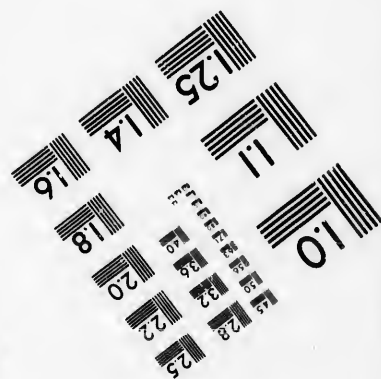
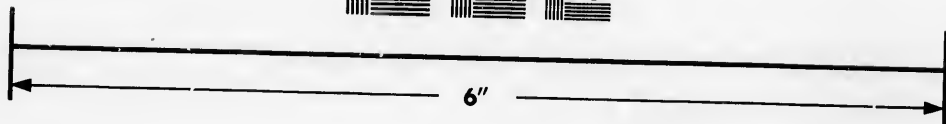
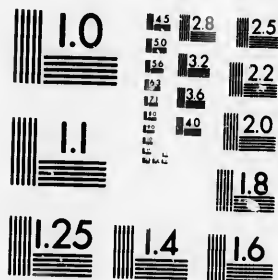


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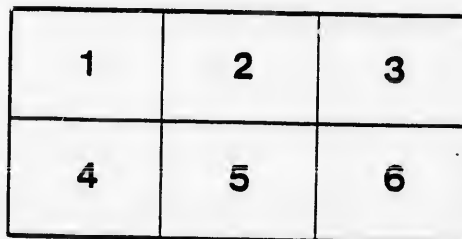
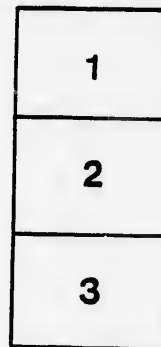
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OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

A Prize Essay

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF THE BRITISH  
COLONIES.

BY

JAMES THOMAS,

AUTHOR OF A "PRIZE ESSAY ON MECHANICS' INSTITUTES."

LONDON:

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## PREFACE.

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SOME six months ago an advertisement was sent me, in which three prizes, of thirty, fifteen, and ten pounds were offered, for the best three essays on the "Advantages Accruing to England from the Possession of her Various Colonies, Considered in an Economical, Political, and Moral Point of View," to be written by operatives.

The gentleman who sent the advertisement remarked, that the subject was not one with which I was at all familiar, and that he did not suppose I should attempt it. I considered the matter over, however, and ultimately decided to do my best with such materials as I could obtain, and the following Essay is the result.



The Rev. John Philip Gell, of Nottingham, conducted the award, and in the account sent by him to the newspapers, where the advertisement appeared, he said, "There were about sixty essays sent in, coming from England, Scotland, and Ireland, nearly all trades, and even the British army, being effectively represented."

The umpires were, the Venerable John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, Sir Henry Young, C.B., who has been the governor of more than one colony, and Mr. Stephen Walcott, one of Her Majesty's commissioners of emigration.

"It was pleasant," observes Sir Henry Young, "to note in all the essays an appreciation of the benefits of emigration, and an abhorrence of severance from Old England and its glorious empire."

"Nine essays," Mr. Gell says, "were selected as keeping best to the point; those, namely, of James Thomas, James Williams, John Laurie, Thomas Stead, Archibald Forbes, Charles Brad-

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ford, 2304, 'No Cross no Crown,' and Z.Z., an invalid silk-weaver. Of these 'No Cross no Crown' was ultimately adjudged the first, Williams second, and Thomas third. The essays of Stead, of 2304, and of Z.Z., were highly commended."

The following essay stands precisely as it was sent to the adjudicator up to page 35. The matter following that has been subsequently added.

In 1859, I wrote a prize essay on Mechanics' Institutes, for Mr. John Cassell; on that occasion James Walker's Essay and mine were deemed of equal merit, and the first and second prizes were divided between us;—Earl Russell said, both were deserving of a first prize. In the same series, Mr. John Plummer gained a second prize, and I was selected to James Walker on Sanitary Reform. It is especially worthy of remark therefore, that both John Plummer and I gained prizes on Social Science, and that four years afterwards, when three prizes

were offered on the Colonies, the same men gained first and third ; we are entitled therefore, to consider that our success is not an accident, but is due to special culture and inherent powers of mind. Indeed, Mr. Plummer is now devoted entirely to literature, and like the dagger in Macbeth, he "marshals me the way that I was going."

Essays written by working men seem a somewhat special feature of the literary history of our time. In past ages, the golden light of literature gilded only the mountain tops, but in our day, it has come down and diffused its light and warmth in the valley below.

The effect of literature on the heart and mind of the son of toil, may be likened to the glory of the dawn, which falling upon the fabled Memnon, made it vibrate with harmonious sounds, and thus shed music over the Egyptian desert.

Literature makes us heirs of all ages, and gives us for companions the most gifted minds, which

have elevated and adorned our nature. I am writing a preface, however, and not a volume; I conclude, therefore, by assuring my fellow-workers, that they will never regret the time spent in mental culture, and that a little experience will soon convince them that the pleasures of literature are more pure and enduring than all the pleasures of sense.

Since writing the above, I have learnt that the Essay entitled 2,304 was written by Mr. McKerris, an old acquaintance of mine, who for several years was a member with me of the Spicer Street Mechanics' Institute. Old members of that Institute will be glad to know, that in a competition open to all England, one of the club obtained a prize, and another honourable mention. I may state also that another member of that club is now a popular writer and lecturer. These facts show, better than a volume of abstract argument, the positive advantages which Mechanics' Institutes confer on the working man.

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JAMES THOMAS.

