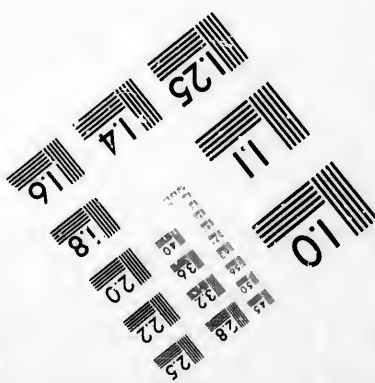
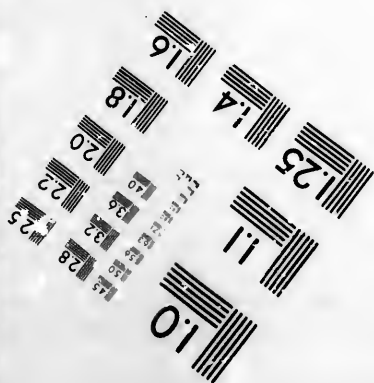
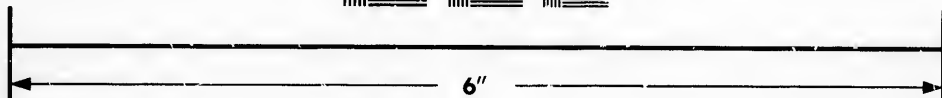
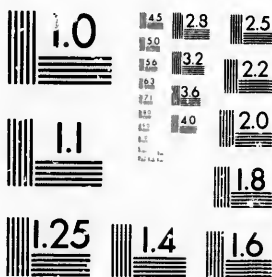


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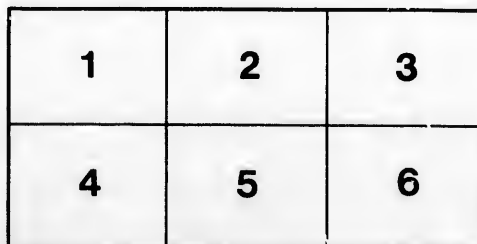
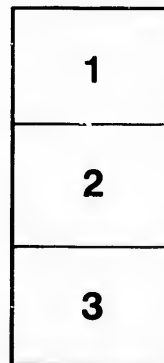
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PAPER  
ON THE  
RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES  
TO THE  
MOTHER COUNTRY,

CONSIDERED FROM AN  
AGRICULTURAL, ECONOMICAL, AND COMMERCIAL  
POINT OF VIEW.

*Read in the Rooms of the National Association for the Promotion of Social  
Science by*

THOMAS BRIGGS,

*And published in their "Sessional Proceedings," Vol. II., No. 26, page 519,  
June 17th, 1869, William Pollard Urquhart, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE  
ADJOURNED DISCUSSION ON THE SAME.

*Published in Vol. II., No. 27, page 535, July 1st, 1869.*

*To be had, Price 2d.,*

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ON THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES TO THE MOTHER  
COUNTRY CONSIDERED FROM AN AGRICULTURAL,  
ECONOMICAL, AND COMMERCIAL POINT OF VIEW.

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“Behold us here so many thousands—millions—and increasing at the rate of fifty every hour. We are right willing and able to work, and on the planet earth is plenty of work and wages for a millicen times as many.

“We ask if you mean to lead us towards work? Try to lead us, by ways new, never yet heard of, till this new unheard of time; or if you declare you cannot lead us, and expect that we are to remain quietly unled, and in a composed manner die of starvation? What is it you mean to do with us?

“This question I say has been put in the hearing of all Britain, and will be again put, and ever again till some answer be given”—  
CARLYLE in 1843. “Past and Present.”

MY interest in the colonies commenced in 1851, when I saw that Australia could produce cotton worth 4s. to 4s. 6d. per lb.; two bales of which I myself examined at the London Exhibition, at the time when the best Sea Island cotton of America, could be bought for about 3s. per lb.; I began to think there were hopes for old England yet.

The four cardinal points which secured to the Americans the monopoly of the supply of this indispensable raw material, were not, it is true, achieved as yet in Australia, namely:—

- 1st. Quality.
- 2nd. Quantity.
- 3rd. Price. And
- 4th. Permanency of Supply.

But as to the first, viz., quality, there it was before our



eyes, two bales from Sidney, New South Wales, worth from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per lb.; this was a fact no one attempted to gainsay.

Now as to our second cardinal point, the grand stumbling block, the asses' bridge as it were, of the problem; I found that the colony of Queensland was the seat of Australian cotton growing, and this colony did not then possess a population of 50,000 souls, and these were principally engaged in wool growing; want of labour was the universal cry as being an insurmountable obstacle to cotton growing.

In point of quantity, therefore, the case was apparently a hopeless one; but if by any means we could divert the stream of emigration from west to south-east it would go far in the course of a few years to remove this impediment, for we were at that moment (and have been ever since) practically building a new city, of from 10,000 to 12,000 souls, every month for our ungrateful cousins across the Atlantic; \* who are now making a profit of 100 per cent. on that labour, to the extent of 300,000,000 of dollars, *on cotton growing* alone, whilst our manufacturing population are starving on their losses in manipulating it.

In face of this, still they go; 10,000 to 12,000 a month of our best and thriftiest "sons of toil" are emigrating from Liverpool to the United States, leaving the colonies and the home labour markets (as a rule). Only the criminal, the pauper, the infant, the aged, the ignorant, the imbecile, the vagrant, and the sturdy beggar to choose from.

Knowing that the material and social well-being of the whole British empire depended mainly upon the four cardinal points being brought to a successful issue, and in this view I might quote numerous facts as corroborant evidence — for instance, since the Elizabethan era this country has drifted by natural laws from being an agricultural to that of a manufacturing and commercial country, so much so that, as far back as 1855, we had steam machinery and power which represented "500,000,000" pairs of hands—(See Nicholson, "On Moral and Social Progress.") Will it not therefore occur to every thinking man that, in stopping the supply of cotton you stop the greater part of British industry? By way of illustration let us state the facts; first, that 600,000 odd of British workmen went to America during the four years' war; second, that if they

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\* Since this was written they have increased to 28,000 a month.

had gone to a British cotton growing colony, which had given a homestead to each family of 160 acres—say six to each family—this would give 100,000 families, producing at the rate of 200% each family for the second year's operations of cotton, besides finding themselves in provisions, say 2,000,000 bales of cotton. This would involve the building of 333 ships of 1,000 tons each; would not the Millwall ship-building industry feel the effects of such an operation? The canvas and sail makers, the railways, the mines, and a thousand others too numerous to be stated here, would feel the beneficent effects brought about by a sound colonial land policy. Moreover, are we not borne out by the state of things at Preston and elsewhere, by the memorials from the chambers of commerce; and by the operatives at Preston praying Her Majesty's Government "to take steps to increase the supply of cotton in British territories?"

There are other points which I will bring before you, showing further obstacles which still hang like mill-stones round our necks.

What is it that has made the United States of America what they are? What, save the boundless supply of land that enables every man on the other side of the Atlantic, who has willing hands and an average brain, to command all the conveniencies and comforts of life?

Mr. Torrens, M.P. for Cambridge, says—

"The Crown lands of the colonies belong to the whole people of the British Empire, and not exclusively to the comparative few already settled there."

What evidence have we that the colonial governments appreciate this view of the question? What evidence have we that tends to prove the colonies to be just, generous, and loyal to the mother country? None—absolutely nothing but empty words. On the contrary, we have abundant evidence to prove that they are, in too many instances, ungrateful, hostile, and arrogant.

First—They are ungrateful, inasmuch as they have taken, with the connivance of our unwise statesmen at home, gratuitous possession of that unbounded territory on which we are too apt to boast "the sun never sets." Territory won by the blood, the treasure, the indomitable courage and perseverance of our forefathers, and at the expense of the tax-payers of all Britain, and which they now wish to keep in a state of

nature for all time to come rather than offer the land to our people here in free grants, in such proportions as would induce them to go and settle down amongst them to till the soil, build their cities, make their railroads, extend their navigation, assist Nature by irrigation works, where necessary, &c., &c., &c., whilst we are taxing ourselves to the tune of millions annually for their protection.

