in her arms."

"Maniac!" exclaimed Silva, interrupting his interlocutor.

"Silence, wretched Silva. Look up. The moon, who has watched over me since my birth, was a silent but ominous witness to the foul deed committed this night. In her pallid countenance, and in the perturbed appearance of those stars did I read sad forebodings. They told me that a relative was in peril—they guided me to this place; and lo! I saw the child I nursed in these arms, commit the foulest of deeds. Silva, thou art accursed!"

"Relative!" muttered De Copan, raising himself partly from his recumbent posture.

"Yea—relative!"

"Cursed slave, how darest thou talk of relationship to —"

"To thee, murderer! Yea, the liberated slave, whom thou despisest, is nevertheless thy relative. Thy grandsire was my father; he spurned me because my mother was an African—a slave! But he died a violent death—the same fate awaits thee. It is I, Maria de Copan, commonly called the Witch of the Vija, who now pronounce thy doom. It is written in Fate's dark book that ere three months shall have been scored down by Time, Silva de Copan shall have joined his grandfather in purgatory!"

These words were uttered so ominously and so prophetically, that De Copan groaned aloud. Recovering self-possession, however, and starting to his feet, he exclaimed,

"Maniac, begone, or I shall—"

"Add another victim, thou wouldst say," hastily observed the witch. "Behold! the blood of Nicolo, which still haunts the spot thou standest on, loudly calls for vengeance, while Blanca—"

"Oh! tell me, woman—tell me where is Blanca? Lives she?"

"And can it matter to thee whether thy victim breathes, or whether she be a corpse. Alas, Silva, thou hast played a heavy stake with happiness. Bliss was within thy reach; thou wast beloved by an angel, but hast preferred a demon. The curse of God, which falls upon three generations, clings to thee. The demon has thee in his power; he claims his own; thou canst not escape the doom which awaits thee. I see the fiend; even now he stands beside thee, though thou seest him not. It is impossible for thee to elude his iron grasp, for the curse of the discarded child is upon thee. Often when I nursed thee in these arms, did I think of destroying thee, so that thou shouldst ascend to heaven as innocent as an angel; but as oft as I meditated thy destruction, Destiny interposed, and the smiling child grew up a haughty youth, and the wayward youth became a gambler, a seducer, and a murderer!"

"Peace, wretched impostor! have I not fed and clothed thee? have I not tolerated thy whims and fanciful delusions respecting thy parentage, at the expense of being laughed at by friends and acquaintances; and for all my past kindness thou callest me—"

"A murderer! yea, a murderer! Canst thou deny it? Canst thou forget the lovely Blanca imploring for mercy. No! for the demon was beside thee. It was he who drove thee to madness—she fell insensible at thy feet; it was the fiend who sent Nicolo, so that he should become thy victim. But the hour of retribution has not yet arrived: thy good star has again protected thee—Blanca breathes! and the unfortunate Nicolo is suspected to be the guilty one."

"Say that again. Oh! say that once more, and I will forgive thee, witch—even the curses thou hast heaped upon my head," exclaimed De Copan.

"I tell thee Blanca breathes, and the slave is suspected. Go seek thy acquaintances—tell them that I saw the deed—that Blanca, in self defence, slew the slave. I will say anything to save the child I nursed—the child I loved. Go, to-morrow I will meet thee at the foot of the Ossuary; to-morrow I will reveal to thee a destiny, which neither the General nor thou, nor Blanca, can avert. When I cast thy horoscope

at thy birth, blood stained the azure sky—nay, go—go—farewell, farewell !”

Having said these words, the Witch of the Vija left the fatal bower. De Copan watched her in silent awe; it was not until her form had disappeared behind the dense foliage, that, with a heavy heart, he directed his steps towards the house of the Countess.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ORPHAN'S BEDCHAMBER.

It was broad daylight. The sun as usual shone brilliantly, nevertheless there were some mortals in Cuba totally insensible to the genial heat lavished by the cheerful rays. Sadness encompassed their hearts, the chill of death was upon them; gloom reigned supremely in Donna Hyacintha's house.

On a couch—that very couch described in a foregoing chapter—lay the victim of man's passion and infamy. The once lovely, the innocent, the happy Blanca, was now stretched upon a bed of sickness. All traces of health had forsaken that once beautiful countenance; her features bore the stamp of pain, of intense mental grief. Her temples were bandaged with napkins steeped in vinegar, and marks of blood were visible on that pillow on which she had so often dreamed of happiness—fallacious dreams, in which poor mortals too frequently indulge, and which as often end in utter disappointment.

At the foot of the couch sat Fray O'Donnell. He seemed absorbed in prayer; but it was evident that his thoughts were divided between heaven and earth, judging from the long pauses which occurred betwixt his *paters*, and the fixed looks he bestowed from time to time on the invalid. The beads of his rosary only marked seven *Ave Marias* and as many *Pater Nosters*, although two hours had elapsed since he commenced his supplications. He watched the motions of the young sufferer with ardent anxiety; listened to her deep drawn sighs with solicitude, and occasionally dropped the rosary to feel her pulse, or direct Juanita to apply more vinegar to her throbbing temples. Blanca occasionally muttered incoherent sentences, frequently breathing De Copan's name, coupled with such horrible disclosures, that they caused the good monk's heart to throb, and eventually raised his suspicions. Even Juanita was startled. The slave and the monk exchanged glances which spoke volumes. The monk shook his head, resumed his prayers, while Juanita, conscious that she was the cause of all these horrors, buried her jet black face in the bed clothes and wept bitterly.

There was a pause; it seemed an eternity. Nought save the deep drawn sighs of the invalid, or the occasional sobbings of the slave, disturbed the silence which reigned in that bedchamber. Suddenly, however, a gentle tap at the door aroused Fray O'Donnell from his devotions. Juanita caught the sound and listened. The signal was repeated.

“It is Don Silva!” said the slave, “I know the knock.”

“Ah!” exclaimed the monk, as suspicion flashed across his mind.

“ Shall I admit him, holy father ?”

“ You may ; but I wish you to withdraw.”

“ What, leave my mistress ?”

“ Follow my orders ; admit De Copan, then leave us.”

The door was opened. De Copan stood on the threshold overawed with dread, trembling with emotion, pale as the victim of the law on the verge of being launched for ever into eternity. His eyes rested on the wan features of the orphan, but their gaze met not, for Blanca's eyes were closed as if she were reposing in the arms of death.

“ Approach, my son,” said the monk.

De Copan mechanically obeyed, though he seemed like one in a trance, or under the influence of *sonnambulism*. With eyes fixed on his victim, he cautiously approached her couch. Several moments elapsed ere he gave signs of consciousness, and with presence of mind, remorse and all its horrors returned and overpowered him. He sank on his knees beside that couch, and wept bitterly. At last he was roused from his reverie on hearing his name pronounced.

“ She lives, holy father !” remarked De Copan, “ hark ! she calls me.”

“ Ah, Silva, Silva ! seducer ! murderer !—cowardly villain to kill thy Blanca !—Blanca, who loved thee so tenderly !—help !—fly, fiend !—nay, stay dearest Silva !—stay, I love thee ; yea, dearer than ever, though—oh, drive her away !—help, General, help !—’tis Leonora !—Oh, Silva !—mercy !—mercy !”

Such were the incoherent sentences uttered by Blanca, which struck daggers into De Copan's heart and fixed him to the spot.

There was another pause. It was broken by Fray O'Donnell.

“ She calls thee, my son—God forbid that I should accuse thee, but those broken sentences fill my soul with horror ; it sickens at the very thought which pervades my frame. Hark ! she accuses thee of all that is infamous.”

“ Holy father,” replied De Copan, with downcast eyes and troubled countenance, on which the word *guilt* was legible, “ holy father, she is beside herself. Have you not heard, that when the brain is convulsed the maniac generally accuseth those it loved best of the foulest of deeds ?”

“ Have you not heard, my son ?” replied the monk—“ that the eye of God detects the offender, and by some unaccountable means brings his deeds to light. When does the murderer escape the vengeance of the Omnipotent ? Never ; for if no man denounces him, conscience drives the felon to become his self-accuser. Have you not heard of men who, after escaping the hands of justice for years, have delivered themselves up to the justice of God when their hair was blanched by age ?—when years reduced the strong man to the verge of the grave ?”

“ Father, dost thou suspect me guilty of so heinous a crime, when all the world accuses the slave Nicolo ?”

“ Heaven forbid that I should accuse the innocent ; but tell me, how comes it that Blanca has hitherto not even breathed the slave's name—not even hinted at his participation in the foulest of deeds ? You are silent, my son ! Your troubled looks betray you ! I have watched this poor child all night long. Her ravings startled even the unsuspecting

Donna Hyacintha. With difficulty I persuaded her to retire; then administered a sleeping draught, which will restore Blanca to herself when she awakes. She is still under the influence of the potent but restorative herbs that will calm the body, but which cannot restore to the mind that happiness which I fear Blanca has lost for ever. Hark! she lisps your name—it is coupled with that of seducer—murderer!”

