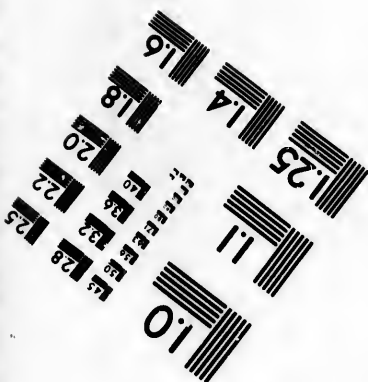
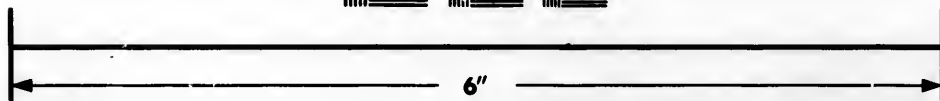
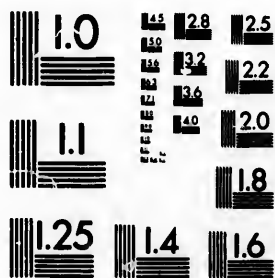


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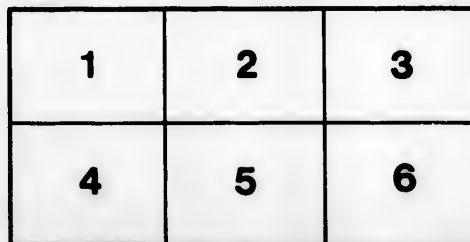
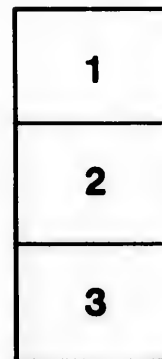
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LECTURES

ON

COLONIZATION AND COLONIES.

DELIVERED

BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN

1839, 1840, AND 1841.

BY

HERMAN MERIVALE, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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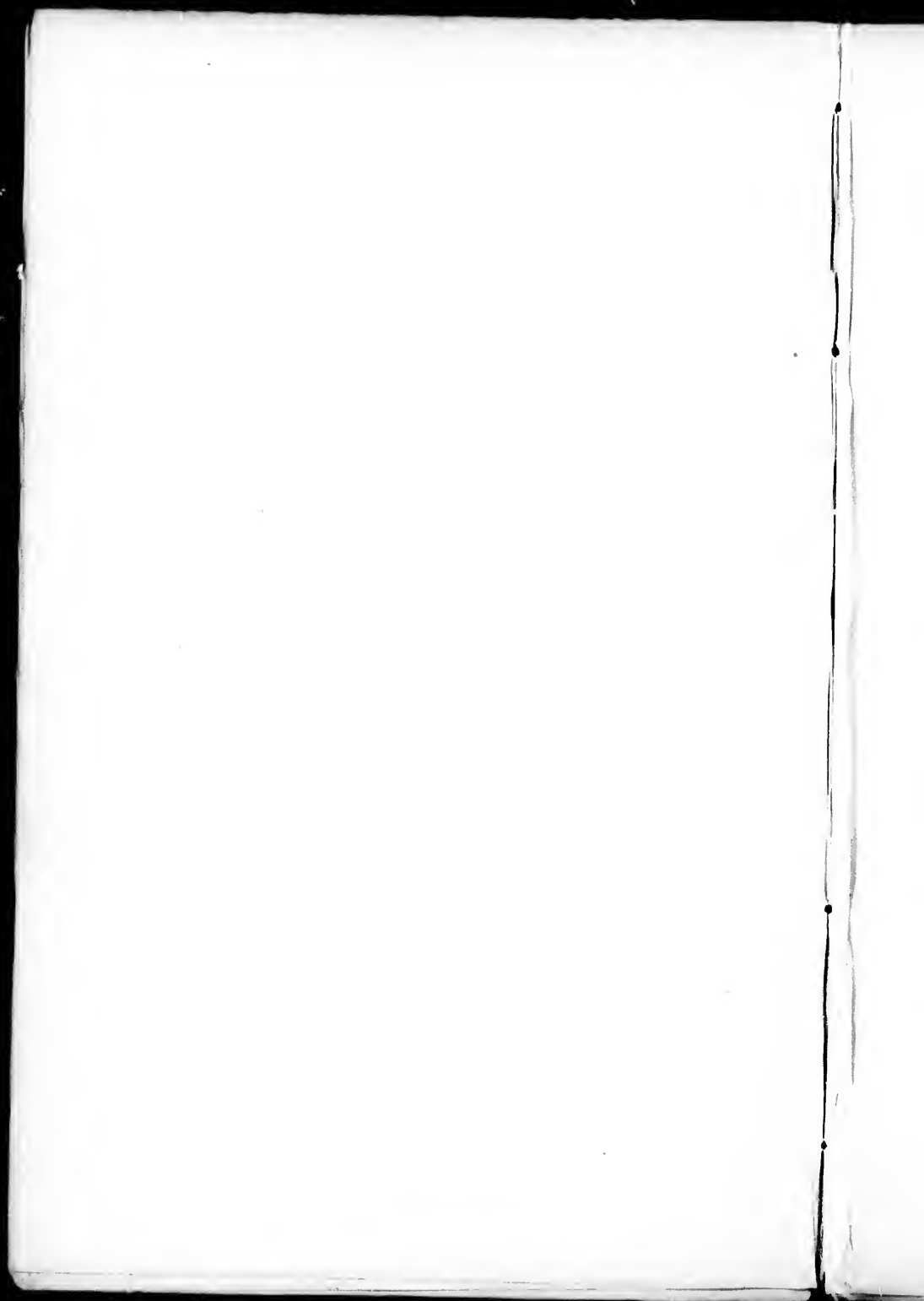
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PART III. — *(continued)*.

PROGRESS OF WEALTH AND SOCIETY IN COLONIES.



LECTURE XII.

EMPLOYMENT OF CONVICT LABOUR.—REASONS ASSIGNED FOR THE NEW-MODELLING, OR ABOLITION, OF THE PUNISHMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, AS FAR AS THEY CONCERN THE COLONIES.—RESULTS OF MEASURES LATELY TAKEN BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THE employment of the labour of transported convicts in colonies is necessarily so limited in extent, that inquiries relating to it may appear altogether insignificant, when compared with those suggested by the interests which we had under consideration in my last lecture. The subject presents, nevertheless, some important economical questions, and has lately received, for the first time, the attention which it merits on the part of the public of this country.

The Portuguese appear to have been the first European nation who employed transportation and penal labour in the colonies as a mode of punishment, and offenders are still frequently banished to their African settlements. The Paulistas, or people of San Paulo, in Brazil, renowned for their energy as discoverers and their ferocity towards the unfortunate natives of South America, are said to have sprung in great proportion from the original stock of convicts. England adopted, in the seventeenth century, the system of transportation to her North American plantations, and the example was propagated by Cromwell, who introduced the practice of selling his political captives as slaves to the West Indians. But the number of regular convicts was

too small*, and that of free labourers too large, in the old provinces of North America, to have allowed this infusion of a convict population to produce much effect on the development of those communities, either in respect of their morals or their wealth. Our own times are the first which have witnessed the phenomena of communities in which the bulk of the working people consists of felons serving out the period of their punishment.

The penal colonies under the British government are now four in number—New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, Bermuda, and Norfolk Island. In Bermuda there are about 900 convicts only, working in gangs, and employed exclusively in the government dock-yards. Norfolk Island is used as a place of temporary punishment; originally, for convicts banished from New South Wales for first offences; now, in some cases, for convicts sent thither direct from the United Kingdom, who are employed there in severe labour, and obtain the privilege of removal to New South Wales by good conduct. The two Australian colonies contain at this time more than 40,000 convicts; of these it appears that about 26,000 are assigned; that is, made over to settlers as servants to perform compulsory labour; the remainder are disposed in the following ways, as enumerated by Colonel Arthur:—"In the service of Government, in the road gangs, in the chain gangs, in the penal settlements, or in the chain gangs in the penal settlements."† From 1787 to 1836, 75,200 had been

* In the middle of the last century Maryland was estimated to contain 107,208 inhabitants, of whom 1981 only were convicts. Yet Maryland was one of the principal receptacles of criminals.—*Sadler on Population*, i. 447.

† Number of convicts in 1836:—New South Wales, 27,831; Van Dieman's Land, 16,968. Assigned (1833), New South Wales, 20,207; Van Dieman's Land, 6475.—*Report of Committee on Transportation*.

transported to New South Wales, and 27,757 to Van Dieman's Land. The average of late years has been about 3,500 to the former colony, and 2000 to the latter. These facts are furnished by the Report of the Transportation Committee of 1838.

The causes of the early and rapid growth of wealth in these colonies are not difficult to trace. They were, in fact, almost wholly artificial — on the one hand an ample supply of labour, on the other a large government expenditure. Instead of being forced to support their own servants, the colonists received in truth a bounty for employing them, their produce being taken off their hands by the government at high prices, for the purpose of maintaining those very labourers. “The extraordinary wealth of these colonies,” to borrow the language of the same report, “was occasioned by the regular and increasing supply of convict labourers. The convicts were assigned to settlers as slaves. They were forced to work in combination, and raised more produce than they could consume; for this surplus government provided a market, by maintaining military and convict establishments, which have cost this country above seven millions of public money. Thus the government first supplied the settlers with labour, and then bought the produce of that labour: the trade carried on was a very profitable one for the settlers, as long as the demand of the government exceeded the supply; and this excess of demand over supply has continued up to a late period.”

When the scales of the balance here indicated began to turn, it would be perhaps difficult to ascertain: but it appears certain, although the annual expenditure of these colonies has averaged of late years half a million, that they no longer depend in any essential degree

on that government expenditure for their prosperity. Although a certain amount of stimulus is still given to production by the artificial demand, it is no longer the main economical feature in the state of their society. And it becomes of less importance every day, as the increase of the colonial resources is far more rapid and certain than the increase of the government expenditure. These settlements have, therefore, passed out of the first stage of their progress, that of dependence and infancy, into the second, or stage of adolescence. And situated as they now are, it becomes important to trace the effects produced on their condition by the continued influx of convict labour, and the probable results of its discontinuance. These are both economical and moral; and the latter are so intimately connected with the former, that it would be treating the subject unworthily to pass them over on the present occasion, although with us they must of necessity be secondary objects of inquiry.

1. In the first place, the effect of the extensive introduction of convicts on the progress of population is to be considered. The great disproportion between the sexes, which is unavoidable under such circumstances, necessarily prevents it from making a rapid advance. Accordingly, the increase of numbers in Australia has been very slow, while that of wealth has been uncommonly rapid. It appears that the convict emigration alone into New South Wales, between 1788 and 1833, was larger than the whole population of the colony in the latter year, while there had been a considerable free emigration also; consequently, the deaths in that interval had very greatly exceeded the births. But a population which grows in this manner, by adult emigration and not by propagation, must be, for some time at least, favourably constituted with respect to

the productiveness of labour : there must be a smaller number of unproductive persons, such as children, and to a certain extent women, to support out of the wages of labour—just as it is cheaper to import slaves than to breed them. But slaves are short-lived ; the success of the speculation in their flesh and blood greatly depends on their dying before they are past labour : convicts, in a healthy country like Australia, grow old : it may be doubted therefore whether, after a certain period, such a population is really more effective than one which grows by natural movement.

2. The labour of convicts is probably the dearest of all labour ; that is, it costs more to some portion or other of society. The master himself obtains it cheaper than the services of a free labourer ; but this is only because the state has already expended a much greater sum than the difference on the maintenance and restraint of the convict * ; and, when obtained, it is not in the long run equally efficient or valuable. In our colonies the convicts, as we have said, are divided into two classes, those employed on public works, and those assigned as servants to individuals. From the first of these classes it is probable that as much labour is obtained, for an equal expense, as would be procured from hired labourers, at that high rate of wages which prevails in young communities. But with reference to the other class, that of assigned servants, the case is very different. The difficulty of employing them profitably and at the same time rendering their condition one of punishment is extreme. The ordinary labourer may be compelled, by dread of severer coercion, to perform a certain quantity of work ; about two thirds of what would be done

* Lord John Russell (referring to the evidence of a gentleman in Van Dieman's Land) says, that the difference in favour of convict over free labour, to the master, is 13*l.* per head. — *Mirror of Parliament*, 1840, p. 3524.

by a free labourer, according to the estimate of an intelligent witness before the Transportation Committee.* But severity will never compel the skilled mechanic to exert his powers. Their development can only be won from him by fair means — by good treatment, and indulgence, perhaps in his most pernicious habits; and thus, with respect to those very criminals who are in general the most depraved, there is a constant temptation to the master to treat them with the greatest lenity and favour, by which the object of punishment is entirely frustrated. To this Sir George Arthur, who has become conversant with the system by ample experience, bears testimony. “Those who have any mechanical skill,” says he, “are unfit for assignment; because, though men “may be compelled in private service to do a certain “given portion of rough work, it has been found that “the application of their skill can only be elicited by “coaxing and indulgence.” These are causes of general operation: there are others, peculiar to Australia. The staple industry of the country is pastoral: the great demand for assigned convicts is for the purposes of that industry: in 1837, no fewer than 8000 of them were serving as shepherds and neatherds in New South Wales. It is impossible to conceive a mode of employment less calculated either to terrify or to reform. It encourages habits of indolence; it gives ample leisure for that solitary meditation, which, unaccompanied by labour, is generally found to have the worst effects on the ignorant and depraved intellect; it gives ample opportunity, not only for the formation of barbarous tastes and habits, but for the actual commission of crime. On the other hand, those assigned servants whom there is no object in treating with indulgence are often subject, if not to cruelty, at least to capricious and unreasonable ill treat-

* Mr. Heath's Report, p. 267.

ment at the hands of their masters. "The practice of "assigning convicts," says Captain M'Conochie, the secretary to Sir John Franklin in Van Dieman's Land, "defeats its own most important objects; instead of "reforming it degrades humanity, vitiates all under its "influence, multiplies petty business, postpones that "which is of higher interest, retards improvement, and "is, in many instances, even the direct occasion of vice "and crime."

3. Lastly, to return once more to the economical view of the subject: our great Australian colonies seem to have advanced beyond that point at which the importation of convict labour can be of any material service to the body of landowners and capitalists. It is true that a strong opinion prevails, both here and in Australia, of its importance, and of the evils occasioned by its loss. Individuals still suffer from the diminution in the supply of convict labourers; and they attribute to that cause much more than its real effect; for the consequences of the vastly increased demand for labour, which has followed from the large emigration of capitalists, are very naturally compounded in their mind with those which result from the measures of Government. But it is strongly argued by the opponents of the assignment system, that the great interests of the colony cannot be materially touched by a change of this description, whatever temporary inconvenience it may occasion to many proprietors. Supposing that the practice of the assignment of convicts immediately on their arrival were to continue in its full extent, little more than 3000 labourers would thus be added every year to the working people of New South Wales. The population of that colony already amounts to 110,000; it is beginning, at last, to increase with great rapidity, both from births and from free emigration; and as the supply of

convicts cannot under any circumstances be very materially augmented, it must bear every year a less and less proportion to the wants of the colony, and become at last altogether insignificant.

Such are some of the arguments which have been urged against the practice of transportation, as carried on until of late years, with reference to its effects in the colonies. These arguments have so far prevailed, that the practice of the immediate assignment of convicts is now, I believe, entirely discontinued. It is intended that all convicts should be employed, in the first instance, in the new penal settlements at Norfolk Island, Port Arthur, and elsewhere, where they are worked in gangs, and under military superintendence, or in public works in the older colonies; and the assignment to colonists as servants is to be considered, as it should be, a reward for good behaviour—a first step in that gradual rehabilitation which is to replace the offender in his former rights and honour as the citizen of a free community, so far as this can be done with safety to the community itself.

Thus far every one must concur in approving of the scheme of reformation, which has been mainly prepared by the labours of the Transportation Committee of 1838. But it is well known that the views of many reformers of our penal code go farther. They are anxious for the entire abolition of the punishment of transportation; and it is thought that the late Government was disposed to favour their views, and to act upon them as speedily as this can be done, with the limited means which we at present possess for the infliction of other secondary punishments. You are probably all aware of the very active part which a distinguished member of this university, my predecessor in this chair, has taken in advocating this great change. It has, indeed, been

rendered public enough, if such publicity were needed, by the violent attacks of which he has been made the object, on account of the pictures which he has drawn of the moral condition of our penal colonies under the present system. Whatever the result of the alteration may be, there is no one on whom the responsibility or the credit of effecting it will rest more decidedly than on him.

Now, by far the most important of the considerations which are adduced in favour of this change relate to the efficacy of transportation as a punishment — its effects, or rather its alleged want of effect, in deterring from crime; its inadequacy as an example. These do not fall within the range of our subject. But, since the advocates of its abolition have also laid great stress on the utter demoralization which they suppose to be the result of it in the colonies themselves, we may be permitted a cursory glance at this portion of their arguments.

The general features of their statement admit of no denial. The state of public morals in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land is but too plainly evinced by the criminal returns from those countries. It is notorious that a large proportion of their community consists of men restrained from the commission of every crime merely by the exercise of severe and constant watchfulness over them. It is notorious, that almost every wickedness of luxurious and corrupt societies is practised there, amidst a scanty, laborious, and unrefined population. Nor is it possible to deny the extensive influence which the contagion of this vicious class exercises on the remainder of the community. The habit of entertaining convict servants introduces crime and recklessness into the families of respectable emigrants. Of the "emancipists," as they are termed,

or convicts who have passed the term of their sentence, too many are apt to fall into one or the other of two classes, each in its way pernicious to society—the low and brutal, “whose habits,” it is said, “are nearly the same as those of the convicts, while they are under less control;” and the able and dexterous, who contrive to attain competence, or even to amass considerable fortunes, often by the most iniquitous means. One individual of this class was said, a few years ago, to have acquired property to the amount of 40,000*l.* a year; having begun his career, after the expiration of his sentence, by keeping a public house, which was frequented by the drunken settlers of the neighbourhood, at the time when the prosperity of the colony ran highest, where they were inveigled into fraudulent bargains in a state of intoxication. Such men as these, not to mention the evil effect produced by their example, often become the most bitter enemies of institutions by which a certain line of demarcation is still preserved, at least in society, between the liberated criminal and the man of unstained character.

All this is only too true; and yet the question would not be fairly judged, unless certain other circumstances were taken into consideration.

In the first place, it must be considered that many of these evils belong not to transportation itself, but to transportation as hitherto conducted. They will be much diminished by the mere discontinuance of the mischievous practice of indiscriminate assignment, of which the effects have already been fully developed. In the early stages of the colony, all thoughts of punishment and reformation seem to have been set aside in the ardent pursuit of wealth. The first object was to make the labour of convicts as productive as possible; and it appears to have been fancied that in this manner

they performed that restitution which they owed to the country whose laws they had infringed. It is unfair to charge upon the general system consequences which have flowed from so manifest and flagrant an abuse of it. If, from the beginning, assignment had always been made conditional on good conduct, and reversable at pleasure, and in no instance allowed until some part of the term of punishment had been served out in severer and more penal labour, it is not too much to conjecture that the convict servant would have brought far less of corruption into the families of his employers, that he would have been in general more orderly and industrious, and that the rapid rise of emancipists to prosperity as individuals, and to importance as a party, would have been materially impeded.

It must be added, that this last unfavourable circumstance has been mainly produced by the mistaken views which long prevailed in the administration of these settlements. As Archbishop Whately truly says, the governors of our penal colonies had the problem proposed to them of accomplishing two different, and in reality inconsistent objects: — to legislate and govern in the best manner with a view to, 1. the prosperity of the colony; and, 2. the suitable punishment of the convicts. But some rulers have increased their difficulties by adopting a *third* object, incompatible with both the others. One of the governors of New South Wales, whose conduct has had a very extensive influence on its subsequent fortunes, discouraged free emigration altogether, and is said to have declared that his province “was a convict colony, established for the benefit of convicts, and had been brought into its present state of prosperity by their means.” — “He looked,” says one writer, “upon no title to property in New South Wales as so good or so just as that which had

“ been derived through the several gradations of crime, “ conviction, sentence, emancipation, and grant.” It is needless to add, that such mistakes as this are not likely to be repeated. *

Next, it is obvious that these colonies have already passed, or are quickly passing, through the first and most unfavourable stage of their moral progress. A new generation is advancing with daily increasing rapidity to occupy the stage; a generation born in the colony, nurtured doubtless under many discouraging circumstances, but free at least from the utter debasement of the original settlers. And the free emigration, now so enormously on the increase, will tend most powerfully to accelerate this change in the general face of society. The members of the Committee on Transportation, who have undoubtedly done much to throw light on the subject, but whose voluminous pages must nevertheless be perused with considerable caution, so evident is the bias on the minds both of the examiners and of a great number of the witnesses, lay down formally in their report, as one of the reasons against transportation, the disinclination which it produces in the minds of free emigrants to choose the penal colonies for their place of abode.† I cannot help suspecting that the Committee have here, by help of a lively imagination, metamorphosed their own theories into supposed facts. I cannot find, either in the evidence collected by themselves or elsewhere, any proof whatever of the alleged

* Upon the subject of this governor's conduct in advancing pardoned convicts to public stations, and endeavouring “ to force their society upon the *undetected* part of the colony,” the reader may consult an article of the Rev. Sydney Smith's, full of his peculiar combination of humour with sound practical sense, in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1823, vol. xxxviii. p. 85.

† See also the speech of Sir W. Molesworth, *Mirror of Parliament*, 1840, p. 2812.

reluctance. On the contrary, when the witnesses were asked, after the usual parliamentary fashion of putting leading questions, whether, in their opinion, such motives did not actuate the labouring population at home, and render them unwilling to emigrate to Australia, the answer has generally been that they were not aware of any thing of the kind.* And facts speak far more strongly than witnesses. Voluntary emigration has certainly never been directed towards that region, on account of the expense and the distance. But as soon as Government began to offer encouragement to emigrants of the labouring classes, there was no lack of candidates for its assistance; 6000 free emigrants landed at Sydney alone in the first half of 1839 — proof positive, I fear, that the Committee were doing an unmerited honour to the moral delicacy of our peasantry in the motives which they attributed to them. In a community thus expanding, the effect produced on society by the contagion of the one bad part must continually diminish. If poison and water be poured into a vase, the latter in a continually increasing proportion to the former, the mixture must at last be rendered innocent by the dilution; and in Australia, as in America, according to all the probabilities of the case, the convict taint would in time utterly disappear. To dwell for a moment on a single cause of demoralization — the disproportion between the sexes. By the census of 1836, New South Wales contained 55,000 males and 21,000 females; that is, the former were to the latter as five to two. The births were about

* The Committee do not, however, quite go so far as the distinguished Captain Smith, in the reign of James I., who attributes the same refinement of feeling to the thieves of his own time. He says of Virginia that “the number of felons and vagabonds transported did bring such evil characters on the place, that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go there, and were.” — *Graham's Rise and Progress of the United States*, i. 71.

one in thirty-six annually; deaths one in forty-seven. Supposing the annual emigration to consist of 3000 convicts in the proportion of five males to one female, and 10,000 free persons in the proportion of three males to two females, which is stating the position unfavourably for my argument, it may be shown arithmetically that in five years the females would amount to one half the number of the males, and probably in twenty more (although I have not taken the trouble to carry the calculation so far) the relative numbers would approximate as nearly as is necessary to maintain a community in a healthy state.

And lastly, it is most important to control those sanguine expectations of good, and that impatience of present evil, which are apt to bias our minds in the investigation of questions such as this, by the recollection that the solution of them offers, most emphatically, nothing but a choice of difficulties. Crime, and misery, and punishment, considered abstractedly, are evils in every shape; the last among the heaviest evils which society must necessarily endure. Nothing that philanthropy or sagacity can suggest will ever render human punishment other than it is—a coarse, indiscriminating, and imperfect preventive of crime, often demoralizing instead of reforming, and only inflicted because, on the whole, it represses, as we hope, more mischief than it occasions. Now the mind, in dwelling strongly on this or that special form of evil, acquires by degrees an intensity of feeling respecting it which renders it quite incapable of adopting the true test, that is, the relative one, and compels it to regard that form, and that alone, as something to be got rid of by any sacrifice. And thus the old history of the good bishop Las Casas, who introduced negro slavery in order to relieve the enslaved Indians of America, typifies, as it were, the character of a whole class of

reformers, moral and social, not a few of whom have done much service to humanity; for perhaps no great changes would ever have been brought into execution, if reflection had always accompanied enthusiasm. Such persons are always desirous to shift the burden from the galled shoulders, with little consideration for those on which it is next to be imposed. The whole history of the theory of punishment affords abundant instances of this truth. Our ancestors preferred to punish offenders by the compendious methods of the gallows and the lash. The inefficacy, as well as cruelty, of those time-honoured practices were abundantly proved; and transportation gradually superseded the infliction of death, as the ordinary punishment for the class of offences next below the heaviest. Evidence has now been carefully accumulated of the ill success and injustice of this once admired system. A better regulated method of imprisonment is the proposed substitute. But all punishments are ineffective—all punishments are unjust, except by comparison only. If the attention of the observer is directed to any one alone, the inevitable evils attending it will so press upon his attention, as to drive him to unfavourable conclusions; and, should imprisonment be adopted as the ordinary penalty for serious offences, it needs little foresight to anticipate, that in few years it will be assailed by objections to the full as heavy and unanswerable as those which are now urged against transportation. It is so already in the United States, where more attention has been paid to the subject than in any other country.

To apply these remarks to the subject immediately before us; it should be remembered that for a long time after the establishment of our penal colonies public opinion ran high in their favour. There was general confidence in the then favourite theory, that the best

mode of punishing offenders was that which removed them from the scene of offence and temptation, cut them off by a great gulf of space from all their former connexions, and gave them the opportunity of redeeming past crimes by becoming useful members of society. Was this theory altogether without foundation? Erroneous as the treatment of convicts in many respects has been, have none of these expectations been realized? Have not numbers of convicts found what at home they never could have found under the best devised system of punishment: space for exertion, reward for industry, and comparative oblivion of the past? Is not a flourishing community, tainted though it be with the remnant of its original impurity, gradually rising into importance, of which their labour has been the primary instrument? Let us adopt, if we will, the language of a candid observer, biassed by none of these theories, either for or against the system. "On the whole, as a plan of punishment, it has failed: as a real system of reform it has failed, as perhaps would every other plan: but as a means of making men outwardly honest; of converting vagabonds, most useless in one country, into active citizens of another, and thus giving birth to a new and splendid country, a grand centre of civilization, it has succeeded to a degree perhaps unparalleled in history."*

Is there, then, no plan by which transportation might be rendered more effective as a punishment, and at the same time prospective advantages secured to the convict, conditionally on good behaviour; that social "jus postliminii," without the hope of which life spent under punishment is hardly endurable, and reform, let the lovers of gaols and penitentiaries say what they will, almost impossible?

* Darwin: Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle.

It was with this view, as we have seen, that the scheme originally suggested under Lord Stanley's administration has been put of late years into execution : namely, the abolition of assignment in the first instance ; the employment of convicts in public works, or in distant and strictly penal settlements, such as Norfolk Island, for a part of their time.

Some of the witnesses examined before the committee, especially Sir R. Boucher and Dr. Lang, have added another suggestion. They propose that convicts should be employed in the first instance as pioneers in the formation of new colonies. That a gang, for example, should be immediately despatched as soon as an eligible site has been discovered, to cut down wood, to make roads and harbours, to prepare the soil for the reception of free emigrants, who would thus enjoy the great benefit of possessing at once those mechanical advantages which are usually attained by new settlements only after a considerable period of shifts and privations. The convicts, according to Dr. Lang's plan, are to be sedulously kept from mingling with the free settlers so long as they are thus employed. But as soon as the gang is broken up, its purpose being fulfilled, the ban may perhaps be withdrawn, and the better conditioned convicts allowed to begin their course of service as assigned labourers.

The chief objections that have been urged to these plans, besides those which apply generally to the whole system of transportation, are twofold. The first is that of expense. It is contended that, considering the quantity of military and police superintendence required, employment on public works is among the most costly modes of maintaining convicts.

This is a subject on which it is extremely difficult to speak with precision. But it is to be observed, that

the witnesses upon the committee, who were examined on this subject, made their comparison, in general, between the systems of employment on public works and assignment. That the former is very far more expensive than the latter, admits of course of no doubt. But the datum from which we set out is, that assignment, at least in the first instance, is to be abolished: that although cheaper to the mother country, and possibly more beneficial to the colony in an economical point of view, than any other mode of disposing of convict labour, the moral objections to it far outweigh these advantages. The real comparison to be made, is between the expense of maintaining a convict on public works in the colonies, and in a penitentiary at home. Now it was stated by Lord John Russell in a late debate (October 5. 1839,) that the net expense of maintaining a prisoner in Millbank Penitentiary was *24l. 6s. 6d.*; in the hulks, *7l. 14s. 2d.*; the gross expense in Coldbath Fields prison, *13l. 15s. 2d.*; while in Bermuda, the value of the labour performed by every convict on public works was so great as to leave an estimated annual profit of *13l. 3s. 6d.* On the other hand, Sir George Arthur appears to estimate the annual expense of a convict in employment of government, meaning apparently the net expense, in the Australian colonies, at *14l.* per head, that of an assigned convict at only *4l.* And undoubtedly the substitution of government employment for assignment would at the same time greatly increase the military and police expenditure of the colony. What may be the balance between the two systems, I mean those of imprisonment and colonial public employment, on the profit and loss account of each, it is not in my power to estimate. But this must always be remembered, that the labour of the convict in a colony paves the way for the introduction of

capital into the most productive of all fields, that of new colonies: that it raises up a nation of producers, supplying the wants of the mother country, and receiving her commodities in exchange: while that of prisoners in penitentiaries is almost inevitably a loss to society, both present and ultimate.

The other objection to the continuance of this species of punishment rests on moral grounds. It is thought by many that the spectacle of gangs of convicts, employed in penal labour, has a peculiar tendency to brutalise and degrade the minds of the population accustomed to behold it. And, on the other hand, the terrible statements, recently made public, of the vice and barbarism which are said to prevail among the gangs of convicts in our remote penal settlements, have produced a feeling of repugnance in the minds of many which it is difficult to combat.

Nevertheless, it is peculiarly necessary to remember, in this instance, the truth of what has already been said, that a choice of punishments is a choice of evils. It is impossible to deny that the spectacle of felons working in gangs has the effect of familiarizing eye-witnesses with the sight of crime and punishment, and, to a certain extent, producing indifference to it. But let this be fairly weighed against the objections which can be urged against other modes of secondary punishment; and let it be remembered that many nations, not among the last in civilization and morality, well acquainted with penal theories, have been able to find no satisfactory substitute for this: that although nothing is more common than to hear the practice denounced in general terms, no one, that I am aware of, has ever distinctly pointed out the connexion between cause and effect, any peculiar prevalence of vicious habits in those parts of France and Switzerland, for example, where this species

of exhibition is, or lately was, matter of every day : and let it be also recollected, that the effects of such exposure must be very different in the middle of the crowded and idle population of European countries, and among the scattered and busy settlers of a new colony. As to the moral condition of convicts themselves under such a system of punishment, the real question is, not whether it is hideous and fearful, whether it forms a subject of contemplation from which every well constituted mind must shrink with horror, but whether it is substantially worse, upon the whole, than that of bodies of similar criminals undergoing any other course of secondary punishment. I do not dispute the evidence of the witnesses who have visited Norfolk Island ; though I am, perhaps, justified in attributing to it something of the colouring which is inevitably communicated to such pictures by the feelings of men viewing, for the first time, with their own eyes, such receptacles of misery and vice : and although I think it will be found, that the vivid expressions in which they depict the general features of the case are not always fully borne out by the minute details of what fell under their own observation. But I would ask the calm inquirer, before he pronounces judgment against the system, to compare that evidence with what has been collected respecting the state of things in some of the boasted penitentiaries of other countries ; even in those conducted according to the most approved and best considered theories of prison discipline.

To those who sincerely indulge in expectations of the moral reform of prisoners in gaols and penitentiaries, I am well aware that these observations will appear extremely defective, as passing over with little regard what, in their view, is one of the greatest ends of penal law. They naturally regard the system of transport-

ation as wanting in the chief essential of discipline, and consider its continuance as an obstacle to the development of their theories. But to those whose views, I will not say of human nature, but rather of the power of human institutions, is of a less sanguine character — who have been led to consider the prospect of *reformation by punishment*, in the great majority of cases, as altogether hopeless and delusive: it must appear doubtful whether it be not more advisable to improve the system than to destroy it; whether there was not something of truth and reason in a scheme where the hope of reformation rested, not on the effects of the punishment itself, but on the prospect held out beyond it: in the only plan yet devised by human ingenuity which could secure *one* object on which enlightened penal reformers have laid great stress: namely, the rehabilitation of the offender — the offering him what, in his own country, he never *can* attain, his fair chance of prosperity and success, after the payment of his penalty to society. For my own part, I confess, I shall never be disposed to pay much attention to any proposed scheme of secondary punishment, unless the projector is able to answer one very obvious question: what is to become of the convict after he has undergone it? Imprisonment, with the notions which now prevail in society, is of all punishments the most intolerably defective in this essential particular. Nine out of ten who undergo it, for any but the very slightest offences, if not destroyed body and soul, are ruined for life as citizens, and condemned to an existence not only useless but pernicious to society, from the first day on which they enter the walls of their house of confinement. Speaking generally, no one who has suffered this punishment can recover character, except through the purifying process of labour, and the respect paid to usefulness and industry: the

discharged convict at home seeks in vain for opportunities of honest exertion, and is driven back to crime, both by habit and necessity: in the colonies, if he have but the will to restore himself, he cannot fail of success. Surely this consideration alone, if no other were involved in the question, ought to induce the nation to pause before she revises this part of her institutions, and condemns some thousands more of her criminals annually to undergo the ineffaceable brand of her hulks and penitentiaries.*

* Want of space has obliged me to leave unnoticed the project which has been recently suggested, of giving a free passage to convicts who have undergone their sentence of imprisonment at home. But it must be observed — 1. that unless we assume that the convicts come out of prison better than they went in, it is a renewal in another form of the alleged evils of transportation, namely, introducing a crime-tainted population into the colony; 2. that it entails on the country the double expense of maintaining them in gaol at home and sending them abroad.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE XII.

No. I.

I SUBJOIN the following questions and answers from the examination of Mr. Wakefield before the committee on the affairs of South Australia (1841), which convey the opinions of a large class of observers as to the nature and extent of the loss sustained by the abolition of convict assignment:—

3025. Do you consider the state of New South Wales to be in a state of distress compared with that of the other Australian colonies?—I think a very dangerous state of things is coming on in New South Wales. There is the Australian Agricultural Company, which received a large grant of land from the crown many years ago, and it has been a successful company. It has imported into this country a large quantity of wool (annually, enough to pay a very handsome dividend; but it has had in its regular employment as many as 500 convicts. Last year I understand it lost more than 100 of them, and that it expects to lose them all as their terms of service expire. Then that company, with a capital of 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* employed in sheep farming, must, unless there be a supply of labour afforded, be inevitably broken up; its production must entirely cease; and, I think, the greater part of the flock owners of New South Wales are exposed to that danger at present.

3026. Do you know what the actual supply of labour has been to New South Wales within the last four or five years?—I do not know what it has been, but I know that it has been considerable. But it has been quite inadequate to be a substitute for the convict labour, because the convict labour is much more valuable than merely in proportion to the number of convicts, because the master can hold it. The master does not care what the price of land is, or what the circumstances of temptation to the labouring classes are to cease working for hire, because the convict is a sort of slave; and I doubt whether, if free emigration to the amount of all the convicts

in New South Wales were instantly supplied, it would be equal at all in labour power to the number of convicts, because a very large number of those sent out will become, with the present price of land in New South Wales, small landowners immediately.

3027. You think that even if the whole land fund were appropriated to emigration, it would not supply the loss of the convict labour?—I have great doubts about it, in consequence of the great appropriation of land in New South Wales at a very low rate, and the consequent facility with which land can be acquired by labouring men.

3028. Do your remarks as to convict labour apply only to the system of assignment, or do you intend them to apply also to what is called the ticket of leave system?—There is some difference, but they are both abolished together. I think the only sort of punishment, according to the present system, as I understand it, is confinement, and employment in the public works by the government.

3029. Is the supply of wool for our manufactures from New South Wales likely to be affected by the diminished quantity of labour in the colonies?—I think it will be felt soon, unless some large supply of labour can be taken to New South Wales.

No. II.

CONVICTS.

Return of the Number of Convicts in New South Wales, on the 31st December, 1835.

Penal Settlements —

Norfolk Island	-	-	-	-	1,062
Moreton Bay	-	-	-	-	354
Port Macquarrie	-	-	-	-	531
Hulks	-	-	-	-	208
On the roads, surveying department	-	-	-	-	1,080
On the roads, in irons	-	-	-	-	1,022
Goat Island	-	-	-	-	223

Second class convicts, Illawarra	-	-	-	117
Mineral surveyor's department	-	-	-	112
Medical department	-	-	-	123
Commissariat department	-	-	-	58
Hyde Park barrack	-	-	-	658
Sydney gaol	-	-	-	91
Female factory, Paramatta	-	-	-	646
Holding tickets of leave	-	-	-	3,650
In private service	-	-	-	19,247

 29,182

(Tables of Revenue, &c. Suppl. Colonies, 1835.)

LECTURE XIII.

METHODS OF OBTAINING LABOUR IN COLONIES WITHOUT SLAVES OR CONVICTS.—INDENTED LABOURERS.—PRINCIPLES OF THE WRITERS ON SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION, OR MR. WAKEFIELD AND HIS FOLLOWERS, RESPECTING THE PROCURING OF LABOUR BY THE REGULATED DISPOSAL OF LAND.

THE various methods which have been formerly devised for furnishing colonies raising exportable produce with that supply of dependent labourers which they so greatly need, without introducing a servile or quasi-servile population, need not long arrest our attention. They have been evidently inadequate to their purpose ; and their history is of no great importance, except as showing indirectly how much the want has been felt, by the nature of the shifts resorted to for relieving it.

In the infancy of our West India colonies, and of our tobacco and rice-growing settlements in North America, it was common for the colonists to procure *indentured labourers* from England. These were invited by the promise of high wages ; and as the captains of vessels obtained considerable emolument by this valuable part of their cargo, they were induced to use, in addition, the most disgraceful methods of raising the required contingent. Not only crimping, but actual kidnapping, seems to have been of common occurrence ; and persons brought over, in extreme poverty, by the ship-owners, frequently had to pay for their passage by submitting to a species of slavery, and being disposed of by the skipper to the best advantage in the colonial

market. But as may naturally be supposed with respect to recruits procured in this manner, the difficulty was extreme of holding such indented labourers to their bonds. Unprincipled settlers were constantly on the watch to seduce away the apprentices of their neighbours; and those who had actually gone to a great expense in providing themselves with this species of wealth, had not unfrequently the mortification of seeing it vanish altogether from their grasp, and go to enrich some other proprietor, whom the acquisition of it had cost nothing. And, in North America, the vicinity of the uncleared parts, and the ease with which good land might be procured for nothing, were powerful seductions to the enterprising labourer, who, if he thought at all about the matter, would probably consider himself amply justified in breaking his engagements by the delusive and fraudulent nature of the system under which they had been contracted.

The extreme inadequacy of this mode of supply naturally led to the introduction of slavery, both in the islands and on the continent. It continued, however, to be practised on a limited scale, up to the period of the American revolution. Something similar to it has been proposed in our own time, by advocates of systematic emigration, with this difference, that, according to their views, the labourer should not be bound to perform service for any specified individual, but should be left free to choose the market for his own labour, subject to working out the price of his passage, and repaying by instalments the government at home, which has furnished in the first instance the funds for his emigration.

Two plans are set forth for the accomplishment of this object (by Mr. Poulett Scrope, I believe,) in a paper in the Quarterly Review, vol. xiii. The first is

that of securing the re-payment by a direct tax on the wages of the labourer in the colony.

“An office might be appointed in the colony,” he says, “at which every labourer, as soon as he arrived, should be registered: the cost of his passage, with that of insurance on his life long enough to repay the sum, debited to him: and he might then be allowed to work when, where, and how he chose, on the sole condition of paying a sum weekly or monthly to government, towards the redemption of the debt incurred by his importation.”

The author, however, seems to be himself aware of the extreme unlikelihood, to say the least of it, of the success of a scheme like this. The difficulty of attaching wages for payment of a debt, even at home, and where the labourer is under strict legal superintendence, is well known to all who are practically conversant with the condition of the labouring classes. In a colony, where the inhabitants are scattered over a wide extent of territory, it would be enormously increased; and without saying that such a method would be impracticable, it is certain that the machinery of it must be expensive, and the execution odious. “The plan of taking labourers out with an agreement to repay their passage-money out of the proceeds of their labour,” says Mr. Wakefield, “has been tried in a vast number of instances, but has always failed. Great pains were taken to carry that plan into execution in New South Wales: a great deal of capital was invested; and it seems at first so easy and natural a thing to do, that one is loth to believe it will not answer: but it did not answer.” The only exception with which he was acquainted was that of some German emigrants during the last American war, who were conveyed to the United States by those contractors who were styled

“redemptioners,” and kept in a kind of slavery through their ignorance of the language.*

Mr. Scrope, therefore, proceeds to propose as a substitute “a general tax on the employment of labour in the colony, to be paid by the employers. A tax of this kind would readily be paid by capitalists, if they knew that its produce was fairly and economically expended in the introduction of fresh labour: since the cost of cultivation would be by no means increased — the reduction in the price of labour more than compensating the tax. It would soon be seen, that the tax will be paid in appearance only by employers, who will be instantly repaid by their labourers in the shape of a diminution of wages — for this reason. In all new countries, where fertile land is to be had upon easy terms, labour always obtains the maximum of payment; that is, it keeps up to the highest point at which, under the circumstances of soil, climate, competition, markets, &c., it is profitable to supply it. A tax on the employment of labour would turn this point, by rendering labour unprofitable, except at a rate diminished by exactly the amount of the tax: wages will therefore fall to this extent, and the tax will really be paid by the labourer himself; and this is as it should be.” The writer goes on to explain why: it is, he says, no more than just and equitable that the labourer, to whom government has afforded the means of obtaining ample remuneration for his toil, and enjoying the comforts of life to a degree which he could never have hoped for at home, should submit to a slight deduction from his gains until the cost of his conveyance be repaid. And he proposes a tax, to be imposed in some indirect way on the capital

* Report of Committee on South Australia, 1841, p. 254.

of the colonists, amounting to 6*l.* a day, for a limited time, on each labourer imported.

We shall return to this passage hereafter, in order to examine the doctrine contained in it respecting the incidence of such a tax as is here mentioned. But a preliminary objection to the plan will perhaps already have struck the minds of such of my hearers as may remember what was said in a former lecture respecting the causes of the deficiency of labour in new colonies. It contains no provision whatever for retaining the labourer in the service of the capitalist, who will be charged, in the first instance at least, with the expense of his emigration. The writer supposes throughout that land is to be left of easy acquisition to every one, as it has been until lately in most of our colonies. But if this be so, then, wherever land is plentiful, it would be utterly impossible to prevent the better and more enterprising class of mechanics and agriculturists from leaving service and becoming settlers on their own account, long before the benefit of their labour had been substantially felt. Supposing it were desirable, from peculiar circumstances (such as have lately arisen in our old slave colonies), to import fresh labourers into ancient settlements, where the land is already occupied, and men must work for wages or starve, some modification of Mr. Scrope's proposal might possibly be found beneficial: in other instances, it would be merely pouring water into a sieve, as all experience demonstrates.

It was chiefly from a conviction of this difficulty that the suggestion was first made, and pressed on government by the original members of what was termed the Colonization Society, ten years ago, of fixing a comparatively high price on government lands, in order at once to furnish a fund that might be exclusively appropriated to the purpose of emigration, and to prevent

the poorer emigrants from acquiring a dominion in the soil on too easy terms, and becoming occupants in lieu of labourers. The first fruit of their project was, as you are aware, the foundation of the colony of South Australia: since that time, the same principle has been applied with more or less strictness in all our Australian colonies.

In order to a clear comprehension of the South Australian, or Mr. Wakefield's, "principle," on which I touched, and only touched, in a former lecture, it is necessary that we should establish in our minds a few clear and definite notions respecting the objects of colonization; the mode in which it may be rendered most useful to the settler, and to the mother-country: for nothing, I will venture to say, can be more indistinct than the ideas which a first and superficial review of the subject almost necessarily presents to the mind.

Passing by all political considerations, as irrelevant to our present inquiry, the economical objects of colonization are two only:—

First, To furnish a means of bettering their condition to the unemployed, or ill-employed, portion of the people of the mother-country.

Secondly, To create a new market for the trade of the mother-country.

That these two objects are very nearly connected in practice needs no demonstration. Every emigrant, whose energies, unproductive at home, are transferred to the new soil of a colony, becomes a raiser of valuable commodities for the benefit of the mother country; commodities which the mother-country will purchase, if she is herself the producer of any articles of value in the market of the world, either directly or indirectly with those articles. In the case of our own country, with which we are more immediately concerned, every emi-

grant becomes rapidly a raiser of raw produce for the advantage of our consumers, and a consumer of our manufactures.

Still, although these objects are thus nearly connected, it would be a mistake to suppose that they are co-extensive in every case, and that the one result always accompanies the other in the same ratio of progress. Some colonies are fitter for the purposes of emigration, others for the purposes of trade. In some, commodities of great value are raised with a comparatively small expenditure of labour. In others, the quantity of net exchangeable produce which can be raised is comparatively insignificant : but abundant room is afforded for the settlement of great numbers of emigrants, and for their comfortable maintenance. For the last twenty years (taking a rough average), the population and export trade of New Brunswick have increased in pretty nearly the same ratio, that is, each has doubled.* In the same space of time, the population of New South Wales has a little more than trebled ; her exports have increased about fifteen fold. Therefore the progress of foreign trade, as compared with that of population, has been in New South Wales about five times as rapid as in New Brunswick ; and others of the North American colonies would exhibit a still slower rate of progress. The emigrant, therefore, to New South Wales becomes much more rapidly a producer of value than the emigrant to British America. But New South Wales, both from its distance and from other circumstances, is by no means so well adapted to receive a large amount of emigration as British America. Colonization, directed to the latter country, more readily promotes the first object ; colonization directed to the former is more serviceable for commercial purposes.

* See the tables at the conclusion of Lecture IV.

The more rapid increase of production in New South Wales has been partly owing to the use of convict labour, but much more to the natural advantages which the country possesses for the production of the great staple, wool; a staple from its very nature requiring, relatively to other commodities, much capital and little labour. And this brings us back to the distinction which I endeavoured to establish in my ninth lecture, between colonies possessing peculiar facilities for the production of exportable commodities and colonies not possessing them. This is a distinction which it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind throughout the discussion on which we are now entering. We must not take it for granted, as has been hitherto generally done, that the same principles of colonization apply to both, but follow those principles into their results, as affecting each class respectively.

We have, then, now to consider in what mode the government can best employ the waste lands at its disposal in new colonies, for the furtherance of this double object: first, to provide a home for emigrants; secondly, and I must add, at the hazard of all misconception, as the far more important purpose of the two, to render it most attractive to those classes of settlers who will most rapidly increase the wealth of the community, and by so doing further the prosperity of all. The only exception (if such it can be called) is to be found in the reservations which it may be necessary to make for certain ulterior public purposes — such, for instance, as education and religion — if it should appear, on investigation, that this is the most eligible mode in which they can be provided for: a subject which will be considered hereafter.

Yet, obvious as this principle appears to be, it is habitually disregarded by those who speak of the un-

occupied lands of our colonies as if they were so many wide commons, into which our surplus population, chiefly consisting of needy persons without capital, is to be turned in great multitudes, to find subsistence as it can. For supposing the first difficulties of location overcome, it is impossible that small settlers, unaided by the accumulated wealth which we term capital, can turn those lands to the best account in raising the exportable commodities through the production of which colonies become rich. In order, therefore, to promote wealth and commerce, and with them employment for the poorer classes, it is desirable so to regulate the disposal of land as to secure the introduction of capital and labour in the most convenient proportions. Now those proportions, as has been so frequently remarked, must depend upon the character of the colony; whether it is one producing in abundance staple articles of export or the reverse. In the former case, the introduction of abundant capital will be relatively more necessary than in the latter.

But, in every instance, the requisites which the settler needs, in order to render his capital productive, are three — land, labour, and what I may term Preparation; that is, accurate surveying, convenient communication with the neighbouring markets by roads and navigable waters, watching and defence, and similar preliminaries to a profitable occupation. To obtain any of these requisites cheaply or gratuitously is to save so much capital and insure so much additional profit. If the *bonâ fide* settler gets his land for nothing (as under the old free-grant system), he has so much more to spend in labour and in contributing to matters of public convenience. If he has an ample supply of labour offered him at a cheap rate (as formerly in New South Wales under the plan of convict assignment), he will have

more to lay out on land. If the state chooses to take on itself the expense of road-making and surveying, his funds, freed from those burdens, will be more available for the purchase both of land and labour. The economical effect of either of these methods of disposing of any fund which the state possesses for the purpose, supposing each to be equally convenient to the settler, must be the same. Now such a fund the state possesses in its wild lands, or the money for which they may sell. And, therefore, divesting the subject of some little mystery, in which it has, perhaps, been enveloped in recent controversies, the question seems to be simply this: In which of these modes is it most convenient for the settler that the fund should be applied?

First, Let us suppose a vast and virgin dominion, such as British America may once have been, added at once to our colonial empire. Let us suppose it under the same physical circumstances with that region; a country of very various degrees of fertility and natural advantages, possessing neither a climate nor soil peculiarly adapted to the produce of any commodities of great value, and requiring much capital to raise them, but able to supply in abundance the necessaries and many of the comforts of life.

If the state were to commence its system of colonization by offering the lands gratuitously to emigrants, and if any mode could be devised of securing that these grants should be made to persons really intending to occupy them, we may perhaps conjecture that the following would be the economical results of the experiment.

Few capitalists would probably avail themselves of the offer; or, if they did, the experiment would end in disappointment. I have supposed, in the first place, that the district afforded no peculiar facilities for the

rapid increase of capital by the production of articles of great value. Still, there, as every where else, the possession of capital would insure great advantages to the cultivator, if he could only command a sufficient supply of labour. But this would be absolutely impossible. If the rich emigrants could contrive to carry with them, or cause to emigrate to their settlements, any conceivable number of labourers, they would find it impracticable to retain them in their service. As in the case of the settlement of Swan River, and in every other instance of the same description, they would rapidly spread themselves over the soil, and desert the service of the capitalists, for the condition of independent occupiers.

Secondly, Such a state of things, however promising the prospects which it might appear to hold out, would prove in reality most unpropitious to the fortunes of the great body of poor emigrants. These would land destitute of capital, and equally destitute of experience in the new mode of life on which they are about to embark. To suppose that they would voluntarily associate themselves with the capitalists, and content themselves with the state of dependent labourers until they had saved enough to start for themselves, would be to make a supposition which history and reason alike confute. And as capital, from the uncertainty of labour, would flow slowly into such a colony, this resource would soon cease to be offered them. The land of promise would turn out to them a mere land of disappointment and distress, perhaps of destruction. Instead of stimulating the emigration of this class of people, it would soon become abundantly necessary to discourage it, and allow the influx to follow the tardy growth of capital and increase of employment.

But, thirdly, The middle class of emigrants, those who go out intending to labour with their own hands as small

farmers, but who leave their native country with a competent stock of wealth, sufficient to carry them through the two or three years of privation which must necessarily precede their successful settlement in such a country as I have been describing : these, I apprehend, notwithstanding all the representations of a school of economists already frequently cited, would have every prospect of thriving in such a country and under such conditions as I have described. And if so, there is no doubt that that these alone would suffice to raise it eventually to a high pitch of wealth and prosperity. This is a class of colonists which must of necessity be altogether deterred from settling in a colony where there is a high price fixed on land. The little capital at their command is barely enough, for the most part, to carry them through the preliminary expenses of clearing their ground, and through the long and difficult period of abstinence which must precede the reaping of a single crop. The time during which a small settler must necessarily subsist on his former resources appears to be at least a year and a half in Canada ; and it is considered that three, four, or five years must elapse before a creditor, who has advanced him money for these purposes, can expect his first instalment.* To suppose that such persons can afford any additional drain on their slender finances, without immediate return for it, is out of the question. A system of free grant, or something approaching to it, seems the only one under which a population of small yeomen can plant itself successfully over an extensive surface. But, as we have seen, they must renounce the advantages of an abundant supply of labour, and with it the prospect of great profits and a rapid accumulation of capital. A country thus colonized would

* See the opinions of a great many observers, collected and compared, in Mr. Murray's *British America*, vol. iii. ch. 3. p. 124, &c.

be a land, as Lord Sydenham says of Canada itself, affording "no lottery, with a few exorbitant prizes and "a large number of blanks, but a secure and certain "investment, in which a prudent and reasonable man "may safely embark."*

If, however, the country thus added to our dominion was one possessing peculiar facilities for producing exportable articles of value, by the expenditure of capital; if it was a land fertile in sugar, coffee, or cotton, like the West Indies, or the southern states of the American Union; or rich in mines; or eminently adapted for the multiplication of flocks and the production of fine wool, as Australia has been discovered to be; then it is obvious that the disposition of the land by free grant would prove most inauspicious for the development of such natural resources. The impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of labour, where all labourers might immediately become independent landowners, would render the accumulation of capital extremely slow, and profits very precarious.

2. This, then, is the first disadvantage attaching to the system of disposal of land by free grant. The second is, the difficulty which has been found in obliging the owners to cultivate the soil. It is evident in how prejudicial a manner their neglect to do so influences the fortunes of a colony. The consequence is, the interposition of neglected and unprofitable tracts between the settled portion of the district; aggravating to a high degree the necessary evils of a dispersed population; rendering the scanty means of communication which settlers possess with each other, and with the markets and navigable rivers, still scantier; and imposing great additional expenses on the infant community in maintaining such roads as cannot be dispensed with. In a

* Correspondence relative to Emigration, 1841, p. 71.

future lecture, we shall consider historically the results of the systems of free grant, and of sale at low prices, in those colonies in which they have been generally adopted; and on that occasion we shall be able more conveniently to examine how far the evils here alluded to are necessary results of the former system, and how far they might have been avoided by proper measures, without the imposition of high prices. At present I will merely allude to them, as among the most prominent of those mischiefs which the framers of the South Australian scheme had it in their view to correct.

3. Another supposed or real mischief, attributed to the system which rendered land easy of acquisition, was the facility with which old land could be abandoned for new, and the consequent dispersion of the population of colonies. In my ninth lecture I gave some reasons for doubting whether this tendency, regarded in a general point of view, can be regarded as injurious at all; or, at all events, to the extent and in the manner in which the school of writers on systematic colonization have represented. I will not repeat what was there observed, but proceed to lay before you the fundamental principles of their speculations.

