FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

FOR THE

GOLDEN LANDS

OF

AUSTRALIA.

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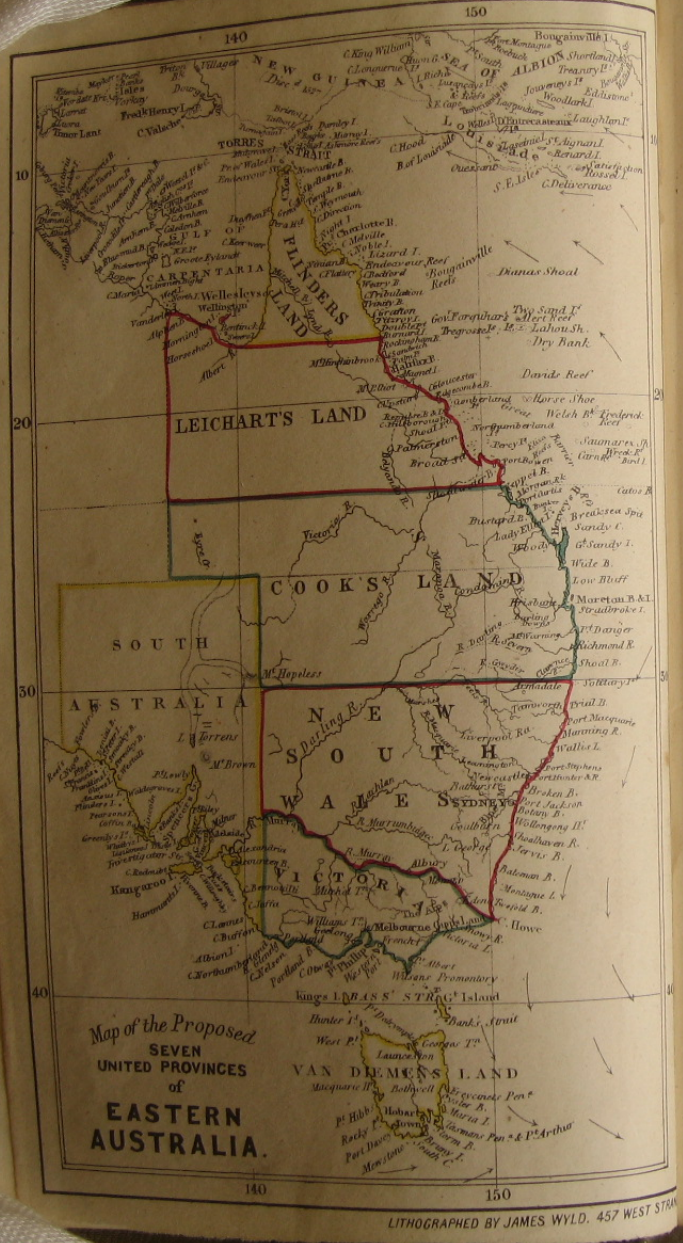

FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

FOR

THE GOLDEN LANDS

OF

AUSTRALIA;

THE RIGHT OF THE COLONIES,

AND

THE INTEREST OF BRITAIN AND OF THE WORLD.

BY

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"Primo pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit. Ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere." — SALLUST. *Catilin.* c. x.

First the love of gain, and then the lust of empire.—these have been the principles of British colonization, and the source of innumerable evils.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1852.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no great public question in which the British nation has so deep an interest, or in regard to which a large proportion of the intelligence of the country is so profoundly and fatally ignorant, as the Colonial question, or the proper relation of a mother-country to her colonies. A system of government for the British colonies has accordingly been suffered to grow up, as if by sheer accident, and to subsist in great measure unquestioned, as far at least as its fundamental principles are concerned, to the present day—a system, however, wholly unwarranted by the law of nature and nations, and not less unjust and oppressive towards its more immediate objects than disastrous and suicidal in its tendencies and results to those who uphold it.

There is no subject also on which the literature of this country presents so complete a blank. Of the many books on the Colonies with which the British press perpetually teems, where are there any that go to the root of the matter, and discuss with manly freedom the first principles of colonization? For my own part, I know of none. A few glimmerings of light were, doubtless, struck out on the subject du-

ring the great struggle for freedom and independence in America; but these were soon trodden out again under the iron hoof of irresponsible power, and as far at least as colonization in the Southern Hemisphere is concerned, the last state of the British colonies is worse than the first: for instead of going forward in the right direction, since the days of the Charleses, we have actually been going back!

Under this bad system also the colonies themselves — neglected on the one hand, and thwarted in their every effort for their own social and political advancement on the other — have in too many instances become apathetic and indifferent in regard to their own rights and interests, and sunk down into a condition of social, moral, and political degradation. To use the language of a New England lawyer, shortly before the commencement of the American troubles, "There has been a most profound, and I think a shameful silence, till it seems almost too late to assert our indisputable rights as men and as citizens."*

It is the object of the following work to point out the right principles of colonization, and to confirm the theory that is thus advanced by an appeal to the principles and practice of those nations, both in ancient and modern times, whose efforts in the work of colonization have not only been the most successful, but have, notwithstanding all our boasting on the subject, presented a perfect contrast with our own. In short, it is the object of the writer to show, that

* *The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved.* By James Otis, Esq. Boston, New England, 1765, p. 63.

Great Britain has hitherto been all wrong in her principles and practice in the matter of colonization, and that, in common with the colonies themselves, she has been reaping the bitter fruits of this fatal mistake for two centuries and a half.

But lest the reader should suppose that such a thing is incredible, let him bear in mind that all that is truly great and glorious in the legislation of this great country for the last quarter of a century has been nothing more nor less than the successive confession and abandonment — the successive acknowledgment and repudiation — of one fallacy and delusion after another, under which the nation had been duped, deluded, and self-deceived, in some instances for centuries before.

The first of the fallacies and delusions I allude to was — that it was expedient and necessary for the good government of this country, to exclude from the enjoyment of their undoubted political rights, as citizens and subjects, a large number of the most conscientious men in the country. If I am not mistaken, it was Mr. Canning who procured the national repudiation of this fallacy in the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts — the first step in the right direction.

Another fallacy and delusion, of a still more inveterate character, was — that it was expedient and necessary, for the maintenance of the Protestant institutions of this country, to deprive at least one fourth of our fellow subjects of their political rights and privileges, and to degrade them into the condition of a Pariah caste in their native land. In my humble opinion, the late illustrious Duke derived

more real glory from the part he took in inducing this great nation to renounce this fallacy, and to perform an act of justice at all hazards, than he did from all his victories. No doubt the Catholic Emancipation Act has not been attended in some respects with the tranquillizing effects anticipated from it; but the reason is obvious — there are other fallacies to be got rid of in the same direction, which it is unnecessary to particularize.

A third notorious fallacy and delusion of the past, of which the increased enlightenment of the age has enabled us to get rid as a nation, is — that it was expedient and necessary, for the good government of this great country, to maintain the national representation on the same basis on which it stood three or four centuries ago; although towns which were then populous and important had since been blotted out of the map of the country, while other great towns and cities had sprung into existence, which were not represented at all. The famous Reform Act was merely the national abandonment and repudiation of this notorious fallacy.

In like manner, the Repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws, and the general recognition of the principles of Free Trade in our national legislation, have merely been the successive abandonment and repudiation of so many of the remaining fallacies and delusions of the olden time. In all these instances we have been virtually acknowledging to the whole civilized world that we were all wrong in these matters till very recently, and that the boasted wisdom of our ancestors was the sheerest folly and delusion.

On all these important matters, therefore, on any of which every intelligent person in the United Kingdom was quite capable of offering an opinion, it has thus been publicly acknowledged that we were, nevertheless, all wrong till yesterday, as it were. Is it not exceedingly probable, therefore, *à fortiori*, that on such points as Colonial Government, the relations of a colony to the mother-country and the right principles of colonization — points on which not one in every hundred thousand of the inhabitants of this country is capable of offering an intelligent opinion, simply because he has had no experience on the subject, and because the case it involves is totally removed from his proper field of observation — is it not highly probable that we may have been all equally wrong, all under a similar fallacy and delusion? Nay, if men even of the highest intelligence in the colonies have only arrived at the truth in these matters after long study and reflection, how is it to be supposed that men who have had no colonial experience, and who have never thought on the subject at all, should, nevertheless, be in the right? "Many," says the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in the preface to his *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament*, — "Many will perhaps be surprised to see the legislative authority of the British Parliament over the colonies *denied in every instance*. These the writer informs, that, when he began this piece, he would probably have been surprised at such an opinion himself. For it was the result, not the occasion, of his disquisitions. He entered upon them with a view and expectation of being able to trace some constitutional line between

those cases in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of Parliament over us. In the prosecution of his inquiries he became fully convinced that *such a line doth not exist;* and that there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in ALL CASES."*

Let the intelligent reader, therefore, examine the principles and arguments of the following work on their own merits, and in the light of those undeniable facts and illustrations I have adduced in support of them. I am quite aware of the host of ignorant prejudices which the bare announcement of this humble effort for the freedom and independence of my adopted country will array against me — of the storm of abuse which it will excite in certain quarters, and the shower of nicknames which will be rained down upon me. But after having circumnavigated the globe, and buffeted with the tempests of Cape Horn, for the welfare and advancement of my adopted country, seven times successively, during the last thirty years, I may be supposed to have acquired the necessary powers of endurance for such visitations. Firmly persuaded, therefore, as I am, of the soundness of my principles and arguments, although I anticipate much personal abuse, I expect no answer at all worthy of the name.

My proposal to establish free institutions throughout the Australian colonies on the basis of universal suffrage and equal electoral districts will proba-

* *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament.* By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Rivington's New York Gazetteer, Oct. 30th, 1774.

bly be regarded in certain quarters with scornful contempt; and the case of France will perhaps be appealed to as a sufficient answer to all such alleged "ravings." But the case of France is nothing to the point. Will any man venture to assert that the famous *Coup d'Etat,* and the series of measures with which it has been followed up, could have been either practicable or possible in any country in which the English language is spoken, or of which a large majority of the inhabitants are Protestants? What, then, can the case of sheer Despotism, supported by Romanism, in France, and merely pretending to rest upon the basis of universal suffrage, have to do with a constitution for the Australian colonies? Louis Napoleon has taught the European world a very important lesson, which I trust it will get by heart; and it is this — that there is no security for civil liberty in any country in which Romanism predominates. This is all in reality that the case of France teaches us.

The following work, with the exception of a very few paragraphs which have been interjected since, was wholly written at sea in the months of March and April last, before I was aware that Earl Grey and Her Majesty's late ministers generally were out of office. It is published, therefore, precisely as it would have been had his Lordship and his late colleagues been still in power; and any reflections which it contains are therefore to be understood as directed against the system of colonial government which we have hitherto been keeping up as a nation, rather than against the men who have at any time been entrusted with its management.

Contemporaneously with this volume, another

work of mine, entitled, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales; including a Visit to the Gold Regions, and a Description of the Mines: with an Estimate of the probable Results — moral, social, and political — of the great discovery:* in two vols., is now issuing from the press; in which the reader who may peruse both will find a whole series of proofs and illustrations of the soundness of the views advanced in this volume. As it is probable, however, that this work will fall into the hands of readers, in the colonies especially, who will have no opportunity of seeing the historical work I allude to, I have deemed it expedient and necessary, for obvious reasons, to embody in this volume a few pages from that work. I trust this explanation will be deemed satisfactory by the readers of both.

London, Oct. 25. 1852.

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FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

FOR THE

GOLDEN LANDS OF AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE RIGHTS OF COLONIES.

Section I. — Definitions and Limitations.

A colony is a body of people who have gone forth from the Parent State, either simultaneously or progressively, and formed a permanent settlement in some remote territory, whether that territory has been already occupied by an inferior race or not.

There are therefore two things necessary to constitute a colony properly so called; viz. 1st. Emigration from the Parent State; and, 2nd. Permanent settlement in the occupied territory: and if any dependent community is deficient in either of these essentials, it cannot with propriety be designated a colony of the country to which it is subject or on which it is dependent.*

* Of colonisation, the principal elements are, emigration and the permanent settlement of the emigrants on unoccupied land. A colony, therefore, is a country wholly or partially unoccupied, which receives emigrants from a distance; and it is a colony of the country from which the emigrants proceed which is therefore called the mother country. — *A View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.* By Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq. London, 1849, p. 16.

A British colony is therefore a community of Britons, however formed, permanently settled in some country or territory beyond seas. It is a gross abuse of language to apply the designation to any community constituted otherwise; and the prevalence of this abuse serves only to maintain the palpable delusion that the colonies of Britain, or British colonies properly so called, either are, or ever were either numerous or extensive, as compared with the population and resources of the Parent State. This delusion serves to foster our national pride, while it blinds us to our national danger: it feeds our national vanity, and prevents us from doing our national duty.

Agreeably to this definition, we must exclude from the list of British colonies all such foreign possessions of the British empire as India, Ceylon, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. These countries are all doubtless dependencies of the British empire, but they are in no respect British colonies. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of their inhabitants, or rather perhaps nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand, neither are nor ever have been Britons; and the mere handful of Britons who go to any of these colonies never think of forming permanent settlements in them, and of thereby identifying themselves, "for better, for worse," with their inhabitants. They go to them either to make money or to get honour and glory in the world, and *to return* to spend the evening of their days in their native land. They have none of the peculiar feelings, desires, or prospects of colonists, properly so called, and never can have.

Our definition must also exclude all such dependencies of the British empire as Lower Canada, the Mauritius, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, and Trinidad. Not one of these dependencies is a British colony properly so called. The first three—Lower Canada, the Mauritius, and St. Lucia—were French colonies, conquered and appropriated by Great Britain. The Cape of

Good Hope and Demerara were Dutch colonies acquired in a similar way; and Trinidad is merely a conquered colony of Spain. In short, in regard to not a few of the transmarine possessions or dependencies of the empire, which we are in the habit of designating, with great self-complacency, *our colonies*, we have been realising pretty much the popular idea of the cuckoo, which, it is said, builds no nest of her own, but lays her solitary egg in that of some other bird and forthwith takes possession. In all the instances enumerated—and the list might be somewhat extended if it were necessary—we have merely seized the colonies of other weaker people; and after depositing our solitary egg in them, we have called them *ours*, as if we had planted them from the first—*British colonies*, forsooth! It is a most unwarrantable misnomer. As old Cato well observes, *Vera nomina rerum longe amisimus—largiri aliena vocatur liberalitas:* or, in plain English, "We have long lost the proper names for things—for instance, making free with other people's possessions is called *British Colonisation!*"* How many Britons ever go to the foreign colonies we have thus appropriated?—the merest handful comparatively. How many of these even go to them merely to make money and to return? Almost the whole of them.

Neither are the really British islands of the West Indies—Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, &c., including the Bahama Islands,—entitled to be called *British* colonies. At least nine out of every ten of the inhabitants of these islands are either Africans, or the descendants of Africans who were originally stolen from their native country, and made slaves of, to grow sugar, cotton, and coffee for Englishmen; and the very few Britons comparatively who ever went to them went merely to make money, and *to return*. These islands are therefore merely British plantations—they are in no respect British colonies, properly

* Cato's Speech in Sallust, De Conjur. Catilin.

so called; both of the essential requisites of a really British colony being wanting; for the negroes, who constitute so large a proportion of the entire population never emigrated from Great Britain, and the negro-drivers regularly return to the mother country whenever they can afford to do so.

Still less are we entitled to profane the designation *British colony*—which I confess I consider a very high and honourable distinction for any community, and one that ought not to be lightly applied or appropriated where it is not deserved—by applying it to any of those numerous posts or stations that are held either for naval and military purposes, or for the furtherance and protection of commerce: such as Heligoland, Gibraltar, Bermuda, Honduras, St. Helena, Ascension, Sierra Leone, the Gambia River, Aden, Malacca, Pulo Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Labuan. It would be equally absurd to call the Eddystone Lighthouse and Tilbury Fort *British colonies*, as to apply that much abused designation to such places as these. They are all British possessions, and it is doubtless necessary for the purposes of a great maritime and commercial nation that they should always remain so; but not one of them is a *British colony*, properly so called.

What then are the British colonies, properly so called; as it is evident they must now be reduced to a very small number indeed, as compared with the long list of what are commonly called *British colonies?* They are

1. The North American colonies of Upper Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island.

2. The Australian colonies of New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, South Australia, Victoria or Port Phillip, and Western Australia, or Swan River.

3. The New Zealand group of islands—begun to be colonised but yesterday.

4. The Falkland Islands—still in the clouds.

5. Vancouver's Island—ditto.

Section II. — Objects of Colonisation.

What then are the proper and legitimate objects which such a country as Great Britain ought to have in view or to propose to herself in forming such colonies as these —British colonies, properly so called? They are,

1. To secure an eligible outlet for her redundant population of all grades and classes.

2. To create a market for her manufactured produce by increasing and multiplying its consumers indefinitely.

3. To open up a field for the growth of raw produce for her trade and manufactures; and

4. To sustain and extend her commerce by carrying out all these objects simultaneously.

Now these are noble objects for any nation to pursue; and no wonder that Lord Bacon should designate the peculiar work they indicate *the heroic work* of colonisation. Nay, it is something more even than a merely heroic work: it is the course divinely prescribed in the first commandment given to the human race, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it*;* and it may, therefore, be inferred that it can never be safe for any nation to neglect this work, if in the peculiar circumstances to which the commandment applies. For, as *God made the earth to be inhabited*, he will certainly hold that nation, which he has specially called in his Providence to carry out this divine ordinance, responsible for the neglect of its proper duty, if it has been neglected, and will afflict and punish it accordingly. For while Divine Providence has peculiar benefits and advantages in reserve for nations, as well as for individuals, who pursue the prescribed course, whether in politics or in any thing else, it has pains and penalties of an endless variety of forms, and of

* Genesis, i. 28.

an infinity of degrees of pressure, for those nations or individuals who act otherwise.

It must be clear therefore as daylight that Great Britain has been specially called, in the good Providence of God, to the *heroic* work of colonisation. She has by far the largest Colonial Empire in the world: she has facilities for colonisation such as no other nation on earth has ever had since the foundation of the world: and she has a remarkably redundant, and at the same time a peculiarly energetic, people, the fittest on earth for this heroic work, and the most willing to engage in it heartily. And it must be equally clear, from our very limited experience on the subject as a colonising nation, that a regular and systematic obedience of the divine commandment, on the part of Great Britain, would, in such circumstances, enable her to realise all the objects of colonisation enumerated above; or, in other words, would infallibly secure an eligible outlet for her redundant population, of all grades and classes; create a market for her manufactured produce by increasing and multiplying its consumers indefinitely; open up a field for the growth of raw produce for her trade and manufactures to any conceivable extent; and sustain and extend her commerce simultaneously, to a degree hitherto unparalleled in the history of the world.

But from "the beggarly account of empty boxes" which the history of British colonisation, properly so called, has hitherto exhibited, as compared with the population and resources of the empire, it must be equally clear and undeniable that Great Britain has utterly failed both in discharging her proper duty as a nation in this important respect, and in realising the proper benefits and advantages of colonisation to anything like the extent to which they might have been realised; and that she must consequently have incurred the pains and penalties which Divine Providence justly and properly attaches to such neglect. The Condition-of-England question, but more especially the

Condition-of-Ireland question, sufficiently declares what these pains and penalties are. They are, 1st. The extraordinary redundance of the population, of all grades and classes, as compared with the means of comfortable subsistence and eligible employment for these grades and classes respectively; 2nd. The unnatural and enormous competition for employment and subsistence to which this state of things gives rise among what are called the respectable classes of society, of all ranks, occupations, and professions; 3rd. The periodical stagnations of commerce, arising from over-production and the want of outlets, and the frequent ruin of merchants, manufacturers, and traders of all kinds, to which this redundance and competition necessarily lead; 4th. The frequently recurring periods of want of employment for the industrious classes, and the wide-spread destitution which it occasions, together with the normal condition of abject poverty and misery into which whole masses of the humbler classes are constantly sinking; 5th. The fearful increase of pauperism in numerous localities throughout the United Kingdom, in which such a condition of society was quite unknown, within the memory even of the present generation; and, 6th. The frightful increase of crime and of a criminal population, not to speak of the serious and successive shocks which the moral principle of the nation generally must sustain in this downward progress of society.

In the year 1831, during one of those periods of distress, arising from want of employment, among the working classes, which are now of such frequent recurrence throughout the United Kingdom, I happened to be spending an hour or two with the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers, of Edinburgh; and the conversation happening to turn upon the state of the poor and the distress of the times, Dr. C. inveighed, as I thought, somewhat severely against the improvidence of the humbler classes, and especially their early and imprudent marriages; enlarging upon the necessity of applying the principle of moral restraint somewhat more effec-

tually, to prevent the population from outrunning the means of subsistence. These sentiments, I confess, grated rather harshly upon my ear, as a British colonist; and notwithstanding my habitual veneration for the great and good man, I took the liberty to inform him that I was accustomed to take for my maxim in political economy the divine commandment recorded in the first chapter of the book of Genesis, repeating the passage above cited; and adding, that after riding over millions of acres of as fine land as the sun ever shone on, and in one of the finest climates on the face of the earth, lying utterly waste, I could not help thinking that the divine commandment was a right one after all, and that there must be something radically wrong in our social and political system in not applying the remedy which the case demanded, viz. that of extensive colonisation. "Aye," replied Dr. Chalmers with remarkably good humour, "that may be very sound doctrine in your colony, but it will not do *here*," meaning Edinburgh. I am persuaded however that it is *there*, chiefly, and in every place similarly situated in the United Kingdom, that the doctrine is peculiarly applicable.

Section III. — Is the Extension of the Empire of the colonising, or Mother Country, a proper and legitimate Object of Colonisation?

If the extension of the empire of the mother country were compatible with the attainment of all the proper and legitimate objects of colonisation enumerated above, this would be an open question, which I have no hesitation in saying, every rightly constituted mind would be predisposed to answer in the affirmative. But there is *a previous question* to be answered; viz. "Is the extension of the empire of the mother country compatible with the attainment of the other and legitimate ends of colonisation?" and this question I have no hesitation in answering in the negative — it is not. Whether empire be made the direct

object of colonisation, or merely regarded as a necessary inference or corollary from it, the mother country must in either case make up her mind to the sacrifice and loss of all the *other* objects for which colonisation is either warrantable or desirable. And this is precisely what has hitherto been done by every mother country in Europe, our own not excepted. Like the foolish dog, in the fable, when swimming across a rapid river with a lump of beef in his mouth — in order to catch at the shadow, *empire*, we drop the substance, *beef*; and we then find to our unspeakable mortification, and perhaps disgrace, that both are gone! This has been the brief history of European colonisation, without one solitary exception, ever since the discovery of America. The final result may not indeed have been arrived at as yet, in certain instances, but we are certainly hurrying rapidly towards it in all.*

Mr. Wakefield, who has a theory of his own on this subject, which he puts forth, however, somewhat hesi-

* "It is a most extraordinary feature in the character of the British Government, that while the people of England itself are under the mildest possible laws, and enjoy the largest amount of liberty of any nation in the world, the colonies of England, which are justly esteemed her pride and her strength, are subjected to a dominion more assimilated to that of Russia and Turkey than anything else. In the colonies, the genius of British liberty is no longer to be found. Her mild sway is exchanged for the iron rod of the despot, and those who were her children in her native land have become the subjects and the slaves of petty tyrants. The truth of this will be found in the history of every colony, and felt in the experience of every colonist; its effects have been the premature separation of the first American colonies, the recent rebellion and bloodshed in Canada, the ruin of the present settlers of New Zealand, the extravagant expenditure of this Government, and the demand upon England for money to support it." — *New Zealand in* 1842; *or the Effects of a Bad Government on a Good Country. In a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.* By S. M. D. Martin, M.D., President of the New Zealand Aborigines' Protection Association, and lately a Magistrate of the Colony. Auckland (New Zealand), 1842.

tatingly, would paint the *shadow*, and call it *prestige*, which he thinks a good equivalent for the solid *beef*: let him dine upon *prestige* by all means.

Mr. Wakefield observes: —

"Regarding colonial government as an essential part of colonisation, the question remains, whether the government of the colony by the mother country is equally so. Is the subordination of the colony to the mother country, as respects government, an essential condition of colonisation? I should say not." *

Another able writer, however, — a member of parliament, holding office under the present Government † — speaks somewhat more to the point than Mr. Wakefield on this important subject: —

"The contrivance of a subordinate government," observes that writer, "renders the government of a distant territory *possible*, but does not render it *good*."

And again: —

"So great are the disadvantages of dependencies, that it is in general fortunate for a civilised country to be sufficiently powerful to have an independent government, and to be ruled by natives."

And again: —

"The disadvantages in question arise principally from the ignorance and indifference of the dominant country about the position and interests of the dependency."

"The dominant country, in consequence of this ignorance, often abstains from interfering with the concerns of the dependency when its interference would be expedient; and when it does interfere with the concerns of the dependency, its interference, as not being guided by the requisite knowledge of these concerns, is frequently ill-judged and mischievous." ‡

* *A View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.*, p. 17. London, 1849.

† This was written at sea, when it was not known that Lord John Russell's government had ceased to exist.

‡ *Essay on the Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornewall Lewis, Esq., M.P. London, 1841, pp. 253. 268. 293.

Mr. Lewis, however, subjoins a very consolatory reflection for all colonists; to whom he administers at the same time what he doubtless considers very judicious advice: —

"If the inhabitants of dependencies were conscious that many of the inconveniences of their lot are not imputable to the neglect, or ignorance, or selfishness of their rulers, but are the necessary consequences of the form of their government, they would be inclined to submit patiently to *inevitable ills*, which a vain resistance to the authority of the dominant country cannot fail to aggravate." *

Mr. Lewis here admits that there *are* serious "inconveniences" or "ills" in the lot of colonists, and that these are the "necessary consequences of their form of government," or, in other words, of the attempt on the part of the mother country to conjoin *empire* with *colonisation*. But whether the ills are "inevitable" is a mere matter of opinion, on which certain colonists will probably take the liberty to differ from Mr. Lewis in due time. In the meantime they are extremely obliged to him for his honest opinion as to the utter incompatibility of *empire* with the other and legitimate objects of colonisation.

"The best customer which a nation can have," observes the same able and honest writer, in further illustration of his views, "is a thriving and industrious community, whether it be dependent or independent. The trade between England and the United States is probably far more profitable to the mother country than it would have been if they had remained in a state of dependence upon her." †

And again: —

"If a state of dependence checks the progress of a community in wealth and prosperity, the consequent

* Lewis, *Preface.* † Ibid. p. 225.

limitation of its demand for imported commodities will more than compensate the advantages which the dominant country can derive from being able to regulate its commercial relations with the dependency." *

But the most important testimony as to the incompatibility of the pursuit of empire with the attainment of the other and legitimate objects of colonisation, is that of Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, one of the ablest historical and political writers of the age. Remarking on the universal pursuit of empire in colonisation by the different colonising powers of Europe, that writer observes: —

"Time and experience were required to ascertain the relations in which the colonies might be placed most advantageously for the mother country. Without any consideration of their true value and proper use, the first and prevalent idea was in favour of *an absolute possession*, and total exclusion of strangers. The propagation of Christianity formed a convenient pretext, and none thought of inquiring either into the justice or the utility of their treatment. In truth, we know not how other views could have been acquired, and yet we must needs lament that *the European system of colonisation* should so early have taken a direction as unalterable as it was *destructive to the interests both of the colonies and their mother states.*" †

One of the principal disadvantages of dependencies is their distance from the seat of empire.

"It was an unfortunate circumstance for the British Government," observes the intelligent historian of the United States of America, "during their colonial period, and a strong reason for dissolving its colonial dominion, that it was disabled by distance from adapting its measures to the actual and immediate posture of affairs in America. Months elapsed between the occurrence of events in the colonies, and the arrival of the relative directions from England: and every symptom of the political exigence

* Lewis, p. 231.

† *Europe and its Colonies*, p. 24.

had frequently undergone a material change before the concerted prescription, good or bad, was applied." *

To the same effect, the celebrated Edmund Burke well observes, "The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. *Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them.* No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. . . . . In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities." †

Now if even *three thousand miles of ocean* were sufficient to render the pursuit of empire incompatible with the attainment of the other and legitimate objects of colonisation, in the case of the original British Colonies of America, how much more strongly must not the increase of that distance to five times this amount, to half the circumference of the globe, render empire and the pursuit of the other objects of colonisation utterly incompatible? It is no answer to this argument to tell us that Steam has reduced distances so greatly within the last half century that no part of the world can now be considered remote; for Steam can never give a man residing in London so thorough a knowledge of the state of things, in so remote a colony as New South Wales, as to qualify him to legislate for it: and to pretend to such a qualification, notwithstanding, is virtually laying claim to Omniscience — one of the incommunicable attributes of God.

* Grahame's *History of the United States of America, &c.*, vol. iv. p. 369.

† Edmund Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America*, Works, vol. iii. p. 56.

SECTION IV. — IS THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY A PROPER AND LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF COLONISATION FOR ANY GOVERNMENT?

To this question I would give the unhesitating and direct answer — certainly not, as far as Government is concerned. Governments are instituted for the protection and furtherance of the temporal interests of their subjects: they have nothing to do with the concerns of eternity. A Government is neither a Christian church nor a missionary institution, and can therefore have no right to usurp the proper province of either. All that a Government has to do with the Christian religion is to let it alone — to give it free scope — and to protect its professors, of all denominations, in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as citizens or subjects. As Professor Heeren well observes, "the propagation of Christianity formed a convenient pretext," with European Powers generally, in seeking to gratify their lust of empire through colonisation; but in no instance whatever was it ever more than a mere pretext.

But the case is totally different, as regards *individuals*, associating for the promotion of colonisation; although, with such associations, the propagation of Christianity has often been a mere pretext also. The able historian of British Colonisation in America informs us that letters patent were issued by King James I., in the year 1606, to Sir Thomas Yates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea coast between the 34th and 45th degrees of North latitude. The design of the patentees was declared to be "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and as the main recommendation of the design, it was announced that "so noble a work may, by the prudence of Almighty

God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet lie in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."*

How the said "Sir Thomas Yates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates," acquitted themselves of the duties they had thus voluntarily undertaken "in propagating of Christian religion," and in bringing "the infidels and savages to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government," it is scarcely necessary to inquire. It was simply one of those "good intentions" with which, we are told in the Spanish proverb, "hell is paved." But history informs us of an association of families and individuals of a somewhat different description, which was formed in England for the purpose of colonisation very shortly thereafter, and of which one of the main objects was the propagation of the Christian religion, in one of its purest forms, on the continent of America. In a Prospectus which was issued by the projectors of the original Puritan emigration to New England in the year 1620, entitled "General Considerations for the Plantation of New England," the design was recommended to all Christian people on the grounds,—

"That it will be a service unto the Church of great consequence, to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world, and raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all parts of the world." "For what," they add, "can be a better or more noble work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a reformed particular church in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people, as by timely assistance may grow stronger and prosper; but for want of it, may be put to great hazard, if not be wholly ruined?"†

* Grahame's *History of the United States of North America, &c.*, vol. i. p. 34. London, 1836.

† Cotton Mather.

Now there has certainly never been any object placed before the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, of more transcendent importance to the interests of the Christian religion, as well as of mankind generally, than the one declared in this Prospectus; and there has never been any object more remarkably realised. The famous Crusades and their results sink into perfect insignificance when compared with the magnificent results of this comparatively humble project of Christian colonisation.

The Puritan emigration consisted altogether of about twenty thousand persons, and extended over a period of about twenty years, viz. from the year 1620 to the year 1640. These people emigrated, therefore, *professedly*, to raise a bulwark against the progress and prevalence of Romanism in North America; and what has been the result of their emigration in this particular? Why, in the year 1840, when I visited the United States, the original Puritan emigrants had increased and multiplied, in the six New England States, to a nation, perhaps the most thoroughly Protestant in the world, of 2,229,879 souls. But this was a mere nothing, in comparison with what they had effected for the Protestantism of the country generally, in the way of colonisation; for as their country is but of limited extent, and naturally poor, they had been obliged to emigrate from time to time, and had thus been the great emigrating and colonising people of America ever since the War of Independence; spreading themselves over the Middle and Western States, but especially the latter, in numbers, compared with which the largest emigration from any European country has been quite insignificant. For even at the commencement of the present century, when the whole emigration from Europe to the United States was a mere trifle in amount, the emigration to the Western States from New England alone, notwithstanding the comparatively small population which it must have had at that period, amounted to three hundred thousand persons in one year! And these emigrants —

these Protestant missionaries, — have everywhere carried out with them, to their remotest settlement in the Far West, the grand idea of the original Puritan emigration; constituting themselves the "bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist" wherever they go.

Certain second-rate writers on America, who have views of their own to establish as to the importance of a religious establishment for any country, and who look only at the Romish emigration from Ireland and the Continent of Europe to the United States, are fond of predicting that that country, and in particular the valley of the Mississippi, will speedily become a Roman Catholic country. But the whole European emigration to the United States is even yet quite insignificant, compared with the internal and thoroughly Protestant emigration from the Eastern to the Western States. In the year 1840, the population of the United States amounted to 17,100,572; and during the previous year Dr. Kenrick, the Roman Catholic bishop of Philadelphia, who was not likely to under-estimate his own communion, estimated its numbers at somewhat less than a million — *millionem fere pertingimus*. Of that number I ascertained that one half were located in the Eastern States, and the other half in the valley of the Mississippi; but as the population of that valley was then five millions, the proportion of Roman Catholics could not be more than one in ten. Happening to meet at Philadelphia with an intelligent clergyman from the State of Missouri, of which the capital, St. Louis, had once been a French settlement, I asked him what was the estimated proportion of Roman Catholics in that State; and was told *one* in *ten*. This then was the general proportion in the valley of the Mississippi at that period; and I do not think it is likely to have altered much since.

It is evident, therefore, that Christian colonisation is, beyond all comparison, the best means of Christianising the world; and I beg very earnestly to recommend the subject to the serious consideration of all Protestant communions in the United Kingdom. In advocating and

establishing missions to the heathen, they are doubtless doing well; but in neglecting the most effectual means of Christianising the world, they are committing a species of suicide — they are betraying the citadel of their strength into the hands of the enemy.* Had the colonising power of Great Britain been only turned to account, as it might have been, and as it ought to have been, for the welfare of the nation, since the Protestant Reformation, what a vast extent of the earth's surface might not now have been covered with Protestant Christianity!

Even the ancient Heathen considered the extension of their own peculiar form of idolatry a worthy object of colonisation, and one for which hardships might well be endured. Virgil speaks of his hero in the following language: —

> "———— Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto,
> Multa quoque et bello passus, *dum conderet urbem,*
> *Inferretque Deos Latio.*" — *Æneid.*

And he represents him elsewhere as saying of Italy,

> "Sacra Deosque dabo."

And again,

> "Sum pius Æneas, *raptos* qui ex hoste *Penates*
> *Classe veho mecum*, fama super æthera notus.
> Italiam quæro patriam." — *Ibid.*

Once more,

> "Litora quum patriæ lacrimans portusque relinquo
> Et campos, ubi Troja fuit. Feror exul in altum
> Cum sociis, natoque, *Penatibus et magnis Dis.*"

Heathen as he was, Virgil had a much higher idea of the proper objects of colonisation than the British people have hitherto had. Who is there that ever thinks of it with us, as a means of extending the Christian religion?

* The first Article in the Charter of the French Company, formed under Cardinal Richelieu, for the colonisation of the West Indies and America, in the year 1635, bound the Company *D'y faire passer quatre mille François Catholiques, pendant l'espace de vingt années.* To convey to these regions 4000 French Catholics, during the first twenty years. — *Droit Public, ou Gouvernement des Colonies Françoises.* Paris, 1771.

SECTION V. — DISTINCTION BETWEEN COLONISATION, PROPERLY SO CALLED, AND THE MODES OF SETTLEMENT IN OTHER DEPENDENCIES; WITH THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY RESULTS OF THAT DISTINCTION.

The families and individuals of the British nation who go to any of the long list of British possessions, plantations, or dependencies which I have enumerated above, but which are not British colonies properly so called, uniformly go thither for a temporary *sedes* or settlement only, to remain there, either longer or shorter, for the accomplishment of their particular object, and then *to return* to their native land. They never think of making the place of their temporary and perhaps reluctant sojourning their *country;* they never regard it as their *home.* There is no transference of affection from Britain to the dependency; and this is the uniform burden of their song, *Dulce, dulce domum,* "There is no place like home!" — meaning England, Scotland, or Ireland. There are individual exceptions, doubtless; but this is the general rule. There are occasional incursions also of really British colonists into the territory of what was once a French or Dutch colony, as in Lower Canada and the Cape of Good Hope; but these are rare cases, and the line of demarcation between the colonists of the old and those of the new *régime* is as strongly marked as if it had been staked off with a line of palisades.*

But the really British colonist goes to a really British

* "To proceed to a new country in a number sufficiently large to form *a nation or community within itself* greatly relieves and moderates the evils of emigration; but to abandon our country for another where the people have nothing in common with us but the bond of the same humanity, is to renounce our nationality and our race — *two things which are not given to man that he may cast them off whenever it pleases his fantasy.*" — *Count Strzelecki's Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, &c.*, p. 381.

colony with far different feelings and views and objects. He may feel as strongly attached to his native country as the other adventurer, and as loth to leave it; and the better man he is, he will only cherish these generous and manly feelings the more strongly. He may say, with all the deep-toned emotion of the poet,

> "Nos patrios fines, et *dulcia* linquimus arva;
> Nos patriam fugimus!"*

but Divine Providence has said to him, as plainly as God said to Abraham, *Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee*†; and he has made up his mind to the issue. In such circumstances, it is not merely *sedes* — a temporary settlement — which he seeks, but a home and a country, *sedes patriamque*. And as he builds his house in the wilderness, and clears and cultivates the virgin soil; or as his sheep and cattle graze peacefully around him, while his children grow up, perhaps with only the faintest recollections of their native land, the colonist feels that a new object is gradually filling up the *vacuum* in his soul; and without being conscious of any estrangement from the land of his birth, he finds that his affections are gradually and insensibly transferred to the land of his adoption. In short, the colonist is like a tree transplanted from its native soil — it is some time before the shock of transplantation, the tearing up of the tender roots, can be got over; but, by and bye, these wounds are healed; the tree gets used to the soil; it strikes out fresh roots in every direction, and it probably reaches a far loftier height, exhibits a far more luxuriant growth, and spreads around it a far deeper "continuity of shade," than it would ever have done in its native soil.

In one word, whether the colonist has had great difficulties to overcome in effecting his settlement in the colonial wilderness, or has experienced a speedy and unexpectedly abundant return for his labours, a strong attachment to his adopted country arises insensibly in his mind; and, as time wears on, and the new interests with which he has become identified are multiplied and strengthened, this feeling gradually ripens into a spirit of what may perhaps be designated *colonial nationality*. His native land gradually fades from his view, and his interest in its peculiar objects becomes fainter and fainter. The particular colony, or group of colonies, to which he belongs, engrosses all his affections, and the idea of the welfare and advancement of his adopted country, like a new passion, takes possession of his soul.

The spirit of colonial nationality, which necessarily arises in the circumstances I have described, is no accidental feeling; it is unquestionably of Divine implantation, and designed, not for evil, but for good. The institution of a family is confessedly a Divine institution, fraught with benefits of inestimable value to mankind; and all the attempts of Robert Owenism, Fourierism, Communism and Socialism, to set it aside and substitute something better for it, are therefore vain and futile. So also is the institution of *a nation*, or group of many families of kindred origin inhabiting the same country, and separated from the rest of mankind by lofty mountains or vast tracts of ocean. Such a group of families will infallibly have feelings, and interests, and objects centred in their own country or territory, and differing, in that particular, from those of every other portion of the human race. In one word, a British colony, properly so called, and especially a group of such colonies, will infallibly become *a nation*, provided there is ample room and verge enough for its due development. "Colonies," says the celebrated William Penn, "are *the seeds of nations*, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries,

* Virgil, Ecl. i.

† Genesis, xii. 1.

conceiving them best for the increase of human stock, and beneficial for commerce."*

Section VI. — Analogy between a Colony and a Child, and Inferences from that Analogy.

As every human being who attains maturity of age must pass through the three successive states of infancy, of youth, and of manhood, so must every colony; and as the infant must be nourished and cherished, and the youth guided and governed by his parents, so must the colony. But there is a time when the youth is no longer to be *under tutors and governors*. He attains his majority at a certain period fixed by law, and he is thenceforth his own master; being expected, of course, to support himself, as well as to guide and govern himself, thenceforward. Now I maintain that there is, in like manner, a time for every colony, and especially for every group of colonies, to attain their majority, so to speak, and to guide and govern themselves thenceforward.

The time fixed by the law of the land for a young man's reaching his majority is the completion of the twenty-first year of his age; for if an unreasonable or tyrannical parent should refuse to give his son his entire freedom, or to allow him to manage his own affairs, after he has attained that age, the law will at once interfere, on the appeal of the son, and set him free. It will not be received as a valid argument, on the part of the father, to allege that he does not consider his son capable of self-government; for the law can take no cognisance of any such allegation. It simply ascertains the fact that the

* Speaking of "agricultural colonies, whose object is the cultivation of the soil," Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, observes that "The colonists, who form them, become landed proprietors, are formally naturalised, and in process of time become *a nation*, properly so called."—*Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies.* By A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in the University of Göttingen, p. 24. London, 1846.

son has reached the age at which he is legally entitled to entire freedom from all further parental control, and at which therefore the *patria potestas* ceases and determines; and it decides accordingly.

But as there is no positive law, either human or divine, to fix the time when a colony, or group of colonies, shall be held to have attained their majority, and to be permitted to manage their own affairs, and to guide and govern themselves, it may be alleged, with some shadow of reason, that the analogy fails at this point. Does it do so, however? By no means. For the reason assigned for the decision which the law pronounces, in setting the son who has attained his majority entirely free from the control of his unreasonable and tyrannical parent, is that he is both able and willing to manage his own affairs, and to guide and govern, as well as to maintain, himself. Now, as this reason is equally applicable to both cases, I maintain, without fear of contradiction, that a colony, or group of colonies, attains its political majority, and is thenceforth entitled to entire freedom and independence, whenever it is both able and willing to manage its own affairs, and to guide and govern itself, without either assistance or protection from the parent state. This is the law of nature, or, in other words, the ordinance of God; and the parent state, which in such circumstances refuses to grant entire freedom and independence to any colony or group of colonies, is resisting the divine ordinance, and is acting unreasonably and tyrannically. The authority it assumes is usurpation, and the exercise of that authority is downright tyranny.

There is certainly no law requiring a young man to claim entire freedom from all parental control when he attains his majority; and if he chooses to remain in his father's house, and assist him in his business, that is his own affair, and is supposed to be a matter of private arrangement between his father and himself, with which no law can interfere. But it is natural for a young man

in such circumstances, especially if he has learned a business by which he can maintain a family, and sees a favourable prospect of establishing himself successfully in the world, and has fixed his affections on some virtuous female of his own class in society, with whom he can be united in matrimony when he is his own master — it is natural for a young man in such circumstances not only to desire his entire freedom and independence, but to assert that freedom and independence, and to act accordingly. By the law of nature, or, in other words, by the ordinance of God, as well as by the laws of the land, the young man is constituted the sole judge as to whether he shall assume and exercise his entire freedom and independence or not.

In like manner it is not only in accordance with the law of nature and the ordinance of God that a colony, or group of colonies, which has attained its political majority, and is both able and willing to undertake the entire management of its own affairs, without either assistance or protection from the parent state, should *desire* its entire freedom and independence with intense earnestness; it is the law of nature and the ordinance of God that it should *have* that freedom and independence. "The desire of independence," observes Professor Heeren, "is natural to agricultural colonies; *because a new nation gradually becomes formed within them.*"* To the same effect, the celebrated Grotius, cited in the following paragraph by Mr. Ex-Governor Pownall, describes the natural growth of a colony into a new nation: —

"Our colonies and provinces, being each a body politic, and having a right to, and enjoying in fact, a certain legislature, indented rather with the case of the Grecian colonies, as stated by Grotius: Huc referenda et discessio quæ ex consensu fit in colonias, nam *sic* quoque *novus populus sui juris nascitur.*" [To this category is also to

* Heeren's *Hist. of the Polit. Syst. of Europe and its Colonies*, p. 278.

be referred the case of the voluntary emigration of people to colonies; for *in this way* TOO A NEW AND INDEPENDENT NATION IS BORN.]*

The parent state therefore is not the judge as to whether the particular colony or group of colonies, claiming its freedom and independence is fit for, or ought to be entrusted with such a possession. This is a matter for the colony, or group of colonies, to determine for itself. The parent state has as little to say in it as the individual parent in the case of his son.

SECTION VII.—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES HAVE ATTAINED THEIR POLITICAL MAJORITY, AND ARE CONSEQUENTLY ENTITLED TO THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

If, therefore, it is true and cannot be gainsaid, that the desire of freedom and independence is natural to all "agricultural colonies," that is, to all such communities as British colonies, properly so called; if this desire is the natural and necessary result of their peculiar circumstances and situation, from the fact that "a nation becomes formed within them;" if it is divinely implanted, moreover, and therefore designed for good and not for evil — for the welfare and advancement of the human family, and not for its injury or depression; and if such colonies are entitled to their entire freedom and independence whenever they have attained their political majority, or are

* *Administration of the Colonies, by Thomas Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts*, p. 55. London, 1768.— Pownall was a well-meaning man who did his best, as a Member of Parliament in England, to reconcile both parties, during the American troubles; but of course without effect. He advocated, what he called, in his own clumsy style, "A grand marine dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic, and in America, united into one empire, in a one centre, where the seat of Government is." The thing was impracticable: it was contrary to the law of nature and the ordinance of God, as stated by Grotius in the very passage he cites.

both able and willing to manage their own affairs, without either assistance or protection from the parent state, I maintain that the Australian colonies, having attained their political majority, and being both able and willing to maintain and govern themselves, are entitled to claim their freedom and independence; and I maintain, moreover, that Great Britain, the parent state, being an interested party in the matter, has no more right to constitute herself a judge in the case, and to put forth an adverse decision, than the unreasonable and tyrannical parent who withholds his freedom from his own child.

There is no particular number of men, women and children, required, under any law either human or divine, to constitute a nation. The Chinese nation is said to comprise not fewer than three hundred and fifty millions of people, or about a third of the whole human race. The Tahitian nation numbered only about ten thousand souls, when it was swallowed up, and "annexed" by the late Louis Philippe of France; for which fraternal act towards his royal sister, Queen Pomare, certain people in New South Wales, who were deeply interested in the welfare and advancement of the little nation, are of opinion that the said Louis Philippe met with condign punishment in due time. There is another Polynesian nation, the Hawaiian or Sandwich Island nation, with a king and parliament recognised, and its freedom and independence guaranteed by Great Britain, although it has a considerably smaller population than the colony of New South Wales. And surely we are not to be told that a people of British origin are less likely to be able to govern themselves than a still smaller number of South Sea Islanders.

"A state or commonwealth," says Milton, "is a society sufficient in itself in all things conducible to well-being and commodious life:" and I maintain, without fear of contradiction from any quarter, that the community of the Australian colonies forms, at this moment, just such

a society — "a society sufficient in itself in all things conducible to well-being and commodious life."

The group of Australian colonies for which I would claim entire freedom and national independence, as a matter of right as well as of policy, are those in the eastern section of the Australian continent, including the island of Van Dieman's Land. For as the eastern and western portions of the Great South Land are separated from each other by a great central desert, like those of Africa and Arabia, of at least a thousand miles in extent, it must be evident, that the eastern and western divisions of that land must each be under a separate *régime*. Besides, the colony of Western Australia, or Swan River, has recently been transformed, with the consent of its own inhabitants, into a penal settlement, a condition which all the eastern colonies strongly repudiate; and it is more than probable that the imperial government will form a series of such settlements along the west and northwest coasts. There is, therefore, as complete a separation of the eastern and western divisions of the continent as if a wide ocean had rolled between them. The eastern colonies are, according to their seniority, as follows; viz.

1. New South Wales, with a coast-line of about five hundred miles on the Western Pacific Ocean, from Cape Howe, the south-eastern extremity of the land, to the thirtieth parallel of south latitude; comprising an area of three hundred thousand square miles, or an extent of country equal to all Great Britain and France together. A very large proportion of this land is doubtless hopelessly sterile; but there is still a vast extent of its surface equal in quality to any land in the world, and its mining resources, from gold to coal, are inexhaustible. From the height of its mountains, and the extent of its table land, it has a great variety of climate, and a corresponding range of productions. Its present population is 189,951.

2. Van Dieman's Land, a beautiful island nearly equal

in size to Ireland, and in a still milder climate. It possesses agricultural and other capabilities for the sustenance and employment of a dense population superior to those of most European countries of equal extent. Its present population is 70,130.

3. South Australia, with a coast-line of about five hundred miles along the Great Southern Ocean, and an area of three hundred thousand square miles. Only a comparatively small portion, however, of this vast extent of territory is at all fit for the purposes of man*, the rest of it being part of the great central desert of Australia; but the available portion is of superior quality for agriculture, and its copper mines are rich and extensive. Its present population is 67,000.