Nailed to the spot, Silva heard the most frightful accusations. He would, the proud youth, have dissembled—have tried to undeceive the monk, who kept his penetrating gaze rivetted on the youthful offender. De Copan, under the influence of the monk's eagle eye, felt what the sinner must feel in the presence of his God. A cold dew oozed from his brow—he trembled violently, and for a while seemed lost in reverie; then, as if inspired by the fiend, he seized Blanca's hand, covered it with kisses, but, horrible to relate, contagion with the assassin seemed to operate fatally on the patient. She convulsively withdrew her hand from his iron grasp—her whole frame seemed shaken from some unaccountable cause. She raised her hands to her throat as if to tear away the murderous grasp which denied her that breath the Omnipotent gave, and which He alone has the right to take away. Blanca screamed—shouted for help, and Silva fell insensible on the floor.

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Several days elapsed ere Blanca was restored to consciousness. The moment her medical adviser pronounced her out of danger, the good Hyacintha caused her to be conveyed in a litter to the Havana, where she was sure that the celebrated Doctor Castrigas (who pleaded *press* of business—speculating, no doubt, upon the annual visit of his friends and patrons, *Yellow Jack and Vomito Negro*—as an impossibility for going to her estancia) would devote all his skill and *savoir faire* to restore her adopted child to her wonted tranquillity of body and mind. Alas! Castrigas could no more “administer to a mind diseased,” than turn rhubarb or Palma-christi into golden ducats. The spirit, the golden dreams of youth, had been for ever crushed in the bud; for all the pharmacutics in the universe cannot heal the broken heart. Love had turned to hate—hope had fled, despair now replaced the smiling sister—the day star had changed to night. Night, that is to say, gloom, misery, and wretchedness reigned supreme in Blanca's heart, and that eternal night for which she sighed, nay, prayed for, was denied her.

When Silva recovered from his swoon, fray O'Donnell caused him to be conveyed to the capital; but the good monk extorted the promise that he would not intrude himself on the invalid until she was fairly pronounced out of danger, and De Copan, fearful lest the incoherent, but too significant expressions uttered by the raving girl, should compromise him, readily pledged his word to submit to the ordeal. In the stern looks and ambiguous phraseology of the monk lurked suspicion, and Silva gladly availed himself of the *ultimatum* of the father of the church to absent himself for a while. He had heard sufficient from Juanita to take this resolution; he sickened when the slave related Blanca's confession to the monk, under the pledge of secrecy. His heart smote him when he learnt that Blanca had made up her mind not

to see him any more on this earth, although she pardoned him willingly and freely, and even offered up prayers for his forgiveness. Thoughts of revenge or wrath were strangers to the pure mind of the girl he had so cruelly injured, and he left the house of her benefactress, determined to reform, in the hopes of soon claiming Blanca as his own, to make amends for the irretrievable wrong he had done to his once beloved.

A few days after his arrival at the Havana, a letter was placed in his hands. It was from the monk, and ran as follows :—

“MY DEAR SON,—I must fain still call you by that endearing name, though you have greatly sinned in the face of Heaven. Since Blanca forgives, why should not the priest follow her example and obey the precepts of Him who also forgave his enemies. Yea, the angel forgives ; but, my son, she has taken a resolve and sworn an oath, which no mortal can persuade her to perjure. Blanca renounces a world of care—a world, which to her, has been one of sorrow and great affliction,—to seek that comfort in the cloister, which religion never denies. Henceforward, she who once pledged her love to man—belongs to God. She will, so soon as her health will permit it, take the veil, and by fastings and prayer hopes to obtain her own forgiveness, as well as the commutation of that punishment which would fall to the lot of her deceiver—to you, my son, who has sacrificed earthly and heavenly bliss to worldly vanity. As we sow so shall we reap ; alas, sad is the harvest you hold in perspective. On my return to the Havana I will see you :—meanwhile, pray for Blanca—pray for yourself, while your well-wisher prays for both of you.

“O'DONNELL.”

“I have then lost her for ever !” exclaimed Silva, and the letter dropped from his hands. On recovering himself, he muttered—“He tells me to pray, this priest. Pray ! I cannot pray—I never prayed, not even in my heart ! Alas, God forgive me, I deserve all this misery, wretch that I am ; but I cannot pray—indeed I cannot ! Alas, Heaven forgive me, sinner that I am !”

Little did the wretched youth suppose, when he exclaimed from the bottom of his heart—“*God forgive me,*” that that was a brief, but an earnest prayer. A dozen *Paters*, or three dozen *Ave Marias*, unless spoken with fervency, do not constitute prayer. Man may call a long address to the Creator prayer, though his mind has been estranged from the object all the while ; but a few words spoken by the *soul* are more pleasing to the Omnipotent, than long-winded supplications, read in monotonous, tedious, and ceremonious routine by a priest, whilst the mind wanders to things of this earth or the eye gazes upon and envies, that which constitutes the “Vanities of this wicked world,” in a church, crowded with a fashionable congregation, drawn thither by a fashionable preacher, bedizened in stiff-starched lawn-sleeves.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

Phillipstland; or, the country hitherto designated Port Phillip; its present Condition and Prospects as a highly eligible field for Emigration. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D., A.M., &c. &c. Edinburgh. Thomas Constable, 1847, pp. 447.

UNDER this new designation we have an historical and descriptive account of the settlement now generally known as Australia Felix, forming the southern district of the Colony of New South Wales. We cannot agree with the learned author in his proposed change of the name of the country; nor do we think the Port Phillip Colonists will gratuitously pull down the distinguishing pennant which Sir Thomas Mitchell affixed to their beautiful and variegated territory. True, the term Australia Felix was bestowed upon a part only of the southern district, but this name is now generally applied to the whole division, and is commonly used in legal documents, more particularly in this country, as identical with the official denomination of the Port Phillip District. Besides, there must be some rule as to the parties who are authorised to alter or bestow names, otherwise we shall have endless confusion. The reverend doctor is not content with his inventive efforts in the case of Australia Felix, he appears, by an advertisement in the present volume, to have given the name of Cooksland to the extensive country around Moreton Bay, situated to the north of Sydney, which he remarks should be the seat of a separate Government. We might have excused such suggestions had they appeared in the modest form of a foot note or appendix to the work; but the bull is seized by the horns, the change taken for granted, and the book published in terms accordingly. Cooksland may or may not be, a suitable name, as far as regards a matter of taste; but we shall think very little of our Port Phillip Colonists if they waive the ennobling title of Australia Felix, and submit to the present plebeian substitute.

The subject matter of the volume, however, is important. It treats of a country which every succeeding year is proving to be of still higher importance to the interests of British commerce. With a climate unsurpassed for its genial character, Australia Felix unites a vast extent of available country, where millions of sheep and cattle now depasture, and where rich agricultural soils may be cultivated for the support of a population as dense as that of the mother country itself. The work is intended chiefly to point out the advantages of this part of Australia as a field for emigration from Britain. The early history of the settlement, and other particulars, are set forth, and there is a chapter on the (locally) all engaging topic of separation from the old Colony of New South Wales, a business in which our author, who is one of the representatives of the Port Phillip District in the Colonial Legislature, took a prominent and efficient part. But the greater part of the volume is occupied with descriptive details of Colonial life and occupations, and with the scenery of the country, the incidents of travel and other circumstances, which makes, perhaps, a rather heavy volume for the general reader, but are useful and interesting to the intending emigrant. The doctor has introduced several of the speeches which he delivered in the Legislature and elsewhere on subjects connected with the settlement. These will be found interesting, and are good specimens of composition. This was a department in which the reverend gentleman excelled.

The whole work is characteristic of its author. There is a strong bias to his subject, a constant effort to make the best possible case. The real beauties, advantages and prospects of Australia Felix, are positively obscured by the expletive adjectives of the doctor's style. Possessed of strong party feeling, the same system is pursued both with men and things. All with whom he usually comes in contact, are generally either friends or foes. There is no medium, no indifference, no stoical coolness to the great mass of casual acquaintance. The highly laudatory mention of

the many, is interlarded with the thunders of his wrath poured out on the unhappy few. The officers of Government are discovered to be mere human beings like ourselves; and the Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy—miserable heretics—for the doctor is a Wesleyan, are served out with an orthodox fury that must end, one would suppose, either in the converting or subverting the offenders. Apart from sectarian predilections, we cannot agree with the author in the tirades of vulgar and bitter abuse in which he permits himself to indulge; and we regret to learn that talents of the first order, and a life otherwise of unwearied usefulness, should have been seriously marred in their career of action, by a line of conduct which appears so easily avoided, and so little satisfactory to any party concerned.

We admire the sensible and independent views which the author has taken on the squatting question, and decidedly agree with him that the Government has erred in leasing out for definite and protracted periods the vast territories of the Crown to the present handful of squatters. The old plan of annual leases was begun, indeed, on a vague and uncertain principle, and theoretical objections were easily raised against a tenure apparently so unsatisfactory. But the Crown is a landlord which can be managed by its tenants much more methodically than a private interest. Accordingly, like some of our old English tenures, priority of occupation, and the lapse of time, gave them special rights, and notwithstanding the squatter's position as a tenant-at-will, with an annual lease, his removal was not an arbitrary dictum of the Crown, or its agent, but a matter of law, for which a sufficient and lawful reason must be assigned. The squatter had, therefore, a lease in perpetuo, subject to his good conduct (of which the law was judge), and liable to ouster, or encroachment, only when the progress of the Colony demanded successively some portion of the squatting territory hitherto used for sheep or cattle, to be applied to the more direct and immediate uses of man.

The old system required amendment, but all that was wanted was, that there should be some regular system in the assessment of pastoral capability, and in the partition of runs which was occasionally necessary in the case of those squatters who were considered to have a larger tract of country than they required; and also that there should be an equitable and liberal practice in the valuation of improvements on the station, when occasion required that any portion of a pastoral tract should come into the market.