The so called South Australian system is developed, with all the arguments which zeal and ingenuity can suggest in its behalf, in a remarkable pamphlet published by the Colonization Society in 1830: in Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's "Letter from Sydney," 1829: in his greater work, entitled "England and America:" by the same very able individual, in his examination before the Committee on Waste Land, 1836; and by Colonel Torrens in many writings, especially in a work already often quoted by me on the Colonization of South Australia. You will find it criticized and impugned in many publications, with various success; but I would



refer you especially to Mr. McCulloch's note to Adam Smith, on Colonies, and to an article in the Edinburgh Review for July, 1840.

The principles of that system may be very briefly stated as follows:—1. That the prosperity of new colonies mainly depends upon the abundance of available labour at the command of capitalists, in proportion to the extent of territory occupied. 2. That this abundance is to be secured by introducing labourers from the mother-country, and other well peopled regions, and taking measures to keep them in the condition of labourers living by wages for some considerable time; at least two or three years, according to the suggestion of Colonel Torrens. 3. That the revenue derived from the sale of new land is the fund out of which the cost of introducing them is best defrayed. 4. That the most convenient way of preventing them from rising too rapidly from the condition of labourers into that of independent landowners is to sell the land at a sufficiently high price. 5. That the entire proceeds of the land sales ought to be devoted to the purpose of obtaining emigrants; and that only by devoting the whole, and not any portion, will the exact equilibrium between land, labour, and capital be secured. 6. That the sale of land should be at an uniform price per acre for all qualities and all situations, and not by auction. 7. (Which is not necessarily connected with the others.) That this system will lead to concentrate the population, and check that inconvenient dispersion which is apt to take place in new colonies.

It is obvious that these propositions may be regarded in two very different points of view; either as a series of practical rules for the disposal of colonial lands and the fund arising from their sale, of which some may be more important than others, and all may admit of mo-

difications according to the several circumstances of different countries ; or as a connected system, of which each part necessarily depends upon all the rest, of which no link can be injured without rendering the whole chain a valueless encumbrance. This latter is the character under which the projectors have themselves uniformly represented their theory. I confess that after the most minute attention I have been able to give the subject, I have failed (very probably from deficiencies of my own) in thoroughly comprehending the whole of their arguments on this subject. I shall therefore do the best I can for the purpose of my present lectures : examine, one by one, the propositions here stated ; examine the objections which have been started to them, as well as the reasonings which are adduced in their favour ; and see how far each is really and practically involved in the others. I will then conclude this part of my subject with an examination, historical and statistical, of the results of the old English system of free grant, the American system of sale at low prices, and the modern system of sale at high prices ; including a sketch of the remarkable career of the model colony of South Australia.

The first proposition is, —

1st. That the prosperity of new colonies mainly depends upon the abundance of available labour at the command of capitalists, in proportion to the extent of territory occupied.

I discussed this proposition in my ninth lecture at considerable length, and suggested the necessity of modifying it greatly, when we are considering the circumstances of colonies not possessing peculiar facilities for raising exportable commodities of value. It is in my opinion not true in respect of these, that an abun-

dance of available labour at the command of capitalists is at all necessary to their prosperity.

Colonel Torrens, I cannot but think, has neglected, in considering this subject, one very important feature of the case. I will state in his own language * (which is nearly the same with that used by the other supporters of the scheme) his view of the effect of the combination of labour with capital in ordinary agricultural industry.

He supposes that in a new settlement in which land is given away to all who apply for it, four labourers locate themselves on four separate lots, of fifty acres each. He shows, what is undoubtedly true, that each of these four must undergo considerable expense of labour and time in constructing his own house, clearing his own ground, making his own road, disposing of his own produce. He then varies the supposition, and assumes that the land, instead of being given away, is sold at a proper price; and that "our four labourers, "instead of dispersing themselves over the wild, and "occupying four farms of fifty acres each, as independent cultivators, work for wages with a capitalist, "who purchases a farm of 200 acres, and proceeds to "cultivate it with their aid. This farmer and his four "labourers, working in combination, may raise at least "four times the quantity of produce which could be "raised by four isolated labourers."

Now, in this passage Colonel Torrens assumes that the connected farm of 200 acres is of equal fertility, acre for acre, with the separate lots of 50 acres; and this is the assumption which, I cannot but think, vitiates to a certain extent his whole theory.

In very few countries is land of the first fertility found in extensive patches. It is commonly dispersed

* Colonization of South Australia, p. 35, &c.

here and there, in spots of comparatively small dimensions. This is pre-eminently the case in Australia, the country which the Colonel has in his immediate view. There the productive spots of arable land seem not only to bear an unusually low proportion to the barren, but to lie in a remarkably scattered disposition, along the borders of water-courses, in narrow vallies separated by large tracts of table land, and often in irregular masses, affording a diversity of soil for which it is difficult to account on any philosophical theory.

Now in old countries, lands of inferior quality have been long occupied, and a farm of 200 acres, although containing soil of very various excellence, might be all under cultivation together. In this case it is most true that it would return more *net* produce, cultivated by a farmer and a small number of labourers, than by two or three times as many small occupiers.

But in a new country, under the system of free grant, the most fertile spots only are occupied. Each of the four labourers would choose his fifty acres in some productive locality. Suppose that the owner of the 200, if he wishes to secure the same advantage, finds it necessary to have his 200 scattered in different lots instead of in one compact block; that 200 acres, for example, with only twenty of water frontage, are far less valuable than four lots of fifty acres with twenty a piece. He must then make his choice between the advantage of combined labour and the advantage of first-rate land; for he cannot spread a small number of labourers over a large tract of country. If the most productive portions only are to be cultivated, the cultivation must necessarily be in small patches; and there can be little doubt which alternative the emigrant would select. The best land will always be the first occupied, the land being disposed of, on the supposition, by free grant, or at an uniform low price.

Thus, in transferring to a colony suppositions which are perfectly true of an old country, the school of writers, whose views we are now considering, seem, as I have said, to omit one of the most essential features of the case. The great privilege of the colonist is, the use of first-rate machines of production only; and so long as these only are employed, if the colony is only engaged in ordinary agricultural industry, it may, I think, be pretty safely predicted that, in whatever proportion the land may be divided between owners, it will be profitably occupied only by small cultivators. As soon as inferior soils begin to be taken into hand, then, and not till then, combined capital and labour will be employed with the greatest advantage.

Nor let us imagine, once more, that the rise of a community, in this natural manner, is necessarily slow, uncertain, or liable to serious interruption. The state of Ohio, in North America, is entirely a new country, or colony from the older states: its first settlement began scarcely fifty years ago.* It has, from the beginning, possessed no supply whatever of dependent labourers, slavery having been unknown. Its lands have been purchased from the government, lot by lot, at a price rarely exceeding 6s. an acre, and sold by speculators to emigrants from the Eastern states. These have been, with scarcely any exception, small yeomen. There have been no masses of capital, and scarcely any large farms. The land has been rescued from the wilder-

* The "New England Ohio Company" was formed in 1786. The first settlement was founded in 1788: but its growth was impeded, for several years, by Indian wars, and by the exaggerated notions which prevailed of the unhealthiness and other perils of the wilderness. In 1791, the entire population of the country between Pennsylvania, the Mississippi, the Lakes, and the Ohio, was estimated at 15,000 only, exclusive of Indians (North American Review, October, 1841). It now contains about 3,000,000. Such results absolutely startle the imagination.

ness, bit by bit, beginning with the most fertile and advantageously situated, by occupiers, a few acres at a time. Its industry is almost entirely confined to ordinary agriculture; it raises no exportable produce except corn and cattle. Now the rise of this state, although under these circumstances, has been by far the most extraordinary in the annals of the world. I have said that fifty years ago it was an unbroken forest. In 1840, it contained 1,519,000 inhabitants, and was then the third state of the Union in population, although only the sixteenth in size. It was the first in productiveness, in respect of wheat; the third for other grain; the third for sheep; the second for horses; and proportionably rich in other raw produce of the same character.* It would, of course, be unfair to make any comparison between the growth of an American state, surrounded by districts sending out an abundance of emigrants, and an English colony, at 3000 or 12,000 miles from the mother-country. The argument which the marvellous creation of Ohio affords is only conclusive on the question, whether a country can rise rapidly into wealth, without any combination of capitalists and labourers.†

The result, therefore, is, that such a combination is only necessary to prosperity where the colony has facilities for the production of exportable articles, which require the labour of many hands in co-operation, or a large outlay of capital.

* I take these details from the Colonial Magazine for October, 1841.

† Mr. Wakefield, when pressed with the example of Ohio, attributes its prosperity to the indirect effects of slave labour, because New Orleans, the chief place of export for the foreign commerce of Ohio, is in a slave state. (Report of Committee on Colonial Lands, 1836, p. 178.) An explanation with which it requires some faith in his theory to be satisfied.

LECTURE XIV.

DISPOSAL OF LAND IN NEW COLONIES. — EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WRITERS ON SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION CONTINUED.

THE next position of the writers on systematic colonization which we have to consider, following the order proposed in my last lecture, is this; That the requisite abundance of available labour is to be secured by introducing labourers from the mother-country, or other well-peopled regions, and taking measures to keep them in the condition of labourers living by wages for some considerable time.

This proposition need not detain us long. Wherever a supply of dependent labour is necessary, the only means by which it can be now procured is free emigration; the only means by which it can be retained, preventing the labourers from passing immediately into the condition of landholders. It is true that the danger of their immediately aspiring to become owners of land must greatly vary according to the circumstances of particular colonies. The temptation in North America, where the soil has high agricultural capabilities, and accumulated capital is comparatively rare, must be much stronger than in Australia, where the land is generally barren, and high wages are attainable in the service of large proprietors. Consequently, the American back-woodsman is a farmer; the Australian "overlander"* is a drover by profession. Still the danger every where exists, in a greater or less degree. And all other modes of obtaining labour, and all other modes of keeping the labourer in

* See Captain Grey's Journals, vol. ii.

dependence, may be pronounced both unsuited to the genius of the present age, and demonstrably productive of more evil than good.

But it may not be out of place to notice here an objection which has been urged against this part of the scheme; namely, that it is an undue interference with the rate of wages; that by securing artificially an abundant supply of labour, the remuneration of labour will be artificially lowered. This is the view taken among others by Mr. M'Culloch, the most determined assailant of the scheme of sale at high prices. "It is a part of "this new project," he says, "on the excellence of "which much stress is laid, that the sums got by the "sale of lands in the colony are to be expended in "defraying the expense attending the conveyance "ther of labourers. This is a species of bait held out "to tempt capitalists to buy land by making them believe that though land be artificially dear labour will "be artificially cheap, and that, on the whole, they will "be very well off. This, however, is merely attempting "to repair an injury done to the capitalists by inflicting "a more serious injury upon the labourers. In a colony "where a large portion of the capital is swallowed up "in the purchase of land, the demand for labour must "be comparatively limited, and this limited market is "to be glutted by throwing upon it crowds of paupers, "transported gratis from England."*

This is a view which appears plausible at first sight, and until we have examined the real state of circumstances in new colonies. Labour, as Mr. Poulett Scrope truly expresses it, obtains the maximum of wages in new countries where land is easy of acquisition. The maximum of wages, be it remembered, is the highest

* Note xxiii. to Adam Smith.

amount which can be obtained, leaving the necessary profit to the capitalist. The competition of emigrants, and the difficulty thrown in the way of the purchasing of land by its dearness, seem to have a tendency to keep the market more amply supplied, and lower the price of labour. If so, it is contended, that whether or not it offers advantageous terms to colonists, it must artificially depress the condition of the working classes.

But the fact appears to be far otherwise. The real pressure which is felt by capitalists in new countries raising exportable produce arises not so much from the high price of the labour that is to be had, as from the difficulty of procuring any. Without the assistance of slavery, or some of those substitutes for it which we have recently considered, it has been found scarcely possible to obtain it at all; absolutely impossible to obtain it in such proportions as to render capital most productive by a proper division of employment. Accordingly, as we have seen, the history of most colonies raising much exportable produce shows a considerable waste of wealth in their early stages, until this deficiency was in some way remedied; it shows also great disinclination on the part of the wealthier classes at home to embark any part of their fortune in so unpromising a venture as the cultivation of the soil in a region without a labouring class. But if the supply of labour be once secured, capital is immediately tempted to flow in by the abundance of the return from a new soil; and the combined exertions of a sufficient number of labourers will, under that capital, be so far more efficient than it could be without them, that there is every reason to conclude that high profits and high wages may both be realised; that, instead of suffering by each other's competition, the industrious emigrants may find that they mutually assist each other and the capitalist in drawing

from the earth the largest amount of produce, to the proportionate advantage of all. And, to conclude this part of my observations, in the language of Colonel Torrens, "while the increased production would enable the capitalist to pay high wages, his own interest would compel him to do so: because the rapid accumulation of capital would cause a competition for labourers wherewith to employ it; and because a sufficient supply of combined labour could not be maintained, unless the augmented production which it created should be so divided as, at one and the same time, to increase both profits and wages."

When we examine in detail the economical history of the colonies in which this scheme has been wholly or partially put into execution, we shall easily satisfy ourselves of the truth of these views; and that the very last evil which there seems to be any reason for apprehending is an unnatural depression of wages.

3. Our next proposition was, that the revenue which may be derived from the sale of wild land is the fund out of which the cost of introducing emigrants is best defrayed. This is the suggestion which in reality forms the great discovery of Mr. Wakefield, and does the greatest credit to those who have supported and enforced his views. About the speculative parts of his scheme many doubts may be entertained; respecting this, there can scarcely be two opinions. The mere change from the system of free grant to that of sale, as we shall see when we examine the historical part of the question, was a great benefit under the circumstances of most of our colonies; the appropriation of the fund thus raised, or a considerable part of it, to a definite, useful, and honest object, and one in which the interests of the colonies are so closely involved, is, at the least, a practical measure of the

highest value, omitting the peculiar economical advantages which are supposed to attend it.

But, 4thly, the advocates of the scheme further contend, that the most convenient way of preventing these emigrants from rising too rapidly from the condition of labourers into that of independent landowners, is to sell the land at a sufficiently high price. What is meant by the phrase, a sufficiently high price? The answer to this question will more distinctly lay before us the principles of the theory than any other part of our investigation.

By a sufficiently high price cannot be meant a price which shall adequately represent the actual value of the land. In old countries, the price which land bears is regulated by the returns from it. The yearly income derivable from it is a thing easy to be estimated; and the number of years' purchase is determined chiefly by the rate of interest. But the value of wild land in a colony is, properly speaking, nothing. It is, in its actual condition, useless and unproductive. The purchaser only hopes, that, by the application of capital and labour, it may be rendered otherwise. The price of all land, therefore, as Mr. Rowland Hill expresses it*, must at first be arbitrary, whether it is an uniform price or a varying price. That is, in other words, government may impose a tax on speculators in the purchase of wild land, in proportion to the expectations which they may entertain of rendering it valuable, which is the system of sale by auction; or they may impose an uniform tax per acre on the acquisition of land, which is the system of sale at an uniform price. In either case, the imposition rather resembles, in many of its effects, a tax imposed upon the purchaser, than

* Report of South Australian Committee, 1841. 2384.

the exaction of purchase money in the ordinary sense ; and I do not know whether some erroneous views might not have been avoided, if it had been called from the beginning by that name.

What, then, is a sufficient price? A price which will answer two conditions: first, the preventing the premature purchase of land by individuals in the labouring class: secondly, the price which will enable the purchaser to command the necessary quantity of labour. Let us confine ourselves to the last consideration only. Let us suppose, that 100 acres, in South Australia, require, on the average, the labour of three men* ; that these, with their families, amount, on the average, to twelve individuals ; and that the price of conveying emigrants to Australia is, what it is roughly estimated at by the land and emigration commissioners, about 15*l.* per head. Then the entire expense would be 180*l.* ; and the sufficient price, *supposing that the whole of it were devoted to this purpose*, would be about 1*l.* 16*s.* per acre ; or if we follow the strict rule of allowing only young couples without children to be conveyed at the colony's expense, then half that sum, or 19*s.* per acre, would be sufficient. It would then only be necessary to ascertain, whether this price would be sufficient to attain the other object, viz. to prevent premature purchases by labourers ; and if it were found to answer in that respect also, we should have solved the problem proposed to us.

And thus we are enabled to understand that which I have stated as the fifth fundamental proposition of the theory—that the entire proceeds of the land sales ought to be devoted to the purpose of obtaining emigrants ;

* Col. Torrens's hypothetical estimate for 100 acres is two men, with their wives as indoor servants. — *Colonization of South Australia*, p. 54.

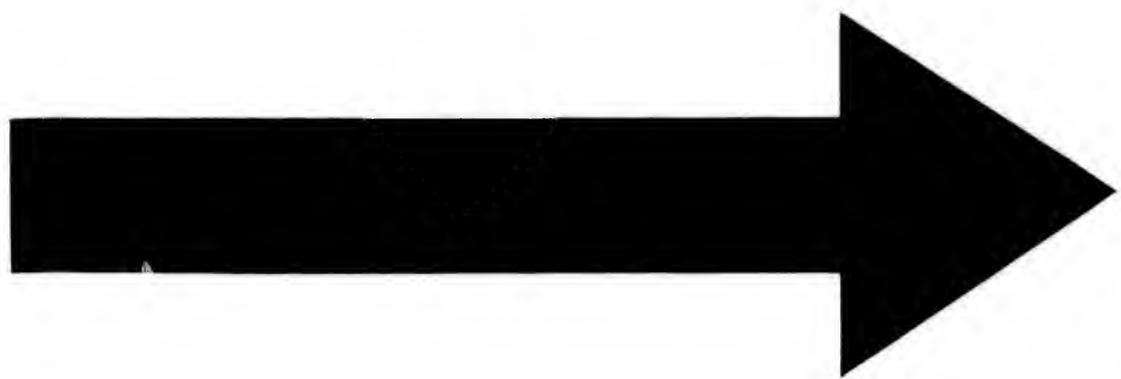
and that only by devoting the whole to this purpose, and not any portion, will the exact equilibrium between land, labour, and capital be secured. This follows almost as a corollary from the problem above stated.

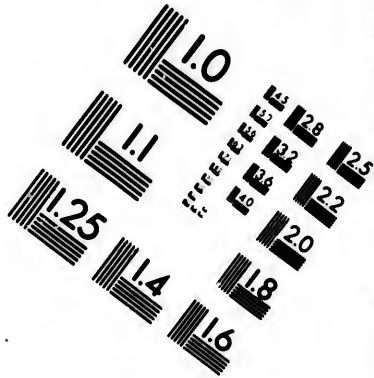
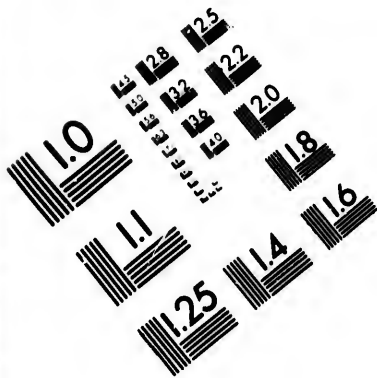
The result of Mr. Wakefield's reasoning on this subject, when examined before the Committee on Waste Lands, is thus stated, and appears to be fairly stated, in the Edinburgh Review:— "There is a certain
 " ratio between the supply of labour in the market and
 " the surface of land under cultivation—a ratio varying,
 " indeed, with the varying circumstances of the case,
 " but in each case discoverable — by which the greatest
 " quantity of produce will be raised. If you miss this
 " ratio either way, you fall into the evils, on the one
 " side, of an under-peopled country, in which the land
 " is scratched and the population scattered: in the
 " other, of an over-peopled country, in which the com-
 " petition of labourers reduces wages to a minimum, and
 " the competition of capitalists reduces prices to a
 " minimum; and the land will not yield enough to feed
 " the people. To keep up always the proper ratio, you
 " must keep the ratio constant between the emigration
 " of hireable labourers and the price of unsold land;
 " and this must be done, by first fixing the just price,
 " and then determining to apply the whole of that price
 " to emigration. You might, indeed, fix a higher
 " price, in the first instance, than would be necessary to
 " bring in the just supply of labour; and, in that case,
 " you might use the surplus fund for other purposes,
 " without losing the desired portion between land and
 " labour; but you would introduce an evil of another
 " kind: you would place an unnecessary restriction upon
 " the field of cultivation: with a lower price, the same
 " money would have been spent in buying more land,
 " which land would have supported more labourers,

“ which labourers would have raised more produce ;
“ and the money you want would be obtained at less
“ costs by taxing the produce raised, than by taking the
“ fund which goes to raise it.” *

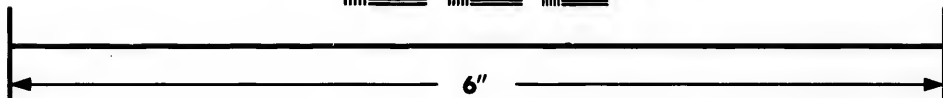
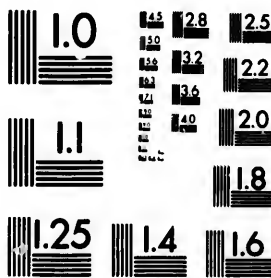
But the reviewer proceeds to show that a very obvious difficulty appears to suggest itself to this simple mode of arriving at the required result, — a “ sufficient price.” The difficulty is, that a certain number of labourers are required for the cultivation of a certain portion of soil. Now nature admits of no such ascertained proportion of labourers to acres. It may be that four individuals, the number assumed in this instance, may suffice to render 100 acres of land in Australia productive. But six would make them more productive. Therefore whether or not the capitalist would employ six labourers instead of four, supposing him to be able to obtain as many, would depend entirely upon the rate of wages. When it is said that four labourers are necessary to render 100 acres productive, the expression must mean four labourers at a given rate of wages. If wages could be lowered, it would be far more advantageous to the capitalist to employ six. But wages would be lowered if the number of emigrants were increased. The greater the number of labourers who arrived, in proportion to the number of acres occupied, the lower the rate of wages would be. Therefore it might very possibly be desirable for the capitalist to give a still higher price for land, if he could thereby secure the importation of a greater number of labourers ; and, in point of fact, the proposition, as has been truly and acutely observed, seems to reduce itself to this : that the sufficient price of waste land, if it is to be estimated by the quantity of labour required, will be the

* Edinburgh Review, July, 1840.





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highest price which any body thinks it worth while to give.*

And another objection presents itself to this compendious mode of calculation. Every one who has written on the subject appears to assume that it is not desirable to restrict the labourer from the purchase of land for more than a limited time: a time which it would be unreasonable to attempt to define, without an accurate practical knowledge of the circumstances of particular colonies; but probably not exceeding three or four years in ordinary cases. Now the plan which we have been considering provides only a supply of labour in proportion to the quantity of land bought: the price of 100 acres is to be spent in the importation of the labour necessary for 100 acres. No provision is made at all for the land which will, in every year, be losing its available labour by the conversion of its husbandmen into landowners. Consequently (unless it is to be assumed that the natural increase of the population will supply the gaps thus occasioned, a supposition which requires proof at all events, and would probably be a wrong one in the case of a very young colony,) there will be a competition between the new comers who require labour, and the old settlers who have just lost theirs, for every working man who is brought from the mother-country by the expenditure of the

* Mr. Wakefield, indeed, seems, to a certain extent, to anticipate this objection, when he says that "beyond a *sufficient* price, every farthing of price would tend to lower wages." But the lowering of wages is not necessarily an evil: wages may be so high as to check production. Mr. Wakefield must mean, lowering beyond the right standard. Then if, indeed, we could ascertain the maximum of wages desirable for the colony, at a certain stage of its progress, and the price which would insure that maximum of wages, we should approximate to a solution of the problem before us; but, until this is done, to make the test of a sufficient price depend upon its securing the best rate of wages, is to explain *ignotum per ignotius*.

capital of the former. Wages, therefore, will rise ; the purchaser will not obtain the whole benefit of his outlay ; the imaginary equilibrium between land and labour will be disturbed, and the proposed test of a sufficient price will prove altogether inapplicable.

It appears, therefore, that whether or not it may be possible to ascertain that imaginary standard of price which will secure the presence of labour in the best possible proportion to land, the calculations hitherto made proceed upon insufficient premises.*

Another difficulty in the way of fixing the "sufficient price" of waste land in colonies arises from the double object which the framers of the theory have in view : the obtaining a sufficient number of labourers, and the restraining these labourers from the acquisition of land for a sufficient, and not more than a sufficient, time. Now it may happen that the price which is adequate to the one purpose is either inadequate or excessive in reference to the other. This will appear plainly enough, when we consider the manner in which the nature of the soil, and its staple cultivation, must affect the question of price in different colonies. Most of the great articles of colonial exportation — sugar, coffee, tobacco, &c. — require careful cultivation on a small surface. The proportion borne by the quantity of labour em-

* We have the authority of Mr. Wakefield himself to support us in this view of the question. His experience on former occasions, and especially in his evidence before the Colonial Lands Committee of 1836, have certainly been thought to give colour to the opinion, that a "best possible" price might be ascertained : but he now says, "I have seen attempts made by very ingenious persons to lay down what they imagined was the rule for determining the price of lands in a colony theoretically, but it appears to me impossible." — *Report of Committee on the Affairs of South Australia*, 1841, 2731. In his last observations on the subject he only says, "I do not intend here to enter upon the question of the measure by which to get at the golden mean." — *Letter in the Spectator*, Dec. 4. 1841.

ployed to the extent of soil is in such countries extremely high. Hence the very dense agricultural population which has been supported in a small space in various tropical colonies; for example, our own smaller West India islands. Barbadoes has maintained, for a century and a half, a number of people amounting to 600 to the square mile, or more than twice the relative population of Ireland. Other articles of export require of necessity a very extensive range of country, and a very small number of labourers; such are those which are produced by pastoral industry — hides, of which the importation is now so great from Spanish America, and the more valuable article of wool, the wealth of our Australian settlements. Now it is obvious that there must be extreme difficulty in adjusting any such principle as that which we are here discussing to the relative wants of communities so widely different. The tropical colonist requires but a very small extent of land to become rich, if that land be of superior quality; but without a profusion of labour his land is worthless. The Australian must have a range, to be measured in square miles rather than acres, to serve him as a shepherds' walk; but a few herdsmen and shepherds will afford him nearly all the assistance he requires to render it productive. Will it not then be possible, it may be asked, to adjust this difference by the simple process of measuring the price of the land by its *expected* value, estimating, in each case, the average amount and value of the annual produce of an acre of land, say in Guiana and in Australia, and correcting the estimate by the necessary allowance for the relative outlay of capital and labour in each kind of cultivation? But then we are embarrassed by the other essential requisite of the scheme; namely, the temporary restriction of the labourer from leaving the service of the capitalist and taking land for himself. In order to

effect this, the price must be reasonably high. But it may very well happen, that for the purpose of raising exportable produce there may be an enormous difference between the value of land in different colonies, and yet for the labourer's purpose — that of raising necessary subsistence — the difference may be small. It is possible, for instance, that an acre of land employed in raising sugar in Guiana yields as great a net produce, and requires as many labourers, as fifty acres of farm and pasture land in Australia, and yet that a well-selected acre in Australia will go nearly as far as an acre in Guiana towards supporting a labourer and his family by the work of their hands. On this supposition, the necessary price for procuring labourers would be fifty times as high in Guiana as in Australia; the necessary price for restricting purchase would be nearly the same. If, then, it be possible in either of these colonies to ascertain the exact price which shall serve both purposes, how can it be possible to ascertain it in the other?

It may, perhaps, be thought, that I have directed your attention at somewhat unnecessary length to this theoretical question of the possibility of discovering a sufficient price for waste land, the τὸ καλόν, as Mr. Poulett Scrope calls it, of this branch of economical research; to what you may, perhaps, be disposed to consider a mere idle speculation, or exercise of ingenuity. But this is not quite the case. On the soundness or unsoundness of the assumption, that such a price may be ascertained, depends the solution of one or two of the most important practical problems in colonization; problems which are at this present time very strongly debated between opposite parties, both at home and in the colonies.

Thus it is contended, as we have seen, that it is a necessary part of the scheme of systematic colonization,

that the whole produce of the land fund should be applied, without any deduction, to the purpose of immigration. This you will find insisted upon uniformly, by all the writers who have expounded its principles, as the very key-stone of the whole system. And so it undoubtedly is, upon the supposition that a sufficient price can be discovered; for the preservation of the right proportion between land and labour is, as we have seen, the essential property of that supposed price; and any diversion of the fund from the object of obtaining labour must necessarily derange this proportion. But if the idea of a sufficient price is altogether visionary, then this undeviating application of the land fund cannot be abstractedly a fundamental rule. It may, for any thing we know, be highly expedient, desirable, and important; but its necessity cannot be demonstrated as a mathematical truth. We will proceed, therefore, to discuss this much debated question as one of expediency, and not of economical science.

Besides the hypothetical arguments to which I have alluded, it is, moreover, strongly contended, in favour of the exclusive appropriation of the land fund to the purposes of emigration; first, that it is the mode by which the economical advance of the colony is most effectually promoted, because every shilling laid out on emigration is more productive than if laid out on any other object whatever. Secondly, that it furthers the purchase of land, because nothing is more attractive to the capitalist than the prospect of having the whole of his outlay returned to him in the shape of labour. Thirdly, that the strict adherence to such a regulation is the only mode by which governments can be restricted from irregularly appropriating and squandering the wealth of young colonies.

Assuming, say they, that the highest price which can

be obtained for land, in a new colony, is not more than sufficient to purchase the requisite labour, (an assumption which may be very safely made, for it has probably never approached that amount,) any diversion from that fund occasions a loss of part of the necessary labour. But that labour is the one great requisite, without which the land cannot be rendered productive at all. The various purposes of government, and of preparation for settlement, surveying, road-making, public works, police, and so forth, are all undoubtedly necessary; but expenditure on these objects is not expenditure which repays itself with interest. But the introduction of labourers is the actual introduction of wealth. By checking it, you check the increase of wealth, and stop the source of taxation. And therefore, continue those who adopt this line of reasoning, it is demonstrably cheaper to provide for such purposes by direct taxation as far as possible, and when that is impossible, by loan, than by appropriating a portion of the land fund. This argument cannot be more distinctly stated than it is by the Board of Land and Emigration Commissioners, in one of their recent Reports.*

“In South Australia,” they say, “the expenditure of 20,000*l.* in conveying emigrants to the colony has been found to increase the population by about 2000 souls, including those above and below the regulated age who pay their own passage, *as well as the settlers of a superior class who accompany each emigration ship.* And it appears by the latest financial reports, that the revenue raised in the colony amounts to 2*l.* per head upon the whole population. Taking these facts as data, it follows that withdrawing 20,000*l.* from the emigration fund, and applying it to the

* Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840.

“ general purposes of government, would occasion a loss
“ of population to the extent of 2000 souls, and a loss
“ of revenue, from internal taxation, to the extent of
“ 4000*l.* per annum. Now the commissioners were
“ able, even in the first infancy of the colony, to obtain
“ a loan upon colonial securities at seven per cent., and
“ could probably at the present time obtain a loan upon
“ the same securities at five per cent. Raising a loan
“ of 20,000*l.* at five per cent., for defraying the ex-
“ penses of the local government, would entail an
“ annual charge of 1000*l.* upon the revenue of the pro-
“ vince ; while withdrawing the sum of 20,000*l.* from
“ the emigration fund, in order to defray the expenses
“ of the local government, would occasion an annual
“ loss of revenue to the amount of 4000*l.*”

“ There is another point of view in which the finan-
“ cial question may be considered. The expenditure
“ of an emigration fund of 20,000*l.* conveys to the
“ colony 1000 adult emigrants of the labouring class,
“ and each adult of the labouring class has obtained
“ upon the average in money and rations wages to the
“ amount of about 50*l.* per annum. The wages of the
“ adult labour, conveyed by an emigration fund of
“ 20,000*l.*, may be taken at 50,000*l.* per annum. But
“ the rate of profit in the colony is at least twenty per
“ cent., and therefore the capitalists who advance 50,000*l.*
“ per annum in wages must obtain in return a reproduc-
“ tion to the amount of 60,000*l.* per annum. It fol-
“ lows, that withdrawing the sum of 20,000*l.* from the
“ emigration fund for the expenses of the civil govern-
“ ment must occasion a diminution in the gross pro-
“ duce of labour and capital to the amount of 60,000*l.*
“ per annum.”

“ There is still another point of view in which this
“ question may be considered. When the proceeds

“ obtained by the sales of waste lands are employed as
“ an emigration fund, each successive emigration leads
“ to a further increase. Thus, when the operation of
“ an emigration fund amounting to 20,000*l.* has
“ caused an increase of population to the extent of 2000
“ souls, the effect upon the progress of the colony
“ through the means of emigration does not terminate
“ with the first increase. The additional population
“ creates an additional demand for food, and causes an
“ additional quantity of land to be purchased for sup-
“ plying it: the proceeds of this purchase become a
“ new emigration fund, and the new emigration fund
“ again increases the population, the demand for land,
“ and the fund applicable to emigration.”

The first of these arguments, which is the most practical one, appears to me defective in one or two points.

In stating the revenue at 2*l.* per head, and the consequent loss of 2000 emigrants as a loss of 4000*l.* to the revenue, the commissioners have assumed that the loss of labourers, occasioned by a deduction of 20,000*l.* from the emigration fund, will be accompanied by an *equal loss of emigrant capitalists*. This seems to be assuming the point in dispute, and something more. Let us suppose that, in one year, 4000 emigrants are carried out for 40,000*l.*, and that 200 capitalists likewise arrive. Suppose that in the next year half the emigration fund is diverted, and 2000 emigrants only arrive; but, making for the moment the contrary assumption to that of the commissioners, the same number of 200 capitalists. Then 400 capitalists will have to bid for the labour of 6000 labourers, instead of 200 for that of 4000, as in the former year. Wages will rise. So much will be lost by the capitalist. But the capitalist will gain, on the other hand, by saving all that deduction from his profit which would be necessary

to pay the interest of the loan. Admitting that the loss on wages would more than exceed this gain, still it is not to be considered as a total loss; and it is plain, therefore, supposing capitalists to act with a right view to their own advantage, that their emigration will not diminish in quite the same ratio as that of the labourer, and, consequently, that the amount of revenue which the colony loses by the operation is something over-estimated.

But, in the next place, the commissioners seem to be considering the case of some extraordinary emergency requiring a very large outlay. And it may be very true, that such an outlay is better provided for by loan than by drawing on the land fund. But will the same reasoning apply to "ordinary purposes of revenue?" Might we not as reasonably justify a government in always borrowing to meet any unusual outlay, great or small; nay, when the argument is pushed to the extreme, to meet the current expenses of the year? Let us assume the rate of profit at 10 per cent., 100*l.* at the beginning of the year becomes 110*l.* at the end. At the end of the second year, the sum would be 121*l.*; at the end of the third, 133*l.* 2*s.* But, at the end of the first year, a tax is imposed which reduces profits to 9 per cent. The amount at the end of the second year is only 119*l.* 18*s.*; at the end of the third, not quite 130*l.* 14*s.*, and so on. Why is it not more advantageous to prevent this diminution in the rate of progression by borrowing every year, and charging profits only with the interest of the loan? The answer is to be found in the nature of credit itself. If it was certain that the rate of profit would always continue the same, and if the lenders entertained this confidence, there is no assignable reason why the process should not continue *ad infinitum*, and funding of perpetual loans supersede the raising of all revenue whatever. Since this report to Lord John

Russell was composed, the commissioners have had practical experience of the effect of relying, too confidently, on the credit of a new and flourishing settlement. It might have been better for South Australia, if something had been deducted from her land fund for purposes other than those of emigration, instead of both land sales and emigration coming to a stop together, as has recently been the case.

And the same observations apply very forcibly to the second argument above noticed; namely, that a colony is rendered much more attractive to capitalists by the certainty that the whole of the price of land will be repaid in labour; that this certainty raises the price, and extends the purchases, to the maximum. Now there are certain expenses — very considerable expenses — which necessarily accompany the foundation of a colony, and continue heavy, although diminishing in pressure, for a long time after its first establishment. And the more rapid the colonization the greater the expenses, — nay, they may rise even in a greater ratio than capital and population; that is, in a colony where 2000 persons settle in the course of the first year, they may be more than twice as heavy as where 1000 only settle. The greater the influx of money, the higher the prices; the greater the influx of emigrants, the greater must be the preparations for receiving them — the expenses of location, and those of the medical and police departments; the greater the extent of land purchased, the greater is the cost of surveying and of making the necessary roads and communications. But if a capitalist is willing to give more money for land, and to buy more land, in a new settlement, on the faith of the promise that every shilling will be expended on immigration, this must be either in utter carelessness and ignorance of these preliminary expenses, or because he relies on their liqui-

dation in some way or other. But how? He must rely on their being defrayed by loan, and on the repayment of that loan by future exertions on the part of the colony; he must look forward with brilliant and vague conjectures to the rapid prosperity of the young community, and determine confidently to anticipate its imaginary revenues; or, lastly, he must entertain a lurking belief that if the worst comes to the worst, and all these magnificent expectations should fail of accomplishment, the burden will be taken on its capacious shoulders by the government of the mother country—the ultimate guarantor to which such adventurers always look. Now, to rely on each or any of these resources, and to advance capital in such reliance, is mere speculation in the worst and most mischievous sense of the word. The prosperity created by such speculation is sure to be temporary only, and followed by reverses as signal as the original success. Were a colony to proceed in the career of wealth with even greater rapidity than the most ardent fancy has ever suggested, we may be sure of this,—that, if founded in speculation and on fictitious credit, the ardour of the speculators would outstrip her progress, that the original deficit would never be filled up, that loan would succeed loan, and expense be accumulated on expense, until—although not, perhaps, until long after the original adventurers had made their fortune—the tide would turn at last, and public enterprise and private accumulation receive at once a check, the more stunning in proportion to the rapidity of the movement. Even if we had not the example of South Australia before us, mere reasoning on ordinary principles ought to suffice to lead us to this result.

It seems to follow from these considerations, that it is essential to the safety of any scheme of colonization that some thought should be taken beforehand for those

preliminary expenses which cannot be left to be gradually defrayed by the settlers without entailing on them a long period of discouragement and privation. And it would be difficult to suggest any more appropriate fund for this purpose than that which is derived from the first sales of land; either to be directly applied to it, or, if the sum thus raised be insufficient, to be used as a specific security for the raising of money by loan. There is no reason why a loan, not raised in the spirit of mere speculation on the possible resources of the colony, but limited in amount and charged on a definite fund, may not be serviceable, possibly necessary, in the outset of a colony.

But it must be added, that governments and official people seem by no means disposed to be contented with this limited appropriation of the land fund to certain objects. They show a very strong desire to have a fund, so convenient, so abundant, so easy to be got at, entirely at their own disposal; to make it serve to fill up all the deficiencies which the reluctance of settlers to submit to taxation, or the extravagance of those in authority, may occasion in the ways and means of a colony. It is this habitual tendency of governments to apply all the resources under their control to the nearest emergency — that is, in this instance, to squander the very life-blood of a colony for purposes of the most trivial expediency — which constitutes, in reality, by far the most solid justification of the policy of the South Australian Acts, by which this revenue was exclusively appropriated to immigration. For example, the people in New South Wales are disinclined to local taxation for ordinary municipal and local purposes * — (one instance among many of the extreme difficulty of ob-

* See the speech of Lord John Russell, in the debate on South Australia, 22d April, 1841.

taining supplies for the most valuable objects, in British colonies which have no representative constitution): the land fund is at hand, and it is immediately suggested, with no small show of reason, that if the people will not tax themselves, they must submit to lose the benefit of a supply of labour. Again: Sir George Gipps is of opinion "that the charges which may properly be said to belong to the territorial revenue are the following:— 1. All charges of collection and management; 2. Expenses incurred on account of the aborigines, the first possessors of the soil, from whence the wealth of the colony is derived; 3. The expenses of immigration."* Others have thought that the police establishment of a colony, useful works, roads, and many other branches of the public service, have at least equal claims on the land fund with the objects already specified. And, lastly, Lord John Russell, in his original Instructions to the Land and Emigration Commissioners, proposed that it should be appropriated to immigration, "only so far as this use of it may be compatible with a due regard for the pressing and necessary demands of the local government, for which no other resources can be found."

If this proposition were once adopted by a lavish administration—if the land fund were turned into a fund for miscellaneous estimates—it needs little sagacity to conjecture how much benefit the colonists would derive from it in the shape of labour. It appears, therefore, very essential that this appropriative tendency of colonial governments should be controlled, as far as this can be done by the adoption of stated regulations. And the best-adapted regulations for this purpose would be such as should not only specify the branches of the public

* Appendix A. to Mr. Elliott's Emigration Report, 1839.

service to which any part of the land revenue should be devoted, but also the proportion of that revenue which should be sacredly set apart for the primary purpose — the procurement of labour. To this opinion Lord John Russell appears himself to have approximated, when additional experience in office had opened to him new views of the subject. He is aware (he says in one of his later despatches*) “that objections have been made, “ of considerable weight, against any separation of the “ revenue derived from the sale of land from the general “ mass of the revenue of a colony; but if this distinction “ is not made, and a separation of this kind is not established by positive rule, experience shows that the “ immediate temptation of a large expenditure without “ taxes is strong enough to overbear the permanent “ interests which are involved in the constant supply “ of fresh labourers to the colony. The rule fully and “ firmly established, both the colonies and the mother “ country will be sensible of the benefits derived from “ it.”

The rule which his lordship in this letter proposes is, that not less than fifty per cent. of the proceeds of land sales in new colonies should be devoted to immigration; that the remaining half should be applied to the expenses of the colony. “ It may be difficult to fix “ the exact proportions; but it appears to Lord John “ Russell that fifteen per cent. should be applied to “ the care of aborigines, ten per cent. to surveys, and “ twenty-five per cent. to the general purposes of police “ and justice.” The conditions under which land has been purchased by the New Zealand Company provide, I believe, that seventy-five per cent. of the price shall be applied to immigration. It would be idle for me

* Correspondence relative to the application of the land revenue in the Australian colonies, 1840.— *Letters of 26th October*, p. 47.

to pretend to decide on the fittest proportions : it is enough to indicate what appears to be the safest general conclusion on a subject of considerable difficulty; namely, that the land fund should be charged, in the first instance, either directly or by way of anticipation, with those preparatory expenses which are absolutely necessary for the foundation of a colony ; and that, subject to this deduction, if the whole of the residue be not applied to the purpose of immigration (which would be best for the colony, but may be impracticable), a definite proportion at all events should be set aside for that essential object.

6. In the next place it is contended, by those whose views we are now considering, that the sale of waste lands in colonies should be at a fixed and uniform price, and not by auction.

This proposition likewise depends upon the assumption that a sufficient price can be discovered. If it can, then sale by auction would evidently be disadvantageous. The price at which land would be sold would be, in all probability, either under or above that which is by the theory sufficient. If under, the requisite supply of labour would not be obtained ; or, the requisite restriction would not be placed upon small purchases. If above, there would be an unnecessary taxation of the settlers, and an abstraction of a portion of that capital which they would otherwise import into the colony.

But although we may reject this theory of a sufficient price, several strong reasons are still adduced for preferring the practice of sale at a fixed amount, which has hitherto been strictly adhered to in South Australia, to that of sale by auction, which has been adopted in our other colonies.

At first sight, the latter system certainly appears the more natural one. Lands in new colonies vary infinitely

in value to the speculating purchaser ; they do not vary only according to the fertility of the soil, but even more according to situation. The land which has the advantage of water-frontage, or of vicinity to harbours and navigable rivers, is far more valuable than similar soil of equal quality ; while the ground which has been selected for the site of an intended town will sell for ten, twenty, or fifty times the price of mere farming land. Why, therefore, it is asked, should the colonial revenue lose all the difference between the ordinary or average price of land and the highest? for it must be assumed, that the uniform price will coincide, on the most favourable supposition, with the ordinary or average price in colonies where land is sold by auction ; no one would give 1*l.* an acre in Australia, if average land sold for 15*s.* at Port Phillip. Why should the speculating purchaser appropriate to himself all that advantage which under the auction system would result to the land fund, and consequently to the general resources of the country ? Why should the money which ought to be collected for the sake of the colony be thrown away? * Why should not the “ natural course ” of things be followed, according to which land would fetch exactly that price which the adventurer would be willing to give for it, having fairly weighed all its qualities of soil and locality ?

The answer to these questions carries us back to the first principles of the scheme which we have already considered. Land, as we have seen, can scarcely be said to have a present “ value ” in that state in which it

* Lord Stanley, Debate on South Australian affairs, 22d April, 1841. Up to September, 1840, 159,000 acres had been sold at Port Phillip, and the amount realised by the sales was 312,760*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, being at the rate of 1*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* an acre. This was by auction at the upset price of 12*s.*, while land in South Australia was selling at the uniform price of 1*l.* per acre. And see *Appendix* to Lect. XVI.

yields no return. The more capital is applied to it in that state (supposing that labour can be procured), the greater the return will be. The less is abstracted from the pocket of the capitalist in the shape of purchase money or taxation, the more he will be enabled to apply to the land. Consequently all preliminary taxation or exaction of purchase money, whichever it may be called, is an evil, and is only imposed for the sake of obtaining a certain good. As soon as that good is secured, all further imposition is superfluous and injurious. If, therefore, the scheme of sale by auction brings more into the revenue than the scheme of sale by uniform price, that is no advantage, but distinctly the contrary, supposing that the uniform price is a good one. The revenue gains, for the time, by the higher price; but the resources of the colony are diminished.

In the next place, the "natural" course of settlement is, that which would take place, not if land were sold at the sum which it will fetch, but if it were granted away without any purchase at all.* Free grant is the "natural" system; deviations from it are for the sake of particular results, and produce artificial, though perhaps very useful, effects. Now, under a system of free grant, settlers would first occupy the most fertile and best situated lands—those from which the return to the capital expended would be greatest. A system of uniform price produces exactly the same effect. As soon as land becomes worth 1*l.* per acre, or whatever other price may be established, "whether its value is given by fertility or position, or, what is most likely, by a combination of both, it becomes occupied; it is not occupied till then, and it is not likely to remain unoccupied long after it acquires that value."* In-

* Evidence of Mr. Rowland Hill upon the Committee on South Australian Affairs, 1841, pp. 208, 209.

ferior land will, therefore, become occupied in the regular order, as soon as it has acquired a value to speculators by the progress of the colony, and not before. The whole district will be settled precisely in that succession in which it is most advantageous for the purposes of production and wealth that it should be settled.*

Sale by auction produces the very contrary effect. Inferior land, in point of fertility or position, is cheaper than superior, precisely in proportion to the difference. Therefore there is no inducement to the individual settler, in the first instance, to prefer the latter to the former. If he gets less by the worse land, he spends less in buying it. A considerable number of purchasers will be attracted by the inferior price; and these will generally be the poorest, whom it would be most desirable to place in such a situation as to avail themselves to the utmost of the natural capabilities of the land of their adoption.

These are the principal reasons commonly urged in favour of the system of sale at a uniform price. There are also various practical arguments in support of it; but these, from their nature, can only be touched upon very generally by us. The question is altogether one of detail and convenience, on which it would be presumptuous for inquirers like ourselves to pronounce. It has been zealously debated of late years in many quarters; but you may consult with advantage the Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners for 1840, in which

* "Another circumstance which, far from looking upon it with a jealous eye, I should consider to be a great advantage, is, that one uniform price for all *country* lands renders it probable that the best lands will be taken at first, instead of, by a difference of cost, tempting persons to begin with land of secondary qualities. Thus none are forced into premature cultivation, but the different lands of the colony are successively occupied in the natural order of their advantages." — *Despatch of Lord John Russell, 31st May, 1840.*

the commissioners advocate the new system ; and various correspondents, particularly Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, and Sir J. Stirling, of Western Australia, the old one.

The principal points insisted on by the former, as well as by Mr. Wakefield in his evidence before the Waste Lands Committee of 1836, and other late authorities on the subject, are, the delays which a settler must undergo, under the auction system, before the lands on which he is desirous to fix are advertised by the government for sale ; the advantage of having colonial lands purchaseable by speculators or settlers in this country, which is impossible if the sale is by auction ; and that of avoiding the competition of bidders anxious to take advantage either of the ignorance of others or of their supposed skill. The settlers " may have to encounter " competition active in proportion to their supposed " knowledge of the qualities of the soil, and may be " compelled either to pay an excessive price on account " of their own skill, or else to make another selection, " and after renewed delay to incur the hazard of re- " newed disappointments." Under the system of auction, also, numerous frauds, it is alleged, are practised on the government, as well as impositions on the purchaser. Parties combine to keep down the price of land, and then resell it among themselves and divide the profit,— a species of conspiracy for which they sometimes, although rarely, become amenable to law. A remarkable trial of this sort is detailed in Mr. Mann's work on Australia.

The objectors reply (and with truth), that some of these evils are not necessarily inherent in the system : that the delay may be diminished by giving the intending purchaser a right to call peremptorily for the sale of land,— say at a month's notice, as is the case in New

South Wales ; that unfair competition may be prevented by allowing the tenders for biddings to be closed, so that the bidders may not be known. They contend, also, that the plan of selling to individuals in England merely gives an encouragement to baseless speculation ; that the uniform price makes the purchase of land a lottery, in which persons embark only for the chance of re-selling at a profit. " Land throughout the wide extent of New South Wales," says Sir George Gipps, " is to be found of such varied quality and value, that I feel persuaded a complete scramble would ensue if any price whatsoever were fixed at which the first claimant might be entitled to take such portion of it as he chose. Every acre of good land would be immediately bought up by our great capitalists, at whose mercy all newly arrived emigrants would infallibly be placed."

This last objection is the only one to which I will call your attention more particularly. I do not think that the warmest admirer of the South Australian system of sale at uniform price can deny, that it does powerfully conduce to promote "land-jobbing" and speculation. Lands are offered for sale in England as well as in the colony, and are extensively purchased by buyers entirely ignorant of their quality and real advantages or disadvantages ; many of whom merely purchase with a view to re-sale at a higher price. Now, the promoting of this sort of rapid sale was one of the objects most zealously pursued by the original founders of the colony. Economically speaking, speculation of this sort is only disadvantageous to a colony in one particular case ; when capitalists are induced to lay out, in the purchase of land which they cannot use profitably, a portion of that capital which they would otherwise have employed in the cultivation of land which they are able to occupy.

And it may be reasonably doubted, whether this specific evil is likely in any case to arise: that is, whether the quantity of capital thus vested is not generally over-balanced by the quantity of capital which the spirit of speculation forces into employment in the colony, over and above what would have been attracted there in the natural course of events. Certainly in South Australia and Port Phillip, the most remarkable seats of land speculation among our colonies, it cannot be truly said that a want of capital for productive employments has arisen from the lavish expenditure of it in the land market. But the evils of this kind of speculation are of another nature. The feverish excitement which it communicates to all the transactions of ordinary business; the impatience of slow results, the restless disposition, the languid inattention to regular labour, which it infuses into the spirits of all classes; the enormous and discreditable puffery to which the speculators resort to increase the value of their lands, which is sure to raise extravagant expectations in the first instance, in the minds of all those who embark themselves or their fortunes in the colony, and then to end in discouragement and disappointment: these, not to mention, for the present, some still heavier moral evils, are the certain and fatal results of the over-prevalence of speculation; and so far as the South Australian system encouraged this, we shall have little hesitation in pronouncing it mischievous and mistaken.

And it is obvious that the gain to the bonâ fide settler by the "uniform system" which the theory supposes, is at best only partially realised. "The one thing needful," say the South Australian Commissioners*, in young colonies, "is to offer high bounties on the introduction of capital;" and they consider in the nature of a

* Fourth Report, p. 11.

bounty the encouragement given when town lots in South Australia, for instance, are sold to a purchaser at 1*l.* an acre, which would have fetched three, four, or ten times that amount at an auction. And this is very true : but it must be remembered, that a large proportion of these town lots are probably purchased by persons having no intention to employ them profitably at all ; or who, if they ever had such intention, are led to abandon it by the temptation of the high price which they can obtain at a re-sale. The land thus finally passes into the hand of the bonâ fide occupier at the highest attainable price, whether by public auction or private contract. He, therefore, obtains it at last on precisely the same terms as his neighbour at Port Phillip, where the opposite system prevails. The only difference to the colonies is this : that in South Australia the difference between the original and the second price goes into the pocket of the first purchaser, who may possibly have no connection with the colony whatever, or, at all events, may have no intention of expending his gains there : at Port Phillip, the whole sum goes to government, which employs it on public purposes for the benefit of the colony. What proportion of the purchases of land in South Australia have been made on speculation by parties intending to re-sell, I have not the means of ascertaining : it is evident that in all such instances the chief argument adduced by Mr. Wakefield and others, in support of the system, namely, that it spares the capital of the colonist, has no application whatever.

It must, however, be observed, that if government profits by the high prices realised by the sale of town lots and eligible situations, government must take upon itself the functions of the land-jobber. In the United States, where, as we shall see, the sale of land is virtually at an uniform price, companies or individuals make

the original purchase; the sites of towns and so forth are selected by them and by the public, not by the government which sells in the first instance: they benefit by success, and are responsible for failure. And "it may be questioned whether the government does wisely to encumber itself with the pursuit of a business so liable to miscalculation, so often ending in disappointment among the buyers and reproaches against the seller, and, above all, when undertaken by the government, so apt to stimulate merely speculative investment, as that of choosing the sites of intended towns in a half-explored country, and selling suburban lots by auction."*

With regard to the selection of the best lands only, which is said to be an advantage of the uniform price regulation, it must be remembered that if the best lands only are selected over a pretty wide extent of territory, when the quality is very various, the tendency of modern colonists to spread themselves over an inconvenient extent of ground will be very much increased. Now this the writers whose views we are considering represent as a great evil: I believe that they exaggerate its importance; but any thing which tends to it must be inconsistent with their views, and all must admit that the loss of capital by distance, and by the expensiveness of communication, may in some instances be greater, when the best lands only are occupied, than would have taken place if nearer but inferior land had been first settled. "Suppose two fertile valleys," says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* †, "separated from each other by a barren tract. On the uniform price system, the fertile would be bought up and cultivated, the barren left waste and unappropriated. An easy communication between

* Letter of Mr. Wakefield. — *Spectator*, Dec. 4. 1841.

† Vol. 72. p. 543.

“ these fertile tracts would no doubt increase the value of both ; but whose interest will it be to make it ? ” — which seems, at all events, to point to the conclusion that the uniform price system, in order to be successful, should be accompanied by the creation of some definite fund for these purposes which may be generally termed “ preparation.” It should, however, be added, that in Australia the intervening land thus described would probably be found valuable to let as “ natural pasture,” but not worth the while of any settler to purchase, whether by auction or otherwise.

