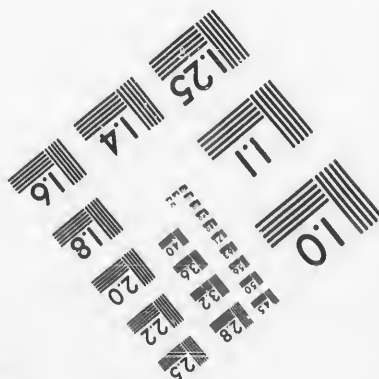
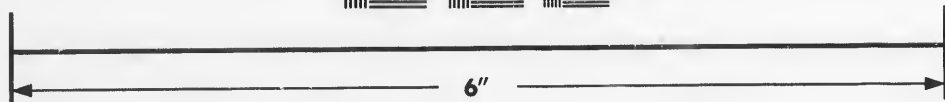
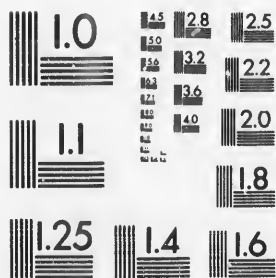


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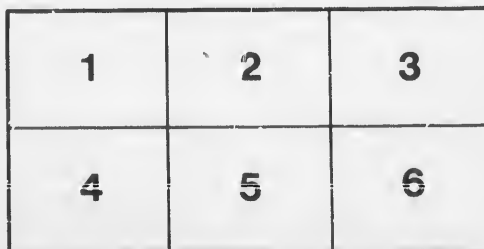
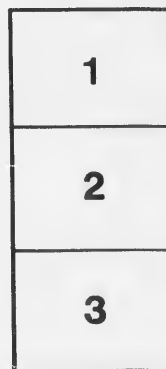
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ARGUMENTS
TO PROVE THE
POLICY AND NECESSITY
OF GRANTING TO
NEWFOUNDLAND
A
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

IN A LETTER
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE W. HUSKISSON,
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, &c. &c. &c.

BY P. MORRIS,
AN INHABITANT OF THE COLONY OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

LONDON:
Printed by A. Hancock, Middle Row Place, Holborn.
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1828.

17122

TO THE
RIGHT HON. W. HUSKISSON,
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIES, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

SHOULD I be so fortunate as, by the following pages, to draw your attention to the neglected colony of Newfoundland, and the baneful effects of the system of government hitherto adopted towards her, by which—settlement and agriculture are discouraged, and the energies of the people paralyzed, I am impressed with a firm conviction, that England being so deeply interested in her prosperity, you will lose no time in recommending his Majesty's government, to grant her the same constitutional privileges which have been bestowed upon the neighbouring colonies, and which, I trust, I shall be able to prove, can alone render available to the mother country the great internal resources of **THIS** *the oldest and most valuable of the British possessions in North America—the first fruits of the naval enterprize of England—and the greatest nursery for seamen in the world*; and which can alone save her from falling, at no very distant period, a *victim at the feet of the young and aspiring re-*

public of America. If, Sir, I prove the fisheries of Newfoundland, which, according to the opinions of the most able politicians and best writers, and even of the legislature itself, as expressed in various acts of parliament, are considered "*the best nursery for seamen to man the British navy,*" are, by the policy hitherto pursued, converted into a nursery for seamen, *more for the American and French than the navy of England,* it is a subject, I most humbly submit, worthy the serious consideration of those ministers who direct the councils of his Majesty.

In presuming to address you, I have made the public press the medium, to afford an opportunity, if the opinions or facts I shall advance and state are founded in error or misrepresentation, of refuting the one and exposing the other; and, without attempting a compliment, I can assure you, Sir, that you are the last man in the empire whom I would attempt to impose on by false reasoning or false facts, as detection and exposure would be the inevitable consequences. My object is, in the first place, to endeavour to prove that a local constitutional government is absolutely necessary for Newfoundland, and that it is vain to hope, that the country can much improve without it. Secondly, that the want of such a government to foster the internal resources of the country, and to encourage agriculture and settlement, has caused, within the last twenty years, not less than from forty to fifty thousand of our best seamen and fishermen to emigrate to the United States, carrying with them

all their knowledge and experience, to enable our rivals to compete with us in our fisheries, and, in case of need, to supply their fleets with seamen.

I consider the present to be a most important crisis in the affairs of Newfoundland. The act, under the authority of which the present government of the country is constituted, expires in the early part of next year, and it will be matter for the consideration of his Majesty's government, whether the present narrow system shall be continued, or one more liberal and extensive adopted. And I hope to be able to prove, though there may be various plans proposed, that no other plan, than a government founded on the fundamental principles of the constitution of the parent country, will be found adapted to the present exigencies of Newfoundland. All the other early English colonies have had the advantage of being allowed to manage their internal affairs in the manner they considered best calculated to promote their prosperity and happiness. To the provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada, and the Island of Cape Breton, ceded by the French soon after they came under the government of Great Britain, to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and all the British West India Islands, not excepting even the small rock of Bermuda, were granted the same invaluable boon; indeed, I believe there was no other system of government ever contemplated for our American colonies. Blackstone, in his Commentaries, in the chapter "On the Countries subject to the Laws of England," observes that, "with respect to their interior polity, our colonies

are properly of three sorts, 1st, Provincial Establishments, the constitutions of which depend on the respective commissions issued by the crown to the Governors, and the instructions which usually accompany those commissions, under the authority of which provincial assemblies are constituted, with the power of making local ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England. Second, Proprietary Governments, granted out by the crown to individuals in the nature of feudatory principalities, with all the inferior regalities and subordinate powers of legislation which formerly belonged to Counties Palatine. Third, Charter Governments, in the nature of civil Corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own interior regulation." The sort of Government adopted for Newfoundland is one, with which this great constitutional lawyer was either unacquainted, or for which he could not devise an appropriate designation.

England, like an indulgent parent, freely gave to her wandering children, compelled to seek homes and countries in a new and distant world, a fair portion of their inheritance. She granted them the greatest boon in her power to bestow—the liberty of forming their infant governments on the basis of her own matchless constitution; and when we look back and observe the rapid strides those countries have made in wealth, population, and improvement, we may exclaim with Sir James Mackintosh, that "LIBERTY IS THE PARENT OF COMMERCE, THE PARENT OF WEALTH, THE PARENT OF KNOWLEDGE, THE PARENT OF EVERY VIRTUE."

Unfortunately for Newfoundland, the withering and blasting influence of *mercantile monopoly* prevented the parent government from acting towards her with the same liberal and generous policy she did to her other colonies. I am free to admit that this was not occasioned by any indisposition on the part of government to promote the interests of the country, or the happiness of the people; the cause is well explained in a Memorial presented from Newfoundland to the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, under date of the 6th of December, 1822, from which the following is an extract.

“ The Committee now beg leave to call the attention of your Lordship to the present state of Newfoundland, a country of great extent, the oldest of the British settlements in America, placed nearly in the same latitude as England, with a climate peculiarly favourable to the health of its inhabitants, possessing more of the elements of commerce than any other of the colonies of North America, and of the greatest importance to the parent state, not only as a valuable acquisition to the commercial interests of the empire, but as the best nursery for seamen to support its naval ascendancy; now, after the lapse of near three centuries, being almost in the same state as when first discovered by Cabot. With a population of one hundred thousand persons, without any certain mode of employment or subsistence, without a government efficient for any local purpose, without roads, without means of education for the people, without any of those institutions

“ which are necessary for the government of every
 “ civilized country. The trade and fisheries, hi-
 “ therto the chief support of the people, languish-
 “ ing for want of due encouragement.

“ The Committee, in their endeavours to trace
 “ the causes that have led to the present state of
 “ things, have observed that it has been the con-
 “ stant and prevailing policy to view Newfoundland
 “ merely as a fishing establishment and a place of
 “ trade ; this policy, so long adepoted towards the
 “ country, they do not hesitate to say, was the pri-
 “ mary cause.

“ From the earliest period, the attention of the
 “ settlers, as well as transient persons, was exclu-
 “ sively turned towards the fisheries, and the com-
 “ mercial pursuits connected with them. They
 “ were the only source which the inhabitants looked
 “ up to for support, consequently they were sub-
 “ ject to the vicissitudes of such uncertain em-
 “ ployments ; when the fisheries flourished, the in-
 “ habitants were enabled to obtain a comfortable
 “ subsistence ; when they declined, they suffered in
 “ exact proportion to that decline ; such has invari-
 “ ably been the situation of the people ; and such
 “ ever will be their state, until they can get more
 “ certain means of employment than can be afforded
 “ by the fisheries. Merchants will only employ
 “ their capital so long as there is a fair prospect of
 “ gain ; if that prospect be reversed, they will with-
 “ draw from the trade ; and it forms no principle of
 “ mercantile economy to enquire how the people
 “ are to exist, by whose labour and industry in more

" prosperous times, they gained all their wealth and
 " importance. If this mode of reasoning be true,
 " in reference to trade in general, how much more
 " applicable is it to the uncertain trade carried on
 " in the fisheries of Newfoundland?

" From the earliest period, the affairs of New-
 " foundland were mainly influenced by merchants
 " residing in England, the trade and fisheries were
 " a monopoly in their hands, to preserve which they
 " exerted all their influence to prevent the im-
 " provement or settlement of the country, appre-
 " hensive that it would be fatal to their monopoly.
 " They represented the soil as barren and incapable
 " of improvement; the climate so extremely severe
 " as to render it uninhabitable; aware that it was
 " a favourite object with government to increase
 " the naval strength of the empire by the extension
 " of the fisheries, they stated the moveable fishery
 " carried on by themselves as the best to promote
 " that object, and that the sedentary fishery of the
 " natives would defeat it.

" The parties thus interested in the trade, in-
 " fluenced government to second all their views;
 " every obstacle was thrown in the way of settle-
 " ment; a policy was pursued, and laws were
 " formed, that had the direct tendency of prevent-
 " ing the cultivation of the soil, to which justly
 " may be attributed the present wretched state
 " of the island.

" The government of Newfoundland was in a
 " great degree placed in the hands of a few mer-
 " chants, and it is not at all surprising that they

“ were influenced by the same principles which had
 “ invariably governed merchants, in every age and
 “ country, to sacrifice every other interest to their
 “ own. Their object was to make money, and in the
 “ shortest time possible: the facility they found
 “ during a long period of a profitable trade and
 “ successful fishery, to realize large fortunes, made
 “ them consider their residence in Newfoundland
 “ merely as a probation for a few years, after which
 “ they expected to be able to retire; and enjoy the
 “ fruits of their prosperous industry in other coun-
 “ tries. Within the last thirty or forty years, a
 “ great number of persons have retired from this
 “ country; carrying with them large sums realized
 “ out of the trade and fisheries. Fortunes of from
 “ 50, 100, 200, and 300,000*l.* have been made by
 “ individuals who came to the island without
 “ a shilling, and who are now removed to other
 “ countries. It must appear evident that such a
 “ continual drain of capital must have been most
 “ injurious to its interests: and it was only a coun-
 “ try possessing an inexhaustible mine of wealth
 “ in her fisheries, that could permit such to take
 “ place.

“ The adventurers to the other colonies had the
 “ improvement and cultivation of the soil to look
 “ to as the chief source of wealth and commerce;
 “ and even if they were successful enough to realize
 “ a sufficient sum to enable them to retire, they
 “ could not carry away their improvements along
 “ with them; the country was at least so much
 “ benefited by them.

“ The peculiar state of Newfoundland, where
 “ the labour and skill of the people being exclu-
 “ sively turned towards the fisheries, every other
 “ interest being sacrificed to them, permitted the
 “ adventurer to accumulate a fortune without
 “ making the slightest improvement. He remained
 “ in the country only a few months in the summer,
 “ he had no object in making improvements beyond
 “ what was necessary to protect his goods from the
 “ weather, until they were shipped off. It is well
 “ known that the houses in which many of the per-
 “ sons lived, who made the largest fortunes in New-
 “ foundland, were so mean, that the cottages of
 “ English peasants would be considered palaces in
 “ comparison. These kind of houses are the im-
 “ provements, if improvements they can be called,
 “ made in Newfoundland by the most wealthy mer-
 “ chants in the trade.”

I can add nothing to this statement of the Com-
 mittee, more than that the same influence of which
 they complain is, as you know, Sir, actively em-
 ployed at this moment, in I hope the vain en-
 deavour, to induce Government not to follow up
 those measures for the improvement of the Colony,
 which have been so happily and so successfully
 commenced. The party is alarmed—they are
 vainly putting forth their paralyzed arms to arrest
 the progress of justice and civilization—they have
 all the *will* to keep us in bondage and barba-
 rism; but, thank God, they have not the *power*,
 though they, like so many Hannibals, have sworn
 eternal enmity to that country which raised

their fathers and themselves to wealth and importance. I tell them, and confidently, that the spell is broken, and that they can no longer bind Newfoundland in chains of worse than feudal despotism. The people are aroused to a sense of their own rights—they feel the blessings of an equal administration of the laws, and the happiness of independence; and they know they can only obtain emancipation from the bondage of mercantile monopoly by claiming their rights as British subjects. Newfoundland will no longer be a plantation of the merchants of Poole, and her people no longer their slaves.

Fearing, Sir, that my language in reference to this party may be considered too intemperate, and rather emanating from excited feelings, or interested motives, than warranted by facts, I will quote the words of one whose wisdom, learning, and high character, must give weight to his opinions and assertions, and who, not having any personal interest to actuate or influence him, must, in common candour, be supposed to have given the subject calm and dispassionate consideration. John Reeves, Esq. Chief Justice of Newfoundland, in his invaluable History of the Government of that country, commences his introduction in the following words: “ I intend to give a short history
 “ of the Government and Constitution of New-
 “ foundland. This will comprise the struggles
 “ and vicissitudes of two contending interests—the
 “ planters and inhabitants on the one hand, who,
 “ being settled there, needed the protection of a

“ government and police, with the administration
 “ of justice : and the adventurers and merchants
 “ on the other, who, originally carrying on the
 “ fishery from this country, and visiting that island
 “ only for the season, needed no such protection
 “ for themselves, and had various reasons for pre-
 “ venting its being afforded to the others.”

Again, in page 97, he says, “ Some hope might
 “ reasonably be entertained that the establishment
 “ of a Civil Government, and the appointment of
 “ Justices of the Peace, with proper officers for
 “ executing the law, would have been received by all
 “ as a desirable improvement in the state of society
 “ in the island ; and it might be expected, that such
 “ an appointment could not fail of its effect. But
 “ the cause which had always operated to prevent
 “ any sufficient authority being introduced into
 “ that place, opposed itself to this new establish-
 “ ment. The *western merchants*, who had been
 “ silent while this measure was in agitation, were
 “ ready enough to bring complaints of its conse-
 “ quences, when carried into execution ; and we
 “ shall soon see the struggle made to prevent any
 “ lawful authority taking root in Newfoundland.”

And, in page 164, he states that “ The Governor’s
 “ authority, whatever it might be, was actually
 “ carried into effect by an appointment of a Court
 “ of Common Pleas and Judges, in the summer of
 “ 1789. This Court of Common Pleas transacted
 “ business during the following winter ; but the
 “ western merchants preferred very heavy com-
 “ plaints against the proceedings of this Court ;

" what they alleged against it may be seen shortly
 " stated in the representation afterwards made by
 " the Committee of Trade, and now printed by
 " order of the House of Commons. Their great
 " objection, *which they do not state, but which I*
 " *will venture to do for them, is this*; that they now
 " saw a Court established (as they believed) upon
 " good authority, with which they could not trifle,
 " as they had been used to do with the feeble judi-
 " catures before mentioned; those inefficient Courts
 " they preferred, because they could make use of
 " them when they needed their assistance, and could
 " intimidate the Justices, and obstruct their pro-
 " ceedings, whenever they themselves were to be
 " the objects of animadversion. They had been in
 " the habit of seeing this species of weakness and
 " anarchy ever since Newfoundland was frequented;
 " from father to son; *it was favorable to their old*
 " *impressions that Newfoundland was theirs, and*
 " *that all the planters and inhabitants were to be*
 " *spoiled and devoured at their pleasure*; in sup-
 " port of this, they had opposed, as we have seen,
 " every attempt at introducing order and govern-
 " ment into that place. It was in this spirit, that
 " they questioned the king's right to appoint a
 " civil Governor, to appoint Justices of the Peace,
 " to appoint Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer;
 " that they complained of the Custom House, and
 " even talked of presenting it as a nuisance, be-
 " cause erected on ship's room; that they treated
 " Stat. 15, Geo. III, as destructive to the fishery,
 " because it compels the payment of servant's wages;

“and that they brought forward a bill in 1785, in order to expose the servants once more to the will of their masters, as to the payment of their wages.”

