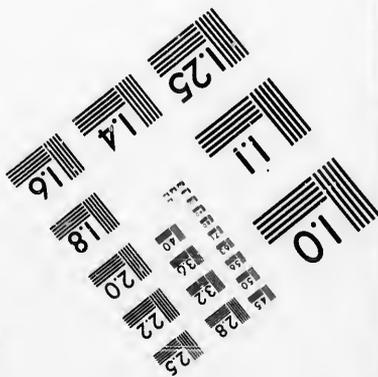
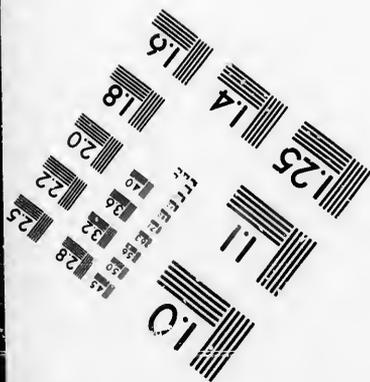
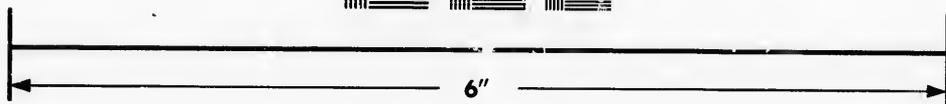
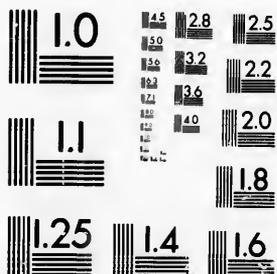


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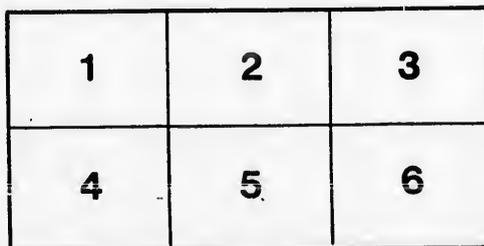
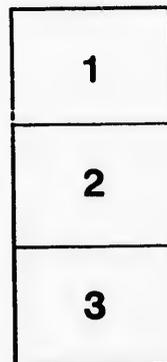
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ADDRESS

ON

EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION,

DELIVERED

IN THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE HALL.

BY THE HON. R. B. SULLIVAN.

TORONTO:

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ADDRESS, &c.

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

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

motives founded upon private and public economy, in the most restricted and sordid acceptance of these terms.

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

hearth was to arise, a grateful incense at the altar of a beneficent God.

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

“Where wild Oswego spreads her swamps around,
And thundering Niagara’s deafening sound,”

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

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

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

Thus, in the few years in which the political economist and the philosopher of Europe have, within the present century, been enquiring into the means of preventing or providing for a surplus population; into the best mode of employing men whose labour is not wanted; into the distresses of landlords and the reason, why the poor will not starve in peace and quietness; a population of seven millions has occupied the western States, where they live in all the enjoyments of present superabundance, and still expanding enterprise. A chairman of an Irish Parish Union, or of a London Colonization committee, may ask from what famishing population were the individuals supplied who form those new communities! For he would find that they fled, not from starvation, nor poverty, nor work houses, but from a country, in his estimation, not yet half-peopled, simply because they would not be servants. They chose to be their own landlords rather than the tenants of others. He may ask what committee of Emigration directed the movement?—where did the first emigrants find employment?—what was the rate of wages?—was not the labour market over-supplied when all were labourers and none were masters, was not the labour market under supplied, when all were masters, and none would work for hire? He would very speedily find that not one of his questions had entered into the calculations of the emigrant; that he might as well have asked how they lit their fires without hearth-money, or used the light of heaven without a window tax! If inquiries were made by the emigrating population, they were, whether the land

was good or bad, how they could get to it, how could they get it, would it produce food in abundance, and did it offer the promise of future prosperity by its facilities of communication, or its capabilities of improvement? In search of territory where these questions could be satisfactorily answered, the men of the Eastern States abandoned their homes; and for this, toil, danger, and difficulty were braved and overcome. Every Emigrant was looking for land—land upon which he might live in plenty, and, above all, in independence. From the rolling Prairies of Louisiana, to the Lakes of Canada, every mode of transport was put in requisition. There was the Emigrant, with his wife and children packed in a waggon, trundling along where there was no road formed by human hands, shouldering his axe or his rifle, spending his days in toilsome travel, and his nights without shelter;—here the steamboats were crowded with thousands seeking a western home, down the mighty rivers of the interior floated the boats and arks of the settlers, all with one object—*the possession of land*. If they had money, they would buy it cheaply, if not, they would buy it on some long credit, or what was still more easy, they would squat upon it, and hold it against the world. Strange to say, in all this, though there was unity of motive, there was no combination of plan, no direction of superior wisdom, no effort of government or legislation, no master mind, and no legally constituted direction, People moved by hundreds of thousands yearly, and so far were they from seeking a country ready prepared for habitation, that most of them did not pretend when they commenced their journey, to know when or where it would end. They found what they sought for, land which would produce food; but it not only gave them food, but wealth; and then followed the learning and talent of the East. The colleges poured forth their graduates, and the professions their members to join the mighty stream of human life,—Europe furnished her mechanics, and last of all, when canals had to be dug, and wages had to be paid, Ireland gave them her labourers.

