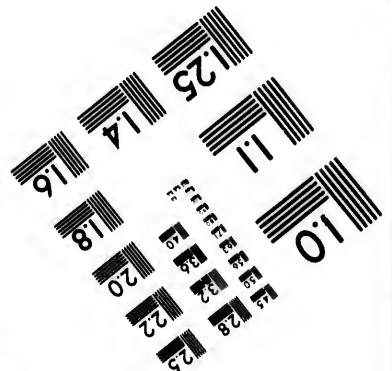
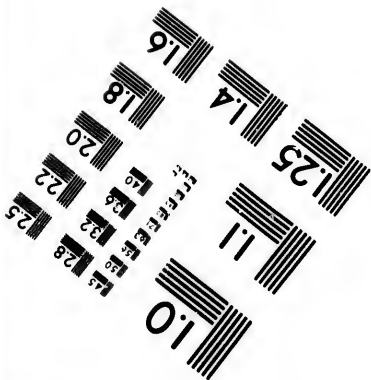
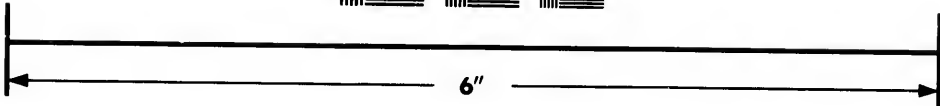
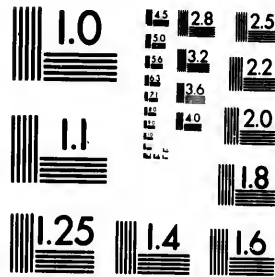


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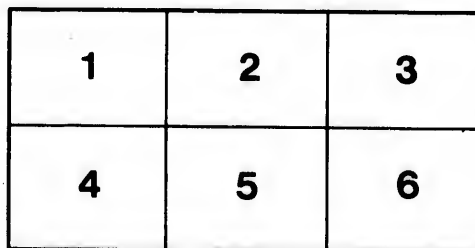
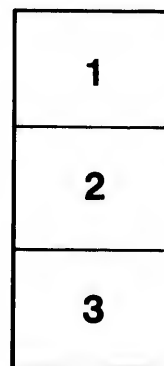
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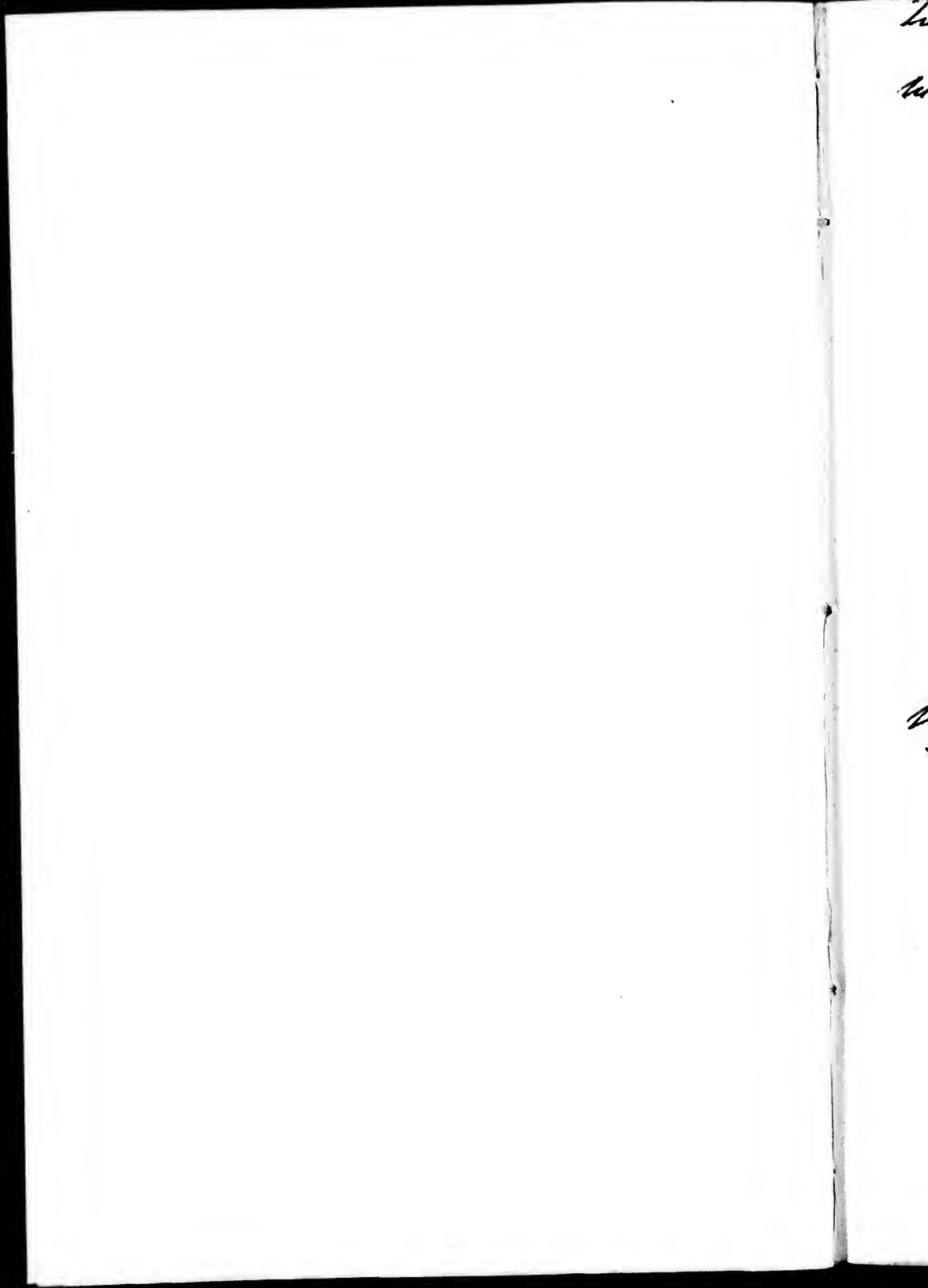
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*To Isaac Buchanan Esq
with the Author's Compliments*

BRITAIN

AND

HER COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES ;

AND

THEIR RIGHT

TO BE REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT.

*by Thomas Baccister Esq
of the Inner Temple*

LONDON:

J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCXLIV.

—
PRICE, ONE SHILLING.

1844

(L)

BEDFORD PRINTING OFFICE,
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INTRODUCTION.

IN 1839, I placed the subject matter of the following pages in the hands of a friend, with a view to be transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, but having reason to apprehend it had not been forwarded, I sent a copy direct to Sir Robert, and was favoured with his answer, acknowledging the receipt.