We shall conclude this short notice by earnestly recommending the work in question to the attention of that numerous class whose limited means is insufficient for any standing in society at home, and to the poorer classes of our population, who, by any available mode can succeed in obtaining a passage to the Australian shores. The field is wide for both parties, and already a society is organised, which, though less crowded, less diversified, and less brilliant than that at home, is nevertheless a cheering, a comfortable, and an improving representation of the British people.

Echoes from the Backwoods, or Sketches of Transatlantic Life. By Capt. R. G. A. Levinge. Second Edition. London: H. Colburn, 1847, pp. 258.

THIS work has already attained to such a degree of popularity, that to notice it favourably and at any length now is almost a work of supererogation. Its fame has already travelled far and near, and the spirit-stirring adventures, and graphic style in which they are narrated, have made the author a general favourite. The publisher, therefore, has acted wisely in condensing it into a single volume, and issuing it at a price which will give a more general sale, and make it the pocket companion of many a colonist and sportsman. How tempting, too, is the invite afforded by the following passage:—

“The rivers on the northern side of New Brunswick, which flow into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, abound with salmon, and offer every facility for fly-fishing, fully equal to those found in Norway. The best season to pursue this sport in New Brunswick is from the middle of July to the middle of September; after which, there is a succession of snipe, woodcock, and wild fowl shooting of every description on the coast until the setting in of winter compels the birds to emigrate to a more southern clime.

“The regularity and certainty with which the Cunard steamers now cross the

Atlantic would enable the sportsman to reach this region in fifteen days from London. He may fish and shoot, ascend the mighty St. Lawrence, visit the lakes, look upon 'the thunder of the waters',* close his autumnal tour with a run through the United States, visit the principal Atlantic cities, and be at the meet at Kirby-gate. The far west, too, might be reached by a slight extension of time, and although the spirit of Davy Crockett exists there still, that hero would be found to have departed. He fell gallantly fighting at the storming of the Alamo in Mexico, and was found dead within the walls, with six enemies whom he had slain lying around him."

Our author is not only a pleasant sporting companion, but he is also a shrewd observer and useful instructor on the advantages and resources of the fine Province of New Brunswick—to which his remarks and notes chiefly apply. His volume may therefore be usefully consulted by intending settlers. Captain Levinge, we see, pays a flattering, but nevertheless deserved, compliment to our talented friend Mr. Perley, to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for much statistical information, and whom he designates as "the head of all enterprise in the Colony, Government emigration, and last, but not least, Wunjeet Sagamore, or head chief of the Micmacs," one of the two remaining Indian tribes. We can speak ourselves, from general knowledge, of Mr. Perley's great zeal, energy, and enterprise on behalf of the Colony, of which he is a distinguished member, for during his short sojourn (just ended) in this country, to which he was officially deputed, no man laboured harder to bring prominently forward the importance, the value, and the resources of the Province. In public and private, in the city and at the Colonial office and west end, his object was to inform, suggest, and enlighten, and he had the satisfaction, after labouring most assiduously, of accomplishing the ends he had in view, by bringing to maturity several important public undertakings, full complements of which he took back with him. We should be glad to see more from the volume, but this would be scarcely doing justice to either author or publisher. To all who have half a guinea in their pockets, we say, buy this book, and take our word for it, you will approve of your purchase and thank us for the advice. We hope to have more *Echoes* from the Backwoods from this author's pen.

Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for May. New York: F. Hunt.

THIS number consists chiefly of articles on the Statistics and Progress of the United States, with the exception of two papers—one a general review of the commerce of France in 1844, and another essay on Life Assurance. We have also received with this number a comprehensive index to the first ten volumes, a document which has long been wanted, and which adds to the completeness and interest of this valuable repository of mercantile information.

Annals of England. A Poem in Four Books. By Edward Dacres Baynes, Esq. London: Whittaker and Co.

THE only reason why this book is sent us for notice is, we presume, because Mr. Baynes is President of Montserrat. We had much rather have seen a terse history of the little island which he governs, from his pen, than the wearisome and prosy translation of the History of England into verse; the one would have been useful and interesting, however defective and incomplete; the other, although well executed, evincing much erudition, considerable poetic talent, and an intimate acquaintance with legendary lore, is yet painfully tedious, and so much time and talent thrown away. We prophecy that Mr. Baynes will find the public opinion much the same as our own, and that the reception given to his first four books will not be such as to induce him to extend the poem beyond the Saxon era, or to continue and complete the twelve books which he originally contemplated.

A Report, Commercial, Statistical, and General, on the District of Port Phillip, New South Wales, for the Half Year, ended 31st July, 1846. By W. Westgarth. Melbourne: W. Clarke.

WE have received from time to time several numbers of this interesting report, of which the sixth is now before us. They emanate from the zeal and assiduity of an eminent merchant, who is now in this country. Mr. Westgarth very justly remarks, "Publications of this sort are susceptible of being made highly useful in disseminating

* The literal meaning of the word Niagara.

facts and local information throughout the world. The illustration of every British settlement by the regular issue of such a document, recording local facts and occurrences, which may in general be so easily seized upon, and so correctly delineated, at the time of their appearance, is a desideratum that can scarcely be too highly prized."

The review of the first six months of 1846 contained in this report includes several subjects of principal importance in the history of New South Wales, namely, the continued prosperity of the Colony, the quinquennial census, the contemplated Act of Parliament for regulating the occupation of depasturing lands, and the late extensive explorations and discoveries throughout the interior of Australia. Many of these we have already touched upon in former numbers of our journal, and others will occupy our future attention.

Observations on the Manufacture of Sugar, Sugar-making Machinery, Central Works, &c. By Charles Jay, Esq. London: E. Wilson, 1847.

THERE are some few useful suggestions in this pamphlet which deserve the attention of the planter. On the complete clarification of the cane juice as it comes from the mill depends the success of all the succeeding processes—a remark which we are sure will be assented to generally; and the writer considers the present improved clarifier, heated by a steam jacket, as that best suited for the purpose. Mr. Jay appears to be more of a theoretical than a practical sugar-maker, for his suggestions are numerous, but his recommendations few. One principle which he enunciates is the evaporation of the syrup by the application of heated air, while steam heat may, or may not, be applied at the same time as circumstances may require.

The economy of not consuming the cane trash as fuel is touched on; and the waste from the imperfect expression of the juice from the cane by the mill. The writer seems to think that the trash, if treated with hot water, might be passed into the fermenting vats to increase the quantity of sweets for the manufacture of rum.

Alluding incidentally to the establishment of central factories, the writer advises the retention of mills on each estate, as heretofore, to grind the canes into juice, which might be transferred in casks (proper means being taken to prevent fermentation) by tramroads, to the factory, for conversion into sugar. The cane trash would thus be left on the ground as manure, and much carriage would be saved.

In the conclusions of the writer we heartily concur.

"When it is admitted on every side that from *fifty* to *sixty* per cent. of sugar now wasted might be, at little cost, saved; when Colonial agriculture is allowed to be in its infancy; when there is a cry from the Colonies for labourers, while a lavish and wasteful expenditure of labour exists in every process of manufacture and of agriculture; when it is known that under an improved system of agriculture the land would, with little increase of expenditure, return double and treble its present amount of produce; when it is considered that the planter may make the most profitable addition to the labouring strength of his estate, by economising the labourers which he already possesses; when joint-stock capital and skill are about to be embarked in the fertile field of West Indian enterprise; when it is evident that the temper of the times is favourable for the Government to do its share in West Indian regeneration—when we combine all these things, and, also, have assurance that the West Indian body is animated with a spirit of inquiry, and with an active desire for improvement, we may surely arrive at the conclusion, that though this is a time requiring on the part of the planter a due exercise of skill, intelligence, activity, and perseverance, yet that it is by no means a season for despondence, but may rather be regarded as the daybreak of approaching prosperity."

Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Annual Reports of the St. Phillips District Agricultural Society of Barbados.

THESE reports, which have just come to hand, contain many valuable papers on tropical agriculture, furnished by experienced members of one of the oldest and most enterprising local societies of the island. The essays on rent, by Mr. King, and on central manufactories, by Mr. Moody, we hope to be able to refer to hereafter.

Familiar Illustrations of the Theory and Practice of Assurance. By W. E. Hillman. London: W. S. D. Pateman, 1847.

THIS is a clever and useful treatise by the practised and experienced actuary of the Star Insurance Office. The importance of the subject is well exemplified in the following brief notes:—

"When it is considered that upwards of **ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS** STERLING is

secured to the public, against loss or damage by fire, by Insurance Companies, established for that purpose;—that the tax levied on policies produces upwards of one million per annum to the revenue of the country;—and, that the probable ruin of thousands is prevented, by the reinstatement of loss sustained by them in the destruction of their property by fire. When (as is computed) FIVE MILLIONS STERLING is paid yearly into the various institutions, established for life assurance, by which, perhaps, £135,000,000 is secured for the purpose of mitigating the distress consequent on the death of heads of families; by warding off poverty, and all its cold and heartless concomitants, from the widow and the fatherless;—and the fact of vast sums assured to the sufferers by shipwreck;—when all these things are contemplated, but few will deny that assurance is a matter of great importance."