There can be no doubt but that all this system, if system it could be called; is grievously offensive to the ordinarily received notions of political economy. No doubt but that many an English Emigrant to the United States has felt, to his cost, the effects of a state of circumstances which made the investment of large capital in the improvement of land a ruinous undertaking. All balance between the demand for labour and the supply was destroyed; men could not be found to work for wages in agriculture which left sufficient remuneration to the employer on a large scale; masters had to pay extravagantly for house-

hold servants, the latter even as independent in language and demeanor as the former,—tenants (when the relation of landlord and tenant had been established, in terms which subjected the latter to rents not equal to half an English poor-rate,) refused to pay their almost nominal stipend, and in the new States, men who were neither large landlords nor capitalists, and who possessed little education, became legislators and statesmen. Natural as well as conventional politeness was to a certain extent cast aside. Men asked impertinent questions, and chewed tobacco and spit upon carpets; mobs, and strange to say, respectable mobs, sometimes usurped the sacred functions of law and justice, but *still* the country prospered, society did not fall to pieces, simply because there was room for the utmost energies of an energetic people; and it was the interest of nobody to push over the great public fabric, though often of itself it seemed tottering to its fall.

In the United States of America, the vast movement of population from the Atlantic country to the Westward, might be supposed by many, likely to occasion great injury to the country the emigrants abandoned. But this was far from being the true state of the case. Probably had there been no such outlet for the growing population, the wages of labour would have become lessened, the value of land in which the labour was to be expended would have increased, property would have accumulated in the hands of individuals, and, as population became dense, the advantages attached to the possession of wealth would have become greater. What D'Israeli in one of his novels designates as the "*two nations*," namely, the nation of the poor, and the nation of the rich, would have come into existence, and this in spite of all declarations of equality, and of all determination to be republican. The nature of capital and property is to accumulate. Those who have no capital or property of their own, must work for wages; and these wages are exactly what the employer is forced, not what he ought to give, or what the comforts or even necessities of the labourer require. A nation may in the commercial sense of the term be very prosperous, though but one man in ten thousand is a landed proprietor, or but one in ten thousand a capitalist. Money may be saved to a nation as effectually by curtailing the food and clothing of the many, as by limiting the luxuries of the few, and to save and gather money through the privations of others is a more agreeable occupation than accomplishing the same object by stinting ourselves. Abundance of population and concentration of property, while it places the poor in a state of dependence upon the rich, has a strong tendency to make the nation richer, for it enables one class to save and accumulate by the privations

of another. From prosperity of this kind, arising from this source, the Atlantic States were saved, or perhaps I should say cut off, by the Western emigration. There is no country in which there has been more speculation in the way of buying and selling land than in the Northern States of America, but investment of money in large plantations was not practicable where slavery did not exist, for with the Western territory in the rear to which men could emigrate and with the enterprising spirit of the people which led them to seek individual independence by removal, it was not possible to create in sufficient numbers the classes of labourers for hire, or small tenants, without whom land cannot be very high in price, or the possession of landed estate accompanied with the enormous advantages which it brings in Europe.

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

Had the native Americans been fixed and contented in their habits; had Western emigration depended upon imported enterprise and energy, the Great West would have still remained a wilderness, and the Atlantic States would have presented something like the form of European Society; but in consequence of the spirit of emigration amongst the American people, communicated in some degree to the strangers who came amongst them, there is now a most surprising transition in the condition of mankind, as they happen to inhabit one side of the Atlantic or the other. Though the climates may be similar, the productions of the soil similar, the language the same, and the laws not materially different, this difference of condition is as great, now that the American Union contains twenty millions of inhabitants, as it was when it contained one-fourth of that number, and probably will be still as great, when a hundred millions inhabit this Northern continent, and until the waves of the Pacific forbid the further advance of the living tide. Until that time comes, there will be no nearer approach between the relative conditions of the

European and American population ; and if it were desirable, it is not to be brought about by such feeble means, as the speculations of politicians or political economists as to what is best, or what ought to be.

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

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

I ascribe to the enterprising spirit of emigration much, if not the greater portion, of this amazing progress. Many are fond

of attributing it to republican institutions. They are right in so far as they give these institutions the merit of throwing no impediment in the way of prosperity, the merit of leaving an enterprising people individually free to work their own way, unfettered by the attempt to carry into effect, in America, theories founded upon the practically inapplicable experience of the old world. So far am I from ascribing to the republican constitution of the United States, their present prosperity, that on the contrary I look upon the continued existence of republicanism there as entirely owing to the spirit of emigration, and the field which exists for its exercise. I have no notion that the republicanism of the United States is to be permanent; no idea, if the energies of the American people should be turned in the direction of serious war, or active interference with foreign politics, that republicanism would stand the test. It is upheld by what would equally uphold a wisely administered despotism, or a limited monarchy, by the presence of universally diffused comfort, universal recognition of civil rights, and by the absence of public danger, and of the necessity for concentrated and combined effort.