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## Advantages of the British Colonies.

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THE thoughtful mind is often struck with the importance which politicians and men of action give to the law of precedent. In our superior law courts, the decision upon any pressing question, is influenced fully as much by the ruling of previous judges, as by the real merits of the matter in hand. In all public processions and levees the order of march, and of introduction, is decided by precedent, rather than by right or fitness, and this power is equally the guide of action in diplomacy as in law. And, indeed, upon a closer inquiry, one recognizes in this conduct of men of action a deep significance; for in acknowledging the power of precedent, they are really doing homage to universal human nature and to the general intellectual powers as they have been repeatedly exercised and sanctioned. In all matters of government requiring immediate action, there is, and there should be, strong faith in the uniform tendencies of our nature. Whatever men have done under certain circumstances,

and whatever they have thought, they will do and think again. It is this faith which instituted trial by jury. We say take any twelve men, and let them all hear the same details, and as the Creator has given them all the same sense of right and wrong, their judgment will, and must, be uniform and unanimous. Now it is very much in obedience to this principle that our colonial empire has grown; for history shows that all great states have uniformly sought to extend their power and territory, and England, as much perhaps from instinct as design, has gone and done it wise.

In all ages of the world colonization has gone hand in hand with civilization; and the greatest and most civilized power in every period of history has always been the greatest colonizing power. Emigration began even in Paradise—at least soon after the fall—and has continued throughout history up to this hour.

The Bible tells us man was created in the Garden of Eden; and our profoundest writers on the affinities of language and the migration of races, all agree in tracing man back up the stream of time to that table-land of Asia, sloping as it does on all sides to the sea, indicating that from that stand-point man originally started to carry out the Divine injunction, "Go forth and multiply

and replenish the earth." The old Asiatic monarchies have "died and left no sign,"—all vanished, they and their life-work here below, leaving no trace of what they thought or did, save a few mouldering hillocks and a few broken tombs. As the dawn breaks, however, upon authentic history, we find the learning and enterprise of Egypt going forth under Cecrops to colonize Greece, a power which thus, inheriting the laws and lore of Egypt, became in due time the wonder of the world. When Greece was in the zenith of her power, renowned alike in arts and arms, she, too, sent forth her gay and lively sons to people with Anglo-Saxon energy the waste places of the earth. Her colonies, it is true, were not always mere natural receptacles for an over-crowded population. Her expatriated nobles, often animated by the pride of power and mere lust of conquest, would gather together a host of followers, and pounce upon and subjugate small states or tribes, often making the natives their slaves. Syracuse was thus treated. It is not, however, the motives of the Greek colonists that we have to do with here, but the fact that Greece in her day of power, like England, was a colonizing nation. Rome, also, in her palmy days had either a colony or a dependency in almost every place where man had a fixed habitation.



Rome, many will say, should be to us a warning rather than an example, knowing as we do the extent of her power and the greatness of her fall. We answer, Rome deserved to fall; for her decline was due fully as much to internal decay as external invasion. She was deficient in the one thing which lies at the basis of all stable power, namely, that moral conscientiousness which distinguishes England in her treatment of her dependencies. Rome made her colonies sources of military power and revenue, drawing from them by force troops and money. This was wrong—having no regard to the rights of others—it was wrong,—contrary to inexorable justice, and therefore it failed. The taxes thus wrongfully levied induced laziness and luxury, and the troops thus obtained were useless in the hour of need. The moral which England should draw from the story of Rome is, not that she should abandon all her dependencies and leave her colonies to the mercy of the world, but that she should continue to treat them as she now does—with scrupulous justice; seeing that right alone is permanent, and that the future will bear upon its bosom the fruit of all our evil deeds and days. Leaving Rome, and coming down to later times, we find Spain, in the reigns of Elizabeth and Cromwell, was the one dominant power in Europe, her tem-

porary greatness being due almost wholly to her colonies; but by imitating Old Rome in her foreign policy, and New Rome in her religious, she has dwindled down to a second-rate power. After Spain, came England, and it is now the boast of the Anglo-Saxon that the sun never sets on the Queen's dominions.

The conclusion which we draw from this historic illustration is, that colonization is a necessity for all highly-civilized, which always means overcrowded, countries, and that the dominion which attends it, is consonant alike to the sense of power, and to the nature of man. Our argument up to this point is, that England in founding her colonial empire, has only followed in the footsteps of all great nations, and if, as it has been said—"History is philosophy, teaching by example," England has certainly acted very philosophically!

In proceeding with our subject, there are two ways in which it can be treated: in the first, we may enforce and illustrate the advantages to England, arising from her colonies, or we may confine ourselves to the much narrower question, of whether we gain any advantage in further retaining them. For many reasons, we shall confine ourselves mainly to the first statement, but principally, because the terms of the question obviously

require us to do so, namely,—“The advantages accruing to England, collectively and individually, from the possession of her various colonies,—considered in economical, political, and moral points of view.”

The question of colonial Independence, will not detain us long, although Goldwin Smith, in the true spirit of a special pleader, considers that the help of the mother country is fruitful only of evil. Avoiding, if possible, Mr. Smith's error, and remembering that all excessive statements only injure the cause for which they are advanced, we will at once admit that the right of colonial independence is, in the abstract, admitted by all parties, and that its actual—absolute realization is only a question of time. The only difference between our Government and Goldwin Smith, being whether the time for abandoning our colonies be already come; our Government think not, and we also incline to that opinion.

Time was when the Government of the day following too much in the spirit of other nations, considered their colonies as so many subject provinces, from which revenue could be wrung at pleasure, and such selfish laws and regulations enacted, as caprice or pride might dictate. The struggle, however, for American independence, gave the death-blow to all such folly and injustice.