Secondly—Hostile they most assuredly are when they pass laws to bar our commerce, and by their tariffs obstruct our trade with them, to the hurt of both.

Thirdly—And for their arrogance I would refer to the correspondence in the newspapers of a recent date, objecting to our convict settlements in *our own* colonies. The assertion of this last pretension might have been respected provided they had acknowledged the rights of all immigrants of good character to grants of land, under a similar law to that of the Homestead Law of the United States—I repeat, to all immigrants—whether Britons or not, so long as they are of good character, willing to be naturalized, and settle down as civilized men, “for how know you but that, by so doing, you may entertain an angel unawares.”

The Homestead Law tends to fix them to the soil, cements their affections to the government and the country who have placed them in the position to enable them, in every sense of the word, to reap the fruits of their own labour. It also tends to create a thrifty yeoman class, lovers of law and order, always ready to come to the rescue when their adopted country may, by any chance, need their services. It also tends to make broad acres wave with corn side by side with gold fields, as witnessed in California. Well might Cobden, when he heard of the American Homestead Law being passed, exclaim, “That law will virtually depopulate Europe.”

When a man severs himself from his native country, from his family circle, and all that is dear to him, and this from dire necessity for want of employment, and settles down in a land thousands of miles off, a land requiring the hand of man to convert it from a “howling wilderness into a fruitful field;” can it be a matter of doubt in the minds of the rulers of that country that this man is entitled to claim so much of the soil as will suffice for a homestead for the subsistence of himself and the family he brings with him?

Mr. Torrens had spoken in favour of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's Land Law of 1834; a plan for selling the land

of the colonies at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  per acre, in order to raise a fund for the purpose of promoting immigration. Subsequently the American government passed a law by which land, even within town sites, should be alienated at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  dollars, or about 5s. per acre, and some time after, finding the beneficent effects of that liberal policy, they enacted that, in all new territory the State should grant 160 acres in fee simple to every family settling down outside a town site, on the sole consideration of residing thereon, and cultivating 10 per cent. in five years.

This is what is termed the Homestead Law, and was a recognition of the rights of labour, under the operation of which a wedding of labour to the soil is effected, which Adam Smith says, "is the source of all wealth," and the only way, under God's blessing, in a new country to create the greatest happiness for the greatest number. By this law every man finds a field for his labour, and an employer that he will never strike against, namely, himself; and his wages come direct from "the Giver of all good things." As Benjamin Franklin says, "The surest bank ever a man drew against, was a bank of earth, if he only took care of it." *Every emigrant so settled will have an interest, stimulated by every motive of self-preservation and social economy, in bringing over others in almost countless numbers, to help him in the mighty work before him, and the result is, as we now all of us find, a nation in the West who can defy the world in arms, whose agriculture puts to shame all nations upon earth, and whose commerce and manufactures, were it not for the blighting influence of hostile protective tariffs, would very soon outweigh our own, and that to our mutual good.*

Now let us view the effects of the policy adopted in our colonies, initiated, as I before said, by the efforts of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, some thirty years ago, which policy was suggested originally by John S. Mill (at least so Mr. Mill himself asserted on the platform, in one of his speeches when he was first a candidate for Westminster). This plan was suggested, and acted upon in the onset, no doubt with the best of motives, but, as the sequel has already proved, it has had the most baneful effect upon—first, the manhood—secondly, the material wealth—and thirdly, the moral fame and prestige of the British name throughout the whole civilized world. Moreover, it has caused our colonies to remain a perpetual blank on the map of the world.

That the manhood is lost to this country is evident from the

fact that the flower of our artizan labour and capital are fast drifting to a country where, on their settling down, they become England's haters. This state of feeling is brought on by the system of hostile tariffs before named, ostensibly for the protection of home manufactures, but really and practically to put money into the pockets of a few manufacturers, at the expense of the rest of the community of the United States. Not only that, but, most probably, also from the love and affection for the country which has provided them a homestead, and thereby brightened their prospects for generations to come—that has lifted them from the brink of pauperism to a state which enables them to live by honest labour—in fact to a state of semi-independence—these will all have their due weight in alienating their affections from the old country, for “where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also.”

But you may naturally ask, “How has Mr. Wakefield's plan effected all this evil, seeing that the land was to be sold at 1*l.* per acre, and the money used for promoting emigration?” There are so many points condemnatory of the policy, as being one diametrically opposed to sound principles of political economy, that it would be beyond the limits of this paper to cite a tenth part of them—suffice it to say that, to sell a thing it requires two parties, viz., a buyer and a seller. How can you expect an emigrant to go 14,000 miles from home to buy an article for 1*l.* when he can get as good, if not a better article, 4,000 miles off, for 5*s.*?

Moreover, how can you expect to sell an acre of land for 1*l.*, when it is notorious it is not worth the tenth part of a farthing?

Now, it is well known that the latter price is the value set upon the land by the colonial government when they, through their commissioners, were in London, treating for the cession of the whole territory in bulk, and *unfortunately for this country, and also for the colonies, our statesmen of the day gave it up to them, without conditions of any kind as to its alienation to British subjects for all future time until the land was fully settled.* They might, with quite as much wisdom, have passed an Act of Parliament enforcing every man to sell his wool at 20*s.* per lb.

Can we have stronger evidence of the utter failure of the pound an acre policy than the fact that they have, of late years, every session of the local parliament, been tinkering and trying to amend it by adopting a more liberal one, but

vested interests having grown up and blended with the original evil policy, the difficulties of altering the law so as to meet the necessity of the case were found to be almost insurmountable. Another proof is found in the fact that the Act has been invariably evaded, and in many of the colonies the land revenue has been misapplied.

Moreover, and this is the gist of the whole question, this pound an acre policy has rendered the colonies of Great Britain places to be avoided by the thrifty emigrant who can pay his own passage and support himself until his first crop can be made available for his sustenance.

Hence the colonial governments, as a rule, are obliged to receive their immigrants *in formâ pauperis*. This fact alone is sufficient to dispose of the three propositions before alluded to.

Let us now glance at the state of affairs as they now stand at home.

The country is agitated throughout its length and breadth; the people are feeling the pressure of a want of employment, and famine prices for all necessaries and comforts of life. The agitation has taken the shape of a pressure upon Government for some help towards emigration for the people. This has been followed by a debate in the House of Lords. In the *Times*' report of that debate Lord Houghton is made to say, "With regard to emigration to our Australian and other colonies, the numbers were in 1868, 196,000; in 1867, 195,000, and in 1866, 223,000." Now, on referring to the official returns I find that in 1868 the Australian group got less than two thousand, and Canada less than sixteen thousand; his lordship must therefore have included the emigration to the United States for that year in his figures, consequently the latter country must have taken the bulk of the remainder, which is about the usual proportion, viz., 11-12ths of the whole emigration of the country. *There is none of Gibbon Wakefield's plan there, but there is a Homestead Law.*

Lord Granville treats the subject as a grim joke, his quotations about our Irish brethren having sent 14,000,000*l.*, wherewith to fetch their kith and kin over to join them at the other side of the Atlantic, has more significance in it than his lordship is aware of; and if his lordship has granted the Hudson's Bay Territory to the Canadian Government without taking the material guarantee that they will pass an Act making it a fundamental principle of their constitution to grant a Homestead Law as liberal, if not more so, than the

Homestead Law of the United States, and also that there shall be entire free trade between the dominion and the mother country, and thereby secure a mutual bond of peace—I say, if his lordship has not taken such guarantee, he has committed the last act of a series of wrongs upon the people of this country, which have been promoted in the Colonial Office ever since the policy of granting self-government for the colonies was inaugurated.

It was pointed out by letter to a noble lord in 1864, that such a policy was pregnant with infinite danger to future generations of Britons, and more especially to the colonies themselves.