The government of Napoleon, had it been peaceable, would have given more of prosperity to France than the wildest dream of republicanism. The constitution of England, throughout her glorious history of freedom, preserved to her people prosperity in the midst of the devastation of Europe, security in the midst of appalling danger, and might, majesty and dominion, as the fruit of deadly conflict. Russia, in the one aspect of progress, is more like America than any other country; yet its prosperity is probably owing to a pure despotism. Peter the Great ordered 200,000 men to prepare the foundation of St. Petersburg; it was done, though 80,000 perished in the task. St. Petersburg was built by this means in the swamps of the Gulph of Finland, in a latitude eight degrees north of the nearest point of Hudson's Bay. America might have been settled, and New York built, under the dominion of a Sovereign like Peter, or of one much inferior, but I question much if Saint Petersburg would have been built under a Russian republic. I like free institutions, myself; partly because in the history of the world, countries possessing them have generally prospered; I like them because personal liberty and civil rights are by them secured; I like them because, though the wisdom of the many may not always equal that of the few, yet great oppression, and great public evils, with free institutions never are perpetuated; I like them, moreover, because of the moral elevation of character which a portion of self-government bestows upon a whole people; but I value

them for what they really bestow. I wish to see them in the form of permanency and strength, with capacity for national exertion. I think them more secure, more permanent, more readily adapted to all changes of circumstances, in the form of a limited monarchy than a republic; and I think, moreover, that the United States of America owe more of the blessings they enjoy to what they have retained of British law and of the British Constitution, than they do to any thing new they have imported into it in the formation of their new system. Therefore I repeat, that I cannot admit their progress as a nation, to be owing to any such importation. It was founded on their possession, in peace and security, of a large unpeopled country, in their own individual enterprise, which made them disperse and occupy land as far, and as fast as they could, and in the inducements which this state of things held out to Europeans individually less self-reliant and less energetic than themselves, to come and take the secondary place of non-proprietors of land, which the Americans were not disposed to occupy. Speaking in general, these are, I think, the sources of Northern American prosperity. With them the same course might be run at any time, without *other* aid. Without any one of them, neither the freedom of the North, nor the slavery of the South, nor British capital, nor public improvements, nor wise legislation, war nor peace, nor commerce, would have advanced them to the condition of a first-rate power, the main part of their progress being within the recollection of men now alive.

How narrow were the views, and trifling the objects with which this great continent was first colonized. Canada was valuable for its trade with Indians, for the furs of its wild beasts. I hope it contains, even now, more Christian inhabitants than all the Indians and wild beasts put together. New Amsterdam was a trading post of the Dutch, I believe, founded for the purpose of dividing the fur trade with the French in these northern regions. It was, upon the English conquest of the territory, destined as an appanage for the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. Maryland was granted as an estate to the Earl of Baltimore. Virginia was valued for its tobacco plantations. The plantations were considered in England, places where it was desirable to have large proprietors and cheap labour; hence convicts were transported thither; hence men, women and children were kidnapped and deluded into servitude in the Colonies; and hence the dark and damning spot on American fame, the rock upon which the best hopes of that republic may yet be wrecked, foul, accursed slavery. The relation of planter and labourer, proprietor and tenant, of the very rich and the very

poor, were then contemplated. To the bleak and barren shores of New England, alone, came a race of true Englishmen, with a noble object ; they came in search of civil and religious liberty, denied them at the time in their own land. From these men, the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, have sprung that patient courage, that reliance of the individual upon himself, which have been the foundation stone of American greatness. The fur trade is now gone, the great proprietors are gone, cheap labor has never come except in the shape of slavery : but that unprotected and undirected Colony of New England became, and has continued, the never-failing source of wisdom, moral and intellectual worth, and manly enterprise. New England had not the silver mines of Mexico, nor the wines of France, nor the silk of Italy, nor the slavery of the south, nor the cheap labor of Europe ; but she had what was worth them all, the unconquerable mind of a noble race, a branch cut from the parent stem of England, in what may be called the heroic period of England's history.

I have thus kept my view fixed on the picture presented by the Northern and free portion of the American States. I have done so for the purpose of founding a doctrine, that in a country like this, where land is in abundance, there may be great wealth, great happiness and great national prosperity, without the sacrifice of one portion of the people, to the cupidity or the ambition of the other. For our taste, the notions of the Eastern Americans, on the subject of individual independence are exaggerated, they are in excess ; yet it is that very exaggeration and excess alone that have worked the wonders which the advance of that country exhibits. It is convenient for the purposes of my address, that the same nation, with the same identical republican institutions, affords us, with like exaggeration, and in like excess, the very opposite principle. In the North, we have widely distributed proprietorship ; the proprietors, in general, being working men, and we have dear labour. In the South, you will find cheap, very cheap labour, in the shape of Slavery, a domestic institution of the United States, excused, justified, or attempted to be justified, simply on the plan of cheapness of labour, and great profit to the large landholder. We cannot, say the slave owners of the South, make our plantations profitable without cheap labour, without slavery. Therefore, ravage and murder, and relentless cruelty, visited the shores of Africa ; therefore, horrible captivity holds three-fourths of a population, who know no law but that of the scourge ; therefore is man brutalized as to his physical condition, and his mind still held in darker chains, by wicked and blasphemous laws, which shut out from his mental dungeon every ray of knowledge, human or divine. For this, the reprobation and scorn of the

civilized world, is endured by a proud people; for this, the anger of the Almighty is braved by men who pretend to be Christian.