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And the connection now is not one of slave and tyrant, as Mr. Smith would have us believe, but one rather of mutual benefit; for while on the one side there is opened up to us a new source of trade, and a home found for surplus labour; on the other there is given to the poor wanderer from his home, the kindly help and protection of his native land. This needful help, which England gives to her infant colonies,—to the poor exiles, who leave her shores in sorrow, rather than fill her unions, has been represented as a great injustice to English tax-payers, as having no origin but pride, and no end but folly and disaster.

Certainly, in so far as our colonies provide a home for our struggling poor, the cost of protection may seem to be entailed for the sake of a class; but as an offset to this expense, the tax-payers are relieved from the liability of providing for this surplus population, in the shape of poor-law relief. Taking an average of three years—the tax-payers of this country have had to support in our Unions, 864,700 persons; and out of this number, 128,000 were able-bodied adults; it is tolerably certain, therefore, that this large number had to be kept, for want of sufficient employment. If we turn now to the emigration statistics for this last sixteen years, we shall find that upwards of four millions have left the United Kingdom

during that period ; and of this large number it is surely not too much to say, that one-half would be only just removed from the pauper-class, and that emigration was the only thing which prevented them from falling into it. The tax-paying class, therefore, as distinguished from the indigent poor, get indirectly an equivalent for their share in colonial protection, in reduced poor-rates. It should also be remembered, that the spirit of colonization has undergone of late years an entire change ; it is not now confined to the mere working classes, but men of education, and refinement—the struggling barrister, the decayed shop-keeper, even the younger members of the aristocracy, sometimes go to the colonies in search of a fortune, hoping for and often finding, in doing so, a worthy and an independent career.

It is not only the labouring class that is overstocked, but all grades,—the army, navy, law, medicine, trade, all are full ; and colonization is the only remedy,—a remedy which all classes are more and more inclined to use. On one occasion, and that not an uncommon one, ninety-seven barristers attended the summer assizes at York, the criminal trials were under forty, and of course the leading men would be in almost every case, the result therefore was certain ; six out of eight could have no brief whatever.

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The writer of this essay some twenty years ago formed an acquaintance with a young man whose ambition led him to study for one of the learned professions; and for many years it was his constant hope and solace, that if success failed to attend his efforts, Canada or New Zealand would give him that opening which fate denied him here. With my friend, the colonies as a probable home in the future, were constantly in view; so much so, that he bought a large tool chest well furnished, and a carpenter's bench, and in the intervals of study regularly applied himself to mechanical work. He studied also scientific and practical farming, such as the nature and value of different soils, changing of crops, &c., and so prepared himself in quiet anticipation for any change that might come; in fact, I am certain that the knowledge that England had colonies on the other side of the Atlantic, where the same laws and liberties existed as in his own country, gave in his case hope to effort, and to his life passable enjoyment.

The pitying sympathy of Professor Smith for the poor English tax-payer seems after all, then, scarcely needed; for the benefits accruing to England from the possession of her various colonies are flowing in fertilizing streams among all classes of society. Only a month ago a gen-

tleman came for an outfit where this writer is employed, and upon inquiry, it appeared he was going with his family to New Zealand, taking with him about a thousand pounds, intending to purchase land, and so secure the honorable independence of a rising family.

We ought, furthermore, to consider that, even supposing England could shirk out of colonial protection and shift the expenses, it would not be a simple saving; for these expenses are incurred, not for strangers, but for our own brothers and sisters, and "still keep a bower pleasant for us, full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing," a home and a heritage for us and our children.

The one practical question to be asked and answered is, Are we, as Englishmen, willing to give to our enterprising friends, who go out from our midst to subdue the desert, that help and protection which they require till they can afford to help themselves? Most assuredly we are.

These expenses, of course, should not be looked upon either by the colonies or the home government as of perpetual obligation; indeed we would suggest that, at some stated period, say every two years or so, they should undergo a rigid revision; so that, as a colony grows in strength and importance, demanding and obtain-

ing self-control and responsible government, it should be required to contribute more and more towards its military expenses. These changes, be it remembered, are always at the command of the home government, as it can withdraw its forces at pleasure. If any colony, therefore, be flourishing, and selfishly refuse to pay towards its military expenses, and neglect to organize a militia, our forces should be at once withdrawn, as the loss of protection would soon bring them to reason.

It is an important consideration, in opposition to Professor Smith, that we have always the remedy in our own hands. Look at Canada for instance, the most populous of all our colonies, and the most ripe for independence; her interest and effort have too often been to let England pay her military expenses, and to do generally as little as possible towards her own defence; well, we can withdraw our troops if we please, but we think the expense of protecting Canada, gives us advantage in case of a war with America, and that for political and imperial reasons, the money is well laid out. Whether, however, it be so is certainly open to question; the cost of protecting Canada, to the imperial government, being in 1857, £246,484. The question of Canada, however, will be more appropriately discussed, when we



come to speak of the political advantages of the colonies, merely remarking here, that we think the expense hitherto incurred has been justified by political considerations.

It appears by a return circulated by the National Colonial Emigration Society, that the cost to the imperial government of protecting all our colonies for the year 1857, was under one million and a half; and economically considered—the ~~one~~ grand thing which justifies this outlay is unquestionably our immense colonial trade. According to the latest colonial returns published, we exported goods in 1859, to the British colonies alone, to the amount of £46,143,996. The cost of protection, therefore, was less than 3 per cent. on the gross exports. It will be seen, of course, that this is a fair argument, when the question is one of profit and loss, accruing from the possession of colonies. It may very likely be true, that we should do a great trade with our colonies, if our protection were withdrawn; but the question cannot be narrowed down to Professor Smith's dimensions; namely, protection or no protection, as in that sense, in an economical point of view, there is no question to consider.