The same spirit which actuated the western merchants at the times alluded to by Mr. Reeves, still influences all their actions and feelings, and I am the more anxious to call your attention to the subject, from a conviction, that until it is subdued—eradicatèd it never will be—neither the government here, nor the government at Newfoundland, can do much to ameliorate the condition of the country.

An imperative sense of justice having compelled me thus to speak in terms of reprobation of the conduct pursued by these monopolists towards Newfoundland, I will now proceed to the more grateful task of attempting to do justice to their merits. In one of the first of the moral duties which in this degenerate age is, alas! of too rare occurrence, these worthies, to a man, conspicuously shine: A strict adherence to the creed and principles of their fathers, and a pious observance of all their wishes and commands as respects Newfoundland. In filial obedience to which they religiously oppose, with all the united energies of their influence and their little talent, without regard to the trifling punctilios of truth, of justice, or humanity, every species of internal improvement, especially the *cultivation of the soil—the education of the people—and the introduction of any government or laws calculated to infringe upon the prerogatives of the*

iron rule which they have been taught by their departed sires to consider was, by divine right, conferred upon their favoured race, over the inhabitants of Newfoundland. Shall men, who for ages have been their vassals, the blind, helpless, and devoted slaves of their omnipotent will, impiously attempt to shake off the yoke—consider themselves entitled to the benefits of an equal administration of justice—or dare to raise food from the bosom of the earth, when they would bid them starve?—No! avarice, tyranny, ignorance, and prejudice, the worshipped deities of these monopolists, forbid such sacrilege!

What would be the delight of their venerated ancestors, the Fishing Admirals, from which honorable stock they proudly trace their descent, and to following whose worthy example they owe their wealth and fancied importance, could they rise from their graves, and behold all the virtues and wisdom for which they were so eminently distinguished still animating, in all their pristine force, the bosoms of their faithful descendants? How would they applaud their present worthy endeavours to preserve inviolate the despotic heritage which they bequeathed them? But, let them not be wafted on the wings of the eastern gale across the Atlantic, for what would be their horror to behold the apostacy of the present degenerate race; to see them sinking from their former state of happy ignorance and barbarism, into one of intellectual improvement; to see some of them skilled in the cabalistic art of writing, impiously daring

to read over their merchant's accounts, and profanely questioning their correctness. Instead of the hoops, nailed to the table, out of which they sparingly eat their cod's heads and sound bones* with more than Spartan temperance, to see them regaling themselves on fish and bang, off the plate of Staffordshire; and, in place of the ancient boat's kettle, whose well besooted sides bore ample testimony to its long and useful services, to see in the centre of the table a dish of the same precious material as the plates; to see them despising those useful organs with which kind Nature has supplied them for conveying their food to their mouths, and which alone they ever used for the purpose, and substituting in lieu knives, forks—and even spoons! All this would be *horrible, very horrible!*—but should an unpropitious breeze convey them to the capital, or some of the other principal towns, there *still greater horrors* would await them—there they would behold the merchants and respectable inhabitants, instead of the once blue flushing jacket and trowsers, economically besmeared with pitch and tar, and fish slime, to preserve their nap, and the soap-saving checked shirt, the quondam uniform of these Admirals, dressed in coats of the finest produce of the western looms, with shirts of the purest white, evidently no strangers to the washerwoman's tub; and appearing in the character to which their education, their principles, and their station entitle them—*the character of Gentlemen*. If they entered their houses, they would see them

* These parts, not being cured, are now used for manure.

furnished with chairs, sofas, and ottomans, instead of inverted butter firkins and deal benches; the well carpeted, instead of the dirt-covered floor. They would see cleanliness, order, and all the elegancies of refined life, instead of Hottentot filth and the want of common comforts and conveniences; they would see them sitting down surrounded by their friends to a table spread with a cloth of the finest damask, and supplied with every delicacy, instead of a board covered with a bread bag, on which they might perhaps, once in each of their lives, have committed the heinous sin of hospitality, by regaling their friends with a piece of salt pork. They would see the finest wines of Portugal and France sparkling in rich cut decanters and glasses, instead of spruce beer and calibogus,* in black tea kettles and tin cans. In the Courts of Justice they would see the seats they once filled on the judicial bench, to decide their own causes, usurped by disinterested, learned, and enlightened judges, patiently listening to the statements of the parties, and the testimony of their witnesses, and delivering luminous and impartial charges to intelligent and upright juries. They would see, oh, degenerate age! the poor man standing as a suitor on equal grounds with his wealthy opponent. They

* A favorite beverage with the Fishing Admirals, composed of spruce beer, new rum, and molasses; in which, though in England they were good protestants, they were accustomed in their hours of revelry, to drink the impious toast of, "The Pope and ten dollars."—His Holiness being the patron saint of the fishery, and ten dollars being what they considered a *saving* price for a quintal of fish.

would see the streets thronged with elegant equipages, and beautiful and accomplished females, dressed in the newest costume of the British Metropolis, instead of ignorant, homely dames, clad in linsey woolsey of gothic shape. Throughout the island they would see churches and chapels, with their spires and towers pointing to the heavens; schools crowded with the rising generation, eagerly availing themselves of the advantages which the prejudice and avarice of their oppressors denied their forefathers; nay, they would even see the foundation of a college! They would see the germ of cultivation bursting, as it were, through the matted woods, and requiring but the beneficent hand of a liberal government to train it to future universal luxuriance. In short, they would see the glorious light of education and civilization dispelling the dark chaos of ignorance and barbarism, and plenty and independence supplanting famine and slavery. Should they venture into the presence of our beloved Governor, who their hopeful descendants have endeavoured to defame and vilify, by the "*magic*" influence of whose liberal and enlightened mind all these wondrous metamorphoses have been even still more fostered and encouraged, they would find him surrounded by all the lovely of the one sex, and the wise and the good of the other; all looking up to him with reverential gratitude for the blessings he has showered on the country; whilst, with courteous hospitality, he supports the dignity and honour of his Royal Master. All this they would see—and know

that the despotic reign of monopoly tottered to its very foundation; they would retire to their silent graves, and—rest if they could.

As a proof that the present generation of Poole is worthy of their renowned sires, I beg, Sir, most respectfully to call your attention to a pamphlet lately published there, entitled “A VIEW OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE NEW-FOUNDLAND FISHERY,” and dedicated by the author to “BENJAMIN LESTER LESTER, Esq. M. P. *with great personal esteem, and a high regard for the zeal and ability with which he has uniformly endeavoured to promote its interests.*”

This admirable production has been gratuitously circulated through all the principal towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland, connected with Newfoundland; and no doubt the Colonial Department, as well as the members of the Finance Committee, have been favoured with copies also. It is a work of *great promise*, and the author, though not a “*mighty magician*,” must be a *mighty oracle*, as he scarcely condescends to give any authority for his assertions but *his own ipse dixit*. In the commencement of his “View of the Rise and Progress of the Newfoundland Fishery,” he states “that the imperfect information of official men, whose transitory acquaintance with the place, acquired during their limited periodical residences, does not qualify them to take an “ENLARGED VIEW” of the subject.” This, I naturally conceive, to be an implied promise by the author himself *to do so*. I can assure you, Sir, it was to me, acquainted as I am with the

history of the island, a most amusing idea to think of the oracle of the Poole merchants taking "*an enlarged view*" of the state of Newfoundland; and if you, Sir, should think it worth the trouble, and will only glance over Reeves's or any other History of Newfoundland, you will gain a relish for a part of the joke yourself. Indeed, from the title of the production, and the absurdities and incongruities so liberally dispersed through it, I am inclined to consider the author a facetious wag, who, under pretence of espousing the cause of his pure and immaculate fellow burgesses, has roguishly endeavoured, and successfully too, to expose its irrationality and weakness.

But, before I take further notice of his "*enlarged view*," I will just point out one statement of his, to shew how *extremely correct* has been his information respecting Newfoundland, and which will prove how little faith his theoretical opinions are entitled to when he betrays such gross ignorance of facts.

In page 15, he states that "an act was passed in 1792 by which power was given to the Governors, with the advice of the Chief Justice, to institute Courts of Civil Jurisdiction, &c., and that in this way the judicature of the island was conducted until the year 1824."

Now it happens that the act of 1792 was repealed by the act of the 49th of the late king, under the authority of which the country was governed till the promulgation of the act of 1824. The author of the "*enlarged view*" must have been, like

Rip Van Winkle, in a profound dose during these seventeen years; and, like the renowned Dutchman, he appears confounded at the wondrous changes which had been effected during his long slumber.

The avowed object of this "*enlarged view*," whatever might be the real intention of the writer, is to impress on his Majesty's Government,

First, "That the new form of Government lately established under Sir Thomas Cochrane is on too expensive a *scale*. That a Vice Regal Court, with the splendour of sovereign authority, are highly objectionable; that the house now building for the use of the Governor is on too magnificent a plan; and that the *old* system of an Admiral Governor was *much less expensive*; that while he maintained, with becoming dignity, the honourable station in which he was placed, he still avoided all unnecessary display, as being inconsistent with the government of a fishing town."

Secondly, "That the present administration of justice, under a Chief Justice and other duly qualified judges and law officers is equally objectionable; that the summary justice of the naval surrogates would be best adapted for a fishery, and certainly *less expensive*."

Thirdly, "That the agricultural improvement of Newfoundland is a wild chimera; that cultivation to any important profitable extent is opposed by natural obstacles, which are insurmountable; a thickly wooded country, and a scanty soil, every where encumbered with huge rocks; that would never repay the enormous labour and expense of clearing;

and a climate uncongenial for the production of the fruits of the earth."

There are some other matters in this pamphlet on which I may possibly make some remarks, *en passant*, but these being the chief ones, I shall confine my principal observations to them. With respect to the first objection, the expense of the government, I hope to be able to prove that the former government, if it could be called by such a name, was much more expensive than the present. The *Admiral Governor* was allowed salary as Governor, pay as an Admiral and Commander in Chief on the station, allowances for his table, servants, with other followers (not speaking of the great patronage he had of promoting his friends and retainers to all vacancies in the fleet), amounted from about 3,800*l.* to 4,000*l.* per annum. What were his services for these great allowances? Why he came to Newfoundland in the month of July or August, sometimes in September, and left on the 25th of October, so that I may safely say these governors, on an average, were not more than four months in the year at the seat of their government, for which they were paid at the rate of from 11,000*l.* to 12,000*l.* per annum.

Our present governor is allowed, I understand, about 4,000*l.* per year; out of which he has to support the splendour of "vice regal authority," a large retinue of servants, entertain the principal inhabitants of Newfoundland at his table, and all strangers who visit the seat of his government; to subscribe to all public charities and institutions. A great

part of his income is expended in the country; so that if the author of this pamphlet only just takes an "*enlarged view*" of the subject, he will find that he was egregiously in *error* in supposing that his favourite *Admiral Governor* was a *cheaper Governor*, for it appears that the matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, is his only criterion of judgment. If a comparison be made between the relative systems, with reference to the benefits conferred on Newfoundland, the difference will appear more striking; our present governor has been since his arrival improving the condition of the country and the people, and though I do not mean to say that he is a "*mighty magician*," still I maintain that he has done more real good to the colony, since his appointment, than all his predecessors put together. He has, as far as his limited authority permitted him, given every encouragement to the cultivation of the *soil*, and himself shewn the example; he has encouraged every measure calculated to promote the internal resources of the country; he has made roads, some of them at his own expense; he has been the patron of education for the poor and the rich, and he had scarcely landed on our shores when he recommended the *establishment of a University* for the education of our respectable youth, to prevent the necessity of sending them to the United States and other parts; in short, he has felt a sympathy for the country and the people beyond what was ever felt by any of his predecessors, and the country feels grateful to him for it; and in proportion as the gra-

titude of the people of Newfoundland has increased towards him for honestly and impartially administering the high trust placed in his hands, to the honour of his royal master, the benefit of his country, and the advantage of the people over whom he presides; so has increased the hatred of those who are inimical to the true interests of Newfoundland; they never will forgive him for what he has already done; their hatred will be as lasting as it is deadly; they attempt to prevent the finishing of a house for his residence, not so good as is enjoyed by many private merchants in this country, who accumulated their wealth in Newfoundland.

In speaking in these terms of eulogy of the present governor, I am sure neither the distinguished individual himself, nor any person who knows me at Newfoundland, will suspect me of giving him undue praise. I never did, nor ever will, ask a favour from him or any other governor for my own benefit; and the greatest favour he can confer on me is to continue to do justice to the people over whom he is placed by his sovereign.

I now come to the *second* objection of this writer, where he mourns the downfall of the system of justice which in the halcyon days of monopoly produced such "beneficial" results to the monopolists. I shall just prove his unblushing effrontery in asserting that the naval Surrogate System was less expensive than the present. I believe the present allowance to our Chief Justice is 1,200*l.* per year; 700*l.* per year each to the other assistant judges, with the salaries of the attorney general and the

other law and ministerial officers, not speaking of the expense of hired vessels to convey them to their respective districts. Now, by referring to page 32 of papers relating to Newfoundland, laid before the House of Commons, on the 25th February 1824, on the motion of Mr. Hume, and ordered to be printed, we find the following charges for Chief Justice and Surrogates; viz.—

Francis Forbes, Esq. Chief Justice .	£.1,000
John Toup Nicholas, Esq. Surrogate,	
Captain of H. M. Ship, Egeria.	60
David Buchan, Esq. Commander of H.	
M. Ship, Grasshopper	60
James Murray, Esq. Captain of H. M.	
Frigate, Valourous	60
Charles A. Baker, Esq. Commander of H.	
M. Ship, Little Drake	60
William Minchin, Esq. Commander of	
H. M. Ship, Pelter	60
William Martin, Esq. Commander of	
H. M. Ship, Clinker	60
George Holbrook, Esq. Commander of	
the Surveying vessels	60
Robert Carter, Esq.	60
With which was a Supreme Surrogate	100
Clerks of Arraigns	150
	<hr/>
	£.1730

To this is to be added, the cost of two frigates, two ships of war, and two gun-brigs: this I am not sufficiently acquainted with the naval service to calculate; but if we say that the ves-

sels employed in conveying the surrogates, cost government, one with another, after the rate of 1,000*l.* per month, it would amount, for the six vessels, to 72,000*l.*, making the cost of the administration of justice just 73,730*l.* per annum; to which is to be added the loss of *two or three* of his Majesty's ships, one of them, the *Little Drake*, Comanded by the lamented Captain Baker, who, together with the greater part of his officers and crew, met with a watery grave. But the author of the "enlarged view" will say, what was the expense of ships, or the loss of vessels or lives to us? the parent country, *not the fishery*, had to bear the burthen. Having disposed of the matter of expense, I shall now make some remarks on the beneficial effects of the system, the loss of which he so feelingly and so sincerely deplores.