Mr. Hillman has devoted more attention than any former writer to the statistics of fires, especially in the metropolis, and he furnishes some very curious details, the results of which show that the average number of fires monthly, for the past ten years, has been fifty-five. December, however, produces seven fires above the average, which may be accounted for by the season of Christmas festivities, when fires and candles are used longer, and more intoxication prevails. "The theory of probabilities," says Mr. Hillman, "as far as insurance is concerned, is based on registers of facts, and goes on the simple presumption, that what *has happened* before *may*, and *most probably will*, under similar circumstances, happen again;" and, by classifying the trades from the "London Directory," stating the average number of fires that have happened in two years, he shows how closely the probabilities approximate to the actual experience. Some valuable tables, for reference, are given, showing the expectancy of life; the value of annuities, sickness assurance, marine assurance, fidelity assurance, &c., with the practice of offices, are all successively touched on; and, in a tabular form, are given, at a comparative glance, the rates of all the existing Life Assurance Companies of Great Britain and Ireland, at various ages. Mr. Hillman seems to have taken great pains in condensing and arranging much statistical and general information in a convenient form for reference.

Proceedings of the New York Historical Society, 1846. New York, 1847, pp. 214.

THERE are some interesting papers in this volume of the Transactions. A paper is contributed by Mr. George Gibbs, whose observations tend to show that the Grand Turk Island, and not St. Salvador, was the first spot on which Columbus landed in the new world. Dr. Bartlett contributes a valuable essay on the progress of geography and ethnology, with the historical facts deduced therefrom, and a very learned and interesting address delivered before the Society at its forty-first anniversary meeting, by Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, is published by request in an appendix to the volume. It is chiefly devoted to furnishing incentives to the study of the ancient period of American history.

Observations on the Present State and Future Prospects of the West Indies, &c. BY Charles Jay. London: Effingham Wilson.

THERE are some very sensible remarks and observations in this pamphlet of Mr. Jay, which we recommend to the serious consideration of the West India interests. In the multitude of counsellors it has been said there is wisdom, and Mr. Jay tells some home truths, which, however unpalatable they may be, are not the less true and worthy of consideration. The main drift of his remarks refer to the proposed central sugar manufactories, and he touches upon and answers some of the objections as to the effect of their operations on the district within their sphere and on the planters, taking much the same line of argument as that advanced by ourselves in a recent number (vol. x., p. 86). He advocates the granting of pecuniary aid by the Government for the establishment of railroads and factories, and sums up with some eloquent remarks on the value of our West Indian Colonies, their climate, and capabilities.

Grindlay and Co's Overland Circular; Hints for Travellers to India, detailing the several Routes, with Illustrative Maps.

A VERY useful handbook for intending travellers to India. The merits and demerits of the several routes being plainly pointed out, with all the attendant expenses, so that the outlay may be calculated to a nicety. To those who have means and leisure for a short detour, the various places of interest, and the most agreeable and pleasant trips are described, with the time required to visit them.

COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA.

The news from our East Indian possessions, by the Overland Mail, is very meagre and uninteresting. Our Calcutta papers are to the 2nd May. The *Delhi Gazette* announces, with an air of authority, that Lord Hardinge has decided on retiring from office, and on leaving for England during the next cold season, and that he has written home to that effect, to enable the authorities to make early arrangements for the appointment of his successor.

A report was current recently that a Persian army was about to proceed against Herat, but it turns out that the force is designed for the correction of the Turkomans of Khorassan, who have been rebellious lately.

The Court of Directors have sent out instructions to the Medical Boards at the three Presidencies to assimilate their medical returns to those in use in the British Army, and adopted in the civil returns of mortality arranged by the Registrar General in London.

The British subjects resident at Rangoon (Ava) are most anxious that we should have a Consul there; and considering the intercourse between the two countries, the large amount of British property invested in that place, and the extent of the trade, we think it the duty of Government to attend to their wishes.

SINGAPORE.—Our dates from the Straits settlements are to the 7th May.

A general and scientific miscellany is announced to be published at Singapore, monthly, to be called "The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia," under the editorship of Mr. J. R. Logan.

A list of the exports from Java in 1846 appears in the *Straits Times*, from which we make the following extract:—

Sugar, piculs.....	1,402,358
Coffee, ditto.....	916,876
Rice, ditto.....	500,344
Indigo, ditto.....	171,964
Cochineal, lbs.....	54,788
Hides, pieces.....	300,177
Arrack, leaguers.....	5,516

Tin, piculs.....	65,406
Rattans, ditto.....	45,930
Wood, ditto.....	10,286
Mace, ditto.....	1,772
Nutmegs, ditto.....	5,697
Cloves, ditto.....	1,383
Tobacco, kodier.....	5,783

CEYLON.

We have Colombo papers to the 11th May. Sir J. E. Tennent had assumed the reins of Government until the arrival of Lord Torrington. Col. Fraser commands the Forces, and it is rumoured that in future a Major General will not be deemed necessary for the command in Ceylon. The Hon. Mr. Talbot has succeeded Mr. Fitzroy Somerset as Assistant Colonial Secretary.

The yearly increasing importance of Ceylon may be best evidenced by the increased exports of coffee. Up to the present period this year, as compared with a corresponding time last shipping season, the increase amounts to nearly one-third as follows:—From October, 1845, to April 12th, 1846, the exports were 98,795 cwt. From October, 1846, to April 12th, 1847, 121,926 ditto, or 6,773 tons. In all probability, had the supply of carts been adequate to the demand, upwards of 9,000 tons of coffee would by this time have found its way from the interior to Colombo.

A fine brig of 120 tons, built by Moormen, had just been launched at Mutwal—her progress had been slow, as she took three years to complete.

CHINA.

HONG-KONG.—The papers from this Colony, to the 25th of April, furnish the details of another little war in China.

It will be remembered that, when the last mail left, Sir John Davis had embarked for Canton with 200 artillerymen. Neither English nor Chinese seem to have been aware of the object of the expedition until the commencement of warlike

operations. In less than 36 hours all the principal forts in the Bogue and the Canton river were taken, the magazines blown up, and 827 pieces of cannon spiked. The Governor was present; Major-General d'Aguiar commanded, assisted by Captain MacDougal, R.N. The expedition consisted of the "Espiegle" and three steamers, the "Vulture," "Pluto," and "Corsair." Keying bitterly complained that he had received no notice of the expedition, and said that he was opposed by the people and his fellow officers. Preparations were made to sack the city of Canton; the people made some resistance, and a few were killed; but at the last moment the Chinese submitted, and the following new treaty was agreed to:—

"1. At the fixed period of two years from this day, the 6th April, the city of Canton shall be opened to British subjects.

"2. Her Majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to roam for exercise or amusement in the neighbouring country without molestation, returning the same day, as at Shanghai; and any persons molesting them shall be severely punished.

"3. The aggressors on the seamen in October last, and on Colonel Chesney and others at Fuh-shan on the 12th of March, shall be made examples of; the latter being already apprehended will be brought to Canton, and punished in the presence of persons deputed by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.

"4. An adequate space on the Honan side of the river shall be granted on lease to British merchants and others, for the erection of dwellings and warehouses, and his Excellency will ascertain the site and extent before he quits Canton.

"5. A site for the erection of a church shall be allotted on lease in the neighbourhood of the space occupied by the foreign factories, and space for burial-ground shall also be allotted at Whampoa.

"6. The flying bridge and another building, between the two gardens, shall be erected as desired, and sheds shall not be permitted against the walls.

"7. For the better preservation of order and the general convenience, the river from before the factories shall be kept clear of boats.

"By order,

"A. R. JOHNSTON.

"British Consulate, Canton,
6th April, 1847."

The Colonial surgeon has published a report of the sickness and mortality which occurred within the Colony during the past year; and contrasted with that for the previous year, it cannot be perused but with feelings of satisfaction, as tending rather to create a favourable opinion, than otherwise, of the salubrity of the climate.

The mortality amongst that class of the community, Government officers, police, wives and children of police, and prisoners, who are under the immediate treatment of the Colonial surgeon, does not show a greater ratio than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—that is, but little more than the general average of the whole population of England. The report shows that the mortality amongst the prisoners is less than 2 per cent.; whilst there is an average of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. amongst the total population of Europeans, and Macao and Goa Portuguese, amounting to 990. The greater proportion of deaths here apparent cannot altogether be attributable to the climate as much, we think, to the want of proper medical attendance, and other extraneous causes.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

We have papers from Sydney to the 2nd March, and from Melbourne and Geelong to the 17th February. The Legislative Council stood prorogued to the 9th March.

The steamer "Kangaroo" has been purchased by the Government for £3,000; her destination is North Australia.

The revenue abstracts for New South Wales (exclusive of Port Phillip) for 1846, just published, show a decrease of £12,000, as compared with the year 1845. The items showing decrease are—Duties on spirits, Post-office, auction duty, and sundries. The items showing an increase are—Duties on tobacco, *ad valorem* on imports, shipping, publicans' and hawkers' licences, tolls, and ferries. The consumption of spirits, in quantity, has increased 70 per cent. The proceeds of land sales show a decrease of 20 per cent.; the proceeds of leases and depasturing licences an increase of 12 per cent.

Coal.—Mr. Warman, on his recent trip to Gipps Land, discovered a splendid seam of coal, three feet thick and of great length. The site is along the coast, by

the Ninety Mile Beach, and inside a bar harbour, which he is sanguine will allow of a vessel of 50 tons to enter in moderate weather, and, when there, to remain in perfect safety from the heaviest gale. Mr. W. has made a chart of the place, showing the coal seams, &c., and intends returning to Gipps Land immediately, to survey the harbour and to take preliminary steps to obtain the means for working the mine.—*Port Phillip Herald*, Feb. 18.