It may, however, be said perhaps, that this large trade is all very well, for those who get the

profits; but how does it benefit the national exchequer? We answer, in numberless ways. The profits gained by our countrymen, upon forty-six millions of exports, would not be much less than ten millions.

In all exported clothing—there is a profit on the manufacture of the raw material; whether cotton, or wool; there is also a second profit on the making of cotton and woollen fabrics into garments, and if we reckon each profit at 15 per cent., which is not far from the fact, we shall get the estimated sum of ten millions as profit.

Now, this profit is fairly taxable as income, and will produce to the exchequer, £300,000, one-fifth of the whole cost of the colonies, to the imperial government. Again, besides this charge on the income of our merchants, the exchequer draws a large revenue from the wages of the labourer. In an export trade of forty-six millions, there would be seven or eight millions paid for labour, nearly all of which would be spent at once in taxable commodities, averaging a large per centage as profit to the government. Any coat or suit, selling for forty-six shillings, would quite average eight shillings for making, in many instances ten or twelve. There would also be a further gain upon all the money spent by the capitalists in taxable commodities: thus, in mani-

fold ways, our colonial trade helps on the great wheels of state. Our foreign trade, it will not be denied, is the chief source of the greatness, and the power of England; and like the sun's rays, or the influence of gravitation, its power is diffused throughout all society, and operates even where it cannot be traced.

It is important also to observe, that our colonial trade obeys the law of growth, and that our estimate of profit and loss must not be confined to what is already realized. When our merchants and traders commence business, the first year's profit seldom covers the original outlay; and it is just so with our colonies. They require, like young trees, to be protected and fostered till they acquire strength to withstand the storm, and can flourish without the support of the time when they were planted.

In 1826, the value of our exports to the British colonies was only two millions; in 1859, it was forty-six millions. The cost of protection in the former year was two millions and a half—in the latter, only one million and a half; so that the cost is decreasing, and may cease when we will it; while the profit is increasing in a compound ratio. In 1826, we exported to America goods to the value of five millions; in 1859, she took twenty-four millions, an increase of scarcely

500 per cent., while the increase to the British colonies during the same period was 2,200 per cent. In spite of these facts, we are told that our colonies would be equally as profitable if they were independent, and our increased trade with America is pointed to as proof and illustration. To which it is easy to answer—Our trade with America has increased with the increase of her population. In 1826, with twelve millions of inhabitants, she took five millions of produce; in 1859, with a population of thirty millions, she took twenty-four millions. It is clearly to the increase of her population, and not to her independence, that we owe the increase of her trade. The true test between America and the British colonies, in point of trade, will be found in the amount which each takes per head of the population. The trade with America, in 1826, averaged 9s. per head of her population, while our own colonies averaged 40s. In 1859, America took goods to the value of 16s. 3d. per head. The British colonies took in the same year about £7 per head; and this last four years Australia has actually averaged £14 10s. per head of her population. It is as simple, therefore, and as certain, as a rule-of-three sum, that during the infancy of any colony, the demand for the produce of the mother country is relatively greater than at any after period. Thus,

while we give them help and protection, we get immediately a considerable return, and are laying the foundation of future greatness and prosperity.

We shall proceed, in the next place, to notice a few of the political advantages accruing to England from the possession of her colonial power.

In casting our eye over the current field of European politics, and in endeavouring to ascertain the cause and meaning of passing events, one is struck with the immense importance which attaches to the distribution of power, not only as regards the well-being of any one state, but also in reference to the peace and prosperity of the world. When we think of the long years of misrule, of broken promises, making the heart sick with "hope deferred," which has composed the history for some fifty years of the Italians and the Poles; and when we contemplate the issue of all this in the Italian war, and in the present gallant struggle of the Poles to get free, we cannot help seeing and saying,—“It is not without reason that our statesmen are sensitively jealous of the annexation of any state to an unfriendly or an arbitrary power.”

What is it at the present moment which disturbs all European cabinets, and threatens to produce a European war? Why, nothing, but because Poland is subject to a tyrant, and is not

treated as England treats all her colonies and dependencies! How vast, then, is the political importance to England of having forty-four rising states scattered over the world; all acknowledging her authority, and receiving from her free laws and institutions, and that protection which is needful during their early growth. It is the pride and glory of England, and should be of every Englishman, that his country is the noble nursing mother of forty-four free and rising nations! Nineteen only of our colonies came to us by original settlement; the other five-and-twenty were the result of successful war, or came to us by treaty, or by cession: and the case of Italy and Poland clearly show that our statesmen were right in accepting, and are justified in keeping, the control and protectorate over these dependencies, rather than leave them to the tender mercies of Russia, or France, or Spain, or any other power.

Our colonies combine for us the political advantages of both the Greek and the Roman: like the latter they serve England as military outposts, and like the former they establish and diffuse her laws, and her freedom.

Again, one of the greatest questions which, for the last two centuries, has occupied the minds of statesmen, and has underlain half the European wars during that period, is the Balance of Power.

By this expression it is meant, of course, that none of the states known as the Great Powers should be allowed to aggrandize itself at the expense of any other, so as to overawe it. It was this fear which caused the excitement in England, and produced a certain amount of coolness in our statesmen towards France, when she annexed Nice and Savoy. It was not that the annexation would immediately injure us, but it was the increase of French power and territory, and the preponderance it would give her in time of war, that was so offensive; and it is influencing even now our foreign policy. The possession of Nice and Savoy was considered, at the time, to be equal to 100,000 men, in the event of a war with England.