4. Victoria or Port Phillip, with a coast-line of about five hundred miles along Bass' Straits and the Great Southern Ocean, from Cape Howe, the boundary of New South Wales on the one hand, to that of South Australia on the other. It extends however only a comparatively small distance inland, and its area is about eighty-five thousand square miles, or about the size of Great Britain. A large portion of its surface consists of the finest land in one of the finest climates in the world, and its gold mines are of unequalled richness. Its present population is 77,345.

5. Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay Country, with a coast-line of about five hundred miles along the Western Pacific, from the thirtieth parallel of latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn. It has an area of three hundred thousand square miles, eight or ten rivers disemboguing in the Pacific, and all available for steam navigation, and an extent of land of the first quality for all sorts of cultivation suited to the soil and climate, considerably greater than the whole extent of such land in Port Phillip and Van Dieman's Land put together. Its mineral resources,

* *Vide* Captain Sturt's *Discoveries in Central Australia.*

with the exception of coal, which is abundant and easily procurable, are as yet unknown, although gold has been recently discovered on one of its navigable rivers. Its climate, although rather hot in summer, is one of the finest on the face of the earth. The present population of this province, which is still a part of New South Wales, is 10,396. The inhabitants are at present petitioning for their separation from the older colony, which the Home Government is, in such an event, pledged by Act of Parliament to grant.

The population of these five provinces (excluding that of Cooksland, which is included in the census of New South Wales), is therefore 401,126; and in all likelihood it will be considerably upwards of half a million before the close of this present year — that is, a population greater in all probability than that of Her Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, when king Robert the Bruce gained the battle of Bannockburn, and delivered his country from the intolerable yoke of England. Surely then a community of such extent, especially when separated by half the circumference of the globe from the dominant country that professes to have both a right and ability to govern it, must form "a society sufficient in all things conducible to well-being and commodious life."

As I consider the waste lands of the Australian continent the property — not of the actual colonists, as certain influential members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales uniformly represent them *, but of the

* The following is one of the items of a solemn protest of the late Legislative Council of New South Wales, including the district of Port Phillip, addressed in the form of petitions to Her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, in the year 1851.

"That the revenue arising from the public lands, derived as it is, mainly, from the value imparted to them by the labour and capital of the people of this colony, is as much their property as the ordinary revenue, and ought, therefore, to be subject to the like control and appropriation."

I deny the principle, and I took special care, as a member of the

humble and industrious classes of the United Kingdom, which ought therefore to be managed in the best possible manner for the national welfare, these provinces, or rather their general government, would, under the arrangement which I would propose for the recognition of their freedom and independence, be virtually *the agents of the mother country for the colonisation of the eastern portion of Australia with a thoroughly British population.* It would be absolutely necessary, however, for the development of this great scheme of colonisation, of which the details will appear in the sequel, as well as for the welfare and advancement of the existing colonies, that the whole east coast-line, from Cape Howe to Cape York, should be under the same General Government; for as the Gulf of Carpentaria is evidently destined to be the grand outlet for the north-eastern portion of the Australian continent, and perhaps the principal highway to England from Australia, it must by all means be made available for the whole of the eastern provinces. I would propose therefore that, in addition to the five provinces above mentioned other two should be formed, to be under the same General Government, so as to comprise the remaining coast-line from the Tropic of Capricorn to Cape York. These provinces I would also propose to designate in honour of two eminent men, to whom the Australian world is under the deepest obligations, for the inestimable services they both rendered to society, and for the hardships and sufferings they were both doomed to encounter, in the cause of geographical and maritime discovery in Australia.

6. Leichartsland (in honour of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt,

late Council, to enter my disclaimer of it upon the spot. The land revenue — meaning the revenue arising from the sale of land, not from the mere use of it — is doubtless to be administered for the benefit of the actual colonists; but it is not their property. It is the property of the empire; and the people of Great Britain and Ireland are to share that benefit with them in the way best conducive to the welfare of all.

the celebrated German traveller, who first traversed and made known to the world this valuable tract of country, and whose bones, it is greatly to be feared, are now blanching on the waste in the midst of the Great Central Desert of Australia). The coast-line of this province would extend about four hundred and fifty miles along the Western Pacific, from the Tropic of Capricorn to about $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude, or the latitude of the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is somewhat remarkable that on this parallel of latitude, a tract of broken country forms the *divisio aquarum*, or water-shed, separating the south-eastern waters flowing into the Pacific Ocean from the north-western flowing into the Gulf. The province would stretch to the westward as far as the south-western angle of the Gulf, so as to afford the inhabitants a port on the Gulf, besides whatever ports it may have on the Pacific. The area of this province would be about three hundred thousand square miles; and from all that is known of it, it contains a vast extent of the richest land for all the different branches of tropical cultivation.

7. Flindersland (in honour of the late Matthew Flinders, Esq., captain in the Royal Navy, whose maritime discoveries, and whose personal sufferings on the coasts of Australia and elsewhere are generally known). This province would consist of the entire peninsula of Cape York, which forms an isosceles triangle, with its base line to the south, and its opposite sides fronting the Western Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Carpentaria. It would thus have a coast-line of from eight to nine hundred miles, while its area would be equal to that of the island of Great Britain or the province of Port Phillip. There is little known of it as yet, with the exception of the highly favourable report of Dr. Leichhardt, in regard to the country abutting upon the head of the Gulf; Mr. Kennedy, a Surveyor on the establishment of New South Wales, who had been sent out with an exploring party to follow up

Dr. Leichhardt's discoveries on the peninsula, having been unfortunately murdered by the black natives.

There would thus, under the scheme of union and of General Government which I would propose for the Australian provinces, in the event of these provinces having their freedom and independence conceded to them by the Imperial Government, be "THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES OF AUSTRALIA"; viz. three to the south, and three to the north, of New South Wales, with that great province in the centre. The head-quarters of the National Government, as well as the capital of that central province, would be the city of Sydney on the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson.

That such a union of these provinces into one great whole would be highly desirable on many accounts, is evident even at present. The river Murray, for example, which, it is believed, could easily be rendered navigable for the whole of its course, will eventually form a strong bond of union between the three southern continental provinces, viz. New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia; and steam communication already connects Van Dieman's Land—the fourth of the southern provinces—with all the other three. Then, as to the northern provinces, New South Wales and Cooksland have a common boundary; and there is already a regular steam communication between Sydney and two of the principal rivers of the latter province. As soon as the two remaining provinces are settled, that communication will be extended to both; while the Gulf of Carpentaria, with cheap lines of wooden railway to the southward and eastward from the port at the head of the gulf, will form a common outlet for all the four northern provinces, including New South Wales, and bind them all together into one whole.

Such a result, however, could only be realised at present through the action of the Imperial Government; as, in the event of the whole of the provinces obtaining their entire freedom and independence, it is questionable whether

they would coalesce into one Great Dominion without some strong pressure from without.

SECTION VIII. — THE SORT OF GOVERNMENT PROPOSED FOR THESE PROVINCES — BOTH PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL.

Supposing, then, that an Act of Parliament should be passed, constituting a Senate and House of Representatives on a popular basis, for each of the existing Australian provinces, with a proviso for the extension of a similar constitution to such other provinces as might thereafter be formed, I would propose that a Senate and House of Representatives should be constituted also for the General Government or National Legislature. In the House of Representatives I would have the popular element throughout the national union represented; each province having a number of representatives, to be elected by the people, proportioned to its entire population: but in the Senate, or Upper House, I would have the provinces represented equally, without reference to population; and the choice of these Senators I would entrust to the respective provincial Senates and Houses of Representatives, — these bodies to meet together in the same house for that special purpose, as is customary in certain cases in the Norwegian Storthing.*

Thus, supposing the Province of New South Wales had a provincial Senate of fifteen, and a House of Representatives of forty-five members; and supposing the number of senators allotted to each province for the national legislature should be three; the fifteen provincial senators of New South Wales would meet with the forty-five members of the House of Representatives, and elect, either by ballot or otherwise, three senators for the National Legislature. And supposing that each fifteen thousand of the entire population should be entitled to return a member for the

* Laing's *Travels in Norway.*

Lower House of that legislature, New South Wales would be entitled to return twelve members for a population of one hundred and ninety thousand. A President and Vice President — the latter to be the Speaker of the National Senate, as in the United States — would be best elected by the whole Australian nation; and there would thus be a bond of union established among the whole seven provinces, while a noble career of honourable ambition would be thrown open to the master spirits of the nation.

Such, then, are the provinces that could be formed — five of them immediately, and the other two in a few years hence — into a grand national union for the government of the eastern division of the continent of Australia. It would be preposterous to allege, after the example we have already had of the working even of imperfectly representative institutions in New South Wales, that such a government could not be formed with the utmost facility; and it were equally preposterous to allege that such a government would not be eminently efficient in its character and working, remarkably economical in its structure and management, and in the highest degree satisfactory to the people. And if it is the law of nature and the ordinance of God, as I maintain it is, that we, the Australian people, who have already attained our political majority, and are both able and willing to govern ourselves, should be forthwith permitted to do so by the parent state, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the longer a measure of such paramount importance is deferred, incalculable evils will, in one form or other, result both to Great Britain and to Australia. It is unsafe in the highest degree to counteract a law of nature: it is positively sinful to resist an ordinance of God.

Section IX. — A Compromise proposed and considered — Parliamentary Representation for the Colonies.

Among the various expedients that were proposed by ingenious speculators, and rejected by both parties, during the American troubles, previous to the War of Independence, was that of Parliamentary Representation for the colonies. It has been suggested, also, in more recent times, in the House of Commons; and there have occasionally been colonists of talent and standing who have expressed themselves favourably in regard to it. The person who first suggested the idea appears to have been Oldmixon, an American annalist of the era of Queen Anne or George I. It was afterwards put forward with approbation by the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, and advocated for a time, but afterwards rejected and strongly opposed, by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was too keen an observer of passing events, when sojourning in London as a delegate from the colony of Pennsylvania, not to perceive how utterly valueless for his constituents a seat in the House of Commons would be for the Representative of a colony. Only think how the Honourable Member for Botany Bay would be sneered at on the floor of the House, and what small effect anything he could say would be likely to have on the affairs of the nation! Besides, what possible interest can the people of New South Wales or South Australia have in one even out of every hundred of the questions that are brought before Parliament? It would decidedly be unconstitutional, and therefore wrong, for the people of England to allow a mere colonial member to vote on any question of British taxation or of internal administration; and would it be accordant with the self-respect which the colonists owe themselves to allow their members to sit silent in the British House of Commons? We can learn from the public press, without the circuitous and expensive course of having a Parliamentary

Representative to report to us, how often the House is counted out every session on colonial questions, of whatever importance they may be to the colonies; and we all know already, without a Parliamentary Representative to guarantee the fact, the precise degree of indifference and disgust with which colonial questions are almost uniformly regarded in that House.

Besides, what are we to do for representation for the colonies in the House of Lords; for we are surely quite as much entitled to representation in that House as in the other? Are we to have colonial Peers of Parliament as well as colonial members of the Lower House — the Marquis of Parramatta, for instance, Lord Wollongong, and Viscount Curraducbidgee? We, colonists, are certainly not responsible for the ridiculousness of the thing — it is no proposal of ours.

Again, if we fell into the trap that is thus proposed to be set for us, by accepting Parliamentary Representation for the colonies, we should virtually declare that the British Parliament has a *right* to legislate for the colonies, just as it has for the people of England, and to precisely the same extent; and we should thereby be bartering away the liberties of our country for a thing of no value whatever. We have certainly no desire, as Australian colonists, to legislate for the people of England; and we deny that the people of England can have any right, by the law of nature, which is the ordinance of God, to legislate for us.

It may not be inexpedient, however, to ascertain what opinions were actually entertained and propounded on this subject by the American colonists; for if Parliamentary Representation was deemed unsuitable and undesirable for them, *à fortiori* it must be undesirable and unsuitable for *us* at the extremity of the globe.

"Our Representatives," says Smith, in his History of New York, "agreeably to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in the opinion that . . . the

session of Assemblies here is wisely substituted instead of a representation in Parliament, which, all things considered, would *at this remote distance* be extremely *inconvenient and dangerous.*"*

At a considerably later period than the one referred to by this historian, viz. in the year 1765, "there assembled in the town of New York a convention composed of twenty-eight delegates from the assemblies of nine of the colonies; one of their resolutions was as follows: viz. "That while all the British subjects are entitled to the privilege of being taxed only by their own representatives, *the remote situation of the colonies rendered it impracticable that they should be represented except in their own subordinate legislatures.*"†

The Assembly of Massachusetts, during the same year, resolved "That the citizens of Massachusetts never had been, and never could be, adequately represented in the British Parliament."‡

To the same effect Dr. Benjamin Franklin "declared his conviction, that the legislatures of Britain and America were and ought to be distinct from each other, and that the relation between the two countries was precisely analogous to that which had subsisted between England and Scotland previous to their Union."§

Section X. — Another Compromise proposed and considered — Municipal Independence.

Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a gentleman for whom I have the utmost respect, and who has laid the colonial world under the highest obligations for the invaluable services he has rendered to society in the cause of coloni-

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America*, vol. iii. p. 324.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 217.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 374.

§ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 221.

sation, proposes, in common with various other colonial reformers, that the colonial legislatures should have entire freedom and independence in all *subordinate* matters, or in other words, what he calls municipal independence, but that all imperial questions should be left to the *Imperial* Parliament. As it would require some third party, however, to decide which were *imperial* and which were *subordinate* questions, and as no such party can exist under the circumstances supposed, this beautiful theory could never be reduced to practice.

It is remarkable how much better the principles of civil liberty were understood, apparently by every body, in the seventeenth century, than they are at the present day even by colonial reformers. In the year 1619 the Virginia Company passed an ordinance to the effect, that "the enactments of the [Colonial] Assembly should not have the force of law till sanctioned by the Court of Proprietors in England; and that *the orders of this Court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the Virginia Assembly.*"* There was something like reciprocity in this enactment; but I confess I see nothing of the kind in Mr. Wakefield's proposal. Again, in the year 1636, the colony of Plymouth (in Massachusetts) drew up a body of laws, of which the first is "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, *but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen, or their representatives, legally assembled, which is according to the free liberties of the freeborn people of England.*"† Then again, in the year 1662, that is, during the reign of Charles the Second, "certain of the leading colonists [of Rhode Island], together with all other persons who should in future be admitted freemen of the society, were incorporated by the title of The Governor and Company of the

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America*, vol. i. p. 70.

† Holmes's *Annals of America*, vol. i.

English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the Governor, Assistants, and Representatives *elected from their own number by the freemen.* This assembly was empowered to enact ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the state of the country and condition of the people would admit; to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of appointment to places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the Charter, on the suggestion of the provincial agent, were authorised to commence the work of carrying its provisions into execution."*

A charter equally liberal was granted during the same year to the Colony of Connecticut, by the same monarch —Charles the Second!

Again, in the year 1775, the assembly of New York declared, in a petition to Parliament for the redress of grievances, "that exemption from internal taxation, and the *exclusive* power of providing for their own civil government and the administration of justice in the colony, are esteemed by them their undoubted and inalienable rights."†

And again, "The birthright of every British subject is, to have a property of his own, in his estate, person, and reputation; subject only to laws enacted by his own concurrence, either in person or by his representatives; and which birthright accompanies him wheresoever he wanders or rests, so long as he is within the pale of the British dominions, and is true to his allegiance."‡

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States*, vol. i. p. 316.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 369.

‡ Dr. Benjamin Franklin's *Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.* Grahame, vol. iv. p. 440.

One extract more and I have done: "Massachusetts and New Hampshire—the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction—were the only two provinces of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the Crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in Council. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the Court of Admiralty), were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege defended, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut militia, the province refused to acknowledge his authority. The laws of these States were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review of the king. So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not repressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the Royal Governor was never able to create more than a very inconsiderable royalist party in this State. The functionaries whom he, or whom the Crown appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and although the most strenuous efforts and the most formidable threats were employed by the British ministers to free the Governor himself from the same dependence, they were never able to prevail with the Assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of Royal prerogative."*

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States*, vol. i. p. 421.

These American colonists would scarcely have thanked Mr. Wakefield for what he designates municipal independence, highly as he esteems it. They looked for something of a much more liberal character, and on a much firmer basis than that gentleman would seem disposed to allow. For in order to enable the Imperial Government and Parliament to correct any false step which might be made in the way of granting even Municipal Constitutions for the colonies, by giving the colonists too much, Mr. W. proposes that the Charters granting these constitutions should be revokable by the Parliament at pleasure!

"In order to retain for the Imperial Power the most complete general control over the colony, the colonial constitution, instead of being granted immutably and in perpetuity, as our old municipal charters were, should, in the Charter itself, be declared liable to revocation or alteration by the Crown, upon address from both Houses of Parliament."*

And does Mr. Wakefield really suppose that the Australian colonists—half a million of people at the ends of the earth—would be abject and spiritless enough to accept such a constitution as this? I thought he had known us better. In one word, there is only one way in which the question can be settled definitively, and at the same time satisfactorily for all parties, that is, the way prescribed by the law of nature and the ordinance of God.

Section XI.—Nationality a real and not an imaginary Good.

If the desire of freedom and independence is natural to colonists, as I have shown it is—if it is the necessary result of the circumstances in which they are placed, inasmuch as "a nation is formed within them"—it must

* *View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.* By Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq., p. 308. London, 1849.

necessarily be implanted in their breasts by the All-wise and Beneficent Creator; and it is doubtless so implanted that it may be gratified. The feeling of nationality is no emanation from the nether regions: it comes down to us from heaven. It is the gift of God for the welfare and advancement of his creature man, and bears no resemblance to *the works of the Devil.*

So far indeed from the feeling of nationality being a mere matter of the imagination, it constitutes a bond of brotherhood of the most influential and salutary character, and forms one of the most powerful principles of virtuous action. Like the main-spring of a watch, it sets the whole machinery in motion. Like the heart, it causes the pulse of life to beat in the farthest extremities of the system. It is the very soul of society which animates and exalts the whole brotherhood of associated men.

And must the young Australian be debarred from the exercise of that generous and manly feeling, of which every rightly constituted mind is conscious, when he exclaims, with deep emotion,

This is my own, my native land!

And must it be held a crime for the Australian colonist, who has gone forth in the vigour of manhood to that far land, to labour earnestly for the freedom and independence of his adopted country, and to identify himself, in reality, as well as in imagination, with the coming glories of that great nation of the future, of which he forms a part?

In one word, nationality, or their entire freedom and independence, is absolutely necessary for the social welfare and political advancement of the Australian colonies. Give us *this*, and you give us everything to enable us to become a great and glorious people. Withhold *this*, and you give us nothing. "Is not dependence, however slight," observes that truly eminent man, Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarâwak, when contemplating the abject condition of the Malayan race in the Indian Archipelago, under the depressing influence of Dutch domination for three long centuries—"Is not dependence, however slight, a bar [to national advancement?] I should answer, Yes. *National independence is essential to the first dawn of political institutions.*"*

Section XII.—An Objection urged and considered—Great Britain planted the Australian Colonies, and has therefore a Right to rule them.

This was the notable argument of the celebrated Dr. Johnson, when working as a literary day-labourer for his Government pension, during the discreditable and disastrous struggle with the American Colonies. Forgetting that these colonies had, with the single exception of Georgia, been planted without assistance of any kind from the parent state; and perhaps wilfully forgetting also, that some of the most prominent among them had originated in the fierce intolerance and unnatural and atrocious persecution of the Government of the day, the courtly pensioner put forth the notable argument, in defence of the British taxation of America, that, "as Great Britain had nourished the calf, she had a right to milk the cow." But, to use another of the homely similes of the distinguished moralist, Great Britain soon found to her cost that "it was the bull she was attempting to milk all the while;" for he soon kicked her over, pails and all; a mishap which cost her, at least, a hundred and fifty millions sterling, besides broken bones and loss of character.†

* *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, &c.*, vol. i. p. 67. London, 1849.

† At the commencement of the War of Independence in America the national debt of Great Britain amounted to 128,500,000*l.* On the 5th of January, 1786, when the arrears of the War of Independence had all been paid, it amounted to 268,100,000*l.*, notwith-

But it must be borne in mind that Great Britain planted the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, which eventually proved the seedplot for all the rest, for her own purposes exclusively, — for her own convenience, — and probably without even the slightest intention of permanently benefiting these colonies in any way.

"From the foundation of the penal colonies," observes Sir William Molesworth, in his speech on Transportation in the House of Commons, delivered on the 5th May, 1840, "to the year 1836, the total expenditure of this country on account of these colonies has exceeded eight millions. During that period 98,000 convicts have been transported. Their punishment has, therefore, cost at least 81*l.* apiece up to 1836."

But if these convicts had been confined in penitentiaries at home, — at Millbank, for instance, — they would have cost the country 15*l.* per head more than that amount, besides subjecting it to the serious and intolerable annoyance of their continued presence in the land.*

Besides, the convict origin of these colonies has entailed on their present inhabitants an enormous additional expenditure, for the maintenance of their police and judicial establishments, beyond what would have been

standing the extraordinary efforts and exertions of the war period, over and above the national loss indicated by the amount of additional debt incurred.

* "The average expense of each convict kept in the convict hulks in England for a period of four years would not be less than 30*l.*; if kept in a house of correction, such as those of Wakefield or Coldbath Fields, would not be less than 55*l.* or 56*l.*; and if kept in a penitentiary, similar to that of Millbank, would not be less than 96*l.*" —*Lord John Russell's Letter to the Prime Minister*, quoted by Sir W. Molesworth, *Speech*, p. 59.

Sir William observes, however, in reference to this estimate, "The last and cheapest would be the hulks, the expense of which is much under-estimated by the noble lord at 30*l.* a convict."

required for these services, had they been originally free settlements.* And from the utter want of common sense, and often even of common honesty, in the carrying out of the penal system of these colonies from the first, the

* "In addition to this sum," adds Sir William, when stating the amount of the convict expenditure of the year 1836-7, "the colonial expenditure on account of the administration of justice, gaols, and police, was 90,000*l.* a year; an enormous amount, as it is *nine times as great in proportion to population as that of the United Kingdom for similar purposes.* The greater portion of this expenditure evidently belongs to transportation."

The extent to which the colony of New South Wales has suffered from the effects of the Transportation System will appear from the following Resolutions, moved by the late Joseph Phelps Robinson, Esq., then Member of Council for Melbourne, in the Legislative Council of New South Wales during the session of 1844.

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, setting forth that according to the Estimates for 1845, laid before the Council, it will be requisite to raise, from the general revenue and municipal assessments, the sum of 96,741*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for police, gaols, building of gaols, &c., being in a ratio of 12*s.* per head on the population of the colony (165,541); whereas the whole expense of the Government of the Canadas does not exceed 7*s.* per head; and were a ratio similar to that existing in New South Wales necessary for the United Kingdom, a sum not less than 16,200,000*l.* would be required for these purposes.

"That for the eight years, ending on the 31st December, 1843, a sum of 839,800*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* was paid by the colony for those services.

"That the number of prisoners who have arrived free, or have been born in the colony, bear a proportion to those who have arrived as convicts, of 39 to 72; and that, as a matter of equity, instead of the colony being subjected to the payment of this enormous sum, it should not be called upon for more than 33,990*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*, whilst the Home Government is justly chargeable with the balance of 62,751*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*

"That of the amount of 839,800*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* already paid by the colony, only 295,064*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* is its fair proportion; and that the balance of 544,736*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* is due to it by the Home Government.

"And that Her Majesty be therefore humbly requested to recommend to Parliament that the amount of 544,736*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* being

vast expenditure of British money which was incurred in the process proved but of very little permanent value to the colonies, while the natural progress of reformation among the convicts themselves was neutralized, and obstructed, and defeated by the very measures of the local Government and its agents in every conceivable way. The debtor and creditor accounts between Great Britain and her Australian colonies will therefore exhibit but a very small balance against even the originally penal colonies, if any at all; as it is evident and unquestionable that, for all her outlay in the shape of convict expenditure, in connection with these colonies, Great Britain has received a substantial *quid pro quo*.

But Great Britain has also received an ample compensation for that outlay in another and much more valuable form — in the magnificent outlet she has thereby established for her redundant population; in the valuable and indefinitely extending market for her manufactured goods of all kinds which she has thus created, and in the boundless field she has opened up for the production of the raw material required for her manufactures, and for the employment of her home population. Assuredly,

the due portion of the expense entailed by the presence of a convict population in the colony, be defrayed by the Home Government. Or should Her Majesty deem it more desirable, upon taking into her gracious consideration the fact that 59,788 convicts were transported to the colony, and also the present exigencies of both countries, in the one of which upwards of 4,000,000 of its population are subsising on private and public charities, and in the other, hundreds of cattle are daily destroyed for the mere hides and tallow; it would, in the opinion of this Council, be of equivalent advantage to this colony that the like number of 59,788 free emigrants be sent out at the expense of the Home Government within the next five years, and the colony, through their consumption of taxable commodities, be reimbursed in the sum annually due to it, amounting to 62,751*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*, as hereinbefore expressed; which measure would likewise tend largely to increase the prosperity of the colony, and the exports of the United Kingdom."

Great Britain has never expended any money for which she will receive an ampler return than she has already received, and will still continue to receive, for all time coming, from the expenditure she incurred in the establishment of the Australian Colonies. Independently of the market for goods of all kinds which these colonies afford to the mother-country, to an extent unequalled in any other country of the same population in the world, Great Britain actually received from the Colony of New South Wales alone, during the first ten years from the introduction of the present system of selling the waste lands of the colony, and devoting a large portion of the proceeds for the promotion of emigration, the sum of a million sterling; the whole of which was expended in relieving the mother-country of a serious public burden by paying for the conveyance of poor persons from Great Britain and Ireland to New South Wales.

But even, although Great Britain had never received any pecuniary or other compensation for the expenditure she incurred in the establishment of the Australian Colonies, this would in no way have affected the right of these colonies to their entire freedom and independence, on the attainment of their political majority. The slave has an *absolute* right to his freedom, whether his master has cleared his purchase-money by him or not. The son, who has completed the twenty-first year of his age, has an *absolute* right to entire freedom from parental control, whatever his father may have expended on his board and education. It is the law of nature and the ordinance of God, that the parent should provide for the child during his non-age, without entering him in his ledger as a debtor for the expense of his up-bringing. If the parent has discharged his duty in the case, the child will delight to repay the obligation in whatever way he can. *He will honour his father and his mother*, from the instinctive feeling of filial affection, as well as *that his days may be long in the land which the Lord his God shall give him*; and

so far from this feeling being extinguished by the mere fact of his being legally free from all parental control, it will still grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength, till, in the course of nature, he is called to deposit the remains of his venerated parent with sorrow in the grave.

SECTION XIII. — ANOTHER OBJECTION STARTED AND CONSIDERED — THE COLONIES ARE CLAIMING THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, BECAUSE THEY HATE THEIR MOTHER-COUNTRY, WHICH HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THEM, AND HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN, TO WHOM THEY OWE ALL DUE ALLEGIANCE, AND BECAUSE THEY ARE CHERISHING IN THEIR HEARTS THE SATANIC SPIRIT OF REBELLION.

Now, as British Colonists, we, the inhabitants of the Australian Colonies, who are earnestly desiring our freedom and independence, repel this peculiarly offensive charge as being equally false and unfounded. From our inmost hearts, we can say, and we do say, with the poet:

England, with all thy faults, we love thee still!

And we are conscious of no other feeling towards Her Majesty the Queen,—that pattern of every domestic, every royal virtue, — but that of unfeigned respect and reverential admiration. But what has all this to do with the *previous* question, as to whether we, as British Colonists who have attained our political majority, have, or have not, an inherent and indefeasible right, under the law of nature and the ordinance of God, to our entire freedom and independence? We are entitled to have this question considered and answered first; for personal rights have a much higher claim in the eye of the law than mere conventional rights and reasons of state policy. We insis then that we *have* such a right — and *that* is the question.

Besides, is the son who has received his education and learned his business, — both perhaps under his father's roof, — but who sees a fair prospect of establishing himself in the world, and of rearing and supporting a family of his own, and who has accordingly fixed his affections on some suitable helpmeet, and planned out an establishment for himself, — is such a son supposed to hate his father because he is endeavouring to do the best he can for himself; and is the future intercourse (or rather no intercourse whatever) which is to subsist between the parties, to be characterized by such mutual and unnatural charges and threatenings as the following?

(*The father speaks*): "That villain, John — to think of setting up for himself, with the mere doll of a wife he has got, when I was willing to have kept him about me, and given him his old seat at my own table for ten or twenty years to come! I have a great mind to burn his shop down about his ears; but I will, at all events, cut up his trade for him, and ruin his reputation!"

(*To which the son retorts, in great vexation*): "There's that old fool, my father, at his old tricks again! annoying Sally wherever he meets her, and calling her a doll that I have stolen out of her father's nursery; and telling every body to give me no credit, for I am not to be trusted, and have cheated him to an amount that he could have made me swing in a halter for! I declare I must swear the peace against him, and have him put in the stocks or sent to the madhouse!"

Now if these are not the feelings that are entertained towards each other by a father and son, in the circumstances supposed, neither are they the feelings that either should, or would, or could subsist between a mother country and her colonies, even although the latter were asserting their natural, inherent, and indefeasible right to entire freedom and independence, on the attainment of their political majority.

And as to the charge of our violating or renouncing our allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, in claiming, as we do, our entire freedom and independence, I repeat it, there is *a previous question* to be put and answered, ere

this knotty point can be determined, ere this offensive charge can be substantiated—I mean the question as to whether we, as British colonists who have attained our political majority, have, or have not, a right to our entire freedom and independence. For if we have such a right, as I have shown we have, the right of Her Majesty the Queen to reign over us necessarily ceases and determines. Under the universal government of God, there cannot possibly be two inconsistent and incompatible rights; and the right to obedience or allegiance on the one part, is clearly inconsistent and incompatible with the right to freedom and independence on the other. It is precisely where and when the one of these rights ends, that the other begins: they cannot possibly occupy the same place, or extend to the same persons. The alleged right of a sovereign to reign over a people who, by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, have a right to their freedom and independence, and who claim that freedom and independence accordingly, is a mere imaginary right, and has no existence in reality. In plain English, it is downright usurpation, and its exercise is tyranny and oppression.

If, therefore, British colonists who claim their freedom and independence because they have attained their political majority, are accused of violating or renouncing their allegiance to the best of queens, they can, with perfect justice, retort—not against Her Majesty individually (God forbid that I should use such language towards Her Majesty personally!), but simply as the imaginary political impersonation of the State—by representing her as "a selfish, heartless, unnatural, cruel mother, who hates to see her own children doing well and establishing themselves in the world; who considers only her own selfish ends in all her dealings with them, and who is doing her very utmost to keep them down." And is it either right or safe, I would ask, to allow Her Majesty, as the Sovereign of the British empire, to acquire such a character

as this, in the estimation of the most valuable, although hitherto but little esteemed, class of her subjects, the British colonists? I think not. Let us hear no more then of this pitiful, this contemptible charge, about our violating or renouncing our allegiance. The question is, Do we *owe* such allegiance, in the sense in which the term is used in the charge, as implying that we have no rights in the case? To which I unhesitatingly answer, No.

Section XIV.—A Third Objection stated and considered.—The British Colonies are Part and Parcel of the British Empire—An Empire on which the Sun never sets, and which, far more than any even of the so-called universal Empires of Antiquity, extends its Sceptre to all the Four Quarters of the Globe—To every Continent, without Exception, and to almost every Isle: it must be glorious, therefore, to belong to such an Empire: it cannot but be monstrous, unnatural, suicidal and highly criminal to attempt to dismember it.

There can be no question as to the enormous extent of the British empire, and the colossal character of its power. Girdling the earth, as it does, in every zone, and covering the sea, it is as like a universal empire as possible, *and therefore the more likely to be dismembered, as it is called, very shortly.* For Divine Providence has, for the last thirteen hundred and fifty years, that is, ever since the Roman empire, or fourth universal monarchy, fell, set its face against the establishment of anything like another universal empire or fifth monarchy upon earth; consequently, the more extensive any empire becomes, and the more closely it approaches to universality, we have every reason to believe that it is only the nearer its fall or dismemberment. It is instructive to glance at the past history of the world in connection with this point; as in comparing the present with the past, we may be enabled, with some degree of confidence, to anticipate the future.

The first attempt to establish a universal empire or fifth monarchy upon earth, since the fall of the Roman empire in the West, was made by the Saracens; who, succeeding to a portion at least of the noble inheritance of Rome in the East and West, speedily overran both Asia and Africa, but were finally checked at their entrance into Europe by Charles Martel in the south of France. The Turks, who in later times succeeded the Saracens in their Eastern dominion, also received their final check, when apparently on the highway to universal empire in the West, from John Sobieski, king of Poland, under the walls of Vienna. As to similar attempts among Christian nations, Charlemagne endeavoured, with no small degree of success for a time, to reunite the scattered fragments of the Roman empire in the West; but the mushroom dominion of that great potentate soon fell to pieces again under the government of his sons. At the era of the Reformation Charles the Fifth made a similar attempt with precisely similar results: and so did Louis the Fourteenth at a later period; and so also, in our own times, did the renowned Napoleon.

There are two periods in British history very remarkable in relation to this law of Divine Providence. In the year 1756, the famous battle of Plassy gave England the presidency of Bengal and the future empire of India. But as if this was not sufficient, the battle of Quebec, in the year 1759, when the gallant Wolfe fell in the arms of victory on the heights of Abraham, gave England the whole of the French empire in North America, as was afterwards solemnly and definitively determined by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Never had the British empire been so extensive as at that period; never was its power so resistless; and never was there a fairer prospect of its dominion becoming all but universal.* But Divine Pro-

* Her possessions in North America, extending from the Mississippi to the great St. Lawrence, and from the ocean to the Alleghany Mountains, were enlarged at the Peace of Paris, by the acquisition of all Canada and Florida. Never did British authority *seem* more firmly established in these regions; but events soon *proved* that it never was less so.—*Europe and its Colonies, by Professor Heeren*, p. 278.

vidence had determined many ages before that no other universal monarchy should be established on earth; and, as if in fulfilment of this decree, a spirit of infatuation was sent forth into the counsels of George the Third; a series of arbitrary and oppressive measures was enacted by the Imperial Parliament in reference to the American colonies; and thirteen noble provinces were at length wrested from the British empire, just as ten of the tribes of Israel had been from the family of David, in remarkably similar circumstances, on a question of iniquitous taxation.*

Now it appears to me that we are approaching a somewhat similar crisis in the history of the British empire at the present moment. For a long time past we have been adding province to province in India, till our empire in that country now comprises upwards of a hundred and twenty millions of people, nearly an eighth part of the whole human race! We have also been adding province to province in Africa, and subjecting the country in the process, through the grossest mismanagement on the part of our local rulers—half saints and half merry-andrews, as certain of them are—to all the horrors of an exterminating war. We have humbled China, and planted a colony, as we call it by courtesy, and a line of posts, on her frontier. We have annexed New Zealand to our Australasian dominion; and we are threatening to annex Borneo, in addition to Aden, Singapore, and Labuan, to

* THE KING HEARKENED NOT UNTO THE PEOPLE, FOR THE CAUSE WAS FROM THE LORD. * * * *So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents.*—1 *Kings*, xii. 15, 16.

our empire of the East; and certain political enthusiasts in the colonies are actually promising us the whole multitude of the isles of the vast Pacific. In short, never was the British empire more extensive than it is at present; never was its power more formidable, in every land and on every sea. The press everywhere is telling us *usque ad nauseam* that the sun never sets upon it, and a certain idolatrous limner at the Great Exhibition, catching the vainglorious spirit of the age, has actually represented the four quarters of the globe paying homage to Queen Victoria!

Now no man of the slightest discernment can be blind to these very significant signs of the times. Such national pride, accompanied as it is with such national dereliction of duty towards the poor in the land, for whom this vast colonial empire is held in trust, necessarily precedes a fall; for it cannot but be peculiarly offensive in the eyes of the Great Governor among the nations. We are evidently hastening to another great crisis in the history of our country. We are on the eve of another dismemberment; and I shall be greatly mistaken, if, in a very few years hence, both the eastern colonies of Australia and the British colonies of North America shall not have ceased to belong to the British empire. Which of the two great groups will go first, no man can tell; but it is certain, at all events, that they are both getting ready.

And why should they not? And why should a great nation like ours seek to prevent them? If it is the right of these groups of colonies, by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, to form two great nations, instead of a series of miserable and miserably governed dependencies, and to assume the prominent and highly influential position they are destined to occupy in that capacity on the face of the earth, why should Englishmen endeavour, in their folly and madness, to delay "a consummation so devoutly to be wished?"*

* Prejudices and prepossessions are stubborn things in all cases; but in none more peculiarly obstinate, than in relinquishing detached parts of an unwieldly extended empire; there not being, I believe, a single instance in all history of any nation surrendering a distant province voluntarily, and of free choice, notwithstanding it was greatly their interest to have done it. The English in particular have given remarkable proofs of their unwillingness. For though it was undeniably their interest to have abandoned all the provinces which they held in France, yet they never gave up one of them, till they were compelled to it by force of arms. Now, indeed, and at this distance of time, we see clearly that our forefathers were wretched politicians in endeavouring to retain any one of the French provinces, which, if it was a little one, would be a continual drain, and perhaps an increasing expense; and if it was a great one, might grow up to be a rival, and become the seat of empire. I say, we can see these things clearly enough at present: yet, alas! what advantages do we derive from the discovery? And what application do we make of such historical mementos to the business of the present day? The remotest of our provinces in France were hardly 300 miles distant from our own coasts: the nearest of those in America are about 3000.—"*Humble Address and earnest Appeal" in favour of separation from America, by Josiah Tucker, D.D., Dean of Gloucester*, p. 70. Gloucester, 1775. Look at South Africa!

Besides, how can we — Britons and Protestants as we profess to be — how can we pretend to object to the claim of that "Italian Man," the Pope, to govern the whole Christian Church, in all its numerous, diversified, and widely scattered settlements — *on which the Sun never sets;* when we ourselves actually set up a sort of political Pope in Downing Street, and empower him to govern the whole Colonial Empire of Britain, in all its numerous and endlessly diversified and widely scattered settlements — *on which also the Sun never sets?* The pretended right to govern is in both cases the sheerest usurpation — a mere trampling under foot of the sacred and inherent rights of men. In both cases, also, that pretended right is based upon the same blasphemous assumption — an assumption of two of the incommunicable attributes of the Godhead — Omniscience and Infallibility! For example, — "the Pope knows everything throughout the

Christian Church, as well as everything that is needful for it; and therefore he can never go wrong in governing it" — this is Popery in Religion. "Earl Grey knows everything throughout the Colonial Empire of Britain, as well as everything that is needful for it; and therefore he can never go wrong in governing it" — this is Popery in Politics: the first cause or moving spring of the two enormities being also precisely the same — an unhallowed lust of empire, on the part of the two bodies which the Pope and the colonial autocrat respectively represent, contrary alike to the ordinance of God and the rights of men.

It is not Cardinal Wiseman, therefore, but Earl Grey, that ought to be tricked out in the harlequin attire of a red hat and scarlet hose, with this blasphemous inscription on his forehead, INFALLIBILITY GREY! What possible harm can the pitiful envoy of "the Italian Man" do to the rights or liberties of Britons, either at home or abroad, if they are only true to themselves? But here is a really formidable power — formidable, I mean, to the rights and liberties of Britons, both at home and abroad — here, I say, is a really formidable power, this Political Popery, or Popery in Politics; devil-born, like the other; and existing only, — as it has done for two centuries past in one form or other — to hurt and to destroy.

As to the glory of belonging to such an empire as that of Britain, "I am of opinion," says Mr. Wakefield, in the language of a supposed speaker whose sentiments he adopts, "that the extent and glory of an empire are solid advantages for all its inhabitants, *and especially those who inhabit its centre.* I think that whatever the possession of our colonies may cost us in money, the possession is worth more in money than its money cost, and infinitely more in other respects. For by overawing foreign nations and impressing mankind with a *prestige* of our might, it enables us to keep the peace of the world, which we have no interest in disturbing, as it would enable us to disturb the

world if we pleased. The advantage is, that the possession of this immense empire by England causes the mere name of England to be a real and a mighty power; the greatest power that now exists in the world."*

I admit that for those who are at "the centre" of the national system, where all its life and heat are concentrated, it may be very pleasant and self-satisfying to look around on their vast domain of colonies of all sorts, of plantations, possessions, and dependencies, and to say, with Robinson Crusoe,

"We are monarchs of all we survey;"

but the condition of those who are at the extremities of the system may, from that very circumstance, be supremely uncomfortable; and whether the latter are to surrender their natural and inherent rights, merely to gratify the vanity, or to minister to the self-importance of those who are at the centre of the system, is a question which, I conceive, admits but of one answer. It so completely sets aside the golden rule of doing to others as we should wish to be done by, that one can scarcely help feeling ashamed at hearing of such a proposition from any person calling himself an Englishman. Again, to talk of England keeping the peace of the world, while she has eight hundred millions of debt of her own, incurred through her generally unjust and unnecessary wars, is amusing enough; but it can surely be no reason why British colonists, who have a natural and inherent right to nationality, should be forced to continue in the very subordinate and unsatisfactory condition of mere dependents and vassals. *If thou mayest be made free,* says the apostle Paul (and the advice applies to communities as well as to individuals), *use it rather.*†

It would be considered supremely ridiculous, as well as exceedingly heartless and unfeeling, for a cotton-planter

* *View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.* p. 98.
† 1 *Corinth.* vii. 21.

in South Carolina, on learning that his "niggers" were anxious for their freedom, to tell them that "he considered them very unreasonable creatures indeed; that the ownership of so many of them gave *him* a standing and influence in society, an importance in the country, which he could not otherwise possess; that he had three votes for a Congress-man for every five of them, and that in such circumstances it was very ungrateful in them to seek to lessen *his* consequence in the world by desiring their freedom." It is equally ridiculous, however, and equally unfeeling and insulting to British colonists, to tell them that it is necessary for England, in order to maintain her dignity and importance in the world, to retain in miserable and humiliating vassalage those to whom God has not only given the desire of freedom and the right to assert it, but the means and ability to use it for their own welfare and advancement. There is much sympathy professed by men of all ranks and classes throughout the United Kingdom for the unhappy condition of the American slave; but if it is true that "the man who hates his brother is a murderer" at heart, then I maintain that the man, of whatever rank or influence in society, who uses his influence to prevent those British colonists that have attained their political majority, from obtaining their freedom and independence, merely because he imagines that the honour and glory of England would thereby be somewhat impaired, is a slaveholder at heart; and when he tells me, in the mawkish language of the day, that "his heart bleeds for the slave," I tell him in the plainest English in reply, that "he is a hypocrite and a liar:" for if he has no sympathy for his colonial brother whom he *has* seen, how can he sympathise with the poor African slave whom he has never seen?

I deny, however, that England has anything to lose in the case, and I maintain that she has everything to gain. Mr. Wakefield's *prestige* is merely another name for *shadow:* it has no substance in it, no real value. The question is simply — What solid advantages does England really derive from her possession of such dependencies as the Australian colonies? In answer to this question, George Cornewall Lewis, Esq., M.P., in his able and singularly honest work, on *the Government of Dependencies*, enumerates the advantages which a parent state or dominant country derives from its supremacy over a dependency as follows: viz.

1. *Tribute, or revenue paid by the dependency.* — This, it is well known, was the system in universal practice among the ancients in the government of their dependent provinces; but the attempt to enforce it in America led to the War of Independence in that country, and the claim was at length formally renounced by the 18 Geo. III. cap. 12.*

2. *Assistance for military or naval purposes.* — Such assistance was very frequently rendered by the earlier colonists of America, in the wars of the mother country with France, which had then an extensive empire in that country; but no such assistance could either be expected or would be necessary now. It is worthy of remark that the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith considered the contribution of revenue and military force as so essential to the very idea of a colony that he regarded any dependency utterly valueless that did not contribute either the one or the other. His words are as follows: —

"Countries which contribute neither revenue nor military force towards the support of the empire cannot be considered as provinces. They may perhaps be considered as appendages, as a sort of splendid and showy equipage of the empire." — *Wealth of Nations*, b. v. c. 3.

3. *Advantages to the dominant country from its trade*

* According to the present feelings and opinions of men, no direct benefit, by way of tribute or payment of any sort, can be derived by England from her colonies. — *The Colonies of England, by John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P.* London, 1849, p. 11.

with the dependency.—Since the commencement of the present Free Trade system, no advantage can be derived by the mother country from this source.

4. *Facilities afforded by dependencies to the dominant country for the emigration of its surplus population, and for an advantageous employment of its capital.*—Mr. Lewis admits, however, that in order to secure this advantage to the mother country, it is not necessary that the colony should be a dependency of the parent state; of which abundant proof will be given in the sequel.

5. *Facilities for the transportation of convicts to a dependency.*—These facilities, however, are now at an end in the colony of New South Wales, and they cannot possibly be continued longer, under existing circumstances, in Van Dieman's Land.

6. *The glory of possessing dependencies.*—This, therefore, is the only real advantage, if it is one, that remains. On this point, however, Mr. Lewis very judiciously observes, that "A nation derives no true glory from any possession which produces no assignable advantage to itself or to other communities. If a country possesses a dependency from which it derives no public revenue, no military or naval strength, and no commercial advantages or facilities for emigration which it would not equally enjoy though the dependency were independent, and *if*, moreover, *the dependency suffers the evils which are the almost inevitable consequences of its political condition*, such a possession cannot justly be called glorious.*

Mr. Lewis also enumerates the advantages derivable by a dependency from its dependence on the dominant country under the following heads, viz.

1. *Protection by the dominant country.*—This I shall show in the sequel is quite unnecessary in the case of the Australian colonies.

2. *Pecuniary assistance by the dominant country.*—

* *Lewis on the Government of Dependencies*, p. 240.

Nothing of this kind is required in the Australian colonies.

3. *Commercial advantages.*—But these have all been done away with under the Free Trade system.

There is therefore not one substantial advantage, derivable either by the mother country on the one hand, or by the Australian colonies on the other, from the continuance of the present connection of domination and dependency. The only advantage remaining to the mother country is a merely imaginary one—the glory of the thing; which, Mr. Lewis admits, is utterly valueless, and which is surely not to be considered for one moment as an adequate compensation for the loss which the mother country herself sustains, as well as for the unspeakable evil which is entailed on the colonies, by the continuance of their bondage.

Section XV. — A Fourth Objection stated and considered— The Colonists who are calling out for their Freedom and Independence are a mere Pack of Republicans, and are unfit to govern themselves.

After nearly thirty years' experience in the Australian colonies, and especially after nearly ten years' experience of the working even of imperfectly representative institutions in New South Wales, I have no hesitation in expressing it as my belief and conviction, that the very worst government which it is possible to suppose could ever emanate from popular election in these colonies, in the event of their attaining their freedom and independence, would be incomparably better than the very best we are ever likely to have under their connection with Great Britain. The celebrated Adam Smith informs us that the thirteen American colonies, containing at the time a population of three millions, were not only governed, but well governed, previous to the War of Inde-

pendence, for the incredibly small amount of 64,760*l.* per annum, or at the rate of fivepence per head.* But the government of New South Wales (including the district of Port Phillip), containing a population of not more than 265,503, on the 31st December, 1850, actually cost for that year 564,487*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, or deducting 171,505*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, expended for immigration, 392,982*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; or at the rate of 1*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* per head! But colonial government, under the present system, is throughout a government of corruption; under which the people's money is abstracted from them by men who have no right to take it, and expended in great measure in the maintenance of unnecessary offices, or in the payment of extravagant salaries, while the general improvement of the country in an endless variety of ways is utterly neglected, and public works of urgent necessity, for the welfare and advancement of its people, are indefinitely postponed.