New Exploring Expedition.—Mr. Kennedy, who was assistant in the late expedition under Sir T. L. Mitchell, it appears, is to start immediately, to follow down the Victoria River from the spot at which Sir Thomas left it, and, if possible, to ascertain its mouth. His Excellency the Governor, we understand, has advanced funds for the purpose of starting the expedition, which will consist of a very limited number.—*Atlas*.

The *Sydney Herald* gives the exports of wool as follows:—1845, 39,165 bales; 1846, 36,422 ditto. The apparent decrease is disputed by the *Maitland Mercury*, which accounts for it by the larger quantity of the clip of 1846, which was shipped in the last quarter of 1845; and that journal considers it would be better to commence the shipping year on the 1st October.

Sites have been fixed on, and approved of, for a village at Mount Pleasant in the County of Bathurst, and a town at Warnambool, in the Port Phillip District.

Several parties have commenced capturing the dugong or sea-pig of Moreton Bay, for the purpose of extracting the oil from the animal; the oil procured in this way is highly spoken of, being remarkably pure and clear; about five gallons is obtained from each animal. The blacks are very expert in harpooning these animals, and they are passionately fond of the flesh, preferring it to any other kind of food.

From some returns published in the *Mercury* we find that the number of vessels arriving at, and departing from, the port of Newcastle for the quarter ending 5th January, 1847, were

Arrivals ..	No. 231 ..	Tonnage 17,092
Departures No. 233	16,820

Total number of vessels, 464; total amount of tonnage, 33,912.

Lieutenant Crawford Pasco, R.N., of Her Majesty's steamer "Vulture," in a

letter published in the Australian papers, on the communication by steam, throws out the following advice:—"It is a well established fact, that during the months of November and April (inclusive) along the North Shore of Australia, and Torres Straits, the N.W. wind blows, and during the remaining portion of the year the S.E. trade is steady. It is also observed that during the N.W. monsoon on the north coast of Australia, easterly winds prevail more or less, though not to be depended on, on the south coast through Bass's Strait; and in the opposite season I am disposed to think the S.E. trade hangs more E.S.E. and easterly, and certainly the westerly wind is met with in a lower latitude on the west coast.

"Upon which data I will base the following propositions, viz. :—

"1. That during the months of November and March inclusive, the Australian branch leaving Singapore should proceed, via Port Essington and Torres Straits to Sydney, returning south about through Bass's Strait, calling at George Town (Tasmania) or Adelaide, and Swan River.

"2. That during April and October inclusive, leaving Singapore should proceed via Swan River, and Bass's Strait to Sydney, returning through Torres Straits.

"In point of actual distance, I conceive there is only 600 miles in favour of the eastern route, which becomes nullified by the prevailing winds favouring each route in the proposed seasons, viz., the communication with Sydney will be about equal throughout the year.

"Port Dalrymple (George Town) appears a more convenient intermediate station between Sydney and Swan River, then Adelaide, there being about 200 miles saved, besides the claims of all Tasmania entitling her to the preference.

"With respect to the two routes of Torres Straits (commonly designated the Inner and Outer), I should make choice of the Inner, as with the use of Captain P. P. King's excellent chart of the north east coast, with the subsequent additions by Her Majesty's ships "Beagle," "Fly," and "Bramble," the navigation within the Barrier reefs may be compared to that of a well buoyed harbour, with smooth water (a luxury always fully appreciated by steam vessels).

A public meeting had been called, held in Melbourne, to take into consideration the best means for procuring a supply of

emigrants. The following are the resolutions which were passed on the occasion:—

“ 1. That it is the opinion of this meeting that a large and continually increasing demand exists in Port Phillip for emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, of that particular class who would themselves alike be most surely benefited by their emigration here, and which would also tend to the united best advantage of the present home, as well of the Colonial interests.

“ 2. That this meeting further resolves, inasmuch as the objects for which it has met are of such general importance, and affect so deeply the interests of all, that they feel satisfied no difference of opinion can arise as to their common claim upon the exertions and combinations of all parties in the district, and that a committee, to be appointed by this meeting, be instructed to co-operate, if practicable, with the Correspondence Committee of the public meeting which appointed a delegate, in order that a channel of communication with home may be adopted.

“ 3. That it is the opinion of this meeting that great defects exist in the present laws under which merchant shipping are built and conducted, so as injuriously to affect the paramount interest to the Colony of emigration from the mother country, and this meeting resolves that immediate steps be taken by the committee to enforce their views publicly, and to endeavour to obtain remedial results.

“ 4. That it is the opinion of this meeting that a committee of the under-mentioned gentlemen, with leave to add to their number, be appointed to carry into effect the present resolutions, and that they do form a permanent Emigration Committee; and the meeting hereby empower them to adopt such public measures, for the furtherance of emigration from the United Kingdom, as they may consider to be most conducive to that end and favourable to the interests of this district:—Messrs. Westgarth, Balingall, Hightt, M'Combie, Hcape, Were, Westby, Splatt, and Montgomery.

“ 5. That a list be opened to receive voluntary subscriptions from all who are inclined to support the objects of this meeting; that George Were, Esq., be elected treasurer, and that a public meet-

ing of subscribers, and all concerned, be called by the committee from time to time, and not at more distant periods than once in six months, to receive a report of the proceedings of the society, and other business connected therewith.”

In the course of the meeting, Mr. Kerr proposed a resolution commendatory of the proffered introduction of convicts into the Colony. This resolution was negatived by a majority of one. The resolution ran as follows:—

“ That, in reference to emigration, this meeting distinctly desires to be understood as contemplating the introduction of free persons only, and repudiates in the strongest terms the importation of British criminals under that or any other designation.”

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—We have papers direct from the Colony to the 24th Jan., but we understand advices are in town received by the overland mail to the beginning of March.

The mineral resources of the Province are still occupying the chief share of public attention.

A statement of copper and lead exported from the Port of Adelaide in the past year is given, from which we take the following extracts, omitting fractions.

	Tons. Cwt.
Produce of Burra Burra mine	4,564 3
„ Bagot	1,368 18
„ Montacute	503
„ S. A. Company.	599
„ Paringa	97 19
„ Princess Royal	121 9
„ Adelaide Mining Company	1 5
„ Lead ore (various)	71

The total, with 5 per cent. added, is given at 7,642 tons.

R. F. Newland, Esq., J.P., has been provisionally appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council, in the place of John Morphett, Esq., absent on leave.

A meeting of the shareholders of the South Australian Mining Association, proprietors of the Burra Burra mine, had been held, C. Beck, Esq., in the chair. The future qualification for a director is to be twenty shares; it was carried that no resident director should be appointed in the place of the one resigning. There has been no work done since Christmas on the mine, the men being engaged in clearing up the old ores raised during the last four or five months;

and we believe that upwards of 2,000 tons, now raised, will be sent to the port as soon as the drays are able to convey it. Last week upwards of 280 tons left the mine for the port, and the appearance of the new pitches, which will be let on the 5th of February, are such that they will afford employment for as large a number of miners as have ever been engaged. The ore continues of the same superior description, and appears to improve in quality as the workings are deepened. The population of Kooringa, the township near the mine, is between 400 and 500, and is rapidly increasing. Good accommodation is afforded in the township, and the place is well worthy of a visit by strangers.

Within the last few days, a discovery has been made upon a section on the banks of the Torrens, belonging to Messrs. Smith and Levi, which promises to open a new source of wealth to the Colonists. The miners engaged in exploring a vein of copper accidentally struck upon a lode of galena, constituting probably a spur from the main lode of that material. This ore has been found, by Dr. Davy's assay, to contain the enormous proportion of more than 600 ozs. of silver to the ton. The galena is accompanied with other varieties of lead and silver ore, and, in appearance, differs but little from specimens already common in the Colony, except in the peculiar matrix in which it is inclosed. The following are the particulars of the analysis:—

“Examination of a specimen of lead and silver ore, for Messrs. Smith and Levi.—The metalliferous portion of the specimen, separated nearly but not completely from its matrix, weighed 75 grs., and yielded 45 grains of lead, containing 1.33 of pure silver, or about 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on the ore. This is at the rate of 627 ozs. (avoirdupois) to the ton of 20 cwt. The matrix contains no other substance of value, but deserves particular notice, as being unusual, and probably indicating the same rich description of ore in other places. E. DAVY.”