The balancing system of modern times is a product of the ages, and was suggested by the history of nearly all ancient states. After the Asiatic monarchies, came Persia; then Macedon, under Alexander; then Greece; and last, but not least, Rome: all, in their turn, aimed at universal empire. The evils which arose from this ambition of the ancients suggested to modern statesmen the principle of the Balance of Power.

These remarks will help us to estimate the political advantages of some of our colonies, and especially of Canada. Political power consists

mainly in its relation to other and proximate powers, and is valuable chiefly as a counterpoise. Thus the value of political power in Canada arises from the preponderance and increasing importance of the United States. And if we look at the immense extent and resources of the American continent, we shall soon see how necessary it is, in accordance with these views, for European powers to prevent the absorption and consolidation of its various states under one government. Indeed, we think it is easy to show, that the separation of America into two, if not three, distinct states, would in the end be a blessing to the world, and prevent, perhaps, many future wars—an opinion evidently shared by a great majority of our statesmen, as proved by their ill-concealed sympathy with the South. Even our intense hatred of slavery is not sufficient to prevent our interest in separation becoming apparent.

It has been estimated that, if the natural resources of America were fully developed, it would be capable of supporting 3,600,000,000 of inhabitants, a number five times as great as the whole population of the globe. It has also been calculated that, at the present ratio of increase, this immense number will actually be in existence on the American continent within two or three centuries. The facts which support this



view will be found primarily in the shape and position of the continent itself. In shape, it is long and narrow, being 10,500 miles long, and sufficiently narrow to obtain throughout the interior the fertilizing showers of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Rain falls on seven-eighths of her soil. On the contrary, Asia and Africa are so wide, that the interiors are almost everywhere a desert. Of the thirty-one million square miles occupied by Europe, Asia, and Africa, only one-third is productive, and of that third a part is poor; but at least four-fifths of the soil of America is good, and capable of profitable cultivation. Indeed the two prime conditions of all growth are found there,—due heat and due moisture. The number, also, and magnitude of navigable rivers, coupled with the power of steam, will give to America a great preponderance in the future over any single state in the Old World. A modern writer states, that the “Amazon alone discharges a greater quantity of water than the eight principal rivers of Asia,—the Euphrates, Indus, Oby, Sena, Amour, and the Yellow River and Kangtze of China. The Mississippi, with its branches, affords a greater amount of inland navigation than all the streams which irrigate Europe; and the Plata in this respect is superior to all the collective waters of Africa.” The

rivers of America are not only superior in volume, as this writer says, but they are so situated, that, with their branches, they penetrate everywhere to the very heart of the continent. The American rivers also are less rapid than those of Europe, and therefore more adapted for commerce. The Mississippi flows only four miles per hour; an advantage owing, of course, to the more gradual rise of her internal elevations.

It follows, we think, pretty conclusively from this description of America, that our statesmen are amply justified in retaining under their control at least one-fourth of that continent, comprised in Canada and the British North American possessions. The present civil war will probably end in the separation of North and South; and some fifty years hence perhaps Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, British Columbia, and Vancouver's Island, may amalgamate and form a third great state. This probable division of the American continent into three distinct states would be a great political advantage to England, and a valuable support to the balancing system of modern times.

The political advantage of retaining Canada was even greater before the civil war than it is now, for the Americans themselves are clearly hastening to a division without European interference. The political importance of Canada was

conspicuously illustrated, also, in the recent affair of the Trent. The action of our government was justified by the general voice of our countrymen. The troops immediately sent, and the expense incurred, were deemed wise precautionary measures; but if Canada had not been ours, we could not have taken such judicious and prompt preparatory steps; and in that case the American answer might have been different, and England have been involved in a perilous war. Canada herself also seems more alive to the value of the British connection, for we learn by recent reports that she has 190,000 militia in her lower, and 280,000 in her upper provinces. These numbers seem certainly too large, and most likely include all men capable of being draughted. The *Times*, however, in a recent article, says, that 100,000 men are periodically drilled, and that in case of need, a second draught could be made; that these are well officered and supported by 35,000 volunteers, forming, with a nucleus of Imperial troops, a respectable line of defence in case of attack. We learn also from the Canadian papers, that the people of Red River settlement, have petitioned the provincial parliament for the opening of a road from Canada to British Columbia; and a trans-American railway has been suggested, running through Canada and British Columbia, thus connecting the Atlantic with the

Pacific, shortening and cheapening our transit to China and Japan.

Of late years the Pacific has been more frequently visited by our merchant ships and men-of-war. The breaking down of Asiatic reserve, and the gradual opening up of a large trade with China, Polynesia, and Japan, have given to the possession of British Columbia and Vancouvers Island, a new commercial and political importance. Until 1859, when Vancouvers Island and British Columbia were converted into British Colonies, the English navy had no harbour of their own, along the whole of the Western Coast of America. In connection with the anglo-American Boundary Commission, Her Majesty's ship, *Satellite*, made a long stay in Esquimalt harbour, and its capabilities and importance as a naval station, thus became recognized; and it is now the principal naval rendezvous on the American side of the Pacific. In connection with our daily increasing trade, and, indeed, political influence in China and Japan, the importance of Vancouvers Island can scarcely be over-estimated. In the event of another war with China, our ships could go to Esquimalt and refit, and get coal and provisions. The sick and wounded might be left there; the great salubrity of the climate and the convenience for hospital accommodation, rendering it an excellent sanatorium for our China

fleet. This is the more necessary because the China station is a very unhealthy one. The climate of China is not adapted to the English constitution. Even time does not improve it—for the longer one stops, the worse one gets; and our merchants who go there are obliged occasionally to seek renewed health in a change of climate. A recent writer says, "that it is not uncommon for our ships on the China station to return with one-half, one-third, or even fewer, of their original crew, and many of these with broken health."