If his lordship has taken the said guarantee, then I would recommend as a further safeguard for the proper administration of the same, the insertion of a clause in the contract something to the same effect as the following extract from a Bill 25 & 26 Vict., September, 1862, entitled, “A Bill to entitle Her Majesty to erect North Australia into a British colony, and to provide for the colonization thereof.” I am not aware that this Bill was ever passed, but the words I principally rely upon are found in page 4, section 6, and which run as follows:—

“Her Majesty from time to time hereafter at her pleasure, testified by writing under the hand of a Secretary of State, may appoint five fit persons to be Crown Commissioners; and those Commissioners shall be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Commissioners for North Australia, with perpetual succession, and a common seal; and by that name shall sue and be sued; and those Commissioners shall, in the name and behalf of Her Majesty, hold all the waste lands under this Act in North Australia, *in trust for the people of the British Empire at large*; and shall be and remain incorporate so long as there are in North Australia any waste lands undisposed of.”

If there be any truth in the above plain statements, and I contend there is not only truth but also the very essence of economy, justice, common sense, and sound policy, then I contend, as do nine-tenths of my fellow working men who have thought the matter over without party or personal prejudice, that every honest Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, on setting his foot on the shores of a British colony, no matter how, so long as he lawfully gets there, has the inalienable right to a free grant out of the undisposed of Crown lands, sufficient in quantity and quality to maintain himself

and family in comfort, so long as he is willing to settle down, clear and cultivate it, and conform in all other respects to the laws of the local and general government.

Finally, let our Government and those of our colonies recognise the principle that it is a grievous wrong and a suicidal policy to seek to raise a revenue out of the first alienation of the waste Crown lands of the colonies, and it is equally wrong to grant large tracts to one individual as a rule. Let them also recognise the fact that inter-colonial free trade is the only intercolonial bond of peace and amity, and that universal free trade is the only pioneer to universal peace, they will then find a "will" as there is also to be found a "way" to inaugurate an era which the poet had in view when he said—

"Let each man seek his own in all men's good,  
And all men work in noble brotherhood."

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#### DISCUSSION.

WILLIAM POLLARD-URQUHART, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

Among the gentlemen present were :—Mr. S. L. Brandreth, Mr. Thomas Briggs, Mr. Pragjee Bhunjee, Mr. Charles Clark, Mr. Hugh Colebrooke, Mr. C. J. Cross, Mr. George Duddeer, Mr. J. J. Easdan, Sir George Gray, Bart., Mr. Harding, Mr. Frederic Hill, Mr. George Hurst, Mr. Samuel Johnson, Mr. S. A. Joseph, Mr. A. King, Miss Lewin, Mr. George Macdonald, Mr. Mallard, Mr. J. Maunder, Mr. H. N. Mozley, Mr. John Noble, Mr. Pears, Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Mr. Daniel Sheriff, Mr. Cowell Stepney, Mr. R. R. Torrens, M.P., Mr. R. D. Walker, Mr. James Wheeler, Mr. W. H. Williams.

Mr. NOBLE thought that in the Western States of America the state of feeling which prevailed was very much more favourable to England than that which was to be found along the shores of the Atlantic. As we have allowed the colonies to govern themselves, he thought that we could not possibly take any kind of guarantee in the way which had been suggested. We might make bargains with our colonies, but, supposing that we did so in matters which concerned their internal government, we could have no kind of security that they would keep terms with us, unless we were prepared to go to war with them. We have granted them freedom, and must therefore allow them free government. He disagreed with the reader of the paper in what he had said in reference to the convict question. It was easy to understand that the colonies should not



wish to be burdened with our criminals ; at the same time, while conceding what was just and fair to the colonies, they ought not to be allowed to tax us.

Mr. MACDONALD only rose to say that he had been sorry to find throughout America a strong feeling of antagonism to England. In Canada, however, no such feeling existed ; hence, he thought England ought rather to attempt to send emigrants to Canada in preference to the United States.

Mr. PEARS called attention to two features in the paper. In the first place the writer made great and unfair complaint against the Australian colonies, and in the second he had drawn a comparison between Australia and America, in some respects unjust to America. Australia was found fault with because she had no Homestead Law like that existing in the United States. But Mr. Briggs made the common mistake of supposing that the resources of Australia were as great as those of America. Australia was nearly as big as Europe, but her amount of available land was very small. With the best desire to obtain immigrants, none of the colonies could afford to give so much land as America could offer. Still, all the colonies offered inducements. Some had a Homestead Law. In Tasmania he might have 1,000 acres, gratis, if he would consent to live where such an amount of land was given. Australia had been called disloyal ; but last year, when the attempt was made on the life of the Duke of Edinburgh, the people of New South Wales had passed an Act which could only be described as frantically and absurdly loyal, an Act which certainly no English Parliament would have consented to pass. She had been described as arrogant, and the proof offered was, that she refused to receive our convicts. He did not see the arrogance in refusing to become the receptacle of all the criminals of the empire. In Tasmania, when the agitation against transportation went on, half the people were or had been convicts. There were convict schoolmasters, convict officials, and convict servants. No free labourer would stay in the island because he would have to work side by side with convicts. Slave labour in any form, and convict labour was one of the worst forms of slave labour, disparaged free labour. The free people of the colonies had learned this, saw their children growing up surrounded by an atmosphere of crime, had a proportion of crime and criminals among them which far exceeded anything people here had any notion of, and resolved, arrogantly as Mr. Briggs thought, justly as he (Mr. Pears) believed, to tell Great Britain that they would no longer receive her refuse. Australia was spoken of as hostile to England because she had, in some instances, introduced prohibitory tariffs. But there was no hostile or any other sentiment about their protection. It arose simply from a conviction that free trade was not a good policy for a new country. He believed they were wrong,

but they had something to say on their side of the question. Mr. Briggs thought self-government ought not to have been given to the colonies. The simple fact was that England had proved her entire incompetence to govern them from home. English government of Australia was rapidly reaching a stage near that which America occupied when our misgovernment drove the American colonists into revolt. Englishmen, grown wiser, resolved that the best thing they could do in the case of Australia was to allow the people to govern themselves. He differed also from Mr. Briggs in thinking that emigration to the United States was an unmixed evil. Englishmen who go there carry a love of England along with them. At present the only British subjects who find their way to America are Irishmen, who carry with them, rightly or wrongly, hatred to England. If four millions of Englishmen had found their way to the Union within the same time, the English vote would be as worth cultivating as the Irish now is, and abuse of everything English would not pay venal politicians.

Mr. H. N. MOZLEY thought that in the speech which they had just heard, there was a dangerous but very common fallacy; that because we had allowed the colonists a certain control over their affairs, therefore they ought to be as independent of us as foreign states. He (Mr. Mozley) did not think that independence, in the best sense, meant independence of all restraint, but that there was a point beyond which independence was an evil and not a good. As between different sovereign governments this kind of independence existed, but it was a necessary evil, and often gave rise to war, there being no authority in any quarter to settle peaceably any quarrel which might arise. Of course his remarks pointed to a federal union between the mother country and the colonies. With regard to our sending convicts to Australia, he thought it unreasonable for the South Eastern Australians to complain of our sending convicts to Western Australia. With regard to protection, he did not desire to express any opinion, *à priori*, as to the relative merits of the protectionist and free trade systems; but he thought that if free trade was good for anything, it ought to be mutual. Not long ago we had a discussion on the question of disarmament. It was then alleged that it would be a good thing if every state would reduce its military establishment. But he had then expressed an opinion that it would be simply mischievous for Great Britain alone to do so. So with regard to free trade. It might be a good thing if every State would adopt it; but Great Britain was put at a manifest disadvantage in relation to the colonies by adopting a system of free trade, if they adopted a policy of protection.