The judges, on his favourite system, were the captains, lieutenants, and sometimes sailing masters in the navy, and other persons, who, from their doubtful character and subservience to the monopolists, were much more objectionable. The gentlemen of the navy are educated from their youth in a system of their own, apart from the civil institutions of the country, and necessarily less conversant with those institutions than any other class of his Majesty's subjects; yet to such men the administration of justice was intrusted—and justice according to the laws of England. The absurd, and ridiculous, and often unjust and arbitrary proceedings of the surrogates are so well known, they have been so fully exposed in parliament and in Newfoundland,

and so long since consigned to the tomb of all the Capulets, without even a hope of resurrection, (for I would just as soon expect that the Inquisition would be established at Newfoundland as the surrogating system restored) that I do not think it necessary to make any further observations on the subject; at the same time I can duly appreciate the motives of the writer of the "*enlarged view*," whilst lamenting over the downfall of that *summary justice* under the authority of which the poor inhabitants of Newfoundland were plundered and oppressed for centuries, and a few individuals enriched by the spoil, whilst the best interests of the parent country were sacrificed, and the people kept in ignorance, and the country in barbarism. Pardon me, Sir, if I should in the warmth of my zeal against the monopolists seem to forget the respect due to the dignified individual to whom I am addressing myself, and which no man feels more profoundly than myself; but I have seen so many acts of cruelty and oppression committed at Newfoundland under the authority and pretence of summary justice, that I lose all patience even at the very mention of its being re-established. I am ready to admit that *summary justice* would be the *best of all justice*, if, along with being summary, it would be really just; but what goes under the name of summary justice, is, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging of it at Newfoundland, the *perfection of injustice*. Summary justice may answer in the first rude stages of society, amongst the savage Indians of America,

or the wandering tribes of Arabia; it is an admirable system with a Persian Satrap or a Turkish Basha; but, Sir, I hope you will not allow it to be established even in the most distant colony of this great empire. I am grossly in error if it is not opposed to the fundamental principles of our glorious constitution, which throws the mighty shield of its protection over the cottage of the peasant as well as the palace of the prince; its privileges and protection are the natural right of every Briton throughout England's wide domain, wherever her proud flag floats in the breeze, as a proof of her dominion and supremacy.

I come now to the *third* objection, that the soil and climate of Newfoundland present insurmountable obstacles to agricultural improvements—the author of the “enlarged view,” after denouncing the soil and climate, with all the zeal and virulence of a false prophet, sneers at, and gives us the following quotation from the Public Ledger:

“Newfoundland (hitherto considered barren and sterile) is soon likely to become a great agricultural country, under the auspices of the present governor, who having himself put the plough in requisition, has by the force of his example so stimulated others, that there are now to be seen on every hand corn fields springing up, *as if by magic*, in the place of woods and forests.”

“Those acquainted with the country,” says the author of the “*enlarged view*,” “know such representations to be altogether fallacious, and consider them to be mischief. That the

“governor may have promoted and encouraged
 “the cultivation of the soil in the immediate vic-
 “nity of St. John’s, is, perhaps, not to be disputed;
 “but that within the short period of his govern-
 “ment such extraordinary changes have taken
 “place, as those represented in the statement al-
 “luded to, is not the fact; and it is well known
 “that, for many years previous to the appointment
 “of the present governor, individuals had at great
 “labour and expense devoted their utmost skill and
 “attention in vain, to attain the object which the
 “*Newfoundland Public Ledger* endeavours to
 “make the public believe had been accomplished
 “in the short space of two years by this *mighty*
 “*magician*.”

After this tirade against the soil, the climate, the
 governor, and the Public Ledger, he triumphantly
 asks, “If more unquestionable proofs are wanting,
 “the unfitness of Newfoundland for the purposes
 “of cultivation might be inferred from the cir-
 “cumstance that it never has been cultivated—if
 “the soil and climate are so well adapted for cul-
 “tivation as the *Newfoundland Public Ledger*
 “would have us believe, how has it happened that,
 “with a population of 90,000, dependent on
 “other countries for food, cultivation has never
 “been resorted to as a source of supply—the inha-
 “bitants of Newfoundland are not insensible to
 “the advantages of a productive soil, and are as
 “much alive to their own interests and comforts
 “as the people of any other country; and it is a
 “known fact, that there have been individuals

“ who have in vain endeavoured to obtain subsistence for themselves and families from the soil, in preference to the pursuits of the fishery.”

The memory of the author must be very treacherous indeed, to have forgotten the sole cause why the soil was not cultivated, when he had so satisfactorily before stated it himself in his “ enlarged view.”—In page 7 he says,—

“ In the early stages of the fishery, a few simple local laws or regulations were sufficient for its government, and to preserve the relation between master and servant ; and although they may have been, and probably were, rude and barbarous in their construction and operation, still the fishery prospered and increased ; and we find little or no legislative notice of the island until nearly two hundred years after its discovery, when the act of 10th and 11th William III. to encourage the trade to Newfoundland was passed. *This act was founded on the ancient policy of discouraging residency, and considering Newfoundland to be a ship fishery ; and, notwithstanding the evidently increasing population, the same views influenced the legislature nearly fourscore years after, in passing the act of 15th Geo. III. the object of which was also to discourage residency ; and, in fact, the same principle has in some measure prevailed in all the legislative acts on the subject, almost to the present day ; and this discordant policy has naturally been attended with a want of permanency and consistency in the measures of government.*”

He first tells us that the laws discouraged residency, and were rude and barbarous in their construction, and, a few pages after, asks, Why the soil was not cultivated? That the laws were rude and barbarous is the only truism in the whole "enlarged view;" and the construction put upon them by the Fishing Admirals, their only interpreters and administrators in the island, was more rude and barbarous still. By the *western charter* no inhabitant was allowed to live within six miles of the sea, and might, under its authority, be driven out of the country. When the *poor* inhabitants built houses, or stages for curing their fish, or cleared a little spot of ground for cultivation, the houses were burnt or destroyed, and the ground wrested from them.

By the statute of the 10th and 11th of William and Mary, the *Fishing Admirals* assumed uncontrolled dominion over the country, and prevented the people from cultivating the soil. They dreaded nothing more than cultivation, as they supposed it would interfere with their monopoly in supplying the people with provisions. If a poor man cleared a spot of ground, the 10th and 11th of William and Mary was immediately put into operation in a manner never contemplated by the legislature: under pretence of its authority outrages revolting to humanity were committed by those vandals; a green bough was stuck on the offending soil, the seed was torn up, and the ground, as a punishment, covered with a fish flake. The Admiral Governors were scarcely less opposed to the improvement of

the country, or the cultivation of the soil, without casting the slightest imputation on them for what they did. They came out to the country only for a few months in the summer, and their instructions were dictated by that influence of which I have before spoken. The governors went so far as to prevent people not alone from *cultivating the soil*, but they absolutely prevented them *from building houses on their own ground*, building new chimneys, or even repairing old ones. I have frequently witnessed houses belonging to some of the first merchants of St. John's razed with the ground, and any man in those days that would attempt to cultivate the soil, without special leave, which was confined to a few favoured individuals, was shipped off by the first vessel to whatever part of the world she was sailing. It was not till the government of Sir Richard Keats, in 1813, that leases of small plots of ground were granted, (with the exception of some trifling lots that were cleared by sufferance before) but clogged with many restrictions; and even waste lands were subject to annual rents, from 2s. 6d. to 20s. per acre. It is only so late as the year 1824, that a clause was introduced into the act of 5th Geo. IV. chap. 51, sec. 15, authorizing the governor to make grants of land, "any thing in any charter granted by any of His Majesty's Royal Predecessors, or any Act of Parliament to the contrary contained in any wise notwithstanding." I believe I may take the liberty of saying that this clause was introduced at my recommendation; I made such a request to the Right Hon. R. W. Horton,

and soon after this clause appeared in the act before mentioned. And here I may be allowed to express my feelings of gratitude to that Right Hon. Gentleman for the great benefits which he conferred on Newfoundland, and for the consideration he gave to the very humble individuals to whose recommendation he was pleased to attend.

I think I have shewn sufficient cause for the want of general cultivation in Newfoundland, without placing it to account of the soil and climate. As I shall have occasion to revert to this subject before I conclude, I shall take no further notice of the opinions of the writer of the "enlarged view" upon it. Having already expended much more of my time upon this publication than its palpable absurdity rendered necessary, I shall take no notice of his objection to *Roads, Hospitals, Public Markets*, and, what makes his *hair almost stand an end*, "*in due time, perhaps, an University!*" What dark age was this man born in? What materials must his mind, his body, or his soul be composed of? What kind of a head or heart must he possess, who can attempt to throw the slightest obstacle in the way of such noble objects? The opinions of this man of "enlarged views," and those of whom he is the mere mouth-piece, remind me of a nation of savages, who inhabit the banks of a remote river of Africa, they adore darkness as their deity, and on the approach of night they asserable to offer incense at their infernal shrines—but as soon as the dawn appears, they set up the most dreadful howlings and yells, to frighten

away the approach of light, and on the rising of the blessed sun they fly affrighted to their dark and filthy caverns.

The best apology I can make for this digression from the subject I commenced with—the proving the necessity of a Constitutional Government for Newfoundland—is, that I owe to the *wise men of the West*, on the part of that colony, a debt of gratitude, and the sooner it is paid off the better.

I shall now proceed to meet the objections that have been made to the establishment of such a government at Newfoundland, and conclude by endeavouring to prove that it would promote the welfare of the parent country, as well as that of the colony.

The objections are, First, by those who admit the principle, but say that the country is not ripe for such a government, and that there would be a difficulty in finding at Newfoundland persons sufficiently qualified or educated to constitute a representative body.

Secondly, That the country could not raise a sufficient revenue to pay the charges of a Constitutional Government, which would be much more expensive than the present system.

Thirdly, That it is only for a stationary agricultural population that such a government is required; that Newfoundland is only calculated for a place of trade and a fishery, and that the soil and climate present such insurmountable obstacles to cultivation, that the idea of making agricultural improvements at Newfoundland is wild and visionary.

Fourthly, That if such a government was established at Newfoundland, in consequence of the prevailing influence of the mercantile body, particularly in the out ports, that an assembly would be almost entirely composed of persons elected through the mercantile influence in this country, which has been so inimical to the internal improvement of Newfoundland.

Fifthly, That Colonial Assemblies have been found troublesome and inconvenient, in consequence of the great differences which have arisen between the Assemblies and the Governors.

I shall endeavour to reply to these Objections in the same order that I have stated them.

As respects the ripeness of Newfoundland for such a government, I am at a loss properly to understand what is meant by the term ripeness. It occurs to me that those who make this objection want to invert the order of human events. In the vegetable world, before the fruit can arrive at maturity, the seed must be sown, the plant must be nurtured, when the produce at length crowns the anxious care of the husbandman. In the progress of infant countries, to the maturity of civilization and government, the same order prevails; and it would be just as reasonable to expect fruit or ripeness without the germ being planted, in the one case as in the other. This point will be better illustrated in the language of Mr. Baring, on presenting a petition from the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope for a Constitutional form of Government, in reply to the Rt. Hon. R. W. Horton, who

stated that there were other English Colonies that had not a Representative Government ;—I made use of these opinions of Mr. Baring before, and to enforce a similar object, but they are so much to my present purpose that I think it necessary to repeat them :—

“ The Right Hon. Gentleman had said that there
 “ were other Colonies in which the same system of
 “ Government prevailed. That was true, and dis-
 “ graceful it was to this country. But the Colony of
 “ the Cape of Good Hope was different in its cha-
 “ racter from the Colonies to which the Right Hon.
 “ Gentleman had adverted. It was not inhabited by
 “ the stewards of individuals, who themselves, per-
 “ haps, resided in Portman-square. It was settled
 “ by English farmers, by men of English habits
 “ and feelings. It was not circumscribed in extent
 “ like a West India island. Its population might
 “ eventually be augmented to many millions. The
 “ cases, therefore, were wholly dissimilar. The
 “ Right Honorable Gentleman talked of the Cape
 “ not being ripe for the enjoyment of free institu-
 “ tions. It never would be ripe unless these insti-
 “ tutions were introduced. The same had been
 “ said of South America. It was with a country
 “ as with a child. Unless a child were placed on
 “ its legs, it never would be able to walk like a
 “ man. Unless free institutions were introduced
 “ into a country, it could never become capable of
 “ enjoying them. Imbecility must continue to be
 “ the character of any country not inoculated
 “ with the principles of strength.”

I may possibly form too high an estimate of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, but I have led myself into the greatest delusion, if there are not at this present moment at that colony as many men of intelligence, integrity, and general information, as would be necessary to constitute a respectable representation for the Island. For the want of those institutions which would foster and draw forth talent, they remain in comparative obscurity; but let a representative body be once formed, and it will soon be found that in no colony in its neighbourhood will there be less difficulty in procuring men of ability, information, and integrity. It would induce many persons who now, when they have accumulated a capital in the country, emigrate to the United States and other places, to remain where their property, and their talents would be sure to gain for them that consideration and importance to which they are entitled, and where they could make themselves more eminently useful than in a strange country; in which they would have to form new connections, to conform to new manners and customs, and where it would require a residence of years before they acquired that importance they possessed in Newfoundland. A representative government and a constitution *sound very high*, but let it not be forgotten that the representative body would not have any very difficult subjects to legislate on, further than the propriety of making roads and bridges, and other useful local improvements, and affording due encouragement to the trade, fisheries, and agriculture of the country.

I again repeat that there would not be the slightest difficulty in procuring a sufficient number ; and, without pretending to a spirit of prophecy, contemptible as the thing may appear to those who endeavour to degrade Newfoundland in the estimation of persons not acquainted with the country, that there would be no lack of highly respectable candidates to fill the honourable situations of representatives.

I shall now say a few words respecting the character of the people who would be electors. They would be *principally the natives of the country*, all descended from the free born subjects of Britain, who carried with them all their rights and privileges as British subjects, which neither they nor their descendants ever forfeited ; and the withholding from them those privileges which were freely granted to other colonies of less importance in the neighbourhood, and not more deserving of support from the parent country, is a violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and for which they have every right to petition, to remonstrate, and just cause to complain. The native inhabitants of Newfoundland, as well as those who have emigrated there, are as regular and orderly, and possess as much good sense and information as people of the same class in any other part of his Majesty's dominions. Scarcely since the present enlightened judges have dispensed the criminal justice of the country have they failed, when opening their courts, to compliment the industrious classes on their peaceable and general good con-

duct. This part of my statement may be easily proved to be correct or otherwise, by a return of the criminal convictions and a report of the different charges of the judges. I shall appeal to them as proud testimonials of the superior character of the industrious and labouring classes of the inhabitants of Newfoundland. The next qualification for electors is property. In that the people, even amongst the labouring classes, are not deficient; and but for the immense failures amongst the merchants in 1814, 1815, and 1816, which swept away their savings for a great many previous years, there would not be at this moment a part of his Majesty's dominions where there would be more property amongst even the most humble class of the inhabitants. In consequence of there being no encouragement for investing money in the improvement of land, or in other solid security, the poor people placed the hard earned fruits of their industry in the hands of the merchants, who speculated upon them, and in one fell swoop carried away from them from three to four hundred thousand pounds in the years I have mentioned. Notwithstanding these, and the great losses by fire, the resident inhabitants of Newfoundland are rapidly increasing in wealth, and I question whether there is another population of equal extent, where property is more generally diffused. Since the people have turned a little of their attention to the cultivation of the soil, as an auxiliary—and the best auxiliary—to the fisheries, they are making rapid advances in property and independence.

I hope I have not been altogether unsuccessful in proving the weakness of the first objection, and I shall now proceed to the second: As to the revenues of the country being inadequate to the additional expenses which would be entailed on it by the establishment of such a government. I confess it does not appear to me how the addition of a few persons to represent the general interests of the country can add to the expenses of the government; in my own opinion it can not. All the great expenses of the civil government are incurred already, in the payment of salaries to the governor and other officers; it may be said, the assembly will be raising money to make roads and bridges, and other improvements; but, surely it is not necessary to use much logic to prove that money laid out for such purposes would not be lost to the country, but, on the contrary, form its best capital. The lands on the margins of the roads would, I am quite sure, in a little time pay all the expense of making them, and leave a revenue to the crown. *Roads* are the first steps to civilization: they would prove the best capital of the country; and any man of common understanding must be satisfied that money judiciously laid out in such and other useful objects, so far from being sunk or misapplied, would revert back to the community with manifold advantages. Mr. Burke, I believe, states, what any reflecting man must be convinced of, "that it is not taxes, but the injudicious appropriation of them that is an injury to a country." The people of

Newfoundland cannot hope the country can be improved without expense; and I am sure they are not so unreasonable as to expect that it will be defrayed by any but themselves. The evils of taxation is a favourite theme with those who want to prevent the improvement of Newfoundland, and they wish to impress on the minds of his Majesty's government that the colony is so miserably poor that it cannot bear a slight rate of taxation: they raise the cry, not from any feeling towards the resident inhabitants, but from an apprehension that it would reduce their own rate of profit. They usually charge from $33\frac{1}{2}$ to 100 per cent. on their goods, but when they hear of a small tax for the improvement of the country they exhibit all that "ignorant impatience of taxation" with which the people of another country were unjustly charged by a minister of the crown.