On Her Majesty's ship, "Nankin," stationed at China from 1855-58, the average sick was  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., while on Her Majesty's ship, "Topaz," at Vancouver's Island, the average sick was only  $2\frac{4}{5}$  per cent., the number of each crew and the time of staying being similar. Her Majesty's ships on the China stations are frequently obliged to leave through sickness; and as Esquimalt is only 6,000 miles instead of 12,000, the distance from home, it would be a great saving of time and money—and, indeed, of life—to send them there; for many a brave man has lost his life in going through the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope.

In another part of the world, our important garrisons of Malta and Gibraltar, give us powerful influence in the Mediterranean Sea, and our possessions at the Cape, Mauritius, and Ceylon, are intimately connected with our Indian Empire,

and form a connected chain of military posts, useful in coaling and refitting our ships as they go and come from our dependencies in the eastern seas. In fact, our possessions on almost every shore, are so important in increasing our commerce, and so useful in protecting it, that England would not, and could not, be what she is, without them.

We hasten now, in the last place, to indicate a few of the moral and social considerations, connected with the subject in hand.

Some half century ago, there was a celebrated book published on the laws of population, in which it was argued that population increased faster than the means of production, and that, therefore, it was necessary to check marriages. This idea suggested by Mr. Malthus, and now well known as the Malthusian theory, created for some time considerable alarm; upon inquiry, however, it appeared that Providence had provided for the Malthusian difficulty, and that the true law of population is, that it follows production, and only incidentally precedes it. The natural, that is, the possible, ratio of increase, would doubtless lead to the evils which Mr. Malthus indicated; but there are moral checks to population, which chiefly govern it, that he entirely overlooked. Man has a mind as well as a body; a power of looking before, and after, and the number of marriages in

any given year is governed chiefly by the trade prospects of that year. In nearly all classes, men marry only when their prospects brighten, and they see a fair chance of supporting a wife and family. In 1852-3, following the great Australian emigration, there were double the number of marriages in England, than during 1848-9—the years following the commercial panic. No man, therefore, of instructed understanding has any fear now, of the Malthusian theory. There is one point, however, connected with it, which touches the very keystone of our subject, namely; that while population does not as a rule overrun production, it does in fact tread close upon its heels, and in all great commercial panics, such as the failure of the cotton supply, it comes practically, as far as it operates, to the same thing, as though increase in numbers had outstripped production,—and we have, as in Lancashire at the present moment, a great surplus of population. Independently, however, of such great events as the cotton crisis, there is a constant tendency to temporary excesses of population; and more especially so in a commercial country like England. As we said above, marriages are governed by trade prospects, and therefore go on probability; all failure, then, in these prospects leads to—or rather leaves, an excess of population, and induces as a consequence great distress and priva-

tion. And in a country like ours, depending so much upon the changes in foreign trade, overpopulation must, in one class or another, be a thing of constant recurrence. We must, therefore, have some outlet—some new fields open for our surplus labour, and this outlet has been, and is, supplied to us in our colonies. The moral effects, then, upon the social life of England through the possession of our colonies, break like sunlight on the mind. Its salutary and soothing influence is not confined to the time when distress is at the door, and the cry of our children for bread is driving us to despair; but the knowledge that England has colonies where freedom reigns, and work is plentiful, and success is certain; if we should ever wish, or be obliged to go, throws a tender light of hope and gladness, over the struggles of the working man; easing his mind of that ever lurking dread of the workhouse, and replacing it with the idea of a new home, and a new hope.

Again, that every son of Adam should take a daughter of Eve is the natural tendency and law of human life, and any state of society which helps to make that possible, aids in establishing that state of things which Bentham considered the justifier of all moral action, namely, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." That our colonies help to do this is certain, for since 1846 at least 100,000 human beings have left these



shores annually, seeking a new home in the British possessions.

These emigrants, instead of stopping at home, and choking up all the avenues of trade, have opened up to us new fields of commerce, giving us at their exodus, a better chance of success, and ultimately stimulating us to renewed activity.

Emigration has a direct moral effect, in preventing forced celibacy; for whatever helps to control and regulate the master passion of our nature, conduces to the greatest sum of human happiness and prosperity.

Old bachelors and old maids are generally considered sour, selfish, and disagreeable, a misery to themselves and others. In some classes, too, where there is a deficiency of moral principle, and a total absence of religion, forced celibacy leads doubtless to sorrow and sin.

Poverty is in itself no sin, but when it happens to be allied to ignorance and weakness it often leads to crime; and emigration as a means of preventing and removing masses of destitution, must be considered a great conservator of morals.

Our colonial empire must have also a moral and stimulating effect upon the minds of youth, when they are told for the first time, that the power of England is not confined to this little Island, but is known and felt in every sea. It makes them feel, that their efforts in the battle

of life must be worthy of their country's fame, and leads them in mature life to dare and do things from which they would otherwise recoil.

The student of history searches in vain for a parallel to the progress which England has made this last half century. In 1812 our population was only ten millions, in 1863 it is thirty millions. This increase is due chiefly to the application of the new power of steam, to material products. By being the first to seize the new giant, we have become the manufacturers to the whole world, and simultaneously with this, the development of our colonies has greatly helped to sustain this wonderful progress, and this extraordinary industry.