We believe we are safe in affirming that the mineral discovered is the *richest* argentiferous lead ore in the known world. We trust it will prove as abundant as it appears to be productive. To some it may be interesting to know the proportion of silver which the most celebrated

ores of galena yield to the ton, and thence draw a comparison with the mineral discovered. That of the north of England contains from 22 to 24 ozs. of silver to the ton, the average quantity being 11 $\frac{1}{2}$. That of Hull Pool, in Cornwall, yields 60 ozs.; the Guarnock mine, near Truro, 70; and a mine near Beeralstone, in Devonshire, as much as 135 ozs. The ore discovered on Messrs. Smith and Levi's land yielding 600 ozs. to the ton, the difference in its favour over the most productive English ores is actually upwards of 344 per cent. The richest galena hitherto discovered has yielded no more than 12 to 18 ozs. of silver to the quintal (100 lbs.), whereas that just found produces more than 27 ozs.—From the *South Australian*, 19th Jan.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA. — Accounts from Perth, received by the Overland Mail, confirm the intelligence of the death of Colonel Clarke, the Lieutenant-Governor, which had previously come to hand. Captain Fitzgerald, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Gambia, now in England on leave, is spoken of as the new Governor, but it is doubtful whether he will sacrifice several hundreds a-year by accepting it, as the salary is so much less than that of the Gambia.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

We have papers from Launceston to the 10th, and from Hobart-town to the 15th February. The latter convey the intelligence of the death of Sir Eardley Wilmot, the ex-Governor. Addresses of condolence had been presented to his son, Major Wilmot, R.A., by the Auxiliary Bible Society, the Wesleyan body, and the Congregational Union, expressing their disbelief of the slanders which had assailed the character of Sir Eardley. Sir T. W. Denison had arrived, and assumed the administration of affairs in the Colony. He had appointed Lieut. A. Clarke, R.E., his Aide-de-Camp. His Excellency had paid a visit to Launceston.

A list is published in the *Cornwall Chronicle*, of the number of vessels that had cleared from that port in the six months, ending December, 1846. The number of vessels was eighty, aggregating 116.68 tons. The parties who had quitted the Colony in this half year, were 165 natives, 546 who had arrived free,

and 593 who had become free by servitude or pardon, these, with fourteen other emigrants, made a total of 1,318 souls. The vessels entered inwards and cleared outwards, in the year ending 5th January, 1847, as compared with the previous year, was as follows:—

1846.	Inwards.	Outwards.
Number . . .	222	220
Tons	28,970	27,295
Men	2,136	1,943
1845.	Inwards.	Outwards.
Number . . .	178	185
Tons	22,106	22,470
Men	1,669	1,763

Revenue for the Port—
 Year ending Jan. 1847 . . £26,718 15
 Ditto ditto 1846 . . 24,918 7

Total Imports and Exports for the Port of Launceston, for the year ending 5th January, 1847, compared with the year ending 5th January, 1846:—

	Imports.	Expts.
1847.	£	£
Brit. goods from United Kingd.	85,320	378
Other goods from ditto	15,289	141,299
Brit. goods from other places . .	8,573	27,109
Other goods from ditto	69,171	134,185
	£170,344	£302,971
1846.	£	£
Brit. goods from United Kingd.	116,554	170
Other goods from ditto	17,413	102,371
Brit. goods from other places . .	6,333	22,520
Other goods from ditto	61,695	73,005
	£201,995	£198,066

Produce of the Colony exported in the year ending 5th January, 1847, as compared with the year ending 5th January, 1846.

	1847.	1846.
Bark tons	361½	386
Flour „	1,981	1,414
Hay „	519½	67
Grain—Wheat . . bushels	367,421	181,124
Oats 7,763½		
Barley 30,841½	38,604	41,251
Bran „	18,374	1,104
Potatoes tons	1,529½	488
Oil (Whale) tons	614	74
Whalebone tons	1½	4½
Wool bales	6,841	5,929
Skins & Leather, value of	£1,175	£2,841
Live stock . No. horn cat.	77	40
Horses No. of	1,073	1,066
Sheep „	568	659
Timber value of	£3,632	£2,404

A rumour was current in the Colony that the Legislative Council would not be again called together, as the boon of an elective Legislature was confidently expected. A public meeting was held at

Hobart-town, on the 30th Jan., to present Mr. Charles McLachlan with an address in acknowledgment of his exertions in favour of Colonial interests during his residence in England.

Mercantile.—Various changes in our mercantile community are mentioned, Messrs. Kerr, Bogle & Co., withdraw from Launceston, and confine their business to Hobart-town. Mr. Ducroz, the resident partner of William Jackson and Co., will shortly take possession of Messrs. Kerr's stores, and their present place of business will be occupied in future by Mr. Marriott. Mr. Potts, in conjunction with Mr. Swanston, junior, are about to remove to Launceston, where they will establish themselves as merchants and agents.

MAURITIUS.

We have papers from this Island to the 18th March. The quantity of sugar of this year's crop shipped to 28th Feb. was 107,043,213 lbs., about 13 million pounds more had arrived in town, up to the date of our last advices.

The following statement shows the quantity produced by each district compared with last crop:—

District.	Crop 1845-6.	Crop 1846-7.
	lbs.	lbs.
South Pamplemousses	8,000,000	10,500,000
North Pamplemousses	18,000,000	20,800,000
Rivière du Rempart..	24,000,000	31,000,000
Flacq	20,000,000	24,000,000
Grand Port	14,000,000	16,000,000
Savanne	10,000,000	18,000,000
Black River	1,800,000	2,600,000
Plain Wilhems	6,000,000	8,800,000
Mocha	550,000	300,000
	102,350,000	127,000,000

For last year the consumption was not taken into consideration, but from the quantity this year, from four to five millions may be deducted for that purpose. The increase in the production is general. The two districts that are to be remarked are the fertile Rivière du Rempart, an increase of nearly one-third and the distant and once neglected Savanne producing nearly a fourth more than the previous crop.

The papers were complaining of a want of accommodation by the banks to merchants in their exchange operations, and to traders by moderate credits with good securities, and this too in a port where produce to the value of a million and a half of dollars is shipped in one month.

Some amendments in the administration of the Criminal Law, and Trial by Jury, were to be shortly introduced.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

We have Cape Town papers to the 22nd of April, and those from Algoa Bay and Graham's Town to the 17th of April.

Sir Henry E. Young, the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province, had arrived in Table Bay on the 9th of April, in the *Pollinger* steamer, but had not yet reached his seat of government. He will hardly, however, have been installed in office before the intelligence of his appointment to South Australia will reach him.

There had been some more skirmishes in Kafirland, and the position of affairs there is not yet settled.

A new bank, to be called The Tradesman's Bank, was in course of formation at Cape Town. There already exist in this Colony five banks of issue and deposit, with a Savings' Bank well supported, and having branch establishments in various districts. Four of these banks are situate in the capital, one in Graham's Town, and one in Port Elizabeth. They are all Joint-Stock banks.

A second Boating Company had been established at Port Elizabeth to facilitate the increasing traffic of goods shipped and landed in the bay.

We have much pleasure in announcing the return to Cape Town of the manager of the South African Mining Company, after his patient and laborious investigations in Namaqualand, the results of which are more satisfactory than was anticipated by the most sanguine promoters of the undertaking. The gray sulphate of copper now extracted from the mine is found to be remarkably rich, containing 70 per cent. of copper; and this at ten feet from the surface, which indicates the like rich ore beneath for miles. We will not venture to anticipate the result of this discovery, only with the statistics of the mining movements in Australia, which we have at various times placed before our readers; we now look for similar consequences here, enriching our Colony, by the export of many hundred thousand pounds' worth annually of valuable minerals. There is, however, one drawback to this pleasing intelli-

gence which the philanthropist will regret. The natives cannot be induced to accept the boon of beneficial employment offered to them by the company. They will not continue on incessant labour, such as mining, and European labour must be obtained to work the mines.—*Shipping Gazette*.

WEST INDIES.

BERMUDAS.—Capt. Eliot opened the Assembly on the 21st of April. We make the following extract, which refers to English emigration, from his speech:—

“ My predecessor, in several of his communications to the Legislature, and particularly in his speeches at the close of the sessions of 1844 and 1845, expressed some opinions on emigration from Europe, which I believe are now commonly held in this community.

“ I am aware of the various difficulties which have hitherto obstructed that measure; but if the Legislature shall think fit to pass an act uniting the functions of an immigration to an agricultural committee, extend their powers, render them trustees for the application of the fund already existing for the introduction of gardeners, artisans, and farm and other servants, make a small addition to that vote, and appropriate a moderate compensation for an active and intelligent secretary, I hope that some cautious and satisfactory progress may be made in this important concern before the close of the year.

“ It has occurred to me that the system in actual operation at the Cape of Good Hope, with some modification, and of course on a more limited footing, might seem to you to suit the circumstances of this Colony, and under that impression I have caused an extract from the sixth report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners to be printed for the use and consideration of the Legislature.

“ It appears from that report that 217 emigrants from England were introduced into that comparatively remote Colony at an expense of about £1,700. We may therefore feel sure that 60 or 70 could be introduced into Bermuda for less than £400; and if they were selected with care, and the committee had legal authority to watch over their well being, and to super-
 vise contracts of rent or service in their behalf, I think it need not be doubted

that a few families of proper qualifications could be introduced advantageously to the public and themselves, every year during the next four or five years.

"The obligation of the Colonist to the soldier cultivator, and other considerations, must, I hope, remove hesitation as to the fitness of this climate for the European labourer. But indeed it is admitted that it is in the gardens, the orchards, and the pasturage of the Colony that profitable returns from the land must be sought, and industrious occupation in those pursuits is less a severe toil than heathful exercise.

"With the increasing intercourse by steam between Europe and this Continent, we may hope for regular and rapid access to markets where you would always be sure to dispose advantageously of that produce, which you might gather in abundance several months before it can mature in those regions. But great as these advantages are, it is manifest that the success of the most carefully managed scheme of emigration must depend on the wise public spirit of the owners of the land; for it is essential to permanent settlement and extensive improvement, that the occupier should be stimulated by liberal encouragement, and a sense of certainty that he is to abide long enough to reap his share of the partnership.

