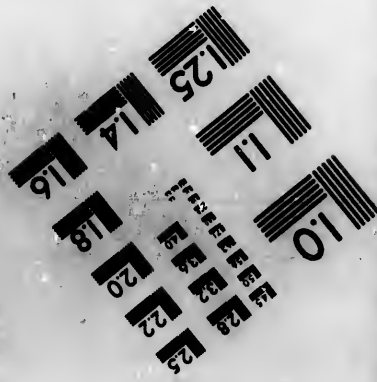
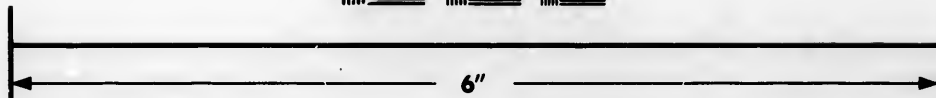
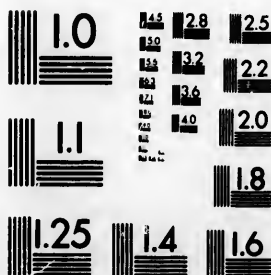


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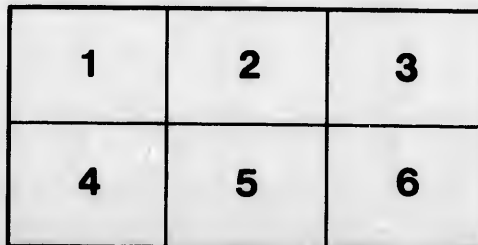
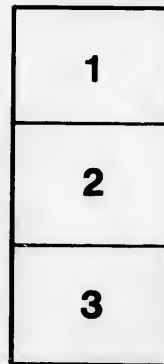
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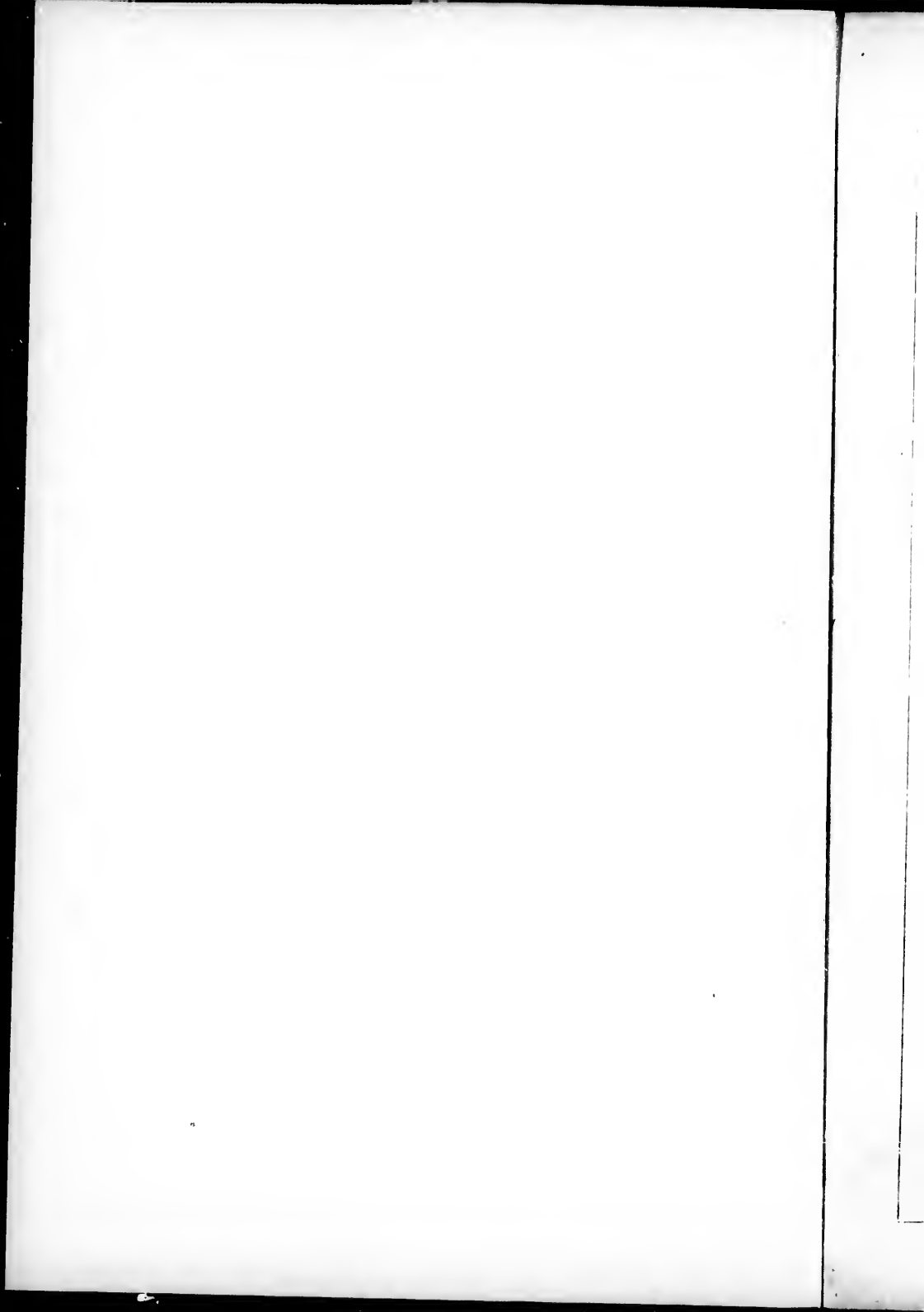
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ENGLAND'S INTEREST