Nay, so utterly helpless are the colonists, for the redress

* The expense of their own civil government has always been very moderate. It has generally been confined to what was necessary for paying competent salaries to the governor, to the judges, and to some other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the most useful public works. The expense of the civil establishment of Massachusett's Bay, before the commencement of the present disturbances, used to be about 18,000*l.* a-year. That of New Hampshire and Rhode Island 3,500*l.* each. That of Connecticut 4,000*l.* That of New York and Pennsylvania 4,500*l.* each. That of New Jersey 1,200*l.* That of Virginia and South Carolina 3000*l.* each. The civil establishments of Nova Scotia and Georgia are partly supported by an annual grant of parliament. But Nova Scotia pays, besides, about 7,000*l.* a-year towards the public expenses of the colony; and Georgia about 2,500*l.* a-year. All the different civil establishments in North America, in short, exclusive of those of Maryland and North Carolina, of which no exact account has been got, did not, before the commencement of the present disturbances, cost the inhabitants above 64,760*l.* a-year; an ever memorable example at how small an expense three millions of people may not only be governed, but well governed.—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 372.

of their own wrongs, under the wretched system of government that prevails in the colonies under Downing Street domination, that even Acts of Parliament that are passed for their better government are effectually *burked* by the political knaves and swindlers whom the system has created, that that system of misgovernment and corruption may be continued and promoted. For example, an Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1850 for the better government of the Australian colonies; reducing the previously high franchise to a Ten Pound rate, *but leaving the Electoral Districts to be arranged by the actual Council;* of which, however, one-third of the members were Crown nominees, and so many of the others under the influence of the Government as to give it a decided majority. The Electoral Act was accordingly so framed as almost entirely to exclude the popular element from the new Council, and to give the corrupt Government a much more preponderating influence than it had before. For under this *infamous* act, as it was generally designated in New South Wales, every fifteen thousand of the citizens of Sydney, the capital of that colony, were allowed only the same political weight and influence in the new Legislature as fifteen hundred in an Electoral District on the frontier, about seven hundred miles distant! But the people of Sydney are in general strongly imbued with the spirit of freedom, and earnestly desirous of a thorough reform, while those of the frontier district are either tenants of the Crown or their servants; and it was therefore necessary, in order to depress the former, to elevate the latter. The Act of Parliament would have been a real benefit to the colony, if it had only been honestly carried out; but of what avail are even the best Acts of Parliament to the colonists, if they have not the means of carrying them out?

As to the charge that the colonists who desire their freedom and independence are somewhat tinctured with republicanism, I fear it must be admitted. The fact is,

there is no other form of government either practicable or possible, in a British colony obtaining its freedom and independence, than that of a republic. Without inquiring, therefore, as to whether one form of government is better than another, we must be prepared, as British colonists, if we are ever to become free and independent at all, to take that particular form "for better, for worse."*

And why should we be either unwilling or afraid to do so? It is now fifty years and upwards since the celebrated Charles James Fox characterized the British government as a disguised Republic; and the Reform Act has since taken away a considerable portion of the disguise. Why then should Englishmen object to a Republic without disguise for their emancipated colonies? Why should they object to a form of government which has given

* Mr. Wakefield seems to have arrived at a somewhat different conclusion on this important point, as will be evident from the following passage of his recent work:—

"The Imperial Sovereign is a person as well as an institution, and we reverence the one as much as we value the other. To transplant a complete offshoot of the whole is, therefore, simply impossible. The nearest approach to doing so would be by the erection of Canada, for example, into an independent monarchy, and filling its throne with a child of the British sovereign. But *the colonies are intended to be subordinate to the empire*, and though it would, I think, be wise to make the younger branches of a royal family, whose social position here is anything but agreeable, subordinate sovereigns of the more important colonies, yet *subordination requires that the colonial chief magistrate should be appointed and removable by the imperial.*"—*View of the Art of Colonization*, p. 307.

Whether this beautiful theory of subordinate sovereignty would be practicable in Canada, so very near as it is to the United States, I have no idea whatever. I can safely state, however, that the thing would be utterly impracticable in the Australian colonies. Nor do I think it advisable to put forth theories of this kind, which inexperienced people of all ranks in England would probably unite in admiring, but which would most certainly lead to a civil war, if attempted to be carried out in the colonies generally.

birth, in every department of human excellence, to a series of the greatest and noblest men that have ever trod the earth? Why should they vainly attempt to disparage those glorious republics of antiquity, from which we have inherited so much that exalts and embellishes humanity, and whose invaluable annals are so prolific in the most splendid achievements that the pen of history records.*

No wonder that there should be a wide-spread and deep-rooted, although in many instances, I believe, an affected prejudice against Republican institutions, among the hangers-on for office both at home and abroad — among the numerous horde of helpless and hungry expectants of a share in the spoils of the people. But that such a prejudice, whether real or affected, should extend to men professing the Christian religion, and receiving the Holy Scriptures of both Testaments as the Word of God, I confess, surpasses my comprehension. "The Christian religion," says Novalis, an able German writer of the present century, "is the root of all democracy, the highest fact in the rights of man." † Besides, it is matter of sacred history that the only form of human government that was ever divinely established upon earth, was the Republican — in the wilderness of Sinai — and that God himself interposed, in the person of his own accredited minister, to protest against the unwarrantable innovation, when that form of government was at length set aside in the commonwealth of Israel, and monarchy established in its stead.‡ Monarchy doubtless prevailed for a long

* In (*ancient*) Mexico, small colonies (*of Indians*), wearied of tyranny, gave themselves republican constitutions. Now, it is only after long popular struggles that these free constitutions can be formed. The existence of republics does not indicate a very recent civilization. — *Humboldt, New Spain*, book ii. 6.

† Novalis, quoted by Carlyle.

‡ Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, And said unto him Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to

period in that country, *by Divine permission*, as many things else do in this lower world, that are certainly not of Divine appointment; but Republicanism existed from the first *by Divine appointment;* and it cannot, I submit, be a very bad form of government, which can plead such an authority in its favour.

I shall be told indeed that the Israelitish government was a *theocracy*, and therefore forms no precedent for us. But it was evidently quite as much a theocracy under the kings, as during the commonwealth. Nay, in the original *Magna Charta* of Israel—that famous *Constitutional Act* which came down from Heaven, bearing the *Sign Manual* of the Eternal, for the establishment of a Republic more glorious, and happier far, while it subsisted, than those of either Greece or Rome — there was an express provision for the foreseen contingency of the establishment of a monarchy; and the theocracy was, therefore, as complete in every part of it, during the reigns of David and Solomon, as under the presidency of Joshua and Samuel.*

judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other Gods, so do they also unto thee.—1 *Samuel*, viii. 4—9.

* When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that *are* about me; Thou shalt in any wise set *him* king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which *is* not thy brother. But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord has said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply

There was no part of the theocratic government set aside or abrogated on the introduction of monarchical institutions: the Divine command, in regard to the outward form of government, was merely set at nought, just as it was in a thousand other instances; but the Divine Constitution subsisted in every other particular notwithstanding. It is impossible for any man of common understanding to come to any other conclusion on reading the beautiful and affecting passage quoted below.

In that ancient Magna Charta, moreover, we find all the principles of manly freedom established and developed — universal suffrage, perfect political equality (combined with one of the most beautiful and affecting devices imaginable to preserve it,) and popular election; the three grand fundamental principles of Republican government. As this, however, may perhaps be regarded as an unwarrantable assertion, I beg to subjoin the proof, which can easily be verified, as the authorities are in everybody's hands.

When the congregation of Israel, therefore, were assembled on the plains of Moab, previous to their entrance into the promised land, it had become a matter of necessity to ascertain who were thenceforth to be considered *the nation*, for all political purposes; and among whom, and on what principles, the national domain, which was about to be acquired, was to be parcelled out and divided:

wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, *to* the right hand, or *to* the left: to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—*Deuteronomy*, xvii. 14—20.

for the ancient conquest of Canaan was attended with very different results to the great body of the people who were thenceforth to inhabit the land, from those of the famous Norman Conquest of England. *A Census* was accordingly taken by Divine command — not of all the people, however, but of *all the males, from twenty years old and upwards;* who were thenceforth to be considered for all political purposes *the nation.* For on their number being ascertained to be 601,730 (Six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty), it was further divinely directed that the land should be equally divided among these males, without partiality and without distinction; the families which had a larger proportion of such males to have the larger extent of land, and those which had fewer to have the less.* And in order, as much as possible, to preserve this political equality, and the equality of property which was deemed necessary to maintain it, it was further provided that, every fiftieth year, all those who had in the mean time been *sold off* or

* And it came to pass after the plague, that the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying, Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, throughout their father's house, all that are able to go to war in Israel. And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by Jordan *near* Jericho, saying, *Take the sum of the people*, from twenty years old and upward; as the Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt. * * These *were* the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to the number of names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, to few thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him. Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. According to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few.—*Numbers*, xxvi. 1—4. 51—56.

sold out, whether through mismanagement or misfortune, should return every man to the possession of his family.*

And when these principles had been in so far reduced to practice, we learn, from an interesting incident, that the mode of appointment to public offices was by popular election. For after a portion of the land had been surveyed and settled, under the presidency of Joshua, there still remained seven tribes to be located. In these circumstances, Joshua assembled the people, and directed them to elect whomsoever they might consider "fit and proper persons" to survey and divide the land, and he would appoint them accordingly, by giving them their Commissions and Instructions, as the Head of the Executive.†

Here then are the three grand fundamental principles of Republican government — Universal Suffrage, Perfect Political Equality, and Popular Election — in full operation, under the Divine sanction and appointment, in the

* And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on the tenth *day* of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout *all* the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.—*Leviticus*, xxv. 8—10.

† And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long *are* ye slack to go to possess the land, which the Lord God of your fathers hath given you? Give out from among you three men for *each* tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come *again* to me. And they shall divide it into seven parts: Judah shall abide in their coast on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coasts on the north. Ye shall therefore describe the land *into* seven parts, and bring *the description* hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord our God.—*Joshua*, xviii. 2—6.

commonwealth of ancient Israel. And surely, if the God of Heaven deemed it just and necessary to establish such principles of national government for the welfare and advancement of His own chosen people, I appeal, with perfect confidence, to professed Christians of all denominations throughout the United Kingdom, as to whether it can be either wrong or unwarrantable to advocate the establishment of such principles for the government of a community of British origin at the ends of the earth.

In the year 1635, the mere handful of Puritan-settlers who had then but very recently gone forth from England to plant the new colony of Connecticut, on the banks of the beautiful river of that name, in North America, met together, by appointment, *in a barn*, to form a Constitution for the future government of their country, as they were empowered to do under their Charter. They accordingly framed a Constitution, based on the three principles I have indicated as the characteristic features of the Constitution of ancient Israel — Universal Suffrage, Perfect Political Equality and Popular Election — and that Constitution remained unchanged for upwards of a hundred and forty years, or until the Revolution of 1776! It had necessarily to undergo some change on an event of such mighty moment for the whole country; but what was the amount of that change? Why it was simply the substitution of the word *People* for the word *King;* for with that necessary alteration excepted, the Constitution of Connecticut remains unchanged and in full operation as it was originally framed, to the present day! In short, these honest men did the right thing at first, and it required no mending afterwards. But where, it may be asked, did they get such objectionable principles, which are now so generally referred by political writers and statesmen to *Chartism*, *Communism*, and *Socialism;* as it is matter of history that none of these *isms* were ever heard of till a full century and a half after their time? Why, they got them, as is quite evident from the preceding argument, in precisely the same place in which I have got them, and

in which any person may get them still, in that *Word of God which endureth for ever.*

As to the question whether the Australian colonies are fit to be trusted with a government based on such liberal principles, the very proposal of such a question is an insult to the understandings, and an outrage on the rights of British freemen. Let it be remembered, that the people for whom the singularly free constitution of ancient Israel was established, were living under the mere twilight of Judaism, and were oppressed, moreover, with the weight of its burdensome ceremonial, while we, a community of British origin, rejoice in the light and liberty of the Gospel. Let it be remembered, moreover, that only a few years before this free constitution was proclaimed, the whole nation of Israel were a nation of slaves. In short, the only preparation for national freedom is freedom itself.*

There are, doubtless, people in England who peck and laugh at the idea of universal suffrage for any community of British origin, on the ground of its alleged injustice in excluding the women and children; who, as they allege, ought also to have votes. Let these "minute philosophers," however, explain, if they can, why the God of Heaven authorized Moses and Eleazar to leave out the women and children of ancient Israel, when they were numbering *the nation* (as it was thenceforth to be considered for all political purposes), and we shall meet them on the point. It is comparatively easy for "iniquity established by law," and rendered venerable by the practice of ages, to make itself merry with the rights of men; but

* Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they have become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever. — *Macaulay's Essays*, i. 42.

it ought to be remembered, that it is not always perfectly safe in these stirring times.

I cannot allow the subject to pass without directing the attention of the reader to the remarkably different principles on which the two communities of ancient Israel on the one hand, and the British nation on the other, were established in regard to property in land. In the community which, we all admit, God himself set up, there were 601,730 (six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty) proprietors of land, each having an equal share, for a population not exceeding at the utmost three millions of souls! But in Great Britain and Ireland, under a constitution, doubtless, the most glorious and happy, both in church and state, that was ever devised by man, there are, according to Mr. D'Israeli,* not more than about 240,000 (two hundred and forty thousand) proprietors of land for a population of twenty-eight millions of people! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* Hence the enormous competition for a subsistence among all classes throughout the three kingdoms. Hence the perpetual recurrence of scenes of frightful destitution, from the want of employment, and the want even of the commonest necessaries of life, among whole masses of the people. Hence the peculiarly ominous aspect of the condition of England question to all concerned! †

* In one of his speeches in the House of Commons about two years ago.

† A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man;
For him light labour spread her wholesome store,
Just gave what life required, and gave no more:
His best companions, innocence and health;
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.

Famine is the prevailing type in which peasant life seems now to be printed throughout the whole district I traverse. It has been my habit, from time to time, to leave my car, and enter the cabins by the roadside; it was enough to melt a heart of stone to see the people in them. In one instance, under the roof of a tumble-down

Let it not be supposed, however, that, in making such a comparison, I have any wish for a redistribution of the property of the country. I am no Communist or Socialist, although any man who honestly advocates the cause of the people, whether at home or abroad, will be sure to be subjected to that reproach. My object is very different. Conceiving, as I do, that colonization is the grand necessity of the times for the British people, it is simply to inform the struggling classes of all grades of society at home, for whom there is evidently no inheritance provided in the land of their fathers, that there is land enough and to spare for them all in the noble colonies of Australia. *We have seen the land; and behold, it is very good! and the gold of that land is good also.* Let them come to us in any numbers, under such able and honest leadership as may easily be found, to assist us in setting up a government in that land, somewhat more on God's model than on that of man,— a government based, like that of ancient Israel, on universal suffrage, perfect political equality, and popular election; and under which, moreover, they may all literally *sit, each under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and none to make them afraid.*

In regard to the bearing of Republican government on the development of national spirit, national character, and national virtue, I would beg to quote the following remarks of the learned and eloquent historian of Greece on

house, I found a mother and some small children, the latter quite naked, mere skeletons. At another spot, a scarce-clad girl was sitting at the door of a wretched hovel: I took from the well of my car a loaf which I threw to her. In a moment a crowd of beings rushed from the cabin, and a struggle began for the prize, in which all feelings for sex and age were forgotten. The prasha weed, or corn kail, with nettles, is now so sought after, that serious damage is now done to the corn by the poor creatures who thus try to live. — *Correspondent of the "Times" from the West of Ireland, June*, 1849.

the result of the establishment of popular government in the City and State of Athens, after the subversion of as selfish, effete, and unprincipled an oligarchy as that which has hitherto prevailed, under the fostering care of the Colonial Office, in the Australian Colonies.

"The grand and new idea of the Sovereign People, composed of free and equal citizens, or liberty and equality — to use words which so profoundly moved the French nation half a century ago — it was this comprehensive political idea which acted with electric effect upon the Athenians, creating within them a host of sentiments, motives, sympathies, and capacities, to which they had before been strangers. Democracy, in Grecian antiquity, possessed the privilege, not only of kindling an earnest and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the bosoms of the citizens, but also of creating an energy of public and private action, such as could never be obtained under an oligarchy, where the utmost that could be hoped for was a passive acquiescence and obedience. . . . Herodotus, in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy 'its most splendid name and promise,' its power of enlisting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do; but it was what no other government in Greece *could* do: a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficial results, for a Grecian community." *

I happened to reach the city of Rio de Janeiro, in the Brazils, where I remained a fortnight, on my first voyage to New South Wales, in the month of January, 1823, only a few days after the country had thrown off the yoke of Portugal, and proclaimed its national existence and independence. It was a period of extraordinary excitement and enthusiasm; and triumphal arches, thrown across the principal streets of the city, bearing in large letters the inscription, *Independencia ó Morte*, "Independence or Death," proclaimed the new-born liberties and awakened spirit of the people. Don Pedro, the eldest son of the King of Portugal, who happened to be in the country at the time, adroitly placed himself at the head of the movement, and guaranteeing liberal institutions to the people, probably secured the country for a generation or two for his family. But "the new idea of the Sovereign People" was evidently working the same changes at Rio as it had done at Athens, and was visibly infusing new life into the whole community. I have twice visited the country since (not at Rio, however, but at Pernambuco), in the years 1839 and 1846; and depressed and borne down, as it still is, under the prevalence of the two grand calamities and curses of humanity, Popery and Slavery combined, it was impossible not to recognize the transforming influence and beneficial working of popular freedom and national independence. All public improvements in the country were dated from the era of Independence. A National System of education had been established on a popular basis, *free from all priestly control;* and a bill had been actually under the consideration of the Brazilian Senate for the legalization of the marriage of priests. The bishops were complaining, in the meantime, that they could find no candidates for the priestly functions to keep alive their effete superstition; and the case of a Brazilian female taking the veil was scarcely heard of. The monasteries were tumbling down, but schools and colleges were rising in their stead. I assisted, by particular desire, in 1846, as a Master of Arts of a European University, at the creation of a Bachelor of Laws in the Brazilian University of Olinda, the most ancient on the continent of America; and in return for a letter of congratulation and

* *History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq., vol. iv. p. 241.

good wishes which I addressed, in the Latin language, to the graduate, I had the honour, some time after my arrival in England, of receiving a diploma of honorary membership from the Literary Institute of that ancient city.

In regard to the bearing of Republican institutions on public and private morals, and on the prevalence and practice of pure and undefiled religion, I think it must be evident to the readers of Holy Scripture, that notwithstanding their frequent national defections, the morals of the nation of Israel were much purer under the Judges or Presidents of the Hebrew Commonwealth, than under the Kings: and as to the prevalence of that high-toned piety which the law of God enjoins, we have an express testimony on the subject which cannot be gainsaid. In that dark and dismal period which preceded the fall of Jerusalem, and the temporary extinction of the Jewish State, it was natural for the patriot and prophet Jeremiah, when anticipating and lamenting over the approaching ruin of his country, to look back with a melancholy pleasure to those brighter and palmier days of its past history, when Israel walked with God, and God blessed Israel. And to what period in the past history of his nation does he look for these glorious days? Is it to the reigns of Josiah and Hezekiah, these reforming kings of Judah? Is it to the period of the warrior David, the sweet singer of Israel? By no means. The prophet at once overleaps the whole period of the monarchy, and recurs instinctively to the far brighter and palmier period of the infancy of the Hebrew Commonwealth. *I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness unto the Lord, the first-fruits of his increase.**

There is no reason to fear, therefore, either for morals or for religion, under a popular form of government,

* *Jerem.* ii. 2, 3.

established on the ancient and divinely accredited basis of universal suffrage, perfect political equality, and popular election.

SECTION XVI.—A FIFTH OBJECTION URGED—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES WOULD BE UNABLE TO DEFEND AND PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM FOREIGN AGGRESSION, IN THE EVENT OF THEIR OBTAINING THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, AND WOULD, THEREFORE, IF ABANDONED BY GREAT BRITAIN, VERY SOON FALL INTO THE HANDS OF SOME OTHER POWER.

This is an argument against colonial freedom and independence, which is often put forth triumphantly by those who find it to their personal advantage to keep things as they are, and which is not without considerable weight with timorous and nervous people; but it only requires to be looked at for a moment to feel assured of its utter worthlessness. For who, I ask, are the enemies with whom the Australian colonies, if free and independent, would have to contend? Is it the wretched Aborigines of their own territory? Alas! most of them have already disappeared from the face of the earth; *the last man* of the Sydney tribe or nation, once a comparatively numerous body of people, having died a few years ago! Is it the New Zealanders or the South Sea Islanders? The very idea is absurd. Is it the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, or the adventurous subjects of the Emperors of China and Japan? These inoffensive and unwarlike people could never even find their way to the Australian colonies. They have no idea where they lie, and have probably never heard of them. It is evident, therefore, that the formidable enemies of free and independent Australia can be no Aboriginal people within the vast semicircle, having Australia for its centre, and extending northwards and eastwards from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.

We must therefore look for the future enemies of free

and independent Australia among the civilized and Christian nations of Europe and America; and before entertaining the very idea that any of these nations would commit any act of unprovoked aggression upon us, we must do them the honour to suppose that they are no better than the Scandinavian Sea-kings of the middle ages — mere pirates and robbers — which they would all doubtless consider a very high compliment. Away with the unnatural and anti-Christian policy that would thus proclaim the whole human race but ourselves "rogues and vagabonds," and get Acts of Parliament passed, and treaties and alliances formed, to denounce them, and fleets and armies hired to put them down! This was the policy that saddled Great Britain with her eight hundred millions of debt, and that has reduced whole masses of her population, in the midst of all the elements of national wealth and universal prosperity, to a state of suffering and wretchedness utterly discreditable to any civilized nation.

Considering then that we have nothing to fear from external aggression in Australia, within the vast semicircle extending northward and eastward from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn, and that we have all the substantial protection besides that a four months' voyage, which it takes to reach us, implies, against the supposed Sea-kings — the pirate and robber States — of modern Europe and America, we can easily afford to treat the famous question of *National Defences* very coolly. Besides Great Britain herself, the only maritime powers in Christendom that could be supposed capable, even if they possessed the inclination, of committing acts of aggression upon free and independent Australia, are France, and Russia, and America; but so far from any of these great Powers having the slightest inclination to meddle with us in such circumstances, I appeal to every intelligent reader, as to whether it would not be a far likelier event, that the Envoys we should have to send to these countries with the tidings of our freedom and independence, would

be received at Paris, and Petersburg, and Washington, with the most cordial welcome, and be admitted at once into the great family of nations with the liveliest demonstrations of joy.

The fact is, the only chance we have of hearing of war in any shape in Australia for a century to come, lies in our connection with Great Britain, as a group of her many dependencies. And considering the warlike propensities of our worthy mother, and the character she has so long sustained of being the prize-fighter and pay-mistress of the world, our chance of peace under her wing is at best but very precarious.* If she chose to go to war,

* Colonists have generally no predilection for war: they have almost uniformly been dragged into it by the mother country, for her *own* purposes, and not for *theirs*. Take a case in point: "Three years before this period (anno 1698), King William had concerted a plan for the general defence of the American settlements against the French forces in Canada and their Indian allies; in conformity with which, every colony was required to furnish a pecuniary contingent proportioned to the amount of its population,—to be administered according to the directions of the king. This plan was submitted to all the provincial legislatures, *and disregarded or rejected by every one of them*; the colonies most exposed to attack being desirous of employing their forces in the manner most agreeable to their own judgment and immediate exigencies; and those which were more remote from the point of danger, objecting to participate in the expense. Governor Nicholson clearly perceived the utility of King William's plan as a preparative of the ulterior object of a General Government of the colonies: *and though peace had now been established*, he determined to signalize his recent promotion, by reviving the royal project and retrieving its failure. He ventured accordingly to introduce this unwelcome proposition to the assembly of Virginia; and employed all the resources of his address and ingenuity to procure its adoption. He asserted that a fort on the western frontier of New York was essential to the security of Virginia; and insisted that the legislature of this province was consequently engaged by every consideration of prudence, equity, and generosity, to contribute to its erection and support. But his arguments, though backed by all the aid they could desire from reference

which she might do at any time, and on any question in which we may not have the slightest imaginable interest, with any of the three great Powers I have mentioned, what a noble chance there would be for a few French, or Russian, or American frigates and privateers to cruize off Cape Leeuwin to pick up the outward-bounders, or off the North and South Capes of New Zealand, to alter the destination and ownership of our ships homeward bound to London and Liverpool, with their valuable cargoes of fine wool and tallow, copper and gold! Besides, we should have the pleasure of such an occasional interlude as the burning of our towns on the coast, and the destruction of our ships in port; which would be enacted from no imaginable hostility to us as Australians, or colonists, but simply to annoy our pugnacious parent in London!

"Oh! but that is the very case in point," I shall be told. "Great Britain would defend and protect us in

to the wish and suggestion of the king, proved totally unavailing; and the proposition experienced an unqualified rejection from the Assembly. Nicholson, astonished and provoked at this discomfiture, hastened to transmit a report of the proceeding to the king; in which he strongly reprobated the refractory spirit of the Virginians, and urged the propriety of compelling them yet to acknowledge their duty, and consult their true interests. William was so far moved by this representation, as to recommend to the Provincial Assembly a more deliberate consideration of the governor's proposition; and he even condescended to repeat the arguments which Nicholson had already unsuccessfully employed. But these reasons gained no additional currency from the stamp of royal sanction. The king's project encountered again the most determined rejection from the Assembly; and his argument elicited from them only a firm but respectful remonstrance, in which they declared their conviction, 'that neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of New York, could in the slightest degree avail to the defence and security of Virginia; for that either the French or the northern Indians might invade this colony, and yet not approach within 100 miles of any of those forts.'"—*Grahame's History of the United States of America*, vol. iii. p. 14.

case of war, as she would be bound to do. She would have frigates cruising off Cape Leeuwin; she would have others off both Capes of New Zealand, and others still off this stormy Cape Horn, where you are now writing, and scarce able to guide the pen from the rolling and plunging of the ship in this tempestuous sea.* Besides, she would have ships of war cruising along our whole line of coast, and occasionally enlivening us with their presence in our harbours; and what is best of all, *she would make her own people pay all the expenses, without asking a farthing from us!*"† Now this is a great deal too much for Great Britain to do for us. We have no desire whatever to put her to the slightest trouble or expense in the matter, or to tax her people a single farthing for our protection and defence—simply because it is quite unnecessary. Let her only give us our freedom and independence, and we promise her we will live at peace with all the world,—for this good reason, if for no better, that we could not afford to go to war; and she will in the meantime save the expense of her proposed naval armament for the protection and defence of Australia in the event of a European war.

The notable idea, which was seriously put forth two or three years ago by the London *Morning Chronicle*, that if Great Britain should abandon her Australian colonies, some other European power would take them up, scarcely deserves the slightest notice. From the passage above quoted from Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, the reader will doubtless infer that *to take* a free and independent country would be something very different from the mere taking of a miserable dependency. Besides, although the yoke of Britain is galling enough to the British colonists

* This was written when actually doubling Cape Horn, with a strong northwesterly gale, and a heavy sea, in latitude 58° South.

† Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Whether the war be with Johnny Heki or with the Kaffirs, John Bull must pay the expenses.—*Free Translation.*

of Australia who feel themselves entitled to their freedom and independence, they could never be induced to exchange that yoke for any other. If the yoke of Britain is galling, that of France, or Russia, or America, would be a hundred-fold more galling — it would be absolutely intolerable — for "Britons never can be slaves."

Section XVII. — How the Claim of Freedom and Independence is likely to be received by the Parent State.

There is no political truth so universally admitted as that certain colonies, or groups of colonies, will ultimately attain their freedom and independence, and become great and powerful nations.* The idea that millions, or even hundreds of thousands, of intelligent and enterprising people, living together in any country whatever, will allow themselves, in this advanced period of the world's history, to be governed by any other people residing at the opposite extremity of the globe, is so pre-eminently absurd that no person of any pretensions to common sense or common honesty would venture to stake his reputation upon putting it forth. "There must ultimately, therefore," it is universally admitted, "be a time for the separation of the colony, or group of colonies, from the Parent State. But nobody, surely," it will be added, "can be mad enough to suppose that the time has come yet! Wait a while longer by all means, — it is only a question of time."

But this question of time is just the point upon which the whole case turns. For while the colonist maintains

* "Every colony ought by us to be looked upon as a country destined, at some period of its existence, to govern itself." — *The Colonies of England.* By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p. 170.

that the *present* time is the time fixed by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, as the community to which he belongs has attained its political majority, and is both able and willing to govern itself; "Pooh, pooh!" says the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, backed, as he is sure to be, by a large majority of the people of England, "the *future* time can be the only proper time for the consideration of so grave a question. Let us hear no more of it, therefore, for half a century to come."

Thus the very people who will take infinite credit, from all who are simple enough to give it them, for their glorification of Kossuth and Mazzini for their heroic efforts to establish the freedom and independence of Hungary and Rome, will look as cold as the frigid zone upon those who presume to claim for a whole group of British colonies — that is, for their own countrymen, and friends, and brothers, — that freedom and independence to which they are unquestionably entitled by the law of nature and the ordinance of God. The Ministry of the hour, whose glory it would diminish, and whose power it would abridge, will doubtless meet the claim of the colonists and their friends with the stale and dishonest charge of disaffection and rebellion; and the people of England, who have just, perhaps, been fêteing and huzzaing the champions of the liberties of continental Europe, will stand tamely by while their own rulers are employing all the powers of the State to repress and extinguish the dawning liberties of Australia. "There are instances," says Professor Heeren, "in which individual rulers, weary of power, have freely resigned it; but no *people* ever yet voluntarily surrendered authority over a subject nation." * It would seem, there-

* *Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece.* Jeremy Bentham expresses a similar idea in regard to an aristocracy, and this is perhaps more directly applicable to the case in question; the power in that case being in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, which can only be regarded as an aristocracy exercising absolute

fore, that those "hereditary bondsmen" of the British colonies, who would be free and independent, must still achieve that freedom and independence in the old regular and accustomed way. Like the patriarch Jacob, they must *take their portion out of the hand of the Amorite with their sword and with their bow.**

power over the subject people of the colonies. "Of voluntary surrenders of *monarchy* into the hands of expectant and monarchical successors, there is no want of examples: not even in modern—not even in European history:—Charles the Fifth of Germany, monarch of so many vast monarchies; Christina of Sweden; Victor Amadeus of Savoy; Philip the Fifth of Spain: here, in so many different nations, we have already four examples. But, on the part of an aristocratical body, where is there as much as any one example to be found of the surrender of the minutest particle of power which they were able to retain?"—Jeremy Bentham, *Plan of Parliamentary Reform.*

* *Gen.* xlviii. 22.

CHAP. II.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE ANCIENTS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE GREEKS, IN COLONIZATION.

Section I.—The Greek Colonies.

One of the most interesting features in the history of the ancient world, is the remarkable extent to which the mere handful of people who inhabited "the Isles of Greece" diffused their singularly beautiful language, their equitable laws, their "elegant mythology,"* and above all the spirit of manly freedom that pervaded their whole political system, over the remotest regions of the then known world. We know comparatively little of Phœnician colonization; and the barbarous and impolitic decree of the Roman Senate, *Delenda est Carthago*†, appears to

* "The elegant mythology of the Greeks."—*Gibbon.* Be it so—of course with a few grains of salt.

† These were the terms of the famous decree of the Roman Senate for the destruction of Carthage, the ancient political rival of Rome. The Carthaginians had at one time an extensive colonial empire, chiefly in Africa, Sicily, and Spain.

King Solomon appears to have done something considerable in the way of colonization. The sacred writer informs us that *Solomon went to Hamath-Zobah, and prevailed against it. And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath.*—2 Chron. viii. 3, 4. In these countries, as well as in the conquests of his father, David, to the eastward, Solomon probably planted one or more colonies of emigrants from the land of Israel, dividing among them the conquered territories. The advice given in Prov. xxiv. 27., *Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thyself in the field, and afterwards build thine house,* appears to have

have extended to the literature as well as to the walls of Carthage, to the archives of her history as well as to the monuments of her power. But the glorious Greeks have left the traces of their presence on every shore to which it was possible to steer their adventurous galleys, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Sea of Azof; and the solitary marble columns of her once splendid, but now fallen, temples and palaces, and towers, that are still to be found alike, in the midst of surrounding desolation, on the verge of every African desert and every Asiatic coast, proclaim to the admiring traveller how mighty a people must once have lived and reigned in the Central Sea.

And yet the native land of these heroes of the olden time — Greece Proper — was considerably smaller than England; the famous Peloponnesus, which occupies so large a space in ancient history, being only about the size of Yorkshire*; for it was not until a comparatively late period,

been intended for these emigrants, to whom it must have proved the best possible advice; for it is difficult to conceive how it could have applied to the circumstances of a long settled country like the land of Israel in the days of Solomon.

* The Greek States make such a conspicuous figure in history, that the reader will not easily believe their inhabitants were so few, or their territories so small, as certain circumstances compel us to admit. The whole extent of their country, even when they flourished most, comprehended only the peninsula of Peloponnesus, and the territories stretching northwards from the isthmus of Corinth to the borders of Macedonia, bounded by the Archipelago on the east, and by Epirus and the Ionian Sea on the west. The mean breadth of Peloponnesus from north to south can scarcely be reckoned more than 140 miles, and its mean length from east to west cannot be estimated at more than 210 miles. Yet, within this narrow boundary, were contained six independent States, Achaia, Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, and Arcadia. Admitting, then, that the territories of these States were nearly of equal extent, the dimensions of each particular State will appear to be no more than 23 miles in breadth, and 35 in length.

The country belonging to the Greeks on the north side of the

and after all the great works of Grecian colonization had been in some measure completed, that the Macedonians, who were afterwards so celebrated in Grecian history, were admitted into the brotherhood of the Greeks. The climate was doubtless superior to that of England, and the available land of greater fertility; but much of the superficial area of the country consisted of bare rocks and barren hills, and the territory of Attica in particular was very inferior in its agricultural capabilities. But the Greeks, and especially those of the islands, were a maritime people, and a comparatively large proportion of their number preferred living by commerce to the cultivation of the soil. Their foreign trade necessarily extended their knowledge and expanded their minds, whilst it brought them large accessions to their national wealth: and this wealth nourished and sustained literature and science, philosophy and the arts. The consequence was that the Greeks were a cultivated and refined people, while the ruder Romans, who were steadily advancing to universal

isthmus, I have computed, from the best maps, to contain, of mean breadth, 153 miles from north to south, and of mean length, 258 miles from east to west. It comprehended no fewer than the following nine independent commonwealths, Thessaly, Locris, Bœotia, Attica, Megaris, Phocis, Ætolia, Acarnania, and Doris. Supposing, then, as in the former case, these commonwealths to have been nearly equal in point of territory, in order to obtain an idea of the mean magnitude of these dominions, we shall find each of them to have possessed lands to the extent only of 17 miles in breadth, and 28 in length. What is still more extraordinary, several of them consisted of cities, which were independent of one another, and were associated only for mutual defence. Both the Locrians and the Achæans afford instances of this case. The former had not even all their territories contiguous, nor did they act always in concert, and the twelve cities of the latter seem to have been connected in no other manner than by alliance.— *History of the Colonisation of the free States of Antiquity, applied to the present Contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies* (attributed to W. Barron, Esq. F. R. S. Edinburgh), p. 22. London, 1777.

empire in their immediate neighbourhood, could only do two things — bear arms and cultivate the soil.

The political state of Greece, moreover, was most unfortunate, and apparently most unfavourable to national advancement. Instead of forming one great whole, and being thereby enabled to concentrate the national energies upon any one object or series of objects, the country, like Italy in the middle ages, was broken up into almost as many sovereign and independent States as there are counties in England; and these States were in perpetual warfare with each other — Greek everywhere and at all times meeting Greek in mortal strife, and the resources of the country being wasted the meanwhile in fruitless and ruinous wars.

And yet it was under all these disadvantages that, what Lord Bacon very properly designates the "heroic work" of colonization, was commenced among the ancient Greeks, and carried on from time to time with all the native energy and vigour of that wonderful people; till it reached at length an extent and magnitude that renders the utmost efforts even of Great Britain in modern times, and notwithstanding all the appliances of modern civilization, insignificant in comparison.

The first remote country, to which the colonizing efforts of the ancient Greeks were directed, was Asia Minor; and each of the three great divisions of their race — the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians — formed a whole series of colonies on the coast of that country; the Ionians and Æolians having each twelve cities or independent sovereignties, and the Dorians six.* It is immaterial whether we refer the great migration, which led to the planting of these colonies or States, to a particular year,

* Two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the western coast of Asia Minor was planted by the Æolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the south (anno A.C. 944). — *Hist. of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests.* By John Gillies, LL.D. vol. i. p. 103.

as is done by historians of the second class, who are generally dealers in the marvellous, or consider what is commonly called "the Ionian Migration," a legend, with Mr. Grote, and spread it over a long series of years; for the result is in either case precisely the same. The probability indeed is that there were not fewer than thirty different migrations altogether; each having a separate leader, and each founding a distinct city or State.* For as the same national calamity at home would, in all likelihood, either induce or compel a great many families and individuals of the same tribe or people to emigrate simultaneously from their native country, it was absolutely necessary in these times that they should do so, to enable them to effect a settlement in their adopted country at all; for Asia Minor was already inhabited, although but thinly, by a warlike people, when it was colonized by the Greeks, and every distinct colony had consequently to defend itself against "the barbarians."† In such circum-

* There existed at the commencement of historical Greece in 776 B. C., besides the Ionians in Attica and the Cyclades, twelve Ionian cities of note on or near the coasts of Asia Minor, besides a few others less important. Enumerated from south to north, they stand — Milêtus, Myus, Priené, Samos, Ephesus, Kolophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythræ, Chios, Klazomenæ, Phokæa.

That these cities, the great ornament of the Ionic name, were founded by emigrants from European Greece, there is no reason to doubt. How or when they were founded, we have no history to tell us: the legend gives us a great event called the Ionic migration, referred by chronologists to one special year, 140 years after the Trojan war. — *History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq., vol. iii. p. 230.

† Not the prosperity, not the policy, but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies of Greece. THE ÆOLIC MIGRATION was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. The great IONIC MIGRATION took place somewhat later, but produced colonies still more flourishing. It was led from Athens by Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion of the determination of the succession to the Archonship in favour of Medon. The

stances, there was no such contemptible word as "protection" — in the sense of a naval or military force from the mother country, which certain timid people consider absolutely necessary for a *British* colony — in the whole colonial Greek vocabulary. Every colony defended and protected itself from the very first.

As these colonial cities or States grew and prospered, they generally became mother countries in their turn, and sent out other colonies, either into the interior, or along the remoter coasts of the adjacent seas. We shall have some idea of the prodigious amount of subsidiary colonization, which was thus originated in all the other twenty-nine original cities or colonies of Asia Minor, from what history informs us in regard to the famous city of Miletus — the first of the Ionian cities, and the city in which the great apostle of the Gentiles held his interesting and affecting interview with the elders of the Church of Ephesus, when driven from that city by a popular commotion.* For it tends exceedingly to enhance the interest we naturally feel in "these ancient things," to reflect that the earliest triumphs of Christianity were achieved, and the most numerous and flourishing of the apostolic Churches planted, among the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor. "Of the Ionic towns," says Mr. Grote, "with which our real knowledge of Asia Minor begins, Miletus was the most powerful; and its celebrity was derived not merely from its own wealth and population, but also from the extraordinary number of its colonies, established principally in the Propontis and Euxine, and amounting, as we are told by some authors, to not less than seventy-five or eighty."†

In this way, doubtless, the Carian or Dorian province

Carian colonies in general boasted the DORIAN name. — *History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq., vol. i. p. 376.

* *Acts*, xx. 17—38.

† *History of Greece.* By George Grote, vol. iii. p. 241.

of Lycia, towards the south coast of Asia Minor, was colonized from the old colonies — the Dorian Hexapolis, with its principal city Halicarnassus — on the coast. In that province Sir Charles Fellowes has, within the last few years, discovered a whole series of magnificent remains of Grecian antiquity; on which Mr. Buckingham, late M.P., makes the following judicious remark: —

"In the single province of Lycia—embracing little more than a degree in latitude and longitude, or not more than 2,000,000 acres, with a large portion of this limited area occupied by rocky mountains and inaccessible cliffs, with not a single large navigable river or lake, — were no less than 36 cities, in the time of Herodotus; while over the 200,000,000 of acres in our Western provinces, we could not present, in the united public works and edifices all put together, so much of architectural beauty, cost, and grandeur, as some single one of these cities of Asia Minor possesses, even now, in such of their remains as have yet come down to us after 2000 years or more of time!"*

But Lycia was only one small province of Asia Minor. The whole country was a series of such provinces — all colonized successively by the Greeks, and all doubtless exhibiting the magnificent remains of Grecian architecture to the present day.

At a somewhat later period in the history of Greece, Grecian colonization took a westerly direction; and one of the principal colonizing cities or States of Greece, which sent out colonies in that direction, was the celebrated city or State of Corinth. Of the many colonies planted by that city, I shall mention only three. The first was Locri, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, to which I shall have occasion to refer in the sequel, and which in its turn became a colonizing city also, and planted another city of its own name, which afterwards became wealthy and populous, to a far greater extent than the

* Buckingham, *Model of a Town*, &c.

parent city, on the coast of Italy. The second of the Corinthian colonies I shall mention was the city of Corcyra or Corfu, on the island of that name. This city also soon became a mother-city or State, and planted the colony of Epidamnus on the mainland, about which it was able to go to war, as it actually did, with the Parent State. The third Corinthian colony was the city or State of Syracuse, in the island of Sicily, which very soon far outstripped its Parent State in wealth and splendour and population.

The city of Agrigentum was another Grecian city in Sicily, scarcely, if at all, inferior to Syracuse; and the two insignificant Grecian States of Chalcis and Megara had each also a distinct colony, or city and district, in that island. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Grote is decidedly in error when he speaks in the following disparaging terms of the Grecian colonies in Sicily:—

"Such were the chief establishments founded by the Greeks in Sicily during the two centuries after their first settlement in 735 B.C. * * * *Their progress*, though very great, during this most prosperous interval (between the foundation of Naxos in 735 B.C. to the reign of Gelon in Syracuse in 485 B.C.), *is not to be compared to that of the English colonies in America;* but it was nevertheless very great, and appears greater from being concentrated as it was in and around a few cities." *

Mr. Grote ought to have recollected that the English colonies in America, whether he refers to the original Thirteen, or to the present British North American provinces, were the colonies of a mighty empire, having an extent of domestic territory, so to speak, at least three times larger than that of Greece Proper, with probably four times its population; having nothing, moreover, in the shape of internal wars to distract it at home, possessing facilities for colonization incomparably superior to those of ancient Greece, and being able to con-

* *History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq., vol. iii. p. 491.

centrate its whole force in the way of colonization on any particular point; whereas the Greek colonies of Sicily were each the colony of a small insignificant State, no bigger than a second or third rate town in England, while Sicily itself was only one of the many fields of Grecian colonization. A comparison, in such cases, Mr. Grote will surely allow, is scarcely warrantable.

The South of Italy was also another extensive field of Grecian colonization; and so important was it considered in this respect by the Greeks themselves, that it was commonly called *Magna Græcia*, or Greece the Greater. Naples still bears the commonplace name of New Town*, which was given it by its original Greek colonists; and, not to exhaust the patience of the reader with more numerous examples, the Greek colonies of Marseilles and Lyons in the South of France, and of Cyrene on the coast of Africa, were evidences of the presence and energy of the Greeks in these comparatively remote lands.

"The colony of Sybaris, called afterwards Thurii, in Italy, was settled by the Achæans. It was powerful and successful, had under its jurisdiction four adjacent States, possessed twenty-five cities, and could bring into the field 300,000 men, which it did in the war with its neighbours the Crotoniatæ, or inhabitants of Croton, also a colony of Achæa, by whom they were completely routed, and their city destroyed." †

Such were the mighty and magnificent results of Grecian colonization. Considering the limited extent, and comparatively small population of Greece, and especially considering the unfortunately divided state of the country, and the constant prevalence of intestine wars, it is altogether one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of man. But even all this was comparatively nothing to the mighty influence which this wonderful

* Νεαπολις, Neapolis, Naples, or New Town.

† *History of the Colonisation of the Free States of Antiquity.* London, 1777.

people acquired throughout the civilized world, after the subversion of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. Their language then became the universal tongue of the civilized world; displacing alike the Coptic in Egypt and the Syriac in Antioch and Palmyra, while the influence of their laws and learning was felt to the utmost bounds of civilization.

Section II. — British Colonization before the War of American Independence.

It may not be unprofitable to contrast, with this product of the isles of Greece, the vaunted colonization of Britain, both before and since the war of American Independence. To begin then with the colonies of New England in America, these, as I have already observed, were planted during the twenty years that elapsed from the year 1620 to the year 1640; the original colonists consisting of about twenty thousand persons, who had fled for liberty of conscience to the American wilderness, from the tyranny of Charles the First, and the relentless intolerance of his minister Laud. The fact of so extensive an emigration having taken place, within so limited a period, and so near to our own times, may show that there is no antecedent improbability in the common historical account of the great Ionian migration; for under a strong impelling power in the mother country, like the persecution of the Puritans in England, the same effect would doubtless have followed. With a few insignificant exceptions, no further emigration took place from the mother country to New England till the War of Independence. Bancroft, the American historian, estimates the population of New England, at the Revolution of 1688, at seventy-five thousand.

Virginia was the oldest English colony on the continent of America. It was originally planted during the reign of James I., in the year 1606; but in the year 1642, its

population did not exceed 20,000; and according to Bancroft, it amounted only to 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688. At the usual rate of increase in America, — doubling in thirty years, — this amount of population would give 640,000 in the year 1792; which must have been pretty near the actual amount, for in the year 1800 the population of Virginia amounted to 880,200, — of whom, however, about one-half were negroes! How insignificant, therefore, must the whole amount of British emigration to the great colony of Virginia, — *the Old Dominion*, as it used to be called, — have been, previous to the era of Independence, when the whole white population of the country, with all its increase, after a hundred and seventy years, amounted only to 320,000?

It is commonly alleged that the original colonists of Virginia were cavaliers, or gentlemen, and not Round Heads, or plebeians, like the Puritan colonists of New England; who differed from the Virginian colonists in this important particular, that they almost uniformly carried their wives and families along with them to that country. Whatever they were, there was so large a number of males, and so serious a want of female population in the young colony, that the Virginia Company in England had to send out whole ship-loads of young women — I presume from the workhouses or other similar establishments of the period, as in the case of the recent Irish Female Orphan Emigration to New South Wales, — to supply the deficiency; and these young women were literally sold to their future husbands, the gentlemen and cavaliers of Virginia (!) at so many pounds of tobacco each, to repay the Company the cost of their passage out. There was another species of emigration to Virginia and the American colonies generally, which had been long in practice before the War of Independence, — it was that of shipmasters carrying out labouring people, or adventurers, who were unable to pay their own passage, and selling their services for a certain period to the colonists, after their arrival, to reim-

burse themselves for their outlay; people of this class being called *Redemptioners*. But the want of labour was so great in the American colonies, and the flow of voluntary emigration so limited, that the atrocious practice of kidnapping for the colonies was long and systematically had recourse to in the seaport towns of the United Kingdom; unfortunate people, both male and female, from the country chiefly, being allured on board ships ready for sea, and carried off and sold for a time for their passage money, like the Redemptioners. And last of all, there was the convict emigration to Virginia and the other American colonies, which amounted for some time previous to the War of Independence to about two thousand annually. And yet, with all these sources of supply, so little creditable to Great Britain as a great colonizing country, the entire white population of Virginia did not exceed 320,000, even including foreigners and their offspring, at the era of the American war; that is, at the close of one hundred and seventy years of British colonization! The original amount of British emigration required to produce such a result after so long an interval, must therefore have been exceedingly small.

The colony of New York was originally a conquest from the Dutch, during the reign of Charles the Second; and the number of its inhabitants, who were consequently all Dutchmen, at the period of its capture, was upwards of ten thousand.* To these there were subsequently added a number of German Protestant refugees from the Palatinate, and also of French Huguenots, who had been

* This circumstance alone is quite sufficient to account for the extremely limited British emigration to the colony of New York till the War of Independence, when a new order of things commenced. Previous to that period, it was a Dutch colony in reality, although a British in name and in government; and the British people do not like to settle in foreign colonies under any circumstances, as the state of the Cape colony, of Lower Canada, and of the Mauritius, sufficiently proves to the present day.

driven from their country after the Repeal of the Edict of Nantes. So considerable indeed was this latter infusion that the French language continued to be spoken in certain localities in the neighbourhood of New York till the war of the Revolution.*

The colony of New Jersey was originally settled in great measure by emigrants from Scotland, who had been driven from their country by persecution; with whom were incorporated a body of Polish Protestants whose emigration had had a similar origin. The Polish names are common in this part of America to the present day.

The origin and character of the settlement of Penn is well known; although it is a gross injustice to the memory of many other excellent and Christian men, connected with the original colonization of America, as well as a very common error, to suppose that he was either the

* Governor Hunter carried out about two thousand Palatines, as they were then called, or German Protestant refugees, to the colony of New York, in the reign of Queen Anne; for the English emigration of that period was very limited. There was a French Huguenot agricultural settlement at that time about twenty miles from the city; and the emigrants, in writing home to their persecuted friends in France, informed them, that "after their week's labour was over, they regularly walked to New York every Saturday afternoon, to attend divine service with their countrymen, in the French Protestant church there, twice every Sabbath; and rising *a great while before day* on the Monday morning, they walked back to their own settlement again, to resume the labours of the week;" adding "What a privilege!"

Quis talia fando,
Temperet a lachrymis?