My object in thus laying my views before Sir Robert Peel, was my great confidence in his statesman-like application of the means within his power, as the first Minister of the Crown, and his judgment in the choice of expedients for the well-being of the Empire ; and that my scheme, I trusted, would be considered as no Utopian scheme ; but, on the contrary, a just and practicable system of colonization, calculated to exhibit to the world in times to come, the British Isles

and their dependencies in strict harmony with each other, reciprocally assisting, and assisted through the natural medium of their common interests. I thought further, that everything was to be expected from a master-mind in times like the present,—times which require the interposition of the

“ *Pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum,*”

to calm the troubled state ; it is my confident hope that Sir Robert Peel will prove himself to be the man of superior virtue and merit,—and, that he will, by conceding *equal rights to British subjects, both at home and abroad*,—thus making both the Celt and the Saxon one people, arrest the progress of discontent, and deservedly acquire for himself the praises of posterity.

BRITAIN
AND
HER COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES ;
AND
THEIR RIGHT
TO BE REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT.

THE wealth, the government, the prosperity, and the extent of our Colonial Empire, are such, that we feel a national pride in reflecting on these possessions. This pride, however, receives a check by reason of their probable instability in reference to that of the Empire at large. The permanency of this great Empire, now mainly depends upon the wisdom of her policy towards her Colonies—Colonial questions are always listened to with reluctance, and often with rude impatience in England,—she feels herself secure in her Colonies, and hence, perhaps, arises her neglect of them. The vast importance of her Colonial dependencies, was shown in her struggle for existence, in the long war so gloriously terminated at Waterloo ; inasmuch, as she could not have sustained that war—cut off as she was from the nations of the old world,—if she had not had a resource in her Colonial dominion. The object of this paper, is not, however, to enter into that question, but to submit a plan, through the working of which,

the Empire may become durable, by establishing that oneness which the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges can alone secure. It is a wretched policy to govern the Colonies upon principles which tend to their separation from the parent state, so soon as they are strong enough to throw off her domination. It is merely a dream to indulge in the idea that any body of Englishmen, will ever willingly consent to their own degradation. This, however, so long as they are deprived, by the policy of the Government, of a voice in the National Councils, must inevitably be the case. The nation does not, it is true, contemplate their degradation—and men in power have not yet considered it in this light—they do not perceive the policy of Colonial representation; whereas, if equal rights be not conceded, that degradation does virtually subsist, and Colonists, as such, will ever suffer an abridgment of the privileges of Englishmen.

On the other hand, the admission of the Colonists into those councils of the nation would at once raise them to that status they had lost by expatriation; and, in return, they would bring to those councils that intelligence, that information on Colonial questions—the absence of which, is so detrimental to the real interests of the Empire. The fear expressed by some Members of Parliament, that the men sent would be unequal to the duties imposed upon them, indicates an entire ignorance of Colonial constituency, and some want of knowledge of the progress of British minds at work in distant lands.

The Colonists, be it remembered, are among the most enterprising of the United Kingdom; and the class of emigrants now yearly proceeding to the colonies by thousands, when they become sensible of the humiliating posture in which they and their children are placed, by the mere act of emigrating, will not be the least indignant portion of the Colonial population.

It is now obvious what the object of the writer really is, *viz.*, to extend the principle of Parliamentary representation for Empire purposes; and, thereby, to consolidate the whole of the British Empire; actuated by the purest English feeling, he contends for the principle of nationality, which is now not fully and fairly in operation in all its parts, beyond the limits of the British shores.

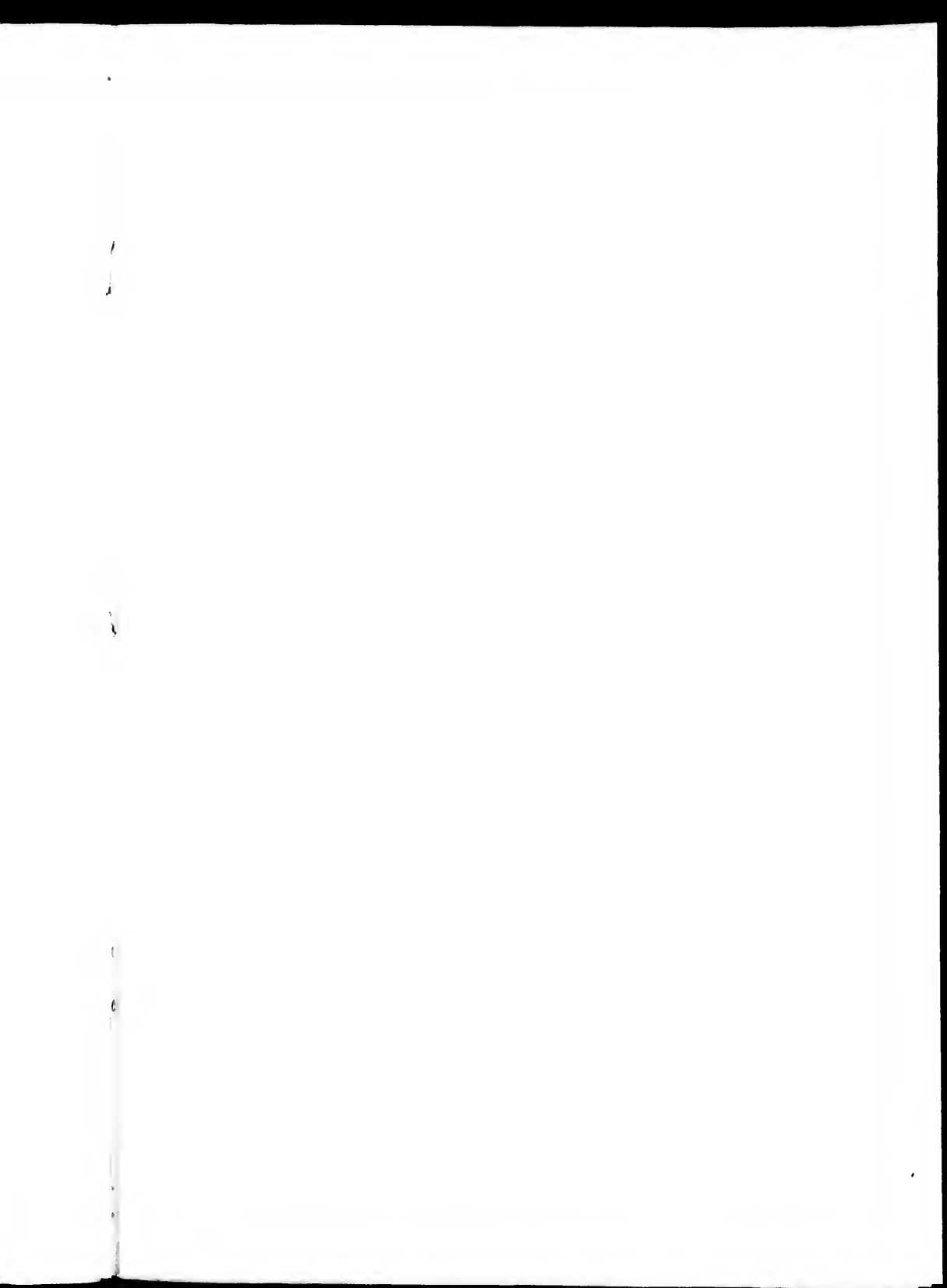
There is no foundation for the supposition that the Colonial legislatures have a tendency to create difficulties between England and her respective provinces. It is the limiting of the ambition of the Colonists, to merely inferior civil Colonial offices and cutting them off from the hope of superior objects of ambition, that has created the distaste to British rule, generated opposition, and the fixed resolve to cast off the yoke altogether, whenever such a step may be found practicable. Give, then, to the Colonists, the indelible privileges of Englishmen; and, at the same time, the exclusive management of their own local affairs, viewing them as so many distant corporations. The field of honourable ambition once opened—which alone can be offered by the Imperial Legislature to the hopes of the high-minded and gifted men among them, the way is cleared before us, and British connexion would be regarded in a far different spirit from that which is at present indulged, by thousands of their thinking men. The heart of the Empire would be regarded as their common country, the stability of which all would be interested in maintaining. No man, whose testimony is of any value, but admits the vital importance of keeping up the most intimate connexion with our Colonial dependencies; every individual at all acquainted with the sources of Britain's strength responds to the sentiment; and yet, no one, in any degree conversant with our transmarine possessions, can deny that there is a prevailing, an almost universal discontent. Had such feelings been con-