A more flimsy and ridiculous argument cannot be well imagined, than that Newfoundland is not fully competent to pay all the expenses of her civil government; this being a tangible subject, it can be grappled with by the simple rules of vulgar arithmetic; figures will prove more than words on the occasion: the value of imports to Newfoundland is now, in the depressed state of the fisheries, close upon a million sterling annually; the exports are the same; in 1813 and 1814, the exports were worth nearly *three millions*, but, estimating them at the lesser sum, surely it is not too much to suppose that a small rate can be imposed on articles of luxury, quite sufficient to meet all necessary

expenses. From the papers published on Mr. Hume's motion, by order of the House of Commons, it appears that—

A duty on rum of 6 <i>d.</i> per gallon, for ten years, from 1813 to 1822, produced	£85,368 11 0
On brandy and gin, 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> ditto	19,982 18 0
On wines from British ports, at 10 <i>s.</i> per tun	938 10 1
Ditto from Foreign ports, at £7 do.	2,386 10 1
	<hr/>
	£ 108,676 9 2

A duty of 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> on rum, at this average, would give, <i>annually</i>	25,610 11 3
On brandy and gin, at 3 <i>s.</i> per gallon	3,996 11 7
On wine, 221 tons, 56,576 gallons, at 3 <i>s.</i> per gallon	8,486 8 0
A moderate impost on other articles of luxury	20,000 0 0
	<hr/>
	£58,093 10 10

To which may be added rents of lands, licenses, and many other sources of revenue.*

This would be quite a sufficient revenue for all the purposes of the country. It appears that the revenue of the neighbouring colony of Nova Scotia comprising a duty on spirits and wine, and a duty of from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 per cent. on importations, (extracted from a statement now before me) amounted for the year 1822 to 39,940*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* By

* My object in making this statement is merely to prove that the people have the means, if they possessed the constitutional power, of raising a revenue.

looking over the History of Newfoundland you will find it a favourite system with those opposed to its improvement, to misrepresent the resources of the country; to prove that I am not singular in the opinion which I have given, that Newfoundland is capable of raising a moderate revenue, I beg to call your attention to an extract from a Memorial of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, presented to the Right Honorable Earl Bathurst, under date of December 6th, 1822.

“ It has been said, that the people of Newfoundland are not in a situation to pay the expenses necessarily attending a local government. The Committee have no hesitation in saying, that such is not the case; and have not the slightest doubt of the competency of the country, even in its present depressed state, without inconvenience, to bear all the necessary expenses for that purpose. It has been a favourite object with interested persons to throw a cloud of misrepresentation on every thing connected with the country; its resources were little known, except to those who were making them subservient to their interest.

“ If Newfoundland has not possessed the means of paying the expense of a civil government, it must appear extraordinary that so many persons who came there without a shilling in their pockets were able, in the course of a few years, to realize fortunes, to retire from the island, and live in splendour in other countries. The Committee can point out to your Lordship individuals residing in London, Poole, Dartmouth, Bristol,

“ Edinburgh, Greenock, Cork and Waterford, and
 “ other parts, not alone of the United Kingdom;
 “ but even in the United States of America, who
 “ made their properties in Newfoundland. If in-
 “ dividuals could in a few years realize from the
 “ labour and industry of the people sufficient to
 “ enable them to retire from Newfoundland to live
 “ independently in other countries, surely it is not
 “ too much for the Committee to say, that the same
 “ people can pay the expenses of their govern-
 “ ment which would revert back on themselves
 “ with manifold advantages.

“ To prove the ability of the inhabitants to pay
 “ the expenses of their government, the Com-
 “ mittee beg to state a few well known facts: The
 “ town of St. John’s is the capital of the island,
 “ and the principal depositary for the supplies and
 “ productions of the fishery; the ground on which
 “ the stores, wharfs, and dwelling houses are erected,
 “ is chiefly owned by persons residing in Great
 “ Britain, whose ancestors gained a title to it
 “ merely by occupying it for the purposes of the
 “ fishery; in consequence of the great increase of
 “ trade and population, the ground has become va-
 “ luable, and the rent now charged for that situate
 “ at the waterside of St. John’s, is from 20s. to 40s.
 “ per foot, per annum, on which large sums have
 “ been expended by the tenants in making the ne-
 “ cessary erections; a sum not less than £20,000
 “ is annually remitted from the town of St. John’s
 “ for rents; can it then be doubted that a people
 “ who pay such large sums to absentee landlords,

“ who do not contribute in the slightest degree to
 “ the support of the country, could pay the expenses
 “ of a civil government ?

“ It is well known, that the mercantile houses
 “ which accumulated all their capital in this trade,
 “ have, in prosperous times, made profits of from
 “ 20 to 30,000 pounds in one year, a sum more
 “ than adequate to the support of a civil govern-
 “ ment.”

The clamour raised against a fair rate of taxation for the improvement of Newfoundland, comes with a bad grace from a few merchants on *this side* the water, the patrons of the *able work* of which I took some small notice in the former part of this letter. The opposition to the improvement of Newfoundland comes exclusively from them. The great body of the merchants residing in, and connected with the country are favorable to any reasonable plan of improvement, and, I trust, that any expression of mine will not be construed as having any reference to them; these expressions are only intended for those who want to raise an insuperable barrier to all improvement, I say that opposition to a fair assessment comes from them with a very bad grace indeed, when the great advantages which have lately been conferred on the trade and shipping interest, is taken into consideration. I do not hesitate to state, that an advantage has been conferred on the trade and fishery of not less than £200,000 per annum, by the liberty of importing pork, bread, flour, and other provisions, for the use of the fishery, from the continent; this sum

may appear large, but when it is taken into account, that pork can be purchased at New York for 35s. per barrel, suitable for the fishery, and that 70s. should be paid for it at Liverpool, and that biscuit can be had at Dantzic and Hamburgh at 9s. and 10s. which would cost 18s. at Liverpool; the large sum I have stated, and even a larger can be easily proved to be gained by the trade and fisheries, or rather by the people of Newfoundland. Along with this great boon, the fees of customs have been taken off vessels in Newfoundland, which, I should conceive, amounted to 6 or 7,000*l.* per annum.

Here, Sir, may I be permitted to make a slight digression from the subject I have under consideration, for the purpose of proving that the charges that have been so frequently brought against you by the shipping interest, for throwing open the trade of the colonies to foreigners, is without the slightest foundation; and that, instead of being an injury, it has been a benefit to them. Since the passing of the act, not one foreign European vessel has entered the ports of Newfoundland, nor any of those of our neighbouring colonies; nor, as far as I am capable of judging, is it likely they will. I am sure the nature of the Newfoundland trade is such, that though it may be permitted to foreigners, it will, and must be, carried on by British shipping only.

I shall now proceed to state what has been the *ruinous* consequences to the British shipping:— We are obliged to give from 30s. to 40s. per ton to vessels to bring out our bread, and other

provisions from Dantzic and Hamburgh, when, if we were not permitted to get our supplies from those places, and obligated, as under the old restrictive system, to purchase them at Liverpool, and other ports in England and Ireland, vessels would gladly take them out at 10s. or 12s. per ton freight. Since the opening of the trade from the north of Europe I have had every year to charter vessels to take out supplies for my trade, and have given the freights I have mentioned, whilst I had vessels of my own going out from ports in Britain, in which I had sufficient room to ship them, if they could have been procured at the same, or even near the same rate, in British ports.

If I have taken a correct view of the subject, the shipping interest have been gainers, not losers, by the change that has been made in the colonial system; and for the *mere offer* of acting liberally on the part of our government, of which foreigners have not, nor do I think it likely they will, take advantage, a *great and substantial benefit* has been conferred on the shipping interest of this country. It may appear a species of knight errantry on my part to shiver a lance of straw in your defence, on this subject, when it is recollected that you wielded the thunder of Jove against your opponents on the evening of the 7th May last, when General Gascoine brought forward his motion, in the House of Commons. Notwithstanding your splendid defence on that occasion, which made those who came to curse remain to pray, you must have observed that you are still the object of attack from persons who are

determined not to be convinced, however clear the proof, however strong the argument.

I shall now endeavour to reply to the third objection, That Newfoundland presents insurmountable obstacles to agricultural improvement; that it is viewed more as a fishery and a place of trade, and that, consequently, it does not require a local representative government.—I am at a loss to understand the logic of those who object, on the ground of Newfoundland being a place of trade and fishery. Trade and fishery require the aid and support of good laws and government as well as any other interests. This truth is so clear, that it would be an insult to the most common understanding to use arguments to prove a proposition, so evident in itself; I shall therefore confine myself to replying to the objections brought against the soil and climate, for if, as it has been attempted to be proved, they present insurmountable obstacles to cultivation, or if I cannot prove that the soil can be made a source of profitable employment, it would be the extreme of folly to attempt it.

The advocate for Newfoundland is called on to prove, on every occasion, that *white* is not *black*, and *black* is not *white*; and I can assure you, Sir, it is a more difficult task, than at first appears, particularly when people are determined not to be convinced. I think that any man, taking the map of Newfoundland, and looking at its geographical situation, will be convinced, from its great extent, that there must be land capable of cultivation, particularly when he is informed that countries only di-

vided from it by a few leagues of sea, abound with rich soil ; that in the interior there are tribes of native savages who have no intercourse with civilized man, and who support themselves by hunting and fishing ; and that there are thousands of deer, and other wild animals in the country, that subsist there both summer and winter ; it must remove all reasonable doubt from his mind that if the savages and wild animals can support themselves from the spontaneous productions of the earth, that the same country would give far greater facilities to the subsistence of civilized man, when agricultural improvement is brought into active operation, so as to increase and multiply the productions of the earth. These being my own speculations, which I do not presume to offer as authorities, I shall state facts and opinions, both of ancient and modern date, which I hope will be sufficient to convince any mind not impervious to the rays of reason and common sense, that the prejudice that has been raised against the soil and climate of Newfoundland is unjust and unfounded.

Captain Hayes, second in command to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who made a voyage to Newfoundland in the year 1583, writes in

" A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

" That which we doe call the Newfoundland, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulph and ex-

“ trance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Ca-
 “ nada. Into the which, navigation may be made
 “ both on the South and North side of this Iland.
 “ The land lyeth South and North. containing in
 “ length betweene three and 400 miles, accounting
 “ from Cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts)
 “ vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentri-
 “ onall latitude. The Iland round about hath very
 “ many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for
 “ ships, the like not to be found in any part of the
 “ knowen world.

“ The common opinion that is had of intempera-
 “ ture and extreme cold that should be in this coun-
 “ trey, as of some part it may be verified, namely
 “ the North, where I grant it is more colde then
 “ in countries of Europe, which are vnder the
 “ same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with
 “ reason and nature of the clime, that the South
 “ parts should be so intemperate as the bruit hath
 “ gone. For as the same doe lie under the climats
 “ of Briton, Aniou, Poictou, in France, betweene
 “ 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ
 “ from the temperature of those countries: vnless
 “ vpon the out coast lying open vnto the Ocean
 “ and sharpe windes, it must in neede be subject to
 “ more colde, then further within the laude, where
 “ the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bul-
 “ warkes, to defende and to resiste the asperitie and
 “ rigor of the sea and weather.—Some hold opinion,
 “ that the Newfoundland might be the more suiect
 “ to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere
 “ vnto the middle region.—I grant that not in

“ Newfoundland alone, but in Germany, Italy, and
 “ Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the
 “ mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome un-
 “ couered of snow, in their culme and highest tops,
 “ which commeth to passe by the same reason that
 “ they are extended towards the middle region:
 “ yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found
 “ quite contrary. Euen so all hils hauing their
 “ discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be
 “ likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue
 “ in Newfoundland: though I am of opinion that
 “ the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot
 “ be so forcible in the Newfoundland nor generally
 “ throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by
 “ how much the Sunne in his diurnall course from
 “ East to West, passeth ouer (for the most part)
 “ dry land and sandy countries, before he arriueth
 “ at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his mo-
 “ tion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification
 “ by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie, he
 “ passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America
 “ ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and
 “ carrieth with him abundance of moyst vapours,
 “ which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the
 “ sunne’s reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly
 “ of Newfoundland, being so much to the North-
 “ ward Neuerthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold
 “ cannot be so intollerable vnder the latitude of
 “ 46. 47 and 48. especiall within land, that it
 “ should be uninhabitable, as some doe suppose, see-
 “ ing also there are very many people more to the
 “ North by a great deale. And in these South

“ partes there be certain beastes, Ounces or Leo-
 “ pards, and birdes in like manner which in the
 “ Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries
 “ of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides as
 “ in the monethes of June, July, August, and Sep-
 “ tember, the heate is somewhat more then in
 “ England at those seasons: so men remaining
 “ vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Rece,
 “ vntil after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold
 “ so extreme, nor much differing from the tempe-
 “ rature of England. Those which haue arriued
 “ there after Nouember and December haue found
 “ the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile,
 “ considering the ground vpon the coast, is rough
 “ and vneuen, and the snow is driuen into the
 “ places most declyning, as the like is to be seene
 “ with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall
 “ not be found within land vpon the playner coun-
 “ tries, which also are defended by the mountaines,
 “ breaking off the violence of the winds and
 “ weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in
 “ those South parts, aboue that with us here: it
 “ cannot be so great as that in Swedland, much
 “ less, in Muscouia or Russia; yet are the same
 “ countries very populous, and the rigor of cold
 “ is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues,
 “ warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which
 “ neede not to be wanting in the Newfoundland,
 “ if we had intent there to inhabite.

“ In the South parts we found no inhabitants,
 “ which by all likelihood haue abandoned those
 “ coastes, the same being so much frequented by

“ Christians: But in the North are sauages alto-
 “ gether harmlesse. Touching the commodities of
 “ this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of in-
 “ habitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are
 “ and may be made diuers: so and it seemeth Nature
 “ hath recompenced that only defect and incommo-
 “ ditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz.
 “ With incredible quantitie, and no less varietie of
 “ kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts,
 “ Salmones, and other fish to us vnknown: Also
 “ Cod which alone draweth many nations thither,
 “ and is become the most famous fishing of the
 “ world. Abundance of whales, for which also is
 “ a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia, and
 “ the Grand Bay, where is made trane oiles of the
 “ whale. Herring, the largest that haue been heard
 “ of, and exceeding the alstrond herring of Nor-
 “ way: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the
 “ herring fishing. There are sundry other fish
 “ very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut,
 “ with others infinite not sought after: Oysters
 “ hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke
 “ it by reason they were not gathered in season.

“ Concerning the inland commodities as wel to
 “ be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding
 “ large countries adioyning: there is nothing which
 “ our east and northerly countries of Europe doe
 “ yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as
 “ plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen,
 “ pitch, tarre, sope ashes, deel boord, mastes for
 “ shiips, hides, fures, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables,
 “ cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals, and many more.

“ All which the countries will aford, and the soyle
 “ is apt to yeelde.

“ The trees for the most in those South parts,
 “ are Firre trees, Pine and Cypresse, all yielding
 “ Gumme and Turpentine. Cherrie trees bearing
 “ fruit no bigger then a small pease. Also peare
 “ trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts
 “ to us unknowen.