It was the extensive prevalence of such principles as these, in the original emigration to that country, that has formed the cement of the Republican Institutions of America: it is the want of such a cement that renders precisely similar institutions a mere wall built with untempered mortar in Mexico and elsewhere. The American has therefore no reason to fear for the stability of his social fabric. *His foundation is in the holy mountains.—Psalm* lxxxvii. 1.

first or the only founder of a colony in that country who purchased the lands he occupied from the Indians. "Not only," observes the American historian, whom I have already quoted so frequently, "were all the lands occupied by the colonists [of New England] fairly purchased from their Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit-rents to the Indians," "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity."*

The colony of Pennsylvania absorbed a small colony of Swedes on the bank of the Delaware River; and, in common with all the other States to the South, with the exception of Georgia, it received a comparatively large number of French Huguenots — a people who had unquestionably a much larger share in the colonization of America than is generally supposed.† In the reign of Queen Anne the French population of Charleston, in South Carolina, was as large as the English; and it is a remarkable fact, which I ascertained myself in America, that of the seven Presidents of the American Congress during the revolutionary war, and before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, not fewer than four were of French Huguenot descent. The number of Germans also who had settled, from time to time, in the provinces to the southward of New England, before

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America.* London, 1836, vol. i. p. 412.

† Charles the Second contributed from his own privy purse a sum sufficient to defray the cost of the passage out to Carolina of two ship loads of French Protestants. Charles is commonly accused of having spent upon his mistresses the money collected at the instance of Cromwell and his secretary Milton for the relief of the Protestants of the Piedmontese Valleys; but I presume part of it went this way, and there is no necessity for making the bad man worse than he was. His sending out these unfortunate French Protestants was unquestionably a good action, even if he never performed another in his life.

the War of Independence, was very great; acts of naturalisation, on behalf of German Protestants, being of constant recurrence in the proceedings of the legislatures of all these provinces during the entire colonial period. In short, there is reason to believe that as large a proportion as one third of all the original European settlers in the United States to the southward of New England, previous to the revolutionary war, consisted of foreigners; including the ten thousand Dutch, of the era of Charles the Second, in the State of New York.

It is evident, therefore, that, up to the War of American Independence, the entire amount of emigration from Great Britain to America had been paltry in the extreme; considering the extent, the population, and the resources of the mother country.* A few distinguished leaders, such

* It is universally allowed that the whole population of New England, which amounted, in the year 1790, to 1,009,522, had sprung from the twenty thousand Puritan emigrants of the reign of Charles the First. But the colony of Virginia was an older colony still than New England, while the Carolinas were settled in the reign of Charles the Second. Supposing then that the rate of increase was as rapid in the middle and southern colonies as it was in New England, it would have required little more than 40,000 emigrants to have been settled in these colonies before the middle of the seventeenth century to have called into existence the whole remaining American population at the commencement of the War of Independence, or rather at the first census of the United States in 1790. Bancroft estimates the whole population of the American colonies at the Revolution of 1688 at 200,000, which was distributed as follows, viz.:—New England 75,000; New York 20,000; New Jersey 10,000; Pennsylvania and Delaware 12,000; Maryland 25,000; Virginia 50,000; the Carolinas 8,000. In the year 1790, the population of the United States amounted to 3,921,326, of whom 697,697 were negro slaves; the whole population at the commencement of the war being, according to Mr. McGregor, only 2,500,000. Deducting from this latter estimate half a million for slaves, and an equal number for the descendants of foreigners, there remains at the very utmost only 1,500,000 for British colonisation with all its increase for 170 years! How extremely contemptible is such a result!

as the Puritan chiefs in New England, Lord Baltimore in Maryland, William Penn, in Pennsylvania, and a few others, started up indeed, from time to time, with their respective schemes, and through their personal influence or the peculiar circumstances of the times, gave a slight impulse to the public mind in favour of their particular projects: but under the depressing and deadening influences to be afterwards indicated, this temporary excitement soon died away; the subject of colonization never got hold of the national mind, except in the way of dislike and aversion; it never became a matter of public interest or concernment to any extent; and although a few families and individuals were still emigrating to the different colonies from some part or other of the mother country every year, the total amount of such emigration was at no time so considerable as to affect the condition of the United Kingdoms, either for good or for evil, in any conceivable manner or degree. Instead, therefore, of realizing, to anything like the extent to which they might otherwise have been realized, the proper and legitimate objects of colonization, from the possession of her American colonies, I question whether the condition of the mother country would have been materially affected in any way, except perhaps in the temporary stoppage of the usual supply of tobacco, had the whole of the Thirteen Colonies been annihilated, at any period from their first settlement till the War of Independence.

It is equally evident that a large proportion of the actual amount of British emigration to America, previous to the War of Independence, was the effect of religious persecution at home; and it must not be forgotten that another portion of it consisted of persons who had been banished from England for their crimes, and who were then sent to America, just as they have been since, in much larger numbers, to Australia, merely to be got rid of.

All that the British government ever did, with the single

exception I shall notice immediately, for the promotion of British colonization in America, previous to the revolutionary war, consisted in giving charters of incorporation to joint stock companies, or to such private proprietors as had interest enough to procure them from the Court, for the planting of colonies. In the case of Georgia, indeed, a small Parliamentary grant was conceded for the formation of that colony, about the year 1732, at the instance of its founder, General Oglethorpe; but this I believe was the only instance previous to the War of Independence, in which the British Government had done any thing for the promotion of British colonization in the extensive territory comprised within the thirteen original colonies of America.

But if the British Government did nothing, comparatively, to *promote* colonization in America before the War of Independence, it did enough, in every possible way, and with singular success, to harass and oppress the actual colonists, and thereby virtually to put a stop to colonization altogether. For this is the whole secret of the paltry and insignificant results of British colonization up to the period in question, as compared with the magnificent results of the colonization of the ancient Greeks. This antagonistic action of the British Government, in regard to American colonization, previous to the revolutionary war, was unfortunately not peculiar to any one Royal house or government—it was alike the characteristic of all; the difference to the American colonists being only in the degree of badness, for even the Revolution of 1688 could scarcely be called a revolution for them. Even the "Glorious and Immortal Memory" is associated with acts of the grossest injustice and tyranny in America; and the affair of Glenco is not the only blot on the fair escutcheon of William the Third. I shall subjoin a few illustrations of the truth of this statement from the multitude of a similar kind that might easily be adduced.

In the year 1661, when the people of Massachusetts apprehended some attack upon their chartered rights on

the part of Charles the Second, "The General Court," as we are informed by the historian Grahame, "appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights, and the limits of their obedience; and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of the committee, framed and published a series of declaratory resolutions, expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on these important subjects. It was declared that the patent (under God) is the original compact and main foundation of the provincial commonwealth, and of its institutions and policy; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic, empowered to confer the rights of freemen; and that the freemen so constituted have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers; that the magistracy, thus composed, hath all requisite power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, except against laws repugnant to those of England; that the provincial government is entitled by every means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the province or its inhabitants; and that any imposition injurious to the provincial community, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England."*

These declaratory resolutions were accordingly transmitted to the king by deputies, who were appointed, and sent home expressly for the purpose, by the provincial legislature; but all the efforts and influence of these deputies could not prevent the instituting of legal proceedings against the colony in the infamous law courts of the period, to deprive it of its charter, and to reduce it under the arbitrary government of the Crown. From

* Grahame's *History of the United States*, i. 310.

circumstances, however, which it is unnecessary to detail, the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts was not formally declared till after the accession of James the Second. As soon as that monarch had ascended the throne, other deputies were sent home to England, to plead the cause of the colonists with the king; who, agreeably to his usual custom, received them roughly, and demanded an unconditional surrender of the charter, on the part of the colonists, which the deputies of course refused. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was therefore issued against the colony in the year 1683, and the charter was at length adjudged to be forfeited, on the most frivolous pretences, on the 2nd of July, 1685. The chartered right of the colony to elect its own governor being thus taken away, Sir Edmund Andros, an unprincipled tool of James the Second, was appointed Governor of New England during the reign of that monarch, and continued in power till the Revolution of 1688.

"But why," the reader will doubtless ask, "why rake up the unjust and oppressive acts of that infamous and dismal period, as if its acts of injustice and oppression had ever been either recognized or approved of by any subsequent government of England? The charter of the metropolitan City of London was declared to be forfeited in precisely the same way, and at precisely the same period as the Colonial Charter of Massachusetts; but was it not speedily restored again by our great deliverer, William of Orange, whose 'glorious and immortal memory' all true Englishmen must ever revere?" There was no doubt a good and sufficient reason for this very politic procedure of William; for he knew well, that if he had refused to restore the Charter of the City of London, the people of England would very soon have sent him back again to Holland. But unfortunately it was far otherwise with the Charter of Massachusetts, which King William *refused to restore*, although deputies had actually been sent over from America to solicit its restoration;

thereby meanly taking advantage of the knavery of his predecessor. The people of Massachusetts accordingly never recovered the rights and privileges which had been solemnly guaranteed to them, on the faith of the Crown, under the Royal Charter of Charles I.*, till the revolution of 1776—the only revolution that was ever of any service to America. But the people of England—those sworn friends of freedom and of the rights of men—where were *they*, and what did *they* do all the while? Why, they just cared as little for a mere colony *then* as they do *now*; they sided with their Government, and left it to do as it pleased with the colonies, as they have always done, and as Mr. Lewis very honestly informs us they will do yet in any similar case.

"In any struggle for power between their own country and the Dependency, the people of the dominant country are likely to share all the prejudices of their government, and to be equally misled by a love of domination and by delusive notions of national dignity."†

"It was with great reluctance," adds the historian of America, "that King William surrendered to the American colonies *any* of the acquisitions which regal authority had derived from the tyrannical usurpations of his predecessors; and his reign was signalized by various attempts to invade the popular rights which at first he had been compelled to respect or to restore." ‡

Witness the following clause of an Act of Parliament

* By the Charter of Incorporation granted to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the year 1628, by Charles the First, the first governor of the company and his council were named by the king: the right of electing their successors was vested in the freemen of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants; the legislation to the body of freemen, who were empowered to enact statutes and ordinances for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England.—Grahame's *History of the United States*, i. 206.

† Lewis, *on the Government of Dependencies*, p. 254.

‡ Grahame's *History of the United States*, ii. 232.

of the 7 and 8 William III., establishing an arbitrary authority over the colonies:—

"Be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, or customs at this time, or which HEREAFTER shall be in practice, or endeavoured, or pretended to be in force or practice, in any of the said plantations, which are in any wise repugnant to the before-mentioned laws, or any of them, so far as they do relate to the said plantations, or any of them, or which are anywise repugnant to this present act, *or to any other law hereafter to be made in this kingdom*, so far as such law shall relate to and mention the said plantations, *are illegal, null, and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever*.*

When Sir Edmund Andros, James the Second's Governor of New England, demanded a surrender of the Charter of Connecticut, the precious document was brought forth by the officer in charge of it, and laid upon the table of the General Court; of which the members were doubtless looking at it mournfully, as they conceived, for the last time, when the lights were suddenly extinguished, and the charter was carried off in the dark by some person unknown, and concealed in the hollow of a tree till after the Revolution of 1688. By that charter the command of the militia of the province was assigned to the Governor of Connecticut, who was appointed to his office by popular election. Notwithstanding this chartered right, however, King William, in the year 1693, commissioned Fletcher, *his* Governor of New York, to command the troops of Connecticut. Fletcher accordingly proceeded to Connecticut, and in the presence of the assembled troops began to read his commission from the king. The colonial officer, however, in command of the troops under the Governor of Connecticut, ventured to remonstrate against this unconstitutional procedure; but Go-

* 7 and 8 William III., cap. 7., sec. 9.

vernor Fletcher, disregarding his remonstrance, and continuing to read his royal commission, the officer commanded the drums to beat, to drown his voice, which they did accordingly. Fletcher was furious at this interruption, and stormed and raged accordingly; but the Connecticut officer very coolly ordered the drums to beat the louder, and the excitement becoming general, the "Glorious and Immortal Memory's" Governor of New York was literally *drummed* out of the province of Connecticut, which was thenceforth left to be governed according to law! It would scarcely be credited, if it were not the fact, that within five years of the glorious and happy revolution of 1688, the very creature of that revolution, William the Third, should have attempted, through his functionaries in America, to do the very same thing that had so shortly before cost one of the Stuarts his head, and another his crown — viz., to substitute the royal will for the laws of the land. But the good people of England had no intention, it seems, in making a revolution for themselves, to make one also for America. They left the Americans to perform that necessary service for themselves, and they did so accordingly.

"The preservation of the original Charter of Connecticut had always been a subject of regret to the Revolution government of England; and various attempts were successfully made to withdraw or abridge the popular franchises which it conferred. We have remarked the encroachment attempted by King William in the year 1693 on the chartered rights of the province, and the determined opposition by which his policy was defeated. In the year 1701 a more formidable attempt was made to undermine those rights altogether, by a bill which was introduced into the English House of Lords for rescinding all the existing American charters, and subjecting the relative provinces to the immediate dominion of the Crown."*

* Grahame, iii. 32.

Of the great and good deeds of Queen Anne for the promotion of colonization in America, I shall only mention one, which is sufficiently characteristic.

"On the removal of Nicholson from the government of Virginia in 1704, this dignity was conferred as a sinecure office on George, Earl of Orkney, who enjoyed it for *thirty-six years*, and received in all 42,000*l.* of salary from a people who never once beheld him among them."*

The accession of the House of Hanover seems to have mended the matter very little in regard to the treatment of the American colonies by the Whig government of the period. For

"In the very first year of the king's reign [George I., anno 1715] a bill was introduced into the British parliament for *abolishing all the charters of the various provinces of New England*." †

How a bill of such beneficent intentions towards the American colonists could have broken down under the paternal government of the Whigs, it is difficult to conceive; for the ministry of the period were not destitute of the power to do good when they pleased, and were by no means scrupulous about the means of doing it, in so far as money could effect their object. Nay, the same historian informs us, that about this period, and until the revolution of 1776, "the whole strain of British legislation with regard to America disclosed the purpose of raising up a nation of customers for the merchants and manufacturers of the parent state, and acknowledged the idea that *the American communities existed solely for the advantage of Britain*." ‡

There can be no doubt of the truth of this assertion; for even the famous Earl of Chatham, patriot though he was, declared in Parliament, in explanation and illustration of the British constitution in regard to colonies, that

* Grahame's *History of America*, iii. 67.
† *Ibid.* iii. 72.
‡ *Ibid.* iii. 137.

"the American colonists had no right to manufacture even a horse-shoe nail," without the express permission of the Sovereign Power. But the British government of the period had evidently been taking their lessons in colonization from a very experienced master in the art, the king of Spain; for, according to Professor Heeren, "the original character of the Spanish colonies, namely, that of mining settlements, led naturally to commercial restrictions. A free admittance of foreigners, under such circumstances, would have been absurd. The advantages of general trade, if at all considered, held a very inferior rank; the main object was to import into Spain, and to Spain alone, the immediate treasure of America. Even to the Spaniards it might have been evident that the prosperity of the colonies was not likely to be advanced by these means, — but *the prosperity of their colonies, as usually understood, was no design of theirs.*" *

That no opportunity of harassing and oppressing the American colonies might be neglected, and that no British monarch should be precluded from a share in this good work, an abortive attempt was made to tax the Americans in the reign of George the Second; and on its abandonment, another vigorous effort was made in Parliament to abolish the colonial charters.

"Another measure," observes the historian, "which succeeded the relinquished design of taxing the American colonies, was the repetition of an attempt, of which we have already witnessed several instances, to invade their chartered systems of liberty. A bill was introduced into the British Parliament in the year 1748, by which all the American charters were abolished, and the king's instructions to the provincial governors were rendered equivalent to legal enactments." †

The tyrannical aggressions of the ministry of George the Third upon the liberties of America, which led at length to the Revolution of 1776, and the freedom and

* *Heeren, ubi supra*, 58.

† Grahame, iii. 308.

independence of the American colonies, are sufficiently known to render it quite unnecessary to show what that venerated British monarch did for the promotion of colonization in America. It is deeply to be lamented, indeed, by every lover of his country, that the iniquitous conduct of a band of heartless and unprincipled men, in that gloomy period of our national history, should have given birth to a spirit of bitter hostility towards the British name on the part of a large portion of the citizens of the United States — a spirit which will doubtless subsist for generations to come. There was no such feeling towards their mother country, on the part of the Greek colonies of antiquity; and we shall show in the sequel the reason why.

It must be evident, from these brief sketches which might easily be multiplied to any number, so as to exhibit innumerable acts of the most unprincipled and tyrannical character, on the part of British governors of the colonies during the period in question, that the only object which the British government ever pursued, in connection with colonization, throughout the whole course of the colonial history of Great Britain, previous to the war of American Independence, was *empire* — and that the only passion with which that government was ever actuated towards the colonies was the *lust of empire.**

It must be equally evident that, in the pursuit of this worthless *shadow* — in the gratification of this unhallowed *lust* — all the proper and legitimate objects of colonization were sacrificed and lost. For while every petty Grecian state had its own colony, or series of colonies,

* I have heard it said by a person in one of the first departments of the state, that the present contest [with the American colonies] is for DOMINION on the side of the colonies, as well as on ours: and so it is indeed; but with this essential difference: *we* are struggling for dominion over OTHERS; *they* are struggling for SELF-dominion — the noblest of all blessings. — *Observations on Civil Liberty, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America.* By Dr. Price. 1766, p. 74.

each of which became a mother-country in its turn, and was often, as in the cases of Syracuse and Miletus, probably four times the extent of the parent state, both in wealth and in population, the whole population of the British colonies, after a period of a hundred and seventy years, did not exceed two millions and a half, at the commencement of the War of Independence. Such at least is the estimate of Mr. McGregor, a highly competent authority. But of that amount upwards of half a million were Africans; and of the remaining two millions, at least one-fourth were the descendants of foreigners! Considering the extent, population and resources of the United Kingdom, this result of British colonization, for so long a period, is not only insignificant but humiliating; whether we regard colonization merely as a noble and *heroic work*, with Lord Bacon, or view it in the far higher and Christian light of its being the peculiar mission of Britain in the modern world. It is abundantly evident, at all events, that so insignificant an amount of colonization as this result gives, when contrasted with the *colonizing power* of Great Britain, could never have secured to the mother-country the attainment of any one of the proper and legitimate objects of colonization in any sensible degree.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that it was simply and solely the impolitic and suicidal attempt to combine with colonization the pursuit of *empire* and the exercise of an unrighteous domination over subject states and people beyond seas, who had a natural, inherent, and indefeasible right to their freedom and independence, that made *us*, as the great colonizing nation of modern times, to differ so widely in this most important respect from the ancient Greeks; who had precisely the same national mission as ours in the ancient world. For who, except under the pressure of the direst necessity, would have chosen to forego the rights and the enjoyments of freemen in their fatherland, to share the hard fortunes of those self-expatriated men

who were doomed to pass their dreary existence in countries so wretchedly and so disgracefully governed as the British colonies must have been, as far as Great Britain could have her finger in the colonial pie, previous to the War of American Independence?

It was under these circumstances of persecution at home, and tyranny and oppression abroad, that the Thirteen original colonies of America, like Israel in Egypt, grew and prospered; and became at length, from the smallest beginnings, through the indomitable energies of a British people, under the ennobling influences of their thorough Protestantism, a great nation. The amount of British colonization out of which this nation arose, was insignificant in the extreme; and the character and history of that colonization form one of the blackest pages in the annals of our country. But perhaps Great Britain never learned the art of colonization until after the American War. Let us see then if it be so from the result of her efforts since.

Section III.—British Colonization since the American War.

I have already observed that we have no right to consider either Lower Canada or the Cape of Good Hope *British* colonies, or to take credit in any way for their colonization. As well might Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, have considered any of the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily, which he had reduced under his dominion, *Greek* colonies. The amount of *British* colonization in these countries is quite insignificant, and can in no respect be considered as a distinct element in the calculation we subjoin.* The following is the census of the North

* The number of French colonists in Upper Canada is probably as large as that of English, Scotch, and Irish in Lower Canada; and there are probably as many Germans in the Australian colonies as the whole of the British-born inhabitants of the Cape Colony.

American colonies for the year 1842, the latest to which I have access at present: that of the Australian colonies is from the census of 1851.

British North American Colonies.

Upper Canada - - -	486,055
Newfoundland - - -	75,094
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton -	178,237
New Brunswick - - -	156,142
Prince Edward's Island - -	47,034
Total population in 1842 -	942,562

Australian Colonies.

New South Wales - -	189,951
Van Dieman's Land - -	70,130
South Australia - - -	63,700
Victoria, or Port Phillip - -	77,345
Western Australia or Swan River -	5,000
New Zealand - - -	25,000
Total population in 1851 -	431,126

Total population of the British Colonies 1,373,688.

Such then was the amount of British colonization, properly so called, at the periods indicated.* How extremely insignificant, when contrasted on the one hand with the population and resources of the mother-country, and the unprecedented facilities for colonization which it possesses beyond any other country on the face of the earth; and on the other with the wonderful and successful efforts of the ancient Greeks in the same field of heroic exertion. I question whether the population of the city of Syracuse alone,

* The reader will perceive that the North American colonies of 1842, and the Australian colonies of 1851, are afterwards compared in the text with the colonies of the New England States in 1840. There is no injustice, therefore, done to Great Britain — but rather the reverse.

which was merely one of the many colonies of the comparatively small City and State of Corinth, and which Mr. Grote informs us was fourteen English miles in circumference, was not as large as the whole amount of British colonization properly so called at the present day. Again, the entire population of the Australian colonies, including New Zealand, is scarcely greater than that of the single city of Glasgow in our own country. As to the Grecian colonial population of Asia Minor, it was, probably, as early as the days of Herodotus, considerably greater than that of the mother-country. In the days of the apostles, it was probably ten times greater.

Besides, there is a most important point of difference to be observed, in by far the greater portion of the British colonization of the present day, as compared with that of the ancient Greeks. Our colonization consists for the most part of mere paupers, driven from their native country by sheer want, and importing into their adopted country nothing but labour of the rudest description, with characters often debased in the downward progress of the masses, from comparative comfort to the confines of starvation. It was one of the items of complaint of the late Legislative Council of New South Wales that "Our territorial revenue, diminished as it is by a most mistaken policy, is in a great measure confined to the introduction among us of people unsuited to our wants, and in many instances the outpourings of the poor houses and Unions of the United Kingdom, instead of being applied in directing to this colony a stream of vigorous and efficient labour, calculated to elevate the character of our industrial population." Grecian colonization, on the contrary, consisted of people of all ranks of society; and the humblest of these colonists were, for a reason which I shall state in the sequel, of a much higher standing in society than the great majority of ours. There are people even in this age of refinement so low in the social scale, that they cannot be made to rise to a higher level; and it is positively dan-

gerous to any community to allow whole masses of the people, as has been the case in many instances in the United Kingdom, to reach so hopeless a condition. Mere paupers make but very indifferent colonists anywhere; and the Greeks understood the art of colonization so well, that they never attempted it. To tell the real truth, however, they practised that art so successfully, that they escaped both the evil itself and the danger to society which the neglect of it is sure to occasion, and from which the United Kingdom has hitherto suffered so deeply, as it will continue to do till we alter our plan.

Another particular, in which our colonization system differs from that of the Greeks, is the large amount of convict colonization which characterizes our system. Since the year 1787, Great Britain has transported to the Australian colonies upwards of 100,000 convicts. There was nothing of the kind known among the ancient Greeks. Their colonists were always freemen — the freest of the free and the bravest of the brave. But how did they get such people to colonize with, and in such numbers, too, under a system of morals and religion confessedly so inferior to ours? And how were they not incommoded with that immense accumulation of crime and of a criminal population, which almost compels us to form convict colonies? These are very important questions, which well deserve an answer. Before attempting to answer them, however, it will be necessary to glance at the beneficial results of Grecian colonization to the mother-country.

Section IV. — The Beneficial Results of Grecian Colonization to Greece Proper.

In a passage quoted by Dr. M'Culloch, in his valuable Dictionary of Commerce, the philosopher Seneca assigns three different causes for emigration in the ancient world,

and particularly in ancient Greece.* The first was civil dissensions; the second was redundance of population; and the third was the favourable accounts which had been received of the capabilities of the particular colony to which the emigration was to be directed. As Seneca was a much better judge than we can be of the comparative influence of these causes respectively in the ancient world, we shall take them in the order in which he gives them, beginning with *civil dissensions.*

It is a remarkable fact that kingly government appears to have been generally subverted in ancient Greece, and to have been as generally succeeded by some popular form of government before the age of Grecian colonization began. The traditional leaders of the great Ionian migration, and the founders of the city of Miletus, the first of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederation of Asia Minor, were Nileus and Androclus, the sons of Codrus, the last king of Athens.† Now, it must be evident that, under the ill-balanced republics that succeeded the overthrow of monarchy, or, as the Greeks called it, *tyranny,* in the numerous petty States of that country, a state of things would speedily arise, of which we can have no experience, under our well-balanced representative institutions, and our more permanent forms of government. There must necessarily, under so imperfect a system, have been a perpetual struggle for place and power between the *ins* and the *outs;* and that struggle would give rise to a far more rancorous hostility between these two classes than we can have any idea of.‡ Society would every-

* Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quærendique patriam fuit. Alios domestica seditio submovit: alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonerandas vires, emisit: quosdam fertilis oræ, et in majus laudatæ, fama corrupit: alios alia causa excivit domibus suis. — Seneca. *Consol. ad Helviam,* c. 6.

† In the year before Christ 502. I copied this date from Gillies: it is surely wrong.

‡ Supposing that the colony of New South Wales were becoming

where resolve itself into two formidable factions, of which the mutual hostility would only become the more rancorous as wealth and population increased, and of which the party in opposition would not always be the only uneasy class of the two. In order to maintain their own authority, the party in power would naturally endeavour to make the yoke of their political opponents as grievous as possible, and to attach as large a portion as possible of the general population to their persons and interests. Such a state of things would at length become intolerable to the weaker party, who, with their friends and adherents, would seek refuge from the insufferable evils of their condition in emigration. We find accordingly that the party in the ascendant in a Grecian colony was generally opposed to the party in power in the mother city or State: if the Tories were *in* at Corinth, the Whigs had their turn at Corcyra.

We have a somewhat remarkable, and at the same time instructive and amusing instance of this in the case to which I have just alluded—that of the famous city or State of Corinth, and the colonial cities of Corcyra and Epidamnus. The aristocrats, it seems, were long in the ascendant at Corinth, and the democratic party accordingly resolved to emigrate, and founded the city or colony of Corcyra in the neighbouring island of Corfu.* But the

free and independent to-morrow; and supposing that the present Colonial Oligarchy, who exist merely in virtue of Downing Street, were determined to keep their places and their power in spite of all opposition — employing the pecuniary means at their command to purchase political adherents, and to hire mercenary troops to uphold *the system* — we should have an exact picture of an ancient Grecian Oligarchy; and the necessary consequence would be that the popular party would be under the necessity of marching off in a body and forming another colony for themselves to the northward, unless in the course of a civil war, which would probably arise in the meantime, they should gain the upper hand; in which event it would be the Oligarchy who would have to march.

* The boatswain of the ship (the Wandsworth, of Glasgow, Captain Dunlop), in which this volume was written, was a native of this island. He was a tall, stout, fine-looking, middle-aged man, who had served on board the "Hellas" frigate, under Lord Cochrane, for the liberation of Greece. He told me he had met with a countryman of his own in Sydney, who had married and settled in the colony, and was commanding one of the colonial coasters. He wished the boatswain to leave the ship and settle in New South Wales, where he thought he could do much better; but the boatswain had engaged to return with the vessel, and would not break through his engagement. He intended on reaching London to proceed to the Ionian Isles, but he has gone out again with the ship to Port Phillip.

Corcyræans themselves, who very soon became a powerful maritime people, having eventually carried matters with too high a hand in their own city, a party of the citizens emigrated in like manner with their friends and adherents, and founded the city and State of Epidamnus on the mainland of Greece. In process of time the party who had the upper hand in Epidamnus deemed it expedient and necessary, doubtless for the public welfare, to banish certain of their own citizens who happened unfortunately to be in the political minority, and who naturally threw themselves upon the sympathies of Corcyra, their mother-city. The Whigs of Corcyra at once espoused the cause of these unoffending and deeply injured people, and accordingly insisted upon the Tories of Epidamnus, their own colony, replacing them bodily in their offices, their honours, and their estates. This, however, the Epidamnians were by no means disposed to do; but being unable to protect their city against the powerful fleet of Corcyra, they appealed, for assistance in their distress, to the old Tories of their grandmother city of Corinth, who at once declared for Epidamnus; and hence originated a regular Greek war! It cannot be denied, however, that in at once relieving any great mother-city or State of a number of unquiet spirits, with all their discontented and disaffected friends and adherents, the process of colonization, which was thus rapid and universal all over the country, was of unspeakable advantage

to the different States of Greece; as it served, in numerous instances, to preserve the public peace when there would otherwise have been fierce commotions and civil wars.

But in far more numerous instances emigration and colonization in ancient Greece must have originated in a redundancy of population. With a fine climate, a fertile soil, a flourishing colonial trade, and a popular government, population would doubtless increase, on the mainland and in the isles of Greece, with prodigious rapidity; and an outlet for that population would soon come to be considered one of the first necessities of every Grecian State. Certain portions of their territory also, as for instance Attica, and certain of the islands, being naturally sterile and unproductive, the inhabitants necessarily became a maritime and commercial people; who soon obtained a sufficient acquaintance with the capabilities of remote countries for the settlement of colonies, and to whom therefore emigration would be a far less formidable affair than to the plodding agriculturist. Grecian colonies were thus formed successively in all the distant localities enumerated above; some adventurous individual of standing and talent putting himself at the head of the movement, and organizing a numerous party among his fellow-citizens to form a settlement in some new-found-land, or the State assuming the initiative in the matter, by a decree of the Sovereign People, and sending forth the colonists with the best wishes of their country, and with all the solemnities of religion. The Grecian colony was thus formed and organized before it embarked; and it went forth, like a swarm of bees from the parent hive, to reproduce the whole framework of society, according to the pattern of their native land, in the place of their appointed settlement, far, far away.

And what a difference there must have been in any great effort of colonization in such circumstances as these, from the miserable affair that we call colonization! In the case of the Greeks, men of all ranks in society, of

all professions and occupations, went forth on the great undertaking, and staked their character and their fortunes on the issue; but they all went forth from the same mother-city or State, and they were all perfectly acquainted with each other before they started on their noble undertaking. As an embryo community, they had all from the first the same interesting associations, and the same endearing recollections of the land they had left; they had all the same objects and interests, the same feelings and views in the land of their adoption. The sprightly and enterprising Ionian from Athens was not incommoded with the presence of the dull Bœotian from Thebes, or the plodding Dorian from the plain of Argos. Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians had all their separate colonies; and every Greek emigrant found himself on his arrival in his adopted country in the midst of his old neighbours, and countrymen, and friends. They all left the same locality in the *old* country, and they all settled together in the *new*.

Under our colonization system, people of a certain class only—people who have somehow lost their way in the world—people who have tried every thing at home and have uniformly failed — people who have already reached, or are fast verging towards the lower walks of life—people of this kind assemble from all quarters of the three kingdoms, and meet together for the first time in some great shipping port, as, for instance, Liverpool. Unlike the companions of Æneas, they require no long navigation to carry them to the land of the Harpies; for, in all likelihood, they find them *there;* and they suffer far more from the *sharks* on land than they are ever likely to do from the sharks at sea. They pay their fare at length, as Jonah did when *he went to go unto Tarshish;* and they go down into the sides of the vessel, with hearts perhaps too full either for sleep or for tears, each as utterly unacquainted with his numerous fellow-passengers as they are with him. On arriving in their adopted country, after

a few weeks' intercourse and acquaintance on board ship, they again separate for ever, one going to the north and another to the south, and a third to the west; and falling, as they now do, among utter strangers, the moral restraints of their native vicinage are gradually weakened, and perhaps completely lost.*

* The following graphic description of modern British colonization is extracted from the celebrated speech of the late Charles Buller, Esq., M.P., on Systematic Colonization, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 6th of April, 1843. I cannot admit, however, with Mr. Buller, Mr. Wakefield, and Bishop Hinds, that it was the formation of convict colonies that brought emigration into disrepute in Great Britain. The thing had been done, a whole century before convict colonization was thought of. It was the lust of empire on the part of the mother-country, and British misgovernment of the colonies, that brought emigration into disfavour from the very first; but this must now be too obvious to require additional proof.

"And thus was colonization always conducted, until all our ideas on the subject were perverted by the foundation of convict colonies; and emigration being associated in men's minds with transportation, was looked upon as the hardest punishment of guilt, or necessity of poverty. It got to be resorted to as the means of relieving parishes of their paupers; and so sprung up that irregular, ill-regulated emigration of a mere labouring class which has been one of the anomalies of our time. The State exercised not the slightest control over the hordes whom it simply allowed to leave want in one part of the empire for hardship in another; and it permitted the conveyance of human beings to be carried on just as the avidity and rashness of shipowners might choose. I am drawing no picture of a mere fanciful nature, but am repeating the solemn assertions of the legislature of Lower Canada, confirmed by Lord Durham's report, when I say that the result of this careless, shameful neglect of the emigrants was, that hundreds and thousands of pauper families walked in their rags from the quays of Liverpool and Cork into ill-found, unsound ships, in which human beings were crammed together in the empty space which timber was to be stowed in on the homeward voyage. Ignorant themselves, and misinformed by the government of the requisites of such a voyage, they suffered throughout it from privations of necessary food and clothing; such privations, filth, and bad air were sure to engender disease; and the

What is termed *Government Emigration* is something equally exceptionable with all this — equally heartless. Instead of directing the emigrant ships to proceed successively to different ports in the United Kingdom — as for instance to the east and west coasts of England and Scotland, respectively, and to the north and south of Ireland — where there would at least be some chance of people emigrating in considerable numbers from the same locality, the Government Bounty emigrants are collected by a regular staff of whippers-in from all parts of the three kingdoms, and forwarded by steamboat to Plymouth — a place which nineteen out of every twenty of them have probably never heard of before — where the Government commissioners have a depôt, into which these emigrants (many of whom are exceptionable enough) are collected from all quarters, like slaves from the interior of Africa in some great *barracoon* on the coast; the sequel being precisely the same as in the Liverpool private ships. And this is what we presume to call *colonization*, forsooth, and to compare with that of the ancient Greeks!

The third of the causes of emigration and colonization in ancient Greece was, according to Seneca, the favour-

ships that reached their destination in safety, generally deposited some contagious fever, together with a mass of beggary, on the quays of Quebec and Montreal. No medical attendance was required by law, and the provision of it in some ships was a creditable exception to the general practice. Of course, where so little thought was taken of men's physical wants, their moral wants were even less cared for; and as the emigrants went without any minister of religion or schoolmaster in their company, so they settled over the vacant deserts of Canada without church or school among them. Respectable tradesmen and men possessed of capital shrunk from such associations; and if their necessities compelled them to quit their own country for a new one, they went as a matter of course to the United States. The idea of a gentleman emigrating was almost unheard of, unless he emigrated for a while as a placeman; and I recollect when Colonel Talbot was regarded as a kind of innocent monomaniac, who, from some strange caprice, had committed the folly of residing on his noble Canadian estate."

able reports that were given of the new or intended colony. When the settlement was once successfully formed, it would naturally attract emigrants from the mother city or State, in proportion to the tidings of the success of the first adventurers; and thus all the three great divisions of the Grecian race — the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians, corresponding to the English, Irish, and Scotch of our own country, — had each their whole series of colonies, both in the east and west, which would all serve as favourite centres of attraction to the adventurous youth of their respective races.

In the meantime the extensive commerce which would originate in so vast a colonial system would afford a boundless market for the various products of the national industry of Greece, and supply her looms, her workshops, her dockyards, and her furnaces, with the raw produce for her different manufactures; while the lofty fame of her statesmen and generals, her historians and philosophers, her orators and poets, her architects and sculptors and painters, would fill her academies with the ingenuous youth of every remote colony, and concentrate upon her the admiration of the world. In such a state of things crime would be comparatively rare; for there would be plenty of employment at remunerating wages for all classes, while all would enjoy in comparative abundance both the necessaries and the comforts of life. In short, I can conceive of no substantial advantage of colonization which Greece Proper must not have enjoyed in a very high degree in the midst of her vast colonial empire; and it is mortifying to reflect that while Greece so nobly fulfilled her evident and undoubted mission in the ancient world, as the great colonizing power of antiquity, that Power which has so evidently been called by Divine Providence to occupy the same distinguished place in the modern world, and which enjoys facilities for the purpose of which the loftiest imaginations of Greece could never have dreamt, should have hitherto neglected in great measure to follow her bright example, and failed for the most part to realize the same magnificent results.

Section V. — Is Colonization one of the Lost Arts?

It seems to be the general impression that, like several others of the useful arts of life, that were long successfully practised by the ancients, but are utterly unknown to the moderns, colonization, that noblest of all the arts, has been entirely lost; and the comparative results we have given above of Grecian and British colonization are surely sufficient to prove that the idea is well founded. For whole centuries in succession, colonization served to carry off the redundant population of Greece, and to secure plenty of employment at remunerating wages, and abundance of all things for those who remained. Has British colonization ever had the slightest effect on the enormous redundancy of the population of Britain, with the single exception of the recent depopulation of Ireland — a fact, taking it with all its attendant circumstances, in the highest degree discreditable to any civilized country? Has it done anything to ensure to the myriads of labourers, and artisans, and operatives of all classes, "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." For the redundant population of the higher and middle classes of society, for whom an eligible outlet is as prime a necessity of life as it is for the most unskilled labourers in the land, British colonization has hitherto done nothing whatever. And what has it done in the way of carrying off the dangerous classes of society of all grades, from the Parliamentary agitator to the humblest socialist and leveller in the land? Why, they are all here yet, ready for anything that may present itself in the mysterious future! It has done something indeed in the way of showing what might be done under a system at all characterised by common sense and common honesty, for the creation of a market for the produce of the mother-country, and for raising

raw material for her manufactures. But the trifle she has done in either way, in comparison with what she might have done, is perfectly contemptible. I think it quite fair, therefore, to regard colonization on a system at all adequate to the urgent necessities of the case, as one of the lost arts.

It is so regarded at least by some of the ablest writers of the day. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, one of these writers, very justly speaks of our national system of colonization in the following disparaging terms: —

"To use a heedless expression of the *Quarterly Review*, it renders the colonies 'unfit abodes for any but convicts, paupers, and desperate or needy persons.' It cures those who emigrate in spite of it, of their *maladie du pays*. It is the one great impediment to the overflow of Britain's excessive capital and labour into waste fields, which, if cultivated into new markets, would increase the home field of employment for capital and labour. It has placed colonization itself among *the lost arts*, and is thus a negative cause of that excessive competition of capital with capital, and labour with labour, in a limited field of employment for both, which is now the condition of England and the difficulty of her statesmen."

"It is remarkable," observes the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Hinds, late Dean of Carlisle, in a paper embodied in Mr. Wakefield's recent work, "that notwithstanding the greater facilities which modern times afford for the settlement and growth of colonies, the ancients were more successful with theirs than we are with ours. If we look back on the history of Greek emigrations especially, we find many ruinous enterprises indeed, owing sometimes to the situation for the new settlement being ill-chosen, sometimes to the difficulties and dangers of rude and unskilful navigation; sometimes again, to the imprudence of settlers, or the jealousy of neighbours embroiling the infant state in quarrels before it was strong enough to protect itself. But supposing the colony to escape accidents of this kind,

it was generally so efficient in itself, so well organized and equipped, as to thrive; and this at far less cost, it would seem, and with less looking after, on the part of the parent state, than is usually bestowed (and often bestowed in vain) on our colonial establishments. After a few years, a colony was seen, not unfrequently, to rise into a condition of maturity that afforded support or threatened rivalry to the state that had lately called it into existence.

"Our colonies are, in fact, far less liable to those accidents which have been alluded to as occasionally interfering with the success of those of ancient times, both from the greater stock of useful knowledge, and from the greater power and wealth possessed by those who now send out colonies. And yet how many instances are there of modern European states, carefully providing for a new plantation of its people — expending on it ten times as much money and labour as sufficed in earlier ages; and still this tender plant of theirs will be stunted and sickly; and, if it does not die, must be still tended and nursed like an exotic. At length, after years of anxious looking after, it is found to have cost the parent state more than it is worth; or, perhaps, as in the case of the United States, we have succeeded in rearing a child that disowns its parent — that has acquired habits and feelings, and a tone and character incompatible with that political στοργη which colonies formerly are represented as entertaining, through generations, for the mother-country."

And again, —

"Want presses a part of the population of an old-established community such as ours. *Those who are suffering under this pressure* are encouraged to go and settle themselves elsewhere, in a country whose soil, perhaps, has been ascertained to be fertile, its climate healthy, and its other circumstances favourable for the enterprise. The protection of our arms, and the benefit of free commercial intercourse with us and with other nations, are held out as inducements to emigrate. We are liberal, perhaps

profuse, in our grants of aid from the public purse. We moreover furnish for our helpless community a government, and perhaps laws; and appoint over them some tried civil or military servant of the state, to be succeeded by others of the same high character. Our newspapers are full of glowing pictures of this land of milk and honey. All who are needy and discontented — all who seek in vain at home for independence and comfort and future wealth, are called upon to seize the golden moment, and repair to it.

"'Eja!
Quid statis? Nolint. Atque licet esse beatis!'

Those who do go, have, for the most part, made a reluctant choice between starvation and exile. They go, often indeed with their imaginations full of vague notions of future riches, for which they are nothing the better: but they go, with a consciousness of being *exiled;* and when they arrive at their destination it is an exile."

And again, after alluding to the wonderful superiority of the Greeks in the art of colonization, the worthy bishop adds, —

"If the art of founding such colonies as theirs be indeed one of the *artes perditæ*, it is well to be sensible of the difference and the cause of it, that we may at least not deceive ourselves by calculating on producing similar effects by dissimilar and inadequate means."

Section VI. — Quack Salve for bad Sores; or the Tree of English Society to be transplanted to the Colonies!

And what is the *panacea* which this worthy bishop, *who has evidently had no colonial experience*, proposes for the remedy or cure of these serious national evils? We must allow him to state it in his own words: —

"The main cause of this difference may be stated in few words. We send out colonies of the limbs, without

the belly and the head; — of needy persons, many of them mere paupers, or even criminals; colonies made up of *a single class* of persons in the community, and that the most helpless, and the most unfit to perpetuate our national character, and to become the fathers of a race whose habits of thinking and feeling shall correspond to those which, in the meantime, we are cherishing at home. The ancients, on the contrary, sent out *a representation of the parent state — colonists from all ranks.* We stock the farm with creeping and climbing plants, without any trees of firmer growth for them to entwine round. A hop-ground left without poles, the plants matted confusedly together, and scrambling on the ground in tangled heaps, with here and there some clinging to rank thistles and hemlocks, would be an apt emblem of a modern colony. They began by nominating to the honourable office of captain or leader of the colony, one of the chief men, if not the chief man of the state, — like the queen-bee leading the workers. Monarchies provided a prince of the blood royal; an aristocracy its choicest nobleman; a democracy its most influential citizen. These naturally carried along with them some of their own station in life, — their companions and friends; some of their immediate dependents also — of those between themselves and the lowest class; and were encouraged in various ways to do so. The lowest class again followed with alacrity, because they found themselves moving *with*, and not *away from* the state of society in which they had been living. It was the same social and political union under which they had been born and bred; and to prevent any contrary impression being made, the utmost solemnity was observed in transferring the rites of pagan superstition. They carried with them their gods — their festivals — their games; all, in short, that held together, and kept entire the fabric of society as it existed in the parent state. Nothing was left behind that could be moved, — of all that the heart or eye of an exile misses. The new colony

was made to appear as if time or chance had reduced the whole community to smaller dimensions, leaving it still essentially the same home and country to its surviving members. It consisted of a general contribution of members from all classes, and so became, on its first settlement, a mature state, with all the component parts of that which sent it forth. It was a transfer of population, therefore, which gave rise to no sense of degradation, as if the colonists were thrust out from a higher to a lower description of community."

Again, speaking of the emigration of the humbler classes — "the uneducated clown, the drudging mechanic" — the bishop proceeds:—

"He has been accustomed, perhaps, to see the squire's house and park; and he misses this object, not only when his wants, which found relief there, recur; but simply because he, from a child, has been accustomed to see gentry in the land."

And how is this desideratum to be supplied, that a veritable colonial aristocracy may exist, so that the "uneducated clown, or drudging mechanic," may enjoy the interesting and enlivening prospect of a "squire's house and park, and of gentry in the land" of his adoption? Why, the bishop shall again answer the question himself:—

"Offer an English gentleman of influence, and competent fortune (though such, perhaps, may fall short of his wishes) a sum of money, however large, to quit his home permanently and take a share in the foundation of a colony; and the more he possesses of those generous traits of character which qualify him for the part he would have to act, the less likely is he to accept the bribe. But offer him a patent of nobility for himself and his heirs,—offer him an hereditary station in the government of the future community; and there will be some chance of his acceding to the proposal. And he would not go alone. He would be followed by some few of those who are moving in the same society with him,—near relations,

intimate friends. He would be followed by some, too, of an intermediate grade between him and the mass of needy persons that form the majority of the colony,—his intermediate dependents,—persons connected with them, or with the members of his household. And if not *one*, but some half-dozen gentlemen of influence were thus tempted out, the sacrifice would be less felt by each, and the numbers of respectable emigrants which their united influence would draw after them so much greater. A colony so formed would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country. There would then be little more in Van Diemen's Land, or in Canada, revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire,—little more than a change of natural scenery."

And again the worthy bishop adds:—

"The desirable consummation of the plan would be, that a specimen or sample, as it were, of all that goes to make up society in the parent country should *at once* be transferred to its colony. Instead of sending out bad seedlings, and watching their uncertain growth, *let us try whether a perfect tree will not bear transplanting:* if it succeeds, we shall have saved so much expense and trouble in the rearing; as soon as it strikes its roots into the new soil it will shift for itself."

To the same effect, the late Charles Buller, Esq., M. P., in his famous speech on Systematic Colonization, delivered in the House of Commons on the 6th April, 1843, insists upon the same specific of a complete transference of the whole fabric of English society to the colonies.*

"If you wish colonies to be rendered generally useful

* Inserted as an Appendix to Mr. Wakefield's work.

to all classes in the mother-country — if you wish them to be prosperous, to reflect back the civilization, and habits, and feelings of their parent stock, and to be and long to remain integral parts of your empire — *care should be taken that society should be carried out in something of the form in which it is seen at home — that it should contain some, at least, of all the elements that go to make it up here, and that it should continue under those influences that are found effectual for keeping us together in harmony.* On such principles alone have the foundations of successful colonies been laid. Neither Phœnician, nor Greek, nor Roman, nor Spaniard — no, nor our own great forefathers — when they laid the foundations of an European society on the continent, and in the islands of the Western World, ever dreamed of colonizing with one class of society by itself, and that the most helpless for shifting for itself. The foremost men of the ancient republics led forth their colonies; each expedition was in itself an epitome of the society which it left; the solemn rites of religion blessed its departure from its home; and it bore with it the images of its country's gods, to link it for ever by a common worship to its ancient home. The government of Spain sent its dignified clergy out with some of its first colonists. The noblest families in Spain sent their youngest sons to settle in Hispaniola, and Mexico, and Peru. Raleigh quitted a brilliant court, and the highest spheres of political ambition, in order to lay the foundation of the colony of Virginia; Lord Baltimore and the best Catholic families founded Maryland; Penn was a courtier before he became a colonist; a set of noble proprietors established Carolina, and intrusted the framing of its constitution to John Locke; the highest hereditary rank in this country below the peerage was established in connexion with the settlement of Nova Scotia, and such gentlemen as Sir Harry Vane, Hampden, and Cromwell did not disdain the prospect of a colonial career. In all these cases the emigration was of every class. The mass,

as does the mass everywhere, contributed its labour alone; but they were encouraged by the presence, guided by the counsels, and supported by the means of the wealthy and educated, whom they had been used to follow and honour in their own country. In the United States the constant and large migration from the old to the new states is a migration of every class; the middle classes go in quite as large proportion as the labouring; the most promising of the educated youth are the first to seek the new career. And hence it is that society sets itself down complete in all its parts in the back settlements in the United States; that every political, and social, and religious institution of the old society is found in the new at the outset; that every liberal profession is abundantly supplied; and that, as Captain Marryat remarks, you find in a town of three or four years' standing, in the back part of New York or Ohio, almost every luxury of the old cities."

In short, Mr. Buller's *panacea* is precisely the same as the Bishop's — the tree of English society must be carefully taken up, with a good ball of earth round the roots, and transplanted whole and entire to Canada or Australia. I suspect, however, that both the Bishop and Mr. Buller got this tree originally from the Wakefield Nursery; for it was generally understood that, in the year 1840, when the article of which the following is an extract was published in the late *Colonial Gazette*, on the 21st of May, of that year, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the mainspring and chief supporter of that journal:—

"It has been mooted, of late years, whether colonization be not one of the lost arts. The question was suggested by a comparison between the signal advancement of the colonies of Ancient Greece, which commonly equalled, and sometimes surpassed, their Parent States in less than a century, and the slow progress of modern colonization towards wealth and greatness. But the question was solved as soon as asked: if the art of colonization were lost it has been recovered, by the inquiry

which has made known the causes of rapid advancement in the one case, and of stagnation in the other.