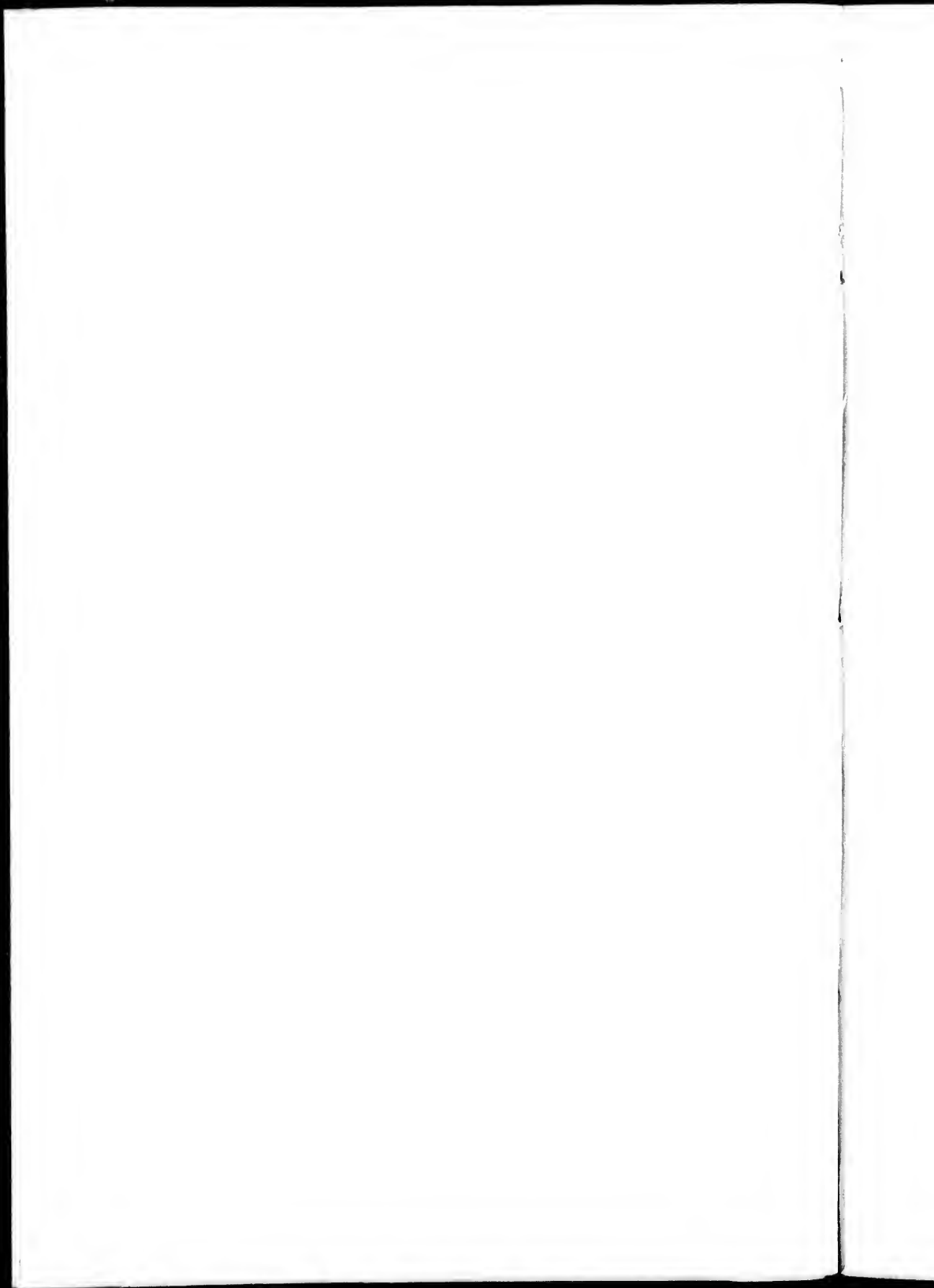
fined to a single Colony—Canada for example—the reasonable inference would be, the admixture of opposite and rival races ; such feeling, however, is known universally to prevail—and a Colony, if any, satisfied and contented with the system of Colonial government, unfortunately forms the exception. Under these circumstances, there cannot be the slightest doubt of there being something essentially wrong in the administration of Colonial affairs.

Prior to the American Revolution, foreign jealousy of the mighty Colonial possessions of England, was not disguised ; and, since that revolution, hostility to our Colonial Empire has been, and still is, fearfully gaining ground, is increasing, and ought to be checked.

I am not ignorant of the common opinion, that the supposed common lot awaits England, with reference to her dependencies—that, as they become strong in internal resources, they will become independent ; and that the mother country will be well rid of such expensive and rebellious children.

The necessity in the nature of things of this separation, does not appear to deserve the weight generally attached to that argument ; it is admitted that the same causes will always generate the same results—but we do not admit that there is that necessity for a separation, provided adequate means are resorted to, in order to meet the wants and reasonable demands of our fellow subjects, either at home or abroad ; nor, that the removal of the cause of discontent is out of our power. Away then, with the useless lamentation, the Turkish cry of supineness, of “Allah’s will be done ;” and the absurd opinions of the inevitable destiny of nature ; the blessing of the good Providence of God, is invariably upon right-doing, and will not be wanting upon a wise and timely alteration of the present unpopular and untenable system of the government of Colonies. It is not possible to maintain the





incongruous monstrosity of a disunited Empire; its duration is only a question of time, and, if a bad system be continued to be upheld, the dismemberment of the Empire, and the pulling down of England from her high position as Queen among the Nations, will be subject matter for the future historian, as the prediction of her downfall now is for those who despair of her regeneration.