IN

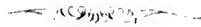
COLONIZATION.

Extracts from a Letter by

THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE,

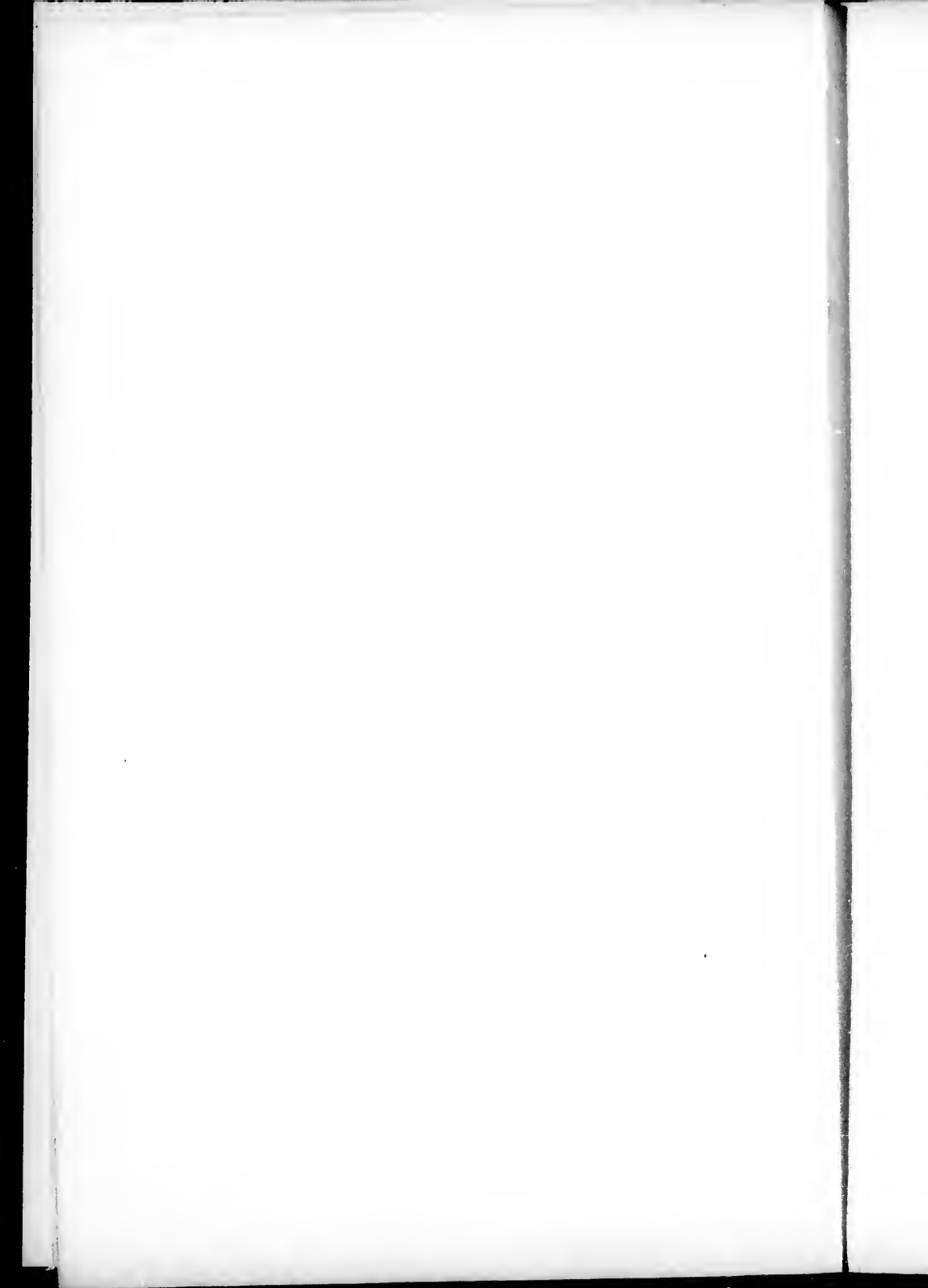
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ENGLAND'S INTEREST IN COLONIZATION.