"In ancient colonization the powers of society were transplanted complete. The colony was matured before its departure, by the most careful preparation; it comprised all ranks and classes — the most eminent citizens in war and learning; a martial army for land or sea; and abundance of slaves, as the means of ample production. It carried with it, too, renowned teachers for intended schools; and the sacred fire, which was religiously preserved, for temples to be built. Its removal was like the transplanting of a full-grown tree, with sufficient precautions for its growth in a new situation; so that the only change was the change of place.

"Modern colonization, on the other hand, has, for the most part, been a loose scramble, and, at best, very defective in some important particulars. A good half, it has been reckoned, of the settlements which have emanated from Modern Europe, actually perished from want of foresight and preparation; and the most prosperous of them have exhibited a long struggle of a moral or economical kind, which might have been averted by the adoption of the Greek principle of forecast and completeness."

This idea, which passed for a profoundly original one at the time, *took* remarkably well in the United Kingdom. It made the complete round of the British periodical press, and served, like the celebrated Paganini's single fiddlestring, as the cord on which every "able editor" in the land, whether metropolitan or provincial, played off his "articles" or "series of articles" on "Systematic Colonization," forsooth! explaining, till the thing became perfectly nauseous, that what *he* meant by "colonization" was not "emigration," or a mere "shovelling out of paupers;" but the transplantation to the colonies of the whole tree of English society and civilization, roots and all. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that, in the

flourishing settlement of *No-man's-Land*, which was doubtless formed about that period, on the newly discovered principle of colonization, this tree will be found growing with remarkable luxuriance; so that the famous Arabian "bird called the Roc" will build its nest every year in its topmost branches, while that ancient mariner, "Sinbad the sailor," will be seen reposing under its shade.

The fact is, this idea of the transplantation to a colony of the whole tree of English society, is the merest fallacy imaginable. It has no foundation whatever either in reason or in experience; and the circumstance of its having *taken* so remarkably at the time it was put forth, only shows how exceedingly gullible both the press and the people of England uniformly are on all subjects relating to the colonies. The truth is they see and feel universally that they are all wrong somehow, and "out of order" in their colonial system; and they catch at any Morrison's or Holloway's pills that may be offered them to "put them to rights." And when such national "pills" are duly "gilded" and advertised by men of mark in the world, like the late Mr. Buller, Bishop Hinds, and Mr. Wakefield, who is there who would not provide himself with a *four and sixpenny box?*

The simple truth is, the tree of English society is incapable of transplantation to any colony under the sun. It would never stand the salt water. It would be sure to lose its vegetative power in crossing the Line. And if it lived at all to reach Australia or New Zealand, it would soon wither and die in the midst of the far stronger and healthier indigenous vegetation.

The idea of the transplantation of the tree of English society to the colonies proceeds on the notable assumption that, if such a transplantation took place, the different parts of society — the trunk, the roots, the branches, and the leaves — would preserve the same relative proportions to each other, and maintain the same relative distances as in the parent soil. Now any person who has had the

slightest colonial experience knows that the very reverse of this is the fact. Suppose, for instance, that the population of a whole English county could be transplanted — each individual with the precise amount of property and qualifications he possesses at home — to some favourable locality, comprising perhaps a million of acres of land of average quality in Australia, the goodly tree of English society would be nowhere recognizable in a single twelvemonth; the relative proportions of its different parts would be hopelessly destroyed, and the relative distances perhaps in no instance preserved. The man who had carried out plenty of money with him, without the requisite ability to lay it out advantageously, would be sure to lose it, if not in extravagant living, at least in unnecessarily expensive improvements, and in unprofitable and ruinous speculations; while "the uneducated clown" Joe Tomkins perhaps, who commenced as a day labourer, and had reared a comfortable cottage for his family with his own hands on the bit of ground he had purchased with his first savings, would very soon work himself up into the possession of a well-cultivated and well-stocked colonial farm; and as he looked around him on his rapidly increasing property, and his fat white-haired urchins of colonial children playing happily around him, instead of being oppressed with the absence of "the squire's house and park," about which the worthy Bishop fancies he must be perpetually dreaming, he will have learned to sing, what was once the old English, but is now the colonial, song—

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Where was then the gentleman?"

"Ha! but I am much mistaken if that is not the old squire himself, riding up leisurely among the trees yonder, on his old racer. He has been spending a great deal of money to no good purpose in draining a swamp, and has, unfortunately, got rather behind. He is coming I dare say to ask some assistance from Tomkins, who was

formerly a common labourer in his parish in England, and often very badly off. He used then to call him Joe; but times are a little changed now. I will just make a note of their conversation.

Joe Tomkins. — Good morrow, Squire.

Squire. — Good morning, Mr. Tomkins! Pray, would you oblige me with the loan of one of your teams for a day or two, to help me in with my stuff; for these fellows are leaving me in dozens, and we are sadly behind with everything?

Joe Tomkins. — With all my heart, Squire; I'll send you two of my lads, with a couple of teams; for we have got all *in* here, and can help a neighbour at a pinch.

Squire. — Thank you! Thank you! Mr. Tomkins."

The idea, therefore, that colonization, properly so called, bears any resemblance in its nature and results to the transplantation of a full-grown tree from its native soil in England to some favourable field beyond seas, is utterly untenable; being based on an assumption which is contrary alike to reason and to uniform experience. What then, it may be asked, does colonization resemble? Why, suppose a chemist should take a handful of chemical salts, all of different component parts and qualities, and throw them all together into some common solvent, say boiling water, — they will all dissolve, and nothing but the pure element will appear for a time to the naked eye. But as the water cools and evaporates, a number of specks, or centre-points of crystallization, will appear throughout the liquid; and these will gradually attract the floating particles of congenial character, till the whole mass arranges itself into new forms of crystallization, as perfect and beautiful as the first, but in all likelihood totally different in their component parts and qualities. In like manner, take people in any number from all classes of society in the mother-country, — from Prince Albert to Albert, *ouvrier*, — and set them down together upon the shore of some colony or new-found-land, the original qualities and proportions of

the different component parts of the mass will soon disappear; society, so to speak, will assume a new form of crystallization, exhibiting totally different phases and qualities from the first; and nature's own aristocracy will rise to the surface in the process, and assume, by universal consent, the place to which it is entitled. For it is pre-eminently absurd, and contrary to all experience, to suppose that society can possibly exist long in any country without exhibiting *heads* as well as *tails*. With the permission, therefore, of Mr. Wakefield, Bishop Hinds, and the executors of the late Mr. Buller, I will hew down this beautiful tree of theirs, and *burn it off*, as it stands very much in the way of efficient colonization.

Before doing so, however, I must have one word more with the Bishop about the notable expedient of creating an aristocracy for the colonies, which he suggests as a *sine qua non* towards efficient colonization. It is the more necessary to attend to this point, as the idea has recently been started in New South Wales by Mr. Justice Dickinson, one of the puisne judges of that colony. Mr. Dickinson proposes that there should be a certain number of Baronetcies of New South Wales, obtainable on the condition of purchasing a certain extent of waste land, and carrying out a certain number of free emigrants to occupy and cultivate it; while the Crown should have the power of creating a certain number more without purchase; and that out of these rich and rare materials an Upper House of Legislature should be constructed, on the good old hereditary principle; it being a well-ascertained fact that the ability to make wise and good laws for any people is transmissible by natural descent from any person who has purchased a sufficient extent of waste land, or who happens to possess what is considered by the Crown, or, in other words, by the Colonial Office, merit or desert, which simply signifies some sort of relationship to somebody in Downing Street. In short, the Bishop's scheme is pretty much the same as the Judge's, although the latter goes

somewhat more into detail. I have only three objections to offer to such a proposal.

1st. It would be grossly unjust to the actual colonists, and would never be tolerated in any colony whose inhabitants had the least particle of the spirit of freemen. What! are we, the British colonists of Australia, after having made the country what it is, by our toils and sacrifices, our talents and exertions, to be degraded into an inferior class in our own adopted country, that we may bear up upon our shoulders a mushroom aristocracy, without a leg of its own to stand on?

2nd. Although I would by no means question the right of Her Majesty to create an aristocracy, with hereditary rank and legislative privileges, for the colonies,—seeing the Queen can do no wrong,—I have no hesitation in expressing it as my decided opinion, that the minister who would give such advice to the Crown as the proposal implies would richly deserve impeachment. As the source of rank and titles, the Crown is merely a trustee for the nation; and it is perilous to exercise the right of creation where no adequate service has been rendered to the State, and where the rank and title would certainly not be recognized by the people. For I do question the right of the Crown to reward services performed in England with rank and title in the colonies, in the way of creating a colonial aristocracy. Justice demands that the service should be rendered to the particular community which is expected to recognize the rank and title. The case of a governor representing the Crown *pro tempore* is very different.

3rd. An aristocracy of the kind proposed would be utterly contemptible. It is not less true of an aristocracy than it is of a poet, *Poeta nascitur; non fit.* It is of slow growth, and cannot be *made to order*. "Aristocracy," says M. de Chateaubriand, "has three successive ages: the age of superiority, the age of privilege, and the age of vanity. Having emerged from the first age, it degene-

rates in the second, and perishes in the third."* A colonial aristocracy would reverse this process: it would begin with an age of vanity, and would lay claim to privileges without superiority; the claim would therefore be disallowed, and the claimant be overwhelmed with merited contempt.

At the same time, I admit that there are people in the colonies who would delight in seeing such a scheme carried out, in the hope of sharing in the rank and titles to be conferred. "Probably," observes the historian of America, "there has never existed a single community of men in the world entirely pervaded by the love of liberty; a sentiment which can never prevail in its highest force, or merit the name of a generous passion, except when united with the virtues of self-denial, humanity, moderation, and justice. In servile sentiments and practices, there is much to flatter the natural inclinations of mankind: to obey, accommodates the indolence,—to corrupt, and be corrupted, the avarice and ambition of human nature. To regard with peculiar veneration one or a few individuals, lifted by general consent and homage to a vast though fanciful superiority over the rest of mankind, ministers gratification to every shade and intermixture of human pride, vanity, and idolatry."†

Besides, in a country like New South Wales, in which a species of despotism has been long prevalent, as was undoubtedly the case in that colony during the prevalence of the convict system,—in a country also in which large revenues are expended upon unworthy objects, without the sanction or concurrence of the people, as is still the case in that colony,—it is to be expected that the worshippers of rank and title should form a pretty numerous "denomination." But I feel perfectly assured that nothing would tend so speedily to bring matters to a crisis in the

* *Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, pt. i., p. 40.

† Grahame, iii. 338.

Australian colonies generally as the attempt to create rank and titles there. It is somewhat remarkable that there should even have been worshippers of rank and title in America before the Revolutionary War. "There had always," says Grahame, "been some individuals, and now there was a party among the colonists, certainly not considerable in numbers, who longed for such an assimilation of the colonial institutions to those of the Parent State as might enable themselves to indulge the pride and partake the splendour and ease of the titles, trappings, and pensions of Europe, even at the expense of exalting the royal prerogative in America, and proportionally restricting and depressing the liberties of their countrymen."*

Section VII.—The Grecian Specific for successful Colonization—Freedom and Independence for the Colonies.

What, then, was the secret of the wonderful success of the Greek colonies of the ancient world? Why, the answer is plain and obvious to every person who will honestly admit the fact—THEY WERE FREE AND INDEPENDENT FROM THE FIRST. This, conjoined with the spirit and energy of the people themselves, was the cause, and the sole cause, of their rapid advancement and extraordinary prosperity.

"The migrations of the Greek colonists," says Bishop Thirlwall, "were commonly undertaken with the approbation and encouragement of the States from which they issued; and it frequently happened that the motive of the expedition was one in which the interest of the mother-country was mainly concerned, as when the object was to relieve it of superfluous hands, or of discontented and turbulent spirits. But it was seldom that the Parent State looked forward to any more remote advantage from the

* Grahame, iv. 61.

colony, or that the colony expected or desired any from the Parent State. There was in most cases nothing to suggest the feeling of dependence on the one side, or a claim of authority on the other. The sons, when they left their home to shift for themselves on a foreign shore, carried with them only the blessing of their fathers, and felt themselves completely emancipated from their control. Often the colony became more powerful than its parent, and the distance between them was generally so great as to preclude all attempts to enforce submission. But though they were not connected by the bands of mutual interest, or by a yoke laid by the powerful on the weak, the place of such relations was supplied by the gentler and nobler ties of filial affection and religious reverence, and by usages which, springing out of these feelings, stood in their room, and tended to suggest them where they were wanting. Except in the few cases where the emigrants were forced, as outcasts, from their native land, they cherished the remembrance of it as a duty prescribed not merely by nature, but by religion. The colony regarded its prosperity as mainly depending on the favour of the tutelary gods of the State to which it owed its birth. They were invited to share the newly-conquered land, and temples were commonly dedicated to them in the new citadel, resembling as nearly as possible, in form and position, those with which they were honoured in the mother-country; their images here renewed the old model; and it is not improbable that the priests who ministered to them were sometimes brought from the ancient seats. The sacred fire, which was kept constantly burning on the public hearth of the colony, was taken from the altar of Vesta in the Council-hall of the elder State. The founder of a colony, who might be considered as representing its parent city, was honoured after his death with sacred rites, and as a being of a high order; and when the colony in its turn became a parent, it usually sought a leader from the original mother-country, to direct

the planting of the new settlement. The same reverential feeling manifested itself more regularly in embassies and offerings sent by the colony to honour the festivals of the parent city, and in the marks of respect shown to its citizens who represented it on similar occasions in the colony. But the most valuable fruit of this feeling was a disposition to mutual good offices in seasons of danger and distress."*

"The Greek colonies," says Baron Niebuhr, "were planted at a distance from the Parent State, usually by persons who emigrated to escape from commotions and civil feuds, and not under the direction of the government at home; or if a colony went forth in peace, and with the blessing of the Parent State, and the latter retained honorary privileges, still *the colony from the beginning was free and independent, even when founded to serve as a safe mart for commerce.*"†

To the same effect, the laborious and accurate McCulloch, in his Dictionary of Commerce, under the Article *Colonies*, observes:

"The Greek colonies of antiquity seem to have been chiefly founded by citizens whom the violence and fury of contending factions forced to leave their native land; but they were sometimes formed for the purpose of relieving the mother-country of a redundant population, and sometimes also for the purpose of extending the sphere of

* *History of Greece.* By the Rev. Connop (now Bishop) Thirlwall, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 98.

† Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 43. In a posthumous work, just published, Niebuhr repeats the same idea in the following language:

"The very fact that *the mother-city made no claims to rule over her colonies, as modern States do in regard to theirs*, and that the colonies, in cases of emergency, assisted the parent city, produced in antiquity a cordial relation between the mother-city and her colonies; of which we find but few exceptions, as, e. g., between Corcyra and Corinth."—Niebuhr's *Lectures on Ancient History.* Translated by Dr. Schmitz, of the High School, Edinburgh, 2 vols. London, 1852.

commercial transactions, or of providing for their security. The relations between the mother-country and the colony depended, in a great measure, on the motives which led to the establishment of the latter. When a colony was founded by fugitives, forcibly expelled from their ancient homes, or when it was founded, as was frequently the case, by bodies of voluntary emigrants, who received no assistance from, and were in no respect controlled by, the Parent State, it was from the first independent; and even in those cases in which the emigration was conducted under the superintendence of the parent city, and where the colony was protected by her power and influence, the dependence was, mostly, far from being absolute and complete. *The great bulk of the Greek colonies were really independent States;* and though they commonly regarded the land of their forefathers with filial respect, though they yielded to its citizens the place of distinction at public games and religious solemnities, and were expected to assist them in time of war, they did so as allies only, on fair and equal terms, and never as subjects. Owing to the freedom of their institutions, and their superiority in the arts of civilized life to the native inhabitants of the countries among whom they were generally placed, these colonies rose, in a comparatively short period, to a high pitch of opulence and refinement; and many among them, as Miletus and Ephesus in Asia Minor, Syracuse and Agrigentum in Sicily, and Tarentum and Locri in Italy, not only *equalled, but greatly surpassed, their mother cities in wealth and power.*"

Even Mitford, whose history appears to have been written for the express purpose of bringing all popular government into discredit, and of inducing men to submit without murmuring to the most arbitrary rule, admits this remarkable fact in the following language:

"Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. When a State by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory, or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal to their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens, had sometimes further views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection, and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colonies, as in Greece itself, *every considerable town claimed to be an independent State;* and, unless oppressed by a powerful neighbour, *maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.*" *

The maritime State of Corinth, as this historian informs us, was the first Grecian State that attempted to lord it over her colonies, and to hold them in subjection. Thucydides informs us of the first attempt of this kind which she seems to have made, and of the spirited manner in which it was repelled. The Locrians, a Corinthian colony on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, having, in the usual way of the times, exhibited their determination to think and act for themselves, the haughty Corinthians, who seem to have been a regular Tory community of the old school, designated them as "refractory subjects," and proceeded to treat them accordingly. But the Locrians firmly asserted their freedom and independence; protesting, in a remonstrance which they addressed to the Corinthian government, and of which the historian has given us the substance, "that they had emigrated, not to become the slaves or subjects, but the equals of the Corinthians, and that this had been the original understanding and condition of their emigration." † It is humiliating to be obliged to acknowledge that, with all our boasted civilization, and our professed Christianity, we are still as a people so far behind these ancient Pagan Greeks, who so

* *History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq., i. 385.

† Ου γαρ επι τῳ δουλοι, αλλ' επι τῳ ὁμοιοι ειναι εκπεμπονται. *Non enim ut servi sint, sed ut pari jure sint, dimittuntur.*—Thucyd. lib. i. c. 37.

fully understood, and so nobly and successfully vindicated, the principles of manly freedom, two thousand five hundred years ago! * In the noble art of colonization, they were unquestionably our masters; and we shall never practise that art successfully till we follow their illustrious example. They planted colonies on every shore, and everywhere they prospered — simply because the colonists were everywhere their own masters, and had no Colonial Office to thwart their efforts, and to blast and curse their prosperity!

The brightest and palmiest period of Grecian colonization appears to have been the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era; of which Bishop Thirlwall speaks in the following language of well-merited admiration.

"How far political changes were connected with the prime spring of that wonderful activity which was displayed by the Asiatic Greeks, more especially the Ionians, in the seventh and sixth centuries before our era, can only be conjectured. It seems probable that the fall of the ancient aristocracies which succeeded the heroic monarchy, and the emulation between a growing commonalty, and an oligarchy which grounded its political claims solely on superior wealth, were conditions, without which the Ionian genius would not have found room to expand itself so freely. On the other hand, the inferior degree in which the Dorians and Æolians were animated with the spirit of commercial adventure, may have been owing to their political institutions, not less than to a

* "In the circuit we have traversed," observes an able writer by no means favourably disposed to the claims of colonists in modern times, "no vestiges have appeared of any disposition, in the several parent states, to impose taxes on their colonies, or even to retain sovereignty over them."— *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 46. London, 1777.

And again:

"The only connection known, for many ages, between the mother-country and the [Greek] colony was that of affection and alliance."— *Ibid.* p. 32.

difference in their national character. It is however certain that in the two centuries just mentioned the progress of mercantile industry and maritime discovery was coupled with the cultivation of the nobler arts, and the opening of new intellectual fields, in a degree to which history affords no parallel before the beginning of the latest period of European civilization."*

The enemies of public freedom, and especially of republican institutions, are fond of representing the government of the petty republics of ancient Greece, as "a constituted anarchy;" but the magnificent remains which they have left us of their inimitable architecture — the undoubted evidence of their civilization and refinement — sufficiently demonstrate that the government under which such buildings could have been erected must have been both strong and stable, and that both government and people must have been pre-eminently the patrons of the liberal arts. Although the Greeks were unfortunately unacquainted with the representative principle, which, I agree with Chateaubriand in thinking, is rather to be traced to the polity of the primitive Christian Church than to the forests of Germany, the colonies of each of the three great races that occupied the west coast of Asia Minor, formed distinct federations of sovereign and independent republics; which had regular places of meeting, and which were doubtless serviceable in maintaining a good understanding among their component parts.

"The meetings of the Ionians," says Bishop Thirlwall, "were held in a spot at the northern foot of Mount Mycale, called from its destination — that of receiving the whole Ionian body — Panionium, and consecrated to the national god, Poseidon. In them too the religious or festive object was almost exclusively predominant. Yet it would appear that in early times there was among the Ionians a tendency of disposition and of circumstances

* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, ii. 105.

toward a closer union than subsisted among either their northern or their southern neighbours.*

These federations, however, were sufficiently loose, and from circumstances with which we are unacquainted, were soon dissolved.

"The Ionian cities," adds Bishop Thirlwall "were soon completely isolated. No provision was made either for defence against foreign enemies, or for the maintenance of internal tranquillity: there was no common treasure, nor tribunal, nor magistrate, nor laws. Yet it may have been very early, though the time is uncertain, that the Lycians set an example of the manner in which the advantages of a close federal union might be reconciled with mutual independence. They distributed their twenty-three cities into three classes: the cities of the first rank possessed each three votes, those of the second two, those of the least one, and each contributed to a common fund in proportion to its weight in the common council. This was held, not in any fixed place, so as to raise one city to the rank of a capital, but in one appointed for the time by common consent. A supreme magistrate and other officers were here elected; and a court was instituted for the decision of all disputes that might arise between members of the confederacy; the cities contributing in proportion to their rank to fill the places in the national judicature and magistracy: in the same assemblies were discussed all questions relating to peace and war, and the general interests of the united states. Had the Greeks on the western coast of Asia adopted similar institutions, their history, and even that of the mother-country, might have been very different from what it became.

"But whatever ill effects may be attributed to their want of union, it does not seem immediately to have checked the growth, or to have diminished the prosperity of the several cities. They may perhaps have shot up the more vigorously and luxuriantly from the absence of all restraint. This advantage undoubtedly also resulted

* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, ii. 102.

from the abolition of the monarchical form of government, which probably took place every where within a few generations after the first settlement, though the good was balanced by great evils." *

But even taking it for granted that the Grecian republics were merely "constituted anarchies," there is much truth, as well as meaning, in the observation of the learned historian of the *Middle Ages*, which applies equally to the ancient Grecian republics, and to those of modern Italy: "The wildest excesses of faction are less dishonouring than the stillness and moral degradation of servitude."† The ancient Greeks doubtless felt with our great writer and poet, Sir Walter Scott, when he observed, "The feast of fancy will be over with the feeling of independence."‡ And they would certainly have sympathised with that poet, when he says, in the very spirit of their own immortal bards,

> "Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife;
> To all the sensual world proclaim,
> One crowded hour of glorious life
> Is worth an age without a name." §

Agreeably to the maxim of the eminent French philosopher—"L'usage que nous devons faire de notre liberté, c'est de nous en servir autant que nous le pouvons;"‖ "The use we ought to make of our liberty, is to avail ourselves of it as much as we can"—agreeably to this maxim, when the Greeks were precluded from the full enjoyment of their national freedom in one city or State, they emigrated, and straightway recovered it in the founding of another.

It cannot be denied indeed that, in the course of the

* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, ii. 103.
† Hallam, vol. i. p. 483.
‡ Diary, in Life by Lockhart, vol. vi. p. 163.
§ Sir Walter Scott.
‖ Malebranche, *De Inquirenda Veritate*, lib. i. cap. 2.—French Translation.

great Persian war, and chiefly as one of the natural results of that event, an important change took place in the political condition of a considerable number of the Grecian colonies, and that, from being independent before, not a few of these communities became thenceforth mere tributary states. In such a crisis as that war presented for the whole Greek nation, the idea of a common treasury, to which each state should contribute in proportion to its means, for the general expenses of the war, as well as of a common head to direct both offensive and defensive operations, was perfectly natural; and who so fit to undertake the highly responsible and delicate duty of managing this national treasury, of fixing the due proportions for each of the allies, and of undertaking the general management of the war, as the metropolitan City and State of Athens? The two great Powers of Greece at that period were Athens and Lacedæmon or Sparta; the former a naval Power, like Great Britain, and the latter a military Power like France; but as a large portion of Greece consists of islands and of lands accessible chiefly by sea, it was natural that the maritime Power should acquire the predominance over the inferior States. Annual contributions, however, for any common object are always dangerous to the liberties of such States; for when once acquiesced in by the weaker party, and a precedent established, a ready pretext for their continuance will always be found by ambitious and unscrupulous statesmen; insomuch that a political connection originating in the friendly alliance of sovereign and independent states, is sure to ripen into the supremacy and domination of one, and the compulsory subjection of all the others. Hence the real result of the Persian war was not so much the liberation of Greece as the elevation of Athens to the rank of a metropolitan Power or dominant country at the head of a great federation of tributary and subject states. "The Athenians," says an able but anonymous writer in the interest of Great Britain in the

course of the American troubles, "the Athenians suddenly acquired the sovereignty of almost all the islands of the Archipelago, and of the whole of the eastern coast of that sea. The Ionian colonies became their zealous friends, and the Æolians their subjects. Both followed their standard in war, and advanced contributions for the public expense."

When the relation of a dominant country and a series of dependencies had thus been established between Athens on the one hand, and the free colonies of Ionia and Æolia on the other, the Athenians appear to have reckoned on the permanence of this relation, and to have carried matters with a very high hand towards these subject states; for in the course of the famous Peloponnesian war, or the long and desperate struggle between Athens and Lacedæmon for the supremacy of Greece, the Lesbians, who had never been a colony of Athens at all, took the first opportunity to revolt, and joined the Lacedæmonians.

"The Lesbians, *an Æolian colony*," observes the same writer, "revolted from the Athenians in the fifth year of the war, and joined the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians were provoked beyond measure by *this unnatural and ungrateful rebellion*. In the first transports of their resentment, they passed the most cruel and bloody vote, that all the males of Lesbos, arrived at the age of puberty, should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves; and they sent the same day a ship with commissioners to see the decree put into execution.

"When their passions subsided, they began to reflect on what they had done. A meeting of the citizens was therefore convened next day. The former sentence was reviewed, and after much contention, it was carried, by a small majority, to prevent the execution of the former order. The deputies of Lesbos, who had come to plead

* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 58. London, 1777.

their cause at Athens, returned on board this last vessel. They procured changes of rowers, that one party might sleep while the other was employed. They offered them the most palatable provisions, and promised them the highest rewards, to procure their most vigorous exertions. The former ship had departed full twenty-four hours before them, and they could not overtake her in her course. They arrived, however, before the Athenian commander had finished the reading of the first order. The Lesbians were immediately assembled, and informed both of their danger and their safety." *

When the Lacedæmonians acquired the supremacy of Greece, as the result of the Peloponnesian war, they seem to have outdone the Athenians in the tyranny they exercised over the subject or tributary states; proving, if indeed the thing required any proof, that the liberties of any one people can never be safe in the hands of another. But these successive instances of successful usurpation over the inferior states of that country, on the part of the two great naval and military powers of ancient Greece, are no evidence whatever against the view I have given above of the principle on which colonization uniformly proceeded among the ancient Greeks, viz., that of entire freedom and national independence.

"If the Corinthians tell you," observe the deputies of the city of Corcyra, a Corinthian colony, in their address to the people of Athens, when soliciting an alliance with the latter,—"if the Corinthians tell you that it is not right for you to form an alliance with us, because we are their colony, they ought to learn that a colony is obliged to respect its mother-country, only when well used by it. If, on the contrary, it is ill used by it, it becomes its enemy. It is not to be its slave that it is sent forth as a colony by the mother-country, but to enjoy entire

* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 58. London, 1777.

freedom, and to have the same rights and the same prerogatives as its mother-country." *

Indeed the Athenians themselves never pretended to base the authority they exercised, in the period of their power and glory, over the subject states of Greece, on the right of a mother-country to rule over its colonies; for it was notorious that certain of these states, as for instance the Lesbians, were not Athenian colonies at all. When certain of the minor states called in question the right of Athens to exercise such authority shortly before the Peloponnesian war, the Athenian ambassadors put the matter on its right footing by replying very coolly, as the historian informs us, "In all past times the strongest have been masters: we are not the authors of that law; it is founded in nature." † In short, the Athenians pretended to no higher right in the authority they exercised over other states, whether colonies or not, than that of the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, —

> "That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

In regard to the natural good feeling that continued to subsist for ages between the mother-country and the many Grecian colonies that were successively planted in Europe, Asia, and Africa, on this principle of entire freedom and independence, I will only give two instances in proof of the fact: the first in the case of a Corinthian, and the second in that of an Athenian colony. "The Syracusans," observes the writer I have just quoted, "oppressed by the tyranny of Dionysius the younger, and harassed and plundered by the Carthaginians, applied to Corinth for aid (in the 108th Olympiad). They received first the famous Timoleon for their general, and

* Thucydides, lib. i. 34. 38.

† C'est de tout tems que les plus forts sont les maitres; nous ne sommes les auteurs de cette loi; elle est fondée dans la nature.—Thucydides, lib. i. 84. French Translation.

ten gallies loaded with supplies; to which afterwards were added ten more, furnished in the same manner. Timoleon banished Dionysius, and expelled the Carthaginians. He made free all the Greek cities in Sicily, and established democracy in Syracuse. The constant wars, however, with which, for a long time, Sicily had been wasted, had almost depopulated the country. Timoleon, therefore, supplicated Greece for a recruit of inhabitants. He caused it to be proclaimed through all the states of Peloponnesus, that the senate and people of Syracuse offered habitations and lands to all persons who should repair thither to possess them. The reputation of Sicily for opulence and fertility was so great, that no fewer than 50,000 people emigrated to take possession of the vacant territories; and before this event, 5000 persons had arrived from Corinth." *

The other instance is remarkably in point, and is only the more interesting, as the manifestation of kindly feeling which, it shows, subsisted between the mother-country and her colonies, led to a series of the most memorable events recorded in the history of nations, and eventually gave the Greeks the empire of the world.

When Cyrus, king of Persia, was preparing to subjugate the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, Aristagoras, the political chief of the Ionian city of Miletus, who had been stirring up his fellow-countrymen to resist "the barbarians," was deputed by the Ionian Confederation to proceed to Greece, to solicit assistance in their approaching struggles in the *Old Country*. He accordingly proceeded in the first instance to Lacedæmon, which was then the head of the most powerful and warlike of the states of Greece. But he was unsuccessful in that quarter, the Lacedæmonians, who were of the Dorian race, being rather a phlegmatic and unimpressible people;

* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 46. London, 1777.

and he therefore proceeded to Athens, the recognised head of the Ionian family, and of which his own native city, Miletus, had been an ancient colony. Aristagoras accordingly addressed the sovereign people of that illustrious City and State in their national assembly; reminding them that Miletus was an ancient colony of their own, and soliciting assistance, on behalf of the Ionian Confederation of Asia Minor, against "the barbarians," the common enemy of the Grecian name. This appeal proved irresistible; the generous Athenians immediately voted the assistance required, and twenty ships of war were accordingly dispatched, in aid of their oppressed and struggling fellow-countrymen, and soon rendezvoused in the harbour of Miletus. No doubt, as Herodotus informs us, "these ships were the beginning of evils both to Greeks and barbarians;" * for this generous and fraternal procedure on the part of the Athenians undoubtedly led to the invasion of Greece by the Persians, and to the subsequent subversion of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. But it is impossible not to admire the generous spirit that animated the Athenians on the occasion, in so readily affording the assistance required in their necessity by the people of Miletus, although nearly four hundred years had elapsed since the original settlement of that city by an Athenian colony. And is Christianity, in the middle of the nineteenth century, less likely to maintain a generous and kindly feeling between a mother-country and her free and independent colonies, than the worship of Jupiter and Apollo five centuries before the Christian era? Shame on the men who for one moment could seriously entertain a sentiment so unwarrantable in itself, and so supremely dishonouring to the Christian name!

* *History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq., vol. ii. p. 61. *History of Greece.* By John Gillies, Esq., LL.D., vol. i. p. 369.

Section VIII.—Roman Colonization, and the Roman Colony of Britain.

Baron Niebuhr, in his celebrated History of Rome, gives the following definition of a Roman colony:—

"A colony is a company of people, led at the same time and in one body to a certain place furnished with dwellings, in order to live there under certain legal conditions: they may be citizens or dependents sent out to form a commonwealth, according to a decree of their state, or of that to which they are subject; but not such as have seceded during a time of civil dissension."*

There was therefore this essential difference between a Grecian and a Roman colony, that whereas the former, although occasionally the result of an act of the state, was not necessarily so, and was often indeed an association of families and individuals opposed to the party in power, the latter was always the result of a decree of the Senate. The Grecian colonists almost uniformly defrayed the expenses of their own emigration and settlement; while the Roman, like the earlier settlers in New South Wales, had grants of land and a free passage *out*, with rations and other indulgences, including an ample supply of slave labour, from the State. The Grecian colonies, moreover, were founded, either to relieve the mother-country of the pressure of a redundant population, or to provide places of refuge and settlement for those, whether unquiet spirits or not, for whom the mother-country had become a great deal too hot; but the Roman colonies were formed expressly to extend the limits of the empire, or to hold, by military occupation, territories which had been acquired by force of arms. The Grecian colonies were therefore free cities, supporting themselves by agriculture and commerce, and defending themselves from the surrounding barbarians, till they could subjugate and civilize them, by their own warlike prowess: the Roman colonies were mere garrison towns on the frontiers of the empire, and the lands were held by the leading colonists on a tenure somewhat similar to that of the feudal system, each large estate being a knight's fee.*

* Niebuhr's *Rome*, ii. 43.

It was under this peculiar system of colonization that the island of Britain was conquered and colonized by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, about fifty years before the Christian era; and the following incidental notice, which is given us in the letters of Cicero, of the state of the island at that early period, and of the Roman estimate of its inhabitants and capabilities, is certainly by no means flattering to our national vanity:—

"Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, *nisi ex mancipiis:* ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare."†

"We are all on the tiptoe for news of the issue of the war in Britain: for it appears that the approaches of the island are defended with works of prodigious strength.

* McCulloch, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*, under the Article *Colonies*, gives the following account of the Roman colonies. The Roman colonies were, for the most part, founded by and under the authority of Government; being intended to serve both as outlets for poor and discontented citizens, and as military stations, or garrisons, to secure the subjection of the conquered provinces over which they were scattered. The most intimate political union was always maintained between them and the mother city. Their internal government was modelled on that of Rome; and, while their superior officers were mostly sent from the capital, they were made to contribute their full quota of troops and taxes, to assist in carrying on the contests in which the Republic was almost constantly engaged.

† Cicero. *Epist. ad Atticum*, lib. iv. 16.

As for money, it has already been ascertained that there is not one silver sixpence to be got in the island, and that there is not the slightest hope of booty, except from slaves; and I presume you will scarcely expect any schoolmasters or fiddlers from such a quarter."

Cicero's correspondent, Atticus, had probably requested him to purchase for him some well-educated slave, probably as a private tutor for his nephews, Caius and Marcus, and especially to teach them instrumental music; but no British-born slave of that period possessed such high qualifications! The reader will probably suppose that it would be out of the question to talk of slaves from the British islands in any part of the world now. Let him only wait a little: we have not got so far down yet.

There was a good deal of hard fighting, as usual, in the Roman conquest of Britain, of which the reader who desires it will find a full and particular account in the proper place; but Britain, or rather the southern portion of the island, was fairly conquered at last, and proclaimed a Roman colony with the customary formalities; liberal grants of the waste lands in the island being held forth to intending emigrants of the requisite qualifications, with the other indulgences enumerated above. From the first *Eclogue* of Virgil, which may be regarded as a sort of *Anti-Emigration Circular* of the day, we learn that Britain was one of the regular *Emigration Fields* of the empire for carrying off the redundant population and the unquiet spirits of Italy, during the reign of the Emperor Augustus; although it does not appear to have stood very high in public estimation at Rome, being regarded by intending emigrants in much the same light as the *Falkland Islands* in our own time. This is pretty evident from Virgil's mentioning it last of all, with anything but a note of recommendation; for he hints that where there might be a possibility of getting home again from other colonies, there was no hope of returning if you went *there*.

"At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros,
Pars Scythiam, et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxem,
Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

"But we, alas, must leave our native land,
To pitch our tents on Afric's burning sand,
Or range the Scythian wilds with weary feet,
Or build our wigwams on the streams of Crete;
Or, sadder still! on Britain's distant shore,
Ne'er to be seen or known of mankind more!"

In short, Britain was virtually as far from Italy in Virgil's time, as New Zealand is from England in ours; while the dangers of the voyage were incomparably greater, considering the comparative facilities of ancient and modern navigation.

And yet the island did get colonized notwithstanding, and became in time a first-rate Roman colony; the garrison towns all over the country being transformed successively, as they became wealthy and populous, into Roman municipal cities, enjoying, within certain well-defined limits, the privilege of self-government, and exhibiting in no inconsiderable degree the civilization and refinement of Rome. The numerous English cities and towns of the present day, of which the names end in *chester*, *cester*, *caster*, and even *castle*, mark the sites of these ancient Roman municipalities, which were originally only *Castra* or *Castella*, *Camps* or *Forts;* and they exhibit, in the most unmistakeable manner, the extent and progress of Roman colonization in our island. It extended at one time as far north as the Friths of Clyde and Forth, where the Emperor Antoninus threw a wall across the island, the remains of which are now called "Graham's Dike," to protect the colonists from the incursions of the Scots and Picts of the north. These barbarians, like the Caffres of the present day, came down occasionally upon the colonists in great force, carrying off much valuable booty to their hills; and it was even alleged, as is stated by the historian Gibbon, that they were somewhat addicted to cannibalism,

"preferring the shepherd to his flock."* These incursions became so frequent and disastrous that the Emperor Severus at length contracted the limits of the colony, by throwing a second wall across the island from the Solway Frith to the German Ocean; and within these limits it continued to increase and prosper till the beginning of the fifth century, when it numbered not fewer than ninety-two considerable towns, including thirty-three municipal cities, having all the privileges and appendages of such cities throughout the Roman empire. As an interesting particular in the history of the times, as exhibiting the state of Roman civilization in the colony of Britain, we learn from the poet Juvenal, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Nero in the first, and of Trajan in the second century, that it was customary, in his time, for young gentlemen of Britain, who were studying for the bar, with a view to the practice of their profession in the Roman courts of the municipal cities of the island, to cross over to France for their education.†

Such then was the state of Britain at the commencement of the fifth century. It was a Roman colony of four hundred and fifty years' standing; wealthy and populous, with all the appendages and advantages of Roman civiliza-

* This is related of a Caledonian tribe of the period, whose head-quarters were somewhere near the site of the present city of Glasgow, and who were called the *Attacotti*. But Gibbon was probably not aware that savages are in the habit of accusing other tribes of their own countrymen, with whom they are at variance, of cannibalism, to prejudice the civilized race against them, and thereby to serve their own purposes. There is nothing more common in New South Wales. I am somewhat concerned in this matter personally, being a native of the town of Greenock, near Glasgow. If the ancient savages of that neighbourhood ever did eat any Roman colonists, it is evident, to use the language of the late Rev. Sidney Smith, that they must have "disagreed" with them, as their posterity have an utter aversion to everything Roman now.

† "Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule."—*Juvenal.*

tion, and having a degree of freedom, moreover, under the municipal institutions of Rome, such as no British colony of the present day in Australia is permitted to enjoy. And yet there was one thing wanting — that one thing which the Greek colonies uniformly had from the first — that is, their entire freedom and national independence; and the first opportunity that presented itself of achieving these great benefits and blessings for their adopted country was accordingly seized with avidity by the Roman colonists of Britain, who thenceforth became free and independent. This important event, so deeply interesting to every Briton, but especially to every British colonist, is related in the following language by the eloquent historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: —

"Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, *the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire.* The regular forces, which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. *The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.* Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. *The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful Emperor of the West, and the letters, by which he committed to the new States the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as*

an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious; the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people, was incompatible either with freedom or servitude; and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic, was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. *Britain was irrecoverably lost* (anno 409). *But as the Emperor wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.*

"This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government, and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain. Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest, by their superior privileges and importance. Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution. The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command, were inherent to these petty republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth

of the city, and of the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate."*

From this very interesting narrative, we learn —

1. That the colonists of Britain, although enjoying a considerable degree of freedom under the admirable municipal institutions of Rome, nevertheless embraced the first opportunity that offered, of achieving their entire freedom and national independence; which were afterwards formally guaranteed to them by the Emperor Honorius: and,

2. That for forty years, previous to the Saxon irruption, the government of the island was administered by a Confederation of Sovereign and Independent Republics, on the model of the ancient Republic of Rome.

It was no disparagement to the Roman colonists of Britain, that their country was so speedily overrun, and their whole national system subverted and destroyed by the northern barbarians. In that gloomy and disastrous period, this was the common fate of every Roman province in succession, till Rome itself fell, and was sacked by the Goths. A people long habituated to the arts of peace were but ill fitted to withstand the furious onset of the half-savage hordes of the north, especially at a time when fire-arms were unknown; but the circumstance that every vestige of Roman civilization, as well as of the Roman language, was swept away, and no trace of either left in the Anglo-Saxon institutions, or the Anglo-Saxon tongue of the country, sufficiently declares how hard a struggle the Anglo-Saxons must have had ere they conquered the island, and how every successive city, as it fell, must have been put to the sword by the ruthless conquerors.

There is only one reflection that suggests itself on the

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 169. London, 1825.

review of this transaction, — and it is this: if the Roman colonists of Britain were entitled to their freedom and independence, under the reign of the Emperor Honorius, when they seized upon that freedom and independence themselves, why should we, the British colonists of Australia, be refused our freedom and independence under the reign of Queen Victoria? Why should we be accounted either rebels or criminals, if we earnestly desire and endeavour to accomplish that freedom and independence for ourselves? Is it because we are nearer Great Britain, than the ancient Roman colonists of Britain were to Rome? This will surely not be pretended. What then will stand in the way of the attainment of our natural and inherent rights as British colonists, able and willing to manage our own affairs in every thing? Nothing, I answer, but that unhallowed lust of empire that has been the fruitful source of "woes unnumbered" to Great Britain already — nothing but that vain pursuit, on the part of a deluded people, of an empty shadow, for which the invaluable substance is sacrificed and lost. Let her Majesty be only advised to follow the good example of the Emperor Honorius, and no part of her present Colonial Empire will ever be half so valuable in its actual condition, even to Great Britain, as free and independent Australia.

Section IX. — American Colonization — its Principles and Results.

In a work which I published in the year 1840, on my return to London from a tour of observation in the United States, entitled *Religion and Education in America**, I showed that those states and territories

* *Religion and Education in America.* Ward, Paternoster Row, London, 1840.

of the American Union, which have been either acquired or settled since the War of Independence, including the great valley of the Mississippi, bear precisely the same relation to the original Thirteen States, as the numerous colonies of Britain do to the United Kingdom. They are to all intents and purposes the colonies of the United States; for as far as the relation of a mother-country and a colony is concerned, it is of no importance whatever, whether the latter is planted on the same continent or island as the mother-country, or is separated from it by vast tracts of intervening ocean. This idea, I perceive, has since been put forth by John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., in his recent work, entitled *The Colonies of England*, with a view to contrast the progress and extent of colonization in the United States with its progress and extent in the British Empire since the peace of 1783.

And with what a contrast does this view of the two countries present us! The United States commenced their national existence with a population of scarcely three millions, and that population is already increased considerably more than sevenfold; the increase being chiefly in the colonies, in which a population of upwards of ten millions has been called into existence, making all due allowance for the natural increase of the population of the original Thirteen States. But Great Britain, with a much larger population to start with, — a population five times greater than that of the United States in the year 1783, — has only a colonial population, properly so called, of about a million and a half! In short, while Great Britain has been enjoying, as abundantly as America, the Divine benediction implied in the first commandment given to mankind, *Be fruitful and multiply*, she has utterly neglected her proper duty, so clearly enjoined in the second part of that commandment, *Replenish the earth and subdue it*, — she has not been filling the world with her cities, like America; she has not been making the wilderness and the solitary place

rejoice with the happy abodes of a numerous, virtuous, and Christian population.

In order, however, to set this matter in its proper light, it will be advisable to limit the field of vision to a particular instance of American, as compared with British, colonization; and the instance I shall take is that of New England, or the group of Northern Free States, consisting of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. New England, I have already had occasion to observe, was colonized, almost exclusively, by the twenty thousand Puritan emigrants who settled in that country between the years 1620 and 1640; the subsequent additions of population from the mother-country being quite insignificant. In the year 1790, when the first census of the United States was taken, the population of New England amounted to 1,009,522; having doubled itself every twenty-seven years or thereby, from the year 1640. During the next fifty years, however, it little more than doubled itself, its amount in 1840 being only 2,229,859; but this arose entirely from the enormous emigration of the intervening period, which we are now to compare with that of Great Britain, — the great colonizing power, forsooth, of modern times. The population of Great Britain, therefore, or rather of the United Kingdom, in the year 1790, was 15,684,906, and it had not even doubled itself during the next fifty years; the amount in 1841 being only 27,041,031. In so far therefore as the internal increase is concerned, there is no great disparity, although the balance is considerably in favour of New England. In regard, however, to their respective colonizing powers, the two countries were remarkably different from each other; their population being respectively as follows; viz.

Old England — Population in 1790 = 15,684,906.
New England — Population in 1790 = 1,009,522.*

* The population of Great Britain doubles itself every 48 years, and that of the United States every 30 years; but the numbers I have given are sufficiently near the truth for all practical purposes.

I will not introduce any disturbing element into the question, by reminding the reader that Great Britain had the advantage of all the American Loyalists to start with, in Nova Scotia and elsewhere; for it is quite evident that these Loyalists must have been the merest handful of people, — and the circumstance constitutes, without exception, the most condemnatory sentence that has ever been pronounced upon the colonial policy of the British Empire to the present day. That after an imperial rule of upwards of a hundred and fifty years, — with all the numberless means of acquiring and consolidating power, extending influence, and practising corruption, which that rule had given the mother-country throughout this long period, — there was nobody to take her part in the great struggle with her colonies but the miserable handful of American Loyalists;

> "'Twas strange, 'twas passing strange!
> 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful!"
>
> "For dust was thrown upon her sacred head,
> And no man cried, *God bless her!*"

but this insignificant handful of American Loyalists, who probably expected to be well paid for their loyalty all the while, and who certainly never dreamt that the Americans would gain the day!

Behold, then, these two brave countries, — Old England and New England, — starting fair in this race of colonization, in the year of grace 1790; the former with her fifteen millions and a half of people and her boundless resources in ships, colonies, and commerce; the latter with only one million of people, almost all as poor as Lazarus, as they had but just escaped *with the skin of their teeth* from an unnatural and calamitous war!

It is an interesting and very remarkable fact in the history of the internal emigration and colonization of the United States, that it has uniformly proceeded upon a parallel of latitude from the point of departure; the Northern, Middle, and Southern States throwing off their respective swarms of emigrants every year to the regions due west of them respectively; deflecting very little, if at all, from that parallel either north or south. Since the annexation of Texas and California, indeed, this order of things has been somewhat deranged; but from the peace of 1783, till the year 1840, it had been, with only few, and these unimportant, exceptions, the general rule in the United States; each state, or group of states, colonizing the unoccupied territories due west of itself. New England, as being the most densely peopled, as well as the most limited in extent, and the least fertile, portion of the original Union, was first in the field as a colonizing country; for emigration had thus become a matter of necessity for the inhabitants of that region, and the highly favourable accounts that were received from time to time from the first emigrants to the westward, soon rendered it a perfect passion; insomuch that the emigration from New England alone, which had commenced soon after the peace of 1783, reached in one year at the commencement of the present century, when the whole European emigration to America was perfectly insignificant, the almost incredible amount of 300,000 souls!*

The country that was first colonized in this way from New England was the western portion of the State of New York, and the State of Ohio; both of which countries are literally New England colonies. A large portion

* Dr. Seybert, an eminent American statistical writer, estimates the number of foreign emigrants who arrived in the United States from the year 1790 to the year 1810, at 120,000 altogether, or 6,000 per annum; and Mr. McGregor estimates the number from 1810 to 1820 at 114,000. These were evidently but inconsiderable additions, when compared with the natural increase from the American stock.

of the waste lands in these extensive regions had been allotted by the National Congress, as the only recompense which the country had to give them for their services, to the soldiers of the Revolution; many of whom sold their tickets of location for the merest trifle to the leaders of the successive colonies from New England. One of these tickets happened to be given by his client, an old Revolutionary soldier, to a country lawyer in the State of New York, as the only fee he could offer him for conducting and gaining a law-suit for him. The lawyer placed it in his desk, as an article that might one day have some assignable value, but had none then. A good many years thereafter, when the flood-tide of New England emigration had been flowing for years in the direction of the region to which this location ticket referred, the lawyer wrote to a friend in the western country, inquiring what the value of his property thereabout might be, — and the answer he received was "Seventy-five thousand dollars, and rapidly rising!" It was the possession of this property that enabled that lawyer, who proved to be a man of superior ability, to devote himself to the service of his country, first in the legislature of his native State, and afterwards as a member of Congress, at Washington, where I had the honour of being introduced to him, in the year 1840, as President of the United States. The distinguished individual I allude to was Mr. Martin Van Buren.