In a case like the present, it is absolutely necessary to enter upon the inquiry, earnestly, honestly, and vigorously, not in a factious, or party spirit, but with the determination to discover if another system could not be suggested, which would embody therein a principle of self-interest on the part of the Colonies favourable to the mother country; a principle, which, whether influencing individuals or communities, is the most powerful of all human ties.

In entering upon this inquiry, reflections upon the past should be avoided as regards political wrongs, real or supposed. The system hitherto acted upon cannot be defended; it has no defenders; its *well* working has torn from the Empire the best part of North America—has created a powerful rival state,—and, to persevere in such a system, is to lay the foundation of present dissatisfaction, and of future disruptions;—independently of such considerations, no good could grow out of inquiries into the past, but, on the contrary, much evil;—angry feelings would be aroused, even unjust reerimination. The men who have worked this system are not to be blamed, they have but done their duty under the circumstances, and have been the irresponsible agents of an erroneous system. Surely, it is an absurdity to maintain the impossibility of any Colonial policy calculated to meet this necessity. This is, in truth, no other than a Turkish principle. Empires rise and fall, and there are those who are of opinion that our country has fulfilled her destiny—or, in other

words, that she has arrived at that awful period in which a state can neither remain as it is, nor submit to the necessary remedies. But these men have never reflected that nations have never fallen so long as they have been governed upon sound principles. I do not believe that England has lost the health and vigour of the regenerating principle, and I do hope to point out a plan or course of policy which will prove practicable and remedial.

England now enjoys the immense advantages of strict loyalty in the Colonies. But how long will she continue to enjoy it?—what is loyalty? is it not allegiance springing out of benefits received and secured, by any form of government under which a people may choose to live?—how then, shall we keep alive this innate loyalty, so salutary in itself?—we shall not do this by the postponement of concessions, until concessions be forced by a pressure from *without*. We must anticipate demands, and prevent them—we must judge by the cry, that demands will follow, and act accordingly. Let her incorporate her Colonists with herself,—let her elevate them to the rank of Britons, nor suffer them to lose one iota of their nationality by passing the seas. They are now little better than a degraded caste,—permit them virtually and actually to be Englishmen, they are now so in name, but not in reality; any thing short of this reality will only be fruitful of dissatisfaction, unceasing petition, and eventual dismemberment.

Can any good reason be shown why, when a Briton emigrates to a distant part of our extended Empire, that the painful act of expatriation should cause him to lose the rank, or be deprived of the exercise of any one privilege of his birth-right as an Englishman? Will any individual affirm that he really believes that men of property and education, or their children so emigrating, will be contented with rights and privileges short of those enjoyed by the connexions they leave

behind them in the old country? The unhappy tendency of our present policy is to excite a discontented, and nurse a democratic feeling in the Colonies; and yet, with a pertinacity as ruinous as it is strange, do the opposers of a modification in Colonial government still cling to a system which is acknowledged to be defective, as if to illustrate the truth of the axiom—

“*Quam deus vult perdere prius dementat.*”

It will perhaps be conceded, that emigrants generally are of enterprising character, and therefore the last men to submit without repining to degradation, or to any abridgment of their rights as Englishmen. Who then, can be surprised that the Colonists should not only be dissatisfied with their position, but also evince, from time to time, a spirit which is too often erroneously termed factious radicalism?

The opinion that Colonies, as they become strong must of necessity become independent, is undoubtedly entertained by many; but, as I have said, there is no proof that such would be the result, provided the system tended to amalgamate those dependencies with the Empire, a concession which can only be rendered perfect by according to their people equal rights and privileges, the denial of which, beyond all question, paves the way for Colonial separation, an event which “justice to the Colonies” would easily avert.

A despotic state, such as Russia, maintains the integrity of its gigantic empire by the exercise of the severest tyranny, equally exercised in Petersburg, as in newly acquired countries; and, let what may be said to the contrary, they are all thereby made *equal*; no superiority of local position can be claimed by one subject over the other; and hence, a great source of the strength of that power. But Britain is a free state;—that which may be safely done in Russia, in maintenance of her power, cannot be attempted without danger in the

British dominions, if brought to bear against strong Colonies. In proof of this, the results in America may be cited, and the weaker would submit most reluctantly, and only so long as they were compelled to do so ; and in war they would prove to be anything but a source of strength.

Britain gives too much personal freedom to the subject in the Colonies, safely to withhold political power on the exclusive management of their local affairs. There is scarcely a Colonial possession belonging to England, that is not distracted by public meetings, and associations to protect themselves, if possible, against what is called British encroachments and British injustice, and where the power of the Crown checks the expression of the feeling, and keeps down the appearance of discontent, it by no means prevents it.

Such being the fact, would it not be wise to consider how far the Colonists could be safely intrusted with the management of their local affairs? The very admission of the opponents of such Colonial concession, supporters of the irresponsible rule of the Colonial office, and admirers of the policy, miserable as it has proved to be, of keeping Colonists in a state of bondage, and treating them as aliens,—that the time *must* come when they will throw off the yoke of Britain, proves the folly and infatuation of pursuing the present unstatesman-like course. Colonists are far from averse to British connexion or to British laws—they are proud of the one, and claim participation in the other as a right ; the first is shown by the generous glow of their feelings of patriotism, by frequent petitions for the peculiarly British privileges—trial by jury and self-legislation.*

I here, by way of illustration, can but observe, that in

* It has delighted me to see the concessions which have been made, since the above was written, to Australia ; and it is my hope that these concessions are precursory to that enlarged policy which is contemplated in this pamphlet.

Rhode Island, where the same constitution is now possessed which it originally received, this disposition to cherish old laws and customs is strongly manifested,—that state is linked to the United States by sending members to the General Congress. This right is the link which holds those powerful states together ; and as their *territories*, as they term their Colonies, become populated, they are attached to the States by similar links and so become nationalized. Will any man be bold enough to say that America would hold together one day, if the original union of thirteen States had ruled, or had attempted to rule, the population of the additional thirteen States ? The conclusion is obvious :—

Taking this general view of the subject, it is proposed first that every Colony of Englishmen, possessing a British population of a given number, should have the privilege of returning to the House of Commons deputies to represent their general interests in that House, and that absolute local legislative control should be accorded to every Colony reaching a certain population, for local purposes.

That every individual possessing the requisite qualification for a Member of the Imperial Legislature, should be entitled to take his seat in the House of Commons, provided he should be elected by, at least, two-thirds of the Colonial Legislature for that purpose ; and also that any individual in any of our Colonies, provided he possess the requisite qualification, shall be eligible to represent any given constituency in any part of Great Britain and Ireland, in the British House of Commons.