“ The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth,
 “ bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet
 “ good feeding for cattel. Roses, passing sweet,
 “ like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a
 “ berry which we call Harts, good and wholesome
 “ to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in
 “ very short space, proued by English marchants
 “ which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall
 “ and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse than
 “ three weekes. Peason which our countrey men
 “ haue sowen in the time of May, haue come vp
 “ faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of
 “ August, of which our Generall had a present ac-
 “ ceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits
 “ coming vp by art and industrie, in that desolate
 “ and dishabited land.

“ We could not obserue the hundredth part of
 “ creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these
 “ mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the mag-
 “ nificent God, who hath superabundantly reple-
 “ nished the earth with creatures seruing for the
 “ vse of man, though man hath not vsed the fift
 “ part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate
 “ the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation,

“ chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue and die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeauours, and for art to worke vpon.”

Mr. Chief Justice Forbes, in a Statement addressed to the Colonial Department, under date of the 14th of August, 1822, writes—

“ As a general remedy, whatever tends to revive the fisheries must also have the effect of relieving the people. It were desirable that with the view of opening some auxiliary employment to the inhabitants of Newfoundland, every restraint upon the cultivation of the soil should be removed, and every encouragement given to the breeding of sheep, cattle, and other live stock.

“ The necessity of cultivating the soil, as an auxiliary to the fishery, is not disputed, nor is there any existing law which prohibits it; but there is none to encourage it; and there is still maintained in the island an ancient opinion, that it is against the policy of Government—as if that could be called policy, which, in a country overstocked with people, and distressed for food, would prohibit so plain a dictate of natural law as that of raising subsistence from the earth.

“ This cannot be, is not, the policy of the British Government; and nothing is wanting but a fair apprehension of the case to induce its enlightened rulers, not only to remove every shadow of ob-

“struction from the cultivation of the soil, but to
 “encourage and protect it by every means in their
 “power. To preserve the transient fishery has
 “been found impracticable; to attempt to revive
 “it would be to shut our senses against the light of
 “reason and the lessons of experience. As a broad
 “proposition, it may be maintained that if the
 “fishery were to be taken up as it is, *de facto*, and
 “a system adapted to the present state of things,
 “openly avowed and directly pursued by the local
 “authorities, Newfoundland would become, what
 “it ought to be, a prosperous settlement, subsisting
 “itself by internal resources, drawing its manufac-
 “tured supplies from the mother country, and re-
 “paying her care by a valuable trade, and a nume-
 “rous race of seamen, trained for her service, and
 “ready to attend her first call in the defence of
 “the empire.”

The Committee of the Inhabitants of Newfound-
 land in their Memorial to Lord Bathurst, dated the
 6th of December, 1822, state th —

“Having endeavoured to trace the principal
 “causes that have led to the present state of New-
 “foundland, they now beg to recommend to your
 “Lordship such measures as they confidently hope
 “if adopted, will lay the foundation of its future
 “prosperity, and make it a more valuable append-
 “age to the empire.

“It is admitted by every person conversant with
 “the affairs of Newfoundland, that the trade and
 “fisheries are not capable of affording employment
 “and subsistence to the large population that has

" grown up in the country. If not, it becomes a most
 " important question, How are they to be supported?
 " In reply, the Committee state, the soil affords
 " ample means, and that it is only by its more ge-
 " neral cultivation the present population can be
 " maintained in the country. In Newfoundland
 " there are millions of uncultivated acres, capable
 " of produciug food for a population much greater
 " than it now contains. If agriculture were more
 " generally encouraged, the country would afford
 " a comfortable settlement, not only to the present
 " population, but to a great proportion of those
 " persons who now find their way to the United
 " States. The Committee are aware a very general
 " opinion has prevailed, that the produce of the
 " soil is not adequate to the labour and expense of
 " the cultivation, than which nothing can be more
 " illfounded; as every day's experience most fully
 " disproves it. In no one instance where skill and
 " industry have been employed in improving or
 " clearing the soil, have they failed amply to repay
 " the cultivator. In opposition to the greatest ob-
 " stacles, fine farms have been cleared and success-
 " fully cultivated in the neighbourhood of St.
 " John's, in Conception Bay, and in several other
 " parts of the island; manure can be obtained in
 " the country with very little trouble; the offal of
 " the fish mixed with the earth is found to answer
 " for all the purposes of husbandry; at present, in-
 " stead of its being used for that purpose, the greater
 " part is thrown back into the sea. With proper
 " attention, most of the natural productions of

“ England can be brought to perfection in this
 “ country. It is only on the margin of the coast
 “ that cultivation has been attempted, the interior
 “ remains unexplored, and there can be but very
 “ little doubt, that there are many parts of the in-
 “ terior more favourable to agriculture: it is found
 “ that the soil at the head of the large bays, which
 “ run a considerable distance into the country, is
 “ much more luxuriant and productive than that
 “ close to the ocean. As a proof of the advantages
 “ of cultivation, the Committee would only refer to
 “ the respective situations of the labouring classes;
 “ the few, who even in the present backward state
 “ of agriculture, attended to their little farms, are
 “ in a comfortable situation, *at least beyond want*;
 “ while those who exclusively turned their labour
 “ towards the fisheries are very little removed from
 “ pauperism.

“ Persons most obstinately opposed to the possi-
 “ bility of advantageously employing the soil of
 “ Newfoundland for the purposes of husbandry, ad-
 “ mit that it is particularly favourable to the
 “ growth of potatoes and other esculent roots; an
 “ increase from twelve to twenty fold is the usual
 “ produce from the cultivation of the potatoe, and
 “ the quality not inferior to that of any other
 “ country. With proper encouragement a suffi-
 “ cient quantity could be raised, which, with the
 “ abundance of fish to be had on every part of the
 “ coast, would supply the labouring classes with a
 “ wholesome nutritious food, which being a pro-
 “ duce of their own labour, would make them inde-

“ pendent of foreign supplies, at least for the necessities of life.

“ The causes which operated in the early stages of the fishery to prevent the cultivation of the soil, have long since passed away, and it is now as much the interest of the merchant, as it is of the more resident part of the community, that every just encouragement should be given to the improvement and cultivation of the soil. The interest of all classes are the same; the prosperity of the one naturally leads to the prosperity of the other.

“ If the great body of the people of Newfoundland remain in their present state of beggary and want, it is an illusion if the trading part of the community expect to be much better in their condition. To enable the people to buy and pay for their goods, a proportion of their labour must be turned into some more productive channels than the fisheries can afford. The experience of the last eight years ought to be sufficient to convince the few merchants who remain in the country, and who were able to stem the overwhelming torrent which brought destruction on so many respectable houses, that the trade and fisheries of the country are not alone adequate to the support of the people, and if they follow up the old system of supplying in the fishery, their ruin is equally certain.

“ To enable the merchants of Newfoundland to cope with their rivals in foreign markets, fish must be caught at much less expense than hither-

“ to, which cannot be done as long as every thing
 “ necessary for the maintenance of the people must
 “ be imported from distant countries. By the more
 “ general cultivation of the soil, the people would
 “ be enabled to raise a great proportion of their
 “ food ; it would afford profitable employment for
 “ that part of the population which cannot be em-
 “ ployed in the fishery ; and it would be far the
 “ most effectual and best auxiliary to it. It is well
 “ worth the trial.

“ The Committee, therefore, recommend this
 “ most important subject to the consideration of
 “ your Lordship ; and they again repeat, that it is
 “ by a more general cultivation of the soil alone,
 “ that the present population can be supported in
 “ the island.”

The honourable Judge Des Barres, at a public
 dinner, given to him at Harbour Grace, in Novem-
 ber 1827, in returning thanks to the company, on
 his health being drank, adverted to the internal im-
 provement of the country in the following words :

“ I approve of agriculture, as forming one of
 “ the best auxiliaries to the trade and fisheries ; the
 “ soil and climate seem good, and not inferior to
 “ those of Scotland, for it has been abundantly
 “ proved that wheat can be raised amongst us with
 “ much facility. If agriculture were extensively pur-
 “ sued, not only would population increase, but also
 “ would the price of labour be enhance ; those,
 “ therefore, who advocate the improvement of the
 “ soil are our best friends, and likely to produce the
 “ most permanent benefits. If,” said the honorable

judge, "my opinion be asked, I must say, make roads, and give free grants of land: the former might be easily accomplished, if the inhabitants would resolutely co-operate."

The opinion of the learned and honorable judge is entitled to great consideration. He was born in one of the neighbouring colonies, of which his father was the governor, where he not only rendered important services to the crown, but also essentially promoted the agriculture and internal improvement of the country under his government, as well as the neighbouring colonies; in which the learned judge is the proprietor of extensive estates; and, consequently, no man is better qualified to form a correct judgment on the relative qualities of the soil and climate of Newfoundland, compared with them.

The opinions of his Excellency the present Governor of Newfoundland, are no doubt forwarded to the office for the Colonial Department, and I have little doubt but they are in substance the same as the opinions that I have stated. It is rather a curious "coincidence," that the representations of the present day are in effect the same as those which were made by almost the first persons that visited the island; but it is easily accounted for, when it is considered that those representations were made by persons whose judgment was not warped or influenced by cupidity or monopoly.

But, Sir, if there was not one opinion on the subject, I have facts to bring forward that must set the matter at rest; for one fact proves more than a thousand opinions. Large farms have been

successfully cultivated in all parts of the island, north and south in St. George's Bay, in Fortune Bay, in Placentia Bay, in St. Mary's Bay, in Trepassy Bay, and Ferryland, near all the harbours between Ferryland and St. John's, in the neighbourhood of St. John's, all along to the north of St. John's, very extensively in Conception Bay, in Torbay, Bell Isle, and in every other part of the island, where population has increased; and I do not hesitate to state, that in no single instance, where industry and care have been employed in clearing and cultivating the soil, has it failed in amply repaying all the labour and trouble employed upon it. All this cultivation has grown up in Newfoundland, not under the fostering protection of the laws, but in direct opposition to them, for, until the commencement of the *new era*, and under the present Governor, the restrictions on the improvement of the soil were almost equal to a prohibition, as I have before proved.

Last year, H. Thomas, Esq. of St. John's, cleared from the wood and cultivated eighty acres, and had an excellent crop of turnips off forty acres. There is a farm to the south west of St. John's, where the proprietor feeds upwards of forty head of horned cattle, and a great many sheep and horses, and cuts upwards of 120 tons of hay, yearly;* and such is

* It has been said, by the author of the "enlarged view," that it is only round St. John's, the capital, that any thing like cultivation has taken place; now the fact is, that the farms in the outports are many of them far superior to any near St. John's, and for this reason, that the soil is generally better.

the richness of the soil, that he has no occasion to use manure for his meadows. There are in other parts of the island, farms on a very large scale, and, I am assured from indisputable authority, that the land in St. George's Bay is naturally so excellent as scarcely to require manure.

The last example I shall give of the advantages of cultivation is, that after the ruinous years of 1815, 1816, and 1817, which brought many of the mercantile houses to bankruptcy, and caused those merchants who were able to stem the ruinous torrent which rushed upon them after the treaties with the French and Americans came into operation, by which far the best portion of the fisheries were ceded to them, to reverse the system which themselves and their ancestors had pursued for centuries, of supplying the people with food, clothing, and every necessary; they found that the produce of the labour of the people was inadequate to repay them for their advances, and at once shut the door of their warehouses, refusing them even bread; and no other alternative appeared to the unhappy people but to abandon the country of their forefathers, or starve. At this moment of horror, a few benevolent individuals came promptly forward, soothed the despair of the people; pointed out to them that their calamities might be averted, and a future recurrence of such misery prevented by the cultivation of the soil. They not only gave them the advice, but also the means of carrying it into effect, by liberally subscribing to procure seeds, and implements. The "Society for the Improvement of

the Condition of the Poor" at St. John's, and another Society, of both of which I am proud to say I have the honour to be a member, were amongst the foremost upon the occasion. The poor people, in consequence, returned to their homes, animated by their hopes, and with a firm determination to depend in future on their own industry, and not on the capricious will of those, who, after having glutted themselves on their labour, deserted them in the hour of need.

That benevolent hand which "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," crowned their labours with success. Those who attended to the advice are now in a state of independence; and instead of being compelled to receive, in return for the produce of their fishing voyages, slops, and often unwelcome provisions, at whatever price the merchants imposed upon them, they now demand and receive payment *in cash*, with which they are enabled to purchase necessaries at the lowest rate, and are as independent as the merchants themselves.

I possibly cannot illustrate the truth of the doctrine I am endeavouring to support more forcibly, than by relating the case of an old man, who emigrated to Newfoundland from Somersetshire upwards of seventy years ago, and over whose head upwards of a century has now passed, he informed me that he was mowing in a field in England with his father when they received the news of the great Battle of Fontenoy, and he was at that time upwards of twenty-one years of age. It is unnecessary for me to repeat the vicissitudes he experienced

during his long sojourn in Newfoundland. The fishery appeared to be the barometer which regulated his happiness or misery; if it was successful, he rioted in profusion—if the reverse, he endured misery and want. At the period I am now speaking of, he was, with a grand-daughter, and a number of her small children, reduced to a state of the greatest misery and distress. He disclosed his situation to a gentleman of St. John's, who gave him at once relief for the immediate necessities of himself and family, and at the same time asked him if he had not a small grant of land from Sir Richard Keates, and why he did not endeavour to cultivate it? The old man replied, that he had the land, and though old, was still able and willing to work, but he had not the means. The gentleman immediately told him he would provide him the means of doing so; he gave him a barrel of potatoes, and procured him another from the benevolent Irish Society. The old man procured one more by some other means. He planted them on his land, and after using a considerable quantity of the produce during the autumn, he put into his cellar forty-five barrels for his winter support, a part of his family were enabled to prosecute the fishery, by which means a sufficient quantity of fish and other little necessaries were procured, and from that hour famine and necessity have been strangers to his humble cottage!—I am not at liberty to mention the gentleman's name, but he alone knows the heartfelt gratification he expe-

renced when passing by the cottage of this good old man; he beheld him cheerful and happy, supported by his grand daughter, surrounded by her children, basking in the sunshine of comfort and of plenty, with a moral certainty of never again suffering those dreadful calamities to which they had so nearly fallen victims. If I can form a just estimate of that gentleman's feelings, he would not barter the delight he experienced on witnessing the happiness he had created, for all the wealth of all the monopolists.

I understand there are now five hundred applications for land on the governor's list, which he has not yet had time to attend to, so numerous were the previous ones; and I have no hesitation in stating, that if one or two main roads were made through the country, that the applications for land would increase in a ten-fold proportion and that in less than twenty years the population would increase almost in the same degree.

It is within the recollection of myself, and many respectable gentlemen now in this country, and cotemporaries of mine at Newfoundland little more than ten years ago, that if a piece of fresh beef or mutton was required to "smoke upon the board" on a Sunday, or some other gala day, that we had to solicit the butcher some days before it was wanted, to oblige us with it as a favour, and when he was kind enough to do so, we had to pay at the rate of from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 9d. per pound. Milk, vegetables, potatoes, &c. were equally scarce, and more than proportionally dear. I have known half-

a-crown paid for a cabbage ! In the year 1816, English potatoes were sold after the rate of 35s. per barrel, equal to about 20s. per 100lb.!! What is the state of the case at present? Beef, veal, mutton, and lamb, will be contracted, to be delivered, at from 6*d.* to 7*d.* per pound, all the year round ; and at some seasons fresh beef is not more than from 4*d.* to 5*d.* per pound. Potatoes of the best description, the produce of the island, are freely offered by the farmers at 4s. and 5s. per barrel. Fresh butter, eggs, poultry, and other farm stock, is nearly as cheap at St. John's as in many parts of Ireland, and at least 25 per cent. cheaper than in London.

I possibly cannot close this chapter upon the agricultural capability of Newfoundland in a more convincing manner, than by relating an anecdote of a late governor of Newfoundland ; and as it was told me by a gentleman who sometimes resides not a hundred miles from the Colonial Office, I can refer you to him for its correctness ; he is a gentleman of really "*enlarged views*" respecting the colonies.