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

I leave it to political economists to say which are the most wealthy; ten thousand slave-holders and slaves, or ten thousand freemen of New York or New England. I leave it to the politician to say which is preferable; the plantation system which leaves the State so helpless, that it has to lean for protection against its own people, upon a hated confederation with abolitionists, and liable to be covered with blood and devastation upon the first tap of a hostile drum which calls the negroes to arms; or, the small proprietors plan of the North which holds together in strength, peace, and prosperity, a large community, whose political institutions are in

themselves so loosely hung, as to make it the astonishment of the old world how long they have remained without explosion. I leave it to the philanthropist, and the religionist, to explain the good or evil tendencies of either system. What I wish to do at present is, to show the relation between property and labour, where land is in abundance, and to convince you that there cannot be cheap labour without slavery in America, where the greater part of a great continent remains vacant, and capable of affording abundant sustenance to the person, who shall occupy a portion of what is unappropriated.

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

and the graves of Irishmen track in thick succession, the course of American enterprize. The native American turns aside from the sty in which we recognize the cabin of our native hills: he shuddering, says, this is misery! but no; misery, true misery, is more Irish still, she does not wander from her own green Island; there she has mounted the shamrock for her emblem, and deigns not to visit other lands; but still it is a kind of spurious misery, sufficient to demoralize, to brutalize, to destroy. Once introduced into this mode of life, the mass of them so continue. You may have thousands of them in Canada, by means of an advertisement; you may have the same men anywhere North of the slave states, (where they are excluded by cheap labour) by a newspaper paragraph. They have no hope, no ambition, no home; they will follow you to the world's end for sixteen dollars a month, and a quart of whiskey each day; they will work from four o'clock in the morning, till seven in the evening, and they will spend all they earn; but they will not understand the American ambition to own land, to become one's own master.

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

The yearly influx of emigrants is felt in the United States to produce one inconvenience which awakens alarm, and provokes jealousy on the part of the native Americans. Pursuing their own peculiar political system, for which the genius of the people is fitted, they extended the elective franchise until all barriers in the way of universal suffrage have been broken down, and the accumulating numbers of foreign citizens have become, numerically, a very formidable portion of the city and town population. The cities and towns forming the Atlantic

debouchures of the great West, or lying on the great lines of communication, are growing with a rapidity greatly disproportionate to the population in the surrounding country, included in the same political divisions, and may be said to direct and govern the politics of the States in which they are placed. The consequence is that a formidable foreign race of voters has sprung up, which by throwing its weight into the scale of parties otherwise nearly balanced, is able to influence the elections of the United States, from that of the President to the Captain of a Fire Company. This has produced violence and bloodshed, and efforts of every kind on the part of Americans to rid themselves of their stranger associates, but in vain; for it is always the interest of a party in the country, to uphold the franchise thus granted, and in the shape of labourers and servants, the Americans find to their vexation and alarm, they have admitted political masters, exercising a power and influence not always directed for good, as indeed how can it be, by a body so little personally interested in, and so little acquainted with the bearing of the politics they influence, and, in fact, so little skilled in any politics at all.

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

I believe that if the European emigration into the United States were doubled or quadrupled, it would produce no permanent reduction of wages; but it would produce great temporary inconveniences. It would disturb the present condition of the great mass of the working population of the towns and cities; it would subject all to what they would call distress; it would set them all in motion; the new comers would not move on because they would be too poor in purse and in ambition; the older ones would have to pull up their stakes and be off towards the setting sun. The influx of foreign population is now borne with many murmurings, but should a pauper or destitute population of labourers be poured in amongst them in greatly increased numbers, the legislative action on the subject, which has been so often threatened, would inevitably take place. English labourers may grumble when they see the men of Cork or Connaught interfering with the labour market, but the English

workman has no vote and no mode of making his discontent felt in action. The English labourers, are ten to one as compared with their employers, and yet are powerless. In America they are perhaps not one to one, but they match equally as citizens, and exercise equal power over the legislature and politics of the country.

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

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

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

In the first place, the emigrants are very poor. Then the way to the Westward is long. The land Districts are becoming very distant from the coast, though not too distant for the American who does not mete with our measure; and moreover, the American Government who has no national duty to fulfil towards the stranger, sells the land, and does not profess to give it. The price is small; the revenue derived to the Government of the

United States not very important, but still the American emigrant to the Westward is either able to pay it, or to gain a preëmption right according to law, or to squat on land against the law, and to shoot the purchaser who bids over his head when he comes to take possession. The emigrants from Germany, or from the United Kingdom who proceed in search of land, are those who have the money as well as the ambition to become proprietors. But the American Government will not give these lands for nothing to strangers, though perhaps it would be for their interest to do so; but they have enough of emigration as the matter stands, and are about as indifferent to making it more easy as they are to making it more difficult. The Western lands are therefore closed for all important purposes to the poor emigrant population. The lands would hold them all very conveniently; but the emigrants could neither get to them nor purchase them.

As a receptacle for emigration from the British Isles, with any great object of relief to the superabundant population, the United States of America may be considered closed; and if that resource has to be looked to at all, it must be sought in the British colonies — countries placed in circumstances very like the American States, and naturally capable of as high a destiny. They are comparatively backward and languishing, simply and entirely because the population, from whence they should be filled, want the emigrating spirit of the American. That population remains crowded at home when it should seek to expand over large territory; that population remains poor at home when its individuals should seek property. A small space of ocean seems impassable to truth, and the example of Americans only produces stupid admiration and wonder, instead of stimulation and encouragement. Men will not believe in their own capacities for improvement. The nation will not believe in the value of its own possessions. The inheritance of the children of the Empire is lying waste, and they are starving. But the evils arising from this state of things are becoming intolerable, and stern necessity is beginning to preach, what precept and example might hold forth in vain.