[*Extracts from a Letter addressed by the Hon. Joseph Howe, Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the 16th of Jan. 1851.*]

For more than a month, I have surveyed with intense earnestness the wide circle of her Colonial dependencies, and sought, in parliamentary and official papers, for some assured prospect of relief from those evils and disorders. I have examined with care the policy of the present and of past governments, and the plans and suggestions of public writers and associations; and have invariably turned to the North American provinces with the conviction that they present, at this moment, the most available and diversified resources for the relief of England; the noblest field for the further development of her industry, philanthropy, and power.

To provide employment for her surplus capital and labour—to extend her home markets, to relieve her poor-rates, to empty her poor-houses, to reform her convicts, to diminish crime, to fill up the waste places of the Empire, and to give the great mass of her population a share of real estate, and an interest in property, I believe to be pre-eminently the mission and the duty of this great country, at the present time.

The subjects of colonization and emigration have been most elaborately discussed. I pass over the points in which writers and speakers differ; in this they all agree,—that the British Islands have an interest in these subjects, second to none that has ever been felt by any nation in ancient or modern times. The enumeration of a few facts will be sufficient to exhibit the grounds of this belief. The statistical returns of 1850 will, I have no doubt, show a state of things much more favourable, but still I fear not so favourable as to shake the general conclusions at which I have arrived. These are founded upon facts, as I find them stated in official documents and works of approved authority.

In Ireland, the lives of the population have for years been dependent upon the growth of a single vegetable. But when it grew, as was stated by the late Charles Buller, uncontradicted, in the House of Commons, on an average there were two millions of

persons who, in that island, were unemployed for thirty weeks in the year. To what extent famine and emigration have since diminished the numbers, I have no means of accurately judging; but it appears that in 1848, besides the £10,000,000 granted by Parliament for the relief of Irish distress, and provisions sent from other countries, £1,216,679 were raised in Ireland for the poor, and that 1,457,194, or nearly one out of every five of the entire population, received relief.

In Scotland, where the population is only 2,620,000, a fifth more than that of British America, £545,334 were expended for the relief of the poor in 1848,—more than was spent by the four British provinces on their civil government, roads, education, lights, interest on debts, and all other services put together; 227,647 persons were relieved, the amount expended on each being £2. 7s. 9d.; a sum quite sufficient to have paid, in a regularly appointed steamboat, the passage of each recipient to British America.

In England, in the same year, £6,180,765 were raised for the relief of the poor, or 1s. 10d. in the pound on £67,300,587. The number aided was 1,176,541; or about one out of every eleven persons occupying this garden of the world. The sum paid for each was even higher than in Scotland, being £3. 5s. 10d. per head,—more than sufficient to have paid the passage to North America from Liverpool or Southampton.

I turn to the workhouses of England; and find that in 1849 there were in these receptacles 30,158 boys, and 26,165 girls, of whom 8,264 were fit for service. In Ireland, there were 60,514 boys and 66,285 girls, under the age of eighteen,—the aggregate in the two countries being 185,122.

Turning to the criminal calendar, it appears that in 1848, there were committed for offences in England, 30,349; in Scotland, 4,900; and in Ireland, 38,522, making 73,771 in all; of whom 6,298 were transported, and 37,373 imprisoned.