In return for this equitable concession, it is contended that all Colonies, after twenty years location, should bear their quota of any charge incurred for the defence of the Empire in any future war, according to a population scale,—the Colony to raise the same through her own local legislature. There

never was a greater error, nor a more mischievous statement, that Colonists are reluctant to bear an *equitable* share of our national war-burdens. Englishmen naturally are as ready to consent to that which is fair and equal, as they are prone to resist injustice. This spirit of equity is the strength of the Empire, and as such it ought to be carefully cherished.

Again, Members to sit in Parliament should be elected for a fixed period of three, five, or seven years, as might be agreed upon, and not to be determined by any change in the Imperial Parliament, those members to be chosen by at least two-thirds of the local legislature. This mode would be preferable to having the Members chosen by the people at large, as it would prevent a difference of opinion between the Members sent to the Imperial Parliament and the Colonial legislature. Upon the dissolution of the Imperial Parliament, of course the functions of the Colonial Members to be in abeyance until a new Parliament was assembled. An objection may be made to this proposal, that it would be against the Constitution, in answer to which we may challenge the objector to point out in what respect it is against the Constitution, any more than it is to appoint a Member of the Upper House of Parliament as a permanent legislator, and may we not aptly view our Constitution as a scheme of government which accomodates itself, by its capability of adapting itself to circumstances, as the happiness and peace of the people and power of the Empire at large may demand. Such rights conceded to the Colonies would make it their interest to continue attached to the mother country. Every community possesses ambitious men,—they will either be useful or mischievous ; useful if secured in the enjoyment of their birth-right,—mischievous if deprived of it. The nation would have the benefit of hearing the opinions of men really conversant with Colonial questions, who would possess the confidence

of at least two-thirds of their local House of Representatives and of a large majority of the Colonists, this would give them the necessary influence at home; these men being eligible to fill the highest offices of the state will be in the right position; and colonists then would no longer feel themselves in a degraded state, but Englishmen; indeed, they would be considered by the British public as part of themselves. In the event of war, the most remote of our possessions would be as enthusiastic for the national honour and for the interests of the Empire as the people of the father-land. They would feel the British Isles to be their common country, while the Colonies would offer a perpetual outlet for its superabundant population. Instead of restless dissatisfaction, contentment would reign throughout our expanded sway. Other states might even covet admission into such a circle. Possibly the United States themselves might evince an inclination to rejoin the standard of their race, and that, in order to enjoy the advantages of free trade, which would thus be carried out to an indefinite extent, unaffected by the jealousies or hostilities of foreign powers. To expect that the principles of free trade can be worked extensively by rival nations, of different races is to hope too much from man. Foreign Nations *will* impose heavy duties upon our products, we cannot control or influence their legislatures, and the result must be a decrease of trade with such nations; for one country purchases only from absolute necessity from another, which excludes her own productions from her markets.

That Colonies must always be expensive, governed as they now are, is no doubt true, but were they allowed to govern themselves, after surveillance of twenty-years, the colony would be able to meet all its expenses, unless a place held for its military position such, for example as Gibraltar and, I may add, the Falkland islands. They are generally able to do so in the United States and they are known to flourish in a degree

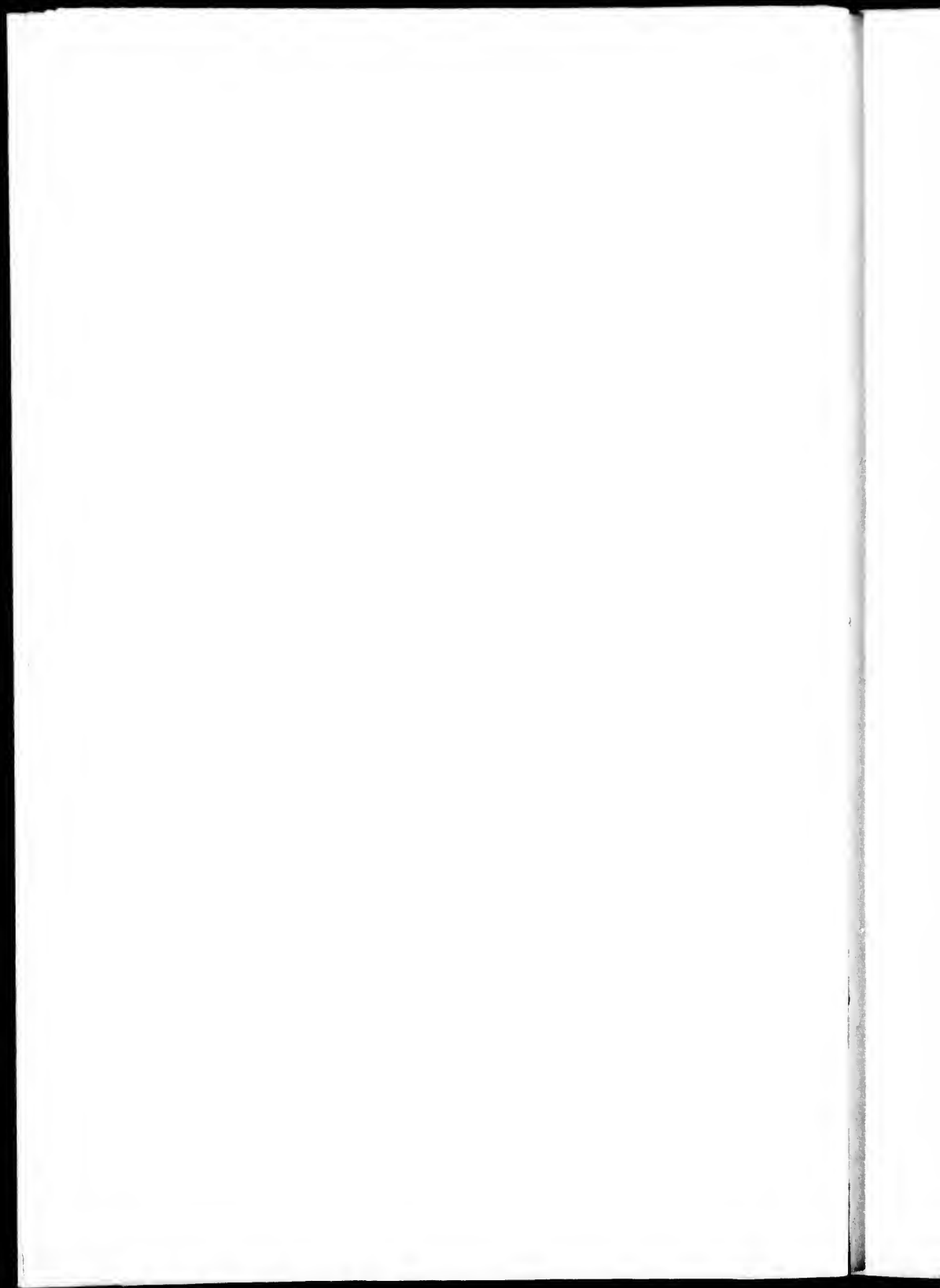
that is perfectly surprising to us who pursue a different policy.