I have been obliged to dwell at great length, upon the general outlines and principles of Emigration and Colonization in the United States, as well because it is there, great success has attended settlement upon land, as also because colonization and settlement in these territories, must be influenced by the condition of society and of emigration and settlement in the United States, so much so, that all plans and theories on the subject, concocted without reference to the neighbouring country, would be idle and childish. Differences of condition among men, artificially

produced, may be good or bad. It may be for good or for evil that a country should have large landholders and small tenants: that wages should be low, or that property should draw to itself the sweat of the poor man's brow, and reward his utmost labor with a bare subsistence. Australia may for a short time be colonized on these principles, because it has no neighbours, and the Government is everything, and the power of the lower class of the people, nothing. An Emigrant who lands in Australia, may be told that it is better for him to labor for low wages than to own land; and the capitalist may feel that it is only in such a country, that capital can be largely expended on wild land, with advantage. The distance of the country from England prevents the trial of the experiment on a large scale, and they have not in that colony to estimate the force, necessary to keep nine-tenths of a population, the servants of the remainder, in the very sight of vacant lands, which would make all independent. But to make systems in England for the regulation of the condition of settlers in this continent, even here in Canada,—to say that labor shall be cheap, or land dear, is more than folly. Such a course may keep these colonies a desert, but it cannot produce the end aimed at, namely, the transference of the frame and form of English society to America.

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

because property pays better when managed in large masses ; and thus the country becomes divided into two great classes—the unlabouring rich, and the absolutely poor—the latter increasing by natural causes, until the politician shrinks from the contemplation of a future, which no precaution can avert, and no wisdom provide for. I speak not of the condition of Scotland, for I know it not, and I am fearful of giving offence. It cannot, I think, be better than that of England, either in the present or in prospect. My own country however offers all the illustration I require, for my present argument.

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

of more value than it does at present, and the exports would be twenty times as much. We can export from Upper Canada with ease a million barrels of flour in a year; and of the coarser provisions we could in this country produce proportionate quantities, if we had a market. We can, moreover, provide for a new population of fifty or sixty thousand yearly, and still have abundance. This is the work of the agricultural portion of a community of half a million. But in Ireland labour is in superabundance; it is expended uneconomically, and miserably rewarded. Were the population less by one-half, the rental of Ireland probably would not be so great as at present, while her surplus produce would be vastly greater, and wages would be higher, and the poor would be fed.

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

I remember Ireland when she was said to be prosperous. It was towards the close of the war of the French Revolution. Tens of thousands of my countrymen were going forth to fight England's battles; and every booming cannon which pealed forth the news of England's glory, was the signal of bereavement to a thousand families. Yet was the land prosperous. War, which to other nations brought poverty, and famine, and devastation, brought wealth to Ireland. It brought wealth to the tenant and the labourer, for agriculture was extended, waste land was brought into cultivation, and there was no excess of disposable labour. The poor fed well, (at least as in Ireland they call well,) though provisions were very dear. I remember afterwards, when war called not for its victims, and when there was abundance in the land; but the condition of the tenant and the labourer was reduced; plenty was no plenty to them. They were too many, and if food was cheap, they were cheaper still. Then they wished for food to be dear; and a summer came which brought no sun, and the rain poured in torrents upon the drenched and unproductive earth, and food became dear, and

unwholesome ; famine and fever were in the land, and rich and poor became the victims of pestilence. But still there was no deficiency of provisions in Ireland to feed the Irish : but the value of labour was gone, and the poor man had nothing of value to offer in return for sustenance. Since then the progress of Ireland has been downwards. Her political condition has been vastly improved ; justice has been done her people, to an extent which a few years before, it would have been considered chimerical to expect, and dangerous to advocate. But still the condition of the labourer has been growing worse. In his best times the Irish peasant lived scantily and poorly ; but of late the milk and the salt herring have been taken from the potato, and the potato itself has been cultivated, not with a regard to its nutritive or palatable qualities, but with a view to quantity and cheapness. Still, year after year added to the wretchedness of the land. Steam brought its giant force into action, to transport the produce of Ireland to market ; roads were improved, and communications opened to all parts of the country. Landlords were benefited, but the peasant was no better. The numbers of his class were too great, his labour was too abundant and too cheap, and there was more of it than was wanted. If your horses are too many, you sell them ; if your cattle are too many, you kill them ; if your fires are too many, you let some of them go out ; if human beings are too many, beggary and starvation are the lot of the unemployed, and their misery is reflected back upon others, whose condition is but one step from the lowest depth, but it is misery still.