His Excellency being in the habit of frequently seeing this gentleman, and often conversing with him about the climate and soil of Newfoundland, which he represented as incapable of producing the fruits of the earth as the flagged pavement of a London street, so often, that at length it became an "*oft told tale.*" One day he entertained him with an account of a dinner he had given at the government house, in honour of some public day, to the officers, civil and military, and

the principal merchants of St. John's. He gave a most favourable account of the richness of the beef, the delicacy of the veal, the venison-like flavour of the mutton; and the fatness of his ducks, geese, and turkeys, and affirmed that his green peas, and cauliflowers, his melons, grapes, and other fruits, were most excellent. "And where did your Excellency procure all these luxuries, the very thoughts of which are enough to distil water from the mouth of a London alderman", enquired the gentleman? "Why from my own farm yard and garden, to be sure," replied the governor. "And is this the country your Excellency has so often represented as barren, and incapable of bringing forth the most common productions of the earth! I could not provide my table better from the London Markets." His Excellency did not again, in his subsequent visits, favour this gentleman with any more accounts of the barren nature of the soil of Newfoundland.

The *fourth* objection, comes from the friends to improvement in Newfoundland, who are apprehensive that if a representative body was established that the mercantile interest would preponderate, and that the evil of mercantile influence would be increased.—I think a little calm reflection will be sufficient to convince those persons that there is no ground whatever for their apprehension. There is no doubt but in any assembly that could be collected at Newfoundland, there would be a preponderance of mercantile influence; merchants, or persons connected with trade, would no doubt form five-sixths of the whole body; and

their first object would be to foster and encourage the trade and fisheries ; this would be a paramount consideration; but does it follow that they are to injure the other interests of the country by doing so? Far from it. The interest of trade, and the true interest of agriculture, go hand in hand, and I think it can be made appear as clear as that two and two make four, that any measure calculated to improve the trade and fisheries must, as a matter of course, be equally advantageous to agriculture, and every other interest connected with it. If there are men whose minds are so constituted, as only to see that they cannot improve their own condition but by sacrificing the interest and happiness of others, they are only fit for ages long gone by; they should domicile themselves under the happy sway of the "beloved Ferdinand;" or, if they wish to go further, they may become denizens of the Cham of Tartary, or the Dey of Algiers, for I am quite sure they will not find a community of feeling amongst the subjects of our enlightened and beloved sovereign. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the persons sent forward to the assembly would endeavour to sacrifice the other interests of the country, would they have the power to do so? Certainly not. All the harm they could do would be of a negative quality; they may prevent good, but they cannot do evil. It is not to be supposed that any partial measure, passed by them, would receive the sanction of the Governor and his council, or of his Majesty's Government. But, as as I stated before, there will be no cause for alarm ;

when people meet together for the public good, there is no doubt but there will be a preponderance of good feeling and sound principles, to overrule any petty particular interests. It has been objected against the House of Assembly at Nova Scotia, that the greatest portion of the members are landed proprietors and farmers; yet, notwithstanding, we find those persons passing laws for encouraging the trade and fisheries of the province, as they plainly see that by doing so they promote their own interest. By the last packet from Halifax we find the local assembly busily employed passing laws for the encouragement of agriculture and roads, and at the same time, granting out of the revenue of the province the sum of 5000*l.* as a bounty to the curers of *merchantable* fish, that is fish of a superior quality, suitable for the South American market, and which the merchants of Halifax have been in the habit of purchasing at Newfoundland. The legislature of Nova Scotia, though chiefly agriculturists, have the good sense to perceive that they cannot more effectually promote their own interests than by giving every encouragement to trade; they know, what every reflecting man must be convinced of, that agriculture could not advance beyond the pastoral, or first stages, were it not for the support of trade—it gives value to the produce of agriculture, and agriculture, in return, *gives life and animation to trade*—the former is the *body*, the latter the *soul*. If this act of the colonial legislature of Nova Scotia, coupled with the advantages which the Americans and French

enjoy by bounties and other means, do not open the eyes of the merchants and others interested in the prosperity of Newfoundland, and prove the necessity of a similar authority to foster our own resources, which only want fair play, their eyes must be obscured with a darkness more fatal to that colony than the darkness of the grave.

The case at present stands thus;—The French have the best part of the coast of Newfoundland to fish on, ceded to them by treaty; they have the advantages of cheap labour, and cheap supplies. The French government grants a large bounty for every quintal of fish caught, and for every man employed in the fishery. The Americans have a common right of fishery with the English, with cheap supplies, and also a bounty from the government. The fishermen of the neighbouring colonies have also the advantage of fishing on our coast; they are supplied with the produce of their own farms, along with which the local governments give bounties. What a contrast does Newfoundland offer? obliged to import from distant parts of the world nearly all the supplies necessary for the fishery; without bounties or other encouragement from the Parent Country, and without a local government to afford its fostering protection. Is it, I ask, in the nature of things, that Newfoundland can resist such fearful and powerful competitors?

I now come to the *fish*, and last objection, That Colonial Assemblies have been found troublesome and inconvenient, from the contentions between them and the Governors, and that it is pro-

blematical whether Local Assemblies have been advantages or evils where they have been established.

These are arguments that mean a great deal, or they mean nothing. While men's minds are constituted as they are at present, and until they are changed by a fiat of the Deity, they will be influenced by the passions that agitate them; their interests and prejudices, and I hope a desire to promote the happiness of mankind will direct their conduct. So long as these various motives govern the minds of men, so long will they come in collision; and there is, in my opinion, no remedy for the *evil*, in a general sense, but for mankind to throw themselves at the feet of absolute despotism, and submit without murmur or complaint to its capricious will: this is a state of degradation that few would be induced to submit to; and I am sure the angry strife between authority grasping at additional power, and the people endeavouring to restrain it, is a state of things, with all its inconveniences, much to be preferred. It has always been the complaint of power, that the people were infringing on its prerogative; but a very little acquaintance with the history of the world must convince the most transient observer that, in the struggle, the people have, with very few exceptions, "few and far between," been the vanquished party. At length they are obtaining the vantage ground—"the *School-masters* are abroad"—and men in authority will not, in the present day, "play such tricks before high heaven" as they did in the days of chivalry, which, thank God, are gone by, and for ever.

There is no science so essential to the happiness of mankind as the science of legislation; and none in which less improvement has been made; but the rapid advances in every other, has dragged along even that sluggish science on the high road to improvement. Whether the establishment of *local* representative Governments have been an improvement in legislation, or an advantage to the people of the colonies, they are themselves the best judges, and I think it would be difficult to convince them to the contrary; and if we put in the opposite scale, the *evil* of the many differences that have unfortunately arisen, I am sorry to say too frequently, between the colonists and the governors, there can be little doubt which would preponderate. I am quite certain that in the differences that have existed, and do still exist between the colonists and the governors, there has been, and are, faults on both sides. At the same time I do not hesitate to lay it down as a broad proposition that if the governors of his Majesties colonies, of the present and former days, only evinced the same desire and anxiety to do justice to the people under their respective governments, as his Majesty's ministers do to promote the interest and happiness of the people of these countries, that those colonies which are now separated for ever from the British crown, would form a component part of the empire, and a murmur of complaint would not be heard from any of the others.

I am fully of opinion that it was the influence of the local assemblies on the colonies that gave vi-

gour and life to the respective governments, and which laid the foundation of their improvement and prosperity on a solid basis. The animating and vivifying breath of the people is as necessary for the health of the political body, as air is to the natural body—death ensues if you stop the current of the one, and what is a thousand times worse than death, despotism and arbitrary power ensue if you stop the current of the other. It is the extreme of folly to suppose that until the people of Newfoundland have a legitimate share in its government that much progress can be made in improvement. I will not go so far as to say, that if a local assembly is formed in Newfoundland, circumstances may not arise to cause differences between the assemblies of the people and the government, but I will say that the same elements of strife do not exist at Newfoundland as in other colonies.

I think, if it should please his Majesty's government to establish something in the semblance of a legislative assembly, that by appointing, permanently, the salaries of the Governor, the Judges, and other principal Officers of the Crown, one chief cause of the bickerings in the other colonies would be prevented, and *all* danger of disputes on private grounds, which too often are the secret springs, would be as much as possible done away with. The present revenue of the country could be established on a permanent footing, and I believe it would be quite adequate for that purpose ; and let the assembly have power, in the usual way, to raise and expend money for the

general improvement of the country. In new countries, where there are not those hereditary props to the just authority of the crown, it would be desirable to make it properly independent of the other authority, and I approve of it the more because I think it would afford much greater security to the people; I am one, that at the same time that I am enthusiastically attached to the people's rights, am of opinion that the constitutional prerogatives of the crown is one of their greatest bulwarks. I am as strongly opposed to democratic tyranny as to any other. Despotism in whatever shape or form it may appear, is equally to be abhorred; no matter whether it appears in the form of the thirty tyrants of Athens, the ten of Rome, or the five hundred of France; in the deep toned cruelty and hypocrisy of Cromwell, or in an attempt to establish those principles which caused the contemptible race of the Stewart's justly to be hurled from the throne. If I should unfortunately be driven to a choice of tyrants, I shall prefer the tyranny of the one to the tyranny of the many; humanity may possibly influence the former, but it never moves the bowels of the latter.

The inhabitants of Newfoundland are desirous to give every support to the prerogative of the crown, for they have often had much cause to seek protection under its wing—to “fly from petty tyrants to the throne.” It possibly would be worthy of consideration, whether, if the legislative council that would be necessary under the constitutional system, should not, instead of being appointed by the go-

vernor, be elected by a certain class of the people: The mode proposed by Mr. Fox, when Mr. Pitt's Canada Bill was discussed in the house of Commons, May 11, 1791.

“Property,” Mr. Fox said, “was and had ever been held to be the true foundation of aristocracy; when he used the word aristocracy, he did not mean it in the odious sense of aristocrat, as it had been lately called, with that he had nothing to do. He meant it in its true sense, as an indispensably necessary part of a mixed government, under a free constitution. Instead, therefore, of the king's naming the council at that distance, in which case they had no security that persons of property, and persons fit to be named, would be chosen—willing, as he did, to put the freedom and stability of the constitution of Canada on the strongest basis—he proposed that the council should be elective. But how elective? Not as the members of the House of Assembly were intended to be, but upon another footing: he proposed that the members of the council should not be eligible to be elected unless they possessed qualifications infinitely higher than those who were eligible to be chosen members of the House of Assembly; and in like manner the electors of the members of Council must possess qualifications also proportionably higher than those of electors to representatives in the House of Assembly. By this means,” Mr. Fox said, “they would have a real aristocracy, chosen by persons of property from among persons of the highest

“ property, and who would thence necessarily possess that weight, influence, and independency, from which alone could be derived a power of guarding against any innovations that might be made either by the people on the one part, or the crown on the other.”

This recommendation of Mr. Fox may appear at first sight as interfering with the prerogative ; but I am much in error if it would not give it more healthy vigour. According to the present system, throughout the colonies, I believe the legislative councils are virtually appointed by the governors ; they, not having an opportunity of knowing much of their character, very often appoint incompetent persons, who, being in some degree their creatures, imagine it to be their duty to support every measure that the governors may wish to propose ; they are not sufficiently independent, and they are so diametrically constituted to the popular branch, that I think it is out of the course of things that they can act in unison. And I question much whether the present plan of appointing the legislative councils throughout the colonies is not the real secret why so many disputes have arisen between the governors and the assemblies. I do not presume to offer this plan to supersede the present ; I merely state the opinion of Mr. Fox on the subject, and I cannot help thinking that it is an opinion worthy of that great and good statesman.*

* Mr. Fox, during the discussion on the Canada bill, strongly recommended that Upper and Lower Canada should be placed under one government, but he was opposed by Mr. Burke, with his chivalry and feudalism. Had this measure been

Having endeavoured to reply to the principal arguments raised against the establishment of a constitutional local government at Newfoundland, I shall conclude by endeavouring to prove the *justice*, the *necessity*, and the *policy* of the measure.

adopted, it would have been a benefit to both, and would, no doubt, have been submitted to by the Canadians without hesitation; but what was then wisdom, under existing circumstances would be the extreme of folly to attempt. The measure, in the abstract, may be on sound principles, but if opposed, even by the prejudices of the Canadians, it would be unwise to press it; for, as far as I am capable of judging, there is no portion of his majesty's subjects, in the colonies, more loyal, or attached, from principle, to the British Government, than the French Canadians; and they gave so many splendid examples, during the last American War, of their loyalty and attachment, that I think there cannot be a reasonable doubt on the subject. The governor of that day, to whom, I verily believe, the preservation of Canada is to be attributed, acted on the very reverse of the system of the present government; he attached himself to the prevailing interest of the country he governed, and, in return, the people rallied round him, and bravely fought in defence of their king and their country. If I was asked to account for the infatuated conduct of the executive in Canada, for the last few years, judging from their measures, I should say that instead of being paid for doing the king's business, they were bribed for promoting what the Americans vainly attempted by their arms. I am far from attributing much of the blame to the distinguished officer who now governs that country. Whilst governor of Nova Scotia, he was both a wise and a popular governor, and that province is much indebted to him for its agricultural and other improvements. In consequence, I shall be slow to attach much of the odium of his unsuccessful government to him, but I shall put the saddle on the right horse, and say at once that it was the council who led him into error; they cannot see a jot beyond their own petty, paltry, interests, and, I verily believe, they are not capable of acting wisely, even by mistake.

I am not at all apprehensive that those who are acquainted with the history of Newfoundland, down to a very late period, will think my language too strong, when I say, that the distant provinces of Rome in her worst days, and under the most barbarous of her prætors, were not treated with more injustice than Newfoundland has been for centuries. The whole course of her unhappy history presents a scene of oppression and petty tyranny I sincerely and honestly believe not to be paralleled in the history of either antient or modern despotism. It was not one cruel prætor, that at each period ruled the country; every little town, every little settlement, had not *one*, but *twenty* prætors, with all the ferocity of more dignified tyrants, and even with a more keen scent for prey and vengeance—the consequence of having unlimited power, united with irreclaimable ignorance. These persons exercised their power under the authority of the Star chamber—of Charters without number—Orders in Council—Rules and Regulations, and additional Rules—and, lastly, under the Act of the 10th and 11th of William and Mary: the cry for justice was continually raised by the unhappy people of Newfoundland, but it was drowned in the deep bosom of the ocean, before it reached the quarter where humanity and justice are presumed to dwell!

In 1615, Captain Richard Whitburne was sent out with a commission from the High Court of Admiralty, authorizing him to impanel juries, and make enquiry upon oath of sundry abuses, and dis-

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orders committed every year, among the fishermen upon that coast.

In the year 1650, the Council of State gave a commission to John Treworgay, merchant, who was then in the island, *to order affairs there for the best advantage of the state*; which commission was renewed in 1653. A commission was also obtained in 1655 by Sir David Kirk (who had been one of the grantees in the charter of 1628), together with John Claypole, John Goffe, and others, but it does not appear that any thing was done thereupon.

In 1667 the fishery of Newfoundland underwent a more mature discussion than it seems before to have received. In August of that year several petitions were presented to the Privy Council from the merchants, owners of ships, and other inhabitants of Totness, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and places adjacent, concerned in the trade. They stated that "several persons, upon specious purposes, and for sinister ends, were endeavouring to establish a governor, which had always been pernicious to the fishery."

In 1669, Captain Robert Robinson petitioned for a governor.

In 1675 we find another petition "for a governor and government," but the merchants, and owners of ships in the west of England, protested against a settlement, together with what the petitioners could allege in behalf of a colony. It was further stated by these antient worthies, "that besides the charge of forts and a governor, which the fish trade could not support, it was needless to have any

“ such defence against foreigners, the coast being
 “ defended in winter by the ice, and in summer by
 “ the resort of the king’s subjects; so that unless
 “ there were proper reasons for a *colony* there
 “ could be none for a *governor*.”

From these representations, their lordships proposed, “ That all plantations in Newfoundland
 “ should be discouraged, and that the western char-
 “ ter should be put in execution, by which all plan-
 “ ters were forbid to inhabit within six miles of the
 “ shore, from Cape Race to Cape Bonavista.”