I find that in 1849, you maintained in Ireland a constabulary force of 12,828 men, besides horses, at a cost, taking the preceding year as a guide, of £562,506. 10s. In England and Wales you employed 9,829 policemen (including the London police), at a cost of £579,327. 4s. 8d. From Scotland I have no return. But taking the above facts to guide us, it appears that, for mere purposes of internal repression, and the arrest of criminals, to say nothing of beadles and innumerable parish officers, you maintained, in addition to your army, a civic force double in number the entire army of the United States, at a cost (Scotland not being included) of £1,141,833. 14s. 8d.

Think you, my Lord, that when a Republican points exultingly to the returns, and contrasts these statistics of poverty and crime with the comparative abundance and innocence of his own country, and which he attributes to his own peculiar institutions, that a British colonist does not turn, with astonishment, at the apathy of England, to the millions of square miles of fertile territory which

surround him ; to the noble rivers, and lakes, and forests by which the scenery is diversified ; to the exhaustless fisheries ; and to the motive power, rushing from a thousand hills into the sea, and with which all the steam-engines of Britain cannot compete ?

Driven to attribute to British and Irish statesmen a want of courage and forecast to make these great resources available to maintain our brethren and protect their morals, or to suspect the latter of being more idle, degraded, and criminal, than their conduct abroad would warrant, we gladly escape from the apprehension of doing general injustice, by laying the blame on our rulers. May it be the elevated determination of Her Majesty's advisers to relieve us from the dilemma, by wiping out this national reproach.

One set of economists propose to remedy this state of things by restraints upon nature, which are simply impossible, and would be wicked if they were not ; another large political party desire to feed the people by a return to protection and the revival of class interests, with all their delusions and hostilities ; a third look hopefully forward to the further development of domestic industry in accordance with the principles of free trade.

All my sympathies are with the latter ; but while hostile tariffs exist in most of the populous states of Europe and America, I would aid them by the creation of new markets within the Queen's dominions ; by the judicious location of those who are a burden, upon the fertile lands of the Empire, that they may become customers to those who remain at home.

One writer, whose book I have read recently, objects to this, because he says that if any part of the population is displaced, young people will marry, and increase the numbers until the vacuum is filled up. The young ought certainly not to object to this, or the old either. If his theory be sound, it answers the objections of those who fear too great diminution of numbers, by emigration ; and colonization would still have this advantage, that it would strengthen the transatlantic provinces, and make more customers for Britain and Ireland, even should their population remain the same.

But it may be said, there is but one enlightened mode of colonization, and, under the patronage of the Government and of associated companies, that is being very extensively tried in our southern and eastern possessions.

Of the Wakefield theory, I would speak with all respect ; of the combined efforts of public spirited individuals, I would be the last to disapprove ; the judicious arrangements made by the Government commissioners, for the selection of emigrants, the ventilation and security of ships, and the distribution of labour, which I have carefully examined, challenge, in most of their details, my entire approval.

I do not wish to check the progress in these valuable colonies of associated enterprise ; I do not desire to restrict the growth of population within them, or to supersede the functions of the Board

of Land and Emigration; I wish these rising communities God-speed, and success to all those who take an interest in them.

But I turn from them to the North American field, perhaps because I know it best, but assuredly because I believe that to people and strengthen it will secure political advantages of the very highest importance; and because I apprehend that the Eastern Colonies, however they may prosper and improve, will offer but homeopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In the same period, 710,410 went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and a rival power, to entrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, and to become consumers of American manufactures, and of foreign productions, seaborne in American bottoms; they, and the countless generation that has already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the Crown of England.

In twenty-two years, 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand; about half the number on the poor-rate of Scotland in 1848; not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland, or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily-taxed industry in that single year; not more, I apprehend, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland from 1846 to 1850; and less by sixty thousand, than the number of the young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as the Eastern Colonies may be, respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that, whether we regard them as extensive fields for colonization, or as industrial aids for the removal of pressure on the resources of the United Kingdom, the belief, however fondly indulged, is but a delusion and a snare. Were I to go into a calculation of the expense, to show what this emigration has cost the Government and people of England, I could prove this by pregnant illustrations. But two or three simple facts are patent, and lie upon the surface.

Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England. The British provinces of North America but 2,500. Every Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, who embarks for the Eastern Colonies, must be maintained by somebody for a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty days, while he is tossing about in idleness on the sea. The average passage to North America is about forty days. And when the arrangements are complete, to which I hope to have your lordship's countenance and support, emigrants embarking for the North American provinces may reach Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in eight or ten days, and Canada in twelve. The expense of a passage to the East is, to the Government, to the emigrant, or to the capitalist to whom he becomes a debtor, £20. The cost of a passage to the West rarely exceeds

£3. 10s., and may be reduced to £2. 10s., if steamships for the poor are employed.