Many have been the speculations upon the causes of Ireland's misery, and many the plans for her relief ; many the heartless scoff at her wretchedness, and many the good and benevolent prayer for her redemption ; but still there was one startling and appalling fact which baffled all speculation, and should have banished all hope arising from slight or ordinary measures. Every year was adding to the millions who depended upon wages for subsistence, and the years coming brought with them, no increased occupation for the labourer. The time was when the Frenchman was taunted for his rye bread and *soupe maigre*, but even the English peasant has learned to feed upon potatoes, and to endure life without roast beef or ale. Even in England, infant toil has hung dozing over the dangerous engine, sick and languishing from protracted and unrelenting watchfulness, and the dark and filthy mine has contained women and children yoked and crawling like beasts of burden. Yet those who suffered were the last to complain, they were thankful for the bread they earned and they knew no better. In like manner the Irish peasant knew not the

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comparative wretchedness of his lot, he saw not the unwholesome filth of the den he lived in, beggary which he saw all around him ceased to be a degradation, and his lot was happy because deeper wretchedness was in sight. It was not the peasant or his taskmaster, or his patriot advocate, who saw most plainly the extent of his sufferings; it was the stranger, who visited the country, and started in horror and wonder to find such things on the earth. Formerly the fierce contention of party, the blood and violence of a community politically disorganized, sent to us its periodical tragedy; of late the sufferings of the poor, and the cry of the rich, what is to be done with the poor, and the plan of the minister for the relief of the poor, and the party debate which made political capital of the woes of the poor, are almost all that we have heard from Ireland, until at length the failure of a crop of one article of food has brought famine,—and the young man faints as he holds out his hand to ask for a morsel of food, and the children call in vain upon the father for food, until their faint wailings are hushed by merciful death, and the infant tugs at the breast of the dead mother, and the rats gnaw the unburied corpses. And is all this to be attributed to the visitation of Providence in the failure of the potato crop? No; but to over population! The failure of the potato has brought on more suddenly the catastrophe which was inevitably approaching. The consumptive patient has caught a cold, his death is hastened by a week, but his disease was inevitable death before. Strangers could see the fate of Ireland more distinctly, than men to whom her misery became familiar by daily observation.

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

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

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

for what their own country contained. They should have sought for better things abroad. For several years of the period I speak of, namely, from 1816 downwards, land in this country was given free, and at this moment land can be obtained on credit, at prices which an industrious man can pay in a few years with his own labour. Many have emigrated, many have come here, but how few in comparison with the multitudes left behind, how few in comparison with the multitudes which this country was capable of receiving. And yet did it require more courage to cross the Atlantic than to become an Irish labourer for hire, more exertion to clear a farm than to work from morning till night, feeding on potatoes at sixpence a-day, more endurance to sit by a blazing wood fire, in a Canadian shanty, than to shiver over the stunted hearth of an Irish cabin?—was the certain prospect of abundance in the one case, less cheering than the inscription “hope not,” which may well be placed over the door of each Irish peasant?

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

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

thousand inhabitants, in the midst of a country prospering by means of emigration, do you wonder that I should feel deeply on this subject, or that I should love the land to which a kind Providence has directed my footsteps ?

But I must return to my poor country, and speak of the class whose poverty closes the outlet, and who are now in a state of beggary and starvation. I need not detain you by quoting instances or going into particulars. One appalling statement is all I need make. It is said there are in Ireland at present, two millions and a-half of human beings in a state of pauperism, or in other words, that number, whose labour is not worth their food. It is said that rents are not paid, that lands are not cultivated, that the country is covered with the inactivity as well as the wailings of despair. I do not know how many were in a state of beggary last year, or how many would remain in that state should potatoes grow again in abundance. But there is no doubt that a very considerable portion of them have been destitute before, and that a larger proportion still will remain in a state of pauperism hereafter, and, if not all in that state, there is little hope that a much lesser number will be found whose only food is the potato. Ireland in ordinary seasons produces more food than would be sufficient for all her inhabitants, but it is not produced by the industry of all, and the labour of all is not a market equivalent for the food of all. This disproportion has existed whenever the food of the peasant has been depreciated in quality below that of the labouring class in other countries. The disproportion is more apparent, when the whole class of labourers cannot find employment which brings them sustenance, and it comes to be fearfully exaggerated, when a large portion of the community are dependent on what is called charity. Up to a certain point, it is to the advantage of capitalists and land holders, that labour should be cheap, that labourers should be ill fed and ill clothed ; but when their labour comes to be rejected and valueless, the sustenance of the unemployed becomes the care of the Government and legislature. Neither the usages of barbarians, nor the dictates of civilized and Christian humanity, permit death by starvation. Whatever may be the expence of preventing it, multitudes cannot be permitted to perish while there are means to feed them, whether they can give an equivalent or not. But if the happiness and welfare of a people be the care of a government, the state of those who do obtain employment should also be considered. Wherever labour is so abundant as to be rejected, the condition of those who are employed, must necessarily be on the very verge of starvation. This is likely to be

the permanent condition of one-fourth of the people of Ireland, unless something is done for their relief, of which we have not yet the most distant promise.

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

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

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

“Entertaining these views, I do not hesitate to invite you to discuss the propriety, of considering voluntary emigration as one amongst many means, of relieving your countrymen from the pressure of their present affliction. The subject ought to be handled with the utmost caution. We never could forgive ourselves if, by our recommendations, we were to induce a single fellow-countryman, to leave Ireland without a certainty that he would improve his fortune by such a change of residence. Having given considerable attention to the question during several years, I have

fully satisfied myself that multitudes of Irishmen have found prosperity in the United States, in British America, and in the Australian colonies, who never would have attained comfort or independence if they had remained at home. Nor do I perceive any grounds for believing that such may not also be the lot of future emigrants. It is manifest, however, that there are certain limits to the number of colonists who can be received in each country. It frequently happens that great suffering is experienced by emigrants in consequence of their being unable to reach those districts in which their labour is required. If 30,000 labouring families crowd into a country in which only 20,000 can be received without inconvenience, much misery must necessarily ensue; whereas if only 15,000 families had emigrated to such country, all might have been most advantageously provided with the means of subsistence.