Mr. TORRENS, M.P., rose in order to call attention to one of the remarks of the last speaker. The colonies he maintained had a right to resist the sending of convicts to adjacent colonies. Western

Australia was a barren country from which the prisoners invariably escaped as soon as they could and found their way to the nearest countries, that is to the other Australian colonies. He did not think that the objection against convicts would be so great if England would consent to take them back again on the expiration of their sentences. But when their sentences had expired, or when they received conditional pardons they did not or could not return to this country, but were compelled to go to the Eastern and Southern colonies of Australia. The consequence was that the people had found themselves deluged with criminals. In South Australia they had hardly known what crime was until escaped convicts began to find their way into the colony. For years he had had no lock on his door. But at length these scoundrels came and there was an end to comfort. South Australia had been compelled to pass an Act fining any captain who should bring a convict to her shores. If Englishmen wanted to understand the evil of which the Australians complain let them remember the outcry they make because they, with a population of thirty millions, have to absorb their own criminal population. And yet they wished Australia, with a population of only two millions and a half, to absorb the same number. Australians had a criminal population of their own which was more than enough without supplies from Europe. It was perfectly true, as had been stated, that the misgovernment of England had some years ago driven the colonies to the verge of rebellion. He himself had quite sympathised with the movement, and was ready to take part in it. Things were no doubt better now, but they were by no means in so satisfactory a state as they ought to be. The colonies have no kind of representation in England, and no means by which their wishes can be made known. The ignorance of Englishmen on all colonial questions was very great. On the other hand, England had her representatives in each of the colonies in the governors who were sent out. He should be glad to see some kind of scheme devised by which representatives from each of the colonies might be able to meet together in England to confer on what was best for colonial and imperial interests. As for the imputations which had been made on Australian loyalty we had only to look at the amounts subscribed for objects like the Patriotic Fund, the relief of the Lancashire operatives and others, to see that they were groundless. England had no right to cry out about the protective duties introduced into the colonies. She had herself been many years in learning the lesson of free trade. He could remember the time when England took Canadian corn duty free, but would not allow Australian to come into the market, except on payment of a heavy duty. The explanation was that England thought it desirable then to offer special inducements to Canada. But it showed that England had adopted free trade on the same principle as that on which

some of the Australians have adopted protection. Free trade with one place was good, with another was bad.

Mr. FREDERIC HILL: In nearly the whole of the interesting speech which we have just heard from my friend, Mr. Torrens, I heartily agree; though from the last of his<sup>fr</sup> conclusions I must dissent. I hold that we ought not to look forward to the time when the colonies will be separate from this country; and that we should not, therefore, prepare for such separation. The progress of civilization is surely not separation but aggregation, not division but union; and so long as this great empire is wisely and justly governed, the better in my opinion it will be for every part of it that it should remain one compact whole. The more closely, however, to cement the different parts, we should do well to adopt, without further delay, the suggestion of Adam Smith, referred to by Mr. Torrens, of allowing the colonies to send representatives to the Imperial Legislature; and thus to place them, in all respects, on terms of equality. I have long desired to witness this change, and have even indulged in the wish to see, in the free Parliament of England, a representative from every foreign country worthy of being counted as a portion of the civilized world. A representative, for example, from the United States, from France, from Germany, and from Italy. By such an arrangement, I believe many a prejudice would be removed, and many a cause of war prevented. With regard, however, to our colonies, if we admit them to the full rights of partnership we may reasonably expect that they will take upon them also its full duties. On what principle of justice can we be expected to maintain a powerful fleet for the protection of the whole empire, without any contribution to its cost from the colonies; that is from the very parts of the empire most exposed to attack. Our conduct towards our colonies has too often fluctuated between oppression and weak concession—between treating them first as enemies and then as spoiled children. Such policy is bad for both parties, and the sooner we substitute for it terms of justice, equality, and mutual benefit the better.

Mr. D. SHERIFF observed that, in reference to the remarks that had been made respecting the restrictions laid on imports into Canada from this country, owing to the want of a similar reciprocity being recognised in our imports from Canada here, that this objection, so far as applied to both corn and timber, had been removed, as no duty was now chargeable on either. He quite agreed in the observations made by Mr. Noble, that in the various plans that had been suggested for emigration, too little consideration had been given to some means of employment for our people at home, and though emigration to a certain extent might be advantageous, the national loss that might yet arise from the bone and sinew of our country leaving to excess could not be even exaggerated. What but our great skill and industry has made our nation what it is? If the great drain from emigration rendered work scarce and more expensive, we should be unable to

foresee the loss that might ultimately ensue in our national prosperity. To such an extent had our merchant seamen gone abroad, and into the American mercantile employment, that one-fourth of our present merchant service was composed of foreign sailors. Though there might be a difficulty in finding how our population could possibly be retained and employed at home, the object ought not to be less regarded as one of the most valuable of considerations, although it would be too tedious to refer to these particulars in detail.

Sir GEORGE GREY called attention to the present form of colonial government, which he regarded as in many respects unsatisfactory. The fact was, that it consisted of a colonial department, containing a certain number of fixed officials, and a Secretary of State, who was changed every now and then, who had a seat in the Cabinet and in the House of Lords, and who from having his time thus almost constantly taken up with other matters, had very little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the business of his special office. Practically the whole of the colonial government of the empire was left in the hands of this officer of State. Parliament takes no interest in colonial questions. Occasionally, but very rarely, a question was put having reference to colonial questions. There have been since the beginning of the present year a series of massacres in New Zealand, of which the accounts have been constantly coming in. One such has come by this mail. Not a question has been asked on the subject, in either House of Parliament. When a question is asked, it leads sometimes to the publication of dispatches in a mutilated form. Some are not published at all, and when inquiry is made as to the omissions, the public is informed that they were not judged of sufficient importance to be printed. When a year or two has passed, they, as likely as not, are printed at length. Within the last few days he had seen a dispatch in the newspapers, insulting to the colonists of New Zealand, and one which he was quite sure would create the bitterest ill-feeling, and was likely to lead to murders. It was written in the most reckless manner in regard to the opinions of colonists, and so carelessly, that the last paragraph was absolutely unintelligible. And yet no notice had been taken of it in Parliament. When it reached New Zealand the colonies it would produce great excitement. Here it was passed over as unworthy of notice. He did not think it would be desirable to allow any form of colonial representation in our present House of Commons. There were a variety of English questions which were peculiarly English rather than imperial, and in such it is not likely, nor would it be desirable, that English people would like colonists to take any share. But he would approve of a proposal to have another House in which there should be a representation of each of the colonies, and in fact of every portion of the empire. The best thing, he believed, would be that the Colonial Secretary should have a council appointed to assist him, like the

Indian Council. At present he has no chance of becoming acquainted with the colonial aspect of questions. By such a plan the whole empire would then be bound the more firmly together, and such a scheme of emigration might be devised as would enable England, without depriving herself of the labour she requires at home, to get rid of her pauperism.

Mr. CLARK had listened to the remarks of the last speaker with admiration and sorrow. Sorrow, because he felt that it was true that England was guilty of neglect towards her colonies, and admiration of the suggestions which had been made for improving the representation of the colonies in England. He quite agreed that some kind of representation like that which had been suggested ought to be devised, and he believed it would work well. We had given freedom to our colonies and that he hoped would prevent the recurrence of any of those dangerous struggles between the mother country and the colonies, which were so much to be deplored. The fact was, red tape had been the source of the mischief. England desired to do justice but had not the requisite knowledge. It was this which seemed to him to be the great argument in favour of granting self-government to the colonies. England never had the requisite knowledge of details to enable her to govern her colonies well. She therefore gave self-government to the colonists. He agreed with a previous speaker, that so far as the mere abstract principle was concerned England had the right to send her convicts to Western Australia. The country belonged to her and she might use it as a national prison if she thought well. But Mr. Torrens had explained the great difficulty when he said that the land in the convict settlements was bad and that therefore the men got away at once to other places. While, therefore the principle was right, the practical result was mischievous. He thought we required a council in which the colonies should have some kind of representation. The colonies should supply a parliament to advise the Colonial Secretary as to what steps he ought to take. In reference to the relations between England and her colonies there was this to be said, that there comes a time when, like father and son, the interests of the two countries are in strong opposition. But in the case of our colonies, independently of all mere rules of government, the great fact to be kept prominently before us is that the more united we are the better for both ourselves and them.