When the emigrants from New England had spread themselves over the western portion of the State of New York and the whole State of Ohio, they afterwards overran and occupied successively the subsequently formed States of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. It is perfectly fair, therefore, to consider the whole of these countries as the colonies of New England; for although a considerable number of emigrants from the Middle States, and also from Europe, settled in all of them from time to time, a much larger number of New Englanders had in the mean time been scattered over the whole of the other

States of the Union, and particularly of the State of Kentucky, in the various capacities of professional men, merchants, traders and artisans of all kinds, as well as planters and farmers. The population of these New England colonies in the year 1840 was as follows, viz.: —

Western half of the State of New York -	1,214,460
Ohio - - - -	1,519,467
Indiana - - - -	683,314
Illinois - - - -	474,403
Michigan - - -	211,705
Total Colonial population of New England in the year 1840 =	4,103,349

Such then were the magnificent results of the colonizing efforts of New England during a period of fifty years; commencing, although it did, with a colonizing power of only one million of souls, and the scantiest resources otherwise. But the entire colonial population (properly so called) of Great Britain, originating, although it did, in a colonizing power of fifteen millions and a half of people, with boundless resources of every kind, amounted — two years later for the North American, and eleven years later for the Australian colonies (*see* page 112) — to not more than 1,373,688 souls; even throwing the whole convict emigration of the Empire, with all its increase for fifty years, like the sword and belt of Brennus, as a make-weight, into the scale!

Surely then if the art of colonization has been lost, as it seems to have been, in Old England, it has been found again in New England; for I question whether even the ancient Greeks ever surpassed the New Englanders in that noble art, that *heroic work*.

What then is the reason — for there surely must be some adequate reason — for the prodigious difference in the two results? Why, the answer is plain and obvious to the meanest capacity: — America, like the ancient Greeks, gave her colonies freedom and independence from

the first; whereas Great Britain has uniformly withheld every thing like manly freedom from her colonies, has treated them with the coldest neglect and the grossest injustice, and has harassed and oppressed them in every possible way with the incubus and the curse of her Colonial Office to the present hour. Yes! instead of insulting her colonies by offering them, what certain *soi-disant* colonial reformers in England think it would be a great deal indeed for Great Britain to offer hers, viz., municipal independence, — which signifies allowing them to manage for themselves in all little matters, and leaving all important ones to be managed for them at home, or, in other words, by the Colonial Office — instead of insulting her colonies by offering them municipal independence, America gives them at once complete independence; that is, the entire control of all matters affecting their interests, as men and citizens, in every possible way. In short, America realizes the *beau ideal* which the ancient Locrians indignantly reminded the Corinthians was the implied condition of their own emigration — she makes her colonies in every respect like herself; she treats her colonists not as her slaves or subjects, but as her equals.

In particular, whenever a number of American colonists, equal to about one-fourth, or at all events one-third, of the present number of the inhabitants of the British colony of New South Wales, are congregated in any American colony, they have a right, under the American colonization system, to meet together and form a Constitution for themselves. They may have a Legislature, either of one or of two Houses, as they please; they may fix the franchise either high or low, as they choose; they may elect whatever public officers they think necessary for the management of their affairs, and pay these officers whatever salaries they think proper; they may make the best possible arrangements that suggest themselves to their own minds for the construction of roads and bridges, the maintenance of schools and colleges, the dispensation of

justice, and the punishment of crime; and they may choose whomsoever they consider the fittest and properest persons to represent them in the National Legislature, to deliberate upon all those great questions of foreign relations, peace and war, customs' duties, public lands, and the general post office — in which they have a common interest with the rest of the nation. In one word, America gives her colonies all that the ancient Greeks ever gave theirs — entire freedom and independence; admitting them upon perfectly equal terms with herself into the great National Confederation.

Contrast with this the system pursued in a British colony — and the reader will observe that the particulars I shall enumerate represent the actual state of things, up to the present moment, in the British colony of New South Wales.

Imprimis, no conceivable number of British subjects, congregated together in any British colonial territory, have a right to frame a Constitution for their own government. They may petition for one, and they may have to repeat that petition for years together, as the people of Port Phillip had to do for ten years successively, suffering the utmost inconvenience, hardship, and injustice, all the while, before they get one at all; and when they do get one at last, it may not have the slightest resemblance to the one they would have chosen for themselves. But the humiliating fact is, they have no choice in the matter; — like common beggars, British colonists must take what is offered them *by their betters*, and be thankful.

Item, the franchise is fixed *by authority*, and so fixed as to exclude from all political rights and privileges a large proportion of the intelligence and moral worth of the colony; and the natural and necessary consequence is, that a large proportion of the community become either perfectly indifferent about their government, or animated with the fiercest hatred towards the institutions of their adopted country.

Item, instead of being allowed to choose their own legislators, a third of them must be nominated by the Crown, or in other words, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or his principal Turnkey, the Governor; and in all likelihood, they are so nominated that for any service they are of to the community — otherwise than by voting on all possible occasions against its proper interests, and for the support of heartless extravagance and general corruption — a majority of the nominees might be represented by as many empty beer barrels, with moveable heads on, to second motions! The Treasury Bench of the first Legislative Council of New South Wales, constituted under the Imperial Act of 1842, was a perfect *Refuge for the Destitute;* and it was quite humiliating to see the sorry figure its occupants made. Yet these were the men who were holding the highest offices and receiving the largest salaries in the country!

Item, nearly a third of the Ordinary Revenue of the colony, besides the whole of the Land Revenue, is taken out of the control of this insult and mockery of a Legislature by Act of Parliament, and appropriated for the payment of salaries enormously above either the necessities of the case, or the means of the people — as for instance, in giving a salary to the Governor of less than two hundred thousand colonists, equal to what is allotted to the President of the United States, the first magistrate or head of a sovereign and independent nation numbering upwards of one-and-twenty millions of souls!

Item, the little knot of officials, Crown nominees, and lickspittle colonists, into whose hands so preposterous a system virtually throws the whole legislation of the colony, arrange the electoral districts by an Act of the Local Legislature, as they are permitted and authorised to do by Act of Parliament, so that fifteen thousand of the citizens of Sydney shall have no more political weight or influence in the country, than fifteen hundred of the inhabitants of a frontier district seven hundred miles distant from the

seat of government; the reason for this *Artful Dodge* being that the inhabitants of Sydney are anxious for political improvement and general reform, while the inhabitants of the frontier district are almost exclusively tenants of the Crown and their servants, who can of course be very easily managed, especially at so great a distance.

Item, under this artful system, and in order to extend the influence and increase the number of the retainers of the Local Executive, the enormous revenue which is raised in the colony, in proportion to its actual population, is expended in great measure in the maintenance of unnecessary offices, or in the payment of salaries enormously disproportioned to the services rendered to the community; insomuch that the construction of all public works of urgent necessity for the welfare and advancement of the colony, such as roads, bridges, tanks, reservoirs, breakwaters, &c., &c., is either not undertaken at all, or retarded and stopped for want of funds, while the appropriations even for the education of the colonial youth are paltry in the extreme.*

* One of the first duties of a Government in such a country as New South Wales is to keep the public roads in a state of repair; and with so ample a revenue as there has hitherto been available for public purposes in that colony, this duty ought, unquestionably, to have been efficiently and satisfactorily discharged. From a recent colonial paper, however, containing a return of the amount expended for this purpose for five or six years past, it appears that the total amount voted and expended in New South Wales, including the district of Port Phillip, for making and improving the roads of the colony, from the 1st January, 1846, to the 31st October, 1851, was only 52,703*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, being an average annual expenditure of not more than about 8,800*l.* This paltry amount was all that was expended for the last six years on the roads of New South Wales and Port Phillip, countries larger than all Great Britain and France, and producing a revenue, available for general purposes, of half a million a year! But it stands to reason that if the public money is expended, as it actually is, in the support of useless or extravagantly paid offices, it cannot be available also for the formation or repairs of roads; and therefore the public must suffer. The loss which the

Item, instead of having a fixed and liberal system for the disposal of waste land, as in the American colonies, the system in the Australian colonies has been changed, within my own recollection, like the wages of Jacob, ten times, to the unspeakable annoyance and loss of the colonists; while the system at present in operation has often been so illiberally and oppressively administered, and the delays interposed by interested and corrupt functionaries so extremely vexatious, as to prove in numerous instances absolutely ruinous to the *bonâ fide* settler.*

colonists sustain from this single item of bad government, government from Downing Street, is incalculable. On returning to Sydney from the Gold Regions, by the public road over the Blue Mountains, in October last (1851), I observed quite a succession of parties, who were so far on their way to the diggings, encamped under the heavy rain that was falling at the time, in the open forest on the road side; as the shafts in some instances, and in others the axles of their drays, had been broken on the wretched roads they had had to traverse. *There* they had to remain for days—perhaps for weeks—in the utmost discomfort imaginable, till they could get their shafts replaced or their axles mended forty or fifty miles off. On my last journey overland between Sydney and Melbourne, I enquired on the way for two postmen—very civil, obliging men, with each of whom I had travelled a whole day on my former journeys, but who I found were no longer on the road. One of them I was told had been drowned in swimming with the mail-bags across a narrow gully,—where a few pounds would have been sufficient to have constructed a wooden bridge,—while the other had been lamed for life from the overturning of his vehicle. I have been twice thrown out of the mail-carriage myself on that route, escaping on both occasions with my life, almost miraculously. But independently of the loss of life, which is considerable, the colonists lose far more in this way every year than would be sufficient to keep the roads in a state of complete repair.

* It is quite amusing to hear Lord Stanley, now Earl Derby,—after giving the colony of New South Wales the wretched burlesque of a Constitution, of which I have thus sketched out the leading features,—in the year 1842, expressing his hope in a despatch to the Governor, of date 5th September, 1842, that the colonists would be duly grateful for the "small mercies they were going to receive."

"In conclusion, I have only to express my anxious, but confident hope, that the Act which I now transmit to you, conferring

Such, then, is the miserable and suicidal policy which Great Britain has been pursuing, in the government of her colonies, ever since the War of American Independence.

upon the inhabitants of New South Wales, powers so extensive for the administration of their own local affairs, will be received by them with feelings corresponding with those which have induced her Majesty, by my advice, to divest herself of so large a portion of her authority over the internal management of the colony, and, with the aid of Parliament, to grant so large a measure of self-government; — that the powers thus vested in the Local Legislature will be wisely and temperately exercised; — and that her Majesty may have the high satisfaction of witnessing, as the result of her gracious boon to the colony, its continued advance in religion and morality; its steady progress in wealth and social improvement; and the permanent happiness and contentment of her people. — I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"STANLEY."

The following Notes, appended to a Return to an Address of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in the year 1846, exhibiting the amount derived from the sales of waste land throughout the territory, during the ten years from 1836 to 1845 inclusive, will show the way in which this most important department of the public service has hitherto been managed in the colonies under Downing Street domination.

"In the year 1831, Lord Ripon's regulations for the abolition of free grants, and the sale by auction of all Crown lands, were first promulgated in the colony.

"1839. — In this year the minimum price was raised from 5*s.* to 12*s.* per acre.

"1841. — In this year the system of sale at a fixed price of 1*l.* per acre was introduced into the district of Port Phillip.

"1842. — In this year the system of sale by auction was resumed throughout the colony, at a minimum upset price of 12*s.* per acre for country lands, with liberty to select portions not bid for at the upset price.

"1843. — In this year the minimum price was raised to 1*l.* per acre, by the Act of the Imperial Parliament 5th and 6th Victoria, cap. 36."

Here were six different systems, all established by authority, in successive operation for the disposal of land in New South Wales, within the short period of twelve years!

Like some old withered hag, she has been gratifying to the full her *lust* of empire, and sacrificing every thing that was really valuable and desirable for the gratification of the unhallowed passion — the hopes and prospects, nay, the very existence, of myriads of her people at home, and the welfare and advancement of myriads of her people abroad. It is recorded, as one of the golden sayings of the good King Henry of Castile, "that he feared the curses of his people more than the weapons of his enemies." Would God we had rulers in Britain that really feared the curses of their people, either at home or abroad! Deep and hollow, like a voice from the sepulchre, they rise to the listening ear of heaven from the cheerless haunts of wretchedness in every city of the land; and they are wafted across the ocean with every breeze from her remotest colony!

At an early period after the great Protestant Reformation, Great Britain was elevated to the high and honourable position of the first Protestant nation in Christendom; and there was given her a colonial empire such as no other Protestant nation has ever possessed. Her peculiar mission among the nations — her high and holy mission — was therefore to colonize the waste places of the earth with her Protestant people; and we have only to look at the magnificent results of the colonization of New England, that noblest colony ever planted by man, to have some idea of what Britain might have done for the cause of God and of Protestantism, had she only done her duty, had she only fulfilled her mission. In two centuries exactly, the twenty thousand Puritans of New England had become a great people of two millions and a quarter; and during the last half century before the close of that period, they had called into existence a colonial and thoroughly Protestant population besides, of upwards of four millions of souls!

"We often hear it said," observes the eloquent historian of England, "that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be

favourable to Protestantism, and unfavourable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years the human mind has been in the highest degree active; that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy; that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life; that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering have been very greatly improved; that government, police, and law have been improved, though not to so great an extent as the physical sciences. Yet we see that during these two hundred and fifty years Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that as far as there has been a change, that change has, on the whole, been in favour of the Church of Rome." *

And again: —

"In fifty years from the day on which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Papacy, and burnt the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendency, an ascendency which it soon lost, and which it has never regained. Hundreds, who could well remember Brother Martin a devout Catholic, lived to see the revolution, of which he was the chief author, victorious in half the States of Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemburg, the Palatinate, in several cantons of Switzerland, in the Northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing." †

Admitting, therefore, the indisputable fact, that the progress of the Reformation was suddenly checked throughout European Christendom within fifty years after the

* Macaulay's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 208. † *Ibid.* p. 221.

burning of the Pope's bull at Wittenberg; it is a fact equally indisputable, that about the period when Protestantism received its great check in Europe, Great Britain, as the first of the Protestant nations of Europe, had a vast colonial empire given her beyond seas, which she has been constantly increasing from time to time to the present day; and within that vast empire, the field for the maintenance and extension of her national Protestantism, by means of British colonization, has been open and unlimited these two hundred and fifty years. And what has Great Britain done for the extension of our common Protestantism over that vast field these two centuries and a half? Literally nothing that deserves to be mentioned! All her efforts in this way throughout this long period sink into insignificance compared with those even of her own colony of New England in half a century; for it is another indisputable fact, although Mr. Macaulay has not mentioned it, as he ought to have done, that the United States of America is the only country in Christendom in which Protestantism has really been extending its area—*lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes*—these two hundred and fifty years; and this extension has taken place principally, if not exclusively, since the era of Freedom and Independence.

If Great Britain, therefore, is to be considered the *bulwark of the Reformation*, it can only be in the sense of keeping it back, and confining it within the ancient territorial limits which it had already attained only a few years after the death of Luther. Her gross neglect or misuse of the power which Divine Providence had given her of extending it far and wide over continent and isle, by means of British colonization, "stereotyped the Reformation at that early period, and it has ever since been printed from the same ancient plates." And this result, as I have shown sufficiently, has in no respect been due to any want of enterprize or energy on the part of her people, but simply and solely to her own unhallowed lust of empire—

to her uniform and systematic refusal of that self-government, that freedom and independence, to which her colonists had an inherent and indefeasible right by the law of nature and the ordinance of God.

Instead, therefore, of pluming herself for the services she has rendered to the Protestant Reformation, let Great Britain hang her diminished head, and listen in silence to the sentence that awaits her, for having ruined its interests and betrayed its cause. For it is entirely owing to her neglect of duty, her breach of trust, in regard to this vital interest of Protestantism, that the Reformation cannot now number up millions and millions more of a people of British origin and Protestant religion, in countries that are still tenanted only by the grizly bear or the timid kangaroo. Whether the lamentable shortcomings of Great Britain, in the non-fulfilment of her high and holy mission, are not sufficient to involve a forfeiture of her colonial empire in the high court of heaven, it is not for me to determine; but methinks I see the handwriting against her upon the wall — methinks I hear this forfeiture declared by a voice from the Eternal!

The loss annually sustained by the British nation, through this gross mismanagement of the British colonies, is incalculable, while the gain to the United States is correspondingly great; for much, if not all, that we lose through our *bad* system, they gain through their *good* one. In particular, no foreigners ever emigrate voluntarily to the British colonies; but the influx of foreigners — many of them people of substance as well as of respectable standing in society — into the colonies of the United States is very great; and the Union receives annually a large accession both of wealth and strength from this source. In two years very lately, not fewer than twenty-five thousand Germans emigrated to the United States from the kingdom of Prussia alone, carrying with them not less than five millions of German dollars. By dint of great exertion in certain quarters, there has of late been a considerable German emigration to South Australia and Port Phillip; but the voluntary and self-originated emigration from Germany is all to the United States; and the fact can only be regarded as a strong condemnation by foreigners of our colonization system, as compared with that of the United States.*

But the number even of British subjects, of the middle and more respectable classes of society, who annually emigrate to the United States, is beyond all comparison greater than that of those who emigrate voluntarily to the British colonies.† I have myself known many instances of persons of this class who greatly preferred our Australian climate to that of the United States, and who would gladly have cast in their lot with a British rather than with an American community; but who made up their minds at last to emigrate to America from their thorough detestation of our colonial system. Now, when it is considered that every inhabitant of the United States consumes only about seven shillings and sixpence worth of British produce and manufactures annually, whereas every inhabitant of the Australian colonies consumes from seven to ten pounds' worth, the loss which Great Britain sustains in this way must be immense. There has no doubt been a considerable emigration of families and individuals of this class to the colony of Port Phillip, since that province was opened for settlement about sixteen years ago; and the Colonial Office has most unwarrantably taken much credit to itself from the fact. For that fact merely demonstrates the irrepressible desire for emigration

* The number of individuals who annually emigrate from Germany to the United States is 30,000, who carry with them at least 5,000,000 Prussian dollars, or about 750,000*l.* The emigration from Bavaria alone, during the five years from 1835 to 1839, amounted to 24,500, with a capital of 7,000,000 florins, or 675,000*l.* — *Westminster Review*, for 1849, p. 97.

† I allude of course to the period preceding the discovery of an extensive gold field in Australia.

that pervades all classes in the mother-country; for if such an emigration has taken place, even under the wretched system I have indicated above, what amount of emigration might there not have been, had there been a liberal system in operation all along!

But the strangest and most humiliating fact of all, in illustration and in condemnation of our colonization system, as compared with that of the United States, is the wholesale emigration to America from Ireland for years past, and the abject character and condition of a large proportion of the emigrants. These emigrants, it is well known, are "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water" in the United States; they are employed in all manner of servile work, as diggers of canals, as labourers upon the earth-works of railways—in doing every thing, in short, that the humblest American workman disdains to do. Now, what a humiliating and degrading condition is this for any country in Christendom, and especially for any portion of the United Kingdom, to be reduced to — to be a mere breeding state, like Virginia, for the rearing of "white niggers," as they are technically called over the water, for the haughty republicans of America! The very idea is sufficient to make one's blood boil with virtuous indignation. "Look at Ireland," said the Duke of Sotomayor to Lord Palmerston, when the latter was tendering his advice, somewhat unseasonably, as to the internal government of Spain: "Look at Ireland!" For my own part, as a Christian man, I cannot help thinking that it would have been far less dishonourable to Great Britain to have been defeated either at Trafalgar or Waterloo, than to have allowed a foreigner, and that foreigner a Spaniard too, to speak these three words to a British Minister. It is no disgrace to a great nation to be defeated in a just cause, taking it for granted that the cause in both of these cases was a just one, which is somewhat doubtful; but it is a deep disgrace to any nation to allow whole masses of its people to sink into such a condition of social degradation as to warrant the whole volume of charges implied in the speech of the Duke of Sotomayor, "Look at Ireland!" We may naturally feel indignant at Cicero's telling us that there was nothing to be got in Britain in his time but slaves, and even these of so inferior a class, that one could not pick out either a schoolmaster or a fiddler from a whole shipload of them! But there is a much worthier object for our indignation here; for what is this wholesale emigration from Ireland to the United States but a species of "white slavery" with which we condescend to furnish America, simply because her colonization system is incomparably better than ours, and because that better system alone enables her to employ our surplus poor, whom we are glad to get rid of, after having first degraded them to the level of slaves? For I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion that, if the extraordinary facilities which the British empire affords for colonization were duly turned to account, by giving her Australian colonies entire freedom and independence, *on condition of their co-operating with the mother-country in carrying out a great system of national emigration,* every overburdened class of society in the United Kingdom would speedily be relieved; competition in every branch of business would be diminished; poverty and destitution would in great measure disappear from the face of society, and crime would be wonderfully lessened in amount. It is her colonies that serve as the safety-valve for America; and I am confident the time is not too late even yet for her present colonies to prove the safety-valve for Great Britain also. The extent of destitution and suffering that result from a redundancy of population is much greater, and the amount of emigration that is necessary to have a salutary effect upon a country suffering from such a redundancy, is much smaller than is generally supposed. It is the last ounce that breaks the back of the camel — it is the last drop that makes the pitcher overflow.

CHAP. III.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES; AND THE DUTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THAT CRISIS.

SECTION I. — EARL GREY AND LORD NORTH; OR PREPARATIONS, AFTER THE OLD PATTERN, FOR THE DISMEMBERMENT OF AN EMPIRE.

IF Earl Grey had been studying how he could best alienate the affections of the Australian colonies from the mother-country, so as to ensure the speedy dismemberment of the empire, he could scarcely have adopted a fitter course of procedure for the attainment of his object than the one he has been pursuing for years past. Lord North has evidently been his "Great Apollo," and the spirit of that defunct statesman, whose name will ever be associated with the disasters and dishonour of his country, appears to have been the evil genius of the Colonial Office since the year 1846.

The grand object of Earl Grey's administration has been to force upon the Australian colonies a continuance of the transportation-system, in direct opposition to his own express pledges on the subject, and to the almost unanimous protest and remonstrances of the colonists. A great deal of casuistry has been employed by the Colonial Office and its men of business, of that peculiar description which characterized the special pleading of the department in the case of the West India dispatches, to prove that Earl Grey never pledged himself not to continue transportation to Van Dieman's Land. But I confess I regard it as a matter of very little moment indeed whether he pledged himself or not; for I have yet to learn that the opinion of any Secretary of State, on any subject whatever affecting the interests of colonists, is to be weighed for one moment against the deliberate opinion of a whole series of British colonies. Every insult has been heaped upon the colonies, and especially upon the unfortunate colony of Van Dieman's Land, in connection with this matter; every discreditable manœuvre has been resorted to to steal a march upon them, and to worm out of them something that may be interpreted as an expression of acquiescence in the meditated infliction: everything has been sacrificed to promote the convict policy of Earl Grey.

I had the honour, as one of the two Representatives of the city of Sydney in the late Legislative Council of New South Wales, during the year 1850, to present the most numerously signed petition that had ever been presented to the Colonial Legislature, against the renewal of transportation to that colony. It had 36,589 names attached to it, — names of persons of all ranks in society, and from all parts of the colony. * But although I had cordially participated from the first in the anti-transportation movement, and had protested, in the strongest manner, against the continuance of transportation to any of the actnal colonies of Eastern Australia, or to any part of the eastern coast of that continent, I took occasion, in my speech on the subject in Council, — as I had done before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1837, — to express my decided approval of transportation in the abstract, as a species of punishment for crime. I cannot therefore be regarded as a prejudiced witness in the case, or as being actuated by mere party spirit, in opposing a measure of importance in the eyes of the Colonial Office. On the contrary, I consider the continuance of transportation as one of

* The number of signatures to the petition in favour of the continuance of transportation on the same occasion was only 525.

the political necessities of the British Empire; and I regard the punishment itself, if properly carried out, as both humane and reformatory in a very high degree. But as there is no political necessity for the continuance of transportation to Van Dieman's Land, or for its extension to any part of the eastern coast of Australia, it was folly in the extreme on the part of Earl Grey, — it was something akin to political insanity, like Lord North's, — to force upon the colonies a measure so exceedingly distasteful, and thereby to imperil their connection with the British Empire. The Australian Anti-Transportation League, which his Lordship's impolitic measures virtually called into existence, is one of those characteristic features of the times, which cannot possibly be without important results. It has given the colonists the idea of a Union of the Colonies. It has taught them, moreover, that union is strength; and it has furnished them with an instrument which they may use on some other occasion, and with still greater effect.

The Australian Colonies Bill of 1850 was supposed, by ill-informed people at home, both in Parliament and out of it, to have been a great improvement on the previous system. As far as the colony of New South Wales is concerned, it has been quite the reverse. It lowered the franchise, indeed, from twenty to ten pounds, — a concession, be it remarked (as a proof of how little either the people or the people's House care for the colonies), for which the colonies were indebted, not to the House of Commons, but to the House of Lords, — but in leaving the apportionment of the electoral districts to the actual Legislature, it virtually provided for the establishment of a worse system of government than the one previously in existence. For to suppose that the interests of the people would be safe in the hands of a Legislature consisting, to the extent of one-third of its whole number, of government nominees, with a revenue of enormous amount, as compared with the actual population, to appropriate for the extension of official patronage, and the purchase of political adherence, was pre-eminently absurd. Earl Grey was not left in ignorance as to the probable issue of so unwarrantable an experiment. Sir William Molesworth had stated distinctly, in his speech on the Australian Colonies Bill, that the interests of the colonists could not be safe in the hands of the actual Legislature; and it was therefore the bounden duty of the Colonial Office to have sent out instructions to the local Executive, to ensure the carrying out of the Act on the principles of common sense and common honesty. But as no such instructions were sent out with the Act, and as the Act itself was actually carried out by the Government-packed Legislature to which the colony was subjected at the time, on the principles of political swindling and downright knavery, Earl Grey is chargeable with the entire result, agreeably to the maxim *Quod facit per alium, facit per se.* The best part of the colonists have been cheated and robbed of their political rights and privileges, as I have already shown in the case of the city of Sydney, under the mockery of an Act of Parliament, which official influence was permitted to mutilate on its passage, so as to deprive the colonists of all the benefits it designed. It is generally believed, indeed, in New South Wales, that all this was clearly foreseen in Downing Street, and was artfully contrived in order to elicit from the mock Legislature, which would thus be created, an expression of opinion in favour of a resumption of transportation to that colony!

This peculiar species of political knavery, — in vitiating the electoral systems of the colonies, so as to repress, or prevent the expression of, public opinion, and to ensure pliant majorities in the Colonial Legislatures, for the carrying out of the principles of arbitrary government, — was one of the regular devices of Lord North and his associates, and one of the fruitful causes of the American Revolution.

"In North Carolina, at this juncture," observes the historian, "a general ferment was excited by the efforts of Dobbs, the Royal Governor, so to alter (partly by creating new boroughs and counties, and partly by other measures,) the system of popular representation, as to ensure to the Crown an entire ascendant over the deliberations of the provincial assembly. From these measures, after he had pursued them so far as to kindle a high degree of public spirit in the province, he was at last compelled to depart, by the resolute opposition of the assembly, accompanied by such expressions of popular indignation as strongly betokened a revolt against his authority."*

Again, "On a question from New Jersey in 1773, with respect to the number of representatives from certain counties or places, the attorney-general Raymond advised the King that he might regulate the number to be sent from each place, or *might restrain them from sending any at his pleasure.* In 1747, on a similar question from New Hampshire, the Crown lawyers, Ryder and Murray, informed his Majesty that the right of sending representatives to the assembly was founded, originally, on the commissions and instructions given by the Crown to the governors of New Hampshire." — "These questions, Pitkin [an American writer] very justly observes, could be settled only by a Revolution."†

A third particular in which Earl Grey, as the Autocrat of all the colonies of Britain, has identified himself with the real authors of the American Revolution, and in which he has even surpassed King James the Second, King William the Third, and Lord North himself, is the appointment of a Governor-General for the Australian colonies, under the sole authority of the Colonial Office, and without any Act of Parliament whatsoever. The idea of combining the whole of the American colonies

* Grahame's *History of the United States*, iv. 75. (Anno 1760.)
† *Ibid.* iii. 58.

under one general government, and subjecting them to a Governor-General, to be under the sole authority of the Crown, originated with a British monarch, whose opinions and practice, in what his worthy grandfather used to call "kingcraft," doubtless deserve all honour and imitation from the Colonial Office of the present day,—I mean King James the Second!!! The fact itself, with the views and objects of its worthy projector, is thus detailed by the historian of America: —

"The project of a general government, embracing all the colonies, *which had been devised by James the Second*, but rendered abortive by the Revolution, was now (1692) revived by this enterprising politician (Nicholson, governor of Virginia), who beheld in it at once the most effectual means of securing the absolute authority of the Parent State, and the fairest promise of his own ascent to the pinnacle of provincial greatness. By his merit in promoting an object so agreeable to the English Court, added to his boasted influence and experience in America, he hoped to entitle himself to the appointment of Governor-General; and this ambitious vision seems to have mainly influenced his language and actions during his second presidency in Virginia." *

Again, "He [Governor Nicholson] cooperated (anno 1698) with his friend, Colonel Quarry, another functionary of the Crown in North America, in the composition of the memorials which were presented in Quarry's name to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England. These memorials represented the colonists of America, and the Virginians in particular, as deeply embued with republican principles; strongly recommended immediate recourse to the most rigorous measures for preserving the ascendancy of the Royal prerogative; and especially suggested, "that all the English colonies of North America be reduced under one government and

* Grahame's *History of the United States*, iii. 12.

one viceroy, and that a standing army be there kept on foot to subdue the enemies of Royal authority." *

But the American colonists, of the Anti-Revolution period, were too watchful over their own rights and liberties, ever to permit such an appointment as that of a Governor-General to be made in their midst; and the project had therefore to be abandoned, with every inclination in the proper quarters to carry it out. But mark the progress of the true principles of government in *our period!* Without consulting either House of Parliament, and certainly without consulting the Australian colonies, Earl Grey merely nods † to his underling; and forthwith the parchment, with the sign manual attached, is duly issued, and a Governor-General is created for Australia!

I am strongly of opinion, however, with that able politician, Nebuchadnezzar, that it is of no use to set up a golden image for the people to worship, *in the plain of Dura*, unless you can make that worship compulsory: and as *red-hot fiery furnaces* are no longer in use as instruments of government, a hue and cry must be got up in the proper quarter about the "Defences of Port Jackson," and urgent dispatches must be written calling for "Protection for the colony, and especially for the gold mines," to ensure the regular and approved substitute of the times, viz., plenty of *red-coats*, to be paid for by the people. These are the *artful dodges* actually in progress to maintain the state and dignity of the Governor-General. So far, however, as the thing has gone, this Downing Street demonstration has proved a signal failure. So sheer an insult was the appointment considered to the colonies generally, that some of them, as for instance South Australia, got up an expression of indignation on the occasion; but so utterly useless, as

* Grahame's *History of the United States*, iii. 15.

† *Nutu* quatit Olympum. (scil. Jupiter) — Virgil.

well as uncalled for, was the appointment, that the rest scarcely thought it worth while to be angry. In short Downing Street exclaimed,

"A Governor-General! A Governor-General for Australia!"

and to set the example, fell down and worshipped accordingly. But the colonists looked on in utter scorn, and merely replied,

"A Popinjay! Good friends! A Popinjay!"*

Section II. — Earl Grey and Lord North *continued*; or The Governor-General.

But who, it may be asked, is the man whom Earl Grey *delights to honour* with the new and dignified appointment of Governor-General of Australia? The present governor of New South Wales is his Excellency, Sir Charles Augustus Fitz Roy, of the ducal House of Grafton. He had previously been Governor of the island of Antigua, in the West Indies; and on his arrival in New South Wales, he was accompanied by his lady, the late Lady Mary Fitz Roy, a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and two sons, who had both reached man's estate. Soon after his arrival, Lady Mary, who was much liked, was unfortunately killed by a fall from her curricle; the horses having taken fright, when the Governor was imprudently acting as charioteer, and galloped off with the vehicle. Whether this calamity made a deep impression upon his

* It is very questionable policy, as well as an evidence of very bad taste, to introduce upon the stage a functionary of this kind, who is really not wanted, and for whom there is nothing earthly to do. The maxim of Horace is as good in politics as it is in poetry.

"Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit." — Horat. *Ars Poetica.*

There was certainly no such *nodus* in the case in question.

Excellency or not, the reader will judge from the sequel. For my own part, I presume to offer no opinion on the subject.

To all appearance, as well as in the general opinion of the colonists, Sir Charles Fitz Roy is a man with neither head nor heart —

"*Sans* eyes, *sans* ears, *sans* taste, *sans* everything."

By orders from Home, we pay him 5000*l.* a year, with various valuable perquisites besides, for governing the colony; but as he is universally understood to be somewhat effete and incapable in matters of government, we have to pay 1500*l.* a year to a Colonial Secretary, as governor's keeper; the latter doing much of the work, without sharing the responsibility. From the distinguished position which his Excellency and his two sons—one of whom is his private secretary — hold in the colony, they are necessarily the observed of all observers; and their influence on the community, whether for good or for evil, is correspondingly great. As the reader will therefore desire to have a glance at their likenesses, I beg to refer him to the following full-length portrait, which was drawn eighty years ago by the ablest limner of his day. It is a family picture; and the beauty of it is that it still exhibits the family likenesses as true to the life as ever.

"There is a certain family in this country, on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate, their abilities have confined them to those humble, sordid services in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the memoirs of private treachery, they stand first and unrivalled. The following story will serve to illustrate the character of this respectable family, and to convince the world, that the present possessor has as

clear a title to the infamy of his ancestors, as he has to their estate. It deserves to be recorded, for the curiosity of the fact, and should be given to the public, as a warning to every honest member of society. The present Lord Irnham, who is now in the decline of life, lately cultivated the acquaintance of a younger brother of a family, with which he had lived in some degree of intimacy and friendship. The young man had long been the dupe of a most unhappy attachment to a common prostitute. His friends and relations foresaw the consequences of this connection, and did every thing that depended upon them to save him from ruin. But he had a friend in Lord Irnham, whose advice rendered all their endeavours ineffectual. This hoary lecher, &c."*

The hoary lecher!—Good!—but we must stop here, and proceed with our illustrations.

As Her Majesty makes a Royal progress at home every year, it is natural that Her Representatives in the colonies should do the same. Whether they imitate the good example of their Royal mistress in other respects is not quite so evident. At all events, Sir Charles Fitz Roy was engaged in one of his Viceregal progresses in New South Wales, when he reached the inland town of Berrima, about eighty miles from Sydney, and took up his abode at a respectable "hostelrie" in the town. In the domestic establishment of the innkeeper, there was a young woman, the daughter of a settler in the neighbourhood, of the name of C——, who, I believe, was a native of the colony, and had formerly been the champion of New South Wales. Miss C——, it seems, was by no means destitute of personal attractions, and appears to have fixed the regards of the Governor-General himself. What occurred at the inn, I neither know nor care; but in due time Miss C—— proving *enceinte*, the fact was inhumanly laid to the door of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Representative, the Governor-General of Australia! C—— acted on the occasion as any

* Junius, *Letter LXXXVII., addressed to the Duke of Grafton.*

honest man would be likely to do, whether a pugilist or not; and he came at length to Sydney for redress: but meeting with some such cold reception as humble people like himself are likely to do when asking redress of any kind at the mansions of Governors-General, he placed his case in the hands of an able solicitor in Sydney—William Thurlow, Esq.—the Right Worshipful the Mayor of that city for the past and present years.

Mr. Thurlow accordingly stated his case, and preferred his claim upon his Excellency, in the usual style, *demanding compensation for the loss of the services of his client's child.* As there were other members of "the household" at Berrima on the occasion in question, it would doubtless have been very difficult for Mr. Thurlow—shrewd lawyer though he is—to ascertain (as it was alleged he should have done beforehand,) to which member of the exemplary family the paternity in the case was to be assigned; but as this was no part of his client's case, he stuck to the Governor-General, and the result was that a sum of two hundred pounds, as was reported, was paid to C—— to prevent exposure and disgrace!*

If the reader should feel inclined to question the propriety of my entering into these details, I think he will scarcely do so on reflection, for the following reasons:—

1. "No nation, or people," I quote from the able writer on America whom I have repeatedly cited, "can ever be safely indifferent to the moral character of its political chiefs and leaders;"† and therefore if that character

* It is matter of notoriety, that a statement to the effect of the one given above was made to the Duke of Newcastle, on the authority of parties of unquestionable character and standing in Sydney, by a gentleman well known in New South Wales, but now in office in England. It has since been contradicted, however, from a high quarter in the colony, and His Grace has expressed himself *satisfied that there was nothing in it.* If so, I can only say that His Grace is very easily satisfied.

† The Americans were generally imbued with the persuasion, (which some notable events in their subsequent experience tended to illustrate and confirm), that *a nation can never be safely indifferent to the moral characters of its political chiefs and leaders;* and that private virtue and prudence afford the surest test of the purity and stability of patriotic purpose and resolution. — Grahame, iv. 316.

happens to be notoriously bad in any particular instance, it ought, for the benefit of society, to be publicly and fearlessly exposed. No doubt, it may be somewhat hazardous to make the attempt; but, as Sir Walter Scott observes in his Diary, "If we do not run some hazard in our attempts to do good, where is the merit of them?"* It has been an ancient practice with the Colonial Office to send out men for the highest appointments in the colonies who have been bankrupt alike in character and in purse; and if this practice has been continued to the very latest period in New South Wales, it has doubtless been because the people have hitherto had so little to say in the management of their own affairs. "I confess," says Oldmixon, an American annalist of the earlier part of last century, "it gives me a great deal of pain, in writing this history, to see what sort of governors I meet with in the Plantations."† And, in reference to a period much nearer that of our great Apollo, Lord North, another writer on America observes —

"It unfortunately happened for our American provinces, at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital where the favourites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors."‡

We seem, however, to have improved in Australia, even upon Lord North and his times: for, without descending to particulars, there is no place in New South Wales that

* Sir Walter Scott's Life, by Lockhart. Diary, vol. vi. 139.

† Oldmixon, quoted by Grahame, vol. ii. 302.

‡ Wynne (an American writer), also quoted by Grahame, vol. iii. p. 236.

could furnish so large a contribution to the Scandalous Chronicle as Government House, Sydney.

2. As the citizens of Sydney have, on two different occasions during the past two years, done me the honour to elect me one of their representatives in the Colonial Legislature, placing me on the latter occasion at the head of the poll by the largest majority ever known in the colony, I have not merely a right, but I am loudly called on, to interfere for the protection of the public morals, in a matter in which the best and dearest interests of the citizens are so deeply concerned. It is reported that when the Earl of Shaftesbury was consulted within the last two years, as to whether the city of Sydney was a proper place for Mr. Sidney Herbert's female emigrants to be sent to, he replied in the negative, giving our fair city and its inhabitants a very indifferent character. Now, without deeming it necessary to inquire whether his Lordship was right or wrong in this condemnation of the city of Sydney, I have only to express a hope, that when he next condescends to characterize the citizens of the metropolis of Australia, in which, I am happy to state, there are thousands of families and individuals as virtuous as his lordship, he will adopt the poet's maxim — *Principium a Jove* — and begin with Her Majesty's Representative. For, connected as his lordship has formerly been with the Royal Commission of Sewers for the cities of London and Westminster, I can assure him, that there is no locality in these cities that requires a more liberal application of the disinfecting fluid — of the moral chlorate of lime — than Government House, Sydney: there is no *back slum*, either in London or Westminster, that stands more urgently in need of a thorough clean-out.

The last instance I shall adduce of the complete identification of Earl Grey with his

"Most noble, reverend, and approved good masters"

of the Lord North school is the idea which his lordship

has repeatedly put forth, that the governors of all the British colonies should have their salaries paid by the mother country, or, in other words, that they should be *a sort of out-door paupers, supported by the parishes in England!* Whether any of the Australian colonies would be abject enough to consent to such a proposal, the real object of which is to make the governors the complete tools of their paymasters, I shall not say; for under a Government-packed Legislature, with nearly half a million a year to appropriate in salaries for offices of all kinds, whether necessary or not, there will always be plenty of people abject enough for any thing — plenty of "four-footed beasts and *creeping things:*" but it is positively refreshing, while it tends to raise one's opinion of human nature, to contemplate the manner in which so insidious a proposal was received by the patriots of the olden time in America. The following passage from the American historian relates to events that took place during the administration of Governor Hutchinson, the *last* Royal Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts: —

"Hutchinson had enjoyed his commission as governor but a very short time, when he acquainted the provincial assembly that he no longer required a salary from them, as the king had made provision for his support. By this measure, the British Court expected gradually to introduce into practical operation the principle for which it had already contended, of rendering the emoluments, as well as the communication and endurance of executive functions in America, wholly dependent on the pleasure of the Crown; and doubtless it was supposed that the Americans would give little heed to the principle of an innovation of which the first practical effect was to relieve themselves from a considerable burden. But the Americans valued liberty more than money, and justly accounted it the political basis on which reposed the stability of every temporal advantage. Hutchinson's communication was maturely considered; and about a month afterwards the

assembly, by a message, declared to him that the royal provision for his support, and his own acceptance of it, was an infraction of the rights of the inhabitants recognized by the provincial charter, an insult to the assembly, and an invasion of the important trust which from the foundation of their commonwealth they had ever continued to exercise." *

Again, on his subsequent "avowal, that he could no longer authorise a provincial provision for the judges, as the king had undertaken to provide for *their* remuneration also, the assembly instantly passed a resolution declaring that this measure tended to the subversion of justice and equity; and that while the tenure of judicial office continued to depend on the pleasure of the king, 'any of the judges who shall accept of and depend upon the pleasure of the Crown for his support, independent of the grants of the assembly, will discover that he is an enemy of the constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of arbitrary power in the province.'" *

Now, if "coming events cast their shadows before," it can scarcely be difficult to anticipate the events in which the proceedings I have related above are likely to issue in Australia.

Section III. — The Discovery of Gold in Australia, and its probable political results.

The late Legislative Council of New South Wales, which had been constituted under the Imperial Act of 1842, met for the last time on the 3rd of May, 1851, after having made the requisite legislative provisions for the construction of the present Council under the Imperial Act of 1850; the principal business of its final session being the passing of the famous Electoral Act, which de-

* Grahame's *History of the United States of America*, iv. 323.

prived nearly one half of the inhabitants of the colony of their proper share in the general representation, and delivered over the country, bound hand and foot, into the hands of a government in which the people could have no confidence. In such circumstances, the prospect as to reform and political advancement for the colony was dismal in the extreme; but light and deliverance happily appeared in this crisis, in a quarter from which they were least of all to be expected. On the sixth of May, 1851, only three days after the Legislative Council had done its deed of darkness, and virtually breathed its last, the discovery of a gold field of unknown extent in the interior of New South Wales was publicly announced in the city of Sydney!

It is not my intention, neither is it at all necessary, to enter into any details, in the present work, as to the discovery of the gold fields of Australia, or as to their anticipated or ascertained extent; my business being simply with the probable political results of that discovery.

It is perfectly evident, therefore, that this wonderful discovery has virtually taken the settlement, or peopling, of Australia out of the hands of the Imperial Government. With facilities for colonization superior to those of any other country on earth, — with millions of acres of the finest land, in the finest climates, lying open for settlement in Australia alone, and millions of pounds of animal food annually destroyed in that country, simply for want of consumers, for the sake of the tallow, — the British Government had never made a single effort, at all worthy of the name, for the settlement of these vast solitudes; although myriads of the inhabitants of the British Isles — industrious and virtuous families and individuals — were generally in a condition bordering on starvation! By this discovery, however, Divine Providence has virtually declared that these lands shall no longer be suffered to lie waste — that Australia shall be inhabited — and has accordingly taken the work of Australian colonization into

its own hands. It may be difficult, indeed, to ascertain beforehand of what materials, and in what relative proportions, the future population of Australia will be constituted; but that a vast population, numbering hundreds of thousands, and probably millions, and comprising numerous respectable families and individuals of all grades, occupations, and professions, with innumerable adventurers of all descriptions, will ere long be congregated in that country, there cannot now be the shadow of a doubt. *The gold discovery has thrown the colony of New South Wales fifty years in advance of its previous position;* or, in the words of Mr. Wentworth, one of the present members for the city of Sydney, *it will precipitate the colony into a nation.*

Another, therefore, of the certain results of this wonderful discovery is that Australia will, in spite of every effort to the contrary, very soon be free and independent; and Great Britain must therefore make up her mind to the issue with the best possible grace.* But while this will undoubtedly be the result in any circumstances, there are causes at present in operation which, if not counteracted in time, will precipitate the issue, and deprive the mother-country, for all time coming, of the most valuable national advantages, which might otherwise be secured from her present possessions with the utmost facility.

In the first place, therefore, there is an utter want of confidence in the present Local Government, on the part of a large proportion of the intelligence and moral worth of the colony, and a thorough contempt for it among the energetic and industrious classes of the community. The persuasion that it consists of men who care nothing for the people, provided they can abstract the largest possible amount of their funds for their own purposes — for the

* "A country which is being peopled at the rate of five thousand a week by men nursed in freedom will soon be able to demand as a right that which she now entreats as a favour."—*Times*, July 30. 1852.

maintenance of their own system, and the pensioning of their own friends and adherents — is all but universal. The Colonial Electoral Act is proof positive of such a state of things, and no man can be blind enough not to see it.

This feeling is not a little strengthened and enhanced by the American experience which a considerable portion of the present mining population of the colony have recently obtained. On the announcement of the discovery of the Gold Mines of California in the Australian colonies, there was quite a rush of adventurers from these colonies —many of them carrying with them their wives and families — to the American mines; for people who have once fairly left their mother-country, and made a long sea voyage to any remote settlement, are much more easily incited to repeat the experiment, and try some other and better place, than if they had never left their native land. But as soon as the news of the discovery of a gold field in Australia reached California, the tide turned immediately, and the emigrants found their way back again in whole ship-loads to Australia. The first steam ship — a screw propeller — that ever crossed the Pacific, arrived in the harbour of Sydney, with a whole cargo of returned emigrants, including a few Americans even, from San Francisco, the evening before I left the colony. Now a large proportion of these returned emigrants have not only been acquiring valuable experience in gold-mining in California, but have also been observing the working of free institutions among a people of kindred origin in that country; and it is not to be wondered at if in such circumstances the feeling of dissatisfaction with the present political state of the Australian colonies should have become both general and intense in whole masses of the community.

Besides, the Gold Regulations of the Local Government constitute a positive grievance of rather a serious character. Every miner must take out a license to mine,

for which he pays thirty shillings a month. To any person who is at all successful, this is but a very light tax: but gold-mining is everywhere a lottery, in which, although there are splendid prizes, there are also many blanks; and to the man who has drawn a blank, for months perhaps in succession, as is the case with some, the payment of a monthly tax of thirty shillings besides is a serious grievance. The aggravating part of the affair to any person who has the slightest regard for the welfare and advancement of the country, is that only a comparatively small portion of the large revenue which is raised from this license fee finds its way into the public treasury, so as to be available for the general improvement of the country. A large portion of it is absorbed in the payment of the salaries and appointments of a whole host of Gold Commissioners and Assistant Gold Commissioners, and their clerks and attendants, who have in the mean time been palmed upon the colony to an extent perfectly astounding.* Certain of these trumpery officials, moreover, are mere boys, just from school; the relatives and friends of course of those who can assist in any way in keeping up *the system*. That these functionaries are not yet out of their "teens" may be inferred from a circumstance which I learned at Bathurst, when returning to Sydney from a tour to the Turon Mines in the month of October last. The Gold Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners had been holding a meeting, it seems, in that inland town, to determine, doubtless among other matters of equal importance, what sort of button they should have for their contemplated uniform. There was one, it appears, which, in the language of shopmen, "met with general approbation;" but, on consulting an old military officer in the neighbourhood, he told them it was

* La multiplicité effrenée des offices est la marque assurée de la decadence prochaine d'un etat. — *Sully*. The unrestrained multiplication of offices is the sure sign of the approaching fall of a State.

a Navy button, in use among the marines, and that if they adopted it, they would be called "the Horse-Marines!" Of course, the knights of the button, who had evidently put off their pinafores too soon, had reluctantly to make another choice.

For my own part, I am strongly opposed to the license fee and these Gold Commissionerships altogether: I would have a mere nominal fee, not exceeding five shillings a month, to enable the authorities to mark out the proper limits of each miner's claim, and to maintain a small police force; but I would subject the whole of the crude metal raised from the mines to an impost of five per cent. for the State. This was the system to which the Spanish Government was obliged to come at last, after many experiments and many failures, in the management of its South American mines.

"The search after precious metals," observes Professor Heeren, "was left to individual enterprise, with the reservation of a tenth to the Crown. * * * The proportion paid to the king [of Spain] it was found necessary to diminish by degrees from twenty to five per cent.; notwithstanding this, in the richest regions of the earth, mining was so hazardous a game that by far the greater number of speculations ended in ruin."*

The attempt to realize a large per-centage for Government from the produce of mines has uniformly proved a failure, and it is surely not the policy of any Government to lead its subjects into the strong temptation which a large per-centage on the results of mining implies. If the Spanish government had to be satisfied with five per cent. at last, so should *we*, from the first.