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

Now, it is not true that 50,000 families could not be received in America without creating much social derangement. For that number are yearly received in America without any social derangement whatever; but it is true that this number will probably come to America without any assistance, and perhaps the voluntary emigration of poor emigrants, is as much as the States of the American Union would be willing to receive under any circumstances. It is not that wages would be permanently lowered in the United States, by any number of emigrants which the United Kingdom could furnish, but that the condition of the lower class of citizens would be temporarily much disturbed, by any large and sudden access of poor population. The coming of pauper emigrants to the East would, when it begun to effect wages, start off those whom the emigrants would compete with, Westward, to Wisconsin, or Iowa, or some now nameless territory in the wake of the setting sun; but still wages would recover their rate and remain high while vacant land is to be found. Moreover, the emigrants, if in great numbers, would not find employment at once or on the spot they land, and a foreign state would not take the expence and care of an uninvited multitude. The Americans would therefore resist any Government or public emigration; and ordinary emigration, as I said before, will go on without the care of Government.

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

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

The settlers in Canada would no doubt find it profitable to receive a labouring population, if the effect would be to reduce wages. I mean to say that the 50,000 families which Mr. Smith O'Brien speaks of, could be easily employed in Upper Canada if they would work for even three times the rate of Irish wages. But we shall see in a moment what would be the consequence of such a movement. For, though the United States will not receive an extensive pauper population at the Atlantic cities, they will receive any number that present themselves on their boundaries who are able to pay their way. Let us then take the 50,000 labouring men and their families. Suppose them brought out to, and up the country at Government expence, they will then hang

on the Government for present subsistence till they can find employers; when they do find employers, it will be at a rate of wages probably reduced to five or six dollars a month. Then all the farm servants in Canada will find their wages reduced to the same rate. Then all these will pack up and away into the United States. Your new labourers will remain with you, just until they have enough of money to enable them to go away. Then you follow the same process next year, your next year's emigration displaces your old one, at your expense, all the savings of labour, all the expenditure of Government, all the private charity, will thus be employed in finding a population for the United States, and the process must continue until, by flooding that extensive continent with your labourers, you reduce the price of labour there, and until that price reacts upon this country.

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

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

I have shown you how the Americans emigrate, the simple mode in which they provide for a population, which chooses to consider itself in excess. They are able to do this on more advantageous terms than we can do, for their poorest people manage without assistance, to journey to the land on which they mean to settle, and to pay a small price for it besides. The great States of Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, are in the course of rapid settlement in this manner; and in the State of Wisconsin, a country lying considerably to the North-west of this place, in one land District, 700,000 acres were disposed of last year. The American settlers would have peopled Canada at least one portion of it, thickly, long ago, if they could have been permitted to do so. Indeed, so far as I am able to judge, they have a strong inclination to do so without our permission. Our countrymen have greater

numbers, from whence to supply us with settlers, than they have; our countrymen have fifty times the inducement to emigrate, and yet this country is almost a desert; even the little peninsula on which we live, which thrusts itself forward into the United States territory, is not one quarter settled.

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

Mr. Smith O'Brien says, that the settlers under Mr. Peter Robinson cost, for their establishment on land, £22 a head, I suppose men, women, and children all round. Deducting the allowance for passage money, £5 a head, which is about double what it would be now, at least, there is £17 sterling left for each man, woman and child. I am not afraid to say, that one-fourth of the sum would be sufficient. In the time of Mr. Robinson's settlement, we all know, that provisions had to be imported from the United States for the emigrants, at a very high price, and there were many other reasons why the settlement was expensive. Much as it cost, however, I believe the Town Lots, in the Village of Peterboro', would sell for more at this day than the whole cost; without taking into account the immense value of the property, real and personal, now owned by the people whom that settlement, was the means of introducing into the rear of the Newcastle District. We all know what it will cost to feed a family of emigrants, on their own land, for a year. How many, I should like to know, of the settlers on the Canada Company's lands, commenced their clearing with seventeen pounds sterling a head to bear their expenses.

I look over the returns, and I find the most successful among them, who have acquired the most property, and paid best for their land, began with no capital whatever. Ask those who remain of the early settlers of Upper Canada, when the journey hither was almost as difficult as one to the Rocky Mountains would be in our day. You do not find they had houses built for them, or roads made for them; no, their great struggle was with the isolation in which they were individually placed. Ten to one, but the first one you meet will tell you—Sir, when my father settled in our township there was not a road, or a mill, or a neighbour within ten miles of us. Most of them went in debt for the little supplies of provisions they wanted, and thought it no hardship to pay the debt afterwards, from the produce of their lands. Five dollars worth of flour, and a like value of pork or other food, would be abundance for each individual, taking men, women, and children, until crops would be gathered. Families of five, becoming settlers, ought to consider themselves rich with twenty pounds worth of provisions, tools, and seed. I believe three-fourths of the settlers in the woods in this country, possessed no such sum; and with assistance to that extent the new settlers ought to succeed, and would succeed well.