The CHAIRMAN thought an assumption had been made in the papers which was certainly against his impression of what was the fact, namely, that the colonies were not progressing. He should like to have had some more satisfactory data on that question. His own opinion was they were making satisfactory progress. He was inclined to think that there was better farming in Australia than in America. In the States land was cultivated without being manured, or without any rotation of crops, and was thus completely worn out in a few years.

The remedy of the Americans was then to take new lands in place of those which they had thus exhausted. As for what we understood by high farming in this country, it was extremely doubtful whether it existed in America to any considerable extent. He would like to have had statistics showing the number of Englishmen who go to America. He knew that the Irish went there in greater numbers than elsewhere, but the people who emigrate from that portion of Scotland which he knew best, went to Canada. The feeling of hostility which existed to a considerable extent in America was due partly to the recollections of the conduct of England at the time of the American revolution, and was thus partly traditionary, partly to the fact that the greater number of immigrants who reach their shores from these islands are from Ireland, and partly of course to the events of the late war. These causes were to a great extent temporary, and would be likely therefore to produce only a temporary feeling of hostility. There was a tendency perhaps to exaggerate the state of distress which prevailed at present in England. We had had similar or even worse distress in 1830, when corn was burnt, and crimes of great violence had been committed. Again in 1841 there had been great distress in the manufacturing districts, and at a later period still, in 1848, but as the country had lived through these crises so he believed it would through the present, and in a short time we should be able to use all the labour which existed in the country. As to the question of the land laws of America and Australia, the value at which they sold their land and the comparative advantages which emigrants reaped by going to the one country or to the other, he thought that these questions might all be left to the ordinary action of economic laws. He had been struck with the suggestions of a federal council, and thought it one which was well deserving of careful consideration.

Mr. PEARS moved and Mr. MOZLEY seconded :—

“That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Briggs for his paper, and that it be printed and circulated for the use of the members.”

The motion was carried unanimously.

It was resolved that the discussion be adjourned until Wednesday the 23rd instant, at 8 P.M.

DISCUSSION—*continued.*

THE adjourned meeting of the Economy and Trade Department for the discussion of Mr. Thomas Briggs's paper "On the Relations of the British Colonies to the Mother Country, considered from an Economical, Agricultural, and Commercial point of view," was held on Wednesday, the 23rd ult.

WILLIAM POLLARD-URQUHART, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

Among the gentlemen present were:—Mr. James Barlow, Mayor of Bolton, Mr. John Bate, Mr. E. C. Booth, Mr. H. S. Brandreth, Mr. Thomas Briggs, Sir George Grey, Bart., Mr. W. J. Harding, Mr. G. W. Hastings, Mr. Frederic Hill, Mr. George Hurst, Mr. R. R. Kirk, Mr. John Noble, Mr. Pears, Mr. S. H. Rawling, Mr. W. Smyth, Mr. Parker Snow, Mr. William Storr, Mr. R. V. Walker, Mr. James Wheeler.

Mr. HURST thought that land in the colonies ought not to be given in perpetuity to anyone. Mischief had arisen in this country from adopting a contrary course. The land was the possession of the nation. It ought to remain in the power of the nation, so that at periods not too far separated from each other, the nation might resume it and apply it to such purposes as would be most beneficial to the community. But in the colonies they were establishing a system of land tenure not unlike that which prevails here. He would suggest that it would be better if they sold the land for a term of years only.

Mr. J. BATE regretted he was absent on the evening when this interesting and important paper was read. He desired now to draw particular attention to what he considered to be the main object and argument of the writer, namely, the importance of the colonies to the mother country. The Board of Trade returns of our exports and imports to all parts of the world afforded abundant and conclusive testimony as to what the possession and colonization of our colonies and possessions confer upon this country; inasmuch as they show that they consume of the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom, annually about one-third (that is 50,000,000*l.* value) of what is supplied to all the foreign states put together. Were it not for our colonies and dependencies, we should be unable to supply the markets of the world with the produce which is



imported here, manufactured, and re-exported back to whence it came. And, therefore, it was the duty of every Englishman who loved his country, and who desires to promote the well-being of the tens of thousands of our unemployed, now pining in misery and want, to aid and encourage their emigration to British colonies. It would be a worthy object for the Council of this Association to take under its special care, and to ally itself with, what is now one of the most pressing of the social questions of the day. It was urged by many, especially those employed in manufactures, that emigration is the bane and not the antidote of this country. Emigration had, on the contrary, been the source of all our commerce and wealth.

The best of our skilled and unskilled labour, the most worthy and deserving of our working classes, were now voluntarily emigrating at the rate of 20,000 a month, many of them, with money in their pockets, to a foreign country, there to manufacture and to compete with this country in the markets of the world. Surely, it was the duty of our Government, and of all who were interested in the welfare of this country, to give to emigration a thoughtful and earnest attention, and to see if some means could be arrived at for diverting that valuable stream of the best blood of the country from the United States to the colonies of Australasia, British America, and South Africa.

Mr. HASTINGS said that he regretted the economical heresies which had been put forward in the former discussion. The Association was established to spread a knowledge (among other things) of economic science, and he for one could not acquiesce in any support of economic error. It had been advanced by Mr. Mozley that free trade was only good when it existed on both sides; that to be of any benefit it must be reciprocal. He (Mr. M.) seemed to think that if our colonists were so unwise as to impose protective duties on our manufactures, we were to imitate that policy by levying protective duties on colonial exports. Such an argument seemed to be based on a contempt for the most elementary truths of the science of nations. Free trade, whether reciprocated or not, was a good in itself. The more cheaply a nation bought its imports, the more rich and prosperous it was likely to become. Mr. Mozley, it might be presumed, thought that England would be injured by protective duties imposed in the colonies; that the sale of her manufactured articles would be so much the less. If this were so, it was a curious remedy to propose that England should still further injure herself by resolving to raise artificially the price of some necessary imports. It was much as if a man, whose profits in business had been reduced, should try to mend matters by paying double prices to his tailor. It was no wonder that in our colonies, where the proportion of cultured intellect to the rest of the population was necessarily small, the fallacies of protection should be encouraged, when, in this country, men of University education held views so opposed to the fundamen-

tal maxims of political economy. But in that Association, at any rate, such errors must be repudiated. It was not the policy of England to answer folly with foolishness, but rather to afford to young communities an example of sound legislation. He must also express his strong dissent from the paragraph in Mr. Briggs's paper in which the transportation of convicts was alluded to. Mr. Briggs seemed to think that England had a right to shoot her criminal rubbish in any part of the empire that might be most convenient to herself, without reference to the interests or wishes of the colonists. The idea was founded on the not uncommon fallacy that every man had a right to do what he would with his own. But there was no such absolute right. The right had been limited, from the earliest period of civilized jurisprudence, by the condition that its exercise should not be injurious to others. The owner of a stream of water might use it for his own purposes, but he might not use it to the damage of another; and, just so, England had a right to use the great stream of colonization for her lawful ends, but she had no right to poison it to her neighbour's wrong. He spoke the more strongly because this was one of the few questions on which the Association had publicly pronounced a definite opinion; and he was convinced that the great majority of the members abided by the resolutions passed in 1862. We must consume our own crime; and if we could not reform our convicts, we could at least keep them from doing further mischief. He had read with interest the suggestions made by Sir George Grey in the former discussion, that a council might be created to assist the Secretary for the Colonies after the same plan as the Council for India. He trusted that this idea would receive further consideration. It was impossible not to believe that despatches had been written, and policies adopted, at the Colonial Office, which would have been averted by the experience of such a body as a permanent council. Whether its composition were representative or bureaucratic it could not fail to exercise a beneficial influence. Mr. Hastings alluded to the proposal he had made some years since for the establishment of a section in the Association for India and the colonies. The proposal had been rejected by the Council; but, subsequently, a standing Committee, embracing the same objects, had been appointed, and it had led to good results. Perhaps, at some future time, the plan of a separate section might be re-considered, though he should not again propose it himself.