But mark the disproportion, my Lord, in other respects. If an Englishman or Irishman, with capital, goes to the Eastern Colonies, he must pay £100 sterling for 100 acres of land. If he goes to the Canterbury Settlement, he must pay £300. In Western Canada he can get his 100 acres of the best land in the empire for £40; in Lower Canada for £20; in New Brunswick (where Professor Johnston declares more wheat is grown to the acre than in the best parts of the State of New York) for £12. 10s.; and in Nova Scotia for £10, where, from the extent of mineral treasures, the proximity to Europe, the wealth of the fisheries, and the facilities for and rapid growth of navigation, land is now in many sections, and will soon become in all, as valuable as in any part of Her Majesty's Colonial dominions.

If land is purchased in the Eastern possessions, it is clear that English capital must flow out at the rate of £100 or £300 for every hundred acres. If the poor go out, they must begin Colonial life by owing that amount, and £20 for their passages besides, if they aspire to become proprietors.

A poor Englishman, on the contrary, can get to North America for a few pounds. If he works a single winter at the seal-fishery of Newfoundland, or on the wharves in Nova Scotia, or a single summer in the rural districts or timber forests of New Brunswick, he can save as much as will pay for his passage and his land.

But it is said that these high prices are paid, not for land alone, but for the civilization, without which land is of little value; for roads, bridges, churches, schools, for religious services and the means of education. But all these exist in North America, to an extent and of an order of which few persons who have not visited the provinces have any correct idea. Nova Scotia, for instance, is divided into seventeen counties, with their magistracy, sessions, court-houses, jails, representatives, and complete county organization.

Each of these again is divided into townships, whose ratepayers meet, assess themselves, support their poor, and appoint their local officers. In each of the shire towns there are churches of some, if not of all of the religious bodies which divide the British people. Every part of the country is intersected with roads, and bridges span all the larger, and most of the smaller streams.

From fifty to one hundred public schools exist in every county. There is a Bible in every house; and few natives of the province grow up but what can read, write, and cipher. The same may be said generally of the other provinces. We charge nothing for these civilizing influences. The emigrant who comes in obeys the laws and pays his ordinary taxes, which are very light, is welcome to a participation in them all, and may, for £10, have his 100 acres of land besides.

The best criterion of the comparative civilization of countries

may be found in the growth of commerce and the increase of a mercantile marine. Tried by this test, the North American provinces will stand comparison with any other portion of the Queen's dominions.

The West India Colonies, the Australian group, including New Zealand; the African Colonies, and the East Indian, or the Mauritius and Ceylon, owned collectively in 1846 but 2,128 vessels, or 42,610 tons of shipping. The North American group, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, owned in that year 5,119 vessels, measuring 393,822 tons. Of these, Nova Scotia owned in tonnage 141,093; and in number more than the other four put together, or 2,583.

But it may be asserted that the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. The answer we North Americans give to this objection is simple. Do me the honour to glance, my Lord, at the hemisphere which contains the three quarters of the Old World, and, dividing the northern countries from the south, the rigorous climate from the warm and enervating, satisfy yourself in which reside at this moment the domestic virtues, the pith of manhood, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace, the discipline of war, the political power and dominion,—assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions, blessed with fertility, and containing the cradle of our race, filled up first, and ruled for a time the territories to the north. But as civilization and population advanced northwards, the bracing climate did its work, as it will ever do; and in physical endurance, and intellectual energy, the North asserted the superiority which to this hour it maintains.

Look now, my Lord, at the map of America. A very common idea prevails in this country, that nearly the whole continent of North America was lost to England at the Revolution, and that only a few insignificant and almost worthless provinces remain. This is a great, and, if the error extensively prevail, may be a fatal mistake. Great Britain, your Lordship is well aware, owns up to this moment one-half the continent; and, taking the example of Europe to guide us, I believe the best half. Not the best for slavery, or for growing cotton and tobacco; but the best for raising men and women; the most congenial to the constitution of the northern European; the most provocative of steady industry; and, all things else being equal, the most impregnable and secure.