One other serious difficulty presents itself in some localities ; namely, how to restrict the monopoly by a few settlers of peculiar natural advantages, of which it is very desirable that a share should be left to a great many. Population naturally establishes itself, in the first instance, along great lines of communication : thus the banks of the St. Lawrence, from Quebec upwards, have been well peopled for a century, while ten miles from the river the country is often a wilderness. This is the natural progress of events, and it would be unwise in a government to attempt to check it. But take the instance of a country where water is scarce, as in Australia, generally speaking. It is absolutely necessary that the occupier of land for pastoral purposes should have access to a stream. But its banks will be immediately monopolized by a few. The first capitalists who purchase land will rush to seize them. Under the auction system, the price of such situations would rise to such an extent that no one would be anxious to purchase more water-frontage, as it is called, than was absolutely necessary for the sake of his other land. Under the other, every one would secure as much of it as his money would buy. The only mode of meeting this danger appears to be by absolutely restricting the quan-

tity of water-frontage which may be bought by each, and making it preserve a fixed proportion to the rest of his purchase.*

I have laid before you in some detail the arguments on both sides on this question, because it is one of those which have been most strenuously contested of late years, both among speculative writers and practical men in the colonies. I do not pretend to form any judgment upon it, or to give you more than a few of the materials for forming one. It has unfortunately produced some of that vacillation in the judgment both of influential men and of the government which always exercises a certain degree of injurious influence on the transaction of business. Mr. Wakefield, I believe, was at first inclined to the auction system; he afterwards advocated the uniform, which, mainly owing to his representations, was adopted in the experiment of South Australia. In all other colonies auction was the rule, under the regulations of Lord Goderich, Lord Glenelg, and other secretaries. In 1840, official opinion inclined to the other plan. The Commissioners of Land and Emigration recommended that "public land should be open to sale at the uniform price of 1*l.* "per acre" in all parts of Australia, except the old counties of New South Wales.† In Canada the same principle was on the point of being adopted, the only difference of opinion being as to the amount; and also in Western Australia. But, shortly afterwards, the sudden embarrassment into which the affairs of South Australia fell, threw a discredit on principles which were then rapidly becoming popular. Even the most

* Land taken under a special survey in South Australia (4000 acres) cannot have above two miles "water-frontage."

† See Despatch, No. 13. Report of Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840, p. 94.

favourable of the witnesses examined before it seem to concede that town allotments should be sold by auction, although they adhere to the expediency of the other plan for country lots. And the committee, in their report, pronounce decidedly in favour of auction, excepting only the case of large purchases of continuous tracts of land, 20,000 acres in extent, as to which, in South Australia, they recommend the continuance of the present system. And as Lord Stanley, now colonial secretary, was an influential member of that committee, we may conjecture that this view will, at least for the present, prevail.

7. The last proposition we have to notice is, that the system would tend to promote concentration of the people, to restrain that inconvenient dispersion which is apt to take place in new colonies, and to prevent the abandonment of old land for new.

On this subject I will not detain you long. I may refer you to my ninth lecture for some arguments against the supposition that this natural dispersion is practically injurious, that is, on a fair balance of conveniences and inconveniences. To reason from extreme cases, on so comprehensive a subject, is only to mislead the inquirer. It may be true that at Swan River the dispersion of the original colonists was so great that some settlers died of hunger, because, although there was food at the government-house, the governor did not know his way to them, nor they to the governor; but the instance of Swan River is that of an extreme case — a case of very great practical mismanagement, and of much personal misunderstanding between the leader of the colony and the labouring emigrants, independently of whatever errors of principle may have been committed.* Generally speaking, the body of

* Evidence of Mr. Wakefield before the Waste Land Committee, 1836.

settlers will not disperse beyond the limits of tolerably easy communication with each other; and none, or a few hermits only, will go beyond the reach of markets. The theory of "concentration" cannot be better stated than in the words of a despatch of Lord Glenelg: — "The territory, expanding only with the pressure of population, is commensurate with the actual wants of the entire community. Society, being thus kept together, is more open to civilizing influences, more directly within the control of the government, more full of the activity which is inspired by common wants, and the strength which is derived from the division of labour; and, altogether, is in a sounder state, morally, politically, and economically, than if left to pursue its natural course." All this may be true; and yet, on the other hand, the economical loss which the colony inevitably sustains by not being left to follow its natural course — by being forced to concentrate itself on the less valuable soils — will probably overbalance all these real or imaginary advantages.

But (which is of more importance to us than the abstract question, whether an enforced concentration would be advantageous), it is extremely difficult to prove that the South Australian system, or any system, would produce that concentration. The historical illustrations adduced by its supporters seem very little applicable. Mr. Wakefield relies on the example of the early Greek colonies, and attributes their little expansion without the walls of their towns to the abundance of slave labour. It is difficult to see the supposed connection of cause and effect; but, in point of fact, we know that the habits and principles of Greek colonists were altogether opposed to such expansion; and that, if this had been otherwise, they were far too feeble, and their plantations situated for the most part in

countries too fully occupied by native agricultural races, to admit of their spreading over the surface like modern settlers. And the course of modern colonial history seems to point altogether to an opposite conclusion. Abundance of slave labour has certainly not promoted density of population; for the slave states of the American Union are uniformly less populous than states of cotemporary foundation without slaves. It certainly has not prevented the abandonment of old land for new: we have examined on a former occasion the instance of Virginia; and it may be added, that in Demerara the cultivated land is not more extensive than the abandoned. And, lastly, in South Australia itself, the "model colony," the experiment seems to have entirely failed in obtaining any thing like concentration. In March, 1840, when the population could not have exceeded 12,000 souls, "the purchases had far exceeded its agricultural and pastoral requirements. The lands already surveyed would well bear from 50,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, while the districts actually sold would support in comfort double those numbers."* This, argue the supporters of the theory, only proves that the price of land is not high enough, and ought to be raised. It would be possible, no doubt, to raise it; but the moment that the intended compression began to make itself felt, the operations of the squatter would interfere, and no government could prevent the unlicensed occupation of land if it persisted in excluding colonists from the lawful acquisition of the best within their reach. The only ascertainable principle on the subject appears to be this,—that the tendency to dispersion will in all cases be greater in proportion to the value of the produce of the soil. The greater the

* Despatch of Colonel Gawler, March 21. 1840, in the Appendix to the Report on South Australian affairs, 1841, p. 262.

profit to be drawn from the land, the more certainly the temptation of occupying the most fertile portions will prevail in the mind of the settler over attachment to society, and the feeling of the inconveniences which that dispersion must occasion. All artificial methods of restricting the extension of a colony over the surface, and cramping it, like a Chinese lady's foot, according to some imaginary standard of elegant proportion, seem injurious ; such, for example, as the plan of continuous surveys, by which the government only offers adjacent portions of territory to purchasers in succession, instead of acceding to the wishes of the settlers themselves, by surveying at once those for which the greatest desire is manifested, within a reasonable distance of the nucleus of the settlement. For the most part, such methods are fortunately impracticable ; that is, the squatter, who is the natural corrector of land monopolies, as the smuggler is of commercial, would render them to a great extent nugatory. But in whatever degree they could be carried into effect, in the same proportion the young community would be checked in the development of its vigorous principle of expansion.

Before quitting this part of my subject, it is essential to remark that the natural exigencies of a pastoral country and community must considerably modify the character of any scheme of "systematic colonization" applied to it. For example, in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land it has long been the practice to grant to the owner of cattle and sheep licences to occupy, for the purpose of pasturage, tracts of land, of which the ownership is in the crown, at a low rent. In South Australia, I believe, the proportion was at one time fixed as follows : every purchaser of forty acres to have the run of a square mile, or 640 acres, at a rent of 10s. I do not know whether this regulation has been acted upon in that colony to any extent : but the com-

missioners of this year recommend putting the system of depasturing licences on a new and extended footing ; and they say that “ the evils which experience has shown to flow from the alienation of large tracts of waste land at low or nominal prices do not arise from it, and the public ultimately obtains the advantage of selling the land so occupied, when its value has been raised by the progress of population and settlement.” But it is certain that this necessary practice greatly interferes with the pure operation of the theory. And for this, as well as other reasons, it will be interesting to see how the system of sale at high prices and purchased immigration will work in other regions, where the less pastoral character of the country does not require the occupation of equally extensive tracts of land : for instance, in New Zealand.

I have now gone through the principal features of the modern scheme of systematic colonization. Let us divest it of the too exact form in which it has been presented by some of its supporters ; let us dismiss all idea of a precise proportion between land, labour, and capital, an exclusive employment of the land fund on emigration, and of a mathematically “ sufficient ” price ; let us consider its principles as confined to the sale of land at as high prices as can reasonably be obtained, and the strict devotion of the fund to a few essential purposes, among which the supply of labour holds the principal place ; let us consider it, moreover, as chiefly applicable only to colonies raising large quantities of exportable produce, and perhaps also to other colonies so distant from the mother country that the stream of emigration needs to be artificially directed to them ; let us, I say, subject the theory to all the qualifications which I have suggested, although not all of them with equal confidence, and we cannot then fail of being struck with its

simplicity, its facility of adaptation, its high practical utility. Never was there a more remarkable instance of the success of a principle against all manner of misapprehension — against the fear of innovation — against corrupt interests — against the inert resistance which all novelty is sure to encounter. At its first announcement, if warmly advocated by a few supporters, it was received by the multitude with incredulity, by the learned with derision. The idea of putting a high price on that which it had been the uniform practice to lavish with unlimited profusion, and expecting thereby to promote colonization, was received by them as the climax of absurdity. “The whole scheme,” said Mr. M’Culloch*, “seems, in fact, to be little else than a tissue of delusions and contradictions; and it says little for the discernment of the public that it should have attracted any notice. It is true that the Americans sell their unoccupied lands; but they sell the richest and finest lands in the valley of the Mississippi at less than a dollar an acre, whereas we exact five shillings an acre for the worst land in Canada, and no less than twelve shillings or twenty shillings an acre for the worst land at the antipodes, as in that terra incognita called Southern Australia! If these regulations be intended to direct the current of voluntary emigration from our own colonies to the United States, they do honour to the sagacity of those by whom they were contrived, and there is not a word to be said against them. But in all other respects they seem to be as impolitic and absurd as can well be imagined.” The experiment was tried in South Australia. It succeeded, in respect of the quantity of land sold and the number of emigrants conveyed, beyond the expectations of the boldest specu-

* Note xxiii. to Adam Smith.

lators. The government at home shook off its prejudices, and resolved on applying it, though prudently and even timidly, in New South Wales. The opposition, nay, the derision, with which the alteration was received, both at home and in the colonies, may be fresh in the recollection of some of my hearers. We shall examine at another time the results which it produced. Suffice it to say at present, that so great has been the change of opinion, that while some of the original supporters of the theory talk confidently of being able to raise the uniform price of land in South Australia to 3*l.* or 4*l.*, the committee of last year, by no means over-favourably disposed to it, themselves report that the minimum price at the auctions "may safely be raised above the present *uniform* amount of 1*l.* per acre." In all, upwards of 1,700,000*l.* have been realised of late years in the Australian colonies by the sale of land.

And, thus far, the experiment has been attended with success, and with advantage to the nation at large, inasmuch as it has been the means of conveying to the colonies, in perfect security of obtaining work, thousands of labourers who must otherwise have struggled on at home against the difficulties of their social position; and of furnishing labour to many capitalists, who must without it have invested their capital elsewhere. It is not to be supposed that the recent advance of New South Wales, or Port Phillip, is the result of direct economical causes; that there is any magic in the maintenance of a certain proportion between land and labour, which can, as it were, by a kind of mechanical operation, make the fortunes of a community rapid and certain. The true origin of it is, doubtless, to be sought in the confidence given to capitalists—to speculators, if you will—by the certainty that their large outlay is honestly and systematically

devoted to supplying their demand for labour. They look forward to prosperous results, because they see things conducted on a plan (although not quite so steadily as might be wished), instead of being left to the blind operations of chance as formerly; they see that a definite object is proposed by the managers; that this object is not shrouded in diplomatic mystery, but fully and frankly explained; that all are invited to discuss its merits beforehand, to examine how far it has been attained. The wealthy settler feels that he has no chance of being abandoned, like Mr. Peel at the Swan River, by the whole army of labourers whom he has induced, at an enormous expense, to accompany him; of undergoing all the degradation and annoyance to which the supply of convict labour, precarious as at best it is, would expose him; of struggling for years, like our West India planters before the Emancipation Act, against the heavy necessity of maintaining labourers whose resources were becoming less and less profitable, and being placed at last under the torture of a desperate experiment, which may relieve or may destroy him.

And if we carry our views beyond mere economical results, without relying too much on hopes which a thousand circumstances may render abortive, we may perhaps indulge in the conjecture, that communities thus founded begin their career under higher auspices of political and moral happiness than those mere casual offsprings of industry or of discontent which European civilization has scattered over the globe, and left to perish or to flourish by their own resources. The early influx of men of wealth and education attracted by a state of society in which wealth must confer power, and consequently education must meet with some degree of sympathy and encouragement, while the curse of slavery is absent; the mutual dependence in which, if the

system can be carried into practical effect, the different ranks must be placed towards each other ; —these seem to furnish a promise that the population of a settlement thus founded will afford some of the features of a commonwealth, instead of a mere body of unconnected speculators ; that it may realize, in some degree, the idea of a colony such as it presented itself to the ancients, and such as Coleridge and Whately have pointed out as one of the desiderata of modern civilization.

LECTURE XV.

EFFECTS OF THE DISPOSAL OF LAND IN NEW COLONIES BY FREE GRANT, AND BY SALE AT LOW PRICES, EXAMINED, ESPECIALLY IN NORTH AMERICA.

WE have now examined together the principal theories which have been promulgated respecting the disposal of waste land in colonies, and have endeavoured to follow them out into their economical consequences. I propose to conclude this part of my inquiries with a very brief investigation (as it necessarily must be) of the facts which experience furnishes respecting it; confining myself to those chapters of history which are the most instructive and important to us: namely, the recent annals of our North American colonies, the United States, and Australia. These will present to us, in succession, the results of the system of free grant, the system of sale at low prices, and the system of sale at high prices.

“In the North American colonies, as in the United States,” Lord Durham has said, “the function of authority most full of good or evil consequences has been the disposal of public land.” The phrase may be exaggerated; but of its great importance, in all colonies, no doubt can be entertained.

But, as we are now considering the case of old colonies, I must revert to a question touched upon in an earlier portion of these lectures. If this function be of so great importance, and if it be one strictly domestic in its character, and requiring, above most others, that practical knowledge which is best attained on the spot, why is it not confided to the colonial governments, especially

to the colonial legislatures, where these exist? I do not here speak of very new settlements, but of those in which society has made a certain degree of progress, and institutions have attained a certain amount of solidity. Surely, if we recognise the principle that colonists should govern themselves, except in those particulars where the exercise of self-government would necessarily clash with imperial sovereignty, this is one of the functions which should seem in theory more peculiarly fit to be exercised by the colonial, not the imperial, authorities. It is a power of which the employment, in one way or the other, can in no way affect the supremacy of the crown, or the existing interests of a single subject of the mother country. To contend, as is commonly done, that the colonists ought not to have it, for fear they should misuse it, is to contend against the concession of political or municipal freedom to colonists in any instance; or else it is an example of that wavering political faith, that halting between two opinions, that offering of boons with one hand and withholding them with the other, which have characterised for a series of years only too large a portion of our colonial policy. But, however ignorant we may choose to suppose colonial legislatures of their own interests, what public body, after all, could mismanage the lands of its own demesne more than those of our American colonies have been mismanaged by the imperial government ever since their foundation?

But the most plausible argument advanced in favour of retaining the disposal of public lands, as an essential prerogative of the crown, is, that the mother country is interested in the manner in which that disposal is effected, with a view to the relief of her surplus population by emigration. Now, in answer to this, I may refer you, in the first place, to the reasons advanced by

many of the soundest economical writers, and shortly stated in a former part of this course, for believing that the possibility of any extensive relief from emigration is altogether imaginary. But even those who look to emigration with greater confidence will perhaps find, upon inquiry, that by far the greater portion of what actually takes place, and is likely to take place, is altogether uninfluenced by the measures which may be adopted for the disposal of public lands. Half a million of emigrants have gone from the United Kingdom to New York and Quebec in the last ten years; of whom, ultimately, full three fourths have settled in the United States. Of all this multitude, it is difficult to discover that any have been in the slightest degree affected by the proceedings of government in reference to public land, except, perhaps, a few hundreds or thousands settled by the Canada and other land companies on tracts recently purchased by them from the crown.

And, at all events, full scope for all the efforts which government is able to make in the way of encouraging emigration would be left in those newer settlements in which, by universal consent, it should retain the disposal of land. Nor need this power be conceded to the colonial legislature in all parts of the colony at the same time. There would, probably, be little difficulty in retaining it, for example, in each county, or district, until a certain proportion of the land were granted or occupied. Thus the wild frontier belt of an extensive colony would remain under the control of the crown, long after the more settled districts had passed under that of their own assemblies. And the competition of these imperial lands would be a strong check on the offering unfavourable terms to settlers in those under the colonial jurisdiction.

This, however, is a mere matter of speculation, on

which the views of many of my hearers may be different from mine. At present the inclination of the metropolitan legislature and government seems to be strongly in favour of retaining this branch of dominion. Such is the decided opinion of Mr. Wakefield, although a warm friend to the extension of the representative system in colonies. Such was the strongly expressed recommendation of Lord Durham; and similar language has been held by our statesmen in general during the many discussions to which this subject has lately given rise. "It is for the Imperial Parliament," says Mr. Buller, "to reconcile the different interests, and, by providing for the greatest developement of the resources of the colonies, to enable them to offer a market for the manufactures, and a home for the surplus population, of the United Kingdom."* And the Colonial Office now seems determined to put this power into actual exercise; not only in the old colony of Canada, where, for many years, it had been delegated in practice to the governor in council, and where, not long ago, it was offered to be absolutely relinquished to the colonial legislature,—but even in parts of the West Indies, where its exercise has probably scarcely been heard of for centuries.†

* Appendix B. to Lord Durham's Report, p. 8.

† In New Brunswick the *control* of all funds arising from land sales has been surrendered for a term to the provincial legislature, by an act of the 8th W. 4. In Jamaica almost all the land, under the provisions of various acts, seems to be "in the constructive, if not actual, possession of private individuals."—(*Report of Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840, p. 158.*) "In each colony the governor holds a commission enabling him, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, to convey waste lands to the purchasers of them. Except by a grant under the public seal of the colony, issued in pursuance of such a commission, no private person can establish a valid title to these lands. . . . But the governor is authorised, not merely to convey waste lands, but to make, on behalf of the crown, contracts for the sale of them. Even to this extent it is not proposed, at present, to take away his authority.

I do not pretend to point out to you the better opinion in this conflict of sentiments; nor to decide whether some of the reasonings advanced in favour of the policy of retaining this power in the hands of government may not be conclusive, although others certainly appear little better than the common arguments by which the strongest always persuade themselves of their own superior fitness to exercise power. But we must now confine ourselves to our own more appropriate sphere of investigation—the economical effects of the different modes of disposing of land.

The general belief in former times, to judge by the practice, seems to have been, that the best mode was to give it away. And so, in many cases, it might have been, if any security could have been obtained that the parties who received the grants were bonâ fide settlers, possessed of sufficient capital to render the grants available for their own comfortable support, and the production of wealth; for it was soon obvious, that if the owner neglected to cultivate his grant, the community was injured by the interposition of vacant spaces between the occupied lands. But in finding this security lay the real difficulty of the case. The modes which were devised to meet it were, to annex conditions to the grant, and subject it to forfeiture if these were not fulfilled: or, to impose a moderate tax or quit rent, either on uncultivated land only, or on all land, at an amount not oppressive to the settler, but rendering it not worth the while of any one who did not intend to settle to keep it. But both these methods were found in prac-

“So far, however, as relates to entering into contracts binding on “the crown, you will hereafter exercise a power concurrent with “that of the governor.”—Lord John Russell: *Instructions to Land and Emigration Commissioners*, Jan. 14. 1840.

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tice very imperfect, from the difficulty of enforcing them. Conditions might be easily evaded, for it was both invidious and difficult, as well as very expensive, for government agents to ascertain whether or not they had been substantially executed.* The same objection applied to the payment of fines for non-cultivation; and general taxes on the land were unpopular, and difficult of imposition.

These objections apply to the system of free grant in general; but it must be owned that its evils, whatever they may be, have been much aggravated by gross abuses, and that these abuses have furnished an opportunity for exaggerated invectives against the system itself. In our North American colonies, and partly in our Australian also, land seems to have been long regarded as a mere present made by nature to the colonial government, for the purpose of being re-distributed as freely as it was given, without the slightest regard to the effects of its distribution on the prosperity of the community. The history of these abuses will be found detailed in many works; but no where so fully and clearly, as regards North America, as in Mr. Charles Buller's Report.† A few instances out of many may suffice for our purpose. In Lower Canada (under the ingenious invention called the system of "leaders and associates," by which regulations restricting the amount of grants were evaded ‡), 1,425,000 acres were made over to about sixty individuals, during the government of Sir A.

* "All conditions," thinks Mr. Wakefield, "must become dead letters which are in the nature of a promise, or something to be done after the land has been obtained." — *Evidence before Committee on Colonial Lands*, 1836. 655.

† Appendix B. to Lord Durham's Report, 1839.

‡ As not more than a certain number of acres could be granted to a single person under the existing regulations, a number applied for grants at the same time, and then the associates made over their shares to the leader. — See Lord Durham's Report, and Bouchette.

Milne; that is, a territory nearly equalling in extent the county of Devon. In Upper Canada, about seventeen millions of acres had been surveyed in 1825; that is, a surface as great as that of Ireland: all this had been granted away, except about 2,000,000 acres; and yet the population scarcely reached 150,000. Three millions had gone by way of reward or compensation to "American Loyalists," of whom very few seem to have settled in the province; six hundred thousand to militia men; half a million to discharged soldiers and sailors, of whom very few turned cultivators, so that their grants, as Mr. Buller has very truly observed, amounted in fact to little more than small and variable gratuities in money, according to the price they might get for their lots. In Nova Scotia, out of about six million acres of useful land, 5,750,000 have been lavished in free grants. Lastly, "the whole of Prince Edward's Island was given away in one day," in 1767, to about sixty grantees, subject to quit rents and conditions of settlement which have never been fulfilled; and thus, says Lord Durham, "its prosperity was stifled in the very outset of its existence."

In the catalogue of these abuses most writers have inscribed the system of crown and clergy reserves, a characteristic part of our land disposal in America. The clergy reserves were instituted in Lower Canada by the constitutional act of 1791; the crown reserves by the executive government. Originally one seventh of each entire lot granted was reserved, I believe, for the clergy, and as much for the crown; which clumsy method of appropriating made the reservations, in the language of the surveyor-general, Mr. Bouchette, "present the aspect of chess-boards, every second or third lot alternately in each range being a reserve, one for the protestant clergy and one for the crown." After

1821 these scattered fragments were consolidated into "blocks;" a less inconvenient arrangement, it seems, but still presenting the difficulty of interposing desert tracts between the cultivated, except in those cases where takers were found to occupy the reserves on long leases. The crown reserves were afterwards abandoned. Of the clergy reserves, one fourth were sold in 1831, another portion in 1836, and the remainder has been rendered disposable by an act of parliament of 1840. The history of these reserves in Upper Canada is nearly the same.

These peculiar features of our colonial land system have, as you will perceive, no necessary connexion with the method of disposing of land by free grant; and to confound the practice with the abuse has been in this, as in many instances, rather too much the habit of zealous reformers. But even in regard to the abuses themselves, without wishing to defend them, we may reasonably imagine that their effects have been somewhat exaggerated. For to a certain extent these evils bring their own remedy along with them. The persons who have acquired large grants, which they have been unable to cultivate, sooner or later find it their interest to make them over in smaller portions to others who will; and thus the land is eventually disposed of to the actual cultivator at a fair price; the only difference being (and I do not deny that it is a difference, and an unfavourable one), that there is a period of delay during which the land lies idle, and that the price goes into the pockets of individuals instead of the government. Thus, although the power of the state to assist settlers may be almost extinguished, the process of settlement, under favourable circumstances, will nevertheless go on. In Upper Canada, since 1825, government has had scarcely any lands left to part with, that is, lands which were attractive to settlers; and has, in fact, disposed of

only 600,000 acres; yet, in those fifteen years its population has increased from 150,000 to 400,000: thus almost the whole of this population must have established itself on lands purchased from private owners. Prince Edward's Island presents a remarkable instance of the same kind. You will see it constantly cited by writers on colonial subjects as a kind of prerogative example, to use Baconian language, of the vices of the old system of dealing with land. Its soil was granted away to a few large proprietors, of whom scarcely any, with the honourable exception of Lord Selkirk, have ever resided or paid the slightest attention to the improvement of their estates, while they have steadily and successfully resisted any attempt to tax them, or to enforce the conditions of their grants. What is the actual state of the island? Its population, although it increased slowly up to 1820, has nearly doubled since that year.* Its trade and revenue have increased in nearly the same proportion. Its state of society is pronounced by Mr. M'Gregor superior to that of our other North American colonies.† "It is a "common plan," he says, "with those who own farms "they do not occupy, to let those farms 'on the " 'halves,' that is, to stock the farm with horses, horned "cattle, sheep, and hogs, provide half the necessary "seed, and then give possession to a practical farmer, "who will cultivate it and find the labour. After har- "vest, the produce, even to that of the dairy, is equally

* The population of Prince Edward's Island in 1837 was 23,266; and in 1839, 40,000, according to Mr. Buller's Report.

Revenue in 1828, 6,805*l.*; in 1836, 11,957*l.* according to Martin's Colonial Library, 250.

Imports in 1823, 28,813*l.*; 1833, 70,066*l.*; 1836, 61,155*l.*

Exports — 28,747*l.*; — 31,738*l.*; — 47,215*l.*

(See the Appendix to LECTURE IV.)

† Brit. North America, vol. i. p. 453.

“divided between the proprietor and farmer.” A good plan, he adds, for “farmers who dislike commencing at “once in the wood.”* I mention this in passing, as the only instance I have met with, in the wide regions colonized by the British race, of a recurrence to that primæval plan of division between landlord and tenant, called in modern Europe the *Métayer* system, which dates from the very origin of civilization. This picture may present no very extraordinary features of rapid advance or towering fortunes. But no one, I think, would conjecture that it described a colony, of which Lord Durham said, that “its prosperity was “stifled in the very outset of its existence.”

With respect to the mischiefs of reserves of land for public purposes, especially the clergy reserves, which must be inalienable on principle, they are, no doubt, obvious enough, even to the mere speculative inquirer; their actual amount is not so obvious; and either it must be much exaggerated, or some of the praise so liberally bestowed on the land-revenue system of the United States must be withdrawn. For in that country education is provided for by means precisely analogous to the “reserves” of Canada, although smaller in amount. In every American township a section of 640 acres, or one square mile, is appropriated to the purpose of education, forming one thirty-sixth part of the whole township. This land is in the hands of trustees, who may turn it to what account they think most proper for the object in view; but it appears that they cannot dispose of it.†

* Brit. N. America, vol. i. p. 462.

† See Appendix; and see the Evidence of Mr. Stevenson before the Committee on Colonial Lands, 1836.

I should add, that although observers in general have expressed themselves very unfavourably of the effect of the clergy reserves,

And yet Lord Durham, and writers of the same views, are in the habit of mentioning the American mode of disposing of public lands as one of the great causes of the superior condition of the Northern States to the neighbouring British provinces. It must be added, that whatever the economical disadvantages of these reserves may be, they are necessarily diminished, either when a high price is placed on land by government, or when adjacent land becomes valuable by the progress of settlement; for in either of these cases it becomes worth the settler's while to rent the reserved land.

I have brought these considerations before you partly with a view which my hearers may perhaps think that I have already enforced, on various occasions, almost to weariness, namely, in order to remind you how much we are apt to overrate the effect of particular laws and institutions, both on economical prosperity and on the movement of society. It is the natural propensity of the sanguine and inquiring mind, as soon as it has de-

Archdeacon, now Bishop, Strachan, says, "On my inquiries a few years ago on the occasion of the attempted sale to the Canada Land Company, I found a greater number of inhabitants in proportion on the clergy sevenths than on the granted lands of the crown, as they offered facilities to settlers which cannot be otherwise obtained." — Appendix B. to *Lord Durham's Report*, p. 123. An ingenious plan was devised by Archbishop Whately for retaining the benefit of a landed establishment for the church, and avoiding the evils of the reserve system. As I understand it, the purchaser of land was to pay for a certain portion, and occupy another portion gratuitously for a time. For instance, the purchaser of 80 acres might occupy 100 more. After a period, he was to be called upon to single out 20 of those 100 for the use of the church. These 20 were to be selected in the following manner: the purchaser was first to select 40, and then the agent of the church 20 out of the remaining 60. A similar scheme was proposed for adoption with respect to the lands reserved for the aborigines in South Australia; but I do not know whether it was ever carried into execution. — *Report of Colonial Lands' Committee, Evidence of Col. Torrens*, 1141.

ected an abuse, to refer to that abuse by the most ingenious deductions all the evil and imperfection apparent upon that face of things which it is contemplating. Then comes the eagerly embraced conclusion, that the specific remedy for that abuse is, at the same time, a cure for all the disorders which the reason perceives, or the imagination can conjure up. We withdraw our eyes from dwelling on the action of the great laws of economical and social progress, because we feel a secret sense of dissatisfaction in our own inability to control them; we prefer to be busy about the forms and accidents of things, matters which we can regulate and mould according to the theories which may have possession of our fancies; and to these we attribute the powers which really reside in the great springs of the machine.

However, a great change was unquestionably effected for the better, when the anomalous practices which had prevailed from earlier times were superseded in all our colonies by the uniform system of sale for such a price as the land would fetch. Its introduction in Canada began in 1826; but previous payment of purchase money, an important feature in the plan, was not required until the date of the instructions of Lord Glenelg in 1837. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick sale by auction was established in 1827; in New South Wales not until 1831, when the "upset" price, originally 5*s.*, was raised to 12*s.* in 1839; in Swan River, in 1832. In all these cases the sales have been by auction, and the upset price, pretty generally, regulated by the sum fixed for that purpose in America; namely, about 5*s.* As the system adopted in the United States was the great model followed in these proceedings, it is now time to give you a general account of it. I borrow

it from an article in the Colonial Gazette of June 22. 1839.*

“ The greater portion of the unoccupied lands of the United States constitute the national domain, and are, of course, under the control of the national government.

“ The lands are surveyed on an accurate plan, according to a general system; afterwards they are offered for sale, by proclamation of the president, and, by law, must be sold by public auction, the minimum price being one dollar and a quarter per acre, ready money. If no one bids for the land at that price, or upwards, it is subject to private entry at any time after, upon payment at time of entry; for no credit is allowed.

“ One section in each township is reserved for the support of schools in the township; and all salt-springs and lead mines are reserved from sale, unless by special order of the president.

“ The surveys are founded upon a series of true meridians, which run north, principally from the mouth of some noted river. These are intersected, at right angles, with lines running from east to west, called base-lines. There are five principal meridians in the land-surveys of the western states.

“ Each of these meridians has its own base-line, which forms the base of a series of surveys, of which the lines are made to correspond, so that the whole country is at last divided into squares of one mile each, and townships of six miles each; and these subdivisions are distributed with mathematical accuracy into parallel ranges.

“ The township consequently consists of thirty-six

* Vol. i. p. 468.

“ square miles. A square mile is called a section, and
“ contains 640 acres. The section is subdivided into
“ half sections of 320 acres each, quarter sections of
“ 160 acres each, and half-quarter sections of 80 acres
“ each : these last, under certain conditions, are sold in
“ equal subdivisions of 40 acres each, which is the
“ smallest amount of public lands disposed of by the
“ general government. Any person, whether a native
“ born citizen or a foreigner, may thus purchase forty
“ acres of the richest soil, and receive an indisputable
“ title for fifty dollars, being at the rate of a dollar and
“ a quarter an acre ; and lands sold by the general
“ government are not subject to taxation under five
“ years after purchase.

“ The parts of townships, sections, quarter sections,
“ &c. made at the lines of either townships or meridi-
“ ans, are called excesses or deficiencies. The fractional
“ sections, which contain less than 160 acres, are not
“ subdivided. The fractional sections, which contain
“ 160 acres and upwards, are subdivided in such a man-
“ ner as to preserve the most compact and convenient
“ forms. A series of contiguous townships, laid off
“ from east to west, is called a range. These are num-
“ bered east and west, from the principal meridian run-
“ ning due north and south. Townships are counted
“ either north or south from their respective base-lines.

“ By this admirable system all the townships and
“ subdivisions are in regular mathematical forms, pre-
“ cluding the fruitful source of litigation arising from
“ the uncertainty of butts and bounds, in forms with
“ curve, meandering, or zigzag lines.

“ The land sales unite three essential objects — the
“ right of selection by the highest bidder at the public
“ sales, extreme cheapness at the private sales, and a
“ title of clearness and unquestionable surety commensu-

“ rate with the stability of the government. The convenience and excellence of this system constitutes an essential element in the rapid population of the new states.

“ The public lands are laid off into districts, in each of which there is a land office, under the superintendence of two officers appointed by the president and senate, called the register of the land office and receiver of public monies.

“ All deeds, conveyances, mortgages, or title papers whatsoever, must be recorded in the recorder’s office in the county where the land is situate. Deeds and title papers are not in force until filed in the recorder’s office.”

The three main features of the system, it may be collected from these particulars, appear to be,

1. That territory possessed by the state is held by the government in trust for the people, to be sold individually.

2. That all lands are sold at an uniform upset price.

3. That all proprietors are subject to local taxation.

It must be added, in order to obtain a tolerably complete view of the system, that “squatters,” when the land on which they have established themselves is sold, are in some cases entitled by law to a right of pre-emption; and where this is not the case, they exercise a similar right by usage. For “public opinion” (we know the fearful import of the words in the back woods) would be against the purchaser who should take the land over their heads.

But the American government has never aimed at any thing beyond the carrying into effect of these simple principles. It has never sought to render the sale of lands subservient to the purpose of constructing the frame of society after a preconceived pattern. The

funds raised by it¹ ve gone into the general coffers of the Union. No attempt has been made to accumulate labour in particular localities, or to discourage the acquisition of land by the poorest class. In point of fact, public land in the United States is sold very cheap. The ordinary price seldom exceeds 6s. 3d. an acre.* The system gives, as may be supposed, great encouragement to speculators: land generally passes in the first instance into the hands of purchasers whose only object is to re-sell it at a profit; but it is not likely long to remain unoccupied, in consequence of being subject, whether occupied or not, to local taxation.

The difference at present between our system in North America and that of the United States is, that the upset price of our land is generally smaller. Ideas have been entertained of late years of taking a further step, and raising the price of land in our North American colonies. Mr. Charles Buller recommends an uniform price of 10s. per acre.† The Land and Emigration Commissioners suggested to Lord Sydenham uniform prices of 7s. 6d. per acre for a portion of the colony, and 5s. for the remainder. His lordship thought these prices too high, and preferred 6s. and 4s. respectively. The commissioners subsequently recommended 6s. per acre for all land‡, from which Lord Sydenham dissented. I am not informed that either of these suggestions was carried into effect; and as the current of official opinion seems now to have set against the uniform price system,

* The upset price was two dollars until 1819, lowered in that year to one and a quarter dollar. It is remarkable that the lowering of the upset price produced no increase of sales for several years. But it appears that at the same time the credit given was shortened. — See the *Evidence before the Colonial Lands' Committee*.

† Appendix B. to Lord Durham's Report, p. 33.

‡ Report, 1840, p. 101. Dispatch of Lord Sydenham, in "Correspondence relative to Emigration to Canada," 1841, p. 36.

it is not probable that either will be.* It is hardly possible that government can introduce into these colonies any method which shall have much effect on their economical progress. Except in very new localities, they appear to have long passed that stage at which such measures are of any great importance. And the proceedings of the crown must evidently be governed by the competition of private owners and of the United States. We cannot offer our lands at a much higher rate than private owners and the States offer theirs. Now the landed proprietors in Upper Canada (as well as those of the British part of the Lower Province) are so anxious to attract emigrants, that "many of them have put at the disposal of Dr. Rolph" (their agent lately sent to England) "lands amounting in the whole to from 25,000 to 30,000 acres, to be given gratuitously to settlers who may have the means of cultivating them."† Neighbouring lands, offered by the government at 6s. per acre, would have a small chance of preference. And, in the next place, the facilities of communication are so much greater in the United States, from their admirable system of local taxes, which the Canadians obstinately refuse to adopt, that, in the opinion of Lord Sydenham, their land at 6s. 3d. is cheaper than Canadian land at 6s., even when the liability to those taxes is taken into account, the benefit more than countervailing the expense. Therefore the prospect of forming any considerable emigration fund by the sale of land in Canada seems visionary, even if such fund were needed.

If settlers are to be attracted thither, it must be, as heretofore, by the easy acquisition of land. And the

* It has been suggested as one advantage of a uniform price in Canada, that squatters would thus be able to purchase a title.

† Correspondence, 1841, p. 50.

government seems to have been all along entertaining plans of this description, although seemingly inconsistent with the theory of high prices. There are two projects for limited grants of free land to emigrants of the poorer class, both of which have been partially tried. The one is that of giving small lots of five acres to labourers of the lowest class: this may be sometimes useful in the case of emigrants who arrive at a time when the demand for labour happens to be slack, but obviously only in the neighbourhood of great towns or markets: it has been tried near Quebec and elsewhere, and, says Lord Sydenham, has answered tolerably well, although it has been attended with expense. The object is to attract persons who may be useful as labourers, not having land enough to be wholly independent. The other plan is that of making grants of 50 or even 100 acres to emigrant families in new townships, and especially along great lines of communication, it having been first satisfactorily shown that they possess capital to cultivate them.* This project is especially pressed on government, for political reasons, under the present circumstances of Canada; but, independent of these, there seems every reason for believing that it might prove economically advantageous. The class of small yeomen, as I have endeavoured to show before, is precisely that by which colonization in such countries as the newer parts of Canada is best carried on. But in order that it might be so, or rather in order to prevent its execution from proving a mere nuisance to the colony, it is absolutely necessary that the preliminary inspection into the means of the settlers should be rigor-

* Correspondence, 1841. See particularly Lord Sydenham's Despatch of 14th Jan. 1841, and the enclosures. Colonel Talbot, who has had more experience in settling emigrants than any person in Canada, and has for more than thirty-five years devoted himself to the cause, is of opinion that a free allotment granted to an emigrant family ought not to be less than 100 acres.

ously carried out. Now I am afraid that the more we have studied the history of land-granting in British colonies, the less reliance we shall be disposed to place on the satisfactory enforcement of this or any other condition imposed upon occupiers.

But while little can probably be done for these colonies in the way of the disposal of waste land, much might be done in other ways; by attending to the fulfilment of such conditions where they have been imposed already; by the *bonâ fide* exaction of fines, and even of forfeitures, for the neglect of them; and, above all, by the establishment of a system of local taxation, for the purpose of local wants, such as those of roads and public works. To this we shall return on another occasion; at present it is sufficient to observe, that of all the economical causes which have been suggested for that painful inferiority in the evidence of public spirit, wealth, and activity, which seems to strike all observers in passing from the United States into our neighbouring provinces, this absence of local taxation is the most substantial, perhaps the only substantial one. But with these things our government can have little to do: our northern colonies possess legislatures of their own; and it remains to be seen whether they have sufficient perception of their own interests, and sufficient public virtue, to impose on themselves the necessary sacrifices.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE XV.

LAND appropriated for Schools and Colleges in ten of the latest founded States of the American Union :—

			acres.	hds.
Ohio	-	-	746,583	16
Indiana	-	-	492,192	13
Illinois	-	-	866,003	96
Michigan	-	-	510,858	61
Missouri	-	-	1,132,719	41
Arkansas	-	-	958,071	11
Louisiana	-	-	920,061	66
Mississippi	-	-	440,203	72
Alabama	-	-	726,139	99
Florida	-	-	914,250	—
			<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	-	-	7,707,085	75
			<hr/>	<hr/>

(Report of Committee on Colonial Lands, 1836.)

LECTURE XVI.

EFFECTS OF THE DISPOSAL OF LAND IN COLONIES AT HIGH PRICES. — SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THE colony of South Australia was founded in 1836, under a system of government and of economical administration altogether new. It must, however, be stated, that this system was in several respects different from that which the projectors imagined.* Their intention was to found a chartered colony, resembling those which were established in North America in the seventeenth century. According to their plan, an incorporated company would have exercised, by delegation from the crown, many of the powers of sovereignty within the intended province; and besides disposing of the waste lands, and controlling the finances, would have appointed the governor, enacted the laws, and levied the taxes.

This project did not suit the views of the government at home, and was therefore considerably modified by the act 4 & 5 W. 4. c. 95., the original constituent law of the settlement. The ordinary executive and legislative powers were vested in a governor and council, according to the common method; but in addition to these, a board of commissioners was appointed, one of whom was to reside in the province, who were to have the disposal of the land, and the management of emigration. The whole of the funds raised by the disposal of land was to be devoted to

* Third Report of South Australia Commissioners, p. 15.

the purpose of conveying labouring families to the colony.

By this act no specific provision whatever was made for what I have termed the preparatory expenses of a colony — the land-surveying, the public works, the foundation of establishments, the construction of roads, and other communications. But a general power was given to the commissioners to begin their operations in sending out labourers, by levying 50,000*l.* on land, on the security of the land fund; and to defray “the necessary cost, charges, and expenses of founding the colony,” and provide for its government in the first instance by raising 200,000*l.* on the security of *the future colonial revenue*, exclusive of the land fund, which, however, was to serve as a collateral security.

It was one of the original views of the projectors of the colony, that it should support itself. The principle on which it was founded — that of applying the land fund to the purposes of emigration — was called by them the “self-supporting” principle; as if it involved in itself sufficient security that a settlement so regulated could not cost any thing to the mother country; or, at all events, that its prosperity must be so certain and so rapid as to place the danger of its becoming eventually burdensome altogether out of the question. Mr. Wakefield himself, to whom the public has looked in great measure as its author, denies that he was at all concerned in propagating this view of it.* But it was certainly put forth in a variety of shapes by the friends and promoters of the original establishment; nor can it be

* “I never called it the self-supporting system: I look upon the “calling it the self-supporting system as a sort of puff.” — *Report of South Australia Committee*, 1841, 2584.

questioned that, upon their own theory, they had some ground for anticipating its realization.

Difficulties soon arose as to the working of various parts of this act. There was no sufficient line of demarcation between the powers of the governor and council, and those of the commissioners. Although this produced no disagreements at home, in the colony the case was otherwise: the infant settlement soon became divided between a commissioner's party and a governor's party; and it was found that the powers of raising money by loan were too loosely given; or rather, in point of fact, that the notion of raising 200,000*l.* on the security of the future local revenues of a land where the soil was yet unbroken was impossible, even on the unusual terms allowed by the act.* 39,000*l.* only had been borrowed upon it in 1838, when a new act was obtained (1 & 2 Vict. c. 60.). This statute introduced some material improvements in the administration of the affairs of the settlement; but it also materially increased the power of the commissioners as to borrowing; in fact, to such an extent, that it was said, not without truth, to have materially infringed on the fundamental principle of the settlement. They were empowered to apply the money raised on the security of either of their two funds convertibly, keeping separate accounts: that is, money raised on the security of the land revenue might be applied to purposes of general necessity, and *vice versá*: which some have deemed a covert mode of enabling them to anticipate the readiest of the two funds, namely the land fund, without appearing distinctly to do so. But to this borrowing from the land fund a limit was placed — that the total debt due from the general fund to the land fund should never at the end of the year

* 10 per cent.

exceed one-third of the whole amount of the sums received in that year by the land fund. That is, if the sums raised by land sales amounted, for instance, to 30,000*l.* in any given year, the commissioners were to take care that, at the end of that year, the debt from the general fund to the land fund should not exceed 10,000*l.*

Matters therefore stood thus: There was a power to raise a very large sum for general purposes on the credit of an imaginary fund, that of the local revenue, which no sober man could for a moment imagine would nearly equal the ordinary local expenses for many years to come; and there was a very restricted power to aid those purposes by borrowing from the land fund, a real and available fund, which was rapidly increasing every year, but which was limited by the constitution of the colony to one peculiar purpose. You will see at once that the first part of the provision was altogether inadequate; and you will also see, what a powerful stimulus was given thereby to the curse of young colonies — the eagerness to attain rapid results. The whole system rested on mere speculation. Nothing was real but the land fund, and that was appropriated. There were a very large sum to be repaid, and very heavy charges to be borne, by the local revenue, as soon as it began to exist: it was therefore of immediate importance to create one as soon as possible — to force the colony as if in a hot-house. The numerous speculators at home who had joined in the original project, most of them with anticipations of profit mingled with the honourable desire to carry into effect a great experiment, were driven to use all their exertions to raise the colony's credit in the market. The artificial advantages of the scheme, the natural advantages of the colony, were placed in the most tempting light before the public, and puffed

through every possible channel. Every means were to be used to force the stream of English capital into this distant province, even before any thing like a satisfactory certainty could be obtained as to the profitable investment that existed for it.*

Meantime the settlement advanced. By the end of 1838, 5300 persons had left the United Kingdom for South Australia, and some hundred Germans also; while it was supposed that 600 at least had emigrated to it from the neighbouring provinces, attracted by its vaunted excellencies. The price of land which at first had been 12s. per acre, was very soon raised to 1*l.*, at which sum it has ever since remained fixed. Nearly 50,000*l.* had been raised by the sale of land, and applied to emigration; but almost the whole of the sales, up to that epoch in the history of the colony, had been effected in England, and of course were, to a great extent, of a very speculative character.

It must, however, by this time have been pretty evident to those who had studied the experiment (and a subject of some anxiety), that the ground on which it had been tried was not of the most encouraging description. South Australia, as it appears on the map, is a vast region, the character of which has been as yet very partially examined; but the little corner of it on the eastern shore of the gulf of St. Vincent, where the model colony had established itself, is by this time tolerably well known. It is a district with scarcely any thing that can be called a natural harbour, and by no means

* The original price of town sections in Adelaide was 12s. per acre: only three days after the completion of the plan of the town, 560 sections were sold at the average price of 6*l.* 3s. an acre: and in 1839 it was thought that those in the best situations were worth 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* per acre! (*Fourth Report of the Commissioners*, p. 11.) Surely, instead of quoting such facts as evidences of prosperity, they ought to be recorded like the events of the tulip-mania and the South Sea bubble.

favourably situated for commerce, especially when compared with the fortunate province of Port Phillip, which was already beginning to attract settlers. It has a fair proportion, for Australia, of fertile soil, of considerable agricultural capability; and it has the usual facilities which that strange country offers to settlers,—thin, open forests of evergreens being scattered over interminable grassy plains. Like the greater part of the continent, it has scarcely a stream which runs in the summer; and the land which possesses even these moderate advantages seems to be very limited in extent. North and east of the settled spot, observers have travelled in quest of new sites for settlements, and have brought back only the same discouraging account of realms of hopeless sand and “scrub,” becoming more and more desolate and less varied in surface as they stretch towards the mysterious inlands of the continent.* The climate is healthy, like that of New South Wales, and probably about equally favourable to vegetation. Altogether, it is a province which would, no doubt, afford a valuable addition to an older colony, but which seems scarcely to display any first-rate advantages, such as might tempt an insulated community to settle there. It is true that the eastern part of South Australia is traversed by the Murray, the largest river hitherto discovered in New Holland, and may possess capabilities as yet unknown; but it seems doubtful whether it can ever be connected by continuous settlement with the district of which Adelaide is the capital.

* “It” (the district from the head of Spencer Gulph, on the north, to the southern end of Lake Albert (?) on the south) “is surrounded by immense tracts of unavailable land, and never can be geographically united to another.” “Our outports, Port Lincoln, &c., are merely (if they may be called so) small islands of good land in boundless expanses of brush and scrub.”—*Despatch of Governor Gawler, Jan. 18. 1841.*

However, the year 1839 was the most prosperous era of the colony, as far as the influx of a great stream of capital and number of emigrants into a field as yet altogether unprofitable, can be called prosperity. In that year 5,316 persons emigrated from the United Kingdom: 50,000 acres of land were sold in England, and nearly 100,000 in the colony, at 1*l.* per acre; and the land revenue of this infant settlement considerably exceeded the whole land revenue of New South Wales, including Port Phillip. Up to the end of 1839, the commissioners had borrowed about 125,000*l.* on the credit of the future revenues, out of the 200,000*l.* which the act allowed them: it will be observed that the interest of this sum was a very heavy charge, much having been raised at 10 per cent., or even on higher terms; while the revenue was, of course, insufficient for the mere local expences of the settlement, the civil list and police department.

It was at this stage of affairs that the most extraordinary system of public expenditure in the colony began, which, perhaps, the annals of financial extravagance can disclose. It must be recollected, that most of this expenditure was brought on by the determination of the patrons of the colony to force it into prosperity. "The one thing needful," such was the perpetual language of the commissioners, "is to give high bounties on the introduction of capital." There was an indifferent natural port: but foreign commerce must not be checked or embarrassed, and enormous sums were, therefore, spent on the port at all hazards. Land was to be sold as fast as possible; but land, in order to be sold, must be surveyed in still larger quantities (particularly under the special survey system, of which I shall speak by-and-by): surveys, therefore, were pushed on, labour being enormously dear, until they

actually rose to an average of 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* per acre, and in some cases 10*s.*, or half the price of the land. Thousands of emigrants arrived in a few months of the "season:" and, although they eventually found employment at enormous wages, still there was an interval during which they entailed a heavy expence on the government.* The item of police was twice as high, in proportion to the population, in this colony without convicts, as in New South Wales.† And, with these expenses upon him, the governor thought fit to commence the erection of a government-house, to cost 25,000*l.* Surely, Lord Stanley is right in saying that we need look no further for the cause of all that has since befallen the settlement.

"When we see that, at the expiration of four years from the commencement of the colony, there was an expenditure of 140,000*l.* per annum, the revenue of the colony not being more than 20,000*l.*; that the government-house had been built at an expence of 24,000*l.* on sanctioned authority; that 22,000*l.* had been laid out in the formation of a road across a swamp, for the purpose of improving a harbour originally badly chosen; that lands bought for 12*s.* an acre were sold in the hardly-created town of Adelaide for 500*l.*, 1000*l.*, or 1500*l.* an acre; that there had been established three banks, carrying on business, and issuing their own paper; that labour had reached the price of from 6*s.* to 12*s.* per day; that a body of police were established, paid at the rate of 1*l.* 19*s.* per week each man, who complained of the inadequacy of their wages, because they were

* It is said that something like the old system of poor's rates, with allowances for families, was introduced for their maintenance, in a colony not four years old.

† Report of the Committee of 1841, p. 99. (Mr. Elliot's evidence.)

“unable to procure their white trowsers and gloves to be washed for it — all of which showed a disposition to transfer all the comforts and luxuries of the civilised world to the antipodes ; -- we cannot be surprised at what has happened.” *

No kind of dissatisfaction, it must be added, seems to have been excited in the colony by these marvellous proceedings. All seem to have been seized with the same spirit of vertigo, or the same desperate resolution to gamble on, and trust to that golden future to which the commissioners had always been pointing as the ultimate result of the experiment. The immediate mode which the governor took of meeting the enormous calls upon him, was by drawing bills on the commissioners, 12,000 miles off, in utter ignorance of the state of their funds. They, as we have seen, had already borrowed, at the end of 1839, three-fifths of all that they could borrow, and had spent the proceeds. He drew to the amount of 123,000*l.* in the course of 1840 only. In the mean time a change had taken place in the constitution of the colonial board in England. The original commission had been revoked, and a board of land and emigration commissioners constituted for all the colonies, South Australia included. They entered on their functions in the beginning of 1840. About the middle of that year, the governor's bills began to arrive in pressing quantities. The new commissioners, after taking a little time to consider the position in which they were placed, refused to accept them. The colony became bankrupt. The emigration and land sales ceased in August, 1840 : and a sudden and complete stop was put to the rapid career of so-called prosperity.

* Speech of Lord Stanley, Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. lvii. p. 257.

There are friends of the colony who maintain that the commissioners might have retrieved its affairs and maintained its credit, by raising new loans (we have seen that they had not done so quite to the extent of their powers), in order to pay these bills. This is not a question into which it is possible to enter here. But the remedy of more borrowing seems, at first sight, rather a desperate one, for a disease which over-borrowing had engendered in the first instance.

The result has been, that parliament has been obliged to interfere, and to empower the government to advance a very considerable sum to meet the present emergencies, on such security as can be obtained without over-burdening the resources of the colony. And so ends the "self-supporting" part of the scheme; and South Australia, like other settlements, must be content to depend for a while on the mother country for assistance.

I have thought that it might be worth our while to devote thus much of our attention to the brief history of a particular province, because it really does afford some valuable lessons to the inquirer, and because it has been popularly supposed to afford others, which cannot be deduced from it by any candid reasoner. It furnishes no evidence whatever against the reasonable application of those principles respecting the disposal of public land which we have been so long considering. Besides many minor circumstances which may have contributed to the ill success of this experiment (such, for instance, as the inconvenient division of duty and responsibility between the governor and commissioners), the candid inquirer cannot but perceive three primary causes of failure. First, that the situation was ill selected for so critical an attempt; for, although South

Australia is far from being the inhospitable desert which some have thought fit to describe it, it does not appear to possess any of those extraordinary advantages which enable a community to become rapidly rich; and we have often had occasion to observe, that natural advantages are in the long run of far more importance than sound economical doctrines, to the progress and well-being of a colony. Secondly, the total omission of all means to provide for the preparatory expences of colonization, except by a general power to raise loans to a certain amount on the credit of a future revenue, which could not come into existence for years, and was certain for a long time to be unable to support the immediate charges on it. Thirdly (and this cause was by far the most injurious of all), the unnatural encouragement given to speculation, and to its inseparable companion — extravagance. Every thing tended to this one result. The sale of lands in England threw great part of the soil into the hands of capitalists here, eager to make the most of it, and to raise its value as soon as possible, whether for resale or investment; and if the real value could not be raised rapidly enough, to give an imaginary value to their purchase, by acquiescing in delusive representations, if they did not actually propagate them. The commissioners were anxious, at the same time, to force on the settlement of the colony, in order to raise its credit in the market; and to force up its credit in the market, in order to provide funds to carry on the settlement. And the colonists themselves were only too ready to fall into the example which the patrons of the project had set them. Time was wasted, and the interest of capital sacrificed in land-jobbing operations, which might have been profitably employed in sheep-farming or agriculture.