Mr. PARKER SNOW believed that the Homestead Law of America had been of immense use to that country in attracting people. He agreed with the opinion of the reader of the paper in thinking that emigration would benefit alike the people who left this country and those who remained in it. As to the convict question, it could be shown that the colonies in Australia would never have been in the prosperous condition in which they now are but for the introduction of convicts. Transportation had in fact been the foundation on which

their success had been built. The convicts had done a large amount of useful work which must be done at the foundation of a new colony, and for his part, he believed that it would be desirable to revive the system of transportation.

Mr. WHEELER thought that it had been assumed rather too hastily that the colonies did not give sufficient aid to immigrants. All the Australian colonies had given aid prior to the year 1866; but the commercial panic of that year had affected them as it had affected England, and aids to emigration had momentarily been suspended. It was now, however, resumed, and Queensland not only gave land orders of the value of thirty pounds to every adult emigrant, but allowed those who had been in the colony for a certain time to be entitled to select a certain amount of land as their own. The reason why emigration had hitherto turned to America instead of to Australia was to be found in various causes. Nor was he induced to think that there was any hope of turning the current of emigration from a westerly to a southerly direction. America was nearer to England than Australia. A man could reach there in ten days, whereas he required three or four months to get to Australia. The cost, of course, was proportionately greater. What they were endeavouring to do in Australia was to give such aid as would compensate for the increased cost of the long voyage. A man might now reach Queensland at just about the same expense as he would have to incur if he went to America. As to the best mode in which emigration should be paid for, he thought that would always best be left to the individual requirements of each colony. Before 1866 the emigration had been carried on by means of loans.

Mr. JAMES BARLOW agreed with Mr. Hastings in thinking that emigration reduced itself in a great measure to an economical question. If the intending emigrant thought he could do better in America than in Australia, he would go to America. It was not desirable that we should attempt to guide him into any particular direction. Still, he would be glad to see every measure taken which was likely to be of use in giving us an increased population in our cotton-producing colonies. Our cotton trade was now in a worse condition than even during the period of the American War. We were in want of cotton, and until we had enough, every industry in the country would feel the want of it. India ought, he believed, to send us larger supplies. In reference to free trade, while he agreed heartily with the principle, he could not but see that occasionally it told against us. The French treaty, for example, which manufacturers in Lancashire thought would have the effect of allowing them to export a large amount of cotton goods into France, had had, in respect to certain of the lighter fabrics, precisely the opposite effect, so that now many French cotton goods were being imported into this country. They are, in fact, sending twice as much fancy goods as we are sending them. The people who go to America from the manufacturing dis-

tricts were, he thought, taking away our trade, and are therefore, to a considerable extent, injuring us.

Mr. C. BOOTH as a Victorian could say that that colony was ready to receive any members of our surplus population. He had been surprised at the rapid way in which public opinion in England was being educated on the question of emigration. When he had arrived in England two years ago the only people whom Englishmen thought it well to take measures for sending out were the paupers. Since that, they had advanced to the idea of sending out those who were on the verge of pauperism, and now they were talking of sending out skilled labourers. He could only say that in the colony he came from there was room for all classes. The colonies, however, would never consent again to receive convicts.

Mr. NOBLE explained that Mr. J. S. Mill, the authority of whose name had been brought to bear in favour of protection in new countries, only admitted its advisability under most exceptional circumstances.

Mr. WALKER thought that the dearth of employment in this country was caused by the confusion which had arisen between productive and consumptive industries. But this was only a temporary confusion, and in a short time England would recover herself. It would seem that the colonies would only be satisfied by receiving our best men. They have distinctly refused to have our convicts. They will have nothing to do with our paupers, and now it appeared they wanted not only our artizans, but a class above them.

Mr. FREDERIC HILL : My friend, Mr. Hastings, has expressed surprise that some of the statements in Mr. Briggs's paper, and some of the remarks made in the last debate upon it, should not have been controverted ; but if he will consider how wide is the range of that paper, and how extensive, consequently, the field of discussion, I think his surprise will cease. I am glad, however, that he has taken up some of the points which needed reply ; and in his observations upon them I entirely agree. The subject which, at the last meeting, was most fully discussed, was colonial policy ; those which stood over for discussion this evening being land and emigration. Mr. Briggs gives it as his opinion that the Wakefield system for disposing of the land has proved most baneful, and has caused our colonies to remain a blank on the map of the world. From this opinion I must wholly dissent. I maintain that the plan has worked well ; and that instead of our colonies forming a blank in the world's map they constitute one of its chief ornaments. Any one acquainted with the history of our early colonies, particularly of those in North America and of Swan River in Australia, must be aware that the pioneers had to undergo very severe sufferings, and that there was, among them, a terrible mortality. And why ? Owing, I should say, in great part, to that

practice of dispersion which it is a main object of the Wakefield system to prevent. And what has been the course of the very first colony founded on the Wakefield plan—South Australia? A course of general prosperity; not equal indeed to that of Victoria, where rich gold mines were discovered, but still a prosperous course, and wholly free from the disasters to which I have referred. The Wakefield plan is simply a provision that land, instead of being given away, and that in huge masses, shall all be sold, and at such a price as shall yield a fund sufficient to bring over labourers to till it and to make roads to it. It is true that, of late, the fund thus raised has, to a considerable extent, been diverted from its object and employed in the reduction of taxation. But it still serves the purpose of checking dispersion; and, by lessening the cost of living in the colony, promotes in an indirect form emigration to it. The great facilities which steam navigation affords for removing from colony to colony must, no doubt, make it uncertain whether emigrants, whose passage is paid for by any particular colony, will remain there; and hence, probably, the inclination to apply the land fund in other ways. But the indirect benefit remains; and, moreover, if the colonies were to unite, and each to contribute to a general immigration fund in proportion to the number of emigrants who would probably settle in it, the land fund might still be applied according to the original design. With regard to emigration generally, I agree with Mr. Hastings that it should be natural and not artificial; and that no attempt should be made to force its current towards our colonies; holding as I do, that it is for the benefit not only of the emigrant himself, but of this country and of the whole world, that he should go to that place where his labour will be most productive. I maintain, also, that those who are to be assisted from a public fund, whether the Wakefield fund or any other, should not be paupers but those who have shown most independence and energy, and who are best able to buffet the hardships they will assuredly, in the first instance, encounter. But how dangerous the principle, that to get aid in leaving this country and in going to a land where labour is more in request, and more highly remunerated, a person has to show not that he is industrious, sober, healthy, and saving, but the reverse of these and in that he is in extreme indigence! And what a stimulus to improvident marriages and to parental neglect if, as on the plan of that benevolent, energetic, but I must add, wrong-headed lady, Miss Rye, children selected for their very poverty are to be carried to a distant land, where they shall never cost their father or mother another penny! Lord Granville's remark on the subject, condemned by Mr. Briggs, is, in my opinion, perfectly sound and of great moment. How, indeed, can the Irish emigrants, who have done themselves so much honour by the large funds they have sent over to enable their relatives to follow them, be expected to continue this practice if they learn that a person has only to show himself very poor and his ex-

penses will be paid out of a public fund? Let this idea once get abroad, and I venture to say, that for every emigrant so assisted, at least three or four persons will lose the private aid now so generously afforded them, and become unable to emigrate.