In regard to the probability of ensuring this per-centage for the State, gold is so precious a metal, and people exporting it are so anxious to ensure its safety, that there would be no difficulty whatever in subjecting it to a duty

* *Europe and its Colonies, &c.*, p. 57.

of five per cent.; under a legislative enactment, making the requisite provisions on the subject, and subjecting to seizure all gold attempted to be exported without payment of duty. The miners would thus be treated fairly, and the State would derive a comparatively large revenue, available for all public purposes, from the mines. But a Government like that of New South Wales or Port Phillip has no idea of treating men fairly, and appealing to their sense of justice; which, in such circumstances, is the only effectual specific for ensuring the public peace. *Their* only principle for governing men is *force; their* only instrument of government is the bayonet: and, accordingly, it was understood, before I left the colony, that the Local Government, resorting to the universal specific of incapacity and dishonesty, had applied for a large military force from England for the Australian mines.

For my own part, I consider a military force totally unnecessary at the mines, and far likelier to create than to repress dissatisfaction and disaffection among the mining population.* The idea of occupying the vast extent of the Australian mines with a military force, or, in other words, establishing a military cordon of a thousand miles in extent, is in the highest degree preposterous and absurd; and, dispersed as that force would necessarily be, its presence would only add fuel to the existing, although smothered, flame, and lead to some collision or outbreak, of which the consequences cannot be foreseen. It is not *troops*, but *justice*, that is required for the mining districts — *a fair field and no favour.*

* I had likewise, in those days, a mortal antipathy to standing armies in time of peace; because I always took standing armies to be only *servants, hired by the master of the family for keeping his own children in slavery*; and because I conceived that a prince who could not think himself secure without mercenary troops, must needs have a separate interest from that of his subjects: although I am not ignorant of those artificial necessities which a corrupted ministry can create for keeping up forces to support a faction against the public interest. — Dean Swift, *Letters to Pope*, 1720.

Besides, the temptation of a gold field is one to which British soldiers have never yet been exposed; and if that temptation has proved strong enough to turn the heads of the wisest men in our Australian colonies, there is no calculating its effect on *theirs.* At all events they would soon discover that there is no better instrument for picking out gold nuggets from the crevices of the Australian rocks than a Birmingham bayonet: and to what issues such a discovery might lead, under colonial tuition, I leave the reader to conjecture.

I hold it, therefore, to be absolutely certain,

1st. That the large population that will be found in Australia, within a few years hence, will on no account tolerate the present irrational and nefarious system of government in that country:

2d. That the idea of controuling the mining population, and maintaining things as they are, by a military force, is out of the question: and

3d. That, unless immediate preparation is made for effecting a thorough and entire change of system, that change will be effected by other means and instruments; when the power to regulate and controul the movement, and to give it the right direction for all parties concerned, and for all time coming, will have been lost for ever.

"The generality of revolutions," observes a British officer, after a tour of some years among the recently formed states of South America, "have been effected by two or three thousand badly armed men."* There will very soon be a hundred times that number at the Australian gold mines; and the reader will perceive from the following extract of a letter, of date 11th December, 1851, on the subject of the grievances of the miners, which I received shortly before leaving the colony, from

* *Wanderings in some of the Western Republics of America.* By George Byam, late 43rd Light Infantry.

the Secretary of an Association recently formed in the principal mining district for their mutual protection, that the idea of something of the kind has actually been crossing their minds:—

"Affairs are rapidly approaching a *crisis*, and it is high time for every man whose mind is imbued with the spirit of patriotism, to think deeply, disinterestedly, and truly. Were we desirous at present of exhibiting a demonstration of physical force, *the ability to do so is ours*; but we prefer intellectual and moral force, so long as it may operate unfettered and free! We are true men, and our acts are constitutional.

"We are deliberating whether it be advisable to hold simultaneous meetings throughout the Diggings — each meeting to resolve itself into a committee, to send a delegate to some central convocation. I cannot be more explicit now.

"We deeply regret your untimely withdrawal from the Legislative Council, and deprecate the idea of your returning to Europe, before your noble advocacy of the rights of the people shall have been duly rewarded."

At the same time it would be exceedingly unwise to speculate too much on the alleged invincible attachment of British colonists to the British Crown and empire. As the poet Burns sings, —

> "God save the king's a cuckoo sang,
> That's unco-easy said, aye:"

and when a Government has several hundred thousands a year to appropriate for the maintenance of "things as they are," lip-loyalty is very easily purchased. British government has hitherto been so wretchedly administered in all the Australian colonies, that if a revolutionary movement in any one of them were successful in its outset, it would very soon communicate itself to the whole of them; and nineteen out of every twenty of the colonists, with the exception of those only whose sole dependence is on the continuance of the present order of things, would see that government fall without an effort to preserve it, and without a sigh.

Mr. Wakefield doubtless speaks of "a peculiarity of *colonies*, as distinguished from *dependencies* in general, which furnishes a reason," as he conceives, "for wishing that they should belong to the empire. I mean," he continues, "the attachment of colonies to their mother-country. Without having lived in a colony — or, at any rate, without having a really intimate acquaintance with colonies, which only a very few people in the mother-country have, or can have — it is difficult to conceive the intensity of colonial loyalty to the empire. In the colonies of England, at any rate, the feeling of love towards England and of pride in belonging to her empire, is more than a sentiment; it is a sort of passion which all the colonists feel, except Milesian Irish emigrants. I have often been unable to help smiling at the exhibition of it. In what it originates I cannot say: perhaps in a sympathy of blood or race, for the present Anglo-Americans feel in their heart's core the same kind of love and respect for England that we Englishmen at home feel for the memory of Alfred or Elizabeth: but, whatever may be its cause I have no doubt that love of England is the ruling sentiment of English colonies."*

Now, with all his acuteness, Mr. Wakefield has here confounded two things that are essentially distinct from each other, viz., "the love of England" and "the love of her empire," or government, in the sense of a strong desire to be, or to continue, under it. The love of England — meaning the love of the country, of its people, of its institutions, and of its prosperity, is a generous and manly feeling, which, I am most happy to admit with Mr. Wakefield, is the characteristic of *all British colonies*: and so far from there being anything either strange or unaccountable in

* *Art of Colonisation, &c.*, p. 101.

it, as Mr. W. seems to imagine, it is the most natural thing in the world. For, according to the Scotch proverb, "Blood is thicker than water," or, in other words, "we shall always be more kindly-affectioned towards our *own* kindred, our *own* country, our *own* race, than towards mere strangers or foreigners," *provided always that no disturbing element shall have intervened*, as in the case of the War of Independence in America; which I am sorry to say has generated very extensively somewhat different feelings in that country from those which Mr. W. considers universal. But Mr. Wakefield is decidedly in the wrong in taking it for granted, as he does, that this love of England, which is both natural and universal in British colonies, necessarily implies a desire to live under her *government*, as mere dependencies of her empire. I deny that it does. I deny that the two things have the slightest connection with each other; and it is throwing dust in the eyes of the people of England, and rendering them stone blind both to their interest and their duty, to persuade them that they have, or that the equally generous and manly desire of freedom and independence, on the part of British colonists in certain circumstances, implies anything like a hatred of England, or of her people, of her institutions, or of her prosperity. Away with such folly — such madness!

In a passage I have quoted above, the great Hugo Grotius, one of the ablest and best interpreters of the law of nature and nations that has ever lived, lays it down as a universal and unquestionable maxim, that in such circumstances as those of the British colonies of North America and Australia, respectively, *novus populus sui juris nascitur*, "a new and independent nation is born." And Heeren, no mean authority in politics either, confirms this maxim, by stating, in a passage I have also quoted above, that "the desire of independence is natural to agricultural colonies, because *a new nation gradually becomes formed within them*." And this natural, and therefore

divinely implanted, desire, with the new and multiform attachments from which it flows, constitutes one of the strongest principles — one of the strongest passions — of human nature. In short, the love of England, and the desire of national independence, on the part of British colonists in the circumstances I have indicated, are in perfect harmony with each other; like all the other works of God; which both of these generous and manly feelings undoubtedly are. It is highly presumptuous, therefore, to say the least of it, for mortal man to imagine that *his puny* arrangements for the welfare and advancement of society in this lower world, should be preferable to those of the Supreme Creator, and Lord of all — that *his* notorious device of Downing Street, for instance, should be a better device for the government of such countries as British America and Australia, than the one indicated in the law of Nature and the ordinance of God; which proclaims, with a voice from heaven, that these countries should be free and independent, as they will certainly both be very soon, in spite of all the efforts of Downing Street to the contrary.

There has doubtless been a disturbing element at work in the case of British America, which has deranged in some degree the natural tendencies of things in that country — I mean the late American war, and the feelings of bitter hostility which it unhappily engendered on both sides of the boundary line; for such feelings are the regular stock in trade of your "British empire men," and your "zealots for British connection," as opposed to the advocates of national independence. Then there are the antipathies of race, *within* the boundary line, aggravated and enhanced as they must have been by the Canadian Insurrection of 1838. But we are happily free from all such disturbing elements in Australia. There are no hostile races *there*, as in Canada; there are no unreasonable antipathies towards America, to make us profess what we do not feel; and least of all, is there any temptation

in the Australian colonies to the folly of *annexation*, in the Canadian sense of the phrase. We love England as warmly as Mr. Wakefield can wish us to do, and from our inmost hearts we will ever *pray for her prosperity;* but we cherish at the same time that generous and manly desire of national independence, which God and nature have implanted in our breasts.

Mr. Wakefield has also fallen into a serious mistake in considering "the attachment of colonies to their mother-country a peculiarity of colonies, as distinguished from dependencies in general, which furnishes a reason for wishing that they should belong to the Empire." On the contrary, it furnishes no such reason whatever, but the very reverse. The British subject who goes to any of the other dependencies Mr. Wakefield speaks of — to the East or West Indies, for example; to Ceylon; to the Mauritius; to Hongkong, Singapore or Labuan; to Aden, St. Helena, the Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, or Heligoland — uniformly carries his *patria*, or country, along with him, *in imagination*, and returns to it *in reality*, as soon as he can; never for one moment seeking for another *patria* or country in any of these dependencies. But the British colonist, properly so called, leaves his *patria*, or native country, for ever, and seeks for another *patria*, or adopted country, in the land of his emigration.* It must be obvious, therefore, that Mr. Wakefield's wish that those colonies, in which hundreds of thousands of his fellow-countrymen have actually found the *patria*, or country, they were in search of, when they left their native land, "should belong to the empire," rather than the other dependencies in which there can be no such *patria* either sought for or found, is, to say the least of it, somewhat unreasonable.

* This is the remarkably appropriate language in which emigration and colonisation are uniformly described by the ancients: "*Nos* PATRIAM *fugimus* — PATRIAM *quærentes.*" — Virg. "*Causa* RELINQUENDI QUÆRENDIQUE PATRIAM."—Seneca, as quoted above.

If these principles are well founded — and I challenge all and sundry to prove that they are not — it follows that much, if not the whole, of what we are in the daily habit of hearing from all quarters, as to the benefits and blessings of "belonging to the British Empire," in the sense of being mere dependencies of that empire, and of being governed as such, is the sheerest cant and the grossest delusion. Nay, it is a mere artifice of the devil, to extend and perpetuate human misery, by setting men's minds and hearts against the adoption of those beautiful and perfect arrangements, which the All-wise and beneficent Creator has established, for the welfare and advancement of society in this lower world.

So far, indeed, from the British government of the colonies, properly so called, having ever been either a benefit or a blessing to these colonies, it has uniformly, and without one solitary exception, been the bane and the curse of the colonies, from the time when the first of them was planted, under that Solomon of his age, King James the First, to the present hour. And if it has been "destructive" to the best interests of the colonies, as Heeren testifies it has, it has been infinitely worse for the mother-country herself. With a virgin soil and a propitious sky, with a luxurious climate and a country of boundless resources, we colonists can struggle on, even under the worst government, and prosper notwithstanding. But — to take a single instance of the genuine *domestic* effects of this lust of empire, on the part of Great Britain, this grasping at the shadow and losing the substance, this virtual stoppage of the healthful perennial stream of emigration that would otherwise have flowed from an overcrowded country for two centuries and a half, — what can you do, in your present circumstances, ye poor needlewomen of England? Instead of pining in the hopeless wretchedness of your cheerless lot, ye might, every one of you, had Great Britain only discharged her proper duty to herself, and to you, in the matter of colonization, have been the happy

mothers of hopeful children in the colonies; and your sons and your daughters would have been extending our noble language, our equitable laws, our free institutions, and our Protestant religion over every continent and every isle.

SECTION IV. — EVIDENCES OF THE AUTHOR'S CREDIBILITY AS A WITNESS, IN REGARD TO THE ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

As every effort that self-interest and malignity can devise will be made, for obvious reasons, by my political opponents in the Australian colonies, to damage my reputation in England, and thereby to throw discredit on my representations of the actual state of things, and especially of the state of public opinion in New South Wales, I am virtually obliged — for the sake of the good cause with which I have the honour to be identified as a tribune of the people — to submit to the reader, what I should otherwise have willingly withheld, the few following particulars, as to my own standing and acceptance with the colonists, as the author and advocate of the opinions advanced in this work. For if I am the very questionable and unworthy character I have been represented to be, *on the faith of letters from New South Wales*, in certain British periodicals, my statements ought to have no weight with a discerning public, and even my arguments should be received with suspicion. It is characteristic of the line of procedure I have followed for years past, to awaken the fiercest hostilities, as well as the strongest attachments; and any man must have formed a very fallacious estimate of human nature, if he supposes that he can publicly call in question *the craft* by which whole classes of men have their wealth, in the work of deceiving and pillaging society, with impunity. Although, therefore, I might leave the arguments of this work, in favour of the view of colonial government I have been advocating, to work

their way with the public, it is prudent at all events, if not absolutely necessary, to prevent their being subjected beforehand to any disparaging and damaging influence from the quarters I have indicated.

It cannot, therefore, but be regarded as a very significant indication of the state of public feeling in New South Wales, in the years 1850 and 1851, that nothing — at least nothing to speak of — should have been contributed from that colony to the Great Exhibition! The Local Government attempted indeed to get up the steam on the subject — doubtless with a view to stand well themselves with the authorities at home — but without effect. The compartment of New South Wales, the oldest and largest of the Australian colonies, and the one whose productions are the most diversified, remained empty during the Exhibition! The fact was, that the colony had been so scandalously used by the Home Government for years previous, chiefly through the artifice and trickery of the Colonial Office on the convict question, that it had become completely disgusted; and it therefore took no interest in the Great Exhibition, and contributed literally nothing to the World's Show! Whether it is either politic or safe for statesmen to disregard such moods of mind in a whole people I leave the reader to determine. In my view, they are somewhat like the settled sullen calm that precedes a storm.

But although New South Wales contributed nothing to the Great Exhibition in London, all the world knows that it had a Great Exhibition of its own in the meantime, and one which is likely to have much more important results to mankind than even the one in London. In these circumstances certain ultra-loyal people — public functionaries of course—considering the discovery of gold a fit and proper occasion for getting up a public demonstration of loyalty towards Her Majesty, doubtless for their own glorification, proposed to have a Royal diadem of Australian gold constructed by subscription, to be forwarded

as a present to Her Majesty. Preliminary meetings were accordingly held in Sydney, and a provisional committee appointed to carry out the design, with the usual appendages of a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. But the grand Parliamentary Sham of 1850, facetiously called "An Act for the better government of the Australian colonies," having in the meantime arrived in New South Wales; and the infamous Electoral Act of the Local Council, which deprived one-half of the colony of its proper share in the representation, having just been passed, the colonial public, rightly conceiving that, in such circumstances, public demonstrations of loyalty to Her Majesty would be interpreted as an approval of the procedure of Her ministers and Parliament, as well as of the local rulers, the proposal was groaned upon at a Public Meeting held for the purpose in Sydney, and the idea had consequently to be abandoned; the only memorial that remained of the movement being the *soubriquet* of Diadem W, which attached itself to its author. The affair, it may be said, was not of much importance in itself, but it had nevertheless considerable political significance; and the intelligent reader will doubtless infer from it that the people who can act in this way are not to be trifled with.

These feelings of bitterness towards Her Majesty's Government have been prodigiously enhanced and aggravated by the obstinacy of Earl Grey in persisting in the continuance of transportation to Van Dieman's Land, in the face of the repeated protests and remonstrances of the vast majority of the reputable inhabitants of all the Eastern Colonies. The Port Phillip branch of the Great Anti-Transportation League having sent home as their delegate, in the year 1851, John C. King, Esq., recently Town Clerk in the City of Melbourne, to advocate their interests in this important matter with the Government and the public, Mr. King had, up to the period of my leaving the colony, obtained no satisfaction on the subject from

Earl Grey, and the colonists were accordingly exceedingly exasperated.*

* It appears that Mr. King has since sent out a printed Minute of his interview on this question with Earl Grey, with his lordship's observations on the occasion corrected by himself, intimating his fixed determination to continue transportation to Van Dieman's Land. A general meeting of the New South Wales branch of the League was accordingly held in Sydney, to take the subject into consideration, on the 8th of April last, and the following is the leading article of *The Empire*, a Liberal daily paper, published in Sydney on the 9th April, commenting on the proceedings. The pervading idea of the meeting was evidently that of "cutting the painter:"—

"*The League Meeting.*

"The report of the important public meeting held on Tuesday evening, which we published yesterday, will be read both in the colonies and in England with more than usual interest. The great event of our gold discovery has had the effect already of exciting public attention in the mother-country, to an extent not yet appreciated on this side of the ocean, to every passing circumstance in which we are actors. Eyes that never looked in this direction before, are now calmly surveying the changeful character of Australian society, and the far fields of enterprise and fortune which are opening in the southern hemisphere. The better class of men throughout Great Britain, who may have in contemplation the adoption of this country as their home and their children's heritage, will wisely look to the moral aspect of the people with whom they are to cast their household lot for the future. Such men — men of sterling worth and character — would be slow in yielding to the temptation of gold, if coupled with social degradation. The traditionary pitch which yet sticks to our whispered name, with the craven spirit of a degenerate race, would make even a mine of gold loathsome and intolerable to minds enamoured of honour and liberty. The spirit of Tuesday's meeting will be to British emigrants an assurance that the Anglo-Saxon breast has not grown effeminate under a warmer sun. The spirit was worthy of the parent stock, and equal to the high and enduring interests which render so sacred this hard-fought cause.

"If we employ the word 'respectable' to represent the property as well as the intelligence of a community, the late meeting was thoroughly respectable. We do not remember any similar public

In regard to the Constitutional Act of 1850, the following was the comment of a highly influential Colonial

demonstration, more fairly representing the different classes of society. Many gentlemen, moving in our more retired circles, who have hitherto abstained from mingling in these anti-transportation excitements, were, on this last occasion, brought into immediate association with the old friends of the cause, by the intensified interest which the whole question now presents. The sobriety and earnestness which characterised the proceedings, were not less remarkable than the general respectability of the audience. The unanimity was perfect. Not a single hand was raised against any of the resolutions; not a murmur of disapprobation met any of the bold expressions of the speakers. On the contrary, every resolution was carried amidst a general burst of applause; and *the sentiments of resistance, uttered by each successive speaker, were again and again responded to, by increased enthusiasm.* The feeling of the meeting might be read in every countenance — that feeling could not be misinterpreted. It was that which, once awakened by injustice, cannot be stifled by power — once lighted in a community oppressed, can never be extinguished except by the hands of liberty. The features of levity and confusion common to most popular meetings, were wholly absent; the business seemed to be, as it ought to be, a personal affair to all.

"At this numerous, influential, and earnest meeting, convened by public announcement in the largest city of the Australian colonies, where any man could attend, and express his own sentiments or his dissent from those of any other man — at this meeting the Secretary of State is plainly told — for the first time in serious earnestness — that *the colonists, rather than surrender their rights in this struggle, will 'cut the painter,' and drift away from the mother-country in their frail bark of freedom. And the Venerable Archdeacon, who spoke these words, was stopped by the meeting with 'tremendous cheering.' This 'cutting of the painter' was the master-thought — the all pervading idea, running its electric light through the varied tissues of every speech, and diffusing its influences like a moral atmosphere round that congregated body.* The determined spirit thus manifested is the true spirit; and we do not anticipate that it will be lightly regarded, even by the perverse and relentless author of our wrongs. To the struggling colonists of Van Dieman's Land last Tuesday's proceedings will impart new strength in their work of patriotism. They, at all events, will not throw away the moral lesson which such proceedings teach."

Journal on that measure, on the 9th of April, 1851, immediately before the passing of the Electoral Act of the late Legislative Council, which was passed professedly to carry out the provisions of the Constitutional Act, and to bring it into operation: —

"In the first number of this paper (*The Press*) we stated it as our opinion, that if New South Wales Proper had stood alone at present, the proper course for the Legislative Council to have taken in the matter would perhaps have been to have treated the new Constitutional Act, or Government Sham, exactly as their Honours the Judges usually treat the criminal who has been found guilty of some capital offence, — viz. to have caused the said Act 'to be taken back to the place from whence it came, and there

It appears from a still more recent paper, *The Empire* of the 6th May, 1852, that this desire of entire freedom and national independence has been becoming stronger and more prevalent in the colony from day to day, as the following extract from that paper will show: —

"It will be remembered that some two years ago a League was talked of, in certain quarters, for the whole of the Australasian colonies, by which they were to be ushered into birth as one nation having its prospective independence in view. The idea was borrowed from the constitution of the provinces which subsequently became the thirteen United States of America. To this scheme, no one is ignorant, there were loud objections, attended with opprobrium. But, strange to say, that very idea, then so offensive to some people, is now familiar to all ears—runs through public meetings like an electric stream, and that without the remotest agency or influence of the party who first struck out the spark, only, as it appeared, to see it quenched. The spark has been struck out again by the hand of Government — the Imperial Government chiefly. To change the figure — a charmed wand has been employed by our very Government to reveal objects in new and wondrous shapes. We have learned, by the aid of this talisman, in two years, not only to tolerate the idea of the monster of frightful mien, but to think of him as a possibly pleasant companion. We do not positively wish for his presence, but we will vastly prefer him to the Giant Convictism. 'We will have independence of England rather than convictism:' this is in every mouth not sold to sycophancy."

(in Downing Street) to be hanged by the neck, till it be dead, dead, dead!'—Earl Grey and Lord John Russell to be witnesses of the fact. In short, as a gross outrage upon the common sense of this colony, as a virtual denial of our rights as freemen and Britons, the Act in question deserves no other treatment at our hands; and both the Legislature and the community would be lost to all proper feeling of self-respect, if some such expression of opinion should not be given forth on the subject.

"But, unfortunately, we do not stand alone in this matter. Our Port Phillip friends are still rowing in the same boat with us; and as this Act will enable us to give them the boon they have been calling for so loudly for years past,—viz., 'Separation and the management of their own affairs,'—we are bound, on the principle of doing to others as we wish they should do to us, to receive and carry out the Imperial Act, and to give them their Tickets-of-leave in due form.

"But, as we have already observed in a former article, bad as the New Constitutional Act is, it has two redeeming qualities that would still prevent our unconditional rejection of it, independently of the case of Port Phillip altogether. The New Act lowers the Elective Franchise to Ten Pounds, and leaves the distribution of the representation under that franchise entirely in our own hands. For our own part, strong as our opinions are on the subject of the franchise, we consider the latter of these privileges of far greater importance to us at present than the former; for even if the franchise were lowered to Universal Suffrage itself, what would this avail us if, in the exercise of that political legerdemain in which the firm of Thomson and Co. are such adept proficients, we should have such an artful shuffling of the political cards as to throw the great bulk of the representation into the hands of a mere fraction of the population?"

As a member of the late Legislative Council of New South Wales, I was doing my utmost at the time when

these remarks were published, viz., in the month of April, 1851, to obtain for the people a fair and honourable apportionment of the representation of the colony, on the basis of population and property combined, agreeably to what I conceived and maintained was the spirit and intention of the Act of Parliament. But the Local Government and their standing majority decided it otherwise, and the leading features of their unprincipled Act were accordingly characterised as follows in the same colonial journal of the 14th May following:—

"The people of this colony were almost to a man disappointed and dissatisfied with the New Constitutional Act of last session of Parliament,—still, however, they were willing that it should be honestly carried out, and that the experiment it proposed should be fairly and fully tried; more especially, as it conceded two points of real importance to this community, by reducing the elective franchise to ten pounds, and by leaving the distribution and apportionment of the representation in the hands of the colonists themselves, through their representatives in council assembled. But the thoroughly unprincipled men into whose hands the rights and interests of the people have unfortunately been committed for the present, under the wretched constitution of the expiring council, have, at the bidding, and under the leadership of that crafty old fox, the Colonial Secretary,—that superlatively ungrateful man, whose bread the people of this colony have been buttering on both sides these many years, at the enormous rate of 1500*l.* a-year, but who has thus betrayed and sold them at last,—concocted a system of representation which effectually robs a large proportion of the inhabitants of the colony of all the advantages they might otherwise have derived from these redeeming clauses of the Parliamentary Act, and which, by conjuring into existence a mere mock-representation for the remote and thinly inhabited districts of the colony—a representation which will be entirely under the leading-strings of an unprincipled exe-

cutive, and its host of lickspittle and contemptible nominees — will virtually subject a large portion of the colony to taxation without representation, and fix upon it the brand of political degradation. We allude, of course, to that piece of monstrous and shameless political villainy — the concoction of the Thomson, Wentworth, and Donaldson Socialist clique — which consists in allotting only six elective members to that portion of the colony which contains upwards of three-eighths of its entire population, intelligence, wealth, and enterprise, while the remaining five-eighths are to be honoured with thirty!

"FELLOW-COLONISTS, THIS IS AN INJURY, TO WHICH, IF YOU HAVE ANY REGARD FOR YOUR OWN INTERESTS AS BRITISH COLONISTS, YOU WILL NEVER SUBMIT: IT IS AN INSULT, WHICH, IF YOU ARE NOT UTTERLY DEVOID OF BRITISH SPIRIT, YOU WILL NEVER CONSENT TO BEAR.

"Instead, therefore, of waiting patiently until you are driven into the polling-booths, like sheep into a Wentworth squatting pen, to vote for the members allowed you under the new Electoral Act, our advice to you, and we give it calmly and deliberately, is simply to do everything in your power either to prevent that infamous Act from ever coming into operation, or to enable us to get rid of it as soon as possible if it does. And there is much that may be done in this way — much to advance the cause of public freedom — without proceeding to the *ne plus ultra* of physical force. There are cases, indeed, in which the resort to physical force in defence of men's rights is unquestionably justifiable — cases in which the right of resistance is acknowledged by the ablest and best of men. Listen to what is said on the subject by that great man, Oliver Cromwell — 'You say,' he observes, in his letter to Colonel Hammond, then Governor of the Isle of Wight, you say, 'God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which obedience is to be yielded. This resides in the Parliament, &c. But I do not therefore think the authorities may do *anything*, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that *there are cases in which it is lawful to resist.*'

"And what is the case before us? Why, it is that of a body delegated by Act of Parliament to distribute and apportion the representation of this colony among its actual inhabitants, agreeably to the principles of the British Constitution, that is in proportion to its population and property; but who, in utter defiance of that Constitution, have allotted only six members to three-eighths of the population and property of the whole colony, and thirty members to the remaining five-eighths! This, therefore, is clearly one of the cases in which it is lawful for the people to resist the constituted authorities — if they choose, and if they can. The colonists have as clear a right, under the Act of Parliament, to resist such an unprincipled attempt to deprive them of their just rights in the representation of the colony, as they have to resist a company of burglars attempting to break into their houses by night. 'He that steals my purse steals trash,' says the poet, but he that robs me of my just rights as a citizen and a freeman, is a robber indeed, and deserves to be treated as such by all honest men.

"But we have other authority than that of Cromwell to appeal to in favour of the *rights of resistance* in such a case as the one before us. 'If the feudal aristocracy,' says M. Guizot, the able but unfortunate minister of the late Louis Philippe, King of the French, 'If the feudal aristocracy took part in the development of nations, it was by struggling against royal tyranny, *by exercising the rights of resistance*, and by maintaining the maxims of liberty.'"— GUIZOT, *Hist. de la Révol. d'Angleterre.*

Strong as this language may be supposed to be, it is in perfect accordance with the language of the friends of freedom in all past ages. "Although, in a constituted commonwealth," observes the celebrated John Locke, in his Essay on Government, "standing upon its own basis, and

acting according to its own nature, that is, acting for the preservation of the community, there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislature, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate; yet the legislature being only a fiduciary power, to act for certain ends, *there remains still, in the people, a supreme power to remove or alter the legislature, when they find the legislature act contrary to the trust reposed in them.* For all power given, with trust for the attaining an end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the power devolve into the hands of those who gave it, who may place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security."*

"I rejoice," exclaimed Lord Chatham, "that the Americans have resisted. Three million subjects of the British Empire, so dead to any generous impulse as to submit their necks to such a yoke, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." But let it be remembered—the Americans never had grounds of resistance to be compared for one moment with those of the present colonists of Australia.

At the General Election for the New Council that ensued in the month of September 1851, my unsuccessful efforts on behalf of the people in the Old Council were not forgotten; as the following account of the Declaration of the Poll, at the City Election, from the *Empire*, a Sydney Daily Paper, of the 18th September, 1851, will sufficiently show: —

"Yesterday afternoon (17th Sept. 1851), at four o'clock, a great number of the citizens assembled before the hustings in Macquarie Place, for the purpose of hearing the official declaration of the poll taken the previous day.

"The Right Worshipful the Mayor said, it was now his duty to declare to them the result of the polling yesterday, which differed only in a trifling degree with the announcement he had made at the Town Hall on the previous evening. The votes polled for each candidate were as follows: —

"For the Rev. Dr. Lang	-	1191
John Lamb, Esq. (R. N.)	-	1015
William Charles Wentworth, Esq.	-	991
Alexander Longmore, Esq.	-	900
Charles Cowper, Esq.	-	870

He therefore certified to them, and declared the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, John Lamb, Esq., and William Charles Wentworth, Esq., duly elected to represent the City of Sydney in the Legislative Council. He begged to congratulate his fellow-citizens on the peaceful and orderly manner in which the election had been conducted. It was a circumstance highly creditable to them, and worthy of being held up as an example to the whole world. (Cheers.) He would now call upon the Reverend Dr. Lang to address the meeting.

"The Rev. Dr. Lang, M.C., then came forward amidst enthusiastic and long-continued cheering. He said, he heartily congratulated them on the result of the present election, not because of any merit personally inherent in himself, as having led to the gratifying result, but because it was the triumph of those liberal principles which were the glory of the age in which we live—the hope of long oppressed and suffering humanity. (Loud cheers.) This election had not turned at all upon the question of transportation. The real pivot on which it turned was the infamous Electoral Act. (Cheers.) The members returned had been returned because of the strong opinions which a large majority of the electors had taken up upon that question. He disclaimed all idea of any personal merit in himself as having led to the result; he felt that he owed his election entirely to the fact that he had identified himself thoroughly with those principles of political freedom which they desired to see applied in all these colo-

* *Locke on Government*, book ii.

nies. (Cheers.) They were all aware that within the last few months the local government had been entrusted with the transcendantly important duty of establishing a constitution for this territory on the basis of the Act of Parliament which had been sent out for that purpose. During the progress of the Constitutional Act, he (Dr. Lang) had repeatedly but vainly entreated the Colonial Secretary as the mouth-piece of the government, as the mainspring of the measure, to do justice to all classes of the population, and to make a proper distribution of the representation among those who were entitled to the franchise; and he had predicted, at the time, that all those concerned in the concocting of the infamous Electoral Bill would suffer a heavy punishment sooner or later. (Loud cheers.) They were well aware that on that occasion, the Local Government, acting through the Colonial Secretary, had concocted a system of representation which he could only designate as a downright fraud upon the electors. (Vociferous cheering.) A countryman of his own, arguing on this very subject with a native of the sister isle, asked if one man was not as good as another? 'Yes,' replied the Irishman, 'and a great dale better.' (Loud laughter.) Now he (Dr. L.) did not go quite so far as the Irishman (laughter) in this matter. He would confine himself to the positive degree. But he maintained, without fear of contradiction, that any one man entitled to the elective franchise was just as good as any other man. (Cheers.) This was the principle on which the present election had turned. The Colonial Secretary had been the mainspring of the Electoral Bill, as far as the Government was concerned; but feeling his inability to carry that measure himself, he had looked about him for an accomplice (cheers and laughter), and he was fortunate enough to find one in a quarter in which one would not have expected such a character — namely, in the honourable and learned member, his present colleague. (Laughter and cheers.) And agreeably to the system concocted between them, they

had established it as a rule, that 14,700 inhabitants of the City of Sydney, 8000 inhabitants of the Hamlets, and 11,000 inhabitants of the County of Cumberland, were no better than 1400 or 1500 inhabitants of the outskirts of the colony, 600 or 700 miles off! (Groans.) Now he appealed to them — but they had yesterday decided the matter — that this was nothing but a gross outrage on the common sense as well as on the rights of the citizens of Sydney. Their decision yesterday was emphatically a sentence of condemnation on those who would defraud them of their just rights. (Cheers.) The result afforded a melancholy spectacle, he must acknowledge. The man whose towering talent would have given him the most pre-eminent station in the colony, had he stuck to their interests and to his own duty, — whose distinguished intellectual qualities ought to have ensured him that station to the latest day of his existence; he who should have been the leader, the virtual dictator of his country, presented now the melancholy spectacle of coming in third best. (Cheers.) Nay, gentlemen, he may be thankful to the diggings for being in at all (cheers); for if the 1001 of his (Dr. L.'s) countrymen, instead of going to the gold mines, had remained to discharge their duties as electors — (mind, he did not say which was of the greatest importance), they would have said to him in the very broadest Scotch, 'Ye'll gang nae mair till yon toun.' (Laughter and loud cheers.) He repeated it: the people of this metropolitan city had pronounced in the most unmistakeable manner, and in the most intelligible language, a sentence of condemnation on all concerned in getting up this infamous Act — they, the people of a city which would shortly be second to none in importance and influence on the face of the earth. The tidings of this sentence of condemnation on all concerned in this case of public fraud would come like a thunderclap on the Colonial Executive. But the tidings had fallen with heaviest effect on that false old crone, My Grannie O! No wonder she was hurt, no wonder she raved, as she saw that the days of fiddle faddle and of the *Sydney Morning*

Herald were ended! She found that it was men, and no mistake! and not scarecrows, that would henceforth be sent to represent the people. But it was proper to say nothing of the dead; and he would therefore say nothing more about the *Sydney Herald*. (Laughter.) The practical effect of this sentence of condemnation on the framers of the Electoral Act was, that that Act *must* be amended, and amended forthwith. (Cheers.) One of the first duties of the New Council would be to amend that Act, and he was sure his honourable and gallant colleague, who had been sent into Council on this occasion, would hold himself equally bound with him to obtain an immediate amendment of the Electoral Act. The constituencies of Sydney, of the Hamlets, and of the County of Cumberland, were determined to have justice done them as soon as possible. The other anomalous constituencies had been called into existence for the express purpose of giving the Government a larger power than the Act of Parliament contemplated, in the manufacture of Crown nominees. But they would spare no exertions to do away, as speedily as possible, with this sham and mockery. Only when justice was done them in this matter, could they hope to obtain responsible government. If they had responsible government, no doubt the prime mover in this infamous business, the honourable the Colonial Secretary, would have to march out of his place, and make way for some abler and better man. (Cheers.) Not that he (Dr. L.) would let him down completely and suddenly — he would do so gradually and gently — for instance, he would offer him the Professorship of Bunkum in that notable abortion, the Sydney University. (Laughter and cheers.) He congratulated his fellow-citizens on the position which the city had taken up as the political heart of the whole Australian group. They knew it was essential to the right action of the body, that the centre of the system should be healthy. The heart of the colony was in healthy condition, and the blood it would send into the limbs and

branches of the other colonies would infuse new life into the whole political system. Personally, he thanked them for the certificate of character which they had given him, and which he doubted not would serve a future purpose, not only in the colony, but in England, if it should be his fate once more to go home. They were all aware of his efforts to arouse public feeling at home, in order to obtain justice for the colonists of the empire generally; but in making those efforts he had aroused the wrath of the Colonial Office against himself. The certificate of character given him by the city of Sydney would, however, enable him, in the phrase of military men, to open the trenches before Downing Street itself, and its committee of incapables (laughter), and ultimately, he trusted, to carry the place by storm. (Loud cheers.) He recollected that some time after his election for the city last year, some comments had appeared in the London *Daily News*, stating that his election had been accidental, and that the constituency took no part in the extreme views he held, particularly as to the right of a colony to entire freedom and independence (loud cheers), so soon as it was able and willing to manage its own affairs. He had risked his present election, and he knew that he risked it, on a strong expression of this opinion. It was from no feeling of disloyalty that he professed these opinions. God forbid that he should feel disrespect for the authorities of the old fatherland! No one entertained higher sentiments of respect and regard than he did towards Her Majesty the Queen and her royal consort. He contemplated with the greatest pleasure the domestic felicity of that happy family — a family which uniformly set a virtuous example to all around them, which he deeply regretted was not always imitated in the colonies. (Cheers.) But whilst he yielded to no man in respect, in veneration for the constituted authorities of the mother-country, he would never hesitate to express his conviction of the right of any colony of the Crown, as soon as it could stand on its own legs, to entire

freedom and independence. If Great Britain had acted on this principle towards America, she would have saved 150,000,000*l.* of her treasure; she would have spared the spilling of much of the best of her blood, and prevented those feelings of alienation and hatred which prevailed and would still prevail between the two nations. He held that a common language, a common literature, a common law, and a common religion, constituted an infinitely stronger and more binding tie than those which kept them now under the domination of Downing Street; and whenever the day came when they should have a flag of their own—(cheers)—floating over the splendid series of colonies founded in Australia, he felt confident that Great Britain would rejoice with them and say, 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou, Australia, hast excelled them all!' (Immense cheering.)"

W. C. Wentworth, Esq., barrister, a native of the colony, of supereminent talents, but of questionable principles, had always stood highest on the poll before, against all rivals; but as he was supposed at the late election to have sold himself to the Government, by voting as he did for their Electoral Bill, he was left by the indignant citizens at the bottom. As a large number of the middle and industrious classes of the inhabitants of Sydney were absent at the time at the gold mines, one of the two seats for the extensive agricultural county of Durham was kept open till after the election in Sydney, that I might be returned for that county, if thrown out in the capital. I had also been requested to become a candidate for the counties of Northumberland and Hunter, and was promised extensive and active support if I did. I was proposed, without my own previous knowledge, for the united counties of Brisbane, Bligh, and Phillip, and continued an involuntary candidate, till after the Sydney election *: and I was invited to become a

* When the Sydney election was as yet undecided, a paper, of which the following is a copy, was numerously and most respectably signed by the electors of these counties, and afterwards published in the Sydney papers:—

(Copy.)

"We, the undersigned electors of the United Counties of Brisbane, Bligh, and Phillip, being of opinion that the absence of the Rev. Dr. Lang from the Legislative Council would be a severe public calamity, and that such a contingency as his rejection by the constituency of Sydney, although highly improbable, is by no means impossible, hereby determine to exert ourselves to ensure his election for these counties."

candidate for the town of Bathurst, in the midst of the gold mines. I happened to visit that district shortly after the election, and experienced a more cordial reception from the miners generally than any other colonist of any rank or class in society had previously met with; and previous to my leaving the district a public meeting of the miners was held on the plain of Sofala on the Turon River, of which the following account is extracted from the *People's Advocate*, a colonial weekly paper of the 11th October, 1851:—

"Great Public Meeting to address the Rev. Dr. Lang, at the Turon, on Monday, October 6th.

"A public meeting took place at Sofala, Turon River, to present an Address of Congratulation to the Rev. Dr. Lang, M. L. C.; it was numerously and respectably attended. It being generally known that the honourable and reverend gentleman was about to depart for Bathurst, on Monday morning, a large assemblage of diggers collected round his quarters, to testify their respect and esteem for his past political conduct, and to intreat him not to desist from urging upon the people the necessity of large and extensive reforms in our Colonial Government until a greater share of public freedom shall be meted out to them.

"At ten o'clock the meeting assembled in the open air, on the beautiful valley of Sofala, near Burton's Royal Circus.

"After the meeting had been constituted and a chair-

man appointed to preside, the latter, in a concise and appropriate speech introduced the Honourable and Reverend Dr. Lang, M. C. L., to the meeting; who was received with loud cheers.

"It was then proposed by Mr. A. M'Lean, and seconded by Mr. W. Baker, that Mr. Quinn be requested to read the Address which had been prepared by the Turon Gold Miners.

"Mr. James Quinn then came forward and read the

ADDRESS TO THE REV. JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., M.L.C.

"'Rev. Sir,—We, the Gold Miners of Sofala, in public meeting assembled, most respectfully and cordially beg to congratulate you on your first visit to the Turon Diggings, after your triumphant return *at the head of the poll* as Member of the Legislative Council for the City of Sydney.

"'Unlike any of the hypocritical leaders of that base and grovelling faction of obstructionists (now fast falling into decay), your name will henceforth be associated with 'human progress;' it will be a watchword for liberty; and when your career of usefulness shall have been brought to a close, it will occupy a distinguished place in the history of your adopted country.

"'To your immortal honour, you have been the first legislator to promulgate the principles of self-government for this great country,—principles which, from their being based upon equity and the general good of mankind, can never die; but ultimately must preponderate throughout the whole civilized world. Your mission is therefore a noble one, and for this reason we tender you our esteem. You are the Apostle of the Independence of Australia, and this will be the foundation of your future fame.

"'In order to become the wealthiest and most powerful state in the southern hemisphere, all we want is—a liberal and enlightened government, willing to advance

with the spirit of the age; we therefore conjure you to use, in every legal and constitutional way, all your interest, which is great, and all those splendid talents which nature has so plentifully endowed you with, to accomplish this grand object.

"'We sincerely regret that the limited period of your stay amongst us, precludes the possibility of testifying our acknowledgments in any other way than simply presenting you with this short address.

"'May Divine Providence assist you in all your undertakings; and more particularly, when you shall be necessitated to wage political hostilities against the enemies of the young nation of Australia!

"'When you leave here, you may assure yourself, that you will carry with you our warmest wishes for your welfare; and in whatsoever place you may be, we shall, at all times, learn with supreme satisfaction, that you are surrounded by every comfort which can contribute to render your happiness complete.

"'Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

"'JAMES QUINN, Secretary.'

"The Address was read amidst great demonstrations of applause, after which the chairman said: 'Reverend Sir, it is now my pleasing duty to present you with a bag of pure virgin gold, which has just been placed in my hands for your acceptance. It was dug out by the miners contiguous to this spot this morning, and it is almost wet from the cradles.'

"The reverend gentleman then returned the following reply:—

"'Gentlemen,—I cannot but feel exceedingly gratified with the Address which you have now done me the honour to present to me, although I am not vain enough to suppose that I can be at all deserving of the very high terms of commendation in which you have been pleased to allude to my past efforts as a member of the Legislative Council of this Colony.

"'I have simply studied in that capacity to obtain

political justice for my fellow-colonists, believing that in the attainment of that object, the greatest happiness would infallibly be secured for the greatest number; but constituted as our Colonial Legislature has hitherto been, and still is, those who follow such a course will always be left in a very small minority (hear, hear). But the result of the late Sydney election has shown that the principles of public freedom, and of the rights of men, are now at length in the ascendant (cheers); for whereas it was the evident and undoubted object of the Local Government, and their standing majority in the late Council, to frame the recently passed Electoral Act so as to swamp the popular element, and throw the representation as much as possible into the hands of the Government, the largest constituency in the colony has pronounced a sentence of condemnation upon the iniquitous proceeding, which cannot fail to be productive of the most important results for the cause of public freedom and general advancement (loud cheers). Gentlemen, I beg to congratulate you on the recent discovery of gold in this territory, and on the political, as well as the social and economical significance of that wonderful discovery. It will not only prove a source of incalculable wealth to the colony, but ensure to us, at a comparatively early period, a numerous, industrious, and virtuous free immigrant population from our fatherland (hear, hear), and enable us to hold out the right hand of encouragement to myriads of our unfortunate fellow-countrymen at home, who will now gladly cast in their lot with us in this golden land. And it will not fail to accelerate a consummation, for which, in the ordinary course of human affairs, we must all be prepared, whether we desire it or not, — I mean our entire political freedom and national independence (cheers). Gentlemen, it was — partly at least — to see with my own eyes this great exhibition, and thereby to have it in my power to offer an intelligent opinion on any question connected with it that may come

before the New Council, that I was induced to visit the gold regions before the opening of the Legislature. I need not say that, from all I have seen, I have been gratified beyond my own highest anticipations; and when I look around me, and see so numerous, so peaceful, and so orderly a community, formed instantaneously, as it were, from such heterogeneous materials, I cannot but feel proud of my adopted country (much cheering), — I cannot but anticipate for its inhabitants the highest destiny that can await any people in the whole civilized world (enthusiastic cheers). Gentlemen, I beg to bid you farewell; and while I thank you for the substantial testimonial which you have presented me, I cannot but feel exceedingly grateful for your kind wishes on my behalf. I beg, in return, you will receive my best wishes for your success, and that of all your fellow labourers, in the important enterprise in which you are engaged; and if it should be within the compass of my humble abilities as a member of the Legislative Council to contribute in any way to your comfort and welfare, you may rest assured that no effort will be wanting on my part.'

"When the Rev. gentleman finished his reply, three hearty cheers were given. Some grievances were reported, in reference to the post-office, and other irregularities; then the meeting, after seeing the honourable and Rev. Member mount his horse and start for Bathurst, peacefully separated."

These expressions of public opinion, to which I should certainly never have adverted had it not been absolutely necessary in order to counteract the influence and effect of whole quires of misrepresentation and falsehood, that will doubtless be transmitted to England respecting myself and my procedure, from the highest places in the colony, will incontestibly prove that the opinions which I have advocated in this volume, and which I had taken repeated opportunities of advocating in the colony, both in lectures and from the press, for upwards of a twelvemonth before

the discovery of gold in New South Wales, are not those of an insignificant handful of low people, as they will doubtless be represented, from Government House and elsewhere, but those of a large proportion of the intellectual and moral worth of the Australian community. Let it be remembered by all whom it concerns, that "the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were not a little promoted by the pernicious counsels and *erroneous information* transmitted to the English ministry by the governors of those provinces in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the King."*

But I am not singular in holding the opinions I advocate, as to the inherent and indefeasible right of any community, such as a British colony, able and willing to sustain and protect itself, to declare its entire freedom and independence. The Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, President of the College of Princeton, New Jersey, in America, had only been six years out of Scotland, where he had previously been one of the most eminent parochial ministers in that country, when he was elected a member of the first National Congress of the United States, and signed the famous declaration of independence at Philadelphia, in the year 1776.† The sentiments of Dr. Witherspoon, and

* Grahame, vol. i. 389.

† I was told by persons of the highest intelligence in America, when in that country in the year 1840, that, next to Washington, there was no man to whom the Americans considered themselves more deeply indebted for the achievement of their national freedom and independence, than Dr. Witherspoon. His high character and eminent talents had given effectual support to the cause of freedom, which he had embraced at an early period in their great national struggle; and during the subsequent progress of that struggle, when things were at the gloomiest, and not a few even of his coadjutors were ready to give up the contest as utterly hopeless, Dr. Witherspoon repeatedly reanimated their drooping spirits, and encouraged them to those renewed efforts which were ultimately crowned with success. But no sooner were the liberties of his country effectually secured, than, without looking for either office or emolument for himself, he returned, like an old Roman, to his quiet college, and even volunteered a pilgrimage to Scotland, where his name and character had always stood very high, to engage ministers, and candidates for the ministry, for those parts of his adopted country which had been left desolate by the war, and to collect funds for their settlement.