That Colonies are of no real value to England, is an opinion which has been broached, but it is thought that those persons who indulge in such an opinion are very few, and that the public generally do not concur in it; it is altogether too absurd. The facts lately brought before the world of the trade with our own Australian Colonies exceeding that of Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway combined—should convince such persons how erroneous their opinions are, and should satisfy them that the power and prosperity of Britain would pass away if she were stripped of her despised Colonies.— It is very true, that should we continue to govern them as heretofore, the Colonies will prove but of comparatively small value, either as a source of wealth or of strength;— suffer them to govern themselves, and to share the honour of the parent state and they will be bound to the Empire by all the ties that bind man to man. ~~If~~ ^{When} we regard the Colonies as the means of an extension of trade, ~~&~~ ^{as} outlets for our emigrating population, we should cease to consider them useful only for the benefit of British ministerial patronage. It is the abuse of patronage that gives rise to angry feelings among, all classes both at home and abroad, this it is which often casts reproach upon the Minister of the Crown, and brings upon him deserved unpopularity; act upon just principles, and the value of the Colonies will be daily made manifest to the most incredulous.

The American traders, who are now emissaries of discontent and sedition, would envy the lot of Colonial Britons, or of those conquered provinces admitted to the privileges of Britons. They would not then be able to taunt the Colonists with a want of freedom, they would see and feel that there was a national British feeling from one end of the world to other; and that, if need were, our flag would find devoted friends in the remotest seas, and that its appearance would be

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hailed with confidence and affection; never again would the disgraceful scene be enacted in a British port as the flogging* of one of her subjects and the insulting of her Magistrates in contempt of that flag! Britain, acting upon those principles, her power being based upon the interest of her sons and public opinion, would retain her position as mistress of the ocean, and commence an empire which would be bounded alone by the world's limits.

America at this moment possesses several thousands of seamen in the Pacific, and East of the Cape of Good Hope; England also, has her seamen there; let her but follow the suggestions now submitted, and, in the event of war with that power, Letters of Marque could be issued and vessels fitted out at private cost in Australia alone, which would clear those seas of enemies—we mean such enemies as would be destructive to our trade. Continue the past, or rather the present, principles, and under any circumstances, impress one seaman, it is feared that America would then clear those seas of the British merchant flag;—for it may be relied upon that Colonial seamen can never be trusted while their rights as Englishmen are disregarded. These principles acted upon, we should hear no more of our seamen going to America—America would have enough to do to keep her own; they already desert from their whaling ships to remain in Australia, finding it to be their interest to attach themselves to the Colonial Australian employment, for the very same reason our men have left England for America. *viz.*, because they there are better paid than in their own country.

We may, perhaps, be further permitted to add that republican institutions have been, and still are, held up to Englishmen as possessing greater advantages than any other form of government; this is contrary to our conviction; we think

See Swan River Paper, the "Inquirer," 24th March, 1841.

that our government of a limited monarchy, with the representative system is by far the best, possessing all the advantages of a republican, without its unceasing liability to change. But whatever opinions we may entertain upon that point, the monarchical and republican principles are undergoing a trial in the contest now carrying on between the two great powers, Great Britain and America—nations sprung from the same stock. The system now suggested for consideration, it may reasonably be expected, would cause the scale to preponderate in favour of the monarchical principles and consequently of British interests, which, we trust, are those of mankind.

Since I first published the above in 1839, I find parts of my argument most clearly corroborated by Mr. Halliburton, in his "Sam Slick in England," published early in 1843, which I must do myself the justice to quote at length, for the purpose of enforcing my statements, and in the hope that the hint will not be lost upon, but be made available by those upon whom devolves the government of our colonial possessions.

I copy the following passages from that work :—

"Your long acquaintance with the provinces, and familiar intercourse with the people;" says he, (the Colonial Minister) "must have made you quite at home on all colonial topics." "I thought so once," says I; "but I don't think so now no more, sir?" "Why how is that?" says he. "Why, sir," says I; "you can hold a book so near your eyes as not to be able to read a word of it; hold it off further, and get the right focus, and you can read beautiful. Now the right distance to see a colony, and know all about it, is England. Three thousand miles is the right focus for a political spy-glass. A man livin' here, and who never was out of England, knows twice as much about the provinces as I do." "Oh, you are joking;" says he. "Not a bit," says I." "I find folks here that not only know everything about them countries, but have no doubts upon any matter, and ask no questions; in fact, they not

only know more than me, but more than the people themselves do, what we want. It's curious, but it's a fact."

Again, "England, besides other outlets, has a never-failing one in the colonies, but the colonies have no outlet. Cromwell and Hampden were actually embarked on board of a vessel in the Thames, for Boston, when they were prevented from sailing by an order in council. What was the consequence? the Sovereign was dethroned. Instead of leading a set of fanatical puritans, and being the first men of a village in Massachusetts, they aspired to be the first men in an Empire, and succeeded. So in the old colonies,—had Washington been sent abroad in command of a regiment, Adams to govern a colony, Franklin to make experiments in an observatory like that of Greenwich, and a more extended field been opened to colonial talent, the United States would still have continued to be dependencies of Great Britain. There is no room for men of talent in British America; and, by not affording them an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or rewarding them when they do, they are always ready to make one by opposition. In comparing their situation with that of the inhabitants of the British Isles, they feel that they labour under disabilities;—these disabilities they feel as a degradation; and as those who impose that degradation live three thousand miles off, it becomes a question whether it is better to suffer or resist."