Mr. WALLACE HARDING said he ventured to offer one or two comments on certain expressions of previous speakers. He could not agree with Colonel Torrens, that the colonies would be willing to receive our convicts if we would take them back again after the expiry of their sentences. On the contrary, his experience—the result of a three year's residence in Victoria—convinced him that they would not have them on any terms. He quite agreed with Mr. Hastings in his opinions as to the emigration question, from a politico-economical point of view; but at the same time he thought it a perfectly fair and valid policy on the part of our Australian colonies, to contribute such share of the emigrant's passage money to their shores, as would make the cost of going there not greater than the expense of crossing the Atlantic. He could not help regretting that in South Australia, Sutherland's Act had been of late years set at defiance by the Government, much to the detriment, as he believed, both of the colony and the country. With respect to the severe remarks of Mr. Briggs upon Australian protection tariffs, he thought his denunciations were too sweeping. It should be borne in mind that some of the greatest writers on political economy had justified a policy of protection in the case of the struggling industries of young colonies. At all events he knew that the protection tariffs of Australia did not owe their origin to any feeling of disloyalty to this country, but to a conviction that they were wise and politic under the circumstances. The colonies might be wrong or right in their conclusions in this matter; but at any rate it was only just to allow that there was much to be said on both sides of the question.

Mr. BRIGGS in reply said: Before commencing my reply to the points raised in the discussion, let it be clearly understood that I yield to no man in love for the colonies, I wish to see them prosper and multiply in wealth and population. I wish to see them take the good leaf out of the Yankee book, as well as, or rather than the evil one in regard to their law-making. Mr. Noble says that in the Western States of America the state of feeling which prevails was very much more favourable to England than was to be found along the shores of the Atlantic; by this he tacitly admits they are, as a rule, Englandhaters. As regards the guarantee in question, he says we cannot take it because we have given self-government to the colonies; but as to this guarantee, I only suggested it in the case of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Territory, which was not yet given away. If they (the colonies) would not give the said guarantee, then the territory should be withheld, and not given except to those who were wise

enough to accept the terms. In respect to bargains made with the colonies, he remarked "that there would be no security that they would keep terms with us." My opinion is, that the bargain suggested in the guarantee is of such a nature as to be a security in itself; it being so just, so generous, so politic, so economic, and so mutual in its benefits as to secure the loyalty and good will of the mass of the people on both sides. Mr. Macdonald is right in suggesting that England ought rather to send emigrants to Canada than to the United States; but, until the guarantee suggested be a fact accomplished, these emigrants will, as a rule, filter through Canada into the States. What Mr. Pears says as regards the resources of the colonies conflicts very markedly with the account given in the prospectus of the Colonial Government Emigration Commission; as also with the speeches of Mr. Torrens and other witnesses from the colonies; and, as I think, Mr. Pears puts himself on the horns of a dilemma. He says that "Australia is nearly as big as Europe, yet the available land was so small that they could not offer it so freely as the Americans." If he means that the land is not available because it is already occupied and covered with people, then why seek for emigrants? But when we reflect that the Australian colonies alone, cover an area of nearly two thousand millions of acres, with a population of little more than one and a half millions of souls, further comment on this point is certainly unnecessary. But if Mr. Pears means that the colonial lands are so sterile and uncultivable as a rule, then I think he is not borne out by the facts as related to us by the best authorities on the spot. Moreover, if the land is so worthless, why make any difficulty about giving it away under the action of a just and liberal land law. With regard to the inducements they offer to emigrants, I admit there is in one colony (Queensland) a homestead law; but it having been so recently passed as 1868, it did not occur to me as relevant: however, we will now pronounce her the only colony that is loyal to the people as well as to the sovereign of the mother country. Respecting the thousand acres to be had in Tasmania gratis, they are not granted under a Homestead Law. Several speakers, especially Mr. Torrens and Mr. Pears, animadverted strongly on the subject of sending convicts to the colonies, but not one of them attempted to reply to my remarks in answer to that point; viz., the asserting their right to object to our convict settlements in their neighbourhood, which might have been respected, provided they (the Colonial governments) had acknowledged the right of good characters to grants of land, &c. (See Vol. II., page 522.) Mr. Torrens says Western Australia is a barren country. As regards that, I will read an extract from a letter received from Melbourne in November, 1867, in which the writer "represents the colony of Western Australia to be, in his opinion, better adapted for the growth of cotton than Queensland, on account of the cheapness of land and convict labour. The climate and its agricultural resources

are about the same as Queensland, with the additional advantage of having a plentiful supply of water for irrigation." Now, although Western Australia is two thousand miles, or thereabouts, from the seat of government in South Australia, those gentlemen will not tolerate Western Australia receiving convicts to act as pioneers to the development of their resources, whereas in the Island of New Caledonia, not six hundred miles off, the French have established a convict settlement, where they have a homestead law—not only for the benefit of good characters, but also for those who are sent as convicts, to enjoy on certain conditions. Thus the reclamation of the wilderness goes on simultaneously with that of the character of the operator, showing how beautiful are the works of mercy when justly and economically administered. It has been reported, upon good authority, that, such is the development of this island, it is already attracting, on a large scale, settlers from our neighbouring colonies. I trust Mr. Torrens will now see there is a way (if only the colonial legislators and legislatures would find a will), by virtue of wedding labour to the soil, to teach even the convict that honesty is the best policy, and the latter, having tried both, would know it by experience. It is much safer for society in general that convicts should be shipped from a crowded country to a place where their labour can be utilised for the common benefit, where there is less opportunity of their practicing upon wealthy communities, where temptations meet them at every turn, and also to where there are none of those institutions and nurseries for crime called receiving houses. As regards the population of the Australian colonies, Mr. Torrens put it at two-and-a-half million, whereas the census of 1861 puts it at only 1,266,432, the census for 1866 not yet being complete. I must endorse what Sir G. Grey says in respect to "Parliament taking no interest in colonial questions"; but why does it not? Because the public does not, and why does the public take no interest in them? Because the press does not, and why does the press exhibit so much indifference to its obvious duty? Because the subject is not to the taste of the general reader, and therefore it will not pay. The CHAIRMAN seems to be satisfied with the progress of the colonies. I am not. I did not assume that the colonies had made no progress; but I must still hold that this progress is very slow, and not what it ought to be. The data, I consider, stands out in bold relief in that part of my paper where I say that eleven-twelfths of our thrifty sons of toil who sail from Liverpool as emigrants go to the United States, and only one-twelfth to Australia.

Moreover the Board of Trade returns show that, from 1853 to 1867 the progress of our colonies had not kept pace with that of foreign countries in their demand for British produce and manufacture; the colonies having increased only 8 per cent., whilst foreign countries had increased 100 per cent., and India (British) 198 per cent.



Average annual export of British and Irish produce and manufactures in 1853 to 1857 :—

	£
Foreign countries ... ..	73,101,344
British India ... ..	9,722,752
The colonies ... ..	23,115,832

The same from 1863 to 1867.

	£	Increase
Foreign countries ... ..	117,717,651	or 61 per cent.
British India ... ..	20,013,680	or 105 "
Colonies... ..	30,866,384	or 33½ "

Commercially speaking, the colonies are a loss. The profits on their commerce not recouping us for the expenses attached to them. Ample as India appears to be, it is but as a drop in the ocean to what it would have been under a sound policy, in alienating the waste crown lands.