In 1675 we find Sir John Berry denouncing the conduct of the adventurers, and most strongly recommending to His Majesty’s Government the establishment of a colony at Newfoundland.

In 1676, John Downing, an inhabitant of Newfoundland, petitioned the King against the adventurers for pulling down the houses, and burning the stages of the planters, in order to drive them out of the country.

In 1677, to bring this matter (a colony) into full discussion, it was ordered by the King that both the adventurers and planters should be heard by their counsel, and thus was the question of the convenience and the inconveniences solemnly argued before the Council. I shall pass over a great variety of petitions and remonstrances, all to the same effect, and opposed by the same interest, and shall confine myself to a very few, which, I conceive, bear more immediately on the subject.

Mr. Reeves remarks—“ In the year 1711, I find,
 “ what is called, *a record of several laws and*

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“ orders made at St. John's for the better disci-
 “ pline and good order of the people, and for cor-
 “ recting irregularities committed contrary to
 “ good laws, and acts of parliaments, all which
 “ were debated at several courts held, wherein were
 “ present the commanders of merchant's ships,
 “ merchants, and chief inhabitants; and witnesses
 “ being examined, it was brought to the following
 “ conclusion between the 23rd day of August and
 “ 23rd day of October, 1711. Then follow fifteen
 “ articles of regulation, that must have been very
 “ useful; and it is worth considering whether such
 “ a local legislature, which the people seem in
 “ this instance to have created for themselves,
 “ might not legally be lodged somewhere, for
 “ making bye-laws and regulations, as occasion
 “ should require. The commander Captain Crowe
 “ presided at this voluntary assembly. His suc-
 “ cessor, it seems, followed his example, and held
 “ a meeting of the same sort. These assemblies
 “ were somewhat anomalous, a kind of legislative,
 “ judicial, and executive, all blended together;
 “ and yet perhaps not more mixed than the pro-
 “ ceedings of parliaments in Europe, in very early
 “ times.”

About the year 1728, we find a good govern-
 ment for Newfoundland recommended, “ so that
 “ the people may be governed as Britons, and not
 “ like a banditti, or forsaken people.”

I have quoted a number of authorities, but if,
 Sir, you have a taste for antiquities of this descrip-
 tion, you have only to refer to the archives of the

Colonial Office, and, I think, scarcely a year has elapsed for the last two hundred, that some representation or another has not been made respecting Newfoundland.

I shall now call your attention to some few recommendations and petitions, that have been made at a much later date, for something like a Colonial Local Government, on the principles of Representation. John Reeves, Esq, Chief Justice of Newfoundland in 1793, whose invaluable and impartial History of its Government I have had so often occasion to refer to in the course of this letter, and who, you know, Sir, has not been celebrated for recommending much extension of popular privileges, suggests, whether "a local legislation, which the people seem, in this instance, to have created for themselves, might not legally be lodged somewhere for making bye-laws and regulations, as occasion should require."

Mr. Chief Justice Forbes, in 1823, recommended something similar, in a communication to the Colonial Office.

In 1821, petitions were presented by Lord Holland in the House of Lords, and by Sir James Mackintosh in the House of Commons, praying for the same, out of which has arisen the late very beneficial change in the administration of justice.

In 1822, a Memorial was presented to Lord Bathurst for the same object, from a Committee of the inhabitants.

In 1823, another petition was signed by the inhabitants, and the heads of a Bill drawn up at

Newfoundland, which was lodged in the Colonial Office.

In the Act of 1824 a clause was introduced, empowering his Majesty to create corporations in the principal towns in Newfoundland, which completely admits the principle. After a great deal of discussion, and various meetings at St. John's, for forming a plan of a local Government for that town, which was opposed by many, in consequence of being confined to that place alone, and not including the whole island; one was ultimately arranged, and forwarded, through his Excellency the Governor, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with his recommendation. Notwithstanding which, no measures have been adopted to carry it into effect by his Majesty's Government.

On a review of these facts, I think, Sir, it must be admitted that, if Newfoundland has not been well governed, it is not for want of remonstrances, representations, and petitions from the inhabitants. We find various measures recommended, every one has his own nostrum. Do, Sir, for the sake of justice and humanity, put an end to this quackery; like a good physician, infuse a little of the wholesome blood of the Constitution into the government of that neglected country; let it no longer be the theatre of experiments. If Mr. Maryatt had cause, and just cause, to complain in the House of Commons, a few evenings since, of the manner in which Trinidad has been treated, with how much more justice has an advocate of New-

foundland cause to complain ; and to use the words of the Hon. Member, I shall say, let Newfoundland " in future be a field for improvement, and cease to be a field of experiment." And, Sir, great as your fame is, important as the advantages are that you have conferred on your country, and on mankind, and it is only future ages that will be able to form a just estimate of them. The giving to the people of the oldest colony belonging to his Majesty, the most faithful and the most important, the rights and privileges of British subjects, will not be amongst the least of the claims which you will have on the applause and gratitude of posterity.

The expediency of granting to Newfoundland any privilege calculated to draw forth into action all the dormant energies of the country, must appear not only advantageous to the country itself, but equally so to the parent state. This is a proposition laid down by yourself, in your Speech on the Colonial Policy of the country, March 21st, 1825, wherein you say, " and I feel myself equally warranted, in my next inference, that whatever tends to increase the prosperity of the colonies, cannot fail in the long run to advance in equal degree the general interests of the parent state." If the truth of the doctrine is admitted, in reference to the colonies *generally*, surely it will not be disputed, as respects Newfoundland, individually. The trade, fishery, agriculture, and other interests of the neighbouring colonies and countries, receive the greatest support from their respective governments, and they have prospered. It is not too much to say,

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that the same causes would lead to the same effects in Newfoundland. The trade and fisheries, as well as agriculture, require the aid of local laws, and how, I would ask, is agriculture to improve in a country, no matter how rich the soil, or favourable the climate, without roads; yet at this time of day, after three hundred years of the *mockery of legislation*, there is not any legal power in the governor, the magistrates, the juries, or in any other authority in the island, to make roads, or any other local improvement or regulation. The improvements that have taken place, have almost been effected by stealth, and in opposition to the government. But the greatest part of a country, competent to give employment and support to millions of inhabitants, still remains in a state of useless waste. The injury is not alone felt by that neglected country, but it also reverts back upon the parent state, and is in its consequences more ruinous and alarming than, I fear, I shall be able to make you, Sir, believe. But the facts that I am about to state, and the conclusion I am about to draw from them, can be easily enquired into; and if false or erroneous, can be exposed, with very little trouble.

I state as a fact, that has appeared clear to every intelligent man in Newfoundland, who ever gave himself the trouble of making observations on the subject, that that colony is a stepping-stone to the United States of America; that in consequence of the difficulties in the way of making settlements in Newfoundland, the fishermen and other emigrants,

in a short time direct their course to the United States, carry with them *often* the fruits of their labour at Newfoundland; but *always*, what is more important, the experience and knowledge which they have gained from their employment in the cod and seal fisheries; thereby giving the Americans all the advantages of men nursed in our fisheries to prosecute their own, and, in case of need, to man their navy. I am prepared to prove that, for the last fifteen years, the great bulk of our fishermen, not less than from forty to fifty thousand, have emigrated to America. In former periods, the fishermen generally returned to Great Britain and Ireland; but the tide has turned the other way, and at present scarcely any return to the parent country, except old or disabled persons, to add to the mass of human misery and distress already existing.

The only remedy, and I think it is worth the trial, to prevent our seamen and fishermen from proceeding from Newfoundland to America, is to give them the means of settlement by encouraging the internal resources of the country, which can only be done by giving due encouragement to agriculture and roads, the first necessary step to improvement in cultivation.

If his Majesty's government does not soon direct its attention to this important subject, I beg to recommend to them a preamble for their next Act of Parliament for Newfoundland, and instead of commencing in the words of the 15th Geo. III. "That the Newfoundland fisheries have been found to be

the best nurseries for able and experienced seamen, always ready to man the royal navy when occasion requires, and it is of the highest national importance to give all due encouragement to the said fisheries," substitute the following: "That the Newfoundland fisheries have been found the best nurseries for seamen to man the British navy, but as they are no longer required for that purpose, be it enacted that the advantages be now transferred to the United States of America."

Whatever appearance of reason there was at an early period, and whilst the other provinces in America remained true to their allegiance to the British crown, to prevent cultivation and settlement in Newfoundland, it exists no longer; it was then unjust; but at present, madness and folly is added to injustice. No sooner was the flag of independence raised in America, than it was the obvious interest of England to reverse the course of her former policy towards Newfoundland; to encourage settlement, to encourage agriculture, to encourage the trade and fishery, by which means the foundation of a naval power could be laid there superior to any other that could be formed on that side the Atlantic. Newfoundland is a country as large as England, is situated nearly in the same position with reference to the continent of America, as England is to the continent of Europe; it is an island that can always be defended by a superior naval force; her shores are indented with harbours, some of the finest in the world; with an iron-bound coast, is the key of the St. Lawrence, and could command

a great part of the American coast ; possessing more of the elements of commerce than any other country in North America, her fisheries the greatest in the world (only limited by the means of consumption), the produce finding a market in every quarter of the globe; her situation, placed midway between the old and the new world, evidently points her out as the proper emporium for the productions and commerce of both, with a soil capable of giving sustenance to millions of inhabitants, and a climate possibly more favourable to the health of the human species than most others on the face of the globe. With such advantages, is it, I ask, too much for me to say, that under the fostering care of a local government, under the mighty shield of England's protection, Newfoundland would in a short period become the *Holland of America*. [Note 1.]

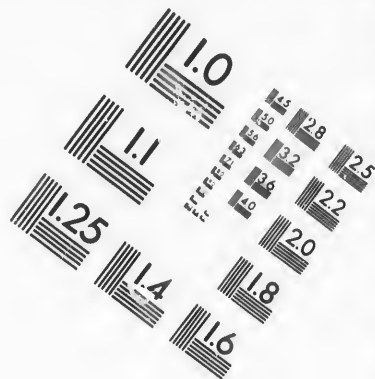
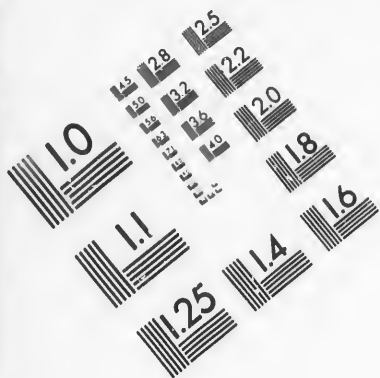
The policy of granting to Newfoundland a constitutional government I shall prove, chiefly from authorities which the country looks up to, and I trust ever will, with veneration and confidence. My first shall be that great and good man, that "statesman, yet friend to truth," whose name and character is the property of posterity, and now, when the political and angry contention of the eventful period in which he lived has subsided, no man will be found in this mighty empire who has one spark of the Promethean fire of the constitution animating his breast, who will not mention his name with gratitude and respect.— My second shall be yourself; and I do it with the greatest pleasure, as I find the statesman of 1825,

though belonging to a different party in the state, uttering the same sentiments which brought down upon the statesman of 1791 the obloquy, not only of his political opponents, but of his oldest and his dearest friend : but though those men in high stations who make undeviating principle the guide of their conduct, may be misrepresented and maligned by the corrupt and interested, yet their pure and honourable motives will sooner or later shine with redoubled splendour. I believe it is Sir James Mackintosh who says that " in politics, as well as in morals, there is a stern undeviating principle which admits of no relaxation, that, in politics, as in morals, a breach of a part is a breach of the whole." A little reflection must convince every man that the observation is as profound as it is generous and noble. .

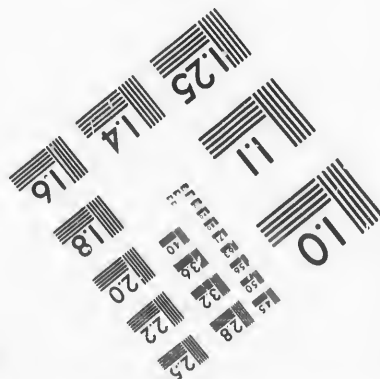
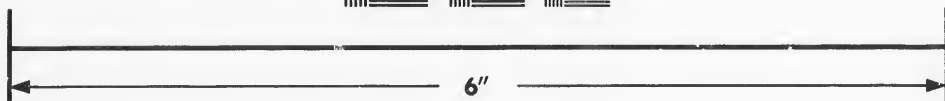
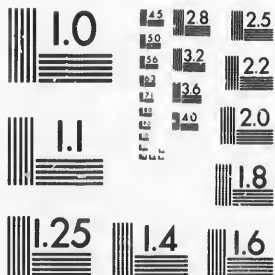
During the first discussion on Mr. Pitt's celebrated Canada Bill, Mr. Fox expressed himself as follows.

" He agreed with the Right Honorable Gentleman, that it was impossible to concur in any plan like that proposed, until the Bill was before the House, but he was willing to declare that the giving to a country, so far distant from England, a legislature and the power of governing for itself, would exceedingly prepossess him in favour of every part of the plan. He did not hesitate to say, that if a local legislature was liberally formed, that circumstance would incline him much to overlook defects in the other regulations, because he was convinced that the only means of retaining distant colonies





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“with advantage, was to enable them to govern themselves.”

On the 11th of May, he further said—

“He trusted that the House would seriously consider the particular situation of Canada; it was not to be compared to the West Indies, it was a country of a different nature; it did not consist of a few white inhabitants, and a number of slaves, but it was a government of great growing population, which had increased very much, and which, he hoped, would increase much more. It was a country as capable of enjoying political freedom, in its utmost extent, as any other country on the face of the globe. This country was situated near the colonies of North America; all their animosities and bitterness on the quarrel between them and Great Britain was now over, and he believed there were very few people in those colonies who would not be ready to admit every person belonging to this country into a participation of all their privileges, and would receive them with open arms. The governments now established in North America were, in his opinion, the best adapted to the situation of the people who lived under them, of any of the governments of the ancient or modern world; and when we had a colony like this, capable of freedom, and capable of a great increase of population, it was material *that the inhabitants should have nothing to look to among their neighbours to excite their envy.* Canada must be preserved in its adherence to Great Britain by the choice of its inhabitants, and it

“ could not possibly be kept by any other means ;
 “ but it must be felt by the inhabitants that their
 “ situation was not worse than that of their neigh-
 “ bours. He wished them to be in such a situation
 “ as to have nothing to envy in that part of the
 “ king’s dominions. But this would never prove
 “ the case under a bill which held out to them
 “ something like the shadow of the British Consti-
 “ tution, but denied them the substance ; where the
 “ principles of liberty were gaining ground, which
 “ would increase in consequence of the general dif-
 “ fusion of literature and knowledge of the world.
 “ they should have a government as agreeable to the
 “ general principles of freedom as was consistent
 “ with the nature of circumstances. He did not
 “ think that the government intended to be esta-
 “ blished by the bill would prove such a govern-
 “ ment, and this was his principal motive for op-
 “ posing it.”