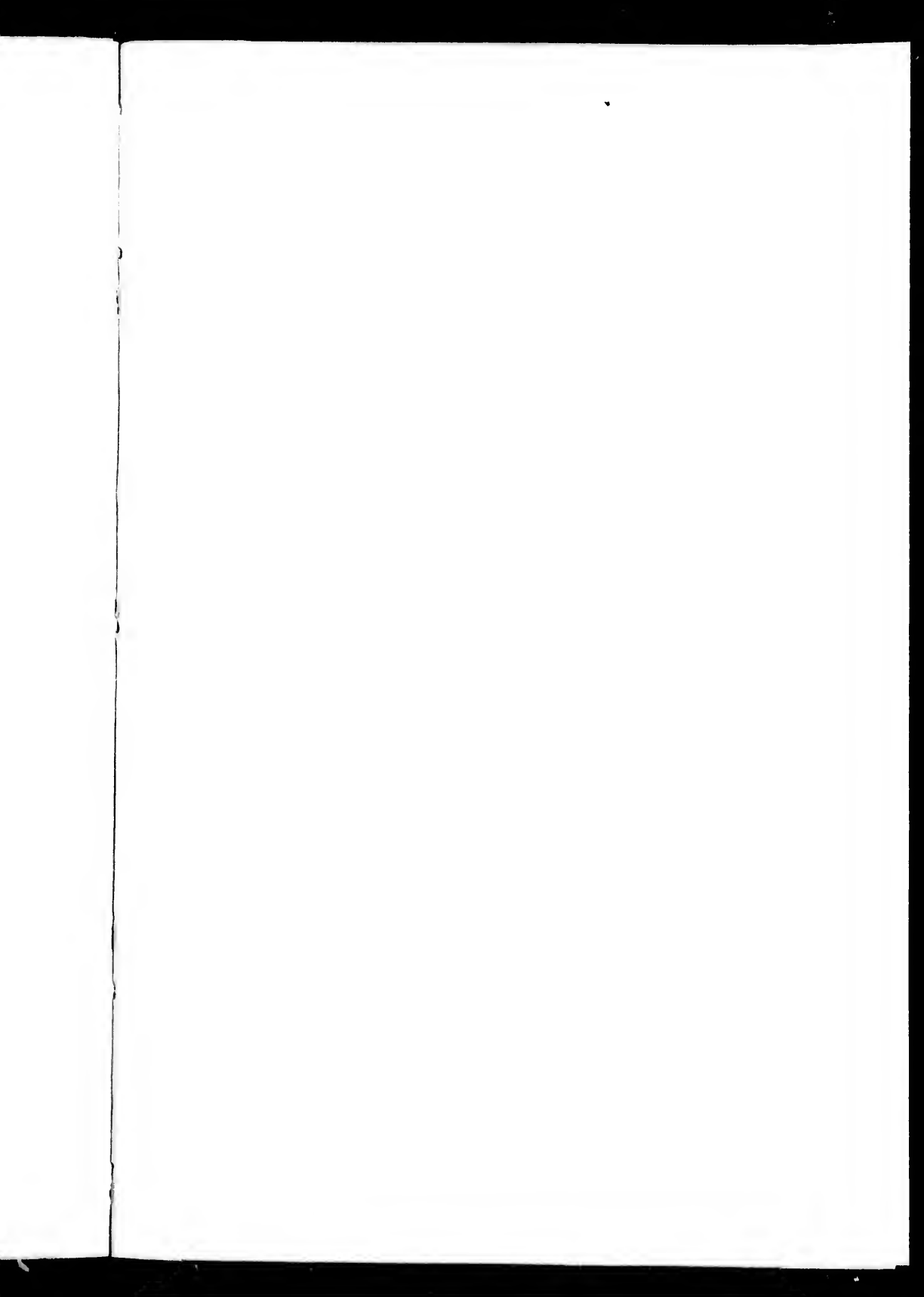
" 'Again,' says you, 'My Lord,'—don't forget his title—every man likes the sound of that, it's music to his ears, it's like our splendid national air, Yankee Doodle, you never get tired of it. 'My lord,' says you, 'what do you suppose is the reason the French keep Algiers?' Well, he'll up and say, its an outlet for the fiery spirits of France, it gives them employment and an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and what the climate and the inimy spare, become valuable officers. It makes good soldiers out of bad subjects. 'Do you call that good policy?' says you. Well, he's a trump, is Mr. Stanley; at least folks say so; and he'll say right off the real, 'Onquestionably it is,—excellent policy.' When he says that, you have him bagged; he may flounder and

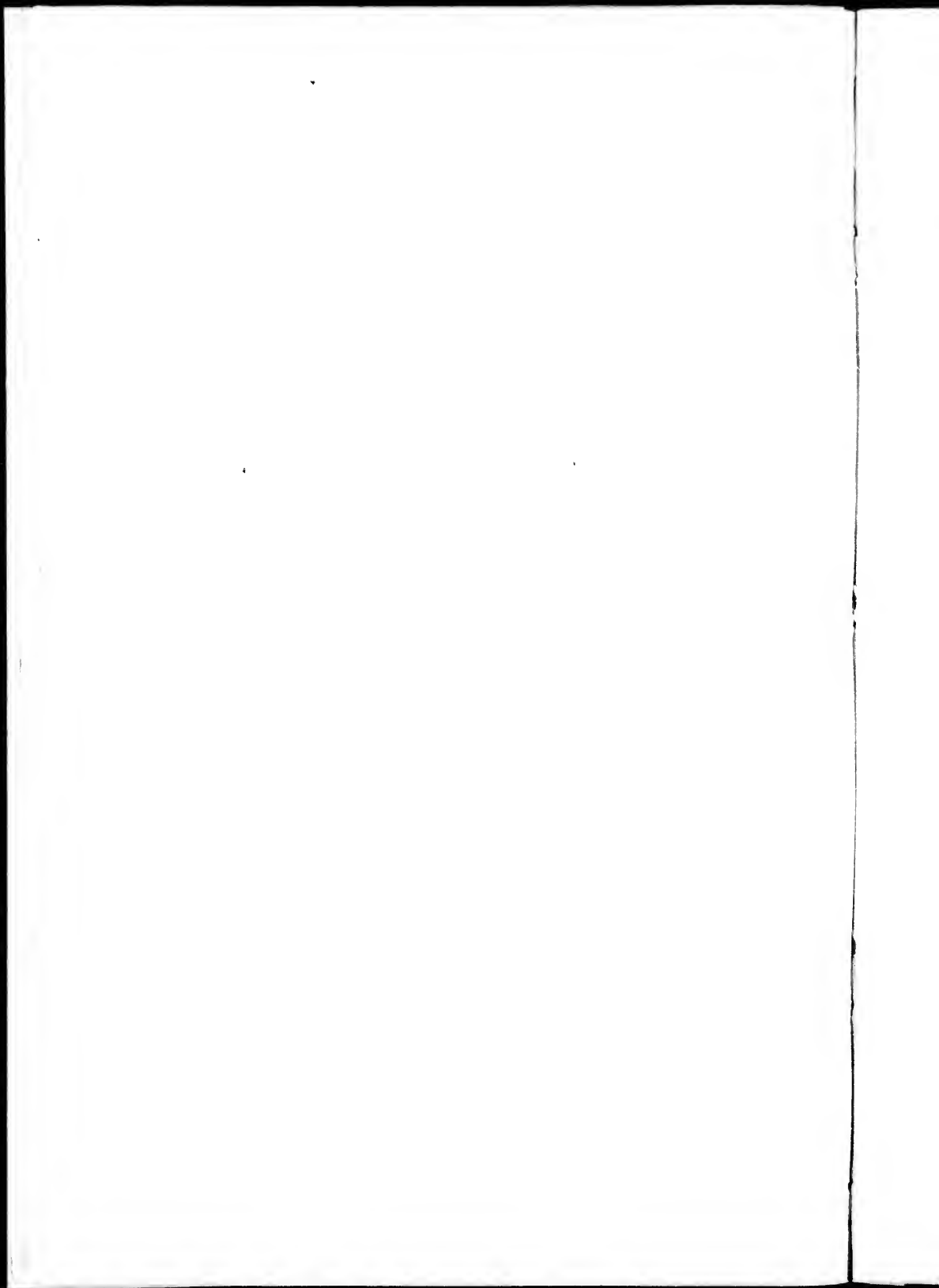
spring, like a salmon jist caught, but he can't get out of the landin' net. You've got him, and no mistake. Sais you, 'what out-let have you for the Colonies?' Well, he'll scratch his head and stare at that, for a space. He'll hum and haw a little to get breath, for he never thought of that afore, since he grow'd up; but he's no fool, I can tell you, and he'll out with his mould, run an answer, and be ready for you in no time. He'll say, 'They don't require none, sir. They have no redundant population. They are an outlet themselves.' Sais you, 'I wasn't talking of an outlet for population, for France or the provinces nother, I was talking of an outlet for the clever men, for the onquiet ones, for the fiery spirits.' 'For that, sir,' he will say, 'they have the local patronage.' 'Oh!' sais you, 'I warn't aware; I beg pardon, I have been absent some time, as long as twenty days, or perhaps twenty-five, there must have been great changes since I left.' 'The garrison,' says you. 'Is English,' says he. 'The armed ships in the harbour?' 'English.' 'The governor and his secretary?' 'English.' 'The principal officers of customs, and principal part of his deputies?' 'English.' 'The commissariat and the staff?' 'English to a man.' 'The Dock-yard people?' 'English.' 'The Postmaster General.' 'English.' 'What! English?' sais you, and look all surprised, as if you didn't know. 'I thought he was a Colonist, seein' the province pays so much for the mails.' 'No,' he'll say, 'not now; we have jist sent an English one over, for we find it's a good thing that.'