"I have been so impressed by the concurrence of experienced persons on the necessity for vigorous and steadily maintained efforts to clear and cultivate the land, that I have thought it right to recommend this subject to your particular notice. It is a gratifying consideration connected with it, that industry and improvement are generally admitted to be on the increase throughout the islands, and to that source of satisfaction you may well join the still more encouraging reflections that the positions in the world are few, and the circumstances rare, in which a small but energetic community may find a more varied field for their skill and industry, fruition with less painful toil, a larger exemption of the dispiriting anxieties of life, a more powerful protection on its secure enjoyment."

ST. LUCIA.—Chief Justice Reddie, Judge of the Royal Court of this Island for many years past, having been charged by Colonel Torrens with the authorship of two letters published in the *Independent*

Press, alleged to be libels on the Lord Bishop of the diocese, has been suspended from office, and has arrived home to lay his grievances before her Majesty. Mr. Leuger, second puisne Judge, has also been suspended for writing articles in the same paper. We fully concur in the following observations of the *Trinidad Spectator*:—"It appears to us that the manner adopted of terminating the struggle which had so long been going on between Governor Torrens and Chief Justice Reddie throws much discredit on the dominant party. We have not at hand the newspapers containing the letters which caused the suspension of the judges, but, if our memory serves us aright, they were full of bold and fearless truths, for which the writers deserve praise rather than censure. Colonel Reid, the officer suspending, not long since intimated that there was no harm in officials writing for the press; but it appears they are expected to write only in support of the Government or its officers, on pain of suspension. What a monstrous state of things is that which can thus allow an expression of opinion, or the denouncement of an evil to be followed by dismissal, because the wrong doer happens to be a bishop or a governor. *O, tempora! O, mores!* If either had written aught wrong, was not the same resource, the law, open to the persons offended as to others? Would it not have been far more satisfactory to the public generally had this course been taken by Colonel Torrens? But no; as a school-boy well beaten runs to his mother, so does he shelter himself under the wing of the Colonial-office. The manner in which the evidence was obtained against the offenders was, if our information prove correct, most disgraceful to Colonel Torrens, and quite sufficient in itself to throw around him a halo of shame. The man who could bribe an underling to betray the confidence of his employer—who could take advantage of the hired treachery of a servant to ruin the character or impair the prospects of his master—deserves to be shunned by every person claiming the rank of gentleman, and must himself forfeit all claim to that honourable appellation. But we hope, still, that Colonel Torrens did not bribe one of the printers attached to the *Independent Press* office to steal thence the

proofs of the obnoxious articles, corrected by the writers. Yet it is alleged publicly that he did, and the charge is not contradicted."

CANADA.

We have papers from Montreal to the 14th, Quebec to the 16th, and Kingston and Toronto to the 10th June, by the mail arrived to day, June 29.

The Provincial Parliament was opened by Lord Elgin on the 2nd. The following are the most important paragraphs of his speech:—

The representations which have proceeded from this and the neighbouring provinces, on the subject of the Post-office, have engaged the anxious consideration of the Imperial Government. I am enabled to inform you that her Majesty's Ministers are prepared to surrender to the provincial authorities the control of that department as soon as by concert between the several legislatures, arrangements shall be matured for securing to British North America the advantages of an efficient and uniform post-office system. By a statute passed during the last session of the Imperial Parliament, the Colonial Legislatures are empowered to repeal the differential duties heretofore imposed in the Colonies in favour of British produce. It is probable that by exercising this power you may be enabled to benefit the consumer without injury to the revenue. I commend this subject to your consideration, and I shall lay before you certain communications relating to it, which I have received from her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies and from the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Measures will be submitted to you for extending more generally warehousing facilities to inland ports, and for effecting other improvements in our commercial system, which will, I am sure, engage your attention.

The *Toronto British Colonist* announces that Mr. Draper has been raised to the Bench, and that Mr. Henry Sherwood is to succeed him as Attorney-General. Mr. J. A. Macdonald had been appointed Receiver-General, in the room of Mr. Morris, who is, it is said, to be President of the Council. Mr. Turcotte had been appointed Solicitor-General for Canada East.

Mr. Etienne Parent and E. A. Menditt

have been appointed Assistant Secretaries of the Province.

The following appointments are gazetted:—J. H. Cameron, Esq., to be a Member of the Executive Council, and Joseph A. Taschereau, Esq., to be a Circuit Judge for the district of Quebec; Henry Sherwood, Esq., to be a Member of the Executive Council and Attorney-General for Canada West, in the place of the Hon. W. H. Draper, resigned; Hamnett Pinhey, Esq., and James Ferrier, Esq., have also been called to the Legislative Council; Sir Allan McNab had been triumphantly confirmed to the Speakership.

Lord Elgin, it appears, had no idea of meeting Parliament with a "fragment," and having filled up all the vacancies in the Executive Council, with the single exception of the Solicitor-General of Canada East, is determined not to interfere between parties, while the victory is undecided, but to let them fight it out. To complete the ministerial arrangements several changes have been deemed necessary. Mr. Badgley succeeds Mr. Smith as Attorney-General for Canada East, and the leader of the Government Mr. Attorney-General Draper is succeeded by Mr. Sherwood; Mr. Morris, the new President of the Executive Council, retires from the office of Inspector-General, and is succeeded by Mr. Cayley, late Receiver-General, to which berth Mr. J. A. Macdonald is appointed. Mr. J. H. Cameron is the new Solicitor-General for Upper Canada, vice Sherwood; and the Hon. Peter McGill succeeds Mr. Caron as President of the Legislative Council, with a seat in the Cabinet. The new ministry is out-and-out Conservative, all attempts at forming a coalition of parties having failed; and consists of nine members, of which, *five* accepted office within a few days of the meeting of Parliament.

We repeat the list in detail.

The Hon. M. Morris, President Executive Council; Hon. P. McGill, President Legislative Council; Hon. D. Daly, Provincial Secretary; Hon. W. Cayley, Inspector-General; Hon. D. B. Papineau, Crown Land Commissioner; Hon. W. Badgley, Attorney-General, Lower Canada; Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Receiver-General; Hon. H. Sherwood, Attorney-General, Upper Canada; Hon. J. H. Cameron, Solicitor-General, U. C.

The City Bank of Montreal has declared a semi-annual dividend of 3 per cent.

Twenty ships have been built during the winter, and launched this spring at Quebec, amounting in the whole to about 12,000 tons.

Lady Elgin had arrived at Montreal from England.

A great fire had occurred in Toronto, by which thirteen buildings, including Dr. Burn's Free Church, was destroyed. Another fire had also occurred in the city of Kingston, by which some buildings and seven or eight thousand barrels of flour and pork were destroyed; Messrs. Green's storehouses are burned, valued at £12,000, about half of which is covered by insurance.

A letter from Mr. Bourassa, missionary priest on the Ottawa, published in the *Melanges Religieux*, states that there are 6,000 young men, of French Canadian parentage, employed in cutting timber for exportation on the Ottawa. He says that the least sum earned by them, during the ten months for which they are generally engaged, is £50. This makes £300,000, which is annually carried into the rural districts. There are two hundred different lumbering places on the banks of the Ottawa. At 100 miles from Bytown, on the river Gatineau, Mr. Bourassa was surprised to find two settlements of French Canadians, which comprised a population of 250 souls.

Exports of Timber from Canada by Sea, in 1845 and 1846 :—

	1846.	1845.
White pine, feet.....	14,392,320	15,828,890
Red pine, „.....	5,206,040	5,182,320
Oak, „.....	1,712,640	1,297,440
Elm, „.....	1,793,320	1,423,920
Ash, „.....	188,960	207,080
Birch, „.....	147,880	183,360
Staves, standard, M.....	970	1,407
Staves, puncheon, M.....	2,2-3	3,122
Staves, barrel, M.....	273	652
Deals, pine, pieces.....	2,661,260	3,002,015
Deals, spruce, „.....	306,807	527,259
Tamarac, feet.....	771,489	
Lathwood, cords.....	5,007	

Cornwall, with 1,500 inhabitants, sends a member to Parliament. London, with 3,000 inhabitants, sends a member to Parliament. Cobourg, with four thousand inhabitants is unrepresented. We have an immense trade. Our harbour is very good during summer, and will be improved. We have the largest woollen factory in Canada.

We have splendid taverns, elegant shops, wide and excellent streets, and, above all, are the county town; and yet we have no one to take care of our interests in the Legislature. This must no longer be so. Our Board of Police, the most efficient one that we have ever had, should take the first step, and that *immediately*, towards obtaining for us the honour of a representation in Parliament. They will succeed if they act with their usual vigour.—*Cobourg Star*.

The Hon. Mr. Caron had been formerly notified of the revocation of his commission as Speaker of the Legislative Council.

The tolls on the several roads on the Island of Montreal had been let for £6,492. The roads are six in number and the circumference of the island about fifty miles.

Mr. Yarwood had been appointed chief Agent for Emigrants at Montreal.

We are glad to see that a reduction in the postage on letters and newspapers in Canada is shortly to be made.

We have lately received a Pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Mineralogical Character of the Seigneurie of Rigaud, Vaudreuil, District of Quebec, dedicated to the proprietors, Charles and Alexander De Lery, Esquires, by John P. Cunningham, Esq.," dated "Montreal, 22nd March, 1847."