And let us pause a moment to consider the social

state of a community introduced into life under such auspices. There was surely something short-sighted in the policy of its first founders — those, I mean, who looked to greater results than the mere production of wealth. It was impossible to evince a more creditable care than they did, in matters of detail, for the moral well-being of the colony. Convicts were excluded from it, and great discrimination was exercised in selecting the emigrants: the interests of religion and education were put prominently forward. And yet it never seems to have occurred to them, that a community urged on by the spirit of speculation which they sought in every manner to encourage, cannot be morally or socially healthy. “The one thing needful,” thought they, “is to encourage the rapid influx of capital by high ‘bounties:’” and they never thought of the tide of evils which flow in along with a rapid influx of capital, when that capital is not gradually attracted by the opening field of employment, but comes in hopes of finding or creating such a field. The wealthier emigrants, finding no useful occupation for their means, took to land-jobbing, that is, gambling, while waiting for it. The poorer emigrants, attracted by the hope of large wages, were disappointed by the high prices, and found even the high sums which they actually realised insufficient to satisfy their anticipations. The moral consequences of such a state of things it would not be difficult to depict; and I am afraid there is some truth in the high-coloured representation of a recent visitor to those regions, nor is it altogether confined to South Australia — that though actual crime is rare, it seems an admitted principle that all means short of crime are legitimate for obtaining money.

But these are all evils that admit of cure; and probably a safer cure could not be found than the sudden

check which has been given to speculative adventure, which will cool down the community from its state of excitement to a sober appreciation of its wants and position. In the meantime, we should be greatly mistaken in supposing that because the visionary hopes of projectors have not been realized, the colony has failed of reasonable success. It is no small success to have collected a population of 16,000 free inhabitants in five years, without distress or disorder; a population, too, which has made by this time considerable progress in the creation of real wealth. I will not trouble you with statistical details, because I could hardly at present offer you any general results upon which I could safely rely; but upon the whole, I believe that the amount of production in South Australia is tolerably great, although scarcely in proportion to the imported capital and population which have been accumulated there.

I will conclude this lecture with a brief notice of the success which has hitherto attended the raising the price of land, and employment of the land fund on emigration, in our other Australian colonies.

I have already touched more than once on the series of disasters which attended and followed the original settlement of Swan River, or Western Australia. So great was the distress at one period, that the settlers were relieved by subscription in the neighbouring colonies; and this settlement, which now contains only 4000 people, has cost this country, first and last, 150,000*l*. But the most unfortunate feature in its early colonization was, that the land was squandered with such profusion in enormous grants to parties who found it impossible to turn them to account, that the fund by which its prosperity might have been best

promoted can now with difficulty be raised.* There is more to be done in the way of imposing conditions, as far as consistent with justice, on the ownership of lands, than by raising the price of those which the course of settlement is not likely to reach for years to come. However, the system of auction was established in 1832: the upset price has since been raised (I believe to 12s. per acre), and some land has been sold under the new regulations. I will pass over Van Diemen's Land for the same reason; because the great extent to which the appropriation of land has been carried renders it difficult, or impossible, to raise any considerable fund at present in that colony by means of land sales.

In the important colony of New South Wales the system of sale by auction at an upset price of 5s. per acre, commenced in 1831; and the quantity sold under these regulations soon became extremely large. In 1831, the sales of land reached the sum of 126,000*l.* The average sum realised appears to have been about from 7s. to 8s. per acre, including town allotments.

In August, 1838, the government at home wished to raise the upset price to 12s. per acre; and this resolution was carried into effect in the following year. Great opposition was excited in the colony by this alteration: all the ordinary arguments which have been put forth against the sale of waste land at high prices, both by those who understand and those who do not understand the principle of the system, were brought

* Nearly 1,600,000 acres were given away in the first seven or eight years. (See *Report of Land and Emigration Board for 1840*, p. 23.) Yet with all the facts of the original settlement before their eyes, the colonists seem to have disliked the change; and one writer, Ogle (*Western Australia*, p. 136.) compares its effects to "stopping a vehicle in rapid motion."

to bear against it. And it appears that the first effect, as might have been expected, was to diminish both the quantity of land sold, and the number of emigrants; although part of that diminution may perhaps have been owing to the apprehension which began at the same time to prevail respecting the diminution of convict labour, and part to the great popularity of Port Phillip. But it appears that this opposition almost entirely died away, as soon as the fears of the colonists had become really excited, and incipient inconvenience began to be felt, through the gradual discontinuance of the practice of assignment. What amount of injurious effect that measure may really have had in depriving them of the necessary supply of labour, it would be difficult to estimate without better statistical materials than I possess. But I imagine it to have occasioned some immediate loss, and greater indirect injury, by the discouragement which it threw on the investment of capital. Now, in such a state of things, a system under which any considerable number of free immigrants could be introduced into the country was the greatest boon which government had it in its power to offer; and this result is rapidly following, through the increase of the land revenue consequent on the increase of price, and through the application of an increased proportion of that revenue to the purpose of obtaining labour. In the three last years (1838-40), from 8,000 to 10,000 emigrants have been annually carried to Sydney by the expenditure of this fund; a more copious supply of labour than assignment could furnish, although undoubtedly not so easily procurable and controllable, nor at least, in the first instance, so cheap.*

* No return has yet been published of the number of emigrants to New South Wales and Port Phillip in 1841; but it is understood to have amounted to about 23,000, or more than twice the number

The good effects of this extensive importation were soon felt even in the remotest part of the colony. A settler in the interior, giving evidence on the subject before a committee at Sydney, says, "Indirectly the immigration of free labourers has benefited me; as it has disengaged a description of labour which is of greater service to me; that is, of men who formerly found employment in the settled districts, but are now obliged to come farther to look for it." This seems to point out that the influx of emigrants is disposing of itself in the most satisfactory manner; the new comers, who are not so well fitted to encounter a change of life to the wilderness, remaining for a time in the settled districts.

The high economical prosperity which the colony of New South Wales so rapidly attained is well known: and the general impression at present appears to be, that it has sustained a temporary check. How far this is really true, I have not the means of ascertaining. It is certain that an uneasiness is generally felt; but whether this uneasiness have, in reality, any deeper-seated cause than the extreme difficulty of extending the operations of a rapidly increasing capital with a very inadequate supply of labour, and at the distance of half the circumference of the earth from the great source in the mother country from whence that demand might be supplied, I cannot but doubt. At the same time, there are circumstances in the present position of New South Wales, which incline me to question (although it is only the questioning of one who pretends to no practical knowledge on the subject), whether the social, as well as economical character of the community,

of any former year; and it is said that, *for the first time*, some effect appears to have been produced on the rate of wages by this vast influx of people.

and the distribution of wealth, must not undergo some change before it is fairly embarked in its destined career. I called your attention, in a former lecture, to this distinction — that, in an old country, the net amount of agricultural produce is almost invariably greatest, when the land is in the hands of capitalists employing combined labour : but that, in a new country, this is not so generally the case ; because the most fertile patches of soil being often scattered among the more indifferent, the capitalist must either content himself with the inferior soil instead of the better, or disperse his labourers over an extensive tract, and thus lose the advantage of his power of combining labour. Therefore, I submitted to you, it is not improbable that in countries so circumstanced agriculture may be more profitably carried on for a time by small farmers. Now, I would venture to doubt whether, in New South Wales, the great returns to capital which have been realized by sheep-farming have not encouraged a little too much the spirit of speculation in agriculture ; whether the larger landowners have not been too hasty in attempting the cultivation of considerable tracts of their estates. It is certain that with the present enormous price of labour (which is not at all likely to fall speedily, unless capital becomes less productive at the same time), cultivation on a large scale must be an extremely expensive process ; and it seems uncertain whether it can be a very profitable one.* Perhaps, in time, a greater division of the community into classes will take place : the colony will become more agricultural, by the arable portions being subdivided into smaller estates ; while accumulated capital will still retain its

* By the last accounts (December, 1841) it seems that a portion of the colonists are about to petition for corn laws. One of their grounds is, that the colonial grain is peculiarly subject to the weevil, and *therefore* requires protection.

present great advantages in sheep-farming, the staple industry of the country.

Lastly, the singular good fortune which has attended the youngest of all these colonies, Port Phillip, since its commencement, although owing mainly to natural advantages, has certainly been promoted by the good management of its funds, and the high price of its land. Its foundation is carried on, in all respects, under happy auspices. It was not made, like South Australia, the subject of an experiment. It was not an insulated settlement, but a district of New South Wales, and enjoyed the benefit of the government of that colony, and assistance from its revenue. It owed its existence, not to speculation, but to the actual wants of the neighbouring colonies: the increasing capital of Van Diemen's Land, unable to obtain sufficient profit in that island, where so much of the land was appropriated, found a new field in this adjacent region,—the nearest part of the continent, and, as far as yet appears, the most favoured by nature. Its land has sold at the great average price of 30s. per acre: 3000 emigrants went there in 1840, a larger number than to South Australia; and it furnished, in the present year (1841) nearly 800,000 lbs. of wool to the English market, exceeding the produce of the Cape of Good Hope. Let us suppose that its land had been given away, or sold at low prices: those who are still sceptical as to the policy of the present system may ask, whether the purchasers would not in that case have retained more of their capital in their pockets, and been able to provide labour for themselves? The answer is, in the first place, that capitalists would not have got the land at all: it would have been appropriated, for the most part, by numerous and poor settlers, if these had equal chances of obtaining it with the rich; and, in the next place, the few capi-

talists who might have settled there could not, by their insulated efforts, have procured labour half so cheaply or effectually as government has been able to do it for them ; besides the other advantages which the territory has derived from the partial application of its land fund to other branches of necessary expenditure.

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APPENDIX TO LECTURE XVI.

No. I.

	lbs.
Quantity of Wool imported into this Country in 1841,	49,710,396
Of which from Germany - - - -	21,812,099
New South Wales - - - -	6,215,329
Van Diemen's Land - - - -	2,626,178
Port Phillip - - - -	785,398
South Australia - - - -	51,590
Western Australia - - - -	42,748
	9,721,423
Cape of Good Hope - - - -	751,741

(Companion to the Almanack, 1842.)

No. II.

A RETURN of Crown Lands sold in New South Wales from Jan. 1. 1837, to June 30. 1840.

Years.	TOWN ALLOTMENTS.			ALL OTHER LANDS.			Average per Acre.
	Number of Acres.	Purchase Money.	Average per Perch.	Number of Acres.	Purchase Money.	Average per Acre.	
1837	131 2 27	£. 2,960 8 2	s. 2 10	367,422 0 33	£. 107,764 3 1	s. 5 10	d. 5 10
1838	185 3 26	3,184 17 0	2 2	278,323 0 10	74,810 3 2	5 4	5 4
1839	231 0 22 ¹	6,624 14 5	3 7	209,762 2 34	38,890 12 10	8 5	8 5
1840 (to June 30.)	317 2 29	28,335 12 7	11 2	53,700 3 22	31,084 4 9	11 10	11 10

Official Returns, April 20. p. 10.

No. III.

A RETURN of Crown Lands sold in Port Philip, from June, 30, 1840.

Years.	TOWN ALLOTMENTS.			ALL OTHER LANDS.			Average per Acre.
	Number of Acres.	Purchase Money.	Average per Perch.	Number of Acres.	Purchase Money.	Average per Acre.	
1837	87 3 20	£. 7,116 0 0	£. 0 10 1			£. s. d.	
1838	41 1 12	8,781 16 0	1 6 7	38,653 0 0	25,546 16 6	0 13 3	
1839	65 1 8	8,982 13 4	0 17 1	38,283 0 0	61,067 0 6	1 11 11	
1840	39 3 24	37,697 0 0	5 18 1	82,264 1 0	132,761 4 3	1 12 3	
(to June 30.)							

Official Returns, April 20. p. 10.

No. IV.

DISPOSAL OF REVENUE DERIVED FROM WASTE LANDS IN
NEW SOUTH WALES.

Received from Sales of Crown Lands in New South Wales, from 1831 to June 1840 inclusive	-	-	£958,000
Charges of various kinds, including Expenses of Settlement at Port Phillip, and Protection of the Aborigines	-	-	£41,300
Actual Charge of Survey and Management, about	-	-	149,700
			<u>£191,000</u>
Emigration	-	-	502,000
General Expenses	-	-	265,000
			<u>£958,000</u>

(Papers produced on Mr. Grote's Motion, April 22. 1841.)

No. V.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

STATEMENT of the Yearly Sales of Public Lands since the Foundation of the Colony. (*Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 218.*)

Years.	IN ENGLAND.			IN THE COLONY.		
	No. of Acres.	Purchase Money.		No. of Acres.	Purchase Money.	
		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.
1835	58,995	35,417	5 0			
1836	1,680	1,378	0 0			
1837	3,120	3,140	0 0	563	13,566	4 0 *
1838	37,960	37,960	0 0	9,972		
1839	48,336	48,336	0 0	118,545	118,545	0 0
1840	7,048	7,040	0 0	2,446	2,446	0 0
1841	160	160	0 0			

SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE.

	No. of Acres.	Purchase Money.	
		£.	s. d.
In England - -	157,291	133,431	5 0
In the Colony - -	131,526	134,557	4 0

* This excess appears to have been occasioned by some trifling sales which took place by auction.

LECTURE XVII.

EXAMINATION OF SOME SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE
DISPOSAL OF LAND IN NEW COLONIES. — PREPARATORY
EXPENSES. — LAND COMPANIES.

WE have seen of how great importance it is that it should be distinctly ascertained, at the first foundation of a colony, out of what fund its preparatory expenses are to be defrayed. We have seen the dangers attending the practice of borrowing on the credit of a future and contingent fund, such as the general revenue of a young colony; an experiment, indeed, which is not very likely to be soon repeated. We have seen that the only available fund, to serve as security for loans, is that derived from the sale of land; a fund which is most copious precisely in those early stages of the existence of the settlement during which the general revenue is as yet of trifling amount. Let us briefly examine, to what extent this fund can be safely anticipated.

Let us suppose that a fixed portion of it is devoted to the purpose of procuring labour, and another fixed portion, as proposed in a former lecture, to other specified purposes. It appears to have been lately suggested in many quarters, that it is desirable to raise money on the credit of the former portion of the fund, in order to send out a larger number of emigrants in the first instance. It admits, of course, of easy proof, that the greater the number of emigrants originally sent out, the less exorbitant the wages of labour will be; the greater attraction will be afforded to capitalists, the greater scope given to enterprise, the greater stimulus to the purchase

of land. All this is extremely plausible; but the scheme seems peculiarly open to the objections which have been already urged against all *forcing* experiments. The example of South Australia has shown the danger of accumulating emigrants on a newly occupied spot to find employment, instead of waiting until there is an effective demand for labour. And, besides these general objections, the peculiar nature of the land fund must be considered. As has been already shown, it is a fund which must diminish relatively, and will probably diminish positively, along with the progress of colonization. If such a fund (or rather the portion of it of which we are speaking) is charged at the very outset with the interest of a heavy loan, its eventual utility must be much diminished; and it must be a serious question whether, in order to obtain a temporary result by dispatching a few thousands of additional emigrants in the first instance, and thus setting the machine of production in motion a little earlier than would have been done under the natural course of things, it is wise to cause a permanent deduction from that income which should serve to pour in a continuous stream of immigrants, and enable population to spread in proportion to the extent of surface purchased and occupied.

With respect to that other portion of the land fund which, by the supposition, is appropriated to the purposes of roads and public works, the case is very different. The necessary preparation for the reception of emigrants, the preliminary general surveys (a matter much neglected in some of our recent experiments in colonization), the laying out of town sites, the rudiments of internal communication, are all requisites for the success of the colony, which cannot be obtained without considerable expense: and for these legitimate

purposes it cannot be far wrong to pledge, by anticipation, that portion of the land revenue which belongs to them.

This is quite a different consideration from that respecting the mode of providing for the more permanent expenses peculiar to young colonies, which require regular disbursements, inasmuch as these are of a continuing character, and necessarily accompany *pari passu* the advance of the settlement, if they do not even outstrip it. Let us confine our attention to the two most important of these burdens — the surveying of lands for the purpose of sale, and public works of absolute necessity, of which road-making is the principal.

When the purchaser of land was stimulated in South Australia, by the prospect that the whole of the purchase-money was to be returned to the purchaser in the shape of labour, an urgent demand for surveys was the immediate consequence. This raised the price of what is at all times an expensive operation in new colonies. It was still farther enhanced by the permission given to purchasers to demand what were called special surveys; that is to say, a person who proposed to purchase 4,000 acres was entitled to demand that 16,000 should be surveyed for him in a single block, as it is termed, out of which he might make his own selection. Whether this practice is a good or a bad one, in reference to the natural progress of wealth, empowering, as it does, the purchaser to select the lands possessed of the greatest natural advantages, and reject the remainder, must be decided by reference to principles touched upon in my former lectures. But it has of course the immediate effect of rendering it necessary that much more should be surveyed than is actually occupied, and thus throwing on the colony the expense of undertaking labours of which the benefit is prospective only, and which

entail much additional burden on her young resources. In this way the cost of surveys has risen to a height perfectly astonishing, when compared with that of similar work in this country, or in the United States. We have seen that the average appears to have been hitherto 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* per acre, and that it is said to have risen even to 10*s.* And as the labours of the surveyor, under the operation of rapid sales, and the special survey system, are carried on further and farther from the coast and the inhabited districts, the cost per acre is of course at present an increasing one.

Now for all this the South Australian system made no provision at all. It was, I may perhaps say, an unforeseen difficulty. The expense was thrown, like all other expenses, on the general funds of the settlement. The warmest friends of that project now admit that a great mistake was committed in this particular; and the consequences seem certainly to bear strong evidence to the necessity of providing against such contingencies, instead of relying blindly on the course of events for the discovery of remedies or preventives.

Warned by this example, some have now proposed that a preliminary survey of a district should in all cases precede settlement: but it may be doubted whether this is practicable. If surveying is, as hitherto, to accompany the sale of land, it seems that the expense of surveying ought, upon the whole, to be defrayed out of the price of land, either by separately taxing each purchaser for the survey of his purchase, or out of a general fund formed by reserving a certain proportion, whatever may be deemed necessary, out of the purchase-money. The latter mode is the most convenient, if sales of colonial land in England are to be encouraged; because any thing like uncertainty of taxation must prejudice them. In order to lessen the expenses of

surveying, it is now proposed by the land and emigration commissioners, that land shall not be sold by government in quantities of less than 320 acres, or half a square mile. This provision will very considerably reduce these expenses, and there seems no valid reason against it. I do not agree with those who wish to discourage the purchase of land in small quantities by individuals of the labouring class, beyond what is absolutely necessary in order to insure the supply of labour in colonies raising exportable produce. But there will probably be always sufficient land offered for sale by private proprietors ready surveyed, to meet such a demand as may be expected from this class.

With regard to the other and more important preparatory labours of a colony — the construction of roads, harbours, wharfs, bridges, and other public works of actual necessity, the first common conquest which must be achieved by the combined exertions of all over the wilderness — there is greater difficulty in determining whether or no these ought to be paid for out of the proceeds of land sales; and, if not, what other fund ought to be made available for the purpose.

The system pursued by the United States has been already under our notice. In that country the sale of lands and the construction of roads are altogether separate and distinct. Land is sold by the general government, and the funds swell the general revenue of the federation. Roads are constructed by local taxation, imposed and administered by the municipalities, as we may call them, of the townships. Within a few years after the land is sold, whether occupied or not, it becomes subject to this taxation. And by this means the Americans consider that they pretty effectually counteract the danger of which I spoke in my last lecture, which attaches to their system of low prices in the same

manner as to that of free grants, although to a less extent—the danger of having extensive unoccupied tracts in the middle of a settled country.

In our American colonies, where scarcely any funds have hitherto been derived by the sale of lands, there seems to prevail a total absence of system on this most important point. Grants are made, of uncertain sums and at irregular intervals, for the purpose of road-making: these are intrusted to parties employed by the colonial government for the purpose, and jobbed of course, as funds so raised invariably are. Mr. Brown, mining engineer *, in his evidence before Lord Durham's commission says, that in 1839, "800 commissioners were appointed in Nova Scotia to spend 8,000*l.*" "Each individual," says another witness, "in the house of assembly wishes to have as large an appropriation of money to his district as possible; and those parts not inhabited are too much neglected," unless, indeed, they belong to some powerful speculators, who hold with a view to advance; in such a case, a road may run through 20 miles capable of cultivation, with only one settler. † In part of Canada, a third of the tax on wild lands has been applied to the same purpose: but as this tax amounts to about 1*s.* ‡ per 50 acres, it may easily be conceived that this assistance goes little way. Recently, the whole or a part of the proceeds of a general land-tax have been added; and the result, according to some witnesses, in those parts where this has taken place, has been a perceptible improvement. But statute labour exists every where in these colonies, particularly for cross roads, though varying in its

* Report, Appendix B. p. 143.

† Ibid. p. 138, 139.

‡ Or lower. The highest tax (say the Canada commissioners, 1837) is 16*s.* 8*d.* on 1000 acres; yet land is frequently taken in execution for this.

degree of heaviness ; a very inefficient substitute for a local assessment : half its value in money, say some witnesses, might be employed with more effect. Such are the very inadequate means employed in a country where the great extent of granted and unoccupied lands renders this description of labour peculiarly burdensome.

It has been not an uncommon resource with English travellers, when pressed with the evidences of superior prosperity on the American side of the frontier to that which appears on the British, to account for it by the speculative character of the Americans, their hurry to grow rich, their neglect of solid advantages in their eager quest after immediate results. In the particular we are now considering, the truth appears to be diametrically opposite. The Americans submit voluntarily to a considerable burden for the permanent improvement of their country ; the British colonists evade it, and boast of their exemption from taxes. People are improvident enough to come over in some numbers from the Northern States, and settle within the Canadian frontier, merely to avoid local taxation. What is the consequence ? “ People living in different parts “ of Canada,” says Major Head*, “ are frequently “ obliged to pass in and out of the United States to “ communicate with each other, or their county town, “ and even to go to church, by means of American “ roads.” The truth is, that we are too desirous of ascribing the inferiority of the condition of our colonists to that of the Americans, where it is really inferior, to any cause rather than misgovernment.

But the question remains to be solved : whether, where the government does derive a considerable reve-

* Appendix B. to Lord Durham's Report, p. 71.

due from the sale of land, the application of a portion of it to such purposes as these would or would not be more advantageous than local assessment, or any other mode of taxation for the same objects. We are speaking, of course, of the earlier stages of a settlement: after a time, the land sales would obviously furnish an insufficient fund, and taxation in some shape must be resorted to.

As the fund to be raised must, in any case, be adequate to its object, it seems at first sight to make little or no difference to the general capital of the colony, which mode is adopted. Either the price of land must be raised so high that a per-centage out of the whole land fund will suffice, year by year, for the construction of roads; or the purchasers must submit to raise the same sum by annual taxation; or a certain proportion must be paid out of the land fund, and the deficit supplied by a rate. In either of these cases the capital taken for the purpose is presumably capital which, if that purpose had been otherwise provided for, would have been profitably employed in other ways, and would have increased the annual income of the colony. Whether the purchaser pays 1*l.* an acre, to receive it all back in labour, and make his own roads, or 15*s.* to be received back in labour, and 5*s.* to have his roads made, the same drain appears to be made on the means of the capitalist. He gains as much by relief from the burden of making his road, as he loses by losing the benefit of 5*s.* worth of additional labour.

But this, the advocates of the South Australian system might say, is not exactly so. On the first supposition, twenty labourers are imported; in the latter, fifteen. In both cases the road has to be made: the owner is to pay for it in the first, the government in the second; but the road can only be constructed by labour. Say that two

labourers are required for the purpose : in the first case, these will be selected out of twenty, in the latter, out of fifteen ; the same amount of capital being imported in both. Wages in the latter case will therefore be higher ; the construction of the road will cost the government, and consequently the settler, more than in the former. And if, as they contend with reason to be the case, the entire application of the land fund to immigration will barely afford a sufficient supply of labour, any such deduction and rise of wages must be inconvenient to the colony.

It seems plain, therefore, that the colony would gain something if it were, at the earliest possible period, to submit to local taxation for the purpose of road making, and set free a portion of the land fund for the purpose of purchasing more labour. Besides this, the former system seems to have other advantages, both political and economical.

The control of local assessments must of necessity (according to the British system of government) be vested more or less absolutely in municipal bodies. The control of funds drawn from the land revenue would probably be vested in the general government, to which the land revenue belongs. It is therefore the interest of the colonists, if they value self-government, to substitute the former for the latter as soon as practicable.

And, in the next place, the principle of local assessment seems to work more fairly. It is imposed, of course, according to the annual value of land ; whereas the appropriation of a sum from the purchase-money would be a tax of so much per cent. on the purchase of land ; a purchase necessarily of a very speculative character — a transaction in which the value of the thing purchased might be far above, or far below, the money given for it. This would be the case even under the

system of sale by auction : under that of uniform price the disparity would be enormous. By that system an advantage is given to a certain number of capitalists — those, namely, who first establish themselves on government land in the towns, and other favourable situations, for purposes of commercial speculation — over every other class and individual. A builder in a large English town pays, perhaps, ground rents at the rate of some hundreds a year per acre ; a farmer, at no great distance, may pay 2*l.*, 3*l.*, or 4*l.* a year per acre : yet the rate of profit on the capital which each applies to his acre is the same. If the two had emigrated to South Australia together three years ago, the builder might have paid 1*l.* for an acre of land in Adelaide, the farmer would have purchased his hundreds of acres at 1*l.* a piece. But the builder of houses in Adelaide is just as much interested, in proportion to his outlay, in the construction of good roads, as the farmer in the interior. If the one requires them to send his produce to market, the other is equally in need of them, in order that traffic may flourish, and houses in the town let well. Yet, if the roads were constructed out of the land fund, the builder would contribute only a nominal sum, while it would fall exclusively and heavily on the farmer. Again : both parties gain by having their labour cheap ; but if their relative liability is to be estimated by average, then the builder or the manufacturer gains incomparably the most, for he employs far more hands per acre than the farmer.

However, this effect, it must be added, is temporary only. The rate of profit adjusts itself. The first monopolists of favourable situations make great gains ; and it is the excitement of these gains which has proved a main spring of speculative enterprise in South Australia and

elsewhere. But, after a short time, land in the town rises to a value proportional to its advantages, among which freedom from the land tax is one; and neither class is then benefited at the expense of the other.

When all these considerations are weighed, you will probably incline to the opinion, that the best mode of providing for this class of expenses is by a local rate or assessment, levied according to the wants of each particular district, and by local municipal bodies wherever these exist; and that the application of the land fund to such purposes is a mere expedient, and ought to be carefully restricted to those limits within which it appears absolutely necessary, viz. the construction of the first lines of communication before the process of settlement has fully begun.

Before leaving this subject of the preparation of land for settlement, it may be advisable to notice in this place the questions which have arisen respecting the policy of sales of large quantities of colonial land to great land companies, of which several are now established in North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

It might be sufficient to rest the defence of these institutions on the general principle of free trade; and to contend, that there can be no reason why companies should not acquire land as easily as individuals, if the essential points, the cultivation of the purchased land and the supply of labour, are secured. But since some appear to regard them with an unfavourable eye, on account of the supposed encouragement they afford to speculation, and others have brought forward more specific objections to them, a few words of commentary may not be misplaced.

“Their policy,” says Mr. Mann*, “is to leave land “ in a state of nature, until, by the gradual improve-

* Six Years in the Australian Provinces, 1839.

“ment of neighbouring lands, their territorial acquisitions are increased in value by the general improvement and advance of the colony; when they can dispose of their best lands to advantage, without incurring any expense in the improvement of the immense tracts they have taken possession of under the plea of public utility, but which have a direct contrary tendency and effect.”

The answer to this is, that where the price of land is sufficiently high, and it is subject to local taxation, they will be restrained from leaving their lands unimproved by considerations of expense. Where they have acquired it on easy terms, conditions have been pretty uniformly inserted in their grants; and the responsibility of a substantial company for the fulfilment of conditions, is very different from that of scattered and poverty-stricken settlers. The Canada Company is expressly incorporated “for the purpose of purchasing, holding, improving, clearing, settling, and disposing of waste and other lands; and for making advances of capital to settlers on such lands; for the opening, making, improving, and maintaining roads and other internal communications, for the benefit thereof,” &c. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company is authorised to “make roads, canals, drains, bridges, and other internal communications; houses, schools, chapels, mills, wharfs, and other buildings and works necessary for the improvement of the lands.”

It is said that some of these companies have not fulfilled all their contracts with the government as to making roads and other matters. But it cannot be denied that they have done much towards one very important object — that of rendering land habitable for the inferior class of settlers; those who without some

advance of capital, and some preparation for their reception, would be unable to make head at all against the difficulties of the American backwoods. In Lower Canada (it is said in the Report of the Commissioners of Grievances, 1837) the companies "have been peculiarly useful in providing for poorer settlers. They assist each settler to clear his land; and build him, if he chooses, a log house at a fixed charge; and they also provide, and will continue to do so through the winter, all reasonable supplies at a market cost." And for this reason they add, "the land company's grants will probably continue, for a considerable time, to attract all settlers of a poorer class." The good effects of the operations of these companies are also attested by Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Bouchette, and most of those observers who do not appear to be prejudiced in favour of some peculiar views, political or economical. In the Australian colonies, where the introduction of a class of poor settlers on the land is not considered desirable, their functions are different; they are among the ablest and most successful speculators in producing articles for exportation; and they have, in some instances, performed considerable works—such as the construction of a quay at Port Adelaide, recently, by the South Australian Land Company.* They are, in fact, to be regarded as associations of capitalists, whose interest, in common with that of individual capitalists, is to purchase a future rise in the value of their property by a considerable present outlay, but who are better able to spare that outlay than individual capitalists generally are. Whether many of their speculations may not, ulti-

* Mr. Whitmore considers the operations of that company as the chief cause which has enabled the colony to attain that degree of prosperity which it has reached, notwithstanding the defective manner in which preliminary expenses were provided for.—*Evidence before the Committee of 1841*, p. 93.

mately, turn out of doubtful benefit to themselves, is another question : but it is certain that their errors are likely to be those common to associations for the management of property, over confidence in the rapidity and certainty of returns for their investments, and too great readiness to embark in expensive undertakings ; faults evidently on the right side, except in extreme cases like that of South Australia, so far as the interests of a colony are concerned.

But then it is objected to them, that their profits are so much abstracted from the annual income of the land and capital of the colony, which should be spent within it. This objection it might be sufficient to answer in the words of the Committee of Grievances, whose report has been already referred to. “ With respect to another objection urged against the institution of land companies, viz. that they tend to draw out of the country, in the shape of profits, wealth that ought to remain in it, we think it enough to remark, without stopping to seek a reply from more general principles, that if the members of such companies carry away their profits, it must only be because they have previously brought in their capital ; and that the latter operation, or the introduction of the money, is positive and immediate, whereas the other is more remote, and necessarily less extensive than the first. If the effect of the company were such as to prevent, or even to check, the introduction of any other capital than its own, there would, we allow, be some force in the objection. But we are thoroughly convinced that the contrary is the case, and that not only is there no reason to suppose that the shareholders will, for a long time to come, derive greater profits from their investments than what ordinary capitalists may reasonably look for in this

“country, but also that other capital will be attracted to and fixed in this country in greater quantities, and at a much more rapid rate, than would be the case if no company existed.”

But it may be interesting to us to pursue the subject a little farther, and see in what the supposed loss actually consists, especially as the case of land companies and that of individuals purchasing colonial land in this country with a view to investment, improvement, and resale, rests upon the same footing.

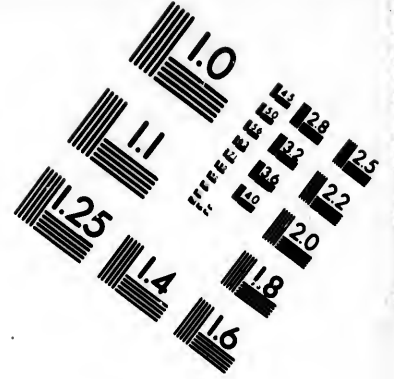
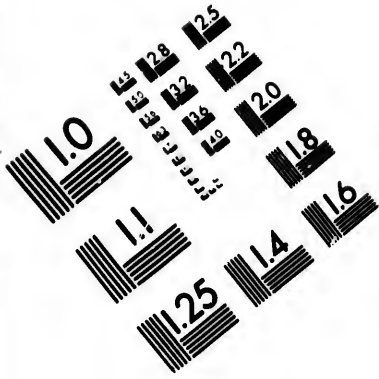
Now it appears to me, that the whole capital embarked by a company, or an individual, in this species of undertaking, is not to be regarded as stock on which the purchaser seeks to make a profit in the ordinary sense of the word. Part of it is that which he pays as the price of that portion of the productive powers of the soil, which, in the course of improvement, yields *monopoly* profit, or rent. He pays a certain price to government for the soil; he expends a certain sum in making it habitable; and he expects to be able to let it, or, which is the same thing, to resell it, at an advance, for such a sum as will pay him at least the usual interest on his purchase-money, and the usual profits on his capital. Therefore, part of what Canada pays to each member of the Canadian Company is strictly rent; and the member is in the situation of an absentee proprietor, drawing rent from a country exporting raw produce. He receives a quantity of Canadian timber, corn, and so forth, and exchanges them, in England, for English manufactures, foreign commodities, &c. If he resided in Canada, he must equally exchange by far the greater part of them for English manufactures and foreign commodities. Whether his consumption of them takes place in Canada or England, it has no effect on the general wealth of Canada. All that Canada loses is a certain

amount of wages, which would be paid in Canadian raw produce, for the subsistence of Canadian "servants, " gardeners, masons, carpenters," &c. if he resided in Canada ; but which will be exchanged for English commodities, and paid in that shape to English labourers of the same description, if he resided in England.*

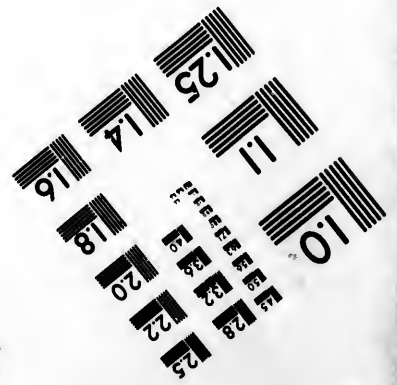
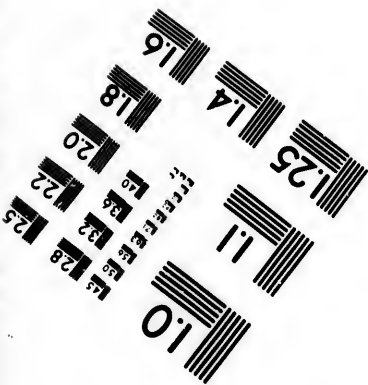
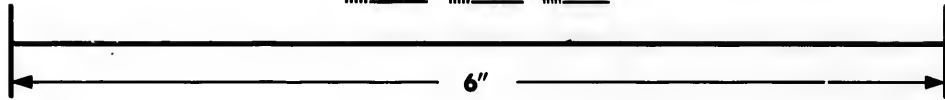
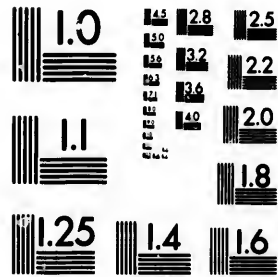
This, as you are probably aware, is Mr. Senior's view of the effects of the absenteeism of landed proprietors on a country exporting raw produce, to which we have already had occasion to refer, and in which I entirely agree. But as to that portion of the income of the English purchaser of colonial lands which consists of the profits of stock — the fund out of which future accumulation is to be made — there is no doubt that if this was to be transferred to England in consequence of his non-residence, the colony would be so far a loser. But the object of the purchaser (especially in the case of a company) would probably be to extend his speculations. He would find it far more advantageous to allow his fund, once invested in the colony, to accumulate there, at the high rate of profit which prevails in colonies, than to bring it home to England, and invest it anew in less profitable speculations ; for it is with a view to this future high rate of profit that he undergoes the immediate expense. The only cases in which such an abstraction would be likely to occur would be, that of a sudden depression of colonial prosperity and fall in the rate of profit, or that of political events creating a feeling of insecurity in colonial investments. Under such circumstances the colony might suffer, for a time, by the withdrawal of a portion of the capital invested in it by English speculators ; but, in general, loss of capital is easily repaired whenever its productiveness is undiminished.

* Senior, Encyc. Met. art. "Political Economy," p. 192.





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LECTURE XVIII.

POLICY OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS TOWARDS NATIVE TRIBES,
AS REGARDS THEIR PROTECTION AND THEIR CIVILIZATION.

I HAVE now to treat of a very important division of my subject, and one to which it is unfortunately impossible for me to devote an attention at all proportioned to its importance — for this could not be done without overstepping the limits I have imposed myself — I mean the duty and right policy of colonists and colonial government towards the native inhabitants of the regions which they occupy.

I shall not detain you over the wretched details of the ferocity and treachery which have marked the conduct of civilized men, too often of civilized governments, in their relations with savages, either in past times, or during the present age, rich almost beyond precedent in such enormities. They have been of late the subject of much attention, and of much indignant commentary. You may study them in the accounts of travellers and missionaries, in the reports of our own legislature, in the language of philanthropic orators and writers. You will there read of the barbarous and incessant warfare which has thinned the border tribes of South Africa; of the nation of Van Dieman's Land reduced to a few families by long maltreatment, and those few transported, six years ago, to a small island in the vicinity, almost as a measure of precaution, to save them from the settlers, who shot them down in the woods, or laid poisoned food within their reach; of the ancient race which inhabited Newfoundland reduced to a single pair, man and woman, and those two shot by a

British colonist in 1823 ; of the shores of New Zealand infested by the outcasts of society, the very refuse of our refuse, escaped convicts and runaway sailors, exciting the savage passions of the natives against one another, and imparting every imaginable vice, in addition to their own ; of the unequalled course of oppression pursued by American governments towards the defenceless tribes domiciled in their territory on the faith of treaties ; of the numerous and gallant nations of the interior of North America actually perishing before our eyes. To dwell on all this would be a painful, and I am sure an unnecessary, task. The general features of the subject are by this time sufficiently known, and perhaps regarded with sufficient abhorrence : it remains for us now to act ; and with a view to that purpose, it is perhaps desirable that we should cease to dwell so exclusively on the dark side of the picture, as many have hitherto done ; still more, that we should not rest contented with vague and general desires of good, or imagine that the evil influences at work are to be counteracted by great undirected efforts — by proclaiming principles — by organizing societies — by pouring forth the lavish contributions of national generosity, without examining for ourselves the channels into which they are to flow. All this is little better than mere idle philanthropy ; or, it should rather be said, than the mere fulfilment of certain ceremonies, by which the mind relieves itself of the sense of a debt. But the subject is one of which the consideration peculiarly requires practical and dispassionate views ; while to act upon those views requires, in addition, patience under discouragement, contentment with small successes and imperfect agents, faith in sound principles, zeal without blindness, and firmness without obstinacy.

And, in truth, there is something extremely painful

in the reflection with which we are driven to conclude all our speculations on this subject — namely, that the evils with which we have to contend are such as no system, however wise and humane, can correct. Our errors are not of conception so much as of execution. Nothing is easier than to frame excellent theories, which, if they could be carried out, would go far towards removing the stigma under which we lie, and redressing the miseries which we have occasioned. But we cannot control the mischief which is going on at a far more rapid rate of progress than we dare expect for the results of our most practicable schemes of improvement. Of what use are laws and regulations, however Christian and reasonable the spirit in which they are framed, when the trader, the backwoodsman, the pirate, the bush-ranger, have been beforehand with our legislators, poisoning the savage with spirits, inoculating him with loathsome diseases, brutalizing his mind, and exciting his passions for the sake of gain? Desolation goes before us, and civilization lags slowly and lamely behind. We hand over to the care of the missionary and the magistrate, not the savage with his natural tendencies and capacities, and his ancestral habits, but a degraded, craving, timid, and artful creature, familiarized with the powers and the vices of the whites, rendered abject or sullen by ill-treatment, and with all his remaining faculties engrossed by the increasing difficulty of obtaining subsistence in his contracted hunting grounds. What success could the ablest and most zealous philanthropist promise himself out of such materials? And what must be *our* expectations, who have mainly to rely on agents necessarily removed from close control and responsibility, and often very imperfectly qualified for the work we have to undertake? All the anticipations of success which a reasonable man can

frame to himself from schemes of reform and amelioration must necessarily be subject to one reservation—namely, if they be not thwarted by the perverse wickedness of those outcasts of society whom the first waves of our colonization are sure to bring along with them. If their violence and avarice cannot be restrained by the arm of power—and it must be confessed that there appears scarcely any feasible mode of accomplishing this—it is impossible but that our progress in the occupation of barbarous countries must be attended with the infliction of infinite suffering. Nor is this state of things peculiar to our own times, though increased demoralization, as well as increased energy and activity in colonizing, may, of late, have rendered it more conspicuous than heretofore. The history of the European settlements in America, Africa, and Australia, presents every where the same general features—a wide and sweeping destruction of native races by the uncontrolled violence of individuals and colonial authorities, followed by tardy attempts on the part of governments to repair the acknowledged crime.

If, therefore, the means on which I shall dwell in my present lectures be in truth inadequate to perform what they appear to promise, it must be remembered that their efficiency is necessarily cramped by the contrary tendencies of causes over which our polity has scarcely any control. But because they are but too imperfect, it does not follow that they must be altogether ineffective; and true political wisdom, in subjects such as these, consists in making the best of the instruments at our disposal, and assuming those results as within our reach towards which we feel that it is possible, at all events, to approximate.

And thus far, perhaps, we may be satisfied with the improved prospect of our relations with these much-

abused members of the human family, that there is now little fear of their being treated with injustice and oppression by the founders of colonies, armed with the authority of governments. We have at all events outlived the days in which they were considered a lawful prey for the ferocity of the zealot, or the cupidity of the adventurer. We are removed alike from the age of the exterminating conquests of South America, and the plundering practices of Dutch and English settlers in a more recent time. Colonial officers no longer make, in their despatches, the simple avowal of rapacity in which the first Dutch governor of the Cape indulged, when he describes himself as looking from the mud walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on the heathen. "If we had been allowed," he adds, in a subsequent paper, "we had opportunity too, to deprive them of 10,000 head; which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect, can be done at any time; and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us." Nor do we now hear such sentiments as those expressed by the colonists of Virginia, in a kind of manifesto published in the year 1622, in which they rejoice in some late warlike incursions of the Indians as a pretext for robbing and subjugating them. "Now their cleared grounds in all their villages, which are situate in the fruitfulest places of the land, shall be inhabited by us, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labour. The way of conquering them is much more easy than that of civilizing them by fair means; for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to victory, but hindrances to civility."*

* Tracts relating to Virginia in the British Museum, quoted by Bannister, *British Colonisation and Coloured Tribes*, p. 49.

Compare such language as this with that now commonly used by colonial authorities, and I think we shall not be guilty of presumption in congratulating ourselves on the change which a century or two have wrought in public opinion; for though our practice may yet be far short of our principles, it is impossible but that the conduct of officers (I do not speak here of that of individuals) must be in a great measure regulated by their responsibility to it.

In preliminary dealings with savages, whose independence is recognized, common justice and Christian humanity will readily point out the leading rules to be observed; the rest is far more matter of tact, prudence, and firmness in each separate emergency, than for previous deliberation. On this part of the subject therefore I will not touch, but take it up at what may be termed an advanced stage. When the colony is founded, and already extending itself over a considerable tract of territory—a brief process in these days, for the South Australians, in four years, have already scattered themselves over several thousand square miles—the period has arrived at which a more systematic course of proceeding becomes absolutely necessary.

The duties of the colonial government towards the natives comprised within the limits of the colony, then seem to arrange themselves under two heads—protection and civilization.

It is of course true, and must be stated in the outset, that any rules which can be laid down must vary in their application according to the different character, degree of civilization, and numerical force of the tribes with whom we have to deal in the wide circuit of our colonial enterprise. Of the races with which we have been brought in contact in our colonies, properly so called (those in which the soil is occupied by our set-

tlers), perhaps the South Africans are, upon the whole, the most advanced in condition, as well as the most formidable in number and warlike character. "Al- though as yet uncivilized," says Governor Wade of the Caffers, by no means a friendly witness, "they " could not with truth be called a nation of savages."* They are a pastoral people, rich in flocks and herds; to whom the notion of property appears to be familiar; subject to chiefs maintaining a greater state, and ruling larger bodies of men than the natives of our other settlements; warlike and sanguinary, and rendered, unhappily, more so by the constant hostilities between them and our colonists, which appear to have been for many years encouraged by our authorities; but evidently susceptible of much improvement. The North American Indians are well known to us by description; the favourite study alike of philosophy and romance for these two centuries, their character is fixed in our minds as almost the type of that of man in a savage condition; yet they have many peculiar features. They seem possessed of higher moral elevation than any other uncivilized race of mankind, with less natural readiness and ingenuity than some, but greater depth and force of character; more native generosity of spirit, and manliness of disposition; more of the religious element; and yet, on the other hand, if not with less capacity for improvement, certainly less readiness to receive it; a more thorough wildness of temperament; less curiosity; inferior excitability; greater reluctance to associate with civilized men; a more ungovernable impatience of control. And their primitive condition of hunters, and aversion from every other, greatly increases the difficulty of including them in the arrangements of a

* Bannister, *British Colonisation and Coloured Tribes*, p. 244.

regular community. Of the South American Indian, our neighbour in Guiana, we know less; but, by the best accounts, he seems to be a feebler likeness of his northern brother. The Polynesians, on the whole, appear to be a race of less concentrated energy, perhaps an inferior mental organization to the Americans; but with greater gaiety, and greater docility of disposition; even more superstitious, if possible, in exterior observance, yet with less intense consciousness of the reality of the invisible world; cultivators of the soil, and living associated in more numerous communities, inviting instead of repelling the society of Europeans; altogether more promising subjects for experiment. Lastly, the poor Australians have usually been represented as the lowest of the human race in point of acquirement, of capacity, and even of physical organization. They have indeed all the appearance of a race depressed by constant want, or rather a constant struggle with an ungrateful nature for support; placed by Providence in a condition more approaching that of the animal, they exhibit less of sentiment and more of instinct, or rather animal habit, than any other people with whom we are acquainted: but that not only their capacity of improvement, but their actual attainments and mental condition, have been strangely underrated, some recent evidence, to which I shall have to call your attention, plainly demonstrates.

1. For the protection of aborigines the first step necessary is, the appointment in every new colony of a department of the civil service for that especial purpose, with one or more officers exclusively devoted to it. The establishment of Protectors, or Commissaries of the Indians, has been long known in the old Spanish colonies. They are spoken of in Mexico by Humboldt as officers of high station and character; in

Chili, by Captain Fitzroy, a late observer, as highly serviceable functionaries, to the effect of whose exertions he bears witness.*

It is singular that English colonies have been long without the advantage of a similar institution. I am not aware that it has ever been included in the original plan of a settlement, except in the two most recent foundations of South Australia and New Zealand. In Demerara such officers have been for some time established. In Canada there is a considerable and expensive Indian department, with superintendents, secretaries, and interpreters; but the mismanagement of the affairs of that colony, as regards the natives, seems to have rendered them of little service, except to superintend the mischievous practice of the annual delivery of presents.

It is a recommendation of the Committee on Aborigines (1837) that their protection should in all cases be withdrawn altogether from the colonial legislature, and entrusted to the central executive. And in this, I think, even the most jealous friends of colonial freedom must acquiesce.

I believe that the duties of these officers, as far as the protection of the natives is concerned, are confined in our colonies to those within the pale of the settlements; the conduct of treaties and trade with borderers belongs to another department. Perhaps such division is unnecessary. The good execution of such an office seems better attainable by accumulating, than dividing, responsibility.

For the same reason, I think doubts may be entertained as to the utility of the suggestions of Mr. Bannister, whose extensive acquaintance with the subject entitles

* Voyage of the Adventure and Beagle, p. 345.

all his opinions to attention, namely, of the appointment, 1. of "a new superintending body, composed "of protectors of aborigines in the colonies; 2. "political agents among the neighbouring tribes; 3. "an agent in London for all coloured people in and "near the colonies; and 4. commissioners of inquiry;" the whole to form one great establishment for all the colonies and bordering countries, and attached to the foreign, not the colonial office.* This scheme, taken as a whole, appears too elaborate: it imports the machinery of mutual checks and supervision, necessary for the good conduct of routine administration, into an office which depends for its able execution far more on individual tact, zeal, courage, and humanity, than on the goodness of its systematic arrangement.

But how are such qualities to be secured in the officers appointed? Here we are met on the threshold by the great defect of our English political system. We have no security for the capacity or the devotion of those who may be appointed to an office so peculiarly demanding both. According to the mode in which the administrative department of this great empire is conducted, there is strong temptation to appoint inadequate officers from party motives. There is little prospect held out to meritorious ones in the civil department, of rising by their merits; but both these deficiencies are thought to be supplied by a severe responsibility, and the watchfulness of public opinion over their conduct. And there is no doubt that, up to a certain point, the system works admirably well. Throughout the vast regions where the British influence extends, the mere existence of a British functionary in any post passes for a guarantee that its strict duties will be per-

* Report on Aborigines, 1837, p. 15.

formed — performed with honesty and justice — and even with zeal, so far as the national honour and the maintenance of the influence and dignity of that particular post are concerned. In many cases this is all which the interests of the country require. For the execution of such an office as we are now considering, it would be less than nothing — far higher qualifications than these must be exhibited. Such functionaries must be ready, not to perform negative duties only, but to take the initiative — to act, devise, and control. Unless they are fit to do this, they are absolutely useless. It is therefore strongly to be wished — though, I fear, little to be expected — that the personages intended for such situations as these should not only be carefully selected as officers of the higher grade and highest importance, but that their zeal should be stimulated by the prospect of reward — that they should be taught to consider themselves candidates, according to their merits, for higher colonial preferment.

But for this purpose, as well as many others, the concluding part of the suggestion of Mr. Bannister, namely, that respecting the appointment of commissioners of inquiry, deserves peculiar attention. Committees of the two houses might indeed, in some measure, fulfil that office; but imperfectly and irregularly. The recommendation of the Aborigines Committee, of periodical reports from the protector to the local government, transmitted from thence to England, would be a still more defective substitute. The report of no officer could be safely depended on under circumstances of so little control. Commissions might be appointed periodically — every three, five, or seven years, for instance — to review the whole state of the colonial administration as it regards the aborigines. Their attention should be peculiarly directed to the conduct of

functionaries, which they should be enabled to examine, not by reports, but by evidence, with power to reward or to censure: for in the whole management of these affairs, it is most important that it never should be forgotten, that the selection and encouragement of fit men is, if possible, even of more consequence than the adoption of fit measures. A single individual, thoroughly qualified for the task, can accomplish more good among savages in a given time than the best code of regulations which ever was put upon paper.

The obvious duties of these officers, in the protection of the natives, are the detection and prosecution of offences against them: the regulation of contracts between them and the whites, particularly that of master and servant, which requires careful supervision: and here it may be observed that some have proposed fixed laws on the subject, as, for example, that no such contract should in any case exceed half a year; all which appears much better left to the discretion of the protector, if he can be relied upon for the proper execution of his office. He should also, it has been proposed, be the *ex officio* defender of the natives, or appoint defenders for them, in all cases where complaints are preferred against them by whites. It has been suggested, in addition, that he should have the right of controlling the summary power which travellers, and others who employ natives for temporary purposes, seem often apt to assume, of inflicting corrections upon them.

And here the important question opens itself: how far, and in what mode, are natives, resident or found within the limits of an English colony, to be brought within the pale of English law? That all crimes committed against them should be tried by its provisions, and that all the protection which it extends to the life and property of Englishmen should be also extended to

theirs, is admitted on all hands, shamefully as the principle has been neglected in former times by colonial governments. But are the savages themselves to be considered amenable to British criminal justice, conducted according to forms of British law, for acts committed by them against the colonists? "Whenever it "may be necessary to bring any native to justice," says Lord Glenelg, in a dispatch to Sir J. Stirling, "every "form should be observed which would be considered "necessary in the case of a white person."* It is easy to understand the benevolent feeling which suggested this direction: namely, that such forms should be interposed as a shield between the savage and the summary justice which an injured colonist would be likely to exercise towards him. But how far is the principle to be carried? Are "ignorant savages" to use the language of the Report of 1837 on the Aborigines, "to be made amenable to a code of which they are absolutely ignorant; and the whole spirit and principles "of which are foreign to their mode of thought and "action?"† Are they to be punished, in short, with all the forms of justice, for actions to which they cannot themselves by possibility attach the notion of crime? Whatever temporary expediency may suggest, the moral feeling on which all criminal codes must rest for sanction cannot but receive some shock by the straining of their enactments to comprehend persons as incapable of incurring voluntary guilt against them as the lunatic or idiot, who are in all societies exempted from their infliction.

A year ago the authorities of South Australia put in practice the suggestion of Lord Glenelg, by trying before a jury, condemning, and capitally executing two savages for the murder of a settler. It

* Report on Aborigines. Appendix, 125.

† Page 79.

appears from the report of this proceeding, that the victims could not be brought to comprehend, in the least degree, the nature of the ceremony which was taking place: that they could neither communicate effectively with their advocate, nor with the court; that the first moment when the real character of their situation appeared to break upon them was when they were led forth to meet a horrible death. It is surely inconceivable that such a transaction as this can have had any effect in impressing the natives with the notion of justice or retribution. To them, if they appreciated it at all, it must have appeared simply an act of vengeance, to be in its turn revenged by other atrocities. But it was represented at the time as a necessary measure, not by way of example to the blacks, but of satisfaction to the whites; who were so exasperated just then by repeated provocations from the natives, that they would have proceeded to unauthorized acts of retaliation, if they had not felt themselves protected by the law, and been assured of receiving equal justice with their neighbours. Of the character of the emergency it is impossible for us to judge; and I am very ready to believe that the government was justified, under the circumstances, by the expediency of the case.* But surely such an emergency could not occur if a fixed and systematic course of conduct towards the natives were adopted: there could not then arise in the minds of colonists so confused and incorrect a notion of right and wrong, as to see any thing like equal justice in the capital punishment, under forms of legal process, of creatures ignorant of the very nature of the charge to which they were called in mockery to plead.

* See Fourth Report of the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia, p. 9. "The necessities of the case left but a choice of evils, and the authorities chose the least."

So long as the natives remain in their uninstructed state, the only purpose for which they can be brought within the pale of criminal justice is that of deterring them from attacks on the persons and property of colonists; all other considerations are premature. And perhaps this result would be better attained by placing them, in the first instance, under a species of martial or summary law, to be administered by the chief police functionaries; with opportunity for defence, or for application in mitigation of punishment, in serious cases, by the protector and his agents. Such a scheme, besides avoiding the extreme inconvenience and striking absurdity of formal process in such affairs, would have the additional advantage of removing the white settlers themselves from any share in judicial proceedings against the natives, with whom they have already too many causes of collision; which with a jury system is inevitable. And it would have this further advantage,—that it would leave an opportunity for the admission of the native to full civil rights at a future period, when converted and instructed, and able to satisfy some sufficient test of his fitness for full participation in the rights and duties of civil society: of which more hereafter. Of the nature of the punishments to be inflicted, the colonial government must probably judge. Mr. Bannister recommends that in no case should death or corporal punishment be inflicted on a native; but merely confinement in prisons and penitentiaries. I doubt the practicability of this humane suggestion. Although, in most of the regions in which we are brought into contact with savage races, it does appear that the settlers are very rarely exposed to acts of violence from the savages, unless they have themselves given the first provocation, yet it must be remembered that all savages are habitually pilferers; that the securing

movable property and stock against their depredations is one of the greatest difficulties with which colonists in exposed situations have to contend ; and that a mode of punishment so expensive and inconvenient may not always be found adequate for the exigencies of the moment. But with respect to death, one thing appears plain ; that if it must be inflicted at all, it should be restricted, as far as possible, to cases in which it may follow immediately upon the act as a consequence ; as when the murderer is taken in the manner — that it may strike terror as a retribution, not appear as an act of deliberate justice ; a view of capital punishment which no uncivilized mind can possibly entertain.