Statistics showing the proportion of Englishmen I have not got ; but from memory I can safely say that, within the last twelve months more English and Scotch have gone to the States than Irish. I regret to find from his remarks on the state of feeling in America and its causes, that our worthy Chairman left out of sight the question of hostile tariffs. The loyalty alluded to by Mr. Pears, as expressed in connexion with the Duke of Edinburgh, will remain an empty sound, so long as the colonies remain without a homestead law. With regard to Tasmania, he says, "that half the population were convicts—there were convict school masters, convict officials, and convict servants, &c." Why should we deny the convict an opportunity of redeeming his character? Tasmania would seem to hold the position of moral and social refining-pot for degraded humanity on its way to the Australian continent. Besides all this, let us consider it on the broad ground of even-handed justice and fair dealing. Why should the mother country tax herself with the expense of rearing and educating her children, for the sole purpose of allowing the few in the antipodes to come and pick and choose amongst them as though they were so many slaves, in order to take them as menial servants, when it is notorious that those few are assuming to themselves the ownership of territories, of waste lands as large as the United States, without attempting to inaugurate a homestead law, which would at once develop the resources of their soil, and secure to the virtuous and thrifty their due reward. Besides, this territory is the birthright of all Englishmen, and not of the few only. Mr. Pears says, "there is no hostile or any other sentiments about their protective tariffs." Protective tariffs are in themselves a commercial war, and damage the interest of the common weal almost as much as physical war ; they are therefore hostile as a fact, if not as a sentiment. He says, moreover, that "I thought self-government ought not to be given to the colonies." This I most emphatically

deny. What I said (and what I still hold to) was that the policy of granting self-government to the colonies, without taking the necessary guarantee respecting free grants of land and free-trade, is fraught with infinite danger to future generations of Britons, and more especially to the colonies themselves; it forcibly reminds me of the proverb which says, "A child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame." Mr. Hastings, I regret to find, does not do me justice on the question of convicts. He says, Mr. Briggs seems to think that England has a right to shoot her criminal rubbish in any part of her empire that might be most convenient to herself, without reference to the interest or wishes of the colonist. I must respectfully repudiate this rendering of my meaning, and would refer him again to that part of my paper which speaks of the convict system. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the colonies are integral parts of the empire, I hold that there is less danger to the common weal in employing the convict to do the *roughing part* of the work of pioneering for civilized society, and, moreover, a greater chance of reclaiming him, especially under the French system as pursued in the colony of New Caledonia, where the convict is put on a block of land with suitable tools in hand to clear and cultivate it, and the only alternative is *work* or *starve*; and at the end of a given time, if he has conducted himself properly, the land he has cleared and cultivated is his own, and he becomes a useful member of society. Mr. Hill denies that the colonies remain a blank on the map of the world. If any one will look on the map of Australia, he will not find more than a mere fringe of settlements, the interior being a complete blank. Here is South Australia to wit, which he specially mentions as an example of development. Let us compare this colony—as to area and population, it has a territory three times the size of Great Britain, with a population only of about 170,000; which is equal to a fourth-rate town in a civilized country. Considering how many years this colony has been in existence, further comment on this point is unnecessary. I propose now to read a short extract from a letter which was written some months ago, to prove where the shoe was pinching John Bull; it will explain why I made cotton take so prominent a part in my paper. Quoting from an extract, which is copied from a Queensland paper into the journals of the Society of Arts, December 11th, 1868, page 61:—"There is a growing impression that this staple (cotton) is one of the safest, if not the most remunerative, that Queensland growers can invest in. Confidence is felt in the crop as experience is gained, and it is found that instead of five or six acres a family can manage twenty to thirty acres." Now it is well-known that Queensland cotton is the finest that the world has ever produced, both as to length and strength of fibre. Well, let us take the minimum, say twenty acres, at a bale per acre, of 400 lbs. per bale, a the produce of each family; and let us, for the sake of argument, assume six to a family, and that the 600,000 of our fellow

subjects who sought a new home in America during the four years' war had, by some wise effort of our Government, been landed in this beautiful colony, what would have been the results according to the figures above? It would have produced for the wealth of the colony, as the value of her exports in this one article alone, twenty millions sterling, reckoning it at 6*d.* per lb., which is much below its present value in Liverpool. But it is generally asked how all this cotton can affect the interests of the London poor, or, rather, the "Millwall shipbuilders and the Bethnal Green silk-weavers?" Well, in the first place, these people, I suppose, will require clothing; therefore they are consumers of cotton goods. I assume that Mr. Hill will not deny that these people would feel the advantage of getting a shirt for 2*s.* or 3*s.*, rather than have to pay 8*s.* or 10*s.* for it. Secondly, the shipbuilders would find their yards gradually filling with busy hands, as this 333,000 tons of cotton per annum required moving from the antipodes. Not only they but a thousand and one of different industries must share in the general prosperity. Even the poor weavers of Bethnal Green would find that the Lancashire lads would be spending some of their surplus earnings in silk ribbons, handkerchiefs, or dresses, as the case may be—probably manipulated by those poor Bethnal Greeners—to adorn their favourite Lancashire witches. Then, again, the very ships required to bring the cotton might be freighted outwards with cargoes of the produce of both Lancashire and Bethnal Green, whilst taking out the emigrants. He would be a bold man who would venture to estimate the amount of good to all the distressed districts, by removing all the willing ones to the antipodes. This would be another source of freight for the ships built at Millwall and elsewhere, and the labour market would be brought into a more healthy state everywhere. Finally, let me liken "king cotton" in his relation to the social, moral, and material well-being of the whole British empire, to the mainspring of a watch. If the mainspring be broke, the watch will not work. Therefore, until our legislators can recognise the fact that cotton is the mainspring of British industry at home—

" Their attempt at legislation  
Will all be vanity and vexation."

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### APPENDIX.

The following extract of a letter from India will show how the British possessions in that quarter are capable of being turned to account in providing the necessary raw material to keep the people well employed at home, provided the land is wedded to labour, in wise proportions, in the original alienation under Government rules:—

A writer in the *Times*, "W. B.," in 1864, speaking from personal observation on the spot, says:—

"I know of no reason why (except the want of irrigation) that country should not produce cotton as good as the Egyptian. Scinde, which is as much like Egypt as one florin is like another, has by means of Well irrigation and European skill produced cotton equal in quality, according to the report of Bombay Chamber of Commerce, to anything produced in Egypt; and there is enough waste land, waste labour, and waste water in the countries drained by the Indus to produce several millions of bales. As to the quantity of waste land, the following figures are from official sources:—

	Total area in acres.	Cultivated.
Punjaub ... ..	47,062,400	14,479,185
Scinde ... ..	40,703,363	1,672,229

"Of the population of these countries the following are the last official returns:—

Punjaub and Native States connected with it, the former						
by Census of 1855-1256	...	...	...	...	...	14,766,825
Native States	...	...	...	...	...	7,154,538
Scinde	...	...	...	...	...	2,500,000
Total						<u>24,421,363</u>

"Of the great amount of waste labour in this population, some idea may be formed from the fact that the total exports from the Indus for the year ending April, 1863, amounted to 3,287,594*l.* only, or something less than 3*s.* per head of population, one-half of which was entirely due to the high price of cotton.

"The quantity of water running to waste is 51,500 cubic feet per second when the river is at the lowest, which quantity, if it were never greater, would be equal to the irrigation of 9,270,000 acres throughout the year.

"As to the cost of irrigated cotton, I stated in a former letter that Scinde might be irrigated by means of high level canals, at a capital cost of 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre. This is the estimate formed from ample data by one of our first hydraulic engineers.

A charge of 25*s.* per acre for the water would give the canal owners 37½ per cent. net. At this charge for water the cost of good cotton would be as under:—

Land Tax, per acre	...	...	...	...	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Water rate	...	...	...	...	0	3	7
Labour and seed	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
					1	5	0
Total	...	...	...	...	£2	13	7

"Produce 400 lbs., or a fraction over 1½*d.* per lb.

"W. B."

J. Leavitt, D.D., of America, in his Prize Essay gives a beautiful illustration to show the intention of the great Creator of the universe—(page 24) he says, "By the very structure of the world, by the unchangeable conformations of continents and seas, by the diversities of soil and climate and production, and by the inherent distinctions among men in regard to their preferences and capacities, the Creator has clearly manifested his design that the human race should depend upon the mutual exchange of commodities for its highest gratifications and developments." Again he says: "Each party gives that which he values less, and receives in exchange that which he values more, and thus both are enriched by the process. Without trade there could be no riches, and without agriculture there would be no trade. A man might dig diamonds from a mine, and if he could not sell them he would starve in poverty.

"A community may fill itself to overflowing with its own productions, and yet remain poor and barbarous as to the blessings which wealth confers, until it opens its doors to exchange the hitherto worthless contents of its storehouses for the precious products of other climes. As all such interchange is voluntary, it follows that *freedom* is an essential element of commerce.

"Trade is trade only so far as it is free, because the choice of the will is only choice so long as it is free."

With the Author's  
 Compliments  
 The Honorable  
 James Langford

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