But they are not and never have been equal. The first British emigration all went to the southern half of the continent; the northern portion, for 150 years, being occupied by French hunters, traders, and Indians. The British did not begin to settle in Nova Scotia till 1749, nor in Canada till 1763. Prior to the former period, Massachusetts had a population of 160,000; Connecticut, 100,000. The city of Philadelphia had 18,000 inhabitants before an Englishman had built a house in Halifax; Maine had 2,485 enrolled militiamen before a British settlement was formed in the

province of New Brunswick. The other States were proportionally advanced before Englishmen turned their attention to the northern provinces at all.

The permanent occupation of Halifax, and the loyalist emigration from the older provinces, gave them their first impetus. But your lordship will perceive that, in the race of improvement, the old thirteen States had a long start. They had three millions of Britons and their descendants to begin with at the Revolution. But a few hundreds occupied the provinces to which I wish to call attention at the commencement of the war; only a few thousands at its close. Your Lordship will, I trust, readily perceive that, had both portions of the American continent enjoyed the same advantages from the period when the Treaty of Paris was signed down to the present hour, the southern half must have improved and increased its numbers much faster than the northern, because it had a numerous population, a flourishing commerce, and much wealth to begin with. But the advantages have not been equal. The excitement and the necessities of the War of Independence inspired the people of the South with enterprise and self-confidence. Besides, my Lord, they had free trade with each other; and, so far as they chose to have, or could obtain it by their own diplomacy, with all the world. The Northern provinces had separate governments, half-paternal despotisms, which repressed rather than encouraged enterprise. They had often hostile tariffs, no bond of union, and, down to the advent of Mr. Huskisson, and from thence to the final repeal of the navigation laws, were cramped in all their commercial enterprises by the restrictive policy of England.

But I have not enumerated all the sources of disparity. The national government of the United States early saw the value and importance of emigration. They bought up Indian lands, extended their acknowledged frontiers, by purchase or successful diplomacy, surveyed their territory, and prepared for colonization. The States, or public associations within them, borrowed millions from England, opened roads, laid off lots, and advertised them in every part of Europe by every fair and often unfair means of puffing and exaggeration. The general government skilfully seconded, or rather suggested, this policy. They framed Constitutions suited to those new settlements; invested them with modified forms of self-government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated; and formed them into new States, with representation in the National Councils, whenever they numbered forty thousand.

What did England do all this time? Almost nothing; she was too much occupied with European wars and diplomacy; wasting millions in subsidizing foreign princes, many of whose petty dominions if flung into a Canadian lake would scarcely raise the tide. What did we do in the Provinces to fill up the northern territory? What could we do? Down to 1815 we were engrossed by the wars of England; our commerce being cramped by the insecurity

of our coasts and harbours. Down to the promulgation of Lord John Russell's memorable despatch of the 16th of October, 1839, and to which full effect has been given in the continental Provinces by the present Cabinet, we were engaged in harassing contests with successive Governors and Secretaries of State for the right to manage our internal affairs.

This struggle is over, and we now have the leisure and the means to devote to the great questions of colonization and internal improvement; to examine our external relations with the rest of the Empire and with the rest of the world; to consult with our British brethren on the imperfect state of those relations, and of the best appropriation that can be made of their surplus labour, and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up, and this great empire strengthened and preserved.

The contrast between the two sides of the American frontier is a national disgrace to England. It has been so recorded in her parliamentary papers by Lord Durham, by Lord Sydenham, and by other Governors and Commissioners.

There is not a traveller, from Hall to Buckingham, but has impressed this conviction on her literature. We do not blush at the contrast on our own account; we could not relieve it by a single shade beyond what has been accomplished. We have done our best under the circumstances in which we have been placed, as I have already shown by reference to our social and commercial progress: but we regret it, because it subjects us to the imputation of an inferiority that we do not feel; and makes us doubt whether British statesmen will, in the time to come, deal with our half of the American continent more wisely than they have in times past.

It is clearly, then, the interest and the duty of England to wipe out this national stain, and to reassure her friends in North America, by removing the disadvantages under which they labour, and redressing the inequalities which they feel.

Having, however imperfectly, endeavoured to show that, as a mere question of economy, of relief to her municipal national finances, no less than of religious obligation, it is the duty of England to turn her attention to North America; permit me now for a moment to direct your Lordship's attention to the territory which it behoves the people of these United Kingdoms to occupy, organise, and retain.