Several pieces of gold weighing from 30 to 40 and 50 pennyweights, the gold quite pure; 23 carats were found some time ago in the Seigneurie, on a stream falling into the Chaudiere. Mr. Cunningham, who had been employed at the mines on Lake Superior, and who is thoroughly acquainted with the mineral regions in North Carolina, proceeded to visit the Seigneurie, and he reports that the character of the countries are similar in their formation, and concludes, from his personal examination of the parts of Rigaud where the gold was found, that there is a strong probability that the Seigneurie contains valuable gold mines, which might easily be rendered productive. He also discovered on the Seigneurie a valuable and extensive bed of magnetic iron ore.

The letter concludes with a statement of the annual deposits of gold for coinage at the mint of the United States, and its branches from mines in the United States from 1824 to 1846 inclusive. The total

is 11,852,668 dollars, of which 5,105,355 from North Carolina. The largest amount from that State, in one year, being 365,886.—*Quebec Gazette.*

At the meeting of the General Committee of the Emigrant Settlement Society, held at the Court-house, Toronto, on the 10th May, the following prospectus was adopted:—

“The objects of this association are, firstly, to put emigrants, on their arrival in this city, in the way of procuring steady employment, without delay, at fair yearly wages, and of settling themselves in the interior of the country; and, for such purpose, to organise a committee, and to open an office at Toronto, where emigrants of every class may, immediately upon their arrival, receive accurate and useful information to guide them in making the most beneficial arrangements for their speedy settlement in the surrounding country, according to their respective conditions and avocations. As the Society merely contemplate affording advice, emigrants must not expect pecuniary assistance.

“Secondly—To keep a registry of lands, of which a list may be transmitted to the secretary of the association, by persons wishing to sell or let the same either on shares or for a money rent.

“The zealous co-operation of all classes of the community is earnestly solicited in furthering the objects of the association, for, by its complete organisation, each class, while contributing to the settlement of their fellow-countrymen in comfort and independence in this fertile Province, will, at the same time, be aiding in the extension of every branch of industry,—in the development of the vast resources of the country, and in increasing the individual wealth and prosperity of each other.

“The association will receive applications for labourers from farmers throughout the surrounding country, and will assist the parties in making contracts to their mutual advantage, thereby enabling the farmer, by a supply of labour, to extend his operations, and the labourer to acquire, in the most speedy and effectual manner, a knowledge of the mode of farming in the country.

“The association will, in like manner, aid in procuring a supply of labourers for mechanics and persons engaged in the construction of roads and other works.

“The information which the association will have in its power to afford, cannot fail to be of the utmost value to the emigrant.

“In order to conduct the affairs of the association some expense must necessarily be immediately incurred, and, with the view of raising a fund for this purpose, it is proposed that every annual subscriber of 5s. shall be a member of the association.

“The Board of Management shall consist of the committee already named, who shall elect from their own body a president and four vice-presidents, and appoint a secretary.”

NOVA SCOTIA.

There is a great coal field near Pictou, said to be about 100 square miles in extent, the same varying in thickness from one to thirty-six feet! The minerals of the Province, however, have all been reserved to the Crown of England; and as a sample of the kind of corruption which has always prevailed in our Colonial management, it may be mentioned that a lease of these Crown rights was granted to the late Duke of York, and that the coal mines are at present worked for the benefit of his Royal Highness' creditors. In other words, the shell has been given to the Colonists, and the kernel handed to the Duke—an arrangement which has, of course, been a fruitful source of heart-burning, and has greatly tended to arrest the prosperity of Nova Scotia.

A friend has loaned us a record which he has kept of the names of vessels lost out of the township of Yarmouth, since its first settlement in 1760. From this it appears that the total number of vessels lost up to 1837, was 167; of these 34 were lost and the fate of their crews was never heard. The first vessel lost was the “Sally,” in 1777, on her way to Quebec, the next was in 1778; the crews of both these vessels were lost. It appears that the number of vessels lost annually, in proportion to the number owned, was far greater up to 1800 than it has been since that period.—*Yarmouth Courier.*

We have Halifax papers by the mail to-day (29th June) to the 15th instant, and corresponding dates from Pictou, Yarmouth, and other towns of the Province.

The brig “Mayflower,” from Lime-

week, having 39 emigrants on board, had been placed in quarantine at Pictou, having several cases of small-pox on board.

The ship "Miracle," Elliott, master, from Liverpool, bound to Quebec, 31 days out, with 408 passengers, was cast away at Magdalen Islands on the 19th May. Sixty-four were drowned, and 30 others had died of fever and exposure, &c. Two hundred and eight of the survivors had been landed under the shelter of sheds.

Dr. Gesner, of Cornwallis, has been appointed a commissioner for Indian affairs in Nova Scotia.

The *Bermuda Gazette* announces that the West India mail steamers are to go direct there from England; that the Government has given notice that the services of the mail-boats between Halifax and the Bermudas will no longer be required.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

We have St. John papers to the 14th June, but we have been able to glean very little information from them. The Province was in a healthy and flourishing condition; all its institutions were in a prosperous state. The Bank of New Brunswick, the Commercial Bank, the St. John Gas Light Company, the Omnibus and Transit Company, and others, which had been holding their meetings, had declared good dividends.

An Act for the incorporation of the Chignecto Railway Company, has passed the New Brunswick Legislature. The Act contemplates and provides for the construction of a railway across the isthmus which joins Nova Scotia to New Brunswick. The proposed capital is £50,000, and it is thought to be amply sufficient; the ground is level, and the work quite feasible.

Several fine new vessels had been launched in the Province.

Ground had been broken for the foundation of the nave and side aisles of

the Fredericton Cathedral, and the workmen were in full operation upon it.

Large numbers of emigrants are arriving at St. John, and typhus fever to an alarming extent is prevailing among them.

The *Miranichi Gleaner* gives a shocking account of mortality on board the emigrant ship "Looschock," from Dublin, bound to Quebec. She had been out seven weeks, and put into that port for fresh provisions and medical attendance. When she left Dublin there were 467 passengers on board, 117 of whom died on the passage; and at the time she arrived at Miramichi one hundred were not able to help themselves, and the crew, from exhaustion, unable to work the ship. The passengers were landed and placed under sheds on Middle Island, and in the period of five days forty more died of typhus fever. There were eleven births on the passage.

We learn from Newfoundland that the seal fishery for the present year has, on the whole, turned out well.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

We have received papers from this Colony to the 15th June.

A resolution, submitted to the Legislature, to make the Executive responsible to the Legislature, had passed after a very long and violent debate. There had been riots consequent on elections. The Assembly passed, on the 23rd of March, a resolution declaring it expedient to establish a bounty on the seal fisheries.

Revenue and Expenditure.—Receipts for the year ending 20th January, 1847, £19,147 18s. 6d.; expenditure, £15,142 18s. 8d., leaving a balance in favour of the Colony of £4,004 19s. 10d. The general balance against the Colony, taking credit for bonds and cash in hand, was £26,933 15s. 6d. The increase of revenue for 1846, over the preceding year, was £2,228 11s. 10d., being £1,566 16s. 4d. beyond any preceding year.

MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

MARRIAGES.

At St. James's church, Sydney, on the 23rd February, John Reeve, Esq., of Tara-villa, Gipps Land, to Fanny Catherine, second daughter of W. C. Wentworth, Esq., M.C.

At Quebec, on the 18th May, Henry Kavanaugh, Esq., Collector of Customs, New Carlisle, to Maryann Helen, daughter of the late Gordian Horan, Esq., of Quebec.

At St. Peter's church, Hamilton, Van Diemen's Land, on the 4th Feb., G. Harrison, Esq., R.N., late of Eling, to Louisa, third daughter of George Bilton, Esq., of Hobart Town.

At Christ church, Quebec, on the 20th May, W. C. Meredith, Esq., of Montreal, Q.C., to Sophia Naters, youngest daughter of the late W. F. Holmes, M.D., of Quebec.

At Colombo, Ceylon, on 26th April, George S. Duff, Esq., to Louisa Emily, daughter of Lieut. Col. Brown, R.F., and granddaughter of the Hon. John Rodney, formerly Chief Secretary to Government in Ceylon.

At Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 1st June, the Rev. Richard J. Uniacke, B.A., Rector of New Port, in that Province, to Ann Jane, youngest daughter of the Ven. Robert Willis, D.D., Archdeacon of Nova Scotia.

At Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 10th June, D.

M'Neil Parker, Esq., M.D., to Elizabeth Ritchie, eldest daughter of the Hon. J. W. Johnston, Her Majesty's Attorney-General for that Province.

DEATHS.

At Hamilton, Bermuda, on the 22nd April, Laleah, wife of Thomas Ritchie, Esq., and eldest daughter of the late Hon. W. B. Almon, M.D., of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

At M'Nab's Island, Nova Scotia, on the 1st June, in the 80th year of his age, the Hon. Peter M'Nab, deeply regretted by a large circle of connexions and friends.

At the Manor-house, Terrebonne, Canada East, on the 15th May, the Hon. Joseph Masson, aged 56, for many years one of the principals of the eminent firm of Robertson, Masson, and Co., and Vice-President of the Bank of Montreal.

At Kandy, Ceylon, on the 18th April, Dr. H. S. Howlett, universally esteemed.

At Toronto, Canada West, on the 14th May, Mr. Justice Hagarman.

At Colombo, Ceylon, on the 18th April, by a fall from his horse, Col. Adolphe C. de St. Clair, the agent in that Colony for Baron Delmaire, a French capitalist most extensively engaged in planting operations.