Finally, there is one other question connected with this subject of colonization, interesting alike to the philanthropist and the philosopher, namely, whether the advance of civilized man is destined necessarily to extinguish the native races, with which he thus comes in contact. If it can be proved that the missionary, as some have said, is only the pioneer to the destroyer of the race which he goes to civilize, it will furnish a serious argument against the right of colonization. It may, indeed, even then be argued, that the earth is the heritage of the good and the strong; and that with the force and certainty of natural law, imbecility gives place to intellect in all provinces of life. This argument, however, contains a weak

point, inasmuch as it assumes that evil may be done, that good may come. Man has a moral as well as a physical nature, and although in the past physical force has been the chief instrument of government, in the future, the security and permanence of political power will consist mainly in its moral dominion.

The moral argument against colonization, which is suggested by the destruction of the Mohawk and Pequod tribes of North America, seems to have greatly influenced our Government in their treatment of the Maori race in New Zealand. And it is with pride and pleasure we announce, as Englishmen, that, for the first time in the history of colonization, the English Government has uniformly treated the native race of New Zealand with considerate kindness and beneficent authority! The Christian missionary was the first to come permanently in contact with the Maori race, and when the natural advantages and political importance of New Zealand became known, the Church Missionary Society opposed its colonization; and the Government also opposed it at first, thinking that the struggle for mastery which would at once ensue, would impair missionary influence, and probably end in Maori extermination. But the colonization of New Zealand was, for various reasons, too long to detail here, at length forced upon the Government;

and when the natives formally ceded the sovereignty to the British Crown we guaranteed that no land should be taken from them without due consent and just purchase. And when the war began it was not strictly through a violation of this guarantee, but through a misunderstanding, —the cause, Carlyle says, of all wars whatever. The native chiefs no doubt considered our conduct a violation of the treaty of Waitangi; and we, on the contrary, thought we were only protecting property purchased by the settlers from, and with the consent of, the natives. From their own points of view both were right.

The natives who sold the land were violating, it seems, tribal rights, and the justice of the sale was denied by the chiefs. These tribal rights were scarcely known, and certainly not recognised by the colonial government; they considered, therefore, that, by employing force, they were only protecting property lawfully purchased. With mutual explanations and a proper understanding, the war closed; and the colonial government of New Zealand has never violated the instructions given to its first governor Captain Hobson, "to obtain by fair and equal *contracts* with the natives such *waste* lands as may be progressively required by the settlers resorting to New Zealand."

In the absence of governmental control, we

should have had the same scenes enacted as followed the colonization of America; the same wilful and violent treatment of the natives followed by reprisal and midnight massacre, in which whole settlements were swept away, ending necessarily either in the expulsion of the settlers or the extermination of the natives. The New Zealand Company even urged the Government to set aside the treaty of Waitangi, and to seize by force upon all land not actually occupied; but the Government from the first has acted as the protector of the native race, and has never allowed the mere law of force to dominate over moral ideas.

The New Zealand Company, on the contrary, seized upon the land of the natives, and thus brought about the first armed collision, by which nineteen Europeans were killed and five wounded. The Secretary of State, instead of defending injustice because it had been done by his countrymen, said, and to his honour be it again recorded, "My regard for the memory of the deceased does not acquit me of the obligation of stating explicitly my judgment of their proceedings. It is a painful duty; but that judgment is, that they needlessly violated the rules of the law of England, the maxims of prudence, and the principles of justice." Thus the British Government has kindly thrown its protecting shield over the

native race, determined from the outset to try the grand experiment, whether a great section of the human family, long sunk in ignorance and barbarism, could, by just treatment, be elevated to the perception and the enjoyment of the habits of civilized life.

It cannot perhaps, be strictly said that this experiment has wholly succeeded; but enough has been done to justify the effort made, and to make it almost certain that our best wishes will ultimately be attained; and that the presence of civilized man does not necessarily lead to the extermination of the savage. The fearful state of cannibalism into which the Maori race had sunk, will be best conveyed, perhaps, by describing scenes which occurred on a native battle-field, as recently as 1836,—The battle is over and the combatants are encamped apart, but instead of being engaged in piously interring those who have fallen in honourable combat, you see here and there a number of bodies laid out, previously to their being cut up for the oven. “By-and-by, a body apparently that moment killed, is dragged into the camp. The head is cut off, almost before you can look round, the breast is opened and the heart is steaming with warmth, pulled out and carried off.” The historian says:—that the opposite party remained for two days after the battle, to gorge on sixty human bodies.”

And that retired somewhat apart, a little child might be seen nursing in his lap, as if for a plaything, one of the slain chief's hands.

Such was New Zealand in 1836. Now, on the contrary, native children, neatly clad in English dresses, may be seen on the Sabbath day, wending their way to the Sabbath school; and side by side with them sit many an aged chief, not long ago an unmitigated savage; learning patiently, and meekly, the simple truths of the Gospel. "The chief and the slave," says Bishop Broughton, "stand side by side, with the same holy volume in their hands, each endeavouring to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them." The great majority of the Maori people are now professing Christians, strict observers of the Sabbath, and regular communicants. A statement which is not true, so far as we know, of any other tribe or nation, savage or civilized. We give it, however, on the authority of Mr, Swainson, for fifteen years Attorney-General of New Zealand.

In intellectual matters, the native children seem to make great progress; the Government Inspector reports of one school, that "they write remarkably well, and know the elementary rules of arithmetic—both as applied to simple numbers and to money. In the practice of farming also, they are gradually falling into European habits: at one time they only used a pointed stick to turn



up the land, and as soon as the ground required manure, they left it for a more virgin soil; this habit alone tended to produce and sanction a vagrant life, and a mere temporary habitation.