Glance, my Lord, at the map, and you will perceive that Great Britain owns on the continent of North America, with the adjacent islands, four million of square miles of territory. All the States of Europe, including Great Britain, measure but 3,708,871 miles. Allowing 292,129 square miles for inland lakes of greater extent than exist on this continent, the lands you own are as broad as the whole of Europe. If we take the round number of four millions, and reduce the miles to acres, we have about ninety acres for every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom. Now, suppose you spare us two millions of people, you will be relieved of that

number, who now, driven by destitution into the unions or to crime, swell the poor-rates and crowd the prisons.

With that number we shall be enabled, with little or no assistance, to repel foreign aggression. We shall still have a square mile, or 640 acres, for every inhabitant; or 4,480 acres for every head of a family which British America will then contain.

Is not this a country worth looking after; worth some application of imperial credit; nay, even some expenditure of public funds, that it may be filled with friends, not enemies; customers, not rivals; improved, organized, and retained? The policy of the republic is protection to home manufactures. Whose cottons, linens, woollens, cutlery, iron; whose salt, machinery, guns, and paper, do the 701,401 emigrants who went to the United States between 1825 and 1846, now consume? Whose have they consumed, after every successive year of emigration? Whose will they and their descendants continue to consume? Those not of the mother country, but of the United States. This is a view of the question, which should stir, to its centre, every manufacturing city in the kingdom.

Suppose the republic could extend her tariff over the other portions of the continent; she could then laugh at the free-trade policy of England. But if we retain that policy, and the colonies besides, British goods will flow over the frontier, and the Americans must protect their revenue by an army of officers, extending ultimately over a line of three thousand miles.

The balance of power in Europe is watched with intense interest by British statesmen. The slightest movement in the smallest State, that is calculated to cause vibration, animates the Foreign Office, and often adds to its perplexities and labours. But is not the balance of power in America worth retaining? Suppose it lost, how would it affect that of Europe? Canning, without much reflection, boasted that he had redressed the balance of power in the Old, by calling the New World into existence. But, even if the want were justifiable, it was a world beyond the limits of the Queen's dominions. We have a new world within them, at the very door of England, with boundaries defined, and, undeniably by any foreign power, subject to her sceptre. Already it lives, and moves, and has its being; full of hope and promise, and fond attachment to the mother country. The new world of which Canning spoke, when its debts to England are counted, will appear to have been a somewhat costly creation; and yet, at this very moment, Nova Scotia's little fleet of 2,583 sail could sweep every South American vessel from the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

I am not an alarmist, my Lord, but there appear to be many in England, and some of them holding high military and social positions, who consider these islands defenceless from continental invasion by any first-rate European power. Confident as I am in their resources, and hopeful of their destiny, I must confess that the military and naval power of France or Russia, aided by the steam-fleet and navy of the United States, would make a contest doubtful

for a time, however it might ultimately terminate. But suppose the United States to extend to Hudson's Bay, with an extension over the other half of the continent of the spirit which animates the republic now. Imagine Great Britain without a harbour on the Atlantic or the Pacific that she could call her own; without a ton of coal for her steamers, or a spar to repair a ship; with the five thousand vessels which the Northern Provinces even now own, with all their crews, and the fishermen who line their shores, added to the maritime strength of the enemy, whose arsenals and outposts would then be advanced five hundred miles nearer to England; even if Newfoundland and the West Indies could be retained, which is extremely doubtful. The picture is too painful to be dwelt on longer than to show how intimately interwoven are the questions to which I have ventured to call your Lordship's attention, with the foreign affairs of the Empire. I do not go into comparative illustrations, because I desire now to show how a judicious use of the resources of North America may not only avert the danger in time of war, but relieve the pressure upon the home government in times of peace.

There is no passion stronger, my Lord, than the desire to own some portion of the earth's surface,—to call a piece of land, somewhere, our own. How few Englishmen, who boast that they rule the sea, own a single acre of land. An Englishman calls his house his castle; and so, perhaps, it is, but it rarely stands upon his own soil. How few there are who may not be driven out, or have their castles levelled with the ground, when the lease falls in.

There is no accurate return, but the proprietors of land in the whole United Kingdom are estimated at eighty thousand.

Of the 2,620,000 inhabitants which Scotland contains, but 636,093 live by agriculture; all the rest, driven in by the high price of land, are employed in trade and manufactures. Evicted Highlanders rot in the sheds of Greenock; and lowland peasants' off-pring perish, annually in the large cities, for want of employment, food, and air.

In Ireland, there are, or were recently, 44,262 farms, under one acre in extent, 473,755 ranging from one to thirty. Between 1841 and 1848, eight hundred thousand people were driven out of these small holdings; their hovels, in many cases, burnt over their heads, and their furniture "canted" into the street.