Our fellow citizen, Mr. George Duggan, told me an anecdote of a settler, an Irish emigrant, a few days ago. At the time the township of Monaghan was being granted, he met with this man who began his lamentations, and wished he was at home in the old country. "Nonsense, man," said Mr. Duggan, "go to Capt. Fitzgibbon, and draw a lot of land in Monaghan." "And please your honour, what will I do with a lot of land, I hav'nt what will buy me a bit or a sup till I get a crop." "Never mind that," said his kind adviser, "go upon the land, get a place to live in, if it is no better than a fox hole; work with some farmer for a bag of flour, take it home on your shoulders; when it is eaten up, come out again, and work for as much more, and I'll warrant you, will get on with your clearing." He was addressed by the same man some years afterwards. "Arrah, Mr. Duggan, do you remember the man you sent to live in a fox hole, in Monaghan. God bless you, Sir, it was the best advice I ever had in my life. I have got the deed of my lot, and I have eighty head of cattle and sheep feeding on it."

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

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

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

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

miles of him." "He could not have employed labourers?" "No, all this was the work of his own hands." "Then," again I said, "I do envy you your countrymen! This is Scotch prudence, Scotch energy, Scotch courage." "Well," said he, "it may be all just as Scotch as you like to make it, but after all the man is an Irishman."

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

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

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

Then suppose the passage money to Toronto, or to the land, paid by the Irish land-holders, and an advance or loan of four millions, or even five millions, sterling, by the Government, to be repaid with interest, you have a million of surplus population provided for, who can be received in this country faster than all

available means of transport could bring them, without any inconvenience. Would not this be an object gained worth the expenditure? Twenty millions, sterling, was paid for the redemption of the West India slaves. Are the miseries of the poor in Ireland less, or their claims on the country less, or the difficulties caused to the Government by their condition less, than in the case of the West India slaves? The emancipation of the latter was a pecuniary loss to the revenue and trade of the nation. Is it not absolutely certain that the addition of a million to the population of Canada would be a great gain in the way of commerce and consumption of British manufactures?

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

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

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

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

I shall be asked by some landholders, what is to become of us if lands are thus given away for nothing? But you know well

that Canadians, and emigrants who can afford to buy land, would disdain the grant of fifty acres; they would not accept or live upon so small a quantity: and then the incubus which presses on the value of land, in the shape of vacant Government territory, would be removed. Land would rapidly rise, instead of falling in value.

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

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

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

I have hitherto spoken of this concourse of people, as if there were among them, no men of property sufficient to build mills, set up shops, and settle on lands; but all I can say on this

subject is, that if such persons do not come, they will be the losers, for such a settlement is the very place for enterprize with small capital, the place where money will return in a short time, cent. per cent. But why should I say anything on this subject? Do we not know that where farmers are thickly settled and have anything to sell, there will be shops; and when they have plenty to grind, there will be millers? I think Government (with the exception of the erection of a few saw-mills, which may be rented to persons who understand the business,) may leave these matters alone. Let them take care of the mill-sites, that they fall into the hands of those who will use them,—let them choose proper sites of Towns, so that they may not be monopolized by some chance grantees, and I think Canada can provide trading enterprize enough for the accommodation of the new settlers, if they bring it not with them.

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

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

tell you little of the country, and what they do say, will deceive and mislead you. I tell you what I have heard directly from your townsman, Mr. Angus Bethune, and indirectly from Mr. Ermatinger, very lately from that country.

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

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

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

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

Here is a country worth all Canada told twenty times over. It was still more valuable until 1825, when in one of these accursed Yankee negotiations, two degrees of latitude, from the head of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, were given up to our moderate neighbours. The lost territory takes in the great bend of the Missouri, and by the way of the Mississippi and its tributary waters the whole territory is nearly as accessible from the ocean, as the place you sit in.

Now the Russian empire contains near seventy millions of inhabitants. With Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and part of the Austrian empire, it occupies the position in Europe which Canada and the North Western territory of England exhibits in America. Both seem made alike, for the scenes of great deeds and of great events.

The American North is the territory of an empire, overcrowded at home with thirty millions of inhabitants, a portion of them starving for want of ground in which to raise their food.

That nation is the wealthiest and fullest of resources of any in the world.

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

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

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

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

I have not the happiness of supposing, for a moment, that any, the most distant approach to my plan, will be adopted. Something I have heard of log houses being built, of acre lots being appropriated to labourers, when they can buy them; every care being

taken, that they may have no temptation to rise beyond the condition of labourers; something I have heard about the necessity of cheap labour, and the fear of disturbing our labour market, but I have heard of nothing which will do us, or the Empire, any good. The objects I have in view, are too general, they promise no immediate exclusive benefit, to any class or party, here or at home; the unhappy people, who would benefit by my plan, are unrepresented, poor and powerless; and I know, even in this country, none who would reap exclusive advantages from what I propose. Money would be required to carry out my system, strict vigilance and untiring superintendence, would be necessary, from the representative of Her Majesty, down to the lowest officer employed; otherwise, the whole plan would be a job and a failure. But there is no fear of this, the attempt will never be made, and I shall have, for my share of the project, to bear the ridicule attached to the character of a dreamer, and a visionary.

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

FINIS.