With respect to the mode of appointing the council, Mr. Fox said—

“ That he would throw out generally his ideas as
 “ to the means of substituting what he could not but
 “ conceive to be a better mode of appointing a
 “ council than the mode adopted in the clause as it
 “ stood. First, he laid it down, as a principle
 “ never to be departed from, that every part of the
 “ British dominions ought to possess a government
 “ in the constitution of which, monarchy, aristo-
 “ cracy, and democracy, were mutually blended and
 “ united ; nor could any government be a fit one
 “ for British subjects to live under which did not

“ contain its due weight of aristocracy, because that
 “ he considered to be the proper poise of the consti-
 “ tution, the balance that equalized and ameliorated
 “ the powers of the other two extreme branches, and
 “ gave stability and firmness to the whole. It be-
 “ came necessary to look what were the principles on
 “ which aristocracy was founded, and he believed it
 “ would be admitted to him that they were two-fold;
 “ namely, rank and property, or both united. In
 “ this country, the House of Lords formed the aris-
 “ tocracy, and that consisted of hereditary titles
 “ in noble families, of ancient origin, or possessed
 “ by peers, newly created, on account of their ex-
 “ tensive landed property. With regard to foreign
 “ colonies, he was of opinion that the power of the
 “ crown ought to be kept low. It was impossible
 “ to foresee what would be the fate of distant colo-
 “ nies, at a distant period of time; but in giving
 “ them a constitution, his idea was, that it was our
 “ interest, as well as our duty, to give them as
 “ much liberty as we could; to render them happy,
 “ flourishing, and as little dependent as possible.
 “ We should make the free spirit of our own con-
 “ stitution applicable, wherever we could render it
 “ so; and if there was any risk or danger, he was
 “ persuaded the danger was not greater on one side
 “ than on the other; indeed, he thought *the more*
 “ *despotic the constitution we gave a colony, the*
 “ *more we made it the interest of that colony to*
 “ *get rid of such constitution; and it was evident*
 “ *the American States had revolted because they*
 “ *did not think themselves sufficiently free.*”

In *your* speech on the Colonial policy of the country, March 21st, 1825, in speaking of the North American Colonies, you say—

“ There you have a white population; all free,
 “ prosecuting their various pursuits and avocations
 “ of life, for their own benefit and happiness, many
 “ of them born in the country, and almost all
 “ looking to it as their home, and as the home
 “ of those by whom they are to be succeeded.
 “ That population, taking all the Provinces, is
 “ not short, perhaps, at this moment, of one million
 “ of people, and their numbers increasing very ra-
 “ pidly. With the fertility of the soil in many of
 “ their districts, with their natural productions,
 “ their harbours, and extent of coast, both upon
 “ the ocean and their internal lakes, with their
 “ fisheries, and other advantages, I cannot doubt,
 “ that without any other encouragement than
 “ freedom of trade, and a lenient administration,
 “ these Provinces will, henceforward, make the
 “ most rapid strides towards prosperity; that con-
 “ necting their prosperity with the liberal treat-
 “ ment of the Mother Country, they will neither
 “ look with envy at the growth of other States on
 “ the same Continent, nor wish for the dissolution
 “ of old, and the formation of new political con-
 “ nections. With a tariff of duties, accounted for
 “ to their own treasury, and moreover far lighter
 “ than those paid by their neighbours,—with a
 “ trade as free,—with their shipping in possession
 “ of greater privileges,—themselves in the enjoy-
 “ ment of the same civil rights,—they will not

" be easily moved to acts by which all these ad-
 " vantages may be placed in jeopardy or danger.
 " Such a course is not in human nature. At any
 " rate, let us, as the Parent State, fulfil our duties
 " with all proper kindness and liberality. This is
 " true wisdom, affording us, on the one hand, the
 " best chance of perpetuating a solid and useful
 " connexion, and on the other, the best hope if,
 " (which God avert) in the progress of human
 " events, that connexion is ever to be dissolved,
 " that the separation may not be embittered by
 " acrimony and bloodshed; and the certain con-
 " solation that, however brought about, it will not
 " have been hastened or provoked by vexatious in-
 " terference or oppressive pretensions on our part."

And again you say—

" Contemplate the possibility of another set of
 " Provinces, emancipated from commercial thral-
 " dom, but firmly maintaining their political con-
 " nexion;—their commercial marine a part of our
 " commercial marine,—their seamen a part of our
 " seamen,—their population a part of our strength.
 " Consider whether it be not worth while to at-
 " tempt a course which promises, both to those
 " Provinces and the Mother Country, all the com-
 " mercial benefits of a free trade, together with all
 " the political advantages of our continuing part
 " of one great Empire, and enjoying alike, under
 " the sway and protection of the same Sovereign,
 " all the rights and privileges of British subjects."

When speaking on the Revenues, you say,—

" The importation of foreign goods into the Co-

“lonies, I propose, should be made subject to moderate duties, but such as may be found sufficient for the fair protection of our productions of the like nature. The particulars of these duties will be found in the Resolutions. They will, of course, form part of the revenues of the respective Colonies in which they may be collected, upon the same principle, and subject to the same system of appropriation by the Legislatures of those Colonies, as the duties already collected under the Acts of the 3rd of the King.

“It is for the Colonies that the benefit of these arrangements is intended, the duties will form a revenue which will be theirs, and will be carried to their account. They can, therefore, have no jealousy of the new system, as one likely to trench upon their constitutional privileges in those respects.”

Though you were addressing the House of Commons on commercial subjects, and Mr. Fox on constitutional ones, you have incidentally introduced sufficient of the latter principles in your speech, to confirm the general principles laid down by him.

All that is asked for Newfoundland, is the extension of your own principles to her.

Have they at present the control over their own revenues, which the other colonies have, so as not to trench on their constitutional privileges in those respects?”

Have they, “under the sway of the same sovereign, all the rights and privileges of British subjects?”

Have they no cause to "look with envy at the growth of other States on the same continent?"

The colonies and other states in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland are making rapid strides to wealth, population, and prosperity; though some of them are only of yesterday, and not possessing a tythe of her advantages, they have already outstepped her, and left her at an immeasurable distance behind. Out of many examples I shall only adduce one, the small island of Bermuda, which, with a population of not more than 5000 free inhabitants, has, under the protection of its local government, become a place of great importance, having the carrying trade of the West Indian Islands, and possessing large capital. Natives of the country filling some of the most important situations in the empire; some in the army, some in the navy:—at this moment, the important situations of Chief Justice of Bermuda, Newfoundland, and New South Wales, are held by natives of that island. Many of them hold high situations in the colonies, as well as in this country; which proves the correctness of the opinion of a distinguished and noble individual, whose invaluable and unostentatious labours in the cause of the constitutional liberty of his country, will add fresh laurels to those which must ever bloom around the illustrious name of Russel—that, "HALF A CENTURY OF FREEDOM, WITHIN THE CIRCUIT OF A FEW MILES OF ROCK, BRINGS TO PERFECTION MORE OF THE GREATEST QUALITIES OF OUR NATURE, DISPLAYS MORE FULLY THE CAPACITY OF MAN, EXHIBITS MORE EX-

“ AMPLES OF HEROISM AND MAGNANIMITY, AND EMITS
 “ MORE OF THE DIVINE LIGHT OF POETRY AND PHILO-
 “ SOPHY, THAN THOUSANDS OF YEARS, AND MILLIONS
 “ OF PEOPLE, COLLECTED IN THE GREATEST EMPIRE IN
 “ THE WORLD, CAN EVER ACCOMPLISH UNDER THE
 “ ECLIPSE OF DESPOTISM.”

I have expressed opinions in the course of this letter, which a more cautious man possibly would have thought it prudent to restrain; but I hope, Sir, I have expressed no opinion that an honest man need be ashamed of. I know there are drones that buzz and flutter round the ears of great men, that may attempt to misrepresent my principles; but, conscious of the integrity of my motives, and the ardent purity of my loyalty, and that my object is more firmly to cement the connexion between Newfoundland and the Parent State, to promote the interests of the one by adding to the power and glory of the other, I shall find myself perfectly at ease under their imputations; and if they should threaten, if they should denounce, I shall only reply in the words of the Athenian, “ STRIKE, BUT HEAR ! ”

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

With the greatest respect and veneration,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

PATRICK MORRIS

Somerset Hotel, Strand,
 April 26th, 1828.

Note 1, page 90.

WHEN I state that Newfoundland, under the fostering care of a local legislature, aided by the mighty protection of the parent state, would become the Holland of America, I know that I shall be sneered at by those who are always misrepresenting Newfoundland and its resources, and that many of the friends of the country will think that I am pushing the thing too far; as to the censure of the former I am perfectly indifferent, but before the latter pass a final judgment, I have to request that they will consult the History of Newfoundland, from the earliest period, and remark the great advantages that have been derived, not alone by England, but by France and other countries, from trade and fisheries; let them also consult the opinions of some of the best writers and greatest men of England, France, Holland, and America, on the great importance of Newfoundland, and if, afterwards, - they say that I am in *error*, they must acknowledge that I have erred in right noble good company. It is an error most people fall into when speaking of Newfoundland, that they do not give themselves the trouble of considering that the British fishers are only a portion, and by far the smallest portion, of the Newfoundland fishery: the French have by far the best part of the

coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Ray to Cape John, with the sovereignty of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon: the subjects of the United States of America have a common right of fishing; and the British subjects of the other colonies have very justly the same privilege. In estimating the extent of the Newfoundland fishery, we have to take into view the American, and Anglo-American fisheries, as well as those carried on by British subjects immediately connected with Newfoundland. It is quite impossible to make a correct estimate of the fisheries carried on by foreigners; but when it is considered that the French grant large bounties, not only for the fish caught on the coast, but also for every green man employed; that the Americans also grant large bounties, and that the Colonial legislators of the neighbouring colonies are following their example, it cannot be surprising that the fisheries must be extensive, and increasing in magnitude every day. From all the information that I have been able to collect on the subject, I have come to this conclusion, that the fishing carried on at Newfoundland by the French and Americans is about two-thirds of the whole, and that the residents of Newfoundland, with those who annually arrive there from Britain, carry on the remaining one-third. There is one branch of our fisheries at Newfoundland, the growth of the last twenty or twenty-five years, which has not as yet been encroached on by foreigners, and which bids fair to become one of the greatest magnitude and importance; I

mean the seal fishery, which gives employment to about 350 sail of vessels, of from 60 to 120 tons burthen, manned with about twenty men each. This fishery is chiefly carried on in the months of March and April, and is over before the cod fishing commences; and it is, in my opinion, like the cod fishing, capable of being extended to meet any amount of consumption.

Colquhoun, on the Wealth and Resources of the British Empire, gives the following statement :

	Inhabi- tants	Ship- ping	Ton- nage	Men	Exports	Imports
" Canada, Up- per & Lower	300,000	661	143,893	6,610	1,302,827	1,180,000
New Bruns- wick	60,000	410	87,690	4,100	713,987	572,146
Nova Scotia . .	100,000	328	42,222	3,280	607,330	492,534
Cape Breton . .	3,000	7	948	70	9,302	7,326
Prince Edwd's Island	5,000	32	5,917	320	111,434	94,445
Newfoundland	18,000	495	61,543	4,950	705,594	572,338

" Aggregate value.

" Upper and Lower Canada	£23,413,360
New Brunswick	4,726,000
Nova Scotia	9,803,000
Cape Breton	493,000
Prince Edward's Island	1,022,500
Newfoundland	6,973,000

" Newfoundland gives employment annually to 495 vessels, measuring 61,543 tons, navigated by 4950 seamen, besides 2000 fishing shallops, measuring about 2000 tons, which may employ at least 6000 men more, taking 600,000 quintals of fish, which, at 15s. per quintal, together with salmon, cod oil, and seal oil, amount at least to £500,000: this fishery, viewed as a capital, may be fairly

valued at £500,000, inasmuch as the fish taken annually cannot amount to less than a sum equal to legal interest on that amount, £250,000, and a like sum for labour and extras; and it may be remarked, that if the fishery was carried on to its utmost extent, there is no doubt but it would yield three times that sum, or, indeed, to any amount for which consumption could be found."

He is perfectly correct in the general view he takes of Newfoundland, he states that her fisheries can be carried on to any extent for which consumption can be found; though his calculations respecting the produce of the fisheries at Newfoundland, must have been made on false representations. I shall give, on his plan, a statement of the fisheries and present productions of Newfoundland, adding to it what I suppose the production of the fisheries carried on by foreigners, in the proportion of one-third for the former, and two-thirds for the latter.

Inhabitants	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Exports.	Imports.
100,000	Shipping 800	88,000	5,800	1,000,000	1,000,000
	Seal Ships 350	24,500	7,000		
	S' Gallops & Boats 7,500	10,000	30,000		
			42,800		
	Deduct for Men employ- ed in the Seal fishery, afterwards in the Cod fishery		7,000		
			35,800		

To which are to be added, the productions of the French and American fisheries, which, if I calculate them on their increased value in these countries, I may safely put down at *two millions*. If the

estimate is a correct one, the productions of the Newfoundland fisheries are worth, annually, three millions, which is six times as much as Colquhoun puts down for them; so that, according to his calculation, the fishery must be valued as a capital equal to *thirty millions*. When he estimated the value of the other colonies, he took into consideration the value of all the various productions of those countries which have had every opportunity of developing themselves; but in Newfoundland it is only one branch of her resources, that has been calculated; the agricultural, and other resources of the country, remain dormant. Is it then too much to say, that if Newfoundland had a government that would bring her great resources into operation, that she must become "what she ought to be, a great commercial country, subsisting herself by internal resources, drawing her manufactured supplies from the mother country, and repaying her care by a valuable trade, and a numerous race of seamen, trained for her service, and ready to attend her first call in the defence of the empire?"

I have observed, with no small degree of interest, a report of some discussions that have taken place in the House of Commons, respecting the new form of government for New South Wales. If I understand the object of Mr. Huskisson, it is to appoint a governor, and council, nominated by the governor, or recommended by him, with legal powers to rule that colony. I must say, if there is one mode of government more objectionable than an-

other for the colonies, it is that of a Governor and Council ; and I do not hesitate to say, that a more effectual way could not be taken to make the people of any colony discontented. Such a government was proposed for Newfoundland in 1824, and a clause to that effect introduced into the bill of that year, but from the remonstrances that were made to the Right Hon. R.W. Horton, by Lord Holland, Lord Darnley,* Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Newport, and Mr. Hume, he was induced, with that consideration which has marked his proceedings, as regards Newfoundland, to withdraw the clause respecting a legislative council. If Mr. Huskisson knew the characters of the persons that the governors of colonies generally appoint as their consellers, he would not give them the government of the small island in St. James's Park. It is a mode of government unknown to the constitution—it is a monster in legislation—and it will not, nor can it produce any thing but monsters more hideous than itself. If Mr. Huskisson, in legislating for the colonies, is guided by any other chart than the chart of the constitution, stupendous as his talents are, were they ten times greater, he must not expect any thing but shipwreck. By avoiding Scylla, he is sure to run upon Charybdis.

* In 1824, I was, in conjunction with another gentleman, appointed by the inhabitants of Newfoundland to attend to the bill passed that year for

the government of that colony. In consequence, we had frequent occasion to wait on Lord Holland, Lord Darnley, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Newport, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Wilmot Horton. We were always received by these distinguished individuals with the greatest courtesy and attention; but I consider I owe on my own part, and on the part of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, a particular debt of gratitude to Earl Darnley, for the great trouble he took to forward the views of the inhabitants, and for the uncommon kindness shewn to myself when I had the honour of waiting on his Lordship. It made an impression on me that cannot be effaced to the latest hour of my existence, and the only return I can make to his Lordship is, thus publicly to acknowledge my obligations to him, and to say, that I shall not lose any opportunity of proclaiming to the people of Newfoundland that he has been one of their greatest—noblest benefactors; that they are indebted to him, in a great degree, for the first and greatest boon that has been conferred on them—a pure administration of justice, which must cause the people of that country, as well as those of another, to bless his name to the latest posterity.

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To W. CARSON, Esq. M. D. *St. John's*; HENRY P. THOMAS, Esq. *St. John's*; Mr. JAMES PITTS, *Bell Isle, Conception Bay, Newfoundland.*

Somerset Hotel, London,
April 26, 1828.

Dear Sirs,

I have taken the liberty of sending, by this opportunity, 500 copies of a small pamphlet I have published, on the State of Newfoundland, which you will be pleased to hand over to Mr. Winton, for sale. The proceeds you will please dispose of in small premiums to such persons as you may think have made the greatest improvement in agriculture throughout the island. I am induced to give you this trouble, with the hope that it may tend to the establishment of an Agricultural Society, which is much wanted in Newfoundland.

It is said by an eminent writer, that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is a benefactor to mankind. Then how strong your claims are on the gratitude of the people of Newfoundland; you have the merit, more than any other individuals I could mention, of breaking down the prejudices which existed against the soil and climate of the country; you have made frightful inroads on barbarism; under your auspices corn fields and meadows have, as if by magic, superseded woods and forests.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Servant,

PATRICK MORRIS.

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