But a more important question remains : — how far ought the natives to be brought at once within the jurisdiction of English criminal law, in respect of their conduct towards one another ?

Upon this subject I shall take the liberty of transcribing the words of an observer, who has studied with no common diligence and success the characteristics of the natives of the regions visited by him. What he says is intended to have application to the case of the Australian aborigines, but it will be seen at once that it bears equally on other instances.

He observes, that the principle which has hitherto regulated us in our dealings with native races has generally been the following : — that, although the natives should, as far as the persons and property of Europeans were concerned, be made amenable to British laws, yet, so long as they only exercised their own customs among themselves, and not too immediately in the presence of Europeans, they should be allowed to do so with impunity.

“ This principle,” he goes on to say, “ originated in “ philanthropic notions, in total ignorance of the pecu-

“ liar traditional laws of this people. . . . They are as
“ apt and intelligent as any other race of men I am
“ acquainted with : they are subject to like affections,
“ passions, and appetites as other men ; yet in many
“ points of character they are apparently totally dis-
“ similar to them ; and, from the peculiar code of laws
“ of this people, it would appear not only impossible
“ that any nation subject to them could ever emerge
“ from the savage state, but that even no race, however
“ highly endowed, however civilized, could remain long
“ in a state of civilization, if submitted to the operation
“ of such barbarous customs.” This is very nearly
equally true of the New Zealanders, and, to a great
extent, of the American Indians.

“ The plea generally set up in defence of this prin-
“ ciple is, that the natives of this country are a con-
“ quered people, and that it is an act of generosity to
“ allow them the full power of exercising their own laws
“ upon themselves. But this plea would appear to be
“ inadmissible : for, in the first place, savage and tra-
“ ditional customs should not be confounded with a
“ regular code of laws ; and, secondly, when Great
“ Britain ensures to a conquered country the privilege
“ of preserving its own laws, all persons residing in this
“ territory become amenable to those laws, and proper
“ persons are selected by the government to watch over
“ their due and equitable administration. Nothing of
“ this kind either exists, or can exist, with regard to
“ the customs of the natives. Between these two
“ cases, then, no analogy is apparent.

“ I would submit, therefore, that it is necessary,
“ from the moment the aborigines of this country are
“ declared British subjects, that they should, as far as
“ possible, be taught that the British laws are to super-
“ sede their own ; so that any native who is suffering

“ under their own customs may have the power of an
“ appeal to the laws of Great Britain ; or, to put this
“ in its true light, that all authorised persons should, in
“ all instances, be required to protect a native from the
“ violence of his fellows, even though they be in the
“ execution of their own laws.

“ So long as this is not the case, the older natives have
“ at their disposal the means of effectually preventing
“ the civilization of any individual of their own tribe ;
“ and those amongst them who may be inclined to
“ adapt themselves to the habits and mode of life of
“ Europeans will be deterred from so doing by their
“ fear of the consequences that the displeasure of others
“ may draw down upon them.

“ So much importance am I disposed to attach to
“ this point, that I do not hesitate to assert my full
“ conviction, that whilst those tribes that are in com-
“ munication with Europeans are allowed to execute
“ their barbarous laws and customs upon one another,
“ so long will they remain hopelessly immured in their
“ present state : and however unjust such a proceeding
“ might at first sight appear, I believe that the course
“ pointed out by true humanity would be to make
“ them, from the commencement, amenable to the Bri-
“ tish laws, both as regards themselves and Europeans :
“ for I hold it to involve a contradiction, to suppose
“ that individuals subject to savage and barbarous
“ laws can rise to a state of civilization, which their
“ laws have a manifest tendency to destroy and over-
“ turn.” *

* Captain Grey's Suggestions with reference to the practicality of improving the moral and social condition of the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia. (From the South Australian Record of Nov. 7. 1840. Printed also in the Parliamentary Papers concerning New Zealand, 1841; and in the journal of the Captain's travels.)

This is a passage which opens a wide field for speculation to the inquirer. The reasons which Captain Grey gives for at once suppressing by law injurious customs, instead of waiting for the operation of conversion, or of European example, appear very strong in themselves, independently of the weight which his authority gives to them. And if his principle be correct, it will scarcely suffice to extend it to such customs as Lord John Russell designates as "violations of the eternal and universal laws of morality," such as cannibalism, human sacrifice, and infanticide.* It will be necessary to apply it also, with discretion, to customs less horrible, yet, from the greater frequency of their operation, perhaps still more injurious and incompatible with civilization: such as the violent abuse of the authority of husbands over wives, and barbarous ill-usage of the weaker sex in general; and some of the features of slavery among the New Zealanders, if not the practice itself. But to particularise instances would lead us far astray from our main purpose.

It is scarcely necessary to show that the duties of the governor and protector, in these matters, must be lightened by the assistance of a powerful and vigilant police. This is one of the greatest expenses attending a new settlement: but it is also the most essential of all: it is absolutely necessary, not merely to prevent crime, but also to prevent the settlers from taking the law into their own hands. The practice of employing aborigines in the police force seems one not to be

* Instructions to Governor Hobson, Dec. 9. 1840. His lordship distinguishes three classes of native customs:—1. those here alluded to, which must be suppressed; 2. other customs, pernicious in themselves, but of which the abolition is best attainable by example and gradual enlightenment; 3. such as are rather absurd and impolitic than directly injurious.—*Papers relating to New Zealand*, 1841, No. 17.

encouraged. Mr. Robinson, the governor of Flinder's Island (to which the remaining savage inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land have been recently transported), reports, with great satisfaction, that some of this little party had been promoted to the office of constable, and had been very useful in catching runaway convicts. * Perhaps such an addition to the force might have been necessary, under the circumstances of time and place; but it appears particularly desirable, in principle, to limit, as far as possible, all occasions of hostile collision between the two races.

The duties of the protectors ought, as has been said, to extend also to the regulation of civil contracts between natives and settlers. I do not know whether, in any of our colonies, the Spanish system of placing the former in a state of legal minority has been regularly adopted. It certainly seems, upon the whole, the best adapted to the necessities of a young settlement. The policy of continuing it in communities so far advanced as those of Mexico and Peru before their revolutions, may be more questionable. The contract of master and servant is one peculiarly requiring this sort of interference. Some have proposed a general law for limiting such contracts in various particulars; for example, as to their duration. But the expediency of such anticipative regulations is very doubtful; practical experience is necessary to ascertain what terms are fair and beneficial in different countries, and different employments. This subject should be left to the discretion of the protector; and, notwithstanding the temporary inconvenience to the parties, all such contracts should be subject to the approval of him or his agents,

* Papers relating to the Australian aborigines, 1839. And see the Report on Aborigines, 1837, p. 84.; and the Instructions to Governor Hobson, already quoted.

at least during the first years of the experiment, until the state of society in the colony is mature for general legislation. Otherwise, there is a constant danger, either of the reduction of the native to actual slavery, or of the uncertain, and therefore mischievous interference of the authorities to prevent hardship in particular cases.

I leave undiscussed, from regard to the very narrow limits within which I am forced to compress my observations, some other important duties of the protector's office; for example, that of regulating the exchanges between settlers and natives, and that of preventing, as far as possible, the supply of the latter with ardent spirits. This is an offence by the laws both of the United States and Canada: and in the former country, some boast is made of the efficacy of the Indian agents* established on the frontiers, in enforcing the prohibition. Unfortunately, all that government can do in repressing this and other offences against the unhappy savage is the merest trifle when opposed to the enormous power for evil of the lawless aliens from all communities who roam the American deserts and the Pacific Ocean, the successors of the Paulistas and Buccaneers of past centuries. With respect to the latter class of adventurers, it has been proposed of late that certain powers should be given to her Majesty's cruisers in the

* But with how much justice may be doubted, when we read such accounts as the following. The narrators are some Canadian Indians:—

“We were eyewitnesses of what took place last Tuesday at St. Regis, and that made us open our eyes, when we went to receive a certain sum of money due to us by the U. S. government. The American Indians had upwards of 2000 dollars to receive. On the day the payment was made to us, the council-room was full of tavern and grog-shop keepers, with their account-books under their arms, to receive our poor brothers' hard-earned money for nothing but rum, which they had advanced them on credit.”
—*Returns from Canada*, 1839, p. 45.

Pacific, so as to constitute a sort of locomotive tribunal, to take cognizance of offences committed by British subjects against natives on the high seas and in the islands. Whatever may be the practicability of this scheme, the atrocities of these brigands have had at least one good effect, namely, by forcing on the colonization of New Zealand; an enterprise in which this university — removed as her homely avocations usually are from these distant adventures — may be said to have had her peculiar share, one of its most distinguished patrons being a high officer of our own, and some of its most zealous promoters among the most eminent sons of Oxford.* Never, I believe, was a similar undertaking entered into in a spirit more utterly free from motives of gain or ambition: never was the love of gain pressed into the service of humanity, as a subordinate agent, in a more beneficial manner. Some of the details of the scheme have already passed under our notice, and more will be hereafter incidentally considered.

I pass from this subject, very imperfectly treated, to one of greater interest, and more permanent importance; the duty and office of colonial governments in regard to the civilization of aborigines.

And first, it is necessary to consider in what physical circumstances these are placed by the progress of new settlements. Unfortunately, the early colonists of North America were not compelled, by the force of events, to take this subject into their consideration. And hence, we have no course of precedent to direct us: no plan has been matured, no principles aimed at, in the long course of our colonial experience: our measures, when at last we have been obliged to act, have been irregular

* See the Papers of Mr. Hodgskin, Report on Aborigines, 1837. Appendix, No. 2.

and arbitrary, and merely adapted to the wants of the moment. Those early colonists only occupied, little by little, the fringe of a vast region, habitable by savages. Those whom they encountered defended, for a time, their hunting-grounds and their villages; but, when expelled by superior force, they merely retreated farther into the wilderness. It was not until centuries had passed that it was discovered that, wide as that habitable region was, and reduced as its population had been, almost equally, by war and peace with the invaders, its bounds were yearly becoming too narrow even for those diminished numbers. At last they failed to contain them. The vast surface of the Prairies was unable to receive the retreating myriads who had been expelled from the Forest. Then the reflux took place. Thinned, dispirited, degraded, the remnants of powerful tribes returned eastwards towards their former seats; and either threw themselves on the mercy of governments, or attracted attention to their wants by becoming dangerous neighbours on the skirts of the settled country. Then, and rarely till then, reserves of lands were allotted them, in various parts, both of the States and of Canada; and endeavours were made to Christianize and civilize them. Up to that time, the notion of retaining for them a property in a part of the soil they once occupied seems to have been hardly entertained. Even Penn did not fully admit it into his scheme: he gave the natives free leave to settle in certain parts of his territory; but unfortunately he did not treat any definite tract of the soil as their property, which would rise in value along with other tracts, and thus afford a stimulus to their gradual improvement. (I may observe in passing, that it was the want of systematic views in this and other respects which rendered the benevolent intentions of Penn towards the natives of

little ultimate avail ; so that, after all, the chief good which he effected was by setting an example of benevolence and justice in the principle of his dealings with them.)

In this manner, the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks were settled by the United States on lands within the states of Georgia and Alabama ; the remnant of the Delawares, of the Six Nations, and other tribes famous in early colonial history, in New York, Ohio, and elsewhere : and a similar policy has been adopted by ourselves in the case of another part of the Six Nations, the Mohawks, and Chippeways, in Upper Canada ; the Algonquins and Nipissings, placed in the same country in 1763 * ; the natives of Cape Breton ; and in many other instances. This course has the evident disadvantage of fixing a body of people, generally harassed by defeats and wanderings, and in a condition most unfavourable to speedy improvement, in the midst of a country in process of rapid settlement. The establishments of the white soon press on the limits of the Indian ground ; generally long before the Indians, kept, by the policy hitherto observed by American governments, in a state of insulation from the whites, have learnt to improve it. Tracts of half desert territory are thus interposed in the middle of cultivation.

This is a real inconvenience to the district ; and it is always much exaggerated by the cupidity of the

* The treaty by which this was effected is a remarkable instance of the mischievous manner in which even the best intentions towards the Indians have been carried into execution. After declaring in the most solemn language the perpetuity of the cession of the lands, it ends with the saving clause, "unless the Indians shall be inclined to part with them." By virtue of this proviso, every art has been introduced to obtain their consent to the usurpations made upon them : bit by bit they have been deprived of their magnificent hunting-grounds, which are now altogether possessed by whites.—*Returns from Canada*, 1839, p. 66.

whites. Then disputes and animosities are engendered; these are stimulated by the land-jobbing class of the community, eager to seize on any pretext for encroachment; until, at last, the government is half driven by the influence of a rapacious party, half induced by the hope of protecting the unfortunate natives from insult and outrage, to remove them once more into some distant territory. In other cases this becomes a matter of necessity. The game in the Indian reserves is destroyed by the progress of cultivation around them; and, where they have made no advance at all in agriculture, they must be removed to save them from starvation.* Instances of both kinds will be found in the too notorious history of the recent proceedings of the United States government. All the tribes above enumerated, and many which I have not mentioned, have within these few years been removed afresh to the vast prairies which constitute the western border of the present states: some of them merely consisting of a few wretched families, whose miserable existence might possibly be prolonged by the change; others numerous and powerful, and which, as I shall by and by have occasion to show, had made a progress in improvement which some philosophical sceptics, and numbers of those logicians whose axioms are founded on a desire to justify injustice, had chosen to pronounce beyond the capacities of their race. And Sir Francis Head, during his administration of Upper Canada, thought it necessary to give an example of wholesale removal, almost equalling the most sweeping acts of our neighbours. Three millions of fertile acres were to be resumed; several thousand Indians were persuaded to relinquish them, and migrate to a large island in Lake Huron, said to be sufficient for their full accom-

* Quart. Review, vol. lxxv.

modation.* That the arrangement would have been carried into effect with all humanity and forethought, we need not doubt. And it may, possibly, have been excused by the condition to which these Indians were reduced by the previous bad policy adopted towards them. But the reasons given by Sir F. Head for his own conduct would justify, as it seems to me, incessant acts of arbitrary removal, such as would render all improvement impossible. †

The original error here mentioned, that of leaving the natives wholly unprovided for, is one not likely to occur in modern colonization. We have been so far taught by the experience of our predecessors, and, I may add, sentiments of humanity and justice have so far gained ground among us, that in recent settlements reserves of land have been invariably made, and appropriated to the natives. But it is plain that the evil day is only postponed by such measures as these, unless they are combined with a foreseeing and far-reaching policy hitherto altogether unknown. For whether or not the natives, residing on these reserves, attain in their insulated condition to a certain degree of civilization, the same result will inevitably follow. After a time, the colonists will cast an eye of cupidity on the native lands; they will complain, and with perfect truth, of the economical disadvantages which

* Parliamentary Returns from Upper Canada, 1839. I collect from Sir J. Bonnycastle's recent work, "The Canadas in 1841," that the measure has not been carried into effect.

† They are nearly the same with those which have been uniformly urged in the United States. "The greatest kindness," he says, "which we can perform to these intelligent and simple-minded people, is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from all communication with the whites." (*Returns*, 1839, p. 145.) There is some force in the grave sarcasm of certain enemies of his government. "The fulfilment of Sir F. Head's predictions as to the speedy extinction of the aborigines may, in truth, be anticipated from the provisions of the recent treaty" (that for the migration to the Manitoulin Isle).—*Ib.* p. 192.

attend the interposition of large uncultivated or half cultivated tracts between populous districts ; of their own sufferings by the proximity of the natives ; of the political mischiefs produced by these little inert republics, stagnant in the very centre of a rapidly-moving society. And government will find itself, as it always has been, unable to resist these importunities, and cajoled by the thousand plausibilities advanced in favour of removing these unfortunates a further stage into the wilderness* ; it will comply with the exigencies of the times, and the natives will be transported to some other region, to be followed there again with sure and rapid steps by the encroaching tide of European population.

Removal is therefore, inevitably, only a temporary remedy for permanent evils, and must be continually repeated ; but, besides this, nothing is more destructive of those first elements of civilization, which may have been implanted at the expense of time and toil. The proofs of this truth are almost too obvious to need any statement. In the first place, the loss of capital and of comfort entailed on the emigrants is very great. Next, a tribe, become agricultural, is thus placed in a country far more abounding in game than its former seats, and

* Such, for instance, as the representation always industriously put forward on these occasions, that the natives themselves are anxious for the change—as if the assent of the poor harassed victims justified the act of the oppressors—the assent of a minor act of his guardian. Sir F. Head seems to attribute any desire expressed by the Canadian Indians to retain their reserves rather to the persuasion of interested Europeans than to any feelings of their own. He considers the statement of some Wesleyan missionaries, that the Indians in their neighbourhood were anxious to get title deeds, as a palpable trick, to get a control over the lands for themselves ; and ridicules the notion in his own peculiar vein. “ The Methodist ministers might as well declare, “ that when wild beasts roar at each other, it is to complain of “ the want among them of marriage licenses.”—*Returns from Canada*, 1839, p. 150.

exposed to the strongest temptation to relapse into the hunting condition. Again, the price of those articles which have become necessary or convenient to them, especially those which are useful in their acquired habits of industry, is higher the farther they are removed from the civilized frontier; so that here, again, a temptation is held out to be content with inferior substitutes, and to unlearn one by one the habits and the arts which they had acquired. It is precisely as if a savage had been nurtured in European habits and costume until his own were forgotten, and then turned naked into the wilderness, and told to thrive as he did before. And, as the last and greatest of all these causes of degeneracy, we must not fail to estimate the insecurity, the despair of permanence, the conviction of approaching annihilation, which are inevitably engendered in their minds, and drive back into sullen apathy spirits in which the Promethean spark of enterprise had been for a moment elicited. These, I repeat, are truths which surely require no demonstration; but since a British governor, in our own day, has taken it upon himself to advocate the policy of removal, let us hear the testimony of an American — of one who has personally visited the new settlements of the tribes removed by the United States, and has there unlearned, as we are informed by himself, the ideas which American public opinion had instilled into him.

“ In alluding to the cruel policy of removing the different tribes to their new country, west of the Mississippi, I would not do it without the highest respect for the motives of the government, and to the feelings and opinions of those worthy divines whose advice and whose services were instrumental in bringing it about, and who, no doubt, were of opinion

“ that they were effecting a plan that would redound
“ to the Indian’s benefit. *Such was once my own*
“ *opinion* ; but when I go, as I have done, through
“ every one of those tribes removed, who had learned at
“ home to use the ploughshare, and also contracted a
“ passion and a taste for civilized manufactures ; and,
“ after that, removed twelve or fourteen hundred miles
“ west, to a wild and lawless region, where their wants are
“ to be supplied by the traders at eight or ten times the
“ price they have been in the habit of paying ; where
“ whiskey can easily be sold to them without the re-
“ straints that can be successfully put upon the sellers of
“ it in their civilized neighbourhoods ; and where, also,
“ they are allured from the use of their ploughs by the
“ herds of buffaloes and other wild animals on the
“ plains ; I am compelled to state, as my irresistible
“ conviction, that I believe the system one calculated to
“ benefit the interests of the voracious land speculators
“ and Indian traders ; the first of whom are ready to
“ grasp at their lands as soon as they are vacated, and
“ the other at the *annuities* of 120,000 extravagant
“ customers. I believe that the system is calculated to
“ aid these, and perhaps to facilitate the growth and
“ wealth of the civilized trader : but I believe, like
“ every thing else that tends to white men’s aggrandize-
“ ment, and the increase of their wealth, it will have as
“ rapid a tendency to the poverty and destruction of
“ the poor red men ; who, unfortunately, almost seem
“ doomed never in any way to be associated in interest
“ with their pale-faced neighbours.” *

One only way suggests itself by which this fatal consummation can be avoided ; and, in order to consider it, we must look steadfastly at the broad outlines of the

* Catline’s North American Indians, vol. ii. p. 250.

question, What is the ultimate destiny of the races whose interests we are now discovering?

There are only three alternatives which imagination itself can suggest:—

The extermination of native races.

Their civilization, complete or partial, by retaining them as insulated bodies of men, carefully removed, during the civilizing process, from the injury of European contact.

Their amalgamation with the colonists.

Those who hold the opinion that the first is inevitable, are happily relieved from the trouble of all these considerations. If Sir Francis Head thinks that "we may as well endeavour to make the setting sun stand still on the summit of the Rocky Mountains, as attempt to arrest the final extermination of the Indian race," he is, of course, justified in his plans of removal. It can, at worst, only prolong, and may alleviate, the sufferings of his fated clients.

The second alternative I cannot but believe to be impossible. Reason seems to demonstrate it, and experience abundantly confirms her conclusions. If it be possible to civilize the savage at all, in a state of insulation from Europeans, except his own instructors (which, after the ill success of the Spanish and Portuguese experiments, may be regarded as very doubtful), it must, at all events, be a slow, uncertain process, liable to be interrupted at any moment, and only to be carried on under the defence of laws hedging them in from all foreign intercourse with a strictness impracticable in the present state of the world. The savage thus educated may be morally a more innocent creature, but, intellectually, he must be feeble and dependent, and quite unable to resist extrinsic influence, when brought to bear upon him. And (which is of

still greater consequence, and is the peculiar cause that renders such projects certain of failure) long before the seeds of civilization have made any effectual shoot, the little nursery is surrounded by the advance of the European population; the demand for the land of the natives becomes urgent and irresistible, and pupils and instructors are driven out into the wilderness to commence their work again.

There remains only the third alternative, that of amalgamation; and this I am most anxious to impress upon your minds, because I firmly believe it to be the very keystone, the leading principle, of all sound theory on the subject — that native races must in every instance either perish, or be amalgamated with the general population of their country.

By amalgamation, I mean the union of natives with settlers in the same community, as master and servant, as fellow-labourers, as fellow-citizens, and, if possible, as connected by intermarriage. And I mean by it, not that eventual and distant process to which some appear to look, by which a native community, when educated and civilized, is to be, at some future period, admitted *en masse* to the full rights of citizenship; but I mean an immediate and an individual process — immediate, if not in act, at least in contemplation. To answer the view which I am anxious to lay before you, each native must be regarded as potentially a citizen, to become such, in all respects, as soon as possible. To this end, every step in his instruction and management must conduce. It must be the object in framing every law, in making every provision for his support. Nay, the first steps of the actual operation should rather be accelerated than retarded. I mean that, although prudence must be the guide in all cases, it must be a fixed principle, that less evil is likely to be done by over haste than by over delay.

These views must undoubtedly appear somewhat wild and chimerical. Be it so. I will endeavour presently to develop them a little more fully: at present I am chiefly anxious to point out to you, that, however improbable the success of any particular project of amalgamation may seem, amalgamation, by some means or other, is the only possible Euthanasia of savage communities. And one negative lesson even the most cautious may draw from this plain truth, namely, that all endeavours to civilize the savage, in which this end is not kept in view, is useless, or worse than useless, and must end in disappointment, as they ever hitherto have ended. And we have this advantage at least, that we are on untrodden ground. The experiment of amalgamation, or even of taking means tending to it as their ultimate result, cannot be said to have been hitherto tried by any government.

Let us now return briefly to the consideration of the first preparatory measure, that of assuring subsistence to the natives on the occupation of their territory. In South Australia much difficulty seems to have arisen from the insufficient provisions of its constituent acts of parliament, and although the natives have, in some instances, been located on land reserved for them by the governor, they have been actually dispossessed, in more than one case, by settlers purchasing it over their heads*; and it is questionable, whether the governor has any such authority. This will, of course, be remedied, and reserves immediately made; but the natives there are extremely scanty in numbers†, and comparatively low in condition; it is probable, therefore, that more advantage will be gained by selling

* Evidence of G. F. Angas, Esq., Report of Committee of 1841, p. 210—219.

† About 500 only are known to exist in South Australia.—*Ib.*

portions of the reserved land, and funding the purchase money for their benefit, than by their use of the land itself. In New Zealand one tenth of every township was thus reserved; and at the first disposal of land in London, these portions were selected by lot, like the remainder. In that country the provision may be so applied as to secure more important ends than in South Australia. The natives there are comparatively numerous; they mix readily with Europeans; and are, to a certain extent, agricultural in their habits. It is, therefore, to be conjectured that, with proper management, they will occupy the reserved lots as permanent inhabitants; and the surface of the land will be chequered with little native villages, their inhabitants forming but a small proportion of the whole people, but admirably situated for the great and necessary experiment of association between the two races.

LECTURE XIX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED. — MISSIONARY INSTRUCTION.
GOVERNMENT MEASURES. — AMOUNT OF CIVILIZATION HITHERTO ATTAINED BY SAVAGE TRIBES IN MODERN EUROPEAN COLONIES.

HAVING reviewed the preliminary steps which are necessary to place native tribes, in colonized countries, within reach of civilization, the next point to be considered is — the duty of government in promoting that most desirable work itself.

And here I must begin by reminding you of an opinion already expressed in a former part of these lectures, namely, that the only experiments in civilizing savage tribes, which offer the remotest prospect of success, are those which commence with their religious instruction. This opinion, I am aware, has been much controverted: there are many who hold the reverse; namely, that Christianity is the religion of civilized man, and the savage must therefore be prepared by partial civilization before he can receive its truths with profit. But if this were so, the difficulty of commencing the operation would surely be insuperable. That difficulty is, to find a fulcrum for the engines which we are to put in action. In what mode are we to excite the mind of the savage to desire civilization? Its wants and tendencies are unknown to him. Its restraints are intolerable. The greater number have little curiosity respecting it, but acquiesce resignedly in the superiority of their white invaders. Of the few who are sufficiently advanced in intellect to be excited even to a feeling of emulation, there are still fewer — if any — in whom that feeling would be sufficiently powerful to overcome, to the extent of a brief and

occasional impulse only, the indolence and the spirit of independence natural to their race. The only way in which even temporary success could be looked for in a scheme of civilization not founded on religious instruction, would be to abandon the existing generation to its fate, and attempt only to educate the young. But it is difficult to conceive how even thus much could be effected, unless families were separated by violent measures, such as the Spanish missionaries are accused of having made use of in founding their settlements. So long as the native households dwell together, the children cannot be rescued from the fortunes of their parents.

But this necessary motive, this *πῶς στῶ* of the philanthropist, is furnished by religion, and by religion only. It is impossible to mistake the accumulated testimony of all experience and observation, which assures us, that in the savage races of mankind, from the most advanced to the most degraded, the sense of religion not only exists, but exists accompanied by that which may be termed its necessary condition in the human mind — a feeling of pressing want, a longing for support, a craving after instruction. Even the most apathetic savage, when his heart is gained by kindness, or opened by the address of one conversant in his ways, rarely fails to exhibit this impulse of his nature. It may be repressed by mismanagement; it may be rendered inactive by unconquerable indolence; it affords no certain stimulus to action, but it affords the only one. And the strong impression of the superiority of the whites as a different race, which leads the savage to despair of raising himself out of his abject condition in respect of material or intellectual advancement, seems, if his sentiments be properly studied and directed, rather to have the tendency of disposing him to welcome instruction in those doctrines which point out

that the diversity of gifts in this world is consistent with the equality of all under one common Father.

The North American Indian, as I have said, is of a disposition peculiarly religious; and it is remarkable, considering the great amount of observation and of theory which has been expended on this singular race, how imperfectly and unjustly its qualifications in this particular have been appreciated. For it is not by the positive tenets of its belief, if such they may be termed, that the religious tendencies of the savage mind are to be estimated. In the first place, it is seldom that travellers attain to any trustworthy knowledge of what these tenets actually are; particularly in the case of a nation so reverentially reserved on these subjects as the Americans. In the next place, it is necessary to disentangle the mass of mere traditional notions and observances, which rest, as it were, on prescription only, and rather influence the habits and the fancy of the savage than his reason (to use that word in its highest sense), from those doctrines in which his faith properly consists; few, probably, and obscure to himself, but partaking of the unchangeable characteristics of the religion of nature. With respect to these, it is clear that the creed of the Indian is no mere superstition received on trust. He can combine, reflect, and discuss their principles. "We have conversed," says Mr. Flint, "with Indians who were atheists, and "treated as fabulous all notions of the immortality of "the soul; and defended their opinions with as much "ingenuity as abandoned people of the lower orders "among ourselves, who profess to hold the same "opinions."* To be capable of such reasoning, however the ingenuity may have been misapplied, indicates a condition of mind far advanced beyond that

* Geography of the Mississippi Valley, p. 119.

which submits to mere Fetichism ; or, if we prefer so to express ourselves, in which the great truths of earlier tradition have not yet disappeared in the progressive degeneracy of the race, leaving mere superstitious impressions behind them.

But a far truer insight into the religious state of the American Indian will be obtained, by observing how peculiarly and emphatically he is, in the words of the apostle, "a law unto himself." I mean, how distinctly he evinces, in the whole moral conduct of his life, that he lives under a strong and awful sense of positive obligation. It is of little matter with what doctrines that sense of obligation connects itself. It often appears to connect itself with none. The Indian cannot tell why a burden is laid upon him to act in this or that manner. He obeys a law undefined, unwritten, but mysteriously binding upon his spirit. All the compulsive force which what we call the law of honour has upon the conscience of a man of the world — I had almost said, which religious sanctions have upon the man of principle — is scarcely to be paralleled with that kind of moral necessity which seems in some cases to actuate his proceedings. If religion be what its name implies, *id quod relligat*, that which binds the will and enforces self-denial and self-devotion, be the object or motive held out what it may, then no people, taken in the mass, is to be compared, in this respect, to the savages of America.

There is a curious passage on this subject in the work of Mr. Flint already cited ; the more curious, because the author, as it appears to me, is so far from aiming at fine writing, or romantic exaggeration, that he has a real difficulty in expressing his full meaning.* "After all," says he, "that which has struck us, in

* Flint, Geography of the Mississippi Valley, p. 125.

“contemplating the Indians, with the most astonish-
“ment and admiration, is the invisible, but universal,
“energy of the operation and influence of an inex-
“plicable law, which has, where it operates, a more
“certain and controlling power than all the municipal
“and written laws of the whites united. There is
“despotic rule without any hereditary or elected chief.
“There are chiefs with great power, who cannot tell
“when, where, or how they became such. There is
“perfect unanimity on a question involving the exist-
“ence of a tribe, when every member belonged to the
“wild and fierce democracy of nature, and could dis-
“sent without giving a reason. A case occurs where
“it is prescribed by custom that an individual should
“be punished with death. Escaped from the control
“of his tribe, and as free as the winds, this invisible
“tie is about him, and he returns, and surrenders
“himself to justice. His accounts are not settled, and
“he is in debt. He requests delay till he shall have
“finished his summer’s hunt. He finishes it, pays his
“debt, and dies with a constancy which has always
“been, in all views of Indian character, the theme of
“admiration.”

Now, when we consider that the same creature, whose moral organization is thus wonderfully developed, is one who has frequently not the slightest taste or appreciation for the advantages of material improvement, and who ranks so low, in point of intellectual acquirement, that he is perhaps unable to count beyond ten*—can any one entertain a doubt at which end the

* Which the learned De Pauw considered as a sure sign of barbarism. (*Recherches sur les Américains.*) Captain Hall observed a reluctance to count beyond ten among the Creeks, rather an advanced tribe, who have lived long among the whites. In a grand game at ball, in which the points were scored with sticks, the umpires, as soon as the score exceeded ten, always pulled out the sticks and began again.

process of culture ought to begin? Surely the comparison of their moral state with their condition in other respects is, as it were, the crucial test, pointing out infallibly the direction in which alone, if in any, success is to be reasonably expected. In the expressive words of Penn, "What good might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge both of good and evil?" *

The Indians of North America are peculiarly a religious race, in the sense which I have been endeavouring to affix to this word. But the same remarks will apply, with not much diminished force, to other barbarous and semi-civilized tribes. And I may add here, that to judge, as some have done, of the religious capacities of native races by their religious state, in countries where they have been christianized in the

* Report on Aborigines, 1837, p. 116. I would not insert the following high-coloured expressions, in a work edited by Washington Irving, were it not for the remarkable agreement between all capable observers of the uncontaminated races of Indians on this subject. "Simply to call these people (some tribes of the Rocky Mountains) religious, would convey but a faint idea of the deep hue of piety and devotion which pervades the whole of their conduct. They are more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages."—*Adventures of Captain Bonneville*; and see the deliberate judgment of Mr. Catline, vol. ii. p. 243.

"Que n'est tombée sous Alexandre, ou sous ces anciens Grecs et Romains, une si noble conquête, et une si grande mutation et alteration de tant d'empires et de peuples, sous des mains qui eussent doucement defriché et poli ce qu'il y avait de sauvage, et eussent conforté et promu les bonnes semences que nature y avait produit; meslant non seulement à la culture des terres et ornement des villes les arts de deçà, en tant qu'ils y eussent été nécessaires, mais aussi meslant les vertus Grecques et Romains aux originelles du pays? Quelle réparation eut ce été, et quel amendement à toute cette machine, que les premiers exemples et déportemens notres qui se sont présentés par delà eussent appellé ces peuples à l'admiration et imitation de la vertu, et eussent dressé entre eux et nous une fraternelle société et intelligence! Combien il eut été aisé de faire son profit d'âmes si neuves, si affamées d'apprentissage, ayant pour la plus part de si bons commencemens naturels!"—*Montaigne, Essais*, l. iii. ch. 6.

mass, and admitted into a church which too often substitutes reliance on the efficacy of its own ordinances for the development of their faculties, is to employ a test which would be deemed extremely unjust, if applied to civilized men in a similar condition. Humboldt, admirable observer as he is, is not free, I think, from this imputation. "It is not," he says, speaking of the Christian Indians of Mexico, "a doctrine which has succeeded a doctrine, but one ceremonial which has made room for another. The natives know nothing of religion, except its external forms. Fond of every thing relating to a prescribed order of ceremonies, they find particular enjoyments in the observance of the Christian ritual. The festivals of the church, the fireworks which accompany them, the processions mingled with dances and grotesque masquerades, are a fertile source of diversion for the Indian community. It is in these festivals that the *national character* displays itself in all its individuality. In all countries the observances of the Christian religion have taken a colouring from the region into which it has been transplanted: in the Philippine and Marianne Islands, nations of the Malay race have mingled with it their own peculiar ceremonies; in the province of Pasto, on the ridge of the Cordillera, I have seen masqued Indians, armed with rattles, performing savage dances round the altar, while a Franciscan monk elevated the host."* If by "national character" this distinguished writer means, not the outward character of the Mexican or Peruvian, as formed by circumstances, but the general disposition of the Indian people, he is surely as hasty as a traveller who should judge of the genius of the Teutonic race

* *Nouv. Espagne*, i. 411. 8vo. edition.

by the scenes which he might occasionally observe in a procession at Cologne, or a pilgrimage to Maria Zell.

If you consult the Report of the Committee of Aborigines, 1837, in which the same course of treatment is recommended which I have here ventured to advocate, namely, that of imparting Christian instruction to savage tribes as a necessary preliminary to civilization, you will find the opinions of many observers collected. I will only cite one or two witnesses, whose testimony for different reasons may appear valuable. Mr. Beecham is a Wesleyan missionary, connected for many years with the establishment of that society in New Zealand, where it has been thought that missionary labours in general have been directed, rather more than usual, in the contrary order, namely, that of endeavouring to civilize before conversion. "The "savage," he says, "must be made to feel the importance of the truths of religion before he will "discover any thing desirable in the quietness or sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through "his superstitions to obtain it.* Mr. Wyatt is the Protector of the Natives in South Australia, and, as a civil servant, may be supposed not to be unfairly impressed in favour of missionary exertions. "Their "general indifference," he says, "to whatever is valued "by civilized men, whether it be clothing, the luxuries "of food and comfortable habitations, or the worthier "gratifications of the intellect, makes it no easy matter "to stimulate them to that degree of industry necessary for acquiring such advantages; and the salubrious climate of their native land predisposes, very "considerably, to this indolent condition of mind and "body. Viewing this as the grand obstacle to their

* Report, 1837, p. 45.

“civilization, and making allowance for all others which oppose so desirable an end, I am impressed with the thorough conviction, that the only means which can be permanently successful, is first to teach them the simple and sublime doctrines of Christianity; and that to begin by any other method is truly to commence at the wrong end.”

Mr. Williams, a missionary in the Sandwich Islands, is entitled to be heard, because, leaving religious improvement out of the question, the advance of intellect and of social civilization in that quarter of the world has been most remarkable; and he says, “All this is to be ascribed to the result of Christian principle, implanted by missionary labour. We could not get them to do any thing, or evince any attention to industrious habits, till they had made a profession of Christianity. There must be an impetus given to the mind, before they will aspire to these improvements.”

Nor are there instances wanting, both of bad and good success — rare, unfortunately, as the last have been — which seem powerfully to confirm, to any unprejudiced inquirer, the opinions here expressed. The Report of 1837, already referred to, contains some remarkable instances in the history of the Canadian Indians, particularly the Mohawks and Chippeways, of the utter inefficacy of steady and long-continued efforts at civilization, until a new impulse was given to them by conversion, and the change which then ensued. It is true these rest on the testimony of missionaries, who may be prejudiced in favour of their own peculiar system; but they must be considered in conjunction with the rest of the evidence. Missionaries themselves have not unfrequently attempted the opposite course. The American Society of Friends, for nearly a century and a half, “laboured for the civilization of the Indians,

“under an idea that civilization would make way for the introduction of the peculiar doctrines of the Christian religion.” “We have now come to the conclusion,” says one of their most distinguished members, “that we erred, sorrowfully erred, in the plan which we originally adopted, in making civilization our object.” Similar language was held to the committee by a clergyman of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand. “Fifteen years we attempted to civilize without effect; and the very moment that Christianity established itself in only one instance, from that moment civilization commenced; and has been going on, hand in hand with Christianity, but never preceded it.”*

I will not now detain you by dwelling on instances of missionary success; when all fair deductions are made for the exaggeration which is too perceptible in many reports, enough will remain to which credit cannot reasonably be denied. I have already described the singular republic of the Jesuits in South America, and have endeavoured to point out the inherent vices, as well as excellences, of the system which they pursued. The labours of the missionaries in the South Sea Islands have extended of late over a field nearly as wide; and if the results which they have obtained are not quite so romantic in their character, we may, perhaps, hope that they will prove more durable, and

* Mr. Darwin, a very modest observer, whose remarks are on that account more valuable than they would otherwise be, from the cursory description of the visit which he paid to the different scenes of missionary labour, says, of New Zealand, “The missionary system here seems to me different from that of Tahiti; much more attention is there paid to religious instruction, and here more to the arts of civilization. Judging from the success alone, I should rather lean to the Tahiti side; probably, however, each system is best adapted to the country where it is followed.”—p. 508.

more progressive; for they have the character of progress, however imperfect; which the other wanted altogether. But South Africa, and the continent of North America, abound with other instances, although of a less striking character, in which patience and quiet confidence have been crowned with a well-merited reward; and it is cheering to discover, on minute examination, how many little insulated spots of light appear to present themselves in the gloomy map of aboriginal ethnography, — how many little communities exist, almost overlooked by travellers who perceive only the general face of things, in which Christianity is professed, and the arts of life cultivated, and orderly and moral habits prevail, at one and the same time, because the development of religion and civilization has proceeded together. How far the comparatively slight amount of good which has resulted, after all, from so much zeal and self-devotion, is owing to its misdirection; whether a different mode of teaching Christianity might not, in many cases, have led to a more satisfactory result; whether the instructors of savage tribes have not dwelt too much on their deficiencies, and too little on their advantages, regarding them rather as creatures out of whom the old life was to be utterly extirpated, than as possessed of an exquisite moral sense, and high religious capabilities; — these are deeply interesting questions, but far beyond the province of my inquiries.

And I can only venture to suggest, in passing, another consideration, — whether the process which is here recommended for savage nations, namely, that of making religious instruction precede, or at least closely accompany, all other teaching, does not rather require to be reversed when we are dealing with people possessing an established religion, a literature, and an

ancient though imperfect civilization: such as the Hindoos. In them, the craving after religious knowledge is stilled: they have their system; monstrous, perhaps, and strange to the perceptions of the natural man; but still complete, and to which their moral sense has for ages accommodated itself. To persuade them to change doctrine for doctrine, mystery for mystery, without other preparation, seems nearly a hopeless task. Preaching and arguing are in vain. The Roman Catholic system of adaptation and compromise, practised so largely in the East, may have had more seeming success; but even this was apparently quite temporary and factitious. But, on the other hand, these very people, when brought habitually in contact with Europeans, appear to become deeply sensible of their own inferiority in mental and social attainments. The intellect of the Hindoo is the faculty to which excitement can be applied; and that especially when his mind has been prepared by education. He perceives how grossly the powers with which Nature has gifted him are oppressed under that enormous mass of fiction which the imposture of ages has raised around him. This is the critical point of his history: he may become an infidel; but, with a church to resort to, instructors to receive him, and, above all, if he have before his eyes the example, so rarely set, of truly Christian morality, he may enter on a brighter destiny. If this be so, it should seem that schools and colleges under European superintendence, measures of physical improvement, and a church affording opportunities alike to Europeans and natives, are likely to serve a better purpose in such countries than the well-meant efforts of ordinary missionaries. But this is a digression, which may, perhaps, require apology.

It is sufficient for my purpose to draw, from this

rather lengthened discussion, the conclusion, that the first step to be taken by a colonial government anxious for the improvement of its barbarian subjects, is the encouragement of missionaries. Wherever land is rescued for their use, there, in fit proportion to the numbers to be instructed, missionaries ought to be invited, and, if possible, established. I purposely omit all discussion of the fatal questions which necessarily arise out of the differences of opinion prevailing among us. But the aborigines of our colonies must not perish by reason of our dissensions. If, with reference to the state of our government at home, and still more to the religious condition of our colonists abroad, it is impracticable to settle, by authority, teachers of one faith among all the native tribes which dwell under our protection, then no alternative remains between allowing them to perish in brutish ignorance, or vegetate as nuisances to the European population extending around them, and aiding the efforts of those voluntary societies of all denominations which have hitherto applied themselves to the conversion of the heathen.

But although the missionary is not merely useful, but indispensable, as the pioneer of civilization, it does not appear that he is sufficiently adapted to complete the work. Hitherto, this most important view of the subject has received very little consideration. So little advance has really been made in the improvement of native races — the operation, so often begun, of imparting a little knowledge and a little material comfort to small fractions of them, has been so constantly checked or destroyed, and again recommenced, without ever in any one instance proceeding beyond the same limited distance — that philanthropists in general have contented themselves with discussing the elementary part of the question as the only practical one. Nor has it

been seriously inquired into, whether that discouraging blight or check has not frequently been occasioned by the mere absence of all means to carry on the necessary cultivation beyond the point to which missionary exertions had brought it: for *non progredi est regredi*; and civilization, except in some rare and singular instances, has always either advanced or fallen back. This topic was already partially discussed when we considered the reasons for the decay of the missionary settlements in Spanish and Portuguese America. It was then suggested, in the first place, how difficult it is to keep up the zeal, and consequent efficiency, of missionaries who succeed the first fathers of a native flock in established settlements; and how necessarily unfitted, even were this difficulty got over, religious teachers must be to combine with their proper office that of training the intellect and the material energies.

Where the offices of the religious instructor partially fail, those of government, through its agent the protector, ought to begin. Education should not be wholly left to the missionary; it should, at least in the higher grades, be under the superintendence of some central authority. This is necessary, not merely on account of the better quality which may be anticipated from the instruction thus communicated, but also in order to elevate the subject of it in his own estimation. It is most important that he should not feel himself, longer than is absolutely necessary, a mere passive creature in the hands of his religious superintendent. When his passions are tamed, self-respect is the next essential towards his improvement.

Whether, for this purpose, the young natives (in the case of a tribe already settled on land as agriculturists, and converted to Christianity) should be educated apart, or should be admitted into the neigh-

bouring schools of the whites (I mean, more particularly, those who have reached the stage of adolescence), is a question of difficulty, and one on which I have not been able to meet with authorities or reasonings entitled to much consideration. Certainly the reasons against such a mixture are not to be sought for in the inferior capacity of the savage. All those who have expressed an opinion on the subject seem to agree, that *children* of most native races are fully or more than a match for those of Europeans in aptitude for intellectual acquirement. Indeed it appears to be a singular law of nature, that there is less precocity in the European race than almost any other. In those races in which we seem to have reason for believing that the intellectual organization is lower, perception is quicker, and maturity earlier. And it is easy to perceive the very great benefits which would result from the association of Europeans and natives in early life.*

The character of the education best adapted for the converted native offers a wide field for inquiry, into which it is impossible for me to enter. It is, of course, easily understood, that what may be termed a material training, in the arts and industry of civilized life, must be a very important element in it: that much, which we leave to be acquired by the children of ordinary citizens in the course of service, of apprenticeship, and the business of life, must with them be made matter of special and independent instruction. † By awakening

* For instance, by founding exhibitions for natives in collegiate institutions open to both races.

† See upon this point the Despatch of Lord Glenelg, Aug. 22. 1838, in the Returns from Canada, 1839; and the suggestions of many of his correspondents. His lordship especially recommends the establishment of schools, with competent teachers, offering

their interest and ingenuity in these matters, some security is obtained against the danger of their relapse into barbarism, which for some generations must always be imminent. Even for adults, houses of industry, with lands annexed, appear to be the training schools encouraged at the present day in Australia. But for them, being still at the lowest point of savage life, there seems to be little prospect of permanent good from such institutions, at least until some degree of religious instruction has been communicated. Experience must determine, in each particular case, what branches of industry it may be most desirable to teach. Philanthropists are unsafe guides in matters of such a merely practical character.*

But the great problem of all in the civilization of savage tribes, the step which has never yet been passed and never seriously attempted, is that of amalgamation. We have seen that, sooner or later, the period for this step must arrive; and it is equally evident, that here the missionary training must fail. That system is based on the insulation of the natives from the rest of the community. As soon as this is interrupted, the influence of the missionary must diminish, and his efforts must be

elementary instruction not only in the common branches of education, but in the rudiments of agriculture and mechanics. He suggests, also, periodical examinations and trials of skill. The whole despatch is well worth studying, as a summary of the duties of a colonial government with respect to the natives. See also a despatch of Lord Gosford (*Ib.* 92.). But little or nothing seems to have been done.

* The governor of Western Australia, Sir James Stirling, has been much praised for the establishment of native "normal" schools, to teach them (among other things) hunting and fishing. It is not for us to judge of the wisdom of a course of study adopted at the Antipodes; but these are subjects in which it might have been thought, *à priori*, that any native might have imparted some useful lessons to Sir James Stirling and all his council.

carried on an increasing disadvantage. This is the reason why the most successful missionary experiments have generally taken place in uncolonized regions, such as the islands of the Pacific; or in frontier districts of thinly-peopled colonies, as in South America: for where the experiment of insulation has been persisted in, in the middle of rapidly increasing settlements, disappointment has inevitably followed; and this is said to have been the cause of the eventual failure of the schemes of Eliot and the early Puritan missionaries in New England. And on this account it will be found that missionaries are apt to entertain a certain repugnance to schemes of new colonization: the stronger, perhaps, the more zealous they are in their calling; and are apt, also, to view with jealousy any project for bringing the natives and settlers in contact in older colonies. But, without entering again into the question, whether the permanence of this theocratic regimen is desirable, it is enough to say that it is impossible; since it has been shown that the natives must eventually either mix with the colonists, or remove, and that to remove is to relapse into barbarism. If they remain, then, one way or the other, the commixture will take place. If the natives be not elevated into the rank of the sound and healthy part of the population, they will inevitably fall victims to the contact of the more degraded.

It seems generally admitted that, for this purpose, the relation of master and servant, between colonist and native, should, after the first stage of reclaiming is past, be encouraged as far as this can reasonably be done. The exaggerated dread of slavery which prevails in many quarters, the source of innumerable mistakes in colonial policy, has perhaps interfered to prevent this relation from being formed so extensively as in some

colonies it might have been. There are employments, such as the management of cattle, for which the aborigines of many countries seem particularly well suited. The Hottentots are among the best herdsmen in the world; and the natives of Swan River, it is said, have shown great aptitude for the same occupation.* The New Zealanders are, to a certain extent, an industrious race, whenever a sufficient motive is afforded them, and ready in learning the trades of civilized life.

But more is to be hoped, in this respect, from the young than the adult. And as this is a point of cardinal importance in the great and difficult work which we are discussing, it might perhaps be worth considering, whether native youths might not be apprenticed out by government, with the payment of a premium out of the public funds, to tradesmen and mechanics of good character in the towns. I speak, of course, of youths belonging to communities already some time reclaimed, and having had the rudiments of a Christian education. To attempt such a scheme prematurely would be to incur certain disappointment: until the taste or the habits of a settled life had been in some degree acquired, no savage would brook such a constraint as this experiment implies.†

* Ogle's *Western Australia*, p. 143. Capt. Grey appears not to think this a very useful kind of employment for purposes of improvement.

† I am extremely glad to find that the suggestion here advanced is now recommended on the high authority of Capt. Grey. He adds the proposal, that settlers should receive rewards for instructing native youths up to a certain degree of proficiency.—*Papers relative to New Zealand*, 1841, p. 46.

I am obliged to leave untouched several other particulars in which association between the races may be or has been attempted; such as allowing the natives the power of purchasing and holding land, and enrolling them in the militia.—See Lord John Russell's *Instructions to the Governor of New Zealand*, already referred to, as to this bold suggestion.

There is one mode of amalgamation of the races which it would probably be impossible to prevent, were it desirable; I mean by the mixture of blood. Some observers seem to consider that the multiplication of "half castes" is proceeding at such a rate, wherever unrestricted intercourse exists between natives and whites, as to threaten the extinction of the pure blood of the former. Certainly, in many Canadian and North-western tribes, a very large proportion of the present generation is supposed to partake of European blood. And Dr. Hinds seems to be of opinion that "after some years, no pure New Zealander will remain in New Zealand: and this may be called an extinction of race." Now, this result—except so far as it proceeds from corruption of morals, an enormous evil in new settlements, and one of the great causes of the degradation of aborigines—does not seem, in itself, undesirable. Certainly, the custom of intermarriage between the two races—perhaps even that of forming durable connexions—affords a considerable check to that mutual repulsion which arises merely out of prejudices of colour, and for which there can be no substantial reason where slavery does not exist. And there is strong testimony to the superior energy and high organization of many of these half-blood races.*

We have now conducted together a few very hasty and imperfect inquiries into a subject deserving a much more copious and more laborious consideration. And when we have done thus much—when we turn round to review the track over which we have passed— it is impossible, I fear, to deny that a sense of unreality is apt to mingle with our reflections, and to cloud our anticipations. Is there any substance, any

* See Appendix.

truth, in the speculations in which we have indulged, respecting measures to be taken, and results to be expected? or have we been dealing only with the creatures of our own theories — constructing Utopian commonwealths — and shutting our eyes to the broad and sad picture which experience presents? wilfully forgetting the radical unfitness of the savage for civilization, the inadequacy of our means for making the experiment, the visionary nature of our hopes and our arguments? Let us hear what an objector might urge against the views which we have been hitherto considering.

You speak, he might say, of the measures to be taken for the civilization of native races, as if that were a work which must needs be commenced anew from the foundation: and are you ignorant that in so doing you are passing the severest commentary on the futility of your entire suggestion? This is no new direction for the exercise of zeal and self-devotion. For two centuries it has been the favourite dream of the speculative, the favourite employment of the active philanthropist. It has been a task always beginning, and never advancing. Numberless institutions have been formed, numberless communities have been half reclaimed, under the superintendence of governments and missionaries; but they have never been able to maintain themselves; nay, the utmost exertions have never sufficed to preserve them. Either the savage has, of his own accord, returned to barbarism, or European invasion has rooted him out, or his households have perished by new diseases and premature decay. Every government, every sect, has tried its hand in turn; Protestants and Romanists have rivalled each other in their boasts of the blessing which has attended their endeavours; but all their works have perished, and

the forest has spread again, or the white colonist has encamped, alike over the labour-fields of Eliot and Brainerd, of Baraza and Vieyra. All experience shows that the savage is irreclaimable: not that he may not shake off the outward habits of barbarous life, acquire elementary notions of religion, and superficial habits of settled industry; but that all this is the mere result of careful inspection and constraint: he has no principle of improvement in himself; the moment he is neglected, he relapses. Certain races of mankind only are adapted to civilization; their organization shows it; they admit of gradual progress. No individual, of the races we call savage, has ever, in these three hundred years, distinguished himself in the career of civilized life; nay, none of those who have been thus partially reclaimed have ever exhibited the same degree of intellectual development which has been shown by some in their wild and natural state; such as a few of the warrior chieftains of America and Polynesia, whose names have passed into history; the sachem Philip, the leader Tecumseh, and Fecnow, the royal savage of the Society Islands.

And even were this otherwise, they will add, there is another and more fatal obstacle: the feebler race must yield to the stronger; the white is destined to extirpate the savage. All the civilizing efforts of governments must lag far behind the destructive consequences of European invasion. It is not only by appreciable causes, by warfare, or the destruction of game, or the introduction of spirits, or of new epidemics, that the savage perishes from before the face of the colonist; there are deeper and more mysterious causes at work: the mere contact of Europeans is fatal to him in some unknown manner.

This theory of necessary depopulation has been ad-

vanced of late in so many quarters, and presents so formidable an aspect to the inquirer, that I may perhaps be excused for dwelling a little upon it, as well as the other objections I have been stating, before we draw to a conclusion.

With Sir Francis Head's opinions on the subject we are already acquainted.

Sir Richard Bourke writes to Lord Glenelg respecting New Zealand (1837), — “ Disease and death “ prevail, even amongst those natives who by their “ adherence to the missionaries have received only “ benefit from English connexion ; and even the very “ children who are reared under the care of the missionaries are swept off in a ratio which promises, at “ no very distant period, to leave the country destitute “ of a single aboriginal inhabitant. The natives are “ perfectly sensible of this decrease ; and when they “ contrast their own condition with that of the English “ families, amongst whom the marriages have been “ prolific to an extraordinary degree of a most healthy “ progeny, they conceive that the God of the English “ is removing the aboriginal inhabitants to make room “ for them ; and it appears to me that this impression “ has produced among them a very general unhappiness “ and indifference to life.”*

Thus writes the philosophical traveller, Mr. Darwin, on the occasion of his visit to the same region :—

“ Besides these several evident causes of destruction, “ there appears to be some more mysterious agency “ generally at work. Wherever the European has “ trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal. We

* Lords' Report on New Zealand, 1838. In the Returns from Lower Canada, 1839, it is stated, “ that the average number of “ children living from an Indian marriage, in Lower Canada, is “ not above four for five married couple.” At this rate, *their* extinction is very near at hand.