'One word more,' sais you, 'and I have done. If your army officers out there, get leave of absence, do you stop their pay?' 'No.' 'Do you sarve native Colonists the same way?' 'No, we stop half their salaries.' 'Exactly,' sais you, 'make them feel the difference. Always make a nigger feel he is a nigger, or he'll get sassy, you may depend.' "

Now, one word as to the objections which have been urged against this scheme of representation, which I have been stating.

It has been alleged, that it would not be wise or expedient,





to admit Colonial Members of Parliament,—as it would, in fact, alter the principle of Colonial government, not only in England, but of the great maritime states of old, possessing colonies.

That English, Irish, and Scotchmen, can readily attend Parliamentary duties—but that could not be convenient from the Colonies; for, if one colony be permitted to send legislators, all must; even from the East Indies, and all extremities of our Empire; and that, already the number of Members of Parliament is too great for convenience. Besides, instead of legislating for the general interests of the Empire, or even of the Colonies, they would be struggling for peculiar advantages for their own colony, and thus ministers would be plagued to death by particular, and, possibly too often, petty legislation; and, thus the wheels of good government, would be clogged and crippled.

That Colonial Members of Parliament, being elected for three, five, or seven years, could not be without altering the law of Parliament, and interfering with the prerogative of the Crown to dissolve Parliament.

Finally, that to a man emigrating, Parliament cannot be claimed on the score of birth-right, for it is relinquished according to the Constitution by the act of emigrating, so long as the settler resides in the colony, and absents himself from the mother country.

For my own part, I find no difficulty in replying to these objections—the only fair objections that have been pressed upon me; and, I think they will have less and less weight, as the working out of the principles which I have advanced are more and more understood.

Now, whether it would be wise or expedient to represent the Colonies at all, or not, is the question,—and there is no question, that the adoption of the principle of these sugges-

tions, would alter the principles upon which our Colonial policy is based ;—I need not say, that it has been my object to prove that the modification and alteration of those principles, would be wise and expedient ; and, that the actual state of the Colonies, imperatively demands that change ;—and my concluding remark will, I hope, strengthen what I have already advanced.

The British system is well adapted for merely British Island purposes ; but for extensive and continuous Empire, and for uniting into one vast people the men of British origin, it is certainly defective. Men of British descent never did, nor will they ever, consent to be treated as inferiors ;—if a man, by the act of emigration, forfeits any one of his birth-rights according to the Constitution, it is, to my mind, a still greater cause for change. Colonists can only be kept down by compulsion,—experience has fatally proved this. It by no means follows, that because you extended to Englishmen their birth-rights, that, therefore, Hindoos were to have the same privileges,—their privileges are *not their* birth-right ; nor would small colonial matters come before Parliament ; they would be disposed of by the *local legislatures*,—Parliament would be *relieved* from most Colonial questions, which now, as is objected, “plague the Members to death.”

Misfortunes rarely teach nations ; but one would think that the loss of an Empire, *viz.* America, would have sunk deep into England’s heart’s core. Give the Colonists what they seek ; no half measures, but absolute equality with the natives of England ; and, in case of need,—and England knows not when her necessities may require it,—many thousands of men would go from the Cape and the Australias to assist in maintaining the integrity of the Empire, in the maintaining of which they were really interested.

Whenever England consents to make her Colonies part and

parcel of herself, she may confidently calculate upon their doing what is proper, upon all occasions connected with the well-being of the Empire;—this was experienced before the American War, and will ever be experienced under a system founded upon principles of justice. On the other hand, divest the Colonists of national feelings, by denying them national privileges, and they await only a fitting time and opportunity to become to the British Islands, free, independent, and hostile states.

Knowing the opinions of the men of the Colonies in almost all parts of the Colonial world, I feel the more persuaded of the true policy of my proposed national system. So far from it creating difficulty at home, it would act quite the reverse; difficulty grows out of the contest for those rights of which no removal ought to deprive an Englishman.

Is it not absurd, that little fishing islands in the North Sea, should be represented, and rich, populous, and extensive Colonies, should have no one in the House of Commons to express their feelings on empire or Colonial questions, in which they take an interest?

Men born in this country, on going to the Colonies, possess English feelings in no ordinary degree,—the unwise policy which obtains chills those feelings; their sons have cooler feelings towards the mother country; and their sons' sons approach to absolute indifference, if not aversion.

Before the troubles broke out in Spanish America, in the early part of the present century, the plan of a Constitution was laid before the Cortés, by patriotic men in the Colonies; the leading principle of which was, to enable the Colonies to be possessed of all and every privilege enjoyed by those residing in Spain, and also to give them the privilege to choose representatives to be sent to the Cortés in Spain, to represent their interests. The plan was not adopted, and

those fatal consequences, which need not be specified, occurred; and have scarcely left one colony to that once splendid Empire, which, in earlier periods, was the wonder and admiration of the world.

Let us be warned, both by our own experience, and by the experience of others; and let that which constitutes the *perfection* of friendship, be made manifest upon the most extensive scale, *viz.* "*that a great many generals be made into one.*"