The Waikato Maories, in a letter inserted in a native newspaper, says:—"Our hearts have been set upon searching out some of the customs of the Europeans, we have purchased cattle and sheep, and are now turning our attention to farming. Our lands are now divided into portions; and these have been marked off as runs for cattle and sheep, and for growing wheat, potatoes, oats, clover, grass, &c., for disposal to the Europeans. We wish this letter to be printed by the 'Maoris' Messenger;' that our European friends may know our thoughts. This method of cultivating the land, will lead to fixed habitations, and improved homes, and, coupled with the moral and intellectual improvements enumerated, establish, we think, the fact that the Maori race is not destined to extinction; and that in the case of the Pequod and the Mohawk, it was due to the influence of lawless force, unchecked by moral ideas; and not a necessary result of the nature of things,—the difference between the two cases being wholly in favour of the British Government."

Our task now is well-nigh ended, and like the traveller, who during the heat of the day, has



plodded over dreary moor, and swelling upland ; and in the cool of the evening finds himself on a pleasant table land, inclined to look back on the road he has traversed ; even so, in like manner and mood, we, also, would glance at the steps we have taken, and indulge in a few reflections suggested by the journey.

We commenced by calling attention to the fact, that all great states in their prime and palmy days have been great colonizing states ; and we showed that the tendency to emigration in all populous countries was so constant and certain as to force the conviction that it was in strict accordance with the wants and condition of man. With this strong support drawn from the history of our race, we proceeded with some confidence to investigate the question of finance, and to ask ourselves whether England, in an economical point of view, is a real gainer from the possession of her various colonies. Here, however, we must admit, our position is not so clear, and critics will doubtless say it is the weakest point of our argument. We think, nevertheless, we have clearly shown that the cost has, and may still more, continually decrease, while the profits are increasing every day. Our colonies, many of them were, doubtless, seized, in the first place, for the mere love of power, and were maintained for many years regardless of expense and in defiance of the world ;

but this phase of our national policy is rapidly passing away, and our statesmen no longer desire to retain dependencies from the mere pride of power, as is shown by their recent and voluntary relinquishment of the Ionian Islands. The Duke of Newcastle said, in a speech about a year ago, he hoped England would never more use force against any of her colonies; in fact, it is pretty generally admitted that colonial independence is only a question of time.

This being so, we have clearly arrived at the point, when the question of expenditure is the one thing chiefly to consider. Strongly impressed with this conviction, we suggested that the cost of our colonies should be subjected periodically to a rigid examination; for, although we believe the prosperity and power of England are greatly indebted to her colonial possessions, we would neither retain them by force nor spend money upon them without sense or reason. Let us be clearly understood, we mean we would not hold our colonies against their own properly expressed will; but, against any other European power, we would retain them and protect them against all comers. For we hold most religiously that it is the mission and the responsible duty of England, standing as she does in the foremost file of nations, to see that throughout the world, wherever her influence and power extend, humanity

shall not be crushed by misgovernment, but that full scope shall be given for the culture and development of our nature in all its strength and fullness.

The one thing in modern times which indicates political progress is the increasing tendency to govern less by physical force than by an appeal to reason and moral opinion. And we believe England is the greatest moral power, politically considered, that exists, or ever has existed, in this world. Her mission is to uphold by her public action the great principles of justice; and we fearlessly assert, without fear of contradiction, that no great power throughout history has ever treated its colonies and dependencies with such scrupulous justice and such manly integrity.

Brother reader, if we forget all else, let us at least remember this,—the moral nature of man, the principles of justice implanted in us by the Creator, more than wealth, or even intellect, will finally fix the character, and more or less govern the duration, of both man and nations. When the Creator first placed man upon this rock-built earth, and gave him dominion over the “fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field,” what was it, think you, which made him say, that he had created him in his own image? It was not his physical structure, beautiful and wonderful though it be,—“in form and moving, express and ad-

mirable,"—it was not even his intellect, with its power of peering into space, of weighing the planets as they roll, of comprehending the principle which rules all solar and stellar laws; it was not any or all these; but because he had given him a moral nature—a conscience which not only distinguishes right from wrong, but which approves the right and condemns the wrong; it was because he had given him moral affections, and a large heart, which "wells out in sympathy with all living and lifeless things," and melts in dewy pity alike over the sins and follies of his brother. Look at that giant range of mountains called the Alleghanies which frowns down upon the Atlantic, and now look at that speck called man which walks below, and then declare why that range is only dust in comparison; it is because man has a capacity for *moral action* and *spiritual progress*.

In reflecting upon the rise and fall of nations in connection with our colonial empire, men sometimes ask themselves whether England, like Greece and Rome, is destined to decay, and whether in truth, as Macaulay imagined, the New Zealander shall ever "stand upon the last arch of London-bridge, and sketch the ruins of St. Paul's;" we answer, it matters not to us whether England shall for ages continue great and glorious,—the delight or terror of the nations; but the one thing that

concerns us is, that the power of England should always be exerted on behalf of justice and freedom.

Patriotism was the grandest idea of all antiquity, it was the highest thought to which they could aspire; but England has learnt something nobler than *patriotism*, namely, *humanity*,—the moral and political development of man. It is not primarily important whether this or that section of our race continues predominant; but that humanity in its totality and grandeur should get a free and full development, let us all, as far as we can, help on the “good time coming,”—the fair fame of England is then safe, and needing no anxiety from us, will live for ever, with our “land’s language.”

It is true Rome was once great and powerful, the population of her capital even numbered four millions, and it is now about 150,000; but although Rome has fallen to decay, whatever was truly noble and beautiful in the Roman character still lives in reverential regard in men’s memories. Rome fell, but whatever she produced of the good or the true, either in law or literature, was inherited by her conquerors and diffused throughout the world. It will be even so with England, only what is good in her will live; for truth and justice alone contain that which satisfies, and that which endures.

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