“ may look to the wide extent of the Americas, Polynesia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Australia, and we shall find the same result. Nor is it the white man alone that thus acts the destroyer. The Polynesian of Malay extraction has, in parts of the East Indian archipelago, thus driven before him the dark-coloured native. The varieties of man seem to act upon each other in the same way as different species of animals; the stronger always extirpating the weaker. It was melancholy at New Zealand to hear the fine energetic natives saying, ‘they knew the land was doomed to pass from their children.’ Every one has heard of the inexplicable reduction of the population in the beautiful and healthy island of Tahiti, since the date of Captain Cook’s voyage; although in that case we might have expected it would have been otherwise; for infanticide, which formerly prevailed to so extraordinary a degree, has ceased, and the murderous wars have become less frequent.”

Finally, to quote the language of Mr. Poeppig, a German naturalist, who has resided for some years in South America: — “It is an unquestionable fact that the copper-coloured man cannot endure the spread of European civilization in his neighbourhood; but perishes in its atmosphere, without suffering from ardent spirits, epidemics, or wars, as if touched by a poisonous breath.” And he proceeds to compare the substitution of the one race for the other, with the destruction of the first growth of low vegetation, in the recently formed islands of the Pacific, by the vigorous crop of forest trees which succeeds it.*

Whether there be or be not truth of fact in the opi-

* Art. “Indier,” Encyclopedia of Erz and Gruber.

nions thus expressed, there is surely something startling to the imagination in the language in which they are conveyed. Perhaps I may venture to attribute some of the colouring to that taste for fanciful analogies, and speculations partaking of the mysterious, in which natural philosophers are apt to indulge when they apply their knowledge to subjects not immediately within their province. When we find one race of animals, or one class of vegetation, extirpating another, there is nothing inexplicable in the succession of cause and effect. The stronger destroys the weaker by natural agencies: animals become the prey of newly imported indigenous ones; or their food is destroyed by the multiplication of the latter: the seeds of one class of vegetables cannot spring up where a stronger growth has established itself: and so forth. What is there, in these or similar processes, analogous to the supposed mysterious influence of the mere contact of one family of the human race upon another? If it be true, that the mere presence of a white population is sufficient to cause the red Indians, or the Polynesians, to dwindle and decay, without any assignable agency of the one or the other, it must be confessed that this is an anomaly in the laws of Providence utterly unexplained by all our previous knowledge, wholly at variance with all the other laws by which animal life, and human society, are governed.

But on what proof does the supposed fact itself rest? We might take reasonable exceptions to many of the ordinary instances which are adduced to support it. No reliance can really be placed on the rough conjectures of the numbers of native tribes made by the first visitors of savage countries. As some of the witnesses on the New Zealand committee very truly remarked with regard to the South Sea islands, the discoverers seem to have magnified the native population, by judging of

it from the concourse of people attracted by their own appearance. For example: Cook estimated the population of Otaheite (the instance given by Mr. Darwin) at 200,000. When the missionaries first reached the island (about thirty years ago) they found it 16,000. Now this is a difference far too great to be at all accounted for on any reasonable theory of depopulation; we must therefore take the course of rejecting the first calculation as altogether unworthy of credit. But again: in other instances, it will be found that the population of regions long visited by Europeans has not diminished, even in comparison with the first estimate. No country has been so often referred to, as affording an instance of depopulation by white intercourse as New Zealand: yet Forster, the companion of Cook, conjectured that the northern island contained 100,000 inhabitants. Mr. Williams, in his evidence, now gives it 106,000. I mention these numbers because others have assumed them as data in reasoning; but without believing that either of the calculations is really to be relied upon.*

* I must, however, subjoin the following extract from a paper read by Rawson W. Rawson, Esq. to the Statistical Society, and kindly furnished me by him, on the Statistics of the Sandwich Islands. The details are taken from authentic sources, and present a very fearful picture of depopulation:—

“The population of the islands appears to be rapidly decreasing. In 1779, it was estimated by Captain Cook, and it is believed with correctness, at 400,000. According to enumerations taken in 1832 and 1836, it had decreased at the first period to 130,313; and in the latter, to 108,579: or to nearly one fourth in 57 years. From a comparison of these two censuses with Ellis's statements, it will be seen that the latter are very incorrect. If these data are correct, there was a decrease of 21,734, or 16.6 per cent., in 4 years; but it is not probable that, as the census is made for the purpose of taxation, some portion of the population hide themselves during its progress to escape enumeration. There is, however, undoubtedly a rapid decrease of the native population, particularly among the chiefs, who are dying off rapidly. One of the missionaries, who ascer-

But the true subject for investigation is this: Is there a single instance of depopulation among aboriginal races since their intercourse with the whites, in which that depopulation cannot be traced to appreciable causes? That the waste of human life, at the present moment, is frightfully enormous, we too well know. The recent revelations of Mr. Catline, concerning the rapid destruction of the tribes in the interior of the North American continent, have added most painfully to our knowledge of the devastation which our race is occasioning, and of our own utter helplessness to prevent it. But there is not a single example which he adduces, in which the mortality is not accounted for; either by the more sanguinary character which fire-arms have given to their wars, or by the destruction of their food, or by the effects of spirituous liquors, or, more fatal than all, by the introduction of new epidemics, such as the small pox, which lately, in two seasons, cut off nearly the whole Mandan tribe, 2000 warriors strong. To these we must add, as another appreciable cause, too great a change of habits, and too close restraint, as in the case already described of the Jesuit missions. All this affords no answer to the question: If the native can be reclaimed; if he can be placed in safety from hostile aggression; if a sufficiency of food can be secured to him; if time can be given him to become fortified against the virulence of epidemic diseases, which are always most destructive in their first assaults on a race previously free from them; if all these causes of death are removed, must he still perish?

“tained, with considerable pains, the births and deaths in a large section, computed that there were annually 3335 births, and “6838 deaths, in the group!” The writer professes to give no adequate solution of these startling phenomena.

Now if it be found, that in any one instance where aborigines have been thus reclaimed and settled, they have increased, or even remained stationary in numbers, in the midst of a white population, then the supposed law of Mr. Pöppig and Mr. Darwin is imaginary. They claim for it an universal operation ; and it is obvious that they must do so ; if the contact of one race is necessarily fatal to another, the result must follow in all cases alike. Let us then examine the very scanty collection of facts which lies within our reach.

In Mexico, and perhaps in Peru, the labouring Indian population, after suffering great losses in the first ages after the conquest, was steadily on the increase up to the end of the last century, when Humboldt wrote, and has probably continued so, allowance being made for the effects of civil war since that time. Now it is true, that the great body of these people was agricultural before the conquest, and therefore their condition affords no test of what may be practicable with savages ; but it surely affords at once a conclusive answer to the notion of a noxious influence of race upon race.

The instance of the Indians of our North American provinces is one of the most unfavourable which can be selected, owing to the course of mismanagement which has been adopted towards them. Yet, even there, there seems no evidence that the long settled tribes of Indians are now in general decaying in numbers. In Cape Breton, says Mr. Haliburton, "they are much diminished, but still exist ; and probably will, as long as lands are reserved for their use." Those of Lower Canada, some observers think, are disappearing ; but they are a very degraded remnant. In Upper Canada, all that the evidence in the Returns, already so often quoted, amounts to is, that they "are not likely to

“increase rapidly.” Mr. Beecham, the missionary, goes farther and says, that “among the tribes that have been “the greatest length of time under the influence of “Christian principles, the population has begun to “increase.”* But no enumerations are given, and I should not rely on this evidence farther than as establishing that there cannot be in these instances any sensible process of depopulation going on.

The numbers at the British settlement at the Red River, far in the interior, have increased from 500 to 5000 in a few years, as a witness before the Aborigines Committee expresses himself, “with the natives “coming down to settle, and the half-breeds.”†

But, in the United States, the testimony of Mr. Flint is clear and decisive, and of the utmost importance. “The Cherokees and Choctaws increase in the country “east of the Mississippi almost in a ratio as great as “that of our people.” These tribes, as we know, had become agricultural. This was written before the recent removal of part of the Cherokees and the Choctaws from their settlements by the United States government.

The instance of Tahiti has been referred to by Mr. Darwin. Now, in that island, we have seen that the first credible account gave 16,000 as the number of inhabitants. Some years afterwards (after the long civil wars which accompanied the establishment of Christianity), it was reduced to 8,000.‡ But under the missionary government it has again increased, and is now supposed to amount to 12,000.

Lastly, the Hottentots of the Cape form the only settled tribe in our colonies, as far as I am aware, of

* Report on Aborigines, 1837, p. 47.

† Ibid. p. 73.

‡ Depopulation ceased, and the births began to equal the deaths, in 1819-20. — *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. c. 1.

which a regular census is given along with that of the remaining population; or I should rather say was, until the late slave emancipation act. Their number was steadily on the increase from 1807, the date of the first, till 1823, that of the last separate enumeration which I have seen. At the former period it was 17,431; at the latter, 30,549.*

With these facts before us, we may perhaps dismiss, with little scruple, the theories of those who tell us that aboriginal races are hastening to an inevitable destruction. But notwithstanding the length to which this lecture has extended, I cannot leave this branch of the subject, with out a few words on another and a very different view of

It is the opinion of some observers, that the depopulation of America did not commence with its settlement by Europeans, but was even then rapidly proceeding, owing to causes which the arrival of the Europeans might aggravate indeed, but could not produce. They refer to the constant wars between the tribes; their sanguinary customs, particularly that of infanticide; the frequency of deaths at an early age; and the inferior productiveness of marriages, caused apparently by the hardships peculiar to their mode of life — as circumstances which are inconsistent with the possibility of a healthy and natural movement of the population. They refer, too, to the habitual complaints of diminution of numbers, which have been heard by white visitors in regions to which they were the first to penetrate; as, for example, by Major Pike in his journey to the Rocky Mountains, more than thirty years ago.

But they point also to more striking proofs than

* Montgomery Martin, British Colonial Library.

these. In the valley of the Ohio, on the shores of the Great Lakes, and far in the interior, exist the monuments of a race which, in numbers and in civilization, must have been far more superior to the Indians with whom Raleigh and the Puritans made acquaintance, than these could be to the most degenerate tribe which now visits the markets of Montreal or Saint John. There are the traces of cities of vast extent ; there are mounds, to raise which, says Mr. Flint, would task the labour of a thousand men for a year, aided by all the appliances of modern art. Now there certainly appears much reason for supposing that the Indians of the present day are the descendants of those very people : it is not easy to believe that so mighty a nation was destroyed at once, that new races succeeded it, and that those new races were by degrees augmenting in numbers and in power when the Whites discovered them. The far more probable theory seems to be, that the hunting tribes who first became known to Europeans were the mere fragments of a great family of the human species, losing, in every successive generation, something of the qualities which had distinguished their predecessors, diminishing in numbers and resources, and on their way towards extinction ; and there are some who held the same opinion respecting all the races commonly called savage.

If so, and if it be true at the same time, as I have endeavoured to show, that these races will multiply when their habits are changed, and their security provided for, then we must view, in the occupation of their country by the Whites, not the necessary cause of their destruction, but the only possible means of rescuing them from it. We are then not their predestined murderers, but called to assume the station of their preservers. If we neglect the call, we do so

in defiance of the express and intelligible indications afforded us by Providence.

And I think that a mind once satisfied that there is any approximation to truth in these conclusions, will scarcely attach much force to the other objection which I have stated, namely, that of the incapacity of the savage mind for cultivation. Even if it were granted, that it is not susceptible of improvement beyond a certain point — that the North American, for instance, highly as he is gifted in respect of moral perception, has not intellectual faculties of commensurate strength, all which must be considered as assumed, or resting at best only on negative proofs — there is surely no reason in this why they may not enter by degrees into the sphere of civilization, although remaining always a subordinate race to the Whites; or, considering the smallness of their numbers in most cases, becoming quietly absorbed in the course of a few generations in the mass of the people. Different fates may be in store for them, according to the different powers they may evince, and their different physical circumstances: there are many ways in which the great problem may be solved. But that even the lowest of them are capable of acquiring settled habits, and susceptible of spiritual and intellectual training, I do not think any dispassionate inquirer can possibly doubt.

If my limits would permit, I should gladly close this lecture by dwelling on the proofs of this truth which are even now exhibited in many quarters. I can do no more than refer to them. The two Reports on the Aborigines, and various volumes of Parliamentary Returns, contain the best information now accessible respecting savage tribes under our jurisdiction. The last are useful as correctives of the former; for it cannot be denied that many of the witnesses examined

before the two committees of 1836 and 1837, missionaries and others, evinced a tendency to colour too highly the prospects and present condition of the reclaimed natives. But much, you will see, has certainly been effected. I would refer particularly to the instances of the South African tribes under the superintendence of missionaries, chiefly Moravians; of the remarkable progress of the Red River settlement, a territory very remote from any fully colonized country, in which the Indians seem, of their own accord, to be adopting agricultural habits; of the Chippeways* of St. Clair in Upper Canada; of the remnant of the Six Nations in the same country, some of whom are said to hold extensive farms of 150, 100, and 80 acres of cleared land. †

The United States present much more remarkable results. No Indian tribe reclaimed from the hunting state has ever made so great a progress as that which had been attained by the Cherokees, prior to their last and unhappy removal.

“ In 1824,” says Mr. Stuart ‡, “ when the population of the Cherokees was 15,560 individuals, it included 1277 negroes (slaves); they had 18 schools, 36 grist-mills, 13 saw-mills, 762 looms, 2480 spinning wheels, 172 waggons, 2923 ploughs, 7683 horses, 22,531 black cattle, 46,732 swine, 2546 sheep, 430 goats, 62 blacksmith’s shops, with several

* Report on Aborigines, 1837, p. 49.

† Returns, 1839; or to have held. I do not know whether they were comprehended in Sir F. Head’s intended removal. Sir R. Bonycastle speaks thus of a body of Miemac Indians, settled in Gaspé:— “ This branch is entirely separated from the rest of the nation, and fast merging into civilization, the squaws having adopted the dress of the surrounding peasantry, and all speaking both English and French.”— *The Canadas in 1841*, vol. ii. p. 204.

‡ *Three Years in North America*, vol. ii. p. 42.

“public roads, ferries, and turnpikes. They had also “newspapers in their own language.” This flourishing republic is now, I believe, desolate; but the example remains.*

The recent history of Tahiti presents one of the most singular chapters in modern annals; and that of the Sandwich Islands is hardly less remarkable. So great has been the success of the missionaries in the former island, that it might even suggest a doubt as to the soundness of a principle which I just now endeavoured to establish, namely, that those agents are the fittest to introduce civilization, but not to preserve it. But there are reasons for doubting, whether the country is not now ripe for a change of system, over which I cannot detain you. The best way to study this very interesting subject is that which Mr. Darwin suggests, namely, to correct the colouring (I will not say the statements), of Mr. Ellis, the missionary, in his *Polynesian Researches*, by the remarks of the prejudiced Kotzebue and the impartial observer, Captain Beechey. It is worthy of remark, that the missionaries for fifteen years obtained no results at all; yet they persevered.

I will mention, last, a communication in the *Parliamentary Papers on Australian Aborigines* (1839) from Mr. Robinson, commandant of Flinder's Island, respecting the remnant of the Van Diemens' Land natives, who were lately removed there. “There never,” he says, “existed a race of their character so degraded as “were the primeval occupants of Van Dieman's Land; “and yet, by the philanthropic interference of the local “administration, their wretched condition has been “ameliorated, and exceeds by far the majority of the “humbler grade of European inhabitants; and in

* See Appendix, No. IV.

“ their general conduct, I venture to affirm, they are “ much superior.” And he proceeds to give details of their present state in point of material comfort, their industry, and their moral and religious improvement, which are perfectly astonishing, when it is remembered that these people, only six years ago, were prowling savages, plundering the settlers for subsistence, and exposed to be shot like wild beasts. Their occupations are chiefly tillage, and making roads, and other government employment. The women have learnt knitting, and other branches of female industry. The means which Mr. Robinson represents himself to use for their civilization seems to prove, in the first place, how far that civilization already extends. They are what he calls “ an aboriginal fund,” — a circulating medium for the payment of wages — an aboriginal police — a weekly market — and a weekly periodical. Unfortunately, their numbers seem to be diminishing ; probably from the sudden change of habits, and the comparatively narrow limits to which these wandering people are now confined.

If, then, it be insisted that these indications are fallacious — that such experiments have been often made, and never permanently successful — our safest answer is, that they have never been persevered in. Never has any thing like the combination of means, which I have ventured to suggest in these pages, and most of which have been separately pressed on public attention by men practically acquainted with the subject, been put into operation. It is not enough to protect the native from wrong ; there must also be religious instruction, to give a stimulus to his indolent faculties : it is not enough to effect his conversion ; there must be the education of knowledge and industry, and admission into the pale of civilized life. Until the

whole experiment has been tried, the language of despair is unreasonable and unjust. For myself, notwithstanding all the discouraging appearances which the present aspect of affairs may exhibit, I am inclined to think hopefully of the great cause of aboriginal civilization, and to apply to it the noble language of Herder, true, as I verily believe it to be, in his own wider sense:—"All the doubts and complaints of mankind over the dark confusion of events, and the imperceptible progress of good in human history, proceed from this, that the eye of the melancholy traveller can comprehend at once only too small a portion of his road. Could he but extend the sphere of his vision, and impartially compare with each other those ages with which history makes us most familiar; could he but penetrate at the same time into the nature of man, and weigh what reason and truth really are, he would doubt as little of his own progress as of the most certain facts in natural philosophy."*

* Ideen, book xv. c. 4.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE XIX.

No. I.

THE following is the Government Return of the Indian Tribes of the United States in 1836. Those comprised in Classes 1. and 2. have nearly all been removed farther West since that Period.

1. *East of the Mississippi, under Stipulations to remove to the West of that River: —*

Ottawas of Ohio	-	-	-	230
Potawatamies of Indiana	-	-	-	3,000
Chippeways, Ottawas, Potawatamies	-	-	-	6,288
Winnebagos	-	-	-	4,500
Cherokees	-	-	-	16,000
Creeks	-	-	-	4,000
Chickasaws	-	-	-	5,400
Seminoles	-	-	-	2,600
Appalachicolas	-	-	-	400
Ottawas and Chippeways in Michigan	-	-	-	6,500
				48,918

2. *Not under Stipulations to remove: —*

New York Indians	-	-	-	4,176
Wyandots	-	-	-	575
Miamis	-	-	-	1,100
Ottawas and Chippeways of the Lakes	-	-	-	2,564
				8,415

3. *Indians who have emigrated to the West of the Mississippi: —*

Chippeways, Ottawas, and Potawatamies				1,712
Choctaws	-	-	-	15,000
				16,712

Indian
used in
West
move to

	<i>Brought forward</i>	-	16,712
Quapaws	-	-	476
Creeks	-	-	17,894
Seminoles	-	-	407
Appalachicolas	-	-	265
Cherokees	-	-	6,072
Peorias and Kaskaskias	-	-	132
Kickapoos	-	-	588
Delawares	-	-	826
Shawnees	-	-	1,272
Ottawas	-	-	200
Weas	-	-	222
Piankeshaws	-	-	162
Senecas	-	-	251
Senecas and Shawnees	-	-	211
		<hr/>	45,690

4. *Indigenous Tribes near the Western Frontier, about* 150,341

Total 253,364

No. II. p. 201.

IN Dr. Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (vol. i. p. 147. ed. 1831), a variety of facts are collected respecting mixed races. He considers the prolificness and the energetic character which distinguish many of these races, in the light of evidence that mankind are of one species; otherwise, such races would follow the general law of hybrid productions.

“ The Griquas, or bastard Hottentots, the mixed race between the Dutch colonists and the aborigines of South Africa, form, on the borders of the colonial settlements, a numerous and rapidly increasing race.

“ Another mixed tribe in Africa has become one of the more powerful nations in that continent. The Fellatahs are, according to the most recent and accurate accounts, a mixed progeny from the intermixture of the Red Poules, the old inhabitants of Fouta Dhallo and Fouta Torro,

48,918

8,415

6,712

“ with the Jollofs, Jallouka, and Torodos, as well as with
 “ other black nations with whom they have coalesced. The
 “ intermediate race resulting from this intermixture has
 “ become so much more numerous and powerful, as to have
 “ superseded the original Poules in their native lands, and
 “ to have spread themselves moreover by conquest over a
 “ great part of the interior of Soudan.”

In Paraguay the mixed breed constitutes, according to Don Felix de Azara, a great majority of the people termed Spaniards, or White Men; and they are said to be a people superior, in physical qualities, to either of the races from which they have sprung, and much more prolific than the aborigines. The following is the description given of them by Azara:—

“ Ces métis s'unirent en général les uns aux autres,
 “ parcequ'il ne passe en Amérique que très-peu de femmes
 “ Européennes, et ce sont les descendans de ces métis qui
 “ composent aujourd'hui au Paraguay la plus grande partie
 “ de ce qu'on appelle Espagnols. Ils me paraissent avoir
 “ quelque supériorité sur les Espagnols d'Europe, par leur
 “ taille, par l'élégance de leurs formes, et même par la
 “ blancheur de leur peau. Ces faits me font soupçonner non
 “ seulement que le mélange des races les améliore, mais
 “ encore que l'espèce Européenne l'emporte à la longue sur
 “ l'Américaine, ou du moins le sexe masculin sur le féminin.”

Mr. Catline's opinion of the mixed races between the North American Indians and the Whites and Negroes is unfavourable, at least as to their moral development. But his work contains several remarkable instances, which seem to militate against this view. It is particularly observable that many of the principal chiefs seem to be half-breeds.

No. III. p. 212.

It is remarkable, however, that Mr. Stephens, the last and most accurate observer of the great ruined cities of Central America, ascribes those erections to a date not long preceding the conquest, and gives very good reasons for doing so.

The following passage is curious, as shewing the strong

hold which the traditions of Eldorado still retain on the Spanish imagination:—

“ The rest of the Tierra de Guerra (land of war) never was conquered; and at this day the north-eastern section, bounded by the range of the Cordilleras and the state of Chiapas, is occupied by Caudones, or unbaptized Indians, who live as their fathers did, acknowledge no submission to the Spaniards, and the government of Central America does not pretend to exercise any control over them. But the thing that roused us was the assertion by the padre, that four days on the road to Mexico, on the other side of the great Sierra, was a living city, large and populous, occupied by Indians, precisely in the same state as before the discovery of America. He had heard of it many years before, at the village of Chajul, and was told by the villagers that, from the topmost ridge of the Sierra, this city was distinctly visible. He was then young, and with much labour climbed to the naked summit of the Sierra, from which, at a height of ten or twelve thousand feet, he looked over an immense plain, extending to Yucatan and the Gulf of Mexico, and saw at a distance a large city spread over a great space, and with turrets white and glittering in the sun. The traditionary account of the Indians of Chajul is, that no white man has ever reached this city; that the inhabitants speak the Maya language; are aware that a race of strangers have conquered the whole country round; and murder any white man who attempts to enter their territory. They have no coin, or other circulating medium; no horses, cattle, mules, or other domestic animals, except fowls, and the cocks they keep underground to prevent their crowing being heard.”—*Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. ii. c. 11.

No. IV. p. 214.

THE history of the three semi-civilized tribes (Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees), is altogether so curious that I may be pardoned for inserting the following extracts from two

travellers, one who describes them in their former seats, and one in their present. It will be seen that they have not retrograded as yet, by any means, to the extent which might have been feared.

“ The three first named tribes (Creeks, Cherokees, Choc-taws) certainly hold out a promise of the gradual attainment of civilization, many not only cultivating large tracts, but holding in their own persons many slaves, and living altogether by agriculture. They may become permanent possessors of the soil they now cultivate. The recent invention of written characters by a full-blood Cherokee, consisting of 84 signs, expressing all the dominant sounds of that language, and *the great number of half-breeds* among them, are both favourable to this change of life. The best proof that they are advancing from their savage state to a higher grade is, that their numbers increase, while almost all other Indian tribes spread over the American continent far and near are known to diminish in number so rapidly, that common observation alone enables any one to predict their utter extinction before the lapse of many years.” — *Latrobe, Rambler in America*, vol. i. p. 163. (1832).

“ The Cherokees, living in the vicinity of Fort Gibson on the Arkansas, and 700 miles west of the Mississippi, are a third part or more of the once very numerous and powerful tribe who inhabited, and still inhabit, a considerable part of the state of Georgia, and under a treaty made with the United States government have been removed to those regions, where they are settled on a fine tract of country; and having advanced somewhat in the arts and agriculture before they started, are now found to be mostly living well, cultivating their fields of corn, and other crops, which they raise with great success.”

(It appears that two-thirds of this tribe have as yet refused to remove, under the guidance of a chief called John Ross, described as “ a civilized and highly accomplished gentleman, who, like most of the chiefs, and a very great proportion of the Cherokee population, has a mixture of white and red blood in his veins, of which, in this instance, the first seems to predominate.”)

" The Creeks (or Muskogeans) of 20,000 in number, have exchanged their possessions in Mississippi and Alabama for a country adjoining to the Cherokees, on the south side of the Arkansas, to which they have already all removed, and on which, like the Cherokees, they are laying out fine farms, and building good houses, in which they live, in many instances surrounded by immense fields of (Indian) corn and wheat. There is scarcely a finer country on earth than that now owned by the Creeks; and, in North America, certainly no Indian tribe more advanced in the arts and agriculture than they are. It is no uncommon thing to see a Creek with 20 or 30 slaves at work on his plantation, having brought them from a slave-holding country, from which, in their long journey, and exposure to white men's ingenuity, I venture to say that most of them get rid of one half of them during their long and disastrous crusade."

The Choctaws, of 15,000, removed from the northern parts of Alabama and Mississippi within the few years past, now occupy a large and rich tract of country south of the Arkansas and the Canadian river, adjoining to the country of the Creeks and Cherokees, equally civilized, and living much in the same manner.*

It appears that most of the ancient tribes which resisted the English in their gradual settlement of the eastern sea-board still exist, though in extremely diminished numbers, having been moved, for the most part, step by step into locations far west of their original seats. Some of them, *who have been the least exposed to this process*, seemed to have attained some degree of civilization, *e. g.* the Tuscaroras, lately seated near Buffalo in New York, and the Senecas, in the same vicinity. But these also have been removed within the last year or two. Some others, like the Delawares, retain, in their decline, the same warlike and indomitable character which distinguished them in the early times of American colonization.—See the sketch of these tribes in the same work, letter 47.

* Catline, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the American Indians, vol. ii. p. 119, &c. (1837).

LECTURE XX.

PROGRESS OF WEALTH IN COLONIES. — RATE OF WAGES. —
RATE OF PROFITS. — TAXATION.

LET us proceed to investigate very briefly the causes and character of the economical progress of colonies in what may be called their second or adolescent stage, when they are already established as communities, and before they have attained that density of population which characterizes old states.

I need not repeat what has been so often urged in these lectures, that the cause which impels adventurers to the foundation of new colonies, and the reward of the exertions of the emigrant, is the increased productiveness of labour when applied to a new soil. The labour of every man in the colonies, said Sir Josiah Child in the early days of our American plantations, is four times as valuable as if he had remained at home. The industry of those who go into a foreign plantation, says William Penn, is worth more than if they remained here, "the product of their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to those of this country;" that is, greater either in amount or value. According to a calculation of Humboldt, the return of wheat in Prussia in his time might be estimated at 4 or 5 to 1; in France, on the average, at 5 or 6 to 1; in the best soils, 13 to 1; in La Plata, 12 to 1; the North of Mexico, 17 to 1; Peru, 18 to 1: equinoxial Mexico, 24 to 1.* These, no doubt, are remarkable

* *Nouv. Esp.* 118. 99. 8vo ed. Mr. Poinsett estimates the return in the valley of Mexico at 20 to 1; in the "Baxio," or plains near Guanaxuato, 40 to 1.

instances of fertility ; but if the comparison were made between the amount of exchangeable value which may be produced by an European labourer raising wheat on a soil of average fertility, and a negro on a sugar estate in Cuba or Demerara, the difference would probably appear still more remarkable.*

But it is a general law that "the possession by any country of superior advantages in producing commodities extensively demanded in foreign markets, confers upon that country a greater command than her neighbours of all the productions of foreign industry ; and enables her to maintain a higher scale of prices for all the products of domestic industry." † This law has been very ably demonstrated by Mr. Senior, in his lectures on the cost of obtaining money. The average rate of profit in England is supposed to be about one tenth, or 11 per cent. In Hindostan, Mr. Senior estimates it, conjecturally, at one sixth, or about 20 per cent. But the average annual wages of labour in England are calculated by him at from nine to fifteen pounds troy of silver. In Hindostan, they are from one to two pounds troy of silver. In other words, those countries which give the silver in exchange for the produce of the labour of England and Hindostan (for neither of these produce silver) are willing to give more than eight times as much for the commodities which an Englishman can produce in a year, as for those which a Hindoo can produce in a year. Or, which is merely to vary the expression once more, labour in England is eight times as productive of exportable commodities as in Hindostan : after allowance has been made for the different rate of profit in Eng-

* See a computation made by Don Ramon de la Sagra, in his statistical work on Cuba.

† Torrens, *Colonization of South Australia*, p. 163, 164.

land and Hindostan, the labourer's wages for a year having been, by the supposition, advanced to him by the capitalist.

“ In the mining countries,” proceeds Mr. Senior, “ all prices ultimately depend on the cost of producing the precious metals. Although the remuneration paid to the miner is not identical with that received by other producers, yet it affords the scale by which the remuneration of all other producers is calculated. When once experience has ascertained the comparative advantages and disadvantages of different occupations, they will continue to bear, as to wages, the same proportion to one another. A fall in the cost of producing silver must raise the wages of the miner. If those of the agriculturist were not to rise in proportion, the miner's wages would be more than in proportion to his sacrifices, and they would be reduced by the consequent competition. And, on the other hand, mining would be abandoned, if, when the cost of producing silver were increased, the wages in other employments could be stationary. The mine worked by England is the general market of the world. The miners are those who produce those commodities by the exportation of which the precious metals are obtained; and the amount of the precious metals, which, by a given exertion of labour and advance of capital, they can obtain, must afford the scale by which the remuneration of all other producers is calculated.”*

Mr. Senior proceeds to show in what manner money prices, as well as money wages, are raised by the increased command of the precious metals which results from increased productiveness of labour. He assumes that the average wages of the manufacturing labourer

* Lectures on the Cost of obtaining Money, p. 15.

are 15*s.* a week, and those of the agricultural labourer 10*s.* a week. These are, of course, the sums which are necessary at the existing rate of prices to afford each of them that amount of remuneration which the habits of the country have established. He supposes, therefore, that on an estate of one hundred acres, 200 quarters go annually to the landlord in the shape of rent, and 200 are retained by the farmer to divide between himself and his labourers. The value of those 200 quarters must be equal to the wages of the labourers, after deducting the farmer's profit for having paid those wages in advance. "We will suppose that the farmer in question employs ten labourers, whose wages are advanced for a year before the produce is sold, and that the average rate of profit is one tenth, or about 11 per cent. per annum. When wages are 10*s.* a week, or 26*l.* a year, per labourer, the wages of ten labourers amount to 260*l.* a year, making, with the addition of one tenth for profits, 286*l.*, which must be the average price of the 200 quarters annually retained by the farmer to pay his profit and his labourers' wages. And as the landlord's 200 quarters sell for the same prices, his rent must also be 286*l.* a year."

But if any improvement in English manufacturing skill should raise the value of English manufactures in the foreign market, and consequently the wages of English manufacturing labourers (say from 15*s.* to 30*s.* a week), the wages of *all* English labour, says Mr. Senior, would rise in the same proportion; and consequently the prices of those commodities, such as corn, in the production of which no such improvement of skill had taken place, must also double.

I presume that in this calculation Mr. Senior is excluding the effect of foreign competition. If foreign

corn were admitted, it is clear that the price of British corn could not double under the circumstances which he supposes; it could only rise to that height at which the produce raised by the foreign grower would compete with it: either, therefore, the wages of the agricultural labourer would be kept down (but this they could not permanently be, the resource of manufacturing industry being open), or less corn would be raised, the less fertile soils thrown out of corn cultivation; more goods would be produced to exchange for corn from abroad, and a certain number of hands employed in agriculture gradually absorbed in manufactures. The prices of all domestic articles consumed by the labourers would rise; but they would evidently not rise to the extent of the rise in wages, unless in those instances in which competition from abroad was impossible: the command of the English labourer over foreign articles would be doubled, if the increased demand thus produced did not raise their price; but this it would inevitably do to some extent.

The skill of English manufacturing labourers is, therefore, the great advantage by which English high wages and high prices are maintained. And precisely a similar advantage must be enjoyed by any country which has exclusive facilities for raising produce bearing a value in the general market of the world. Such facilities are enjoyed in a peculiar degree by the countries producing the precious metals: Peru and Mexico, for instance; and in these, accordingly, the money wages of labour, and the money prices of most commodities, are excessively high, and were still higher in the days of their great prosperity. Some instances have been given, in a former lecture, of the enormous money incomes derived by Mexican landowners from their estates. Such facilities are likewise enjoyed by all new

countries possessing much land, applicable to raising exportable produce : the cotton-growing states of America ; the flourishing parts of the West Indies ; the new wool-growing colonies of the southern hemisphere. To all these the fertility or the other advantages of their soil are what skill and machinery are to England : they command high money wages, and consequently the money prices of many commodities are proportionally high.

This is a permanent cause of high money wages and prices ; permanent, so long as the advantages mentioned continue to exist. But there is another temporary cause, less important in an economical point of view, but very striking in its effects. This is the great importation of money by emigrants into colonies to which the stream of emigration is directed ; particularly those which are the resort of capitalists. Government expenditure has of course the like effects. High money wages and prices in very young colonies, where production has as yet hardly commenced, are mainly owing to this circumstance. The money wages of bricklayers, masons, and carpenters, in Van Diemen's Land, amounted, in 1824, to 12*s.* a day ; in 1830 they had fallen to 10*s.* ; in 1838 to 6*s.* or 6*s.* 6*d.* Yet between 1830 and 1838 the exports of the colony were trebled, while the population of the colony did not nearly double. The fall in money wages must have been mainly owing to the cessation of the influx of free emigrants, and consequently of money, from Great Britain, the course of colonial enterprise having taken in the interval another direction. And in this way we are enabled to account for the paradoxical phenomenon which appears to have surprised many visitors to flourishing infant colonies, such as South Australia, where wages have appeared to rise instead of falling with every

fresh arrival of immigrants, although as yet production had scarcely commenced and the labours of preparation were not concluded.

To return, however, to the investigation of more general principles. Although money prices and the money wages of labour are necessarily high in countries possessing exclusive advantages for raising exportable produce, it by no means follows that the real wages of labour, that is, the amount of necessaries and comforts obtainable by the labourer, are necessarily high also. Real wages depend altogether upon the proportion between the number of the labouring classes and the amount of the funds for the maintenance of labour: and that proportion mainly depends on the habits and tastes of the labourers themselves; or rather, in countries where the rate of wages is low, the cause and the effect, inferior self-respect and superfluous numbers, are continually reacting upon each other. Therefore, silver may be cheap, and labour cheap also. It does not appear that the condition of the Mexican miner was a very prosperous one, and that of the Mexican peasant was very indifferent, at a period when Mexico produced nearly half the precious metals which entered into the commerce of the world, and when money wages and prices were inordinately high.

But where labour is scarce, and the influx of capital great, in consequence of exclusive facilities for production, there not only money but real wages are necessarily high. And this is the ordinary case with new settlements raising exportable produce. If we analyse the enormous rate of money wages realised by a labourer in New South Wales, at the present day, we shall find that *four* different causes concur in producing it. Silver is cheap, because New South Wales possesses great facilities for the production of wool, in consequence of

which a day's labour in Australia raises a greater value in exportable produce than a day's labour in most other countries, according to Mr. Senior's principle which we have just been investigating. Silver is also cheap, secondly, because a quantity of silver, or its equivalent, is annually brought into the colony without return by emigrants. Thirdly, the real exchangeable value of foreign commodities, articles of necessity or comfort, consumed by the labourer, is enhanced by the length of the transit. And, lastly, real wages are high, *i. e.* the quantity of commodities which the labourer can command is great, because the demand for labour is great in proportion to the supply, in a country where labourers are few, and land cheap and abundant. And the effect of real wages being high is this, that the capitalist cannot profitably apply his capital to inferior soils, or in less valuable situations; and, consequently, that the productiveness of labour continues at its maximum.

It might not be difficult, with the aid of a little labour and tolerable statistical materials, to assign its relative proportion to each of these causes; but I do not find that this has been done by any of the authorities whom I have been able to consult. The price of corn at Sydney is generally from twice as high to half as high again as in England; butcher's meat is cheaper; most other provisions dearer, except tea; house rent is much dearer; spirits are not materially so; manufactured articles dearer in various proportions. But, after all deductions made for the high prices of things consumed by the labourer, his real wages must reach from twice to three times the amount he could have commanded at home.

So, again, in British America: although the application of Mr. Senior's principle does not, at first sight,

appear equally plain in the case of countries producing in comparatively small proportion valuable articles for the foreign market, yet we shall find that it is so in reality. In Upper Canada and the United States, Mr. Senior estimates wages at from fifteen to twenty pounds of silver per annum, a rate which has probably rather fallen since the publication of his lectures: while "the quantity of labour requisite to obtain the necessaries of life is not much more than half as great" as in England. A day's labour in Canada is consequently far more productive of exchangeable value than a day's labour in England. Not because the actual quantity of produce obtained from the soil is great, relatively to the extent of land cultivated: eighteen bushels of wheat per acre, in Canada, is thought a fair average return. But it must be remembered, that the comparison is between labour unassisted by capital in Canada and in England. The question proposed is, how much exchangeable value is produced by the labour of an individual, without any reference to the machinery, the stock, the expensive appliances by which labour may be assisted. If, in addition to the necessary profit on all these advances in the two countries respectively, the labourer in Canada obtains twenty pounds of silver, and the labourer in England fifteen, the value of the produce of the Canadian's labour, in the market of the world, is to that of the Englishman as four to three. And although the return to labour in the former country would appear moderate enough if it were estimated by the produce per acre, it is in reality considerable in proportion to the expenditure of labour and capital. The worst land cultivated in England — that which pays no rent — may, for any thing I know, produce more per acre than land in Canada which returns only the average rate of profit. But in the former case

the expenditure of capital is much greater, the remuneration of labour much smaller.

It is plain, therefore, that the improvement which takes place in the condition of the labourer by removal to a colony depends on two distinct causes : increase of the remuneration of labour, by reason of its application to the raising of articles of greater exchangeable value, and by reason of its application to more fertile soils. In countries where both these causes exist (as in New South Wales) the remuneration of labour may be, for a time, even extravagantly high. But the latter cause alone is sufficient to produce a numerous, happy, flourishing peasantry, the produce of whose industry is of no great value in the general market, but who subsist, amid their own rude plenty, in a condition perhaps as prosperous as any which can exist in this world of imperfect results.

“ It is when the market price of labour exceeds the natural price, that the condition of the labourer is flourishing and happy, that he has it in his power to command a greater proportion of the necessaries of life, and therefore to rear a healthy and numerous family.” *

“ In all countries, and at all times,” says the same writer, “ profits depend on the quantity of labour requisite to provide necessaries for the labourers, on that land or with that capital which yields no rent.” That is, the relative amount of profits to wages depends on this circumstance. By “ necessaries” Mr. Ricardo here means, in effect, that quantity of commodities which the labourer himself determines to accept as his share of the produce of his labour. It is therefore a fluctuating quantity ; depending chiefly, or almost entirely, on the relative abundance of labour to

* Ricardo, Principles, chap. 5.

capital. In new colonies, where labour is so scarce that the salaried engineer, who is employed by government to survey waste land, scarcely receives so much as the day-labourer who carries his chain for him, the quantity of commodities which the labourer consumes is great, and his condition flourishing. Nevertheless, if the whole amount raised by his labour is very large, it may well be that wages are low in Mr. Ricardo's sense of the word, because the quantity of labour required to raise that large quantity of commodities may be very small. Profits, therefore, may be high. Suppose that, in a country where the best soil only was cultivated, the labourer, with the advance of capital to the value of 23*l.*, could raise produce to the value of 150*l.* in a year: wages might be 40*s.* a week, and profits 20 per cent. Suppose that in another country the labourer, on the worst soil cultivated, with the like advance of capital, could only raise produce to the value of 50*l.*, profits might be 10 per cent. only, and yet wages would not exceed 10*s.* 5*d.* a week. In the latter country wages would be higher than in the former, in the sense in which Mr. Ricardo uses the word: they would absorb a larger proportion of the total produce, although the condition of the labourer would be very far inferior to that which he would enjoy in the other; because "a greater quantity of labour would be requisite to obtain necessaries for him."

It is very evident, therefore, that in new colonies, in which fertile soil only is cultivated, both profits and wages may be for a considerable time absolutely high; the condition of the labourer may be enviable, and yet the capitalist may accumulate with great rapidity. But what is to induce the labourer to be content with such an amount of wages as I have supposed, great as it is in proportion to what he could have earned in his own

country? *He* is evidently the party who stands on advantageous ground in the contract; he dictates terms to his employer. When labour is abundant, as in old countries, although the amount of natural wages is fixed by distinct and independent causes, the market price of labour often is for a short time, and always appears to be, chiefly at the discretion of the capitalist. In new countries this state of things is reversed. The owner of property, who has transferred it to the colonies in hopes of obtaining a better return from it, will be content with any amount of profit greater than he could have realized at home, or could realize in other accessible markets for labour: that is, he will not remove his capital as long as he can obtain thus much. The labourer can raise his demands to any point short of that which would actually drive the capital from the colony. And if high profits are realized in such situations, where labour is free, and there are no slaves or convicts to work on compulsory terms, it is in reality owing only to this: that the wants and habits of the labourer are not calculated on so high a scale as the remuneration which he might command; that he is not himself aware of the superiority of his position; and therefore, when men speak of the exorbitancy of the demands of labourers in new colonies, the word is only to be understood by comparison with the modest scale of remuneration which contented them in the mother country. It may be questioned whether they are at all in the habit of asking for as much as they *might* obtain.

So long as cultivation continues to extend itself over land of the first quality, the rate of profits is more likely to fall than rise, unless large supplies of labour be introduced, larger than the ordinary course of emigration may be expected to bring. "In new settlements," to adopt again the words of Mr. Ricardo,

“ where the arts and knowledge of countries far advanced in refinement are introduced, it is probable that capital has a tendency to increase faster than mankind: and if the deficiency of labourers were not supplied by more populous countries, this tendency would very much raise the price of labour.” Some collateral causes which lead to this result are well pointed out by M. Say. He shows that in colonies accumulation is nearly the only object of the capitalist: that the desire to spend, which counteracts it to a certain extent in old countries, scarcely exists. “ Capital,” he says, “ is created more rapidly in such countries than in anciently civilized states. It seems as if the colonists, in leaving their native country, leave behind them also a portion of their vices.” I will not detain you here, except for a moment, to remark on the moral character of M. Say’s views, which unfortunately display, at times, far too much of those characteristics which prejudice has attributed to the sentiments of political economists in general. He too often confounds the object of his science with the great ends of human life; and treats man as a creature born to accumulate wealth, and all laws, usages, and sentiments which divert his energies from that legitimate direction as injurious and impertinent. So, in the passage before us, he appears to regard the habit of spending as simply vicious, and to consider the transition from it to a habit of money-making as a step in moral advancement. “ They renounce display: that display which costs so dear in Europe, and which serves so little purpose. In the regions to which they have emigrated, people are found to pay no regard to any but the useful qualities; and no more is consumed than is required by reasonable wants, always less insatiable than factitious ones. They

“ have few cities, and no great ones” (we have seen that this is not an universal rule). “ The agricultural life which they are in general compelled to lead, is the most economical of all : lastly, their industry is proportionally the most productive, and that which requires least capital to carry it on.” *

But the result of this rapid accumulation is, as we have seen, an increasing demand for labour, and a powerful tendency towards a rise of wages and a lowering of profits ; and hence, as we have also seen in former lectures, the urgent desire for cheaper and more subservient labourers—for a class to whom the capitalist might dictate terms, instead of being dictated to by them—which produced and maintained slavery and the convict system.

And here, it must once more be repeated, is the critical point in the history of colonies. The course which their development takes at this period—when capital begins to accumulate—determines their career and the character of their society for many generations. If they succeed in procuring and preserving a compulsory supply of labour, they become, virtually or actually, slave countries ; and the sources of their prosperity, and causes of their decline, have been traced in former lectures.

And we have seen that there is, as yet, no instance in history of a colony possessing abundant fertile land, which has continued to raise exportable produce in large quantities without the aid of compulsory labour ; whatever may be the success of the experiments now in progress.

We have seen, also, that in colonies possessing an extent of fertile soil, but not raising staple exportable produce in large quantities, the accumulation of capital has been slow and uncertain, while the remuneration of

* *Traité d'Éc. Politique*, liv. i. ch. 19.

labour has continued high; that the land has been divided into small estates; that equality of fortunes has led to equality of social distinctions, and the rising community has necessarily assumed a democratic form.

We will examine more closely in my next lecture the characteristics of a community which is in the course of such development. Let us retrace our steps for a while, and consider the mode in which taxation affects the advance of a new colony.

In our own settlements, the revenue is chiefly derived from two sources: the land sales, which have only of late years formed a considerable item in our receipts; and duties on imports. Of the former, enough has been already said in the course of these lectures. We have seen that they inflict taxation on the colony in no other sense than this, — that they levy beforehand from the purchaser a portion of capital which he would otherwise have carried to it.

The duties on imports in new colonies fall almost entirely on articles of immediate consumption. They import no raw produce for the purpose of converting it into manufactured articles, but receive these in exchange for their own commodities raised by agriculture and pasturage. The character of the articles on which the load of this kind of taxation falls may be judged of by a few instances. The revenue of New South Wales, in 1836, was 190,000*l.*: out of this, 126,000*l.* were raised on imported spirits, 17,000*l.* on tobacco. The duty of 5 per cent. on foreign goods did not exceed 10,000*l.* In New Brunswick, in the same year, out of 58,000*l.*, 49,000*l.* were raised on spirits, sugar, coffee, and ad valorem duties on sundry articles of merchandise.

The burden of supporting the government of these colonies was therefore principally borne, in the first instance, by the consumers of those ordinary luxuries

which are common to all classes wherever the rate of wages is high : in other words, it was defrayed chiefly out of the wages of the labourer. But a tax on the necessaries of the labourer, says Mr. Ricardo, must, by raising wages, lower profits. It is "partly a tax on profits, partly a tax on rich consumers."* Leaving rich consumers out of the question, if wages were at the maximum, leaving only so much profit as would keep capital in the colony, such a tax must fall on wages only. If wages were not at the maximum (as it has been already shown that they are not likely to be), then it must fall on profits. And if it were possible to remit the duties levied on imports in any of our colonies, it is probable that the immediate effect would be a rise of profits only.

We should, indeed, deceive ourselves if we imagined that, in an old country, the effect of a tax on necessaries ends here. Indirectly it lowers the rate of wages. Falling, as we have seen, on profits, it operates in the same manner as a tax on the employment of capital would do. It lowers the rate of profit, and retards the accumulation of capital, or diminishes it. "Taxes, generally," adds the same writer, "so far as they impair the real capital of the country, diminish the demand for labour; and therefore it is a probable, but not a necessary nor a peculiar, consequence of a tax on wages, that, although wages would rise, they would not rise by a sum precisely equal to the tax." . . . "All the effects which are produced on the profits of stock and on the wages of labour by a rise of rent and a rise of necessaries, in the natural progress of society and increased difficulty of production, will be produced by a rise of wages in consequence of taxation; and therefore the enjoyments of the labourer, as well as those of his employer, will be curtailed by

* Ch. 14.

“ the tax ; and not by this tax particularly, but by any other which should raise an equal amount.”

But the effect of such taxation is by no means the same in new countries, in which the first stage of diminished productiveness has not been reached, nor lands of the second quality resorted to. We have seen that it would be possible in such countries for the labourer to engross the whole value of the produce of his labour, except only so much as would remunerate the capitalist for transferring his capital from the mother country ; that is, a rate of profit exceeding what he could have obtained at home, or could obtain in any other accessible situation. We have seen, also, that the labourer does not in fact do so ; that, high as his wages are, his habits are still such as to render him content with a less share of the fruits of his industry than he might obtain ; and, consequently, that profits are very high, and accumulation very rapid, even when all allowance is made, as it should be, for the increased remuneration rendered necessary by the risk and uncertainty of advantageous employment. This being the case, taxation falls only on profits ; and the ease with which a very heavy load of it is borne in new colonies, raising exportable produce, is the strongest proof of the productiveness of capital. In New South Wales every individual pays between 2*l.* and 3*l.* per annum to the government, independently of the revenue raised by sales of land ; while the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland pay about 1*l.* 15*s.* per head, at the present rate of population and revenue ; and those of France little more than 1*l.* It must, however, be remembered that in New South Wales there is no local or municipal taxation ; a circumstance which has not unfrequently been forgotten in making the comparison.*

* According to the evidence of Mr. Elliott before the committee on South Australia (1841), the revenue in South Australia,

It need scarcely be observed that if taxation were made to fall directly on wages, it could not vary in its effects from taxation on the articles used by labourers. "Taxes on wages will raise wages, and therefore diminish the profits on stock."* And, therefore, such a tax as Mr. Poulett Scrope recommends, on the wages of labourers introduced into a colony, to be paid in the first instance by the employer, would be in reality a tax on the employment of capital.†

There are, however, other modes of raising a revenue in colonies, which have been proposed by political economists, although, as far as I am aware, never yet put into practice to any extent in those of our country. Land is the great source of wealth in such regions, and it is natural, therefore, that schemes for making the land bear a considerable share of the burdens of government should have occurred to the minds of many inquirers.

A tax on land might be imposed either in the form of an annual payment per acre, without reference to quality, or in proportion to the produce; in which last case it would resemble tithes, rent, and the tax paid in oriental countries by the cultivator to the state. The difference between the incidence of these two modes of taxation is considerable in old countries, where lands of many degrees of fertility, all yielding rent except the worst, are cultivated. A land tax of so much per acre presses, of course, more heavily on the inferior lands, more lightly on those of better quality, than a corn-rent, or tax proportioned to the gross produce. Consequently

exclusive of the land fund, amounted, in 1839, to about 2*l.* 9*s.* per head; in New South Wales, about 2*l.* 4*s.*; Western Australia, 2*l.*; Van Diemen's Land, 2*l.* 2*s.* (In the latter colony it had been as high as 2*l.* 9*s.* per head in 1835.)—*Report*, 923—925.

* Ricardo, ch. 14.

† See Lect. XIII.

(supposing the total amount of the sum to be levied in either way the same), if foreign produce *were* admitted to competition, the imposition of the former tax would throw out of cultivation land of a superior quality to that which would be abandoned in consequence of the latter. The price of agricultural produce would be unaltered, being fixed by the foreign competition. But if foreign produce were excluded, then the effect of a land-tax would be to raise the price of produce to a higher amount than a tithe-duty of equal amount would raise it; because a greater amount of taxation would have to be paid by the worst land cultivated. It would, therefore, diminish consumption to a greater degree; from which farther effects would follow, which it is not necessary here to trace.

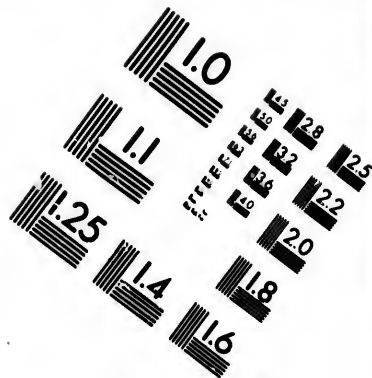
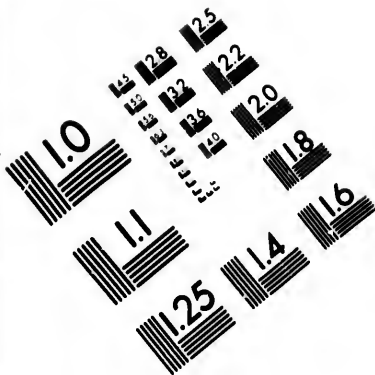
But in new countries the difference between these two modes of taxation would be less marked. There is in such regions comparatively little difference in quality between the lands occupied. It is true that one farm may yield considerably more per acre than another; but if so, we may be pretty certain that the more fertile of the two has inferior advantages in point of situation: some speculations will of course be more successful than others, but, all things considered, land used for the purpose of cultivation will not yield much more, or less, than the average profits; and rent has not yet begun to be paid, or monopoly profits to be realized, by the cultivator on his own land, except in some few peculiarly advantageous localities, such as the immediate neighbourhood of towns, and so forth. Therefore a tax imposed in proportion to the gross produce of the land must more nearly approximate in its effects to a tax per acre.

And it appears to be the opinion of some observers, that this, the most ancient of all modes of taxation, is

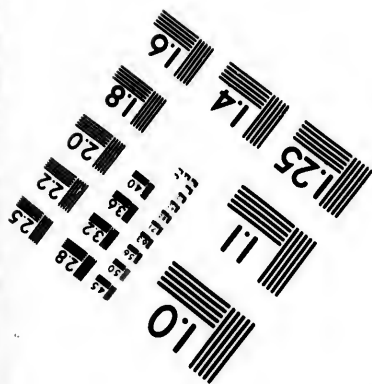
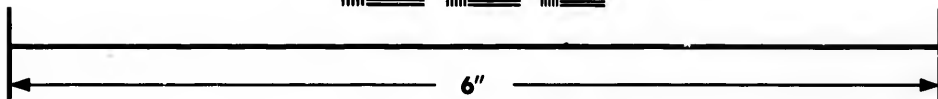
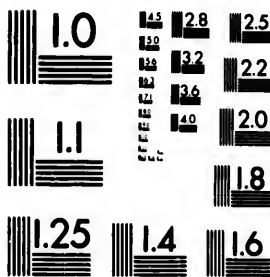
peculiarly appropriate to the circumstances of new colonies. Tithe, or any burden similarly assessed on the produce of the land, is felt as a grievance in old countries, because the superior productiveness of one piece of land, in comparison with another, is often produced, not by superior fertility, but by greater expenditure of capital. Every improvement which renders the soil more productive subjects it, under the tithe system, to a higher amount of taxation. If tithe fell in reality only on the consumer, as Mr. Ricardo supposed, this would matter little: but this is not the case; and although I have not space on the present occasion to carry you through the details of proof necessary to refute his proposition, you will find, on studying the subject, that even in countries where foreign produce is excluded from the market, tithe falls partly on the consumer and partly on rent. Now what is called rent, in old countries, is partly profits: profits on capital expended on such improvements. Tithe is therefore, in part, a tax on the employment of such capital, and is injurious accordingly.