Whence come Chartism, Socialism, O'Connor Land-schemes, and all sorts of theoretic dangers to property, and prescriptions of new modes by which it may be acquired? From this condition of real estate. The great mass of the people in these three kingdoms own no part of the soil, have no bit of land, however small, no homestead for their families to cluster round, no certain provision for their children.

Is it not hard for the great body of this people, after ages spent in foreign wars for the conquest of distant possession; in voyages of discovery, and every kind of commercial enterprise; in scientific

improvements, and the development of political principles, to reflect, that with all their battles by land and sea, their £800,000,000 of debt, their assessed taxes, income-tax, and heavy import-duties, their prisons full of convicts, their poor-rate of £7,000,000 ;—that so few of all those who have done, and who endure these things, should have one inch of the whole earth's surface that they can call their own.

While this state of things continues, property must ever be insecure, and the great majority of the people restless. With good harvests and a brisk trade, the disinherited may for the moment forget the relative positions they occupy. In periods of depression, discontent, jealousy, hatred of the more highly favoured, however tempered by liberality and kindness, will assuredly be the predominant emotions of the multitude. Their standing army and the twenty-one thousand constables may keep them down for a time. But, even if they could for ever, the question naturally arises, Have all your battles been fought for this,—to maintain in the bosom of England a state of siege and ever impending civil war?

A new aspect would be given to all the questions which arise out of this condition of property at home, if a wise appropriation were made of the virgin soil of the Empire. Give the Scotchman, who has no land, a piece of North America, purchased by the blood which stained the tartan on the plains of Abraham. Let the Irishman or the Englishman, whose kindred clubbed their muskets at Bloody Creek, or charged the enemy at Queenstown, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them have at least the option of ownership and occupation, and a bridge to convey them over. Such a policy would be conservative of the rights of property, and permanently relieve the people. It would silence agrarian complaint, and enlarge the number of proprietors. The poor man who saw before him the prospect of securing his one hundred, or one thousand acres, by moderate industry, would no longer envy the British proprietor, whose estate owed its value to high cultivation, but was not much larger in extent.

But, it may be urged, that if this policy be adopted, it may empty the United Kingdom into North America, and largely reduce their population. No apprehensions of this result need be entertained. There are few who can live in Great Britain or Ireland in comfort and security, who will ever go anywhere else. The attachment to home with all its endearing associations, forms the first restraint. The seat of empire will ever attract around it the higher and more wealthy classes. The value of the home-market will retain every agriculturist who can be profitably employed upon the land. The accumulated capital, science, and machinery, in the large commercial and manufacturing centres, will go on enlarging the field of occupation just in proportion as they are relieved from the pressure of taxation. Besides, emigrants who have improved their fortunes abroad, will be continually returning home, to participate in the luxury, refinement, and higher civilization, which is to be fairly

assumed, these islands will ever pre-eminently retain. Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, still enlarge their cities, and grow in wealth and population, though all the rich lands of the republic invite their people to emigrate, and there is no ocean to cross. The natural laws which protect them would operate more powerfully here, where the attractions are so much greater.

But it is time, my Lord, that I should anticipate the questions that will naturally arise. Assuming the policy to be sound, what will it cost to carry it out?

Let us first see what the present system, or rather the public establishments, without a system, cost now :—

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|---|-------------|
| Poor Rates—England | £6,180,765 |
| Scotland | 544,334 |
| Ireland | 1,216,679 |
| Constabulary—England | 579,327 |
| Ireland | 562,506 |
| Convicts at home and abroad | |
| Emigration, 1849 (exclusive of cabin passengers), paid from Private or Parochial Funds | 1,500,000 |
| Paid by Government | 228,300 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £11,189,911 |

The cost of prisons, or that proportion of them which might be saved if the criminal calendar were less, might fairly be added to the amount. The prison at York cost £1,200 per head, for each criminal ;—a sum large enough, the inspector observes, “to build for each prisoner a separate mansion, stable, and coach-house.” A large proportion of the cost of trials might also be added ; and, as twelve jurymen must have been summoned to try most of the 43,671 persons convicted in 1848, the waste of valuable time would form no inconsiderable item.

The loss of property stolen by those whom poverty first made criminal, no economist can estimate ; and no human skill can calculate the value of lives and property destroyed in agrarian outrages, when wretchedness has deepened to despair.

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