But in countries where only the most fertile soil is cultivated, the expenditure of capital in permanent improvements is as yet comparatively small. A proportional tax on gross produce is therefore unattended by the same mischievous effects. Such a tax is, in fact, little more than a duty levied on the free bounty of nature. In so far as it raises the price of corn and other necessaries consumed by the labourer, it is, as we have seen, a tax on general profits. In so far as it diminishes the return from the land to the cultivator, it is a tax on profits also. Its effect on the progress of wealth must therefore be nearly the same as that of an equivalent tax imposed indirectly, such as a customs or excise duty on articles consumed by the mass of the population.





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But there would be practical difficulties of considerable weight in the way of such a tax ; that is, if it were raised to any considerable amount. If it were imposed on all land indiscriminately, as soon as purchased, it must have the effect of checking the progress of settlement, and thereby retarding the progress of wealth in the colony. If, on the other hand, it were only imposed, like the local taxes of the United States, after a certain period of cultivation, it would then tend to promote the abandonment of old land for new : a process which it may not be desirable to counteract ; but which, for the general interest of society, ought clearly not to meet with artificial encouragement. In short, if we investigate the question, I think we shall find that even in new countries, the system of tithe or corn-rent is only appropriate and serviceable where the agricultural population is strongly attached to the soil ; either by religious observance, as in the case of some ancient nations ; or by positive law, as it was in the later Roman and feudal society, and as it is at the present day in all those countries in which corn-rents prevail — as, for instance, in the eastern parts of Europe. It would be impossible to apply it with success in regions where the lightest of all recognized ties are those which bind the cultivator to the land which he occupies.

Lastly, taxation which falls on rent is, of all kinds, the least injurious to the productive industry of a country. It merely substitutes, *pro tanto*, the government for the landlord as owner of the soil. In new colonies rent is comparatively inconsiderable. Yet it arises early, not in the land generally used for agricultural purposes, but in that which possesses certain monopolized advantages of situation ; such as suburban tracts of ground, spots commanding falls of water, the immediate vicinity of harbours and navigable waters. A

moderate tax on rent, as soon as it begins to be paid, in localities like these, would operate only to the disadvantage of speculation, and would leave unimpaired the real resources of the colony. But it is not easy to devise a practicable method of imposing it.

We have now cast a rapid glance on the main features of the economical condition and progress of colonies before the first point of retardation is reached: that at which the productiveness of capital begins of itself to diminish, independently of any effects of taxation, commercial restrictions, and other political causes, but merely from the limited character of the assistance which Nature lends to human industry: a point which it may be said that none of our colonies, regarded generally, have yet reached, except the older West India islands, and from which many of them are centuries distant, as far as human anticipation can be relied upon. We shall return to this subject, and observe the social condition, as well as the economical, of a community in the earliest stage of its progress. But we will first discuss some particulars relating to the expenditure of colonial revenues, and the mode of providing for public institutions.

Rates of Wages and Prices in several British Colonies (1837—1840).

	Farm Labourer; per Year.*	Domestic Labour; per Year.	Carpenter per Day.	Mason per Day.	Bricklayer per Day.	Blacksmith per Day.	Horse.	Sheep.	Horned Cattle.	Beef per lb.	Mutton per lb.	Tea per lb.	Sugar per lb.	Brandy per gallon.
Upper Canada	L. s. L. s. s. s. 24 0 to 36 0 36 0 — 48 0 without board.	L. s. L. s. 15 0 to 24 0	s. d. Trades g	s. d. Trades g	s. d. Trades g	s. d. Trades g	L. s. L. s. 10 0 to 30 0	L. s. d. 15 0 to 16 0	L. 14 to 16	d. 3 to 6	d. 4 to 5	s. d. s. d. 2 6 to 5 0	d. 6 to 9	s. d. s. 4 6 to 9
Nova Scotia	15 0 — 25 0	12 0 — 15 0	4 0 5 0	4 0 5 0	4 0	4 0	16 0 — 28 1	2 5 0 9 to 15 each.	per year. 5 0 8 to 15 each.	4	1 s. 3d.	7 0	4}	6 0
Jamaica	18 10 — 27 15	26 0 — 36 8	Trades, 4s. 2d.	Trades, 4s. 2d.	7 6	7 6	At Cape Town.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	3} 9	3 9	4}	1 9 †	
Demerara	38 0	30 0	6 8 6 8	6 8 6 8	25 0	25 0	0 14 6	6 7 6	6					
New S. Wales (1840)	25 0	30 0	Trades, 3s. 9d. to 6s.	Trades, 3s. 9d. to 6s.										
Cape of Good Hope; wages varying in different districts from	2 8 — 30 0	4 10 — 18 0												

* I understand these returns to mean board included, where not otherwise expressed.

† The prices at Cape Town are those of 1839, in which year the price of most articles raised in the colony was nearly double what it had been in 1837. (This table is compiled from the recently published Supplement to Part VIII. of the Tables of Revenue, &c. Its extreme imperfection is evident, and it is only submitted as affording general approach to the truth.)

LECTURE XXI.

EXPENDITURE OF COLONIAL REVENUES. — MODES OF SUPPORTING PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS. — CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

I do not mean to enter in detail into the subject of the expenditure of colonial revenues, or what is sometimes termed the financial question as between the mother country and her colonies. We have seen, in our review of past history, that there have been colonies, although rarely, which have yielded a revenue to the mother country. There have been more which, in time of peace, have cost the sovereign state nothing, their own revenues being amply sufficient to defray the expense of administering and protecting them. And I think that even the warmest friend of foreign dominion must feel that there is some serious defect in the principles of our colonial government, when, so far from realizing either of these conditions, our settlements occasion us a constant and heavy expense, which seems rather to increase than diminish; and appear to lean more and more on our financial support, instead of hastening towards the period of emancipation from it. It is true that exaggerated notions prevail respecting the extent of the assistance which we afford them; but the reality is sufficiently serious. It appears, from a parliamentary paper of 1835, that the annual nett expenditure incurred by Great Britain on account of her foreign possessions is about 2,350,000*l.* Of this sum about 700,000*l.* were spent in the maintenance of military and maritime stations, with which we have no concern at present. There remains about 1,650,000*l.*; but from this there should be also deducted about 250,000*l.*,

which must be set down to the maintenance of the convict establishments in Australia, and is not strictly an item of colonial expenditure. There remains 1,400,000*l.* for the nett expenditure of Great Britain, in time of peace, in the civil and military administration of her "plantations and settlements," to use the official term. This is no very large aliquot part of the vast annual expenditure of this country; and if any portion of it is actually spent in the furtherance of those public works which prepare the soil of colonies for the reception of their future inhabitants; or, which is the same thing, if the colonies themselves, by reason of the assistance thus afforded them, are able to devote a larger proportion of their funds to that great object,—it is probable that such portion is repaid, with abundant interest, by the increase of the colonial commerce, and consequently of the general wealth of the empire. But by far the greater part is in reality expended in a very different manner. At least three fourths is applied to the maintenance of the military establishment esteemed necessary to protect some of our colonies from dangerous neighbours; and necessary, in others, to maintain the frame of society itself. Most of the remainder goes in aid of the revenue raised in the colonies for the support of their civil establishments. Now, there are many who reject, with contemptuous displeasure, the suggestions of those who consider these establishments as burdensome, and the general scale of colonial expenditure as extravagant. It appears to be a favourite opinion, and I do not mean hastily or rashly to controvert it, that we owe this species of tribute to our colonies: that, by a high scale of remuneration, we secure them the services of able officers, both of their own growth and from the mother country; and that we encourage a feeling of loyalty in them, and remove the

danger of separation, by maintaining at our own expense a munificent scale of public services, promoting the expenditure of well-salaried officers, and giving them an interest in supporting a government which so amply repays fidelity and ability. But it were well to consider whether this species of policy does not, in fact, operate in two directions at once, and which of these two directions is the prevailing one. We send them able officers from the mother country: there is no class of men fitter for their duties than the greater part of the colonial servants of the British crown; but the preference shown to British candidates for office over their own natives*, whose education for such purposes has generally been inferior, and who have not the advantage of parliamentary and government interest, is a constant provocation to the disaffected, and tries the loyalty even of the loyal. And a high scale of government remuneration, especially to officers appointed by government, and over whom the people has little practical control, is certainly a powerful stimulus to discontent. If it offer prizes to the loyal, it holds them out also, although at a greater distance and at the expense of a different kind of exertion, to the active and able partisan of opposition. It renders far more intense the zeal of reform, with all its attendant consequences of grievance-mongering and agitation. It tends to widen the inevitable disunion which exists in all communities where the popular voice has an influence, whether with or without representation; between the party in and the party out. The greater the rewards a government has to offer, the more numerous its places, and minute its subdivisions of office, — the more a country is governed, to use a common phrase,

* See Cornewall Lewis on the Government of Dependencies, p. 279, 280.

the more intense is the zeal both of the impugners and defenders of its administration.

I cannot help thinking that we have had some striking illustrations, of late years, of the reasonableness of these views, unpopular as they have been with all administrations, and with the generality of English statesmen in modern times. But I must not dwell on a subject so exclusively political.

It falls more within my province to draw your attention to one or two questions regarding public expenditure in colonies, considered as affecting the wealth of the community. The first of these is, — in what manner it is best to provide for certain permanent branches of the public service, which form, in most countries, a fixed and previously ascertained burden on the resources of the community: such, for instance, as the religious establishment, and public education. I assume, at the outset, that these objects are to be provided for out of the public means. The question between Establishments and the Voluntary System, whether in respect to religion or education, is not one to be discussed incidentally in a series of lectures on Political Economy. It being granted that establishments of this description are to be maintained, the subject for our inquiry is — in what manner this is best done in colonies; both at their outset, and in their more advanced political stage.

There appears to me to be four distinct methods of making such provision, which the first view of the subject suggests to our consideration.

The first is, by setting apart a fixed proportion of the gross annual income of the land. This is the ancient system of tithes; once the universal mode in which national and individual piety provided for the service of religion, now so rapidly becoming obsolete in European communities.

The second is, by appropriating land to the assumed purpose, with *absolute* restrictions on its alienation, with the view that it may rise in value, along with the neighbouring occupied lands, until it becomes worth the while of individuals to pay rent for it. This was the plan originally adopted in Canada for the maintenance of the Protestant Church Establishment. We have seen that it appears to be also the mode in which reserves are made for public education in the United States.

The third is, the appropriation of land with *qualified* restrictions on its alienation : that is, empowering some constituted authority to sell it in portions from time to time, and invest the funds so realized, applying the interest to the proposed object. This modification of the former scheme was also partly adopted in our North American colonies ; although I am not aware that it was ever carried into effect, except by the clumsy machinery of acts of parliament enabling commissioners to sell portions *pro singulâ vice* only.

The fourth is, to provide for these objects in the same manner as all other public exigencies ; by grants out of the common revenues of the colony, with or without the assistance of the mother country. And this has been, of late years, the method commonly pursued.

Of the first of these modes I shall say little here. Abstractedly considered, we have seen that a tax on the gross produce of agriculture appears to be among the least objectionable ways in which a revenue can be raised, in a country possessing a great extent of fertile soil. It is merely the appropriation to public purposes of a part of that share of the produce which, if the good land were practically limited in extent, would go to the owner in the form of rent. In eastern countries this is the mode in which the great bulk of the revenue is raised ; the government being itself the landowner, and receiving,

by way of rent, a fixed proportion of the produce. We have already seen that such a land-tax, in countries so circumstanced, is only burdensome when it is exorbitant. But when the land begins to yield less and less return to the capital applied to it, and its fertility requires to be stimulated by expensive and laborious processes, then it is that title or land-tax begins to be felt as an onerous imposition; because a considerable proportion of the gross produce — a proportion always increasing as cultivation becomes more expensive — belongs to the category of profits, and not rent, and goes to remunerate the landowner or the farmer for the improvements which he has introduced. A tax on gross produce is therefore a tax on improvements.

And it may be thought that if a young community, newly planted in unoccupied land, were, after the fashion of former ages, to devote, in this manner, a portion of its annual substance to the support of national establishments, it would provide for those objects in the most permanent, the most natural, the least injurious method—a method from which no great inconvenience could be felt until ages had elapsed, and society had grown into a new shape and character. But, in my last lecture, I endeavoured to show some reasons why a tax proportioned to the gross amount of the produce of land could not be beneficially imposed, for purposes of ordinary revenue, in a new country in which the cultivator is free to abandon old land for fresh. And, as a question of practical policy, it is useless to consider the policy of imposing such burdens for the purpose of maintaining establishments; because our British system of government does not give us the power, if we had the disposition, to compel colonists under a system of free representation to contribute, in such a manner, to the support of institutions which we may think useful or salutary. And

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fortunate it is that we have not such power ; lest, under the impulse of inconsiderate zeal, we might be tempted to abuse it. Such sacrifices must, in the first instance, be voluntary ; they must come from the free gift of the people, or they do but engender hostility to those very establishments and those very principles which they are intended to support. A community may well bind itself by a solemn act, and dedicate a portion of its annual substance : offered by the national will, the gift may be revoked by the national will again, although woe be to the nation which rashly and profanely revokes it ! But it is not by imposing taxation on an unwilling people that true religion has ever been propagated, or salutary education disseminated.

The second method, or that of inalienable land-reserves, has been already several times under our consideration ; and it has been seen that although some of the evils attending it have been exaggerated, still its inconveniences are so great as to render it extremely objectionable. Such land will not, in general, be brought into cultivation until the purchaseable land in the vicinity is all occupied ; for in new countries men will not pay rent if they can possibly escape it : and in the mean time it remains an unsightly impediment in the way of advancing colonization.

But no such objection can be urged to the third plan above mentioned. The only reason against giving a power to sell public land, and invest the proceeds for the furtherance of the object for which the grant of land was originally made, seems to be the danger of disadvantageous or dishonest alienation : a reason in which there may be some weight, when we are striking the balance between the comparative advantages of different methods of providing permanently for establishments ; but the question in our colonies appears

to be between this method and none. And even if the two which we have already discussed were practicable, that which we are now considering has one great advantage over them. It secures assistance in the form in which it is by far the most useful and acceptable, namely, in money. An establishment amply endowed with land, or with the annual produce of land in the form of tithe or rent, may be very wealthy in societies such as those of feudal Europe, where the means of exchange were scarce, and the proudest baron, no less than the wealthy ecclesiastic, was often at a loss for means of disposing of his surplus agricultural wealth, after feeding and clothing his clients and retainers. But in a country and age where the conveniences and luxuries of life are highly valued, where they are easily procurable with money, and the only difficulty is to obtain regular supplies of money in exchange for raw produce, the owner of a fixed money income has frequently the advantage over a landowner whose nominal revenue is far higher in amount. On the whole, therefore, the most convenient disposal of the national resources for these purposes appears to be to permit of the gradual disposal of trust lands, reserving from sale only so much as may be immediately useful for the convenience of each local establishment: glebe lands for clergymen, farms, &c. for educational institutions.

For the modern system of providing for these things by grants, made as occasion serves, at the caprice of a government or a legislature (a system into which we appear to have been driven in some of our North American colonies by the political difficulties which arose respecting the appropriation of public lands, but which, in other parts, seems to have been spontaneously adopted), is surely not only inadequate to its object,

but most mischievous in its effects. Looking at the subject only from the point of view of ordinary and daily expediency, we cannot fail to perceive the precarious and unsatisfactory state in which it leaves the public service — the discords which it is certain to engender among the parties who have the control over the gift, or whose interests are in any way affected by it. It turns those who should be wholly independent of the passions or interests of the day, those, namely, who administer the funds granted for national and permanent purposes, into mere bidders for popularity or the favour of the executive. It makes it impossible to undertake plans of comprehensive utility, in which the outlay is large and the results future, and renders the task of the ministers of the grant one of mere expedients — making the most of what their masters have accorded them for this year, and trusting to chance or intrigue for the necessary supplies of the next. And, lastly, where the grant is made by a popular legislature, whether at home or in the colony, it imposes on the executive the disagreeable task of requiring contributions for objects which are certain to be unpopular with many, and the necessity for which is at best imperfectly understood by the majority; and raising each time the often repeated debate respecting their expediency. The first principles of government are not things to be annually discussed in voting on the estimates.

But there are far higher considerations behind. Surely, few things are more important to the welfare of an infant nation than to be impressed with a sense of its own permanent existence — its own nationality, so to speak — by the evidence of institutions rooted as it were in the soil, and protected by the same safeguard with which the constitution fences the property of individuals and the sovereignty of the monarch. The

situation of a modern colonist is very different from that which imagination rather than history suggests, when we carry our minds back to the foundation of states and empires. He comes from an old country, his habits regulated by its usages, his mind full of its institutions. Perhaps he is strongly attached to those institutions; perhaps he is discontented with them. But, in either case, his strongest impressions, his most vehement emotions, are connected with them. He lives mentally in the past and future rather than the present, in the society which he has left, and that of which he dreams as a distant possibility, rather than that which he contributes to create. He regards the immediate social prospects of the new community, as such, at first with comparative indifference; it is the home of his industry, not of his thoughts: he cares little about its development from within; but all his old party feelings are excited in furthering or in opposing the transplantation of laws and establishments from the mother country. And these feelings are inherited by his descendants for many generations: their strength diminishes very gradually. There is something almost grotesque in the institution of Orange Lodges in Upper Canada, and Pitt Club dinners in Australia. But a more remarkable instance will be found in the political literature of the United States, after the achievement of their independence, and before the consolidation of their present system. It is strange to observe how far more the principles maintained, the illustrations used, the very feelings expressed, both by federalists and democrats, seem European than American; how little progress had been made in two centuries of colonization, and seven years' war of independence, towards the creation of a national heart and character.

The consequence of this is, a tendency in new colonial communities to allow those institutions which are of domestic origin to grow up carelessly and at random ; to frame laws merely for actual emergencies ; to fill up the foundations with rubbish, and let future generations care for the finished building. There are some who believe such improvised and practical institutions to be the best of all, or rather the only useful ones. But those who contemplate national establishments not merely with a view to their immediate adaptation for use, but as contributing most essentially, among other causes, to form the mind and temper of the people itself, cannot but think that it is well to commence the building with some reference to a preconceived idea, not inflexible indeed, but still independent, and to give pledges, as it were, to the future, binding the people to revere and guard the durable elements of moral greatness. Nothing could tend more decidedly towards imparting the requisite fixity and self-existence to colonial societies, than to place on a permanent footing endowments for education, both for popular schools and colleges ; and, in a still higher degree, to lay the foundations of a national church establishment.

Happy the people among whom that most important of civil institutions should be planted and rooted from the beginning of its career, to grow with its growth, and overshadow successive generations with its expanding branches ! Even in a political sense alone, such a people would possess a principle of union and stability, the like of which no other invention of social wisdom can afford. Yet even here we are rather giving vent to the language of theory than experience : for we are dreaming of a church supported from the beginning by the free adhesion of the people, while history gives us none but instances of churches founded under the inju-

rious protection of penal laws, guarded by the sword, sowing oppressions, and reaping hatred, and encumbered in all their after history by the recollections of the past. And even to those who recognize in the fullest manner the value of an established or endowed national church, it is quite another question, whether or not the government of the mother-country should fix and endow, in every colony which it founds, a provincial branch of its own church establishment. The policy of such a course of proceeding requires much consideration; and, without pretending to discuss so grave a subject thoroughly in this incidental manner, I am anxious to guard myself against any misconstruction of my views, lest I should be supposed to have expressed a general opinion in favour of it.

I speak of course of colonization by countries such as ours, in which the utmost latitude is given to freedom of opinion, and in which numerous denominations of Christians contribute each their quota to the annual overflow of the population. With unity of religious belief at home, such questions need not be discussed; but in the present condition of the British community they become of most pressing and practical interest.

No situation, say those who support the negative view, can be conceived more disadvantageous, I might almost say more hopeless, for the Church, — not only more adverse to the prospect of extending her influence, but more injurious to her character and working, — than to stand by the support of the State, and in connexion with it, with a small minority of the population attached to her. The greater the privileges which the civil authority under such circumstances accords to the members of the Church, the worse for the Church herself. If the monopoly of court favour and civil employments be secured to them, the Church

will be encumbered and dishonoured by the profession of careless or dishonest adventurers; the national spirit, instead of being merely indifferent, becomes fiercely hostile to her; and every honest sentiment of pride and patriotism combines with the irritating feelings engendered by exclusion to make war upon her. If no religious disabilities exist, but the Church only enjoys an establishment founded or supported by government, her position is less unfavourable, but it is still inauspicious. She must be still unpopular. But this, it may be said, is owing only to the self-conceit and self-will of mankind; and the Church is sent expressly to combat such enemies, and is not out of her vocation when placed in collision with them. Those who estimate human nature and its motives with more considerate judgment will scarcely think so. It is not unnatural—it is hardly blamable—that men should cling to their own altars with rather the greater tenacity from seeing that the state has thought fit to build and endow those of another faith. It is not a dishonourable pride which leads men to devote more of their substance to the maintenance of their religion, and the religion of their immediate fathers,—to watch more closely over its dignity and independence, as if in rivalry of the gratuitous endowments afforded to another. Nor is it possible, under such circumstances, that the excluded can feel themselves as nearly attached to the government of the mother-country, that they can be as loyal as the favoured. However well disposed in other respects, in one point they must be hostile. This, then, is all that is needed to give a bond of union to innumerable sects, which have no natural motive for seeking each other's alliance, to combine civil with ecclesiastical opposition,—to place the common grievance-monger, the pretended patriot, in

connexion with the steady but zealous dissenter,—to unite all the scattered force of the majority against the governing body.

There is unhappily too much truth in this statement of the case even as to old communities. But every part of it applies with tenfold force to the circumstances of new ones. In the first place we must remember what has already been said, and will be again insisted on : that the tendency of society in such communities is republican ; that social equality is almost universal, except in colonies possessing servile or quasi-servile labour ; and that, however desirable it might be to correct such tendencies by the force of institutions, institutions themselves are still less able to stand in new countries than elsewhere without the aid of public opinion. In the next place, viewing the subject in relation to our own colonies, it must be considered that while the Established Church is generally feeble in numbers, it is not peculiarly strong in property or in intelligence : what is commonly called the “best society” undoubtedly belongs to it ; but, on the whole, it has no such marked superiority, in respect of the wealth and education of its members, as it possesses at home. Lastly (and this is a point which I have not seen much considered in the discussions on this subject), dissent itself is materially changed in its character by transplantation. Sects acquire in a more marked degree the external character of churches. A dissenter at home knows that the body to which he belongs quitted the Establishment at no very distant era, and has probably undergone several changes in character and doctrine since that period : consequently he has but the principle of freedom of opinion to rely upon ; the sentiment of reverence for antiquity and things established is all against him. Abroad, he feels himself the member of

a church which has planted itself in the wilderness, and is, as it were, aboriginal in that soil which he inhabits; and no greater antiquity is needed to satisfy the imagination of the multitude.

It would be extremely difficult, and of very doubtful policy, to establish and endow a branch of the national Church, under such circumstances, even in colonies not possessing a free government; but in colonies possessing one (and all British colonies expect the privilege sooner or later) it seems well nigh impossible for the mother-country to maintain such an institution for any length of time. An endowed church, and a legislature of which the majority is, or is likely at any election to become, composed of dissenters, could not exist together, unless the church were removed from the control of the legislature. This could only be accomplished by withholding from the provincial assemblies one of the most important functions of domestic legislation; giving the colony political freedom, and yet reserving to the mother-state the control over a great and strictly domestic institution. It has been attempted of late years, for the first time in British policy, to maintain this species of anomalous and exceptive government, but the success of the experiment is such as to afford little encouragement.

And I do not think that those who took a contrary view of the subject, in the recent discussions respecting the destination of the Canada Clergy Reserves, were generally aware how very small a minority the members of the Church of England form in most of our colonies. In Lower Canada the great body are Roman Catholics; the remainder, or British portion, are split into many sects. In Upper Canada, a purely British colony, according to the returns of 1839, out of about 400,000 persons whose profession was ascertained, rather less

than 80,000 belonged to our Church. In Nova Scotia, in 1827, they formed about the same proportion of the whole, namely, less than a fourth; and were greatly exceeded by those of the Church of Scotland. In Newfoundland, more than one half are Romanists; the Church of England has about two thirds of the remainder. The only exception to this inferiority, in North America, appears to be in the colony of New Brunswick, where the members of the Church of England were returned, a few years ago, as 80,000, out of 120,000: but, as this return seems to include the whole population of the colony, I cannot help suspecting that the indifferent, or the unascertained, were carried to the account of the Church.

The reasons for this unfortunate peculiarity in North America are obvious enough. Our provinces in that quarter have been for many years the resort of Scottish and Irish emigrants, while the bulk of English trans-Atlantic emigration has taken the direction of the United States. It appears that in eleven years there arrived at Quebec about 70,000 English emigrants, 30,000 Scottish, and 160,000 Irish. On the other hand, in the year 1839 alone (which may be taken as a fair sample of the average), 30,000 English went to the States, while only 500 emigrants thither are reported from Scotland, and 2800 from Ireland. This is said to arise from the greater poverty of Scottish and Irish emigrants, which makes them prefer the cheaper passage. It arises also in part, no doubt, from habit, which makes the emigrants of one year follow in the track of their predecessors; and the Scots, especially the Highlanders, seem to have a singular preference for the fogs and rocks of the Lower Colonies, so nearly resembling their own. It is obvious how this cause operates to the disadvantage of the Church of England;

and it must be added, that the Dissenters, being, in proportion to their numbers, the most active and enterprising part of the middle and lower classes at home, probably send out more than their numerical share of English emigrants.

I believe that in the Australian colonies, which are more English, and also the resort of a larger proportion of wealthy emigrants, the members of the Church of England are more numerous. In Van Diemen's Land, indeed, they were reported, in 1839, to amount to 16,000 out of 23,000, among the free inhabitants. In New South Wales the "Protestants," comprising all denominations, were returned, in 1836, at 55,000; the Roman Catholics at 22,000.

But this weakness of number, it is commonly answered, is merely a consequence of the neglect of government in not providing for the establishment of the Church at the time of the foundation of colonies. Numbers are driven into dissent merely because they have no legitimate resources offered them for satisfying their religious wants.

Unquestionably there is a certain amount of truth in this argument. If the Church, in our colonies, had been from the beginning amply provided with the means of ministering to the spiritual wants of the people, it cannot be doubted that the numerical proportion between its members and those of other denominations would have been somewhat different from that which actually exists. And with those who hold that this alone constitutes a sufficient answer to all objections — that it is the absolute and primary duty of the state to supply the people with religious instruction — that it, the state, has neglected its duty if a single member becomes lost to the Church on account of the absence of such instruction: — that no considerations of policy or expediency

can for a moment be admitted to outweigh this great original responsibility, — with such reasoners, this is not the time or place, if it were my inclination, to enter into controversy. If, however, we are permitted to weigh conveniences and inconveniences in the balance in such a question as this, and to consider, according to the light of our precarious wisdom, what may on the whole be best for the interests of the people and the Church herself, I think it must still admit of a doubt whether the Church would really gain strength by this addition to her force in new colonies such as we are now considering. More of the ignorant and helpless, as well as of the remiss and worldly part of the community, would undoubtedly be numbered among her nominal adherents. But the opposition of the active, zealous, and educated part of the masses would still be what it has been described, and produce the same effects on which I have already dwelt. Amply endowed, but placed amongst ill-wishers and lukewarm friends, — standing alone, unconnected with any territorial aristocracy, or great educated body of adherents, — the danger is, lest the Church herself should sink into discouragement and decline; lest she should lose altogether that missionary spirit and character which is, more or less, necessary to her usefulness among a scattered and migratory people. Such was her fate in Virginia and Carolina; where she decayed, not from lack of temporal sustenance, for she was liberally endowed; not because established too late, for her establishment was coeval with the colonies themselves: but because, unable to win over the body of the people, she fell into a languid apathy. It is useless to ascribe this failure to want of zeal, and misconduct, in the Church's ministers. Similar causes will always produce the like effects: exposed to the same temptations,

the conduct and character of the collective ministry of established churches, as of other men and bodies of men, have been marked by the same features in all ages and countries.

All these considerations bear forcibly on the question which was debated in our legislature in 1840, respecting the application of the Canadian Clergy Reserves, and the fund raised by their sale. It would be altogether out of my province to enter with you on the discussion of this or any measure of public policy not directly connected with economical science. I can only lament that it was decided, as such questions usually are, more with a view to the temporary satisfaction of parties here and in the colony, than on any distinct principle.

But, however we may decide in our own minds these great problems as to the duties of the State, the duty of the Church as a distinct body, and of her members as individuals, is plain and clear. Where the government will not, or cannot, or ought not, to set apart a portion of the funds of a colony for the purpose of maintaining a religious establishment, there a most productive field opens itself for the exertions and sacrifices of its members. We belong to by far the richest religious community in the world: I am not speaking of the riches of our Church, but of the individuals in her communion. If we had but a tithe of the zeal which ought to distinguish us, and which we are too ready to profess, not a band of emigrants would leave the shores of England without being certain of ample provision for its religious wants, as ample as the inevitable difficulties of new and scattered communities will allow, in whatever corner of our vast dominions they might choose to fix themselves. It is scarcely possible to point out a manner in which the contributions of churchmen might

be so usefully employed. Numbers might in this manner be brought within the pale of the Church who have not been led away from it, nor are hostile to it, but are simply left to lead the life of heathens in the utter absence of external aid. We hear much of the spiritual destitution of millions in this country, and no doubt with abundance of truth; but here, at all events, it cannot be denied that those who seek religious instruction can obtain it: there are few, very few indeed, from whom the opportunity is withheld: the difficulty is, to inspire them with the knowledge of their own wants, and the will to seek relief; and church extension, without controverting its importance, is scarcely the specific remedy for this disease. What is sought for the colonies, is not to stimulate the appetite for food, but first and foremost to supply the food itself. To endow a branch of the Church in a new settlement, such as those of Western or Southern Australia or New Zealand,—to endow it sufficiently for immediate wants, and to make some provision for its gradual extension, would really be a slight effort compared with many which are daily executed by private zeal and combination in undertakings for the public benefit; and all the difficulties which impede the healthy action of a government establishment, that is, an establishment imposed by the government of the mother-country, would be avoided. And let me remind those who look back to the earlier ages of the Church for examples, that this is the mode in which the Gospel was anciently propagated from land to land. The Church, in every instance, out of the wealth with which the liberality of those ages had endowed her, contributed to defray the expense of those missions which began the work of conversion in new provinces of her dominion; individual zeal among the new converts, or settlers, contributed to its farther

extension ; and it was not until the first stages had been passed that the government of the now Christianized region interfered, and undertook the maintenance, or rather protection, of those institutions which voluntary zeal had founded. I do not say that the parallel between the colonies of a Christian country, and lands rescued from heathenism, is exact ; but there is much practical analogy between the cases ; and as in those instances, so in the present, — if the infant establishment be but amply maintained by the exertions of her own friends, in the first instance, the fairest prospect is afforded that the young community, when become so far *sui juris* as to provide for her own domestic institutions, may have wisdom and inclination to take charge of this, the most important and most truly national of all.*

* This Lecture was delivered before the recent public demonstration of zeal in the foundation of colonial bishoprics. That foundation appears to be the very thing needed, to give that solidity, fixedness, and independence to the ecclesiastical body, which is so earnestly to be desired for the political. Each colony should be a diocese, just for the same reasons that it should be a distinct commonwealth, and not a mere unorganized fragment. If the presence of functionaries of so exalted a rank does not induce the supporters of the Church to overstrain her pretensions in communities where her real power is so small, no circumstance can be more encouraging than their appointment.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE XXI.

NUMBERS of Members of different Religious Persuasions in several British Colonies. — (Compiled chiefly from the "Tables of Revenue and Finance," and from Mr. M. Martin's "Colonies of the British Empire.")

LOWER CANADA, 1831.

Roman Catholics	-	-	-	403,472
Church of England	-	-	-	34,620
Church of Scotland	-	-	-	15,069
Total	-	-	-	<u>453,161</u>

UPPER CANADA, 1839.

Church of England	-	-	-	79,754
Methodists	-	-	-	61,088
Presbyterians	-	-	-	78,383
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	43,029
Baptists	-	-	-	12,968
Miscellaneous Sects	-	-	-	22,806
No Profession	-	-	-	34,760
Returns not received	-	-	-	67,558
Total	-	-	-	<u>400,346</u>

NEW BRUNSWICK.

Church of England	-	-	-	79,000
Church of Scotland	-	-	-	6,000
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	16,000
Wesleyan Methodists	-	-	-	10,000
Baptists	-	-	-	10,000
Total	-	-	-	<u>121,000</u>

NOVA SCOTIA, 1827.

Church of England	-	-	-	28,659
Church of Scotland	-	-	-	37,225
Dissenters from ditto	-	-	-	4,825
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	20,401
Baptists	-	-	-	19,790
Methodists	-	-	-	9,408
Lutherans	-	-	-	2,968
Quakers, &c.	-	-	-	355
Doubtful	-	-	-	317
Total	-	-	-	<u>123,848</u>

NEWFOUNDLAND, 1836.

Church of England	-	-	-	22,718
Other Protestants	-	-	-	10,591
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	36,899
Total	-	-	-	<u>70,208</u>

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, 1838.

(Free Population.)

Church of England	-	-	-	16,094
Church of Scotland	-	-	-	2,551
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	2,288
Wesleyans	-	-	-	1,289
Other Sects	-	-	-	1,022
Total	-	-	-	<u>23,244</u>

NEW SOUTH WALES, 1833.

Protestants	-	-	-	43,095
Roman Catholics	-	-	-	17,238
Jews	-	-	-	343
Pagans	-	-	-	56
Uncertain	-	-	-	60
Total	-	-	-	<u>60,792</u>

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400,346

79,000
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LECTURE XXII.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL COMMUNITIES.— POLITICAL RELATION OF COLONIES TO THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.— PRINCIPLES OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

THE social characteristics of a community just formed, and engaged in subduing the powers of wild nature for the purposes of civilized man, depend partly on the circumstances in which it is placed, and partly on the condition and character of those classes of the population of the mother-country from whence the supply is derived.

In such a community, the mere wants of life are abundantly supplied, but not supplied without labour. There is none of that depressing poverty which elsewhere weighs down the energies of large masses of mankind; or of that almost equally depressing dread of poverty which perpetually harasses the minds of a class somewhat higher in circumstances, which produces in some an abjectness of disposition, in others an irritable and discontented temperament; and if it sometimes sharpens the intellectual powers, often does so only to the detriment of the moral character. On the other hand, every thing which adorns human life, every thing which stimulates the more artificial appetites of men, be they sensual or spiritual, is either difficult of acquisition or unattainable. The colonist has little temptation to long for the enjoyment of such superfluities; for the stimulus of envy is wanting: he does not see them heightening the pleasures of others, and therefore thinks little of them. During the first period of his conflict with the genius of the wilderness, his thoughts are necessarily intent on his immediate employment; afterwards, his daily labour

for ordinary comforts is sufficient to occupy the common faculties of body and mind. He is in danger, therefore, of sinking into a state of listless and inglorious indolence,—a state in which whole communities may vegetate on an extensive surface, raising little surplus wealth, and each generation contenting itself with the habits and the enjoyments of that which preceded it.

To counteract this tendency, he has only what may almost be termed the abstract desire of accumulation. I mean the desire of amassing wealth, unconnected with the passion for its enjoyment. If there are any to whom the strong influence of this motive, unreasonable as philosophy may hold it, appears strange and unaccountable, they must recollect that the mind, in an ordinary state of vigour, requires an excitement: it must have objects, hopes, occupations, apprehensions. Political institutions may so utterly deaden it as to extinguish them: there have been examples of whole societies thus arrested in the career of physical civilization. But when these are good or tolerable, the love of accumulation must, in all communities, be among the most important sources of national activity;—in new communities, it is the only one. Money-making becomes the popular passion. The acquisition of wealth confers the only substantial title to public regard. As all talent seeks one and the same channel to exert itself, he who has best succeeded in this engrossing pursuit enjoys the double honour of being at once the most powerful and the cleverest citizen of the commonwealth.

No social distinction, except that of comparative affluence, can exercise much positive influence in such a state of things. Where land is abundant and people few, only two forms of society are possible— that of servitude or feudalism, and that of equality. For inequality of ranks must be produced by one or the other

of two great causes. The first is, the political subjugation of the inferior class : such as gave birth to the aboriginal distinctions between patricians and plebeians, in very early times ; freemen and slaves in later ages ; the villenage of feudal Europe or modern Russia ; the institution of caste among the Egyptians and Hindoos. The second is, the necessary dependence of poverty on wealth, when profitable land is all occupied, commerce extended, and capital accumulated in few hands. Now it is remarkable that European history shows a gradual passage from the first to the second of the two conditions here described, without any intervention of a third — that of social equality. So long as land was abundant and people few, so long has feudalism almost every where maintained itself. The decay of that compact and magnificent edifice did not begin until population was dense, until capital was amassed, and every thing prepared for the second stage ; that in which the many are dependent on the few from economical causes. And, if this were the place for such a disquisition, it would be interesting to point out the strange anomalies in European manners and usages, which have been produced by the maintenance of feudal distinctions, and their forced application to a new and totally different state of things, namely, that created by the oligarchy of wealth. Strange anomalies, but certainly not without their use in modifying the coarse and degrading characteristics of plutocracy.

There is only one European community in which feudal inequality has been destroyed before the inequality of fortunes arising from national affluence had yet begun to prevail : cities being still few, commerce and manufactures undeveloped, and population scanty : namely, that of Norway. Accordingly, the social condition of Norway is extremely democratic ; and would

be scarcely less so, were it under an absolute monarchy instead of a free constitution; the mass of the people being in the condition of small yeomanry, and there being no hereditary privileges or powers. Now, the phenomena exhibited by Norway are displayed in all new colonies, and even in countries of vast extent and population, so long as there is neither a gradation of ranks secured either by the transmission of great hereditary estates in a small class, and the slavery or quasi-slavery of the multitude, or by the dependence of labourers on capitalists. Such are pre-eminently the phenomena of the condition of British North America and of the United States. In the latter country there are a few large cities, a few manufacturing districts, and a few in which cultivation is carried on by rich slave-owners; and consequently, scattered here and there, the elements of oligarchy; but these are at present altogether kept under by the democratic spirit of the mass of the community. Countries thus circumstanced are essentially republican. The influence of modes of government may pass for something in the formation of the character of the people; but it is far less powerful than that of economical causes. If the wildest dreams of those who speculate on the transplantation of a complete society into new colonies could be realized, the aristocratic part of it must perish for want of soil to exist in. In colonies where valuable exportable produce can be raised by the application of large capitals, if a supply of labour could be secured by the successful development of Mr. Wakefield's principles, it might indeed take root, but its existence would at best be frail and precarious.

Individual wealth, of course, exists in such communities; and wealth gives influence there, as well as every where else; but it must be available wealth,

joined with activity in its possessor : a distinction of too fugitive a nature to form even the basis of a graduated scale of ranks. The mere ownership of a quantity of land gives none whatever, where the lord cannot command the services of labourers to till it. The fertile colony of Prince Edward's Island belongs almost entirely to ten or twelve proprietors by legal title. It is inhabited by 40,000 people, peaceable, industrious, and well disposed in every other respect. But rent, to absentee proprietors, it is said that they will not pay : the small dues claimed by the landlords cannot be recovered. The mere attempt to do so has on one occasion excited an insurrection in one of the quietest societies in the world ; and, if the law had been rigorously enforced, the only consequence would have been emigration. When land becomes scarce in Prince Edward's Island and the neighbouring colonies, rent will be paid. In Canada the great landed proprietors seem to have taken scarcely any part, and exerted scarcely any influence, in recent political events. Their names are almost unknown to the mass of the community. The most influential members of the richer class seem to be,—first, the few great merchants who are by degrees establishing themselves at Montreal and Quebec ; next, and perhaps exercising a more direct power among their fellow-citizens, the enterprising retail dealers and small traders who purvey for the numerous little markets of a thinly-scattered community of settlers.

The effects of this natural equality of ranks on the genius of a people have been the theme of numberless political writers, and have been ably traced of late years by observers who have had under their eyes the result of the experiment on a greater scale than any former ages had witnessed. I scarcely need recapitulate them

here. There is a general spread of elementary education, with little care or value for the higher branches of knowledge. As there is little gradation of ranks, there can be but little of those amiable qualities which are chiefly valued for their tendency to soften and ameliorate the relations between poor and rich: courtesy among the higher classes; its correlative qualities of faithfulness, respectfulness, loyalty, among the lower: and not only are they little known, but they are rather contemned, as out of place and keeping, as relics of servitude, remnants of the chain which the colonists broke when they abandoned their mother-country. Self-dependence, self-confidence, pride both intellectual and spiritual, are peculiarly encouraged. But, with little courtesy, there is generally much kindness and helpfulness, and a spirit of fellowship and mutual support replaces that of mutual dependence; though humility be rare, there is much manliness and simplicity of disposition; for the mind is freed from many of those oppressive influences which warp and degrade it amidst the extremes of excessive toil and idleness, of bitter want and pampered luxury. Add to these natural tendencies the prevalence of that exclusive eagerness for acquisition and accumulation which I have already mentioned, and we have most of the elements of the character of a new society, so far as this is produced by the circumstances of its economical situation.

But the picture would be very incomplete without reference to that other set of causes which I have already mentioned, and which is too often overlooked; I mean the condition of the society from which the emigrants have proceeded, and the example of neighbouring communities. It is evident that many of the common qualities above specified can scarcely be called, in themselves, good or evil; they owe their good or

evil stamp, or at least their strength and intensity, to the influence of habits and feelings acquired from other sources. Suppose a population chiefly comprized of emigrants of a poor but industrious class ; proceeding from a community in which freedom prevails, but in which, as yet, the usages of old times, and an affectionate reverence for antiquity, have hardly died away ; from a community possessed of commercial activity, but not engrossed by it ; religious in popular sentiments and observance ; and governed by wise and equal laws, cherishing the self-respect of the citizen. And let us suppose that this population, brought into happier physical circumstances by its removal, has no very extensive scope for ambition, or for great commercial speculation : that it knows itself small and powerless, hemmed in by the forest and the savage, — not so as to have its peace or safety endangered, but so as to feel and estimate the virtue of moderation. Perhaps we have now before us the picture of the happiest condition — the most favourable, on the whole, to the moral as well as physical well-being of the mass — which ever has existed in the innumerable revolutions of human affairs. Many drawbacks there would be, and many imperfections ; but, on the whole, no state of society would be so free from them. Such was the picture exhibited by a few English colonies, for instance, Pennsylvania, for many years before the war of independence ; the political Arcadia of modern times ; a picture which never can be presented again, amidst all the vicissitudes through which the civilized world may pass : for although the *like* constantly recurs in political history, the *same* never does, and society has outgrown this specific form.

Very different in many respects is the state of such a community when political causes from abroad have exercised an unfavourable influence on its develop-

ment ; when, for example, the nation or the class from which the emigration proceeds has lost much of that attachment to old usages and opinions which once characterized it : for this quality, though not always without its mischievous working in the body politic at home, exercises a steadying and counteracting influence on the progress of society in new circumstances. So, too, increased animosity between the poor and the rich ; discontent with political institutions ; a commercial spirit, impatient of slow results, and eager for great gains ; — the existence of all these in the mother-country, whatever their aggregate effect may be at home, must act unfavourably on the colony composed of emigrants from it, because they contribute to augment the force of those very tendencies to which colonial society, as we have seen, is naturally prone. The exaggerated spirit of democracy, in a people necessarily of democratic habits, renders all government more difficult, and self-government more dangerous. The feverish activity of mercantile speculation cannot but tend to injure a community in which the absorbing propensity is naturally the pursuit of gain.

Nor must we omit, in considering the circumstances of modern colonies, the effects of example : the effects of the great and rapid supremacy to which one republic has raised itself, on the spirit and character of all the infant republics of the world : the influence exercised on the mind by the habitual contemplation of the gigantic increase of human power through the progress of mechanical invention. The future and the distant form the domain in which the imagination of the colonist delights to revel. Exempt from pressing want and engrossing toil, with little to occupy his thoughts in the monotonous scene around him, he wanders willingly forth into visionary regions of future opulence and grandeur : his ideas, his expressions, acquire a

certain colour of habitual exaggeration. The half-formed streets and rude buildings of his neighbouring market-town are scarcely so familiar to his eyes, as the splendid emporium of a populous republic, in which his children are to dwell, is to his fancy. The solitary steam-boat which traverses, at intervals, his remote waters, is to him the symbol of commerce in its most magnificent and world-embracing scale,—connects him, in fancy, with the realms of the farthest east and west, and renders them tributary to his anticipated greatness. We have seen, in our own times, the spectacle of whole nations indulging in dreams as gorgeous and fantastic as those in which our old dramatists plunged the lordly epicures of their fancy. All this pampered luxuriance of imagination is not without its real utility: not to mention the powerful manner in which it sometimes contributes to economical progress, it also has a tendency, in its way, to elevate the mind above the mere objects of the hour. But it contributes only too powerfully to lead the colonial commonwealth into its besetting errors of self-will and presumption, and ignorance of its real position.

On the whole, however, let us not exaggerate to ourselves the moral evils peculiar to new societies. It is a common saying, that such a country is no place for a gentleman; and certainly it cannot be congenial to the habits of the artificial class, the joint produce of feudalism and wealth, so called among ourselves. It does not follow that, all things taken into consideration, it is not the best for the great mass of mankind; the best, I mean, considering man not merely as a creature born to eat and drink, and keep himself warm,—but considering him from as high a point of view as the most exalted philosophy requires. Let us admit all that has been urged, and can be urged, respecting the low moral condition of the mass of such a people as the

Canadians, or the Americans of the newer states, more unrestrained and violent in their conduct, but otherwise not very different from the former. But let us remember also, that those regions possess no proletary class, living on mendicity and crime; that, however low we may consider the ordinary standard of rectitude among the people, the petty pilfering dishonesty of the lowest ranks in old states scarcely exists; that there is no overgrown manufacturing population, with its fearful mass of vice; that the life and energy of infancy are not ground down by incessant toil; that domestic morality is in general peculiarly pure and sound; that religion is honoured, whatever the extravagances and errors with which religious zeal is impregnated;—and we shall be disposed, on the whole, to think that the comparison, if pressed with odious minuteness, might possibly turn out not so favourable to ourselves as appears to be the fashionable opinion.

On the other hand, in colonies raising valuable exportable produce, the necessary accumulation of capital in a few hands, which has a tendency, as we have seen, to take place at an early period, must certainly tend to correct the natural proneness of colonial society towards democracy. It must, at the very least, break the abrupt transition from the old state of society to the new. If a supply of dependent labour could be provided, the gradation of ranks might possibly be maintained. As I have often explained, there is no instance in colonial history of the combined operation of capital and labour, except through the medium of slavery or quasi-slavery. But if those mischiefs could be avoided— if, by turning political reveries into realities, we could create a class of men, free and their own masters, willing to work for wages, and able to obtain an ample remuneration for labour, and unable or unwilling to make the immediate

passage from the condition of hired labourers to that of independent land-owners,— either an aristocratic state of society might be maintained, with all its consequences, good or evil ; or, at all events, the progress of equalization would be less rapid and more safe. Now, if the so-called South Australian scheme, by which an abundant supply of labour is to be procured, and the price of land at the same time kept up, turns out to be practically efficient, this will certainly be the mode of its operation, in whatever degree it may realize such consequences as I have here anticipated. I have already dwelt, at length, on its economical character, and the prospects which it holds out. These political results, though more distant and uncertain, are deeply interesting, and render it a matter of still more serious importance that the experiment should be fairly tried.

These considerations, as to the peculiar qualities which characterize society in young colonies, are peculiarly important as an introduction to the difficult problem of their political government. Let us now briefly address ourselves to a few of the elementary questions which enter into the composition of that problem.

There are two methods by which a colony may be retained in political connexion with the mother-country. The first is that of absolute government ; surrounded with more or with fewer controlling institutions, which may delay or divide the action of the governing will ; for the chief executive officer may act in conjunction with a councillor sent from the mother-country, or with councillors appointed by the sovereign from among the colonists,— as in the ancient colonies of Spain and France, and in the crown colonies of Great Britain, which have no representative assembly. Under this system the colonists may be kept in subjection by force ; by that habit of submission which is

produced by such a polity; by a sense of interest, nay, by attachment, when substantial prosperity is secured to them, and the administration is wise and temperate. In this case the mother-state can introduce such domestic institutions as she may deem advisable for the welfare of the colonists; such, for instance, as an aristocracy, privileged classes, a dominant church, or establishments for public education. She, the mother-country, charges herself in this case with the welfare of the governed, and is bound to mould their young society in such a manner as those in whom her own sovereign authority resides consider the most expedient for it.

The other is that of absolute freedom; in which the executive power in the colony claims no greater rights than it has in a representative government at home. To borrow the description of a community thus governed from Mr. Lewis's recent work* : — "In respect of its relations to foreign countries, its practical dependence on the dominant country is complete. It is related amicably to every foreign country with which the dominant country is at peace. It is related hostilely to every foreign country with which the dominant country is at war; although it does not maintain a standing army or navy of its own, and is defended by the arms of the dominant country from foreign aggression or insult. The dominant country, moreover, regulates the commercial intercourse of the dependency with other independent states. In respect, however, of its internal affairs, the condition of the dependency approaches closely to a state of practical independence. The dominant country determines the form of the government by which the dependency is immediately governed. But, for other purposes, the dominant country interferes as

* On the Government of Dependencies, ch. x. p. 302.

“ little as possible with the internal economy of the
“ dependency; and especially the dominant coun-
“ try does not require the dependency to contribute to
“ the expenses of the general government of the
“ empire.” In this case the colonists are left to tax
themselves, to administer themselves municipally, to
superintend their own domestic institutions. Under
such a government there should seem much reason to
expect that the colony would remain an integral part
of the empire just as long as mutual interest appears to
recommend: there need be no prejudice or irritation
at work to bring about premature separation; nay,
perhaps the connexion might be maintained, by mutual
good-will, longer than mere considerations of advantage
would have upheld it; for there is, undoubtedly, a
natural attachment between a colony and its metropolis,
wherever the inhabitants of the former do not feel
their sentiments or their interests interfered with by
the conduct of the latter. And this natural attachment
is kept alive to a great degree by the process of immi-
gration. So long, for instance, as every year continues
to furnish a great body of British colonists, fresh from
the mother-country, and with all her feelings and
habits clinging about them, to reinforce the population
of our North American provinces, so long we are
assured of a powerful influence at work to counteract
those tendencies to separation which the neighbourhood
of the great Republic, or political causes originating in
the colonies themselves, may chance to produce.

This latter system was that adopted by our ancestors
in the foundation of colonies. Arbitrary interference
on the part of the government at home with what may
be called the domestic institutions of the settlers, was
so rare an occurrence that it may fairly be considered
as the violation of an established rule: whether the con-

stitution were charter, or royal, or proprietary, the system was, in practice, almost the same. The crown, or the proprietors, claimed nothing beyond the rights expressly reserved to them in the charter or deed of incorporation. It was not esteemed any part of the duty of the central authority to superintend the affairs—civil, moral, or religious—of those to whom had been given, by tacit implication, a right to control themselves. We have seen that this connexion, slight as it was, maintained itself until new doctrines began to prevail at home, and rights of sovereignty were insisted upon which had never been practically asserted before: then the separation took place.

It may, however, be contended, with justice, that, in the present circumstances of the world, absolute political freedom is a more dangerous boon than it was in the days of our ancestors; more dangerous, that is, to the continuance of the connexion between the home government and the dependency,—which is the point we are now considering. Political excitement is stronger than of old, or at least more continuous; high democratic doctrines more prevalent; the animosity of classes and ranks more open in its manifestations. And to all this must be added, as we have seen before, the effect of the example of the United States, ever present and fructifying in the imaginations of colonial reformers in every corner of the world. There will always be a government party and a popular party; a party resting for its existence and influence on the detection of abuses, and inflamed representation of grievances; a party which must of necessity, be it consciously or unintentionally, incline towards principles of national independence. And it is observed, with some truth, by Mr. Lewis, that a popular party in a colony is invariably more extreme in its views than a popular party

(except the very ultra section of it) in an old country ; because the former can entertain comparatively little of those hopes of power which continually influence the latter, and induce the leaders of opposition to refrain from advocating violent measures, which, if in office, they might be called upon, for the sake of consistency, to propose.

This last consideration would be of less importance, if the prizes held out to political partisans by our system of government were of a less tempting kind ; if administration were cheaper than it is. It is one of the many evils attending over-government, that party spirit is created and fostered by the mere hope of partaking in the profits of the great expenditure which accompanies it. Our own times are probably the first in which the governing body, in large states, has sought to acquire strength by multiplying dependents on the public purse ; a matter of state-craft now well understood in some great European kingdoms. Under our old colonial system, no temptation whatever was held out to self-interest assuming the mask of patriotism — the commonest form of hypocrisy in these days. The expense of the civil establishment in Massachusetts Bay, before the commencement of the American war, was estimated by Adam Smith at about 18,000*l.* a year ; that of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, 3500*l.* each ; that of Connecticut, 4000*l.* ; that of New York and Pennsylvania, 4500*l.* each ; that of New Jersey, 1200*l.* ; that of Virginia and South Carolina, 8000*l.* each. “ An ever memorable example,” as he most truly adds, “ at how small an expense “ 3,000,000 of people may not only be governed, but “ well governed.”* In 1836, the civil expenditure of

* Wealth of Nations, book iv. ch. 7.

Newfoundland, paid out of its revenue, was 36,000*l.*; of Prince Edward's Island, 13,000*l.*; New Brunswick, 52,000*l.*; Lower Canada, at least 100,000*l.** If this enormous difference were compensated by superior government, I, for one, should be little disposed to cavil at the amount of the sums which the people of the colonies are called on to advance for the purchase of so inestimable a blessing. But I might safely ask those who entertain the highest notions of government and its duties, whether any of its functions, moral or material, are better fulfilled in our colonies of the present day than they were in the ancient American provinces.

But to return from this digression. We have seen, in a former lecture, that since the American revolution there has been a propensity in the minds of British statesmen to construct a system of colonial government answering to neither of these descriptions, but partaking of the characteristics of both. It is perhaps not strictly correct to designate by the name of a system a series of aims and conceptions which were probably connected by no very definite unity of purpose in the minds of those who framed them; but their tendency, on the whole, was, to construct subordinate commonwealths, not merely united to the mother-state for purposes of commerce and external relations, but of which the domestic institutions were to be controlled and modelled by the superior power at home. We have granted them, as formerly, representative governments. But both the

* Montgomery Martin's "Colonies of the British Empire." From the same authority it appears, that the domestic expenditure of Upper Canada, in the same year, was 216,000*l.*; and of Nova Scotia, 77,000*l.*: but I do not draw these into the comparison, because unusually large sums appear to have been expended on public works.

right and the policy of interfering with the internal administration of those governments,—of introducing from Britain such institutions as we British approve of,—of exercising a sort of paternal jurisdiction in forming and training the political society of the colonists, have been much insisted on among ourselves, and partly put in practice where we have had the power. Every one who has attentively studied the history of our present colonial discontents will see that I have correctly stated this inclination of modern opinion; and every one who has studied the history of the past will probably agree with me that it is a departure, whether right or wrong, from the policy of our ancestors.

And it is one which certainly involves us in many difficulties; which opens to the mind altogether new combinations and oppugnancies of political powers; which seems to require some new system of checks, some contrivances as yet unimagined, in order to work for the benefit either of the governing or dependent community. A representative body, having the power of taxation, is apt to think itself omnipotent in domestic matters, and to act upon that supposition; and if it then becomes necessary to control it by force, it is impossible to entrust it safely any longer with the power of taxation. An assembly, such as exists in many states and provinces under absolute government, charged with the power of apportioning taxation, may very well subsist without intrenching on the prerogatives of the real legislature; but an assembly which originates taxation, which grants the supplies, could hardly do so. As Mr. Lewis expresses it, “If the government of the
“dominant country substantially govern the depen-
“dency, the representative body cannot substantially
“govern it; and, conversely, if the dependency be sub-
“stantially governed by the representative body, it

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“ cannot be substantially governed by the dominant
 “ body. A self-governing dependency (supposing the
 “ dependency not to be virtually independent) is a
 “ contradiction in terms.”* If so, it seems difficult
 (except by the continued application of force, and with
 repeated disturbance in the motions of the machine of
 state) to give to a people a representative assembly
 with the usual powers of such a body, and at the same
 time to establish among them domestic institutions to
 which they are not attached ; dispose of their land to
 such purposes as we, and not they, may deem expedient ;
 introduce our jurisprudence into their tribunals (as the
 criminal law of England was transferred to Canada by act
 of parliament in 1774†) ; govern them by officers se-
 lected as friends to our state, and not as popular among
 themselves, exempting these from all responsibility to
 the colonial legislature. If it is not only expedient, but
 imperatively right, as many wise and excellent men be-
 lieve it to be, to give to a subject-people those elements
 of social well-being which they are not sufficiently ad-
 vanced to appreciate for themselves, can this be done
 without the introduction, I will not say of arbitrary
 government, but at all events of a more stringent sys-
 tem than any which England has hitherto adopted
 towards her colonies ?

And there is one other problem in policy which is
 suggested by a view of the progress and institutions of
 our modern colonial empire. Whichever character the
 state means ultimately to impose on her offspring,—
 that of subjection, or that which Mr. Lewis calls virtual
 independence,—should the choice be made at once, or

* Essay on the Government of Dependencies, p. 296.

† I cite this as an example of the fact, rather than to establish
 the reasoning ; for Canada had at that period no representative
 assembly.

should an experimental, temporary scheme be first adopted? The latter has been the modern plan among ourselves. Many of our existing colonies have only had constitutions granted them at a pretty advanced period in their settlement. And some have been subjected at their foundation to absolute government, with an understanding that they will by and by receive one: one (South Australia) with a promise, guaranteed by act of parliament, that the boon shall be given when the number of its inhabitants amounts to 50,000. Certainly to observers imbued with the notions of these times, such a course is apt, at first sight, to appear the most advisable. We rather shrink from the idea of saddling the first laborious settlers in the wilderness with the duties of self-government: plain, practical institutions we know to be the best adapted for them; and these we are apt to identify with absolute rule. Yet it is worth while to pause, and consider in how different a light our ancestors regarded this matter. They never dreamt (that is, in by far the majority of instances) that the colonist was not fully fitted to enjoy at first whatever measure of liberty was to be ultimately his portion. We have seen that the people of Massachusetts Bay made their own constitution almost as soon as they arrived there; it was ratified at home, its provisions were transferred not many years afterwards to a royal charter, and continued to exist during the whole period of its dependence. When the enthusiast Roger Williams settled Rhode Island, with a few people escaped from the persecution of their Puritan brethren in Massachusetts, he framed in the very next year a republican polity for his dozen or two of families. It was confirmed by charter in 1662, and continues at this very day to be the constituent law of that flourishing little commonwealth. According to our present ideas, Rhode Island would

not have been "entitled" to a constitution until a century and a half after its first settlement.

It cannot be questioned that this as well as other political problems are much complicated by the prevalence of high political theories at the present day. The settlers of New England were republican in habits, not in sentiment (which only grew up at a later era), and valued their free institutions just at their practical worth. In our times, we must always expect that a community possessed of political powers will be influenced more or less by exaggerated views and feelings in the exercise of them. But the question remains substantially the same,—whether 500 men of ordinary British habits and notions, and not too much scattered over the soil, cannot administer themselves municipally as well as 50,000; whether the size of a community—supposing it protected from external violence—has anything to do with its capacity for self-government. And it is to be observed, that the more dangerous influences of the democratic spirit do not easily grow to a head in a very small community; every man is known, every man is responsible; and free institutions, formed during this period of comparative simplicity, are perhaps more likely to endure safely the expansion of the commonwealth, than to be received with safety by a people already adolescent. Whatever may be the vantage ground secured by the central government during the period of delay, it is certain that when the expected boon arrives it will find the colony divided into two classes—those who are its masters now, and those who expect to be its masters hereafter; and that it will find the minds of a large number possessed with a prejudiced hatred toward those elements of good society which may have been introduced during the period of minority. I can only refer you, in passing, to the recent

history of Newfoundland, as affording perhaps the most striking example of events which have taken place, more or less, in nearly all our present colonies soon after their passage from a state of pupilage to freedom.

Is there, then, no practicable method of drawing the bonds of union closer, and giving each member of a great colonial empire a greater sympathy with the mother country, without impairing its individual strength and freedom? Is it possible (and this is the last political question which I will discuss) to admit into the Imperial Parliament representatives from the colonies?

It is well known with how much favour this project was received in England before the American war; how strongly it is advocated by Adam Smith, among other high authorities; and how powerfully it is controverted by Burke. But there seems to be one radical objection to it, which the arguments of Burke do not touch. If the union is to be complete, provincial legislatures must be abolished. There can be no more a separate parliament for Canada than a separate parliament for Yorkshire. Canada must then submit to be taxed and governed by a body in which Canadian representatives would form an infinitely unimportant fraction, while the great mass would be utter strangers to Canada and its interests. Canada would have really no voice in the state whatever, and no recognized public organs at home. It would be as mere a dependency as Malta or Gibraltar. This is a mode of government to which it would be very undesirable, if it were practicable, to submit great colonies.

But if colonies were to retain their own legislatures for internal taxation and the smaller details of government, and at the same time send representatives to the central parliament, then the question would necessarily arise, what functions do these colonial representatives

actually perform? Where the power of taxation is, there resides in truth the supreme domestic authority. The trans-oceanic members of parliament, destitute of real importance, would become mere hangers-on of parties in the mother country; the provincial assembly would represent public opinion, as it does now, and the quarrels between it and the executive would be altogether unaffected by the influence of the little knot of gentlemen who might be sent to enact the visionary part of legislators in London.

We have now accompanied the colony, in this rapid review of her progress, to that critical stage when the years of her apprenticeship are past, and Nature has pronounced her free. But it does not follow as a necessary consequence that the attainment of domestic freedom is inconsistent with a continued dependence on the imperial sovereignty. The epoch of separation is not marked and definite, a necessary point in the cycle of human affairs, as some theorists have regarded it. Union might be preserved, for any reason which theory has to show against it, long after the sense of *necessary* dependence is gone. I do not speak of that inglorious and unlovely subjection which may be maintained by force; a possibility to which the last few years have given more colour than ever, from the increased facilities of communication, and the terrible strength which has been added to the resources of modern war; but one which every wise man must deprecate as a far worse result than that which it prevents. But the mere political link of sovereignty may remain, by amicable consent, long after the colony has acquired sufficient

strength to stand alone. Existing relations may be preserved, by very slight sacrifices, on terms of mutual good-will. But this can only be by the gradual relaxation of the ties of dependence. The union must more and more lose the protective, and approximate to the federative, character. And the crown may remain, at last, in solitary supremacy, the only common authority recognized by many different legislatures, by many nations politically and socially distinct.

Such, at least, are the reveries of speculative politicians. Whether such a future is to be expected, as within the range of reasonable probability, for our own magnificent and daily expanding empire, is a question on which I forbear to dwell. If the anticipation of it be only a dream, it is one which elevates and inspires the imagination. Rome, for five centuries, controlled under one sceptre the

“ ——— thousand tribes nourished on strange religions
And lawless slaveries ——— ”

which occupied half the surface of the ancient world. And the character of her supremacy altered precisely as I have supposed that of my imaginary colonial empire to alter. In the first ages of her dominion, there was a ruling people, controlling the rest of mankind with equal laws and firm policy, but retaining to itself all the benefits of power, and nearly all the privileges of municipal freedom. Gradually, by steps more or less marked, this form of polity was succeeded by a very different one. There was no longer any political distinction of nations. The name of province was retained; but the province, from a subject district, became a mere territorial division of the empire. Its people were still called provincials; but the provincial was substantially on the same footing with the Italian, the Italian

with the Roman. Rome herself was looked up to with reverence, not with jealousy; as the fountain of laws, order, and civilization, but no longer as imposing them on a conquered world. And the Roman Empire subsisted inviolate to the last,—torn asunder by foreign violence, but never divided from within.

On such conditions as these—and assuredly, if not on these, then on none—may we not conceive England as retaining the seat of the chief executive authority, the prescriptive reverence of her station, the superiority belonging to her vast accumulated wealth, and as the commercial metropolis of the world; and united, by these ties only, with a hundred nations,—not unconnected, like those which yielded to the spear of the Roman, but her own children, owning one faith and one language? May we not figure to ourselves, scattered thick as stars over the surface of this earth, communities of citizens owning the name of Britons, bound by allegiance to a British sovereign, and uniting heart and hand in maintaining the supremacy of Britain on every shore which her unconquered flag can reach? These may be extravagant views; but, if rightly understood, they have this advantage,—that the pursuit of them cannot lead the mind to wander in an unprofitable track. They are altogether inconsistent with the notions which have at different times led this country so fatally astray, in the defence of valueless rights or imaginary advantages; they are altogether inconsistent with the idea of a subjection enforced by bayonets—of a subjection bought through the means of a constant and galling expenditure, or bought by the still more injurious method of conceding commercial monopolies. Every step which could be taken towards the construction or maintenance of an union thus cemented would be a step favourable to the indi-

vidual well-being and prosperity of every member. Every experiment in this direction would be serviceable alike to the colony affected by it, whether the ultimate destiny of that colony were an equitable connexion, or a bloodless separation.*

* I feel myself bound to state that this last Lecture has undergone some alterations since I delivered it; which was, indeed, before the appearance of the work of Mr. Lewis, so frequently cited in it. This is a liberty which I have not ventured to take with any of the others; and I am conscious of some of the deficiencies which the reader will observe in them, but have been reluctant to supply them to any extent on revision; holding, with Mr. Senior, that "one of the principal objects of the statute, requiring from the Professor of Political Economy an annual publication, must have been, that the public might know the sort of doctrines inculcated at Oxford."

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NOTE TO LECTURE V.

I FIND that some statements in this Lecture have been considered adverse to the promotion of emigration to the colonies. Such certainly was not my intention. But I was anxious to lead my hearers to distinguish between the practical and useful objects of emigration, and those which appear to me visionary.

The principal object of the first description is, that of opening new sources of production, and new outlets for our trade. For this purpose, it would be difficult indeed to overrate the advantage of colonization. But the growth of new branches of trade must be gradual; and a bounty on emigration for such a purpose as this would be, at the best, a very expensive mode of purchasing a distant benefit. 20,000 or 30,000 emigrants are now sent out annually by government or parochial assistance: that number might be increased to a very considerable extent by the judicious employment of colonial funds, without burdening the mother country; and any measures ensuring such a result would be equally beneficial to herself and her colonies.

In the next place, emigration is generally advantageous to the individual who emigrates: it often rescues him from a state of destitution. It not unfrequently relieves over-burdened parishes, and estates in which the consolidation of farms is going on: it may relieve to a still greater extent over-peopled corners of the empire, such as the western islands: it may possibly (I wish this could be stated with more confidence) relieve the working classes in particular trades and places in times of great pressure. And these individual or local reasons are quite sufficient to induce any reasonable politician or philanthropist to encourage emigration, without thinking it necessary to require proof of national benefits to be obtained by it.

But the popular mode of representing emigration is as a cure for national evils; a remedy for the distress so perpetually recurring in a country dependent on trade and manufactures for the support of one third of its population. And it is against the sanguine adoption of such views as these that caution seems to me to be peculiarly requisite. Those who speak of emigration in language such as this, must mean (whether they have reflected on

the extent of their own meaning or not) emigration carried to such an amount as to alter the existing proportions between capital and labour. If the project does not aim at accomplishing this, it aims at nothing, and is a mere delusion. Such a project I cannot but regard as chimerical; altogether unwarranted by past experience; of very doubtful benefit at home, and productive at best only of temporary relief: and, if found practicable in its details, certain to be attended with enormous evils in the execution.

In fact, it seems pretty well admitted by all who have reflected on the subject, that to effect any such change by *indiscriminate* emigration, in a kingdom of which the population increases nearly at the rate of 300,000 per annum, is altogether out of the question. But then it is argued that a great effect might be produced, with comparatively little difficulty, by *select* emigration: that is to say, by sending out, annually, a moderate number of persons of both sexes, just arriving at the marriageable age. In this way, it is said, population might be stopped, if it were desirable, from increasing altogether, by a very moderate amount of emigration; and, therefore, relief to the labour market might easily be afforded.

Mr. Wakefield's calculation on the subject is this. He takes the population of Great Britain (1833) at 14,000,000; the annual *marriages* at 105,000, or one in 134; and therefore, that by removing 210,000 persons per annum, Britain would soon be depopulated.

“ But this effect would occur through the removal of a much smaller number. It would occur by the yearly removal of all who in each year should attain the age of puberty. It is reckoned that *the yearly births are to the whole population in the proportion of about 1 to 31*. Taking the yearly births, then, to be 451,612, or, for round numbers, 450,000, and assuming that not above one third of these, or 150,000, reach the age of puberty, it appears that England might soon be depopulated by the yearly abstraction, for some years, of a number of persons not much greater than the number who did actually emigrate last year. But there is a way by which, with a still smaller yearly outlay, England might be depopulated: by taking away every year a number of young couples sufficient to reduce the whole number in after years; so that the whole number of young couples should be in time reduced to one. Supposing that this might be effected, though not so quickly as if all were removed by removing every year half of the young couples who had in that year reached the age of puberty, then might England be

"depopulated by the yearly removal, for some years, of 75,000 persons," &c. — *England and America*.

Now let us first consider the soundness of this argument with respect to the effect of emigration on the number of the people. I think it must strike every reader at once, that there is evidently some mistake in the first calculation. It is impossible that only 150,000 persons can reach the age of puberty in every year, and yet that 105,000 couple should be married in every year.

But, without examining into the causes of this oversight, let us examine the latter part of the calculation, which is the more practical. Mr. Wakefield estimates the births at 1 in 31, and upon this datum assumes that the removal of 75,000 persons per annum would depopulate England, if they were to emigrate at the proper age, and in equal numbers of each sex. Now, both he, and other writers who have taken the same view (see *Colonial Gazette*, Jan. 19. 1842, for a similar calculation), seem to me, I must confess, to have fallen into the same fallacious reasoning which misled Sir Francis Diversnois, and other calculators of the early part of this century, who foretold the decline of the French population from the enormous drafts which 20 years of war made on those who, in every year, attained the marriageable age; drafts far greater than any which the boldest scheme of emigration could effect. *They have assumed the ratio of births to the population, of an age to have children, as something invariable.* The fact is, that if a certain number of marriageable couples were removed in every year, the ratio of births to the remaining population, of an age to have children, would immediately increase.

Suppose a gross population of 20,000,000, and births at the rate of 1 in 30 per annum. About two fifths, or 8,000,000, may be considered as persons of an age to have children. The births, compared with these, are as 1 in 12 per annum. Suppose 1,000,000 of these removed: if the ratio of births to the population of an age to have children were to continue the same, of course the increase of population would receive a check; the ratio of births to the whole population would fall from 1 in 30 to nearly 1 in 33. But the ratio of births to the number of persons, of an age to have children, would *not* continue the same if the removal were effected without a proportional loss of capital. The removal of so many persons in the vigour of life, the amount of employment remaining the same, would raise the rate of wages, increase the number of marriages, and very speedily the number of births. The 7,000,000 might easily produce as many as 8,000,000 did before. The rate of both marriages and births might rise to a proportion far exceeding any

thing that economists, judging merely from the ordinary circumstances of English society, could anticipate. In the State of Guanajuato, in Mexico, marriages are estimated at 1 in 50 or 60, and births at 1 in 16, per annum. Without anticipating that such extraordinary proportions as these might prevail in England, it would, at all events, be easy to show that the rise would be so great as to disconcert altogether the calculations of Mr. Wakefield and his followers. A new bounty would be afforded to population, precisely in the same manner as it would be afforded by the sudden addition of a large and fertile tract to the surface of Britain.

But let us admit Mr. Wakefield's reasoning, and suppose that the removal of 50,000 or 70,000 persons, of a particular age, per annum, might prevent the increase of population: what would be the results? It is no advantage, in the abstract, to check the increase of population. What we seek to attain is *present* relief for the labour market. How would the removal of young couples effect this, more than the removal of people of other ages? The removal of 1000 persons just arrived at the marriageable age produces, in the first instance, no greater effect in the labour market than the removal of any 1000 other persons, of an age to obtain employment. All that follows from Mr. Wakefield's supposition is, that, 20 years hence, another effect may begin to be perceptible, in the diminished number who would then attain the age of labour. But is it really proposed, that government should legislate for present necessities, with a view to the condition of the labour market 20 years hence? Those who maintain such a proposition ought at least to state the grounds for it, and not to propose select emigration, as it is called, as a remedy for existing evils, which it obviously would not touch at all.

Under a well-regulated system of emigration, young persons, in equal numbers of both sexes, and unencumbered with many children, will always be preferred; less for the sake of the mother country than of the colony, or rather of the emigrants themselves, since such emigrants are rarely able, at the outset, to burden themselves with the support of great numbers of useless hands. But these are precisely the people whom it is most difficult to induce to emigrate. Nor is it desirable that it should be otherwise. We are not yet come to such a condition that the young, full of strength and hope, and with all the pleasures of an English home in prospect, should be driven to seek an eleemosynary passage to some distant region, as the greatest boon that can be offered them.

“The object of the promoters of this scheme,” says Lord John Russell, speaking of a recent project for wholesale emigration, “is — to relieve the mother country of those whose labour is the least profitable, and who, at present, form the greatest burden on its resources. But the object of the colonies is naturally of a totally different nature. Their object is to obtain, not the worst, but the best, class of labourers. They want neither the old nor the very young, — but those who are so capable of working as to be sure of employment even in this country. Now, from the papers that have been laid upon the table of the House, it does not appear that there is any disposition on the part of good and efficient labourers to emigrate. There is no doubt that labourers who are burdened with large families, and those who have arrived at an age when much exertion cannot be expected from them, and who in this country find it difficult, from these causes, to obtain a livelihood, are willing enough to emigrate: but these are the very classes that the colonists do not want; the very classes whom they regard as an evil and an injury, whenever they are thrust upon them. If, on the other hand, it be said, ‘We will confine ourselves to those young couples who are perfectly able to work, and to earn their subsistence in this country,’ then it will be found (and I must say I am not sorry that this is so) that the class of persons who are enabled to obtain sufficient employment at home are not disposed to separate themselves from their relatives and friends, and, consequently, in almost every instance decline the boon that is offered to them in the shape of free passage to a strange and distant land. Therefore, if this bridge were made, it is not to be supposed that there would be at once a rush of the better and only valuable class of labourers over it to the colonies.”—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1840, p. 3522.

There cannot, in fact, be a greater contrast than between the brilliant anticipations of projectors on this side of the water, respecting the eager welcome with which any influx of British emigrants would be received in regions requiring nothing but labour to render them productive, and the jealous watchfulness of the people in the colonies against the introduction of burdensome visitors — that is, of the very class whom we are most anxious, in this country, to send them; and, it may be added, who are themselves most anxious to go. For every one acquainted with the feelings of the labouring classes in this country knows that it is not the young and enterprising, those who with industry can generally find employment at will, who are tempted by the offer of emigration; but the idle,

those of a changeable and dissatisfied disposition, and the irregularly employed, who are always expecting to better themselves by change; or the more unfortunate class of hard-working labourers, whose families have outrun their means; or those who are only educated for a particular trade, in which employment happens to fail. We know with what jealousy indiscriminate emigration is regarded in Canada, where, for a considerable time, the legislature imposed a tax on it. And some of those who are in the habit of representing our colonies as a certain refuge for all the unemployed and destitute, would surely be a little scared from their conclusions if they were to read the Report of the Immigration Committee at Sydney (the Bishop of Australia chairman), made on the 12th Nov. 1839, in the very height of the furious demand for labourers which existed at one period in New South Wales. (It is printed among other papers in a return to an address of the House of Commons, 8th August, 1840.) The committee found their preference for the bounty system over that of emigration in government ships on its securing the rejection of undesirable applicants for emigration. Among these they reckon all persons above forty years of age—conceiving any departure from the regulation which fixes that limit to be “highly improper.” They also report, that it cannot be considered advisable to resort to the *Poor Law Unions* in search of parties to whom a free passage shall be granted; for the unions must have, too obviously, a disposition to rid themselves of the most burdensome and troublesome individuals or families, “and there is danger lest the choice of subjects for emigration, at the cost of the colony, should come to be decided rather by consideration for local interests in England than for those of the Australian community. That such a tendency does exist, and has to a certain extent prevailed, is clear from the accounts received by your committee of the description of a large portion (even so great as one third) of the emigrants from Ireland; in whose case, either from the want of a sufficient care in the selection, or from other causes not obvious to your committee, there exists a disinclination on the part of the public to employ them so readily as others, insomuch that it frequently has become necessary to discharge them from the emigration barrack without having obtained an engagement. Being thus without resource, they become a burden to themselves and to the colony.” The committee appear, in short, to be very desirous of emigrants, but then they must be neither past the flower of life, nor paupers, nor such as one third at least of our Hibernian brethren; in short, only the best possible specimens will serve their turn. And that this is no

mere display of fastidiousness on the part of the committee, but really founded on the difficulty experienced in disposing of inferior labourers, even where the want of labour was greatest, is strikingly evinced by the following passages from the examination of Mr. Pinnoek, resident immigration agent: —

“ Is there still a great demand for labour? — Yes, a very great demand.

“ Are there any considerable number of those who have arrived without employment, or have you experienced much difficulty in providing employment for all? — I am sorry to say, that in disposing of the Irish immigrants very great difficulty has been experienced.

“ How do you reconcile that difficulty with the continuance of a great demand for labour? — Because there are so many of an ineligible description.

“ Do you mean as to age, or physical qualification? — I mean, generally, that they are in all respects unsuitable.

“ As they fell under your disposal, it is to be presumed that they arrived by the government ships? — Yes.

“ Do you refer to Irish immigrants as specially liable to that objection? — More especially with respect to the Irish.

“ Is the number of ineligible persons so great as to bear any considerable proportion to the entire number of immigrants introduced? — Yes, at least one third of the whole number introduced by government. The Irish immigrants constitute more than one third of the whole introduced in government ships, and among them there are occasionally a few persons of an useful class from the north of Ireland; but the great bulk of them are unserviceable. Persons will not engage them, and they lie on hand, as my returns will show, week after week, at a heavy expense to the public, so that, in fact, the least eligible are the most expensive.

“ “ There are three government emigrant ships recently arrived. The ‘ Cornwall,’ with agricultural labourers from the counties of Kent and Sussex, who are rapidly engaging, although only landed four days; there were nearly 400 men, women, and children. The ‘ Bussorah Merchant,’ with about 250 souls from Gloucestershire; they consist of a few agriculturists, but *too many from the factories*: they have also been in the harbour only four days, and are going off *only tolerably well*. There is also the ‘ Navarino,’ from Cork, which landed its emigrants nineteen days ago, and not above one half are yet engaged.

“How long does the government engage to maintain them until they find employment? — Hitherto a month, which has now been reduced to a fortnight. At the expiration of that time their rations are discontinued, and they themselves ordered to remove from the immigration buildings. . . . The greater portion of them become paupers, hanging about Sydney, forming the nucleus of a state of society which, in our circumstances, it is most desirable to prevent.

“Can you furnish the committee with a statement of the number of persons who have left the barrack without engagement in service? — I cannot accurately, but a considerable number have done so; a great number of them, however, have been removed for declining to accept eligible offers of employment, at a fair rate of wages.

“Have you any in the barrack at the present, whom you expect to be compelled to remove from a contrary reason, because no eligible offer has been made to them? — The remainder of the ‘Navarino’s’ people, amounting to about 150 souls, have been ordered to remove from this cause. Their rations were discontinued on Saturday last, the 7th; the people have not, however, left the buildings, and I fear I shall have great difficulty in making them.

“Is that because they have no other place to go to, and no means of support elsewhere? — They are perfectly destitute; they have no friends in the colony; and many of them are perfectly unfit for any labour required in this colony: under these circumstances, I fear that, notwithstanding the orders which have been given, it will be necessary to maintain them for an indefinite period at the public expense.

“Do you attribute this to the present scarcity and high price of provisions, which renders persons unwilling to engage so many servants as they would under the ordinary circumstances of the colony? — I have found that the present scarcity has impeded the engagement of labourers with large families, but I do not attribute to that cause the non-engagement of the people by the ‘Navarino.’

“You have said, and are of opinion, that there is still a very great demand for useful and effective labourers of all descriptions? — Very great, including the class of domestic servants.”

There is one more difficulty in the way of wholesale emigration at the expense of government, to which I have not adverted.

There is at present an annual emigration of 30,000 or 40,000 persons from the United Kingdom to the colonies, at their own expense, besides that to the United States. But if emigration to the same quarters were stimulated by bounty, it can scarcely be doubted that voluntary emigration would be very materially lessened. Every one would spare his own resources, and endeavour to get a share in the liberality of government. This point is strongly insisted on by Mr. Elliot, in several of his despatches on the subject: and see letter No. 17. in the Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, for the year 1840.

Those who have studied this subject will read with interest the following extract from a paper on the recent census, read by Mr. Porter at the Statistical Society, in which the actual effect of emigration on the movement of population in the United Kingdom, for the last ten years, is considered:—

“ Considerable disappointment has been expressed that the rate of increase experienced in Great Britain between 1831 and 1841 has been below that exhibited between 1821 and 1831. Those rates were:—

Between 1821 and 1831.			Between 1831 and 1841.		
		Per Cent.			Per Cent.
England	-	-	England	-	-
		16.0			14.5
Wales	-	-	Wales	-	-
		12.0			13.0
Scotland	-	-	Scotland	-	-
		13.0			11.1
Islands in British Seas	-	-	Islands in British Seas	-	-
		15.8			19.6
Great Britain	-	-	Great Britain	-	-
		15.0			14.0

“ A slight examination may suffice to show that this disappointment is in a great degree, if not altogether, unfounded.

“ It is well known that great numbers of persons are continually leaving the kingdom, to settle in our colonies and in foreign lands. No accurate account of their numbers can be given. The statements furnished by the custom-houses include only those persons who leave our shores in ships specially employed for the conveyance of emigrants; but it is well known that a large number, in the aggregate, of passengers is taken by trading vessels, and of these no account is preserved. If, therefore, we limit the inquiry to the numbers given by the custom-houses of England and Scotland, we may be sure of being below the truth; and, thus corrected, the comparison between the two decennary periods will be as follows:—

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" Between 1821 and 1831.		Between 1831 and 1841.	
<i>England and Wales.</i>		<i>England and Wales.</i>	
Population, 1821 - -	11,978,875	Population, 1831 - -	13,897,187
Emigrated in 10 years, to 1831 - - -	124,888	Emigrated in 10 years, to 1841 - - -	394,103
	<hr/> 11,853,987		<hr/> 13,503,082
Population, 1831 - -	13,897,187	Population, 1841 - -	15,911,725
	<hr/> Increase - - - 2,013,200 or 17.05 per cent.		<hr/> Increase - - - 2,408,643 or 17.33 per cent.
<i>Scotland.</i>		<i>Scotland.</i>	
Population, 1821 - -	2,093,456	Population, 1831 - -	2,565,114
Emigrated in 10 years, to 1831 - - -	20,969	Emigrated in 10 years, to 1841 - - -	66,173
	<hr/> 2,072,487		<hr/> 2,298,941
Population, 1831 - -	2,365,114	Population, 1841 - -	2,628,957
	<hr/> Increase - - - 292,627 or 13.98 per cent.		<hr/> Increase - - - 330,316 or 13.95 per cent.
<i>Great Britain.</i>		<i>Great Britain.</i>	
Population, 1821 - -	14,072,331	Population, 1831 - -	16,262,301
Emigrated in 10 years, to 1831 - - -	145,857	Emigrated in 10 years, to 1841 - - -	460,278
	<hr/> 1,926,474		<hr/> 15,802,023
Population, 1831 - -	15,262,301	Population, 1841 - -	18,540,682
	<hr/> Increase - - - 2,335,827 or 16.59 per cent.		<hr/> Increase - - - 2,738,650 or 16.82 per cent.

" If the same rate of increase had been experienced between 1831 and 1841 as was exhibited between 1821 and 1831, making allowance, in both cases, for the ascertained number of emigrants, the actual numbers of the inhabitants of Great Britain would not have been so great as they are now by 38,546 persons.

" There is, however, an unavoidable inaccuracy in this statement, occasioned by the impossibility of determining the place of nativity of the several emigrants. All that we know on this head is, the part of the kingdom whence they depart. In the above computation, all quitting England have been considered English, and all quitting Scottish ports are reckoned as belonging to Scotland; but it is certain that many have come from Ireland to take their passage in emigrant ships sailing from Liverpool, and from other parts both in England and in Scotland. Will it be far wrong to reckon that this number is about equal to that of other emigrants of English and Scottish birth, of whom no account has been taken?"—*Journal of the Statistical Society, Jan. 1842.*

NOTE TO LECTURE VIII.

ON COLONIAL TRADE.

SINCE this Lecture was delivered, an attempt has been made to place the relative value of Foreign and Colonial Trade in a new light, by Colonel Torrens, in his publication entitled "The Budget." The view of the subject taken by this distinguished economist is,—that any country, by imposing a duty on the goods of another, has the power of attracting to herself a greater proportion of the precious metals, raising the price of her own commodities, and lowering that of the commodities of the country in question. And hence Colonel Torrens deduces the conclusion, that host tariffs should be met by retaliatory duties, and the trade with our colonies left free; in short, that the old colonial system should be maintained, so long as our foreign customers cannot be induced to deal with us on terms of perfect reciprocity. "The prosperity of the country cannot be arrested by the hostile tariffs of foreign rivals, if England will establish throughout her wide-spread empire a British commercial league — a colonial Zollverein."

I am not aware that any political economist has ever disputed the proposition,— that when one country imposes an unfavourable tariff upon the goods of another, a disturbance of the distribution of the precious metals is produced, to the disadvantage of the country of which the commodities are taxed; at least in the first instance. To maintain the contrary would be to maintain that a country suffers nothing by the imposition of duties on her produce in foreign markets. But the extent to which Colonel Torrens carries his doctrine is so unusual, and the consequences he deduces from it are so startling, as to have attracted considerable attention to his arguments.

"By the abstraction of money from one country," says Mr. Ricardo*, "and the accumulation of it in another, all commodities are affected in price; and consequently encouragement is given to the exportation of many more commodities besides money, which will, therefore, prevent so great an effect from taking place on the value of money in the two countries as might

* In his chapter on Foreign Trade (p. 170. 1st edit.).

“ otherwise be expected. Besides the improvements in arts and machinery, there are various other causes which are constantly operating on the natural course of trade, and which interfere with the equilibrium and the relative value of money. Bounties on exportation or importation, new taxes on commodities, sometimes by their direct and at other times by their indirect operation, disturb the natural trade of barter, and produce a consequent necessity of importing or exporting money, in order that prices may be accommodated to the natural course of commerce; and the effect is produced, not only in the country where the disturbing cause takes place, but in a greater or less degree in every country of the commercial world.”

It appears to be on the foundation of this passage, and generally of the well-known chapter from which it is extracted, that the theory of Colonel Torrens is raised. And I will proceed to state it, as nearly as my room will serve, in his own words; hoping that I may not render it unintelligible by compression:—

1. “ When commercial countries receive the productions of each other duty free, then (the efficacy of labour being the same in each) the precious metals will be distributed among them in equal proportions, and the general scale of prices will be the same in each.

2. “ When any particular country imposes import duties upon the productions of other countries, while those other countries continue to receive her products duty free, then such particular country draws to herself a larger proportion of the precious metals, maintains a higher range of general prices, than her neighbours, and obtains, in exchange for the produce of a given quantity of her labour, the produce of a greater quantity of foreign labour.

3. “ When any country is deprived of that command over the precious metals which is due to the efficacy of her labour in producing articles for the foreign market, by the hostile tariffs of other countries, she may recover her due command of the precious metals, by imposing retaliatory and equivalent duties upon the importation of the productions of the countries by which the hostile tariffs are maintained.

4. “ When, from foreign rivalry and hostile tariffs, a country begins to lose a portion of her former command over the metals, and to experience a contraction of the currency, a fall in prices, in profits, and in wages, and a falling off in the revenue; then, the lowering of import duties upon the productions of countries retaining their hostile tariffs, instead of affording relief, would

“aggravate the general distress by occasioning a more rapid abstraction of the metals, and a deeper decline in prices, in profits, in wages, and in the revenue, accompanied not by a diminution, but by an increase, in the real extent of taxation.”

This doctrine may be illustrated by a supposed instance, which I will also give in the language of Colonel Torrens; having merely changed his imaginary parties from England and France to England and Cuba.

Let us assume, in the first instance, that labour is applied with equal effect in England and in Cuba; that, in consequence, the metals are distributed in equal proportions throughout the two countries; and that the commerce carried on consists in the exchange of cloth, worth in England 1,000,000*l.*, for sugar, worth in Cuba 1,000,000*l.* This being the previous state of things, let us assume further, that, while England receives the sugar of Cuba duty free, Cuba imposes a duty of 50 per cent. on English cloth. The effects of this duty would be to alter the distribution of the metals in favour of Cuba, and, consequently, to raise prices in that country, and to lower them in England. The process would be as follows:—In Cuba, the price of English cloth would be increased by the amount of the duty, and its consumption in that country diminished in a corresponding degree; while in England, *in the first instance*, the price of Cuba sugar would not be enhanced, and the consumption would, consequently, continue as before.

The result of these changes would be, that England would not now send to Cuba such a quantity of cloth as would pay for the sugar she received, and would be compelled to discharge a part of her foreign debt by a transmission of bullion. This would *raise* prices in Cuba, and *depress* prices in England. In England, there would be less money applicable to the consumption of sugar, and the consumption of the article would gradually diminish. In Cuba, there would be more and more money applicable to the purchase of cloth, and the consumption of cloth would gradually increase. And these processes would continue until the quantity of cloth sent to Cuba again became sufficient to pay for the quantity of sugar received, and until no further transmission of the metals should be required. But when the commerce between the two countries should thus be restored to a trade of barter, the precious metals would no longer be equally distributed between them, and the scale of prices would be higher in Cuba than in England.

In discussing these views of Colonel Torrens, it appears important to consider, in the first place, whether their truth would

be at all affected by the omission of the precious metals from the supposed case. Let us examine how the imposition of a duty of 50 per cent. on English goods in Cuba would affect trade, and the exchangeable value of commodities, if the commerce were entirely carried on by barter; all other assumptions being the same as before.

Suppose that Cuba lays on a duty of 50 per cent. on English cloth, or, in other words, that the government retains one bale for its own use out of every three imported. *Supposing the demand for Cuba sugar to continue in England as before*, it is evident that Cuba sugar will no longer be bought directly with English goods, if it can be bought circuitously with English goods through the intervention of the produce of other countries. England will buy Cuba sugar, say with French silks, by exchanging cloth for silks, and exporting the silks to Cuba. But inasmuch as the demand for English cloth in France at its present exchangeable value is fully supplied, England can export no more cloth thither, except by submitting to a reduction of the exchangeable value of English cloth as compared with French silks. England must buy a smaller quantity of French silks with the same quantity of English cloth as before. England must next carry the silks so purchased to Cuba, to exchange for sugar. But the demand in Cuba for French silks, at their present exchangeable value as compared with Cuba sugar, is already supplied. Therefore, in order that more French silks may be taken by Cuba, their price, estimated in Cuba sugar, must fall. The result, therefore, of the whole transaction is, that English cloth falls in exchangeable value relatively to French silks, and French silks fall in exchangeable value relatively to Cuba sugar. When this has been accomplished, the trade between England and Cuba continues on a new footing, and one disadvantageous to the former country.

It will be perceived at once that the commodity which I have here called French silks is affected precisely in the same manner and proportion as the precious metals introduced by Colonel Torrens into his argument. And if my views are correct, precisely the same effects *would* be produced by a duty imposed by one country on the productions of another, whether the precious metals existed or not.*

This being the case, let us now revert to the supposition excluding the precious metals, and assume that a third country,

* Of course I am omitting from consideration the effects which would be produced by the lowering of money prices on existing public and private contracts, and the national credit. These are important practical features of the subject, but have nothing to do with the speculative doctrine.

Brazil, also produces sugar in sufficient quantities to supply the English demand, but that Brazil sugar is 5 per cent. dearer than Cuba: that is, that if 100 bales of English cloth sell for 100 cwt. of Cuba sugar, 105 bales of English cloth will only obtain 100 cwt. of Brazil sugar. If the quantity afforded by Cuba is sufficient to supply the English consumption, it follows of course that no sugar from Brazil is imported into England so long as free trade between England and Cuba continues. But as soon as the new tariff has been established, and English cloth begins to fall in relation to French silks, English cloth begins also to fall in relation to Brazil sugar. And as soon as Cuba sugar begins to rise in relation to French silks, it begins also to rise in relation to Brazil sugar. Under this double alteration of circumstances, the point is very soon reached at which Brazil sugar comes into competition with Cuba sugar in the English market. And if the Cuba tariff is persisted in, the effect must very soon be, that Cuba sugar is entirely driven out of the field, and Brazil sugar supplies its place. England loses to the amount of 5 per cent. at the utmost on the exchangeable value of her cloth, by its exclusion from the ports of the cheapest sugar-growing country; but the foreign commerce of Cuba is absolutely ruined.

And I confess that I do not see in what way the introduction of the precious metals can vary the supposition. It appears to me that gold and silver would then occupy precisely the same place in the argument which I have assigned to French silks, and be subject to exactly the same laws. Suppose that, before the tariff is imposed, cloth is worth 20s. per bale in England, sugar 20s. per bale in Cuba: 1,000,000 bales of cloth exchange for 1,000,000 cwt. of sugar. Brazil sugar cannot be sold under 21s. per cwt. so as to repay the cost of production, and does not reach the English market at all. The effect of the imposition of the tariff is, that Cuba sugar is purchased by England with gold obtained for cloth, instead of directly with cloth as heretofore; and it follows, says Colonel Torrens, that *the money price of Cuba sugar rises*. But as soon as the price of Cuba sugar rises above 21s., Brazil sugar immediately becomes the cheaper of the two, and competes successfully with it in the English market. Nor is this all. It appears to me that, upon Colonel Torrens' supposition, not only the price of Cuba sugar would rise, but the price of Brazil sugar would fall. The Brazil grower cannot afford, in the first instance, to sell his sugar at 20s. per cwt., because with 20s. he cannot purchase English cloth enough to repay him the cost of production. But as soon as English cloth fell in price, as by Colonel

Torrens' supposition it soon would do, 5 per cent., the Brazilian grower would be able to obtain for 20s. a sufficient quantity of English cloth for that purpose. Thus, I cannot but think, the price of Brazil sugar would fall accordingly.

Thus, whether we introduce or do not introduce the precious metals into our supposition, the same commercial causes—the rise in exchangeable value of the commodities of Cuba, and the fall in exchangeable value of the commodities of England—would soon bring into play the competition of the *next cheapest* country producing the same commodities as Cuba. The imaginary country which I have called Brazil, without altering in any respect her existing tariff with England, whatever that may have been, would reap the real benefit of that imposed by Cuba. And, therefore, if we were to allow the theory of Colonel Torrens its fullest operation, the effect of the whole transaction would merely be a slight loss to England on her export trade, and the total destruction of the English trade of Cuba, if she persisted in maintaining that hostile duty by means of which the Colonel represents that she is to “obtain, in exchange for the produce of a given quantity of her “labour, the produce of a greater quantity of foreign labour.”

And surely this would be the practical result, if any nation possessing only the ordinary commercial advantages should endeavour to improve her position by excluding from her markets the goods of her customers. It is idle to inquire what might be the effects of such a policy, pursued by a country possessing *exclusive* facilities for the production of any commodity, and that an *indispensable* commodity to other countries; for in the present state of the commercial world the idea of such a monopoly is visionary. And it is almost equally idle to examine into the effects of such prohibitory duties, if they were simultaneously adopted and put in practice by all the foreign nations with which we deal. If they were, what possible advantage should we obtain by retaliatory duties, the imposition of which is the policy recommended by Colonel Torrens? No one can deny that a hostile tariff produces evil to our industry. None but a very determined adherent to system will deny that a retaliatory tariff may *sometimes* be the best means of bringing a refractory customer to his senses. But the admission of these partial truths will in no degree damage the great conclusions of the doctrines of free trade: that the country which imposes prohibitory duties on foreign productions injures itself in the long run more than its rival; and that the country which retaliates, and persists in retaliation as a permanent policy, injures itself in the long run more than the original aggressor.

Still less would these conclusions justify the British statesman in encouraging colonial at the expense of foreign trade. As I have endeavoured to show in these Lectures, the "colonial system" is one of which the advantages in the present state of the world almost entirely result to the colonies,—the losses to the mother country. Under such circumstances there would certainly be very little difficulty in forming and maintaining a "colonial Zollverein" on the grandest imaginable scale. Many an independent state would gain, commercially speaking, by surrendering its sovereignty, and becoming enlisted in the catalogue of British dependencies. But every extension of such a commercial league could take place only at the expense of additional burdens on British industry, and additional loss to British consumers, if the products of the regions comprised in it required protection in order to enable them to compete with foreign products in the British market.

NOTE TO LECTURE XI.

SINCE this Lecture was delivered, Mr. Burnley, chairman of the Agricultural and Immigration Society in Trinidad, has published the results of an investigation conducted by that society in the form of a pamphlet, entitled "Observations on the Present Condition of the Island of Trinidad, and the actual State of the Experiment of Negro Emancipation." (London, Longman and Co., 1842.) It presents a remarkable picture of the condition of things in a tropical colony, possessing a wide extent of fertile and untouched soil, and a very small population, from which the restraints of slavery have been just removed.

The following is the statistical account of the extent and employment of land in the colony:—

Trinidad contains 180 sugar estates:

21,710	acres planted in caues
6,910	in cocoa
1,095	in coffee
6,313	in provisions
7,237	in pasture

43,265 acres in cultivation.

208,379 acres granted in the colony
1,079,301 ungranted

1,287,680 acres—(according to another account, 1,536,000.)

Very few of the grants exceed 500 or 600 acres. The greatest number are of 320. Of the excessive fertility of the soil, both granted and ungranted, the strongest proofs are given. One of the witnesses thinks that an acre of ground, cultivated in provisions, supports in some parts ten persons, and might support double the number with better husbandry. The land cultivated in sugar is estimated, on a low calculation, to be about four times as productive as that in the neighbouring island of Tortola, long settled and densely peopled.

The population of the island was about 39,000 in 1839, and seems to have been nearly stationary for the previous twenty years. Little reliance is to be placed on later enumerations, from the extremely vagrant habits of the population; but it is supposed now to amount to 45,000.

It thus appears that the number of labouring people, before the abolition of slavery, was altogether inadequate to the resources of this magnificent island; and it could not be augmented except by the very slow process of natural increase, the transfer of slaves from one colony to another having been forbidden in 1824.

The immediate effect of the cessation of slavery and apprenticeship was, therefore, to place the capitalist entirely at the command of the labourer. Wages instantly rose to the *maximum*; that is, as high as they could rise, leaving the necessary rate of profit to the capitalist, or even higher; for some capital, employed on the less productive soils, seems to have been reduced to idleness or driven from the colony. "Even now, after a considerable transfer of population has taken place, wages are at sixpence sterling a *day* in Tortola, and sixpence an *hour* in Trinidad." (I cannot help thinking that the first must be an under-estimate.)

The effects on the character of the negroes, both in respect of steadiness of labour and moral conduct, of this rapid change of fortunes, are amply considered in this pamphlet. It will be remembered, in reading the details, that they rest chiefly on the testimony of planters, and persons connected with planters, whose minds are naturally under some degree of bias: but this is not entirely the case; the testimony of the Roman Catholic bishop to the moral condition of the lower classes is sufficiently startling.

With respect to steadiness of labour, the general complaint of the planters is, that their expenses exceed the value of their crops; and the great diminution of production in the island is said to prove the fact. That diminution, however, can scarcely be said to have been very considerable down to 1839 inclusive. (See the Returns,

Appendix, p. 177., which, however, I cannot reconcile with those given in my first volume, p. 329.)

The following are the remedies proposed by the committee of which Mr. Burnley is chairman:—

1. "The introduction of a sufficient number of labourers of both sexes, by which the enormous excess prevailing in the colony, of fixed capital and uncultivated land over population, may be corrected, and these three material elements (on which, when combined in due proportion, civilization and prosperity depend) be adjusted to the proper scale, such as exists in Great Britain and other countries, where free labour is proved to work profitably.

2. "The framing of a legislative code, embracing provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, by which they may be trained and educated as moral and useful members of society in the condition of life to which they belong."

With respect to the first of these measures: the immigration has already been by no means inconsiderable. A return of those who have arrived from January 1. 1839, to June 30. 1841, comprising only those the expense of whose passage has been paid by the colonial treasury, gives 3897; of whom 982 from the United States, 170 from Sierra Leone, and the remainder from the British West India islands, chiefly Grenada and Nevis. There seems to have been also a considerable number of Europeans, and some from the Spanish Main, and agricultural labourers, or "peons," from the latter region, are in the habit of migrating to Trinidad to assist in getting in the crops, and returning home.

But the effect of this immigration seems, in the opinion of the committee, to have been almost neutralized by the extreme difficulty of enforcing continuous labour. Contracts made out of the colony are prohibited. "The effect of this has been to prevent combined labour altogether, for it is found that no negro in the colony will engage to work, even for a single day; rendering it impossible to conduct a manufactory economically. The moment a vessel with immigrants arrives in the harbour of Port of Spain, she is surrounded by agents, who are paid so much per head for every labourer they engage for the parties employing them; and the planters who reside in the most inconvenient and unhealthy districts, who are the worst accommodated in respect of cottages, markets, and medical practitioners, and who have the least means and resources, always make the most extravagant promises. Allured by the hope of high wages and extra allow-

“ances, the immigrant probably breaks an engagement he had previously formed with others, who may have been at some trouble and expense in bringing him into the colony, and locates himself in an unfavourable situation. He soon finds his expectations grievously disappointed. In the hope of improvement he removes to an adjoining estate, from that to a third, and acquires at last a roving habit which becomes irresistible. The committee are convinced that the alarming vagrancy now so prevalent in the colony is imputable solely to this cause, as it is principally composed of immigrants. . . . Of the extent to which vagrancy was carried in Trinidad, no person can form an idea without perusing the evidence. It has baffled every effort of the executive government for the last three years to take a census of the population, which cannot be found stationary long enough to be counted.”

To counteract this tendency, the committee propose in the first place the legalization of contracts of service made out of the island; a measure which alone could be of no great benefit, as one of their chief complaints is, that the contracts now made cannot be enforced, and therefore they add, as we have seen, “visions for regulating the condition of the negroes,” by which I presume a committee of planters to mean *coercive* provisions; limitations on the absolute freedom at present enjoyed; something in the nature of the Code Rural of Hayti. Their argument appears to be, that in densely peopled colonies the labourer, although free, is naturally dependent on the capitalist; in thinly peopled ones, the want of this natural dependence must be supplied by artificial restrictions. It is needless to say how jealously such proposals require to be watched. It is quite impossible that restrictions imposed on the working classes can make labour palatable; that they can communicate to the labourer the real *desiderata*—voluntary habits of steady application, and a desire of bettering himself; they can at best only perpetuate a condition somewhat above slavery, of which Hayti itself furnishes a striking example. Without venturing to pronounce the gloomy anticipations of Mr. Burnley unfounded, we may yet doubt whether two years and a half afford anything like a fair test of the effects which may be produced by a free and ample immigration of labourers, although uncontrolled by any laws of apprenticeship, in a colony where wages are as yet five or six times as high as in neighbouring parts; particularly if any means can be adopted for preventing them from establishing themselves on the land as small owners: but this, it must be confessed, seems to present the greatest difficulty of all. The committee speak of the “simple but comprehensive principles promulgated by

“ Mr. Wakefield,” and recommend the establishment of a land and emigration fund, and a minimum price of 16*l.* per acre. But what effect could such measures produce in a colony where “ the labourers are purchasing land at the rate of 133*l.* sterling “ per acre,” and “ at the still more extravagant rates of 200*l.* “ to 416*l.* ” (p. 166.)—prices which seem less astonishing when we are told that the first year’s return, on fresh soil cultivated in sugar, amounts in Cuba to the value of 45*l.*; therefore a price of 16*l.* per acre would be absolutely ineffectual, unless accompanied with restrictions as to the quantity sold; and the committee accordingly recommend that crown lands should be sold in lots of not less than 320 acres. Squatting, they say, could be easily prevented; but whether this be so or not, it would seem impossible to prevent the re-sale to labourers in small allotments.

With respect to the sources from whence labour is derivable, the committee report as follows:—

“ They are of opinion, that no European race will suit as a “ labouring class in the colony. Their health might be preserved “ in the hilly districts, but no reasonable restrictions could retain “ them there against their inclination. It is to latitudes within 40 “ degrees of the equator that they look for labourers to whom the “ climate of the island would be as genial as their own. Asiatics “ would answer well, but the natives of Africa are greatly to be “ preferred for many reasons: they are naturally docile, and open to “ few impressions; even their ignorance is in their favour, for they “ have no bad code of policy, morality, or religion to unlearn. “ The evidence, indeed, speaks of a Mahometan mosque established “ among them, but that religion is confined to a tribe partially civi- “ lized by the Moors; and it is clear, from the statement given, “ that it principally arises from the absence of any other church in “ that district, and a natural yearning after some religion. Hi- “ therto the efforts of the inhabitants of Trinidad to procure “ labourers have, with one exception, been limited by government “ to the British colonies; a restriction hostile to the principle “ which dictated the abolition of slavery, and in its consequences “ extremely injurious to the neighbouring islands. The committee “ do not mean to infer that they think those islands can materially “ suffer, under ordinary circumstances, from any amount of volun- “ tary emigration, for probably nothing but positive misgovernment “ can depopulate a country in which the inhabitants have once fairly “ taken root. But it is the continual excitement and agitation “ which the temptation to remove to Trinidad inspires, that most “ injuriously affect them. The fears and irritation of the employer

“ on one side, and the vague and frequently exaggerated expectations of the labourer on the other, are utterly destructive of the formation of amicable relations between them, and of the repose which the working of this great experiment peculiarly requires.” —(pp. 26, 27.) The planters, in short, would still very naturally prefer labourers who should voluntarily remain in the condition of subjects; and believe that, without placing them in some intermediate position between slavery and absolute freedom, no steadiness of labour, or economical prosperity, can be secured in colonies possessing a great extent of land. It is the same difficulty which has met us at every step in these inquiries: the consequences of negro emancipation have only presented it under a new aspect.

NOTE TO LECTURE XVI.

SINCE these sheets went through the press, Lord Stanley has detailed in Parliament the plan which it is now proposed to adopt for the sale of crown lands in all the Australian colonies. I will merely subjoin it without any observations:—

“ The principle which he proposed was not that of sales by auction, nor yet of sales at a fixed price, but it was a principle recommended by the Committee last year, which sat on the affairs of South Australia, by which, the several colonies being separated into districts, there should be a certain portion of land brought continually into the market, and a certain upset price, below which no land should be sold: and that at certain fixed sales the lands should be divided into three certain classes; for instance, those fixed for the site of towns, those which had an artificial value from being in the immediate neighbourhood of towns, and the ordinary country lots; and that these lands should be dealt with on different principles. It was proposed that the first two should never be sold except by auction; and that of the country lots no land should be sold but what had been submitted to auction, and that the land which was unsold at the period of the periodical sales should be liable to be sold in the interim at the upset price, without waiting for the periodical sales; that the land which had been bid for should be put up at a price which should have some relation to the bid which had been made for it, in the event of the land having been bought, but a forfeiture having subsequently taken place

“after the first instalment had been paid. It sometimes happened
 “in the colonies that land which had an artificial value to some
 “particular person, was bid for by that person, whose great object
 “it was to keep all other persons out of the market; and after all
 “it might be worth his while to sacrifice the small deposit made
 “on the sale, and never complete the purchase afterwards,
 “trusting that in this way the land would be reserved from sale
 “to sale. This was a practice to which it was sought to put an
 “end.”—*Times, Sat., Feb. 5. 1842.*

The following return was obtained too late for insertion in the
 Appendix to this Lecture:—

Number of Acres sold by Government: Amount of Purchase-
 Money received: Application of it to Emigration Service; and
 Number of Acres granted without Sale, for Eight Years (1831
 —1838). (From the *Tables of Revenue, &c.: Supplement to
 Part VIII.*)

	Number of Acres sold.	Purchase Money received.	Purchase Money applied to Emigration.	Number of Acres granted without Sale
Lower Canada -	371,015	£67,233	No separate returns.	422,184
Upper Canada -	95,755	32,976		
Nova Scotia -	107,233	No return.	No return.	50,443
New Brunswick -	694,180	140,035	No return.	133,343
N. S. Wales -	1,489,313	501,080	244,020	408,036
V. D. Land -	239,207	126,220	54,155	354,745
Western Australia	22,327	No return.	No return.	723,692



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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

- Page x. line 9. for "right," read "weight."
28. line 30. for "oppressed," read "oppression."
63. line 19. for "properly," read "profusely."
64. note *, for "Com." read "Cours."
84. note, for "settlement," read "settlements."
118. line 15. for "from 50,000 to 1,800,000," read "from 15,000 to
1,500,000."
153. line 7. of note, for "Island," read "Islands."
192. line 3. for "M." read "Mr."
198. line 5. for "silk," read "silks."
200. line 15. for "hogshhead," read "ewt."
238. lines 11. and 12. for "loss," read "love."
300. line 24. for "maintainance," read "maintenance."
309. line 29. for "those," read "these."
322. line 4. for "observed," read "observes."