It is somewhat remarkable that one of my own earliest recollections should have been connected with the memory of this great and good man, and especially with that event of his life to which I have just alluded. My mother, who was born in the year 1770, used to tell me, when a little boy, that the first Charity Sermon she ever heard was one preached in the open air at Beith, in Ayrshire, Scotland, where she was then on a visit to a relative, by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, *from America*. She was fourteen years of age at the time, which must consequently have been in the year 1784, the year after the Peace. Dr. Witherspoon had been the parish minister of Beith many years before; and the concourse of people from the surrounding country was so great on the occasion, that the parish church could not hold them, and the service had to be held in an adjoining field, where Dr. W. preached from a moveable pulpit, or as it is technically called, in the west of Scotland, *a tent*. My mother used to describe to me his venerable appearance and snow-white locks, and the peculiarly impressive character of his oratory, the whole scene having evidently made a deep and indelible impression upon her mind. I was afterwards at school for a short time in Beith, and the schoolmaster, in whose house I resided, had the same feeling of veneration for the memory of Dr. Witherspoon. These apparently trivial circumstances naturally led me at an after period to enquire into the public career of Dr. Witherspoon, and may perhaps have had some influence in shaping out my own.

also of the celebrated John Wesley, on the relations of mother-countries and their full-grown colonies, will appear from the following extract from the able and excellent historian of America:—

"It was the opinion of Dr. Witherspoon and many other persons of sincere and profound piety in America, that when collisions arise between different authorities in the same empire, every man possesses the right of choos-

ing which side he shall support, bounded by the duty of consulting the interests of religion and liberty, and of respecting the opinions and wishes of the majority of the community. The scriptural precepts referred to by the Quakers and other advocates of submission, they thought were intended (in so far as their application might be supposed universal) to inculcate the duty without defining the limits of obedience to civil authority, and to recommend a peaceable, moderate, and contented disposition, and averseness to wanton and unnecessary change. John Wesley was at first opposed, upon religious principles, to American resistance, and in letters to the Methodists in America, endeavoured without effect to dissuade them from embracing the cause of their country. But *he very soon changed his opinion, and even encouraged the Americans to revolt by expressions of his good wishes and approbation.*"*

Section V. — The Duty of Great Britain in this Crisis.

"It is the *trade* of the colonies," observed the citizens of Boston nearly a century ago, "that renders them beneficial to the mother-country: *our trade, as it is now, and always has been conducted, centres in Great Britain.*"†

"King Tullius (in Dion. Hali.) says, we look upon it to be neither truth nor justice, *that mother-cities ought of necessity and by the law of nature to rule over their colonies.*"‡

"If a dominant country," observes Mr. Cornewall Lewis, with equal truth and honesty, "understood the true nature of the advantages arising from the relation of

* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States*, iv. 315. Also, Southey's *Life of Wesley.*

† *Instructions to the Representatives of the City of Boston, in the Legislature of Massachusetts*, May, 1764.

‡ Grotius, *de Jure Belli*, &c., b. 2. c. 9. sec. 10.

supremacy and dependence to the related communities, it would voluntarily recognise the legal independence of such of its own dependencies as were fit for independence; it would, by its political arrangements, study to prepare for independence those which were still unable to stand alone; and it would seek to promote colonization for the purpose of extending its trade rather than its empire, and without attempting to maintain the dependence of its colonies beyond the time when they need its protection."*

"Under the present system of management," observes the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, "Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion she assumes over her colonies."†

To the same effect Mr. Roebuck observes, as follows, although he could scarcely have anticipated the event that will enable Australia so speedily to realise his prediction, and to take her place in the great family of nations: —

"The colonies, which we are founding in America, Australasia, and Africa, will, probably, at some future day, be powerful nations, who will also be unwilling to remain in subjection to any rule but their own. But this withdrawal from our metropolitan rule ought not to offend or wound us as a nation; we should feel in this case as a parent feels when a child has reached unto manhood — becomes his own master, forms his own separate household, and becomes, in his turn, the master of a family. The ties of affection remain — the separation is not the cause or the effect of hostility. Thus should it be with a mother-country and her colonies. Having founded them, and brought them to a sturdy maturity, she should be proud to see them honestly glorying in their strength, and wishing for independence. Having looked forward to this time as sure to come, she should prepare for it. She should make such arrangements in her system as to put

* *Essay on the Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornewall Lewis, Esq., p. 334. London, 1841.

† *Wealth of Nations*, c. vii.

all things in order for this coming change in the colony's condition, so that independence may be acquired and friendship retained. The colony would, in such a case, continue to feel towards the mother-country with kindness and respect; a close union would exist between them, and all their mutual relations would be so ordered as to conduce to the welfare of both."*

I am therefore decidedly of opinion that it is alike the interest and the duty of Great Britain, in accordance with the recommendations of these eminent writers, to initiate at once the series of measures that are needful to ensure the entire freedom and independence of the Australian colonies. But in whatever manner this opinion may be regarded, and this advice received, it is doubtless a very remarkable fact in British history, that precisely the same opinion was entertained, and precisely similar advice unsuccessfully tendered, in the case of America, by a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, eighty years ago.

"Only one Englishman at this crisis," (anno 1771) observes the historian of America, "had the sagacity to perceive that the views and pretensions of Britain and America were quite incompatible, and that, in the warmth of the controversy, these conflicting views had been so far disclosed and matured, that a cordial reconciliation was no longer possible. This was Dr. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, one of the most learned and ingenious writers on commerce and political economy that England has ever produced. With a boldness equal to the comprehension of his views, he openly recommended, in several tracts which he published about this time, an entire separation of the two countries, and a formal recognition of the independence of the American States. The doctrine which he inculcated was, that *when colonies have reached such a*

* *The Colonies of England.* By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p 170.

degree of wealth and population as to be able to support themselves, the authority of the parent State whence they emanated, must necessarily be trivial and precarious; and that, consequently, in all cases of this kind, it is the dictate of prudence and sound policy that the parties, instead of waiting to be separated by emergent quarrel and strife, should dissolve their connexion by mutual consent. Such, he contended, was now the situation of the British colonies in America; and in urging upon Britain the consequent policy of releasing them from further controul, he maintained with much force and good sense that this measure would be attended with a great alleviation of the national expense, without any real diminution of the national gain. For this unpalatable counsel the doctor was regarded as a wild visionary, both by those of his countrymen who supported, and by those who opposed the measures of their Government. But time illustrated his views and honoured his wisdom."*

The celebrated Edmund Burke, and the distinguished ethical writer, Soame Jenyns, both threw all the influence of their names and their fame at this period into the scale of war with America — the former characterising the truly politic and patriotic scheme of Dean Tucker as puerile and childish; and the latter showing up the Americans in a poem, after expatiating for a while over the wide fields of freedom, *voluntarily throwing themselves back once more into the arms of Britain!* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that this poetical fancy was but indifferently realised. These distinguished men proved "blind leaders of the blind," and the nation, under their guidance, "fell into the ditch." Dean Tucker's was the true wisdom, because it was in accordance with the law of nature and the ordinance of God; and it is sin-

* *History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies till their Revolt and Declaration of Independence.* By James Grahame, Esq., 1836, vol. iv. 307.

An Act of Parliament adopting the principle of these Resolutions would provide for the establishment of a

which are now of indispensable necessity for the general welfare, through its instrumentality.

4. That this meeting is decidedly of opinion that the time has arrived when the present Legislative Council should be superseded by a Legislature to consist of Two Houses, both exclusively elective, viz., a House of Representatives, to be chosen on the principle of Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, and Equal Electoral Districts, and to subsist for Two Years; and a Senate, to be elected by the said House of Representatives, for Six Years, so that each house of representatives, after the first election of senators, shall have the power to elect one-third of the whole number of senators; provided only that every such senator shall have attained the fiftieth year of his age, and shall have been previously elected a member of the House of Representatives.

5. That this meeting desires to express its entire concurrence in the resolutions proposed by Robert Lowe, Esq., late member of the Legislative Council for this city, viz. "That no form of constitution for the colony of New South Wales would be acceptable, permanent, or beneficial, which did not embrace the following requisites, viz.:—

I. An explicit recognition of the right of the colonists of New South Wales to have their government administered by persons responsible to their representatives.

II. A Governor removeable by the vote of the Colonial Legislature, and invested with all colonial patronage.

III. An Elective Assembly in which no person nominated by the Crown shall have a seat.

IV. The placing the sum of 81,000*l.* contained in the schedules A. B. and C. appended to the Act 5 and 6 Victoria, chap. 76., together with the expenses of the Customs Department, at the disposal of such assembly.

V. The repeal of the 5 and 6 Victoria, chap. 76., and the transfer to the Local Government and Legislature of the management of the waste lands of the colony, and the revenue derived from them.

6. That as it is extremely probable that parliamentary proceedings, involving the rights and interests of the people of this colony, will be instituted by the Imperial Government during the next session of Parliament, in consequence of the tidings of the discovery of the Australian gold mines, it is the opinion of this meeting that these resolutions should be forwarded to England by some fit and proper

House of Assembly and Senate in each colony or province; the former to be elected by the colonists in the manner indicated in the Resolutions referred to; and the latter by the House of Assembly. To the legislature so formed should be surrendered all the revenues arising from all sources whatsoever, within the particular colony or province (*with the exception of the revenues arising from the sale or occupation of the Waste Lands*), and the entire control over all such revenues, together with all the other powers of government necessary for the constitution of a provincial legislature. The proposed Act would therefore provide a constitution of precisely the same form and character for the five colonies or provinces of New South Wales; Van Dieman's Land; South Australia; Victoria, or Port Phillip; and Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country; to be afterwards extended to the other two colonies or provinces to be formed to the northward — say Leichartsland, extending to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and Flindersland, comprising the peninsula of Cape York; in all seven colonies or provinces.

The proposed Act should also contain a proviso, authorising Her Majesty, in the event of not fewer than four or five of these colonies or provinces agreeing to form a General Government for the whole, on a certain basis to be indicated, and on certain conditions to be specified, to recognize the said General or National Government, and to grant entire freedom and independence to the whole Australian Union.

The General or National Government should consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, with a President and Vice President, and have controul over all Foreign relations, the Public Lands, and the Post Office—in short, over all matters of strictly national concernment. The

person duly authorized to advocate and support the same, both with the Imperial Government and with the British public.

(Signed) W. Thurlow,

27*th December*, 1851. *Mayor of Sydney.*

National Legislature I would designate, neither after the American, nor after the French — a Congress or a National Assembly — but after the British example, a Parliament. The House of Representatives should represent the population of the Union; each province returning a number of members equal to the multiple it should contain of a certain minimum amount of population —say ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand: the Senate should represent the different provinces on a footing of perfect equality; each province returning the same number of senators—say three or five. The senators of the National Parliament I would propose to be elected by the Senate and House of Representatives of each province, meeting together for that express purpose in the same hall, as is customary on certain prescribed occasions in the Norwegian Storthing.

The reasons why I would reserve for the General or National Government the entire controul of the Public Lands are,

1. It would be absolutely necessary for the National Government to have such controul, in order to enable it to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Independence to be hereafter specified; for that Treaty could only be made with the National Government, and not with that of any particular province.

2. It would prevent the enactment of injudicious and probably wasteful measures, in regard to the disposal of the waste lands, which might otherwise be passed by some of the provincial legislatures; for this is just the point on which a check would require to be placed upon the action of these legislatures by the national mind.

3. It would introduce uniformity of system and of action throughout the Union, in regard to the disposal of Public Lands; and,

4. It would greatly strengthen the National Government, and form a national bond of union.

The National Government would therefore have the controul of the entire revenue arising from the sales of

public lands throughout the Union; with this proviso, however, that the revenues arising from this source in any particular province should be expended in emigration or otherwise for that province exclusively. It would also have to decide on all questions as to the price of land and the mode of sale; the circumstances of every particular case or province to be taken into account. A Land Office would thus be created by the National Government in each province, and be independent of the Provincial Legislature.

Section VI. — Proposed Conditions of the Treaty of Independence — Half of the Land Revenue to be appropriated for the Promotion of Emigration from Great Britain.

As one of the main objects of colonization is to provide an eligible outlet for the redundant population of the mother-country, I would take it for granted that Great Britain would never concede independence to any colony, or group of colonies, at all adapted for such a purpose, without providing for the carrying out of this great object as fully as if the colony, or group of colonies, had continued a dependency or group of dependencies. And it is chiefly on the vast importance of such an arrangement to Great Britain, and the unspeakable advantage she would gain in this particular from the proposed change in the condition of her colonies, that I would base any hope I have of the favourable entertainment of my proposal in influential quarters.

The particular reasons why it would not be expedient for Great Britain to surrender the controul of the waste lands to the provincial governments, are, *First*, that if these lands were to be surrendered unconditionally to the provincial governments, these governments might determine that no part of the proceeds arising from their sale should be appropriated for the promotion of immigration *:

* The following extract of a letter from Earl Grey to the Governor of New South Wales, of date, "Downing Street, 27th May, 1851,"

and *Second*, that even although the provincial governments might appropriate a portion of the land revenue for immigration, the probability is that there would be no restriction imposed as to where the immigrants should come from; so that Great Britain would reap no *special* advantage from the arrangement, and might possibly be excluded from *any* advantage from it through the competition of foreigners. Ideas of this kind have of late, and especially since the discovery of gold, been put forth again and again in New South Wales; and I have oftener than once incurred some degree of obloquy myself, in the Legislative Council of that colony, for insisting, as I have uniformly done, that the waste lands are *not* the property of the actual colonists, as certain influential members of Council are in the habit of regarding them, but of the British empire, — to be administered, however, for the mutual advantage of the mother-country and the colony. At the late general election in New South Wales, several of the candidates put forth the idea that as the discovery of gold would send out plenty of emigrants to the colony, no part of the land fund ought in future to be appropriated for immigration purposes, but that the whole of it should be applied for the construction of roads and bridges,

embodies a Resolution of the Legislative Council of that colony, on the appropriation of the Land Revenue: —

"I have received your Despatch No. 239. of the 31st December last, forwarding an Address from the Legislative Council of New South Wales to the Queen, setting forth the amount expended upon Immigration from the Land Fund since the year 1836, and the debt incurred upon it for the same object, setting forth the advantages derived from that outlay to the Mother Country, and urging that it is no part of the duty of the Colonists to pay for the importation of Emigrants."— *Council Paper.*

There is no proposition or observation of mine in this whole volume that breathes such a spirit of alienation, and, I will add, of hostility towards Great Britain and her interests, as this Resolution of the Legislative Council of New South Wales: and the circumstance serves to show what Great Britain would have to expect from surrendering the Waste Lands to the Local Legislatures, without the security I propose.

&c. But Great Britain has a deep interest in preventing any such measure from being carried, — she has a deep interest, on behalf of her industrious and virtuous poor, in insisting upon the continuance of the present arrangement for the appropriation of one-half of the land fund for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom.

I am therefore decidedly of opinion that Great Britain should on no account surrender the controul of the waste lands to any mere provincial legislature, and that she should make it a *sine quâ non*, in a Treaty of Independence with the General or National Government, that one-half of the proceeds of the sales of all waste lands throughout the Union, should be appropriated as at present for the promotion of emigration from Great Britain and Ireland; the price of the land to be fixed, either permanently or from time to time, by the National Government, and the emigrants to be carried out from the proceeds of the land revenue, to be selected under the superintendence of fit and proper persons possessing the confidence of the legislature or government of each particular province.

This arrangement would effectually ensure a thoroughly British population for the Australian provinces, which, I confess, — with the best possible feelings towards foreigners of all nations, — I regard as a matter of essential importance for their welfare and advancement. Under such an arrangement also, the National Government of the Australian Union would virtually be a mere *agency*, and as far as the mother-country is concerned, an *unpaid agency*, for carrying out the first grand object of colonization for Great Britain; viz., the providing of an eligible outlet for her redundant population. The Australian provinces would therefore, although formally free and independent, be in reality a series of *tributary states* to Great Britain; paying her a large amount of *tribute* for the promotion of emigration from her shores every year: for although the benefit would be mutual and equal, the arrangement would necessarily take the form

of a large annual contribution to the British treasury from Australia — probably not less in amount than a million a year.

I can imagine no difficulty whatever in the way of the carrying out of such an arrangement as I propose, or of the creation of the requisite guarantees to ensure the fulfilment of the proposed condition. Great Britain would have this completely in her own power, and could easily enforce the fulfilment of such a condition, if there were the slightest disposition exhibited on the part of the Australian government to set aside the treaty. But this is scarcely conceivable; for the arrangement would be so beneficial to both parties that there could be no disposition to withdraw from the terms of the engagement. I would limit the arrangement, however, to the period of FIFTY YEARS. If at the close of that period, a future generation of Australians should deem it expedient to renew the treaty, on the same conditions, they would have it in their power to do so; but if not, they would be free to do as they pleased. And in the mean time, I can think of nothing that would be likely to interrupt the friendly intercourse that would be sure to subsist between the two countries, on a basis of such reciprocal advantage.

I am happy to find a confirmation of some at least of these views in the following passages of the work of G. C. Lewis, Esq., to which I have already repeatedly referred. I concur entirely with Mr. Lewis in the view he takes of the vast importance of colonization for the advancement of mankind; and it is for this reason that I would endeavour above all things to obtain a thoroughly British population for the colonies of Australia; for how good soever other people may be, "There's nae folk like our ain folk,"* for the *heroic work* of colonization. I was told by a gentleman in Sydney recently from San Francisco, that about a third of the inhabitants of that city

* Old Scotch Song.

are French immigrants: I confess I should be sorry, on various accounts, to see such a proportion of foreigners, even from *La belle France*, in any city of Australia. I trust also that Mr. Lewis will recognize, in the plan I have just sketched out, as favourable a prospect for extensive and efficient colonization as has ever been submitted to the British nation. But I shall recur to this part of the subject more particularly in the sequel.

"The system of defraying the expenses of emigrants from the proceeds of the sale of public lands in the colony *does not necessarily suppose that the new settlement is a dependency of the country which sends out the emigrants.* If it were advantageous for a new settlement to employ a portion of its public revenues (whether arising from the sale of lands or from any other source) in procuring immigrants, its government would naturally devote a portion of its revenues to this purpose, whether the settlement were independent or dependent."

"On reviewing the history of the Greek colonies, the conquests of Alexander and of the Romans, and the settlements of the modern European nations in Asia, Africa, America and Australia, it will be seen that the advancement of mankind is to be expected rather from the diffusion of civilized nations than from the improvement of barbarous or half civilized tribes. The promotion of successful colonization is, therefore, one of the best means of advancing and diffusing civilization, and raising the general condition of mankind; and whoever can devise or carry into execution any effectual means for facilitating and improving it, is among the greatest benefactors of his race. But *there is nothing in the colonial relation which implies that the colony must be a dependency of the mother-country; nor generally is it expedient that such a relation should exist, even in the case of a newly founded Settlement.*"*

* *Essay on the Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornewall Lewis, Esq., p. 235.

SECTION VII.—PROPOSED CONDITIONS OF THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE CONTINUED—NO HOSTILE TARIFF, NO CUSTOM-HOUSE.

The second of the grand objects of colonization is the creation of a market for the surplus produce and manufactures of the mother-country; and I should consider it expedient and necessary for Great Britain, in conceding entire freedom and independence to any of her full grown colonies, to make effectual provision, in any Treaty of Independence, that no hostile tariff should be established against her in the country acquiring its freedom, for a certain fixed period at least—say FIFTY YEARS.

But although it would be expedient and necessary for Great Britain to insist upon such a provision for her own interest, I would by no means propose it on the part of the colonies as a special exemption in her favour. On the contrary, I would propose, as a measure of the best possible policy for the future good government of the Australian provinces, that all import duties, and other restrictions on the importation of goods of any description from all foreign parts, should forthwith be discontinued, and all custom-houses abolished.*

* Mr. Roebuck proposes, in his scheme of *Municipal Independence*, which is rather *a post too late now for Australia*, that the same privilege, as I propose should be guaranteed by treaty, should be secured by Act of Parliament. "Neither for purposes of regulation or taxation should any power be given to tax the produce and manufactures of the mother-country or of her colonies; and the mother-country ought to resolve not to tax the produce of the colonies."—*The Colonies of England.* By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p. 153. But *he would allow the colonies to tax the productions of other countries as much as they pleased.* Now this is too bad, Mr. Roebuck! To use the language of the poet:

"Free as the winds, and changeless as the sea,
Should trade and commerce unrestricted be.

As a proposition of this kind may at first sight seem somewhat startling, it may not be out of place to ascertain the grounds on which it may nevertheless be urged with the utmost propriety.

1. It can be no reason, therefore, why there should be a custom-house in Australia, for the levying of duties on foreign trade, that there is one in England, another in France, and a third in the United States. The circumstances of the countries contrasted, in each of these cases, with Australia, may be totally different from ours. There is an Established Church, for instance, in England, and *one in Ireland, too;* there is an immense standing army in France; and there is the institution of slavery—worst of all—in the United States: but what need have *we*, in Australia, for any of these *transmarine institutions?* Besides, the universality, whether of a custom, or of a custom-house, is no better argument for its propriety, than its great antiquity: and it is well observed by an able French writer, "Ancient customs are sometimes nothing but great abuses, which are only the more dangerous the more respectable they are considered."* A country overburdened like Great Britain with debt and taxation, could scarcely give up her custom-house with safety to the State; but what has that to do with the case of Australia? We should not even desire to be exempted

Wherever land is found, or oceans roll,
Or man exists from Indus to the Pole,
Open to all, with no false ties to bind,
The world should be the market of mankind."

* "Les anciennes coûtumes ne sont quelquefois que de grands abus, d'autant plus dangereux qu'on les croit plus respectables."—*L'Abbé Millot.* To the same effect, the celebrated Christian Father, Cyprian, in his Epistle to Stephen, bishop of Rome, when testifying against Roman traditions, observes, "Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est."—*Custom, without truth for its basis, is merely the antiquity of error.* The same excellent observation will apply equally to custom-houses.

from customs' duties on Australian produce in England, as Mr. Roebuck proposes for the colonies, on the reciprocity system. We should only desire to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation. *

2. Custom-houses are a great obstacle in the way of trade, and frequently a perfect *incubus* upon it. It is universally acknowledged that the public lose far more in the additional price they have to pay for their taxed commodities, than the State derives from the taxes in the shape of duties: and all this loss has to be sustained by the community. †

* It is somewhat singular that in one of the most ancient treaties of peace and commerce in existence—viz. between the Carthaginians and Romans,—free-trade and no customs' duties forms one of the stipulations. Polybius (Book 3. chap. 22.) has preserved a copy of a treaty of peace and commerce between the Romans and Carthaginians, concluded so early as in the year after the expulsion of the kings of Rome, under the consulship of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, that is, 28 years before the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and 246 from the building of Rome. It is remarkable for the entire freedom of trade which it establishes between the rival republics, while it jealously guards against expeditions of war or invasion. The Free-trade proviso, translated into Latin by Isaac Casaubon, is as follows:—

"Qui ad mercaturam venerint, ii vectigal nullum pendunto, extra quam ad præconis aut scribæ mercedem." *Let those* [Romans] *who come* [to Carthage] *for purposes of trade, pay no customs' duties, with the exception of the fees of the auctioneer and clerk of the market.*

† "The last remedy which I would propose is one which I feel persuaded would not only be attended with beneficial results to New Zealand, but also to all the Australian colonies:—it is the doing away with the Customs, and declaring the ports of New Zealand free. The impetus that such a measure as this would give to trade in this and the neighbouring colonies is incalculable. The loss in revenue could easily and equitably be made up by means of a property and income tax, which I doubt not the people would cheerfully pay. The present taxes on imported goods are made to press heavily on the honest trader alone, the facilities for smuggling being so great in a country possessing such fine harbours, and such an extensive coast line as New Zealand as to require a more efficient Coast Guard than that of England or Ireland for its prevention.

3. The taxes levied through the custom-house are unequal in their pressure, and consequently unjust in their operation: they are paid chiefly by the humbler classes, who are least able to bear them. The industrious mechanic consumes perhaps as much sugar and tea as the squire himself, especially if his wife happens to be a tidy body, and at all fastidious in her taste; but he virtually contributes greatly more to the State.

4. The cost of an efficient custom-house establishment for such a country as Australia would be enormous, and out of all proportion to the amount of revenue to be derived from it. Already the cost of the custom-house establishment at Twofold Bay, in New South Wales, exceeds the whole amount of the duties received by it; and there are several suspicious places along the coast that must be vigilantly watched, and defended by a custom-house force, without the least prospect of duties, in the way of a Preventive Service. Such a service, for a coast line of several thousand miles in extent, with numberless bays, creeks, and roadsteads, would be greatly too costly for any country, but especially for a young country to bear.

5. The custom-house system is already interfering materially with the productive industry of the colonies, and promoting extensive demoralization. The cultivation of the vine, for example, is now becoming both extensive and profitable in New South Wales; but it is found, in the process of wine-making, that much of an inferior quality has to be made into brandy, as for instance when the grapes happen to have been saturated with rain. But the Government derives an import duty on all French brandy imported, and to prevent the diminution of the

To such an extent is smuggling carried on in the article of tobacco alone that a short time ago it could in this country be bought at 10*d.* per pound, duty paid, or said to be paid, while the duty itself was a shilling."—*New Zealand in* 1842, *or the Effects of a bad Government on a good Country.* By S. M. D. Martin, M. D., Auckland, New Zealand, 1842.

revenue derivable from this source, which would be a serious matter for a Government with so much unnecessary and expensive machinery to keep up, the colonist is actually prohibited from making brandy for sale from his own vineyard, *lest he should interfere with the importation from France!* So preposterous a system can only have one result — illicit distillation and extensive demoralization — and accordingly a considerable seizure of colonial brandy was effected, just before I left the colony. It was coming to Sydney, from one of the northern settlements, *under the denomination of tallow!*

6. Revenue, arising from indirect taxation, always holds out a strong temptation to unnecessary and extravagant expenditure; and has uniformly been the egg from which the ill-omened bird, War, has been hatched by unjust and dishonest statesmen.

7. The amount of patronage which a custom-house system would throw into the hands of the executive would be dangerous to the character, as well as to the stability and permanence, of the national institutions. This is deeply felt already in the United States, and it will be much more so by and by.

8. A custom-house system for the Australian provinces would be quite unnecessary; as a revenue of sufficient amount for the support both of the provincial and national governments could be raised by other means, and from other sources, with perfect facility. It is scarcely necessary, however, to indicate these means and sources at present.

9. In the event of the revenue required for the support of Government being raised as at present, through a custom-house, it would be impossible to ensure such a distribution of the public expenditure as to prove satisfactory to all parties. For example, the district of Hunter's River, in New South Wales, contributes very largely to the public revenue, but has hitherto obtained only a very small share of the public expenditure. This, it must be

evident, cannot be tolerated long; and accordingly, in the year 1850, one of the members for that district, Donald M'Intyre, Esq., a gentleman of liberal opinions, who had previously resided for many years in the United States, and had seen and experienced the benefits and blessings of the State governments of that country, told the Council very plainly that, if the district he represented were not more equitably treated in future, it would demand separation from New South Wales, like Port Phillip. But if there were no indirect taxation, the money raised in each district for public improvements would generally be expended in that district under the eye of those who raised it: they would consequently have no ground of complaint against other districts, and they would doubtless look very carefully after the expenditure of their own money.

10. The absence of such a system would render it comparatively easy to extend the National Government over any number of additional provinces, to be formed, for instance, among the islands of the Western Pacific, which might be the subject of future and progressive *annexation*; but with a custom-house system of the usual character, such an extension of the area of the National Government would be neither practicable nor desirable.

Section VIII. — Reasons why the extent of Territory suggested is desirable for the General or National Government.

I have already observed that the provinces which ought to be comprised in the Australian Union, under the style and title of "The Seven United Provinces of Australia," are, 1st. New South Wales; 2d. Van Dieman's Land; 3d. South Australia; 4th. Victoria or Port Phillip; 5th. Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country; 6th. Leichartsland, or the country intervening between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Gulph of Car-

pentaria; and 7th. Flindersland, or the Peninsula of Cape York. The first four of these have all been duly constituted and recognised as separate and distinct colonies, and the fifth has already applied to be recognised and admitted into the group as a separate and independent colony. But why, it may be asked, why require a further extension of territory, still waste and unoccupied? I answer — for the following reasons: —

1st. It will be comparatively easy to colonize the two northern provinces — Leichartsland and Flindersland — from the southern colonies; but it would be hopeless to attempt to colonize them direct from England, in consequence of the low latitudes in which they lie. The sheep and cattle of the actual colonists have already reached the Tropic of Capricorn; they will speedily cross that imaginary line, and occupy the whole intervening country between the Tropic and the Gulf; and the stream of colonization will naturally follow them in their track to the northward, the colonists becoming gradually acclimatized as they advance northwards; for the climate is salubrious enough, although rather hot.

2d. It is indispensably necessary for the progress of colonization in Australia, and especially for the trade and commerce of the actual colonies, to have free access overland, from the southward and eastward respectively, to the Gulf of Carpentaria, without passing through Torres Straits. In connection with such lines of communication, from the southern colonies, the head of that Gulf will be a great centre point of future colonization, as well as of commerce, for Australia; but such a system of operations could not be worked well separately or in different hands. The colonization of Flindersland, or the Peninsula of Cape York, is likely to take place in the first instance along its western shore from the head of the Gulf. Leichartsland will in all likelihood be colonized immediately, both from the head of the Gulf and along the Pacific. "The Seven United Provinces" would therefore comprise the whole

eastern coast-line from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land to Cape York, with a port or outlet on the Gulf of Carpentaria.

3d. It is neither expedient nor desirable that, in conceding entire freedom and independence to any of her colonies that have reached their majority, Great Britain should allow them to form a number of petty independent States, like the ancient Republics of Greece. It will be far preferable for themselves, and for the interests of humanity, that wherever their actual circumstances and relative situations shall admit of such an arrangement, they should form one large State, through a confederation of separate and independent provinces, like the United States. As separate and independent States, the present Australian colonies would be comparatively insignificant, and would have no weight or influence in the family of nations; but seven such provinces united, with the whole eastern coast of Australia for their coast-line towards the Pacific, would at once form the first power in the southern hemisphere, and prove, as I shall show presently, a formidable rival (and the only formidable rival that great country is ever likely to have out of Europe) even to the United States.

Section IX. — Reasons why Great Britain should legislate at once in this matter.

It will doubtless be urged, by the advocates of "things as they are," against any immediate interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament, that "We have sent out a Constitution to the Australian colonies very lately. Let them try how it works, and report progress by and by." But there are times and seasons when *delays are* not only impolitic, but *dangerous;* and I am persuaded this is one of them. For,

1st. The Constitution of 1850 is discreditable in the

highest degree to the Imperial Parliament, and an insult and outrage upon the whole intelligence and moral worth of the Australian colonies. To allege, as was virtually done by the Imperial Parliament, that we, the British colonists of Australia, required to be "cribbed, cabined, and confined," under such a Constitution, as if we were either dangerous lunatics, or worthless knaves, who could not be trusted with the management even of our own money, is rather too much, in the way of Imperial assumption, for the middle of the nineteenth century. To abstract nearly a third of our Ordinary Revenue, and to appropriate it at pleasure, without our consent or concurrence; to vitiate our legislature by assuming the right to nominate a third of its members, that is, *to nominate men to tax the people*, in direct opposition to one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, — this, I repeat it, is rather too much, even for the Antipodes, especially since the gold discovery, which has wonderfully quickened men's apprehensions in these matters. In short, this Parliamentary Constitution, as it is somewhat facetiously called, of 1850, has been received, as it well deserved to be, with extreme dissatisfaction by the colonists of New South Wales; and but for their good feeling towards the people of Port Phillip, for whom it provided a separate government, which had become indispensably necessary, and for its solitary redeeming feature in lowering the franchise to a ten pound rate, they would have thrown it back at its authors with the scorn and contempt which it merited.*

* It was very discreditable to the Imperial Parliament of 1850, that the Constitution, forsooth! which it granted to the Australian colonies, *at the bidding of the Colonial Office*, should have been so exceedingly inferior to the one granted, a hundred and ninety years ago, by King Charles the Second, to the colony of Jamaica. I quote the following notice from the well-known historian of the West Indies:—"In the year 1661, Charles II. appointed General D'Oyley Governor of Jamaica; ordering him to erect courts of judicature, and, *with the advice of a council to be elected by the inhabitants*, to pass laws suitable to the exigencies of the colony."—*Bryan Edwards*, vol. i. p. 215. The patent of Barbadoes was somewhat similar.—*Id.* 320, 321.

2d. No doubt the Constitution of 1850 provided for its own progressive improvement, through the Local Legislature; but to bid the colonists look to that Legislature for any satisfactory improvement or amendment of the Constitution, when it consisted, to the extent of one-third, of Government Nominees, and to a much larger extent of men who were completely at the beck of the Local Executive, was adding insult to injury. Let the reader imagine, if he can, what can be expected in the way of reform, on the part of a Legislature which could be guilty of the political swindling and knavery so indignantly denounced, as follows, by the citizens of Sydney, at the public meeting before referred to, held on the 27th of December last.

"That this meeting desires to record its solemn and indignant protest against the gross injustice perpetrated upon the people of this colony by the Local Government and its standing majority in the late Legislative Council, in the recent Electoral Act; whereby the city of Sydney, the Sydney Hamlets, and the County of Cumberland, comprising upwards of three-eighths, that is, nearly one-half of the whole population and property of the colony, have only had one-sixth of the Representation allotted them, while the other five-eighths have had five-sixths; nearly one-half of the whole population being thereby defrauded of their proper share of the Representation, and a mock Representation created for the other half, in direct opposition to the spirit and intention of the Constitutional Act of the Imperial Parliament."

In such circumstances, it surely becomes the Imperial Parliament to interfere for the protection of the Australian people, by giving them a Constitution really worthy of the name.

3d. If it is desirable for Great Britain herself, as well as for Australia and the whole civilized world, that Eastern Australia, in the event of the actual colonies becoming free and independent, should form one Great Nation, instead of a series of small ones, she must provide for that issue beforehand, in the way I have suggested; for otherwise, there is not the least likelihood of its being realized at all. Under the present colonial system, there are always petty jealousies subsisting between the different colonies, even of the same group; which, if they were all free and independent, would prove a source of repulsion rather than of attraction. The Power that is to fuse them into one homogeneous mass must therefore be exerted from without. For example, the people of Port Phillip have hitherto had a substantial grievance to complain of, in regard to New South Wales, from the fact of a large portion of their land revenue having been appropriated for the service of the older colony, of which Port Phillip was a mere dependency, till last year. But the fact was, the appropriation was made by our Downing-Street governor, over whom the colonists of New South Wales had no control; and so absurdly was the whole affair managed, as I have shown in my account of the period *, that, instead of benefiting anybody, it almost ruined everybody in the older colony.

Again, the newswriters of Port Phillip are foolish enough to imagine that theirs is the central province of the Eastern group of colonies, because they form a sort of half-way station between Van Dieman's Land and South Australia, and have New South Wales behind them; forgetting that there is another province, thrice the size of Port Phillip, to the northward of New South Wales, and other two to be formed in the same direction in the course of a few years. In such circumstances, a National Government for Eastern Australia must have its head quarters on the

* *Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (under the government of Sir George Gipps).

Pacific, and not in Bass' Straits; and Great Britain alone can effect such an arrangement — an arrangement so desirable for all parties concerned — in the way I have proposed. From the present petty feeling on the subject, the probability is that, if all the colonies were free and independent, Port Phillip would endeavour to form a separate State, in conjunction with Van Dieman's Land and South Australia, and break off from New South Wales and the northern colonies altogether. But I repeat it, it is not for the interest of Great Britain, or of the world at large, to permit such an arrangement to take place; and so long as it is in the power of the mother-country to bind together the whole of the eastern provinces into one great nation — one mighty power in the Pacific, that will condescend to play "no second fiddle" to Brother Jonathan, but will claim perfect equality with him from the first — her proper course in the matter is plain and obvious, and cannot be mistaken.

4th. It is equally necessary, I conceive, that Great Britain should interfere in the way I propose, for the maintenance of the internal peace of the colonies. The friends of freedom in the Australian colonies will certainly not permit the present monstrous system of government to subsist much longer. They will risk a struggle by and by; and "the odds," I think, are greatly in their favour. The present enormous expenditure of the Local Government would of itself support a considerable army for the achievement and maintenance of freedom; and is it to be supposed that such a temptation as it offers will be long resisted by men determined to be free? * No doubt the numerous host of cormorants and vampires, who are at present

* "As to what is called a Revolution principle," observes the celebrated Dean Swift, "my opinion is this: — That whenever those evils, which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, are not in probability so pernicious as the grievance we suffer under a present power, then *the public good will justify such a Revolution.*" — Dean Swift, *Letter to Mr. Pope.* Dublin, Jan. 10. 1720.

preying upon the vitals of the country, would scarcely be disposed to surrender their respective shares in the spoils of the public, without a strong effort to engage the mother-country on their behalf: and, accordingly, professing their profound and exclusive attachment to the British empire, that *great goddess, Diana, whom all the world worshippeth*, "The Groans of these *Britons*," forsooth, would again be addressed to the Imperial Power, like those of the helpless inhabitants of our own Fatherland, when Britain herself was a colony of Rome.* But the timely interference of the Imperial Parliament, in the way I propose, would effectually prevent all such possible collisions, and allow every needful reform to be effected in perfect peace.

5th. But whatever may have been the necessity for Parliamentary interference before, the urgency of the case has been increased tenfold since the discovery of gold in Australia. By that wonderful event, the Australian colonies have been virtually taken out of the hands of the British Government, like a boat out of the hands of the rower in the rapids of an impetuous river; and they are now swept along by the current towards freedom and independence, with a velocity which the Imperial Parliament may guide, as I have shown, for the accomplishment of the highest and noblest national objects, but which it is utterly powerless either to stem or to check. During the last few months the Australian colonies have virtually lived half a century; and can any reasonable man suppose that they will not feel the new life that is in them, and exhibit all the usual evidences of national vitality?

The spirit of freedom and national independence is one of the most generous and disinterested, as well as one of the loftiest and most ennobling passions of human nature;

* When Britain was a Roman colony, and the Emperor, having need for all his troops to defend the central provinces of the empire against the barbarians, recalled the legions that were stationed in Britain, and thereby left the colony exposed to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, a humble petition, entitled *The Groans of Britain*, was forwarded to Rome, praying for *military protection!*

and when it once animates a people, they become capable of deeds, and sacrifices, and exertions, of which they could never have supposed themselves capable before. Besides, this spirit is highly contagious; and when it is once forced into a country, through imperial injustice and oppression, it soon communicates itself to the whole mass of the people.

Doubtless the Local Government have called for a strong military force — the last and crowning argument of incapacity and dishonesty — to keep down, or to put down, the people; but there are countries in which either a naval or a military force must act at great disadvantage against even a comparatively small body of resolute men. There are no rivers on the coasts of Australia, which an armed vessel can ascend, like the Potomac at Washington; and the passes of the Blue Mountains, on the road to the Gold Mines of the interior, like the Straits of Thermopylæ, could be defended by a mere handful of Australian Greeks against the whole power of Persia. If even "two or three thousand badly armed men" should attempt a revolutionary movement at the Australian mines, there is no calculating the possible issue.

"There are conjunctures," says the Abbé Millot, "in which the destiny of a people," as possessing a distinct nationality, "depends upon a single head:"* and there can now be no doubt whatever that, in the natural progress of events, some such head will soon appear to give a distinct nationality to the British colonists of Australia.

The fatal consequences that resulted from the scornful neglect of the truly wise and patriotic counsel of Dean Tucker, eighty years ago, should read a solemn lesson to the men of the present generation; but as another Dean very justly observes, "No wonder if men will not take advice, when they will not even take warning."†

* Il est des circonstances où la destinée des peuples depend d'une seule tête. — *Millot.*

† Dean Swift.

CHAP. IV.

RESULTS TO BE ANTICIPATED FROM THE PROPOSED CONCESSION OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE TO THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

SECTION I.—A BEFITTING CAREER OPENED UP FOR MEN OF TALENT, ENTERPRISE, AND HONOURABLE AMBITION.

SUPPOSING then that Her Majesty's Government should grant Freedom and Independence to the Australian colonies, on the conditions I have suggested; these colonies, or provinces, having each a Senate and House of Representatives, with a governor and other functionaries to be elected by the people, would open up a wide field for men of ability, enterprise, and honourable ambition, both at home and in Australia. For the reader will bear in mind that the "Seven United Provinces of Australia" would individually be much larger than average-sized American states *; New South Wales being as large as Great Britain and France together; Victoria, or Port Phillip, as large as Great Britain; and Van Dieman's Land, as large as Ireland. The provincial field would, therefore, be both wide and promising for men of character and ability.

Besides, those who could establish for themselves a high provincial reputation in any one of the provinces, would have a still higher and wider field opened up to them in the general or National Government. The Australian Parliament would be open to them, as senators, and members of the House of Representatives; and the highest

* New South Wales, Cooksland, and Leichartsland would each have an area equal to that of seven average-sized American States.

offices of the country, including those of President and Vice-President, together with embassies to foreign states, would be within their reach. In short, the maxim of the late Emperor of France, *La carrière ouverte aux talens*, or, as it is quaintly translated by Carlyle, *The tools for those who can handle them*, would be fully realized in Australia; and the emigration of persons of the higher classes, from the mother-country, including all the liberal professions, would be great beyond all former precedent.

It has hitherto been a prodigious error in the colonial system of Great Britain, that it has held forth no suitable career in the colonies for persons of these classes in the mother-country; who have consequently been left to overstock every profession, every branch of business above the condition of mere manual labour, so that, to use the felicitous expression of Mr. Wakefield, there is *a universal want of room* throughout the United Kingdom for all grades and phases of British gentility. It is from the numerous disappointed persons of these educated classes, that the humbler forms of dissatisfaction and disaffection usually obtain their leadership and their organization; and the consequent danger to society only becomes the greater, the longer the evil is allowed to exist, and the more numerous these classes become. Under the Grecian system of colonization, such unquiet spirits were from time to time drafted off, and disposed of in the colonies; where they became leaders of the people, and realized those offices, and honours, and distinctions, from which they were virtually precluded at home. And so would it be also under the system I propose. Hundreds and thousands of the disappointed, unquiet, and restless spirits that are always floating about upon the surface of society at home — *cupidissimi novarum rerum* — would betake themselves to the United Provinces of Australia; where a new and highly promising field would be opened up to them — *a fair field and no favour*. The value of such an outlet to Great Britain, and its importance, in

regard to the future stability of her institutions, are incalculable.

Even for the actual colonists, the change in this respect would be one of prodigious importance. Hitherto every respectable office, in connection with the different colonial governments, has been hopelessly shut against the sons of the soil; as well as against British emigrants, indeed, of whatever ability or talent, if without interest or connections at home. Indeed, the possession of superior ability of any kind has usually been a complete bar to admission into any office connected with Government in the colonies; as it served to cast a sort of invidious reflection upon the dull mediocrity around it.

Besides, the young Australians have generally but little chance of rising in the world as merchants, as they can have no *English connections;* and if they dislike going into the interior, to keep sheep and cattle, and are above taking a butcher's shop, or applying for a publican's licence, the only resource for them is to enter a solicitor's office — a branch of business which is consequently pretty well stocked already in the older colonies. No wonder, therefore, that the respectable classes in these colonies, especially those who have sons, should intensely desire a thorough and entire change in our colonial relations. No wonder that the young Australians, whose attachment to their native land is intense, and whose opinion of its superiority to all others is universal, should already be learning and entering into the spirit of this Australian lay: —

> "Sons of the soil, the die is cast!
> And our brothers are nailing their flag to the mast:
> And their shout on the land, and their voice on the sea,
> Is, *The land of our birth is a land of the Free!*"

Writers on the colonies have generally reproached them, and perhaps not undeservedly, with their inordinate love of money, as the characteristic and exclusive passion of all classes of their inhabitants. "Unfortunately," says

Mr. Wakefield, "the ruling passion of individuals in our colonies is a love of getting money."* But it is scarcely fair to reproach colonists generally with their money-making propensities, when we have effectually closed every door of honourable ambition against them otherwise, through the bad system of government we have forced upon them, in the gratification of our *lust* of empire. We mete out to the colonies precisely the same measure of injustice as we do to the Jews, whom we ridicule and decry for their money-making propensities, after we have shut up every other respectable and honourable walk of life against them. But let ability and desert of every kind have a fair field opened up for them in the colonies — let the colonists know and feel that they *have* a country to labour for, and not a mere *Downing Street preserve for pitiful incapacity* — and the same generous and manly feelings will forthwith be developed, over the whole face of colonial society, as have uniformly characterized the birth of freedom and independence in every land.

About twenty or twenty-five years ago, before free emigration had begun to set in strongly for the Australian colonies, the cause of public freedom, in New South Wales, had got into very questionable hands. The "patriots," as they were then called, were — many of them at least — men of exceptionable character; while not a few of them were mere ticket-of-leave-men and emancipists, whose legs were still blue with the marks of their double irons. Mr. Wentworth † — an ominous name for the cause of public freedom — was the demigod of their hero-worship, and was ever and anon bawling out lustily, at the public meetings of the Patriotic Association of the period, for a five pound franchise, and the rights of the people. The Local Government of the day could therefore afford

* *A View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.* p. 101.

† Now one of the members for the city of Sydney, on the old Emancipist interest, which is fast wearing out.

to sit very much at its ease, even in the midst of this agitation; for it knew perfectly that "the patriots" had no confidence in each other; that their leaders could be bought off at any time, as the result has shown; and that their patriotism would very soon burn out.* The really respectable colonists of the period also took no interest in the matter, and looked on with indifference, if not with contempt.†

* Religion, in the generous, not sectarian, meaning of the word, has this grand distinction — that whilst it restrains, it elevates yet more. Without it the struggles of the labouring classes for rights and dignity are anything but hopeful. — *Channing.*

† The following was a poetical comment on the political aspect of the colony, at the period referred to, by an eye-witness:—

"Unhappy land! where demagogues uprear
Adulterous foreheads, reeking with pollution!
Catching full oft the unsuspecting ear
Of innocence with their villainous elocution;
And eke presenting to the mob each year
A thumping bastard and a Constitution!
There's B—y W—h. What a tale he weaves!
A House of Commons for a den of thieves!

"I love thee, Liberty, thou blue-eyed maid!
Thy beauty fades not in the hottest clime!
In purple or plebeian garb arrayed,
I love thee still! The great in olden time,
Roman and Greek, worshipped thy very shade,
And sung thy beauty in their song sublime.
Tis Paradise to live beneath thy smile,
Thou patron-goddess of my native isle!

"But he that loves fair Liberty must be
Virtue's sworn friend: the vicious is a slave
And serves a tyrant, nor can e'er be free.
Of old her wooers were, like Brutus, brave;
Like Marvell, incorrupt; Milton, like thee!
A recreant race wooes now, and digs her grave;
Byron, their leader, whose high-lineaged Muse
Walks a vile pimp, and caters for the stews!

"On Freedom's altar ere I place strange fire,
Be my arm withered from its shoulder-blade!
Yea, were I lord of great Apollo's lyre,
I'd sooner rend its chords, than e'er degrade
Its sweet seraphic music to inspire
One vicious thought! When built on vice, fair maid,
Thy temple's base is quick-sand: on the rock
Of virtue reared, it braves the whirlwind's shock!"

Diary of an Officer in the East.

But the cause of public freedom in New South Wales, as well as in all the other Australian colonies, has got into very different hands now — into those of intelligent, virtuous, energetic, and, in many instances, thoroughly Christian men, that is, men, who, like Cromwell's troopers, fear God and nothing else — men, in short, who are determined that, as far as they are concerned, this grand outrage upon the sacred rights of Britons, as well as on the common sense of mankind, "Government of the colonies by Downing-Street," shall come to an end. And although it may suit Mr. Wentworth, who is now a Government man, and thinks even a twenty pound franchise too low for the people, to stigmatize these men with the nick-names of communists and socialists — a class of people with whom they have nothing in common — he knows right well that a spirit has now been conjured up in the colonies which can never be laid, till the country obtains its entire freedom and independence.

Section II. — Wonderful Increase of Emigration to Australia among the Humbler and Working Classes of the United Kingdom.

I have already observed, that although the waste lands of the present Australian colonies would be under the exclusive control of the National Parliament, in the event of the arrangement I have recommended being acceded to by Her Majesty's Government, the revenue arising from the sales of such lands in each province,

would be expended for the benefit of that province exclusively; and that an agent would be appointed for each province, with the concurrence of the Provincial Legislature, to superintend and direct the Bounty Emigration from the United Kingdom to the particular province for which he held his appointment. The duties of that officer would be to promote emigration, of the best possible character, and to the utmost extent, to his particular province, by diffusing information respecting its capabilities, and the prospect it held forth to industrious persons of all classes; by granting assistance, in all proper cases, from the Land Fund, to the full extent to which it might be available; and, perhaps also, by entering into arrangements with parishes and unions at home, for the conveyance of their juvenile pauper children, of both sexes, under proper superintendence, to that province. There would also, in all likelihood, be public works in progress in each of the provinces, at which the humbler emigrants would obtain employment at regular wages on their arrival, till they should obtain a preferable private engagement, or could otherwise shift for themselves.

In particular, the provincial agents would be able to render essential service, both to the mother-country and the colonies, by facilitating the emigration of small farmers from those parts of the United Kingdom — as for instance, from the North of Ireland, — in which the subdivision of land has been carried to a ruinous extent; encouraging such persons to make money payments, to the utmost of their ability, to assist in defraying the cost of their own passage out, so as to increase the available land-fund, but giving them at the same time an order on the Provincial Land Office for an extent of land equivalent to these payments. Thus, for example, the county of Down, in the province of Ulster, in the North of Ireland, contains an area of 514,180 acres, which, according to a letter, published in the London *Morning Chronicle*, of the 29th of November, 1847, by W. Sharman Crawford, Esq., M. P., is occupied as follows, viz.: —

In farms of from	1 to 5 acres	— in all	13,753 farms.
do.	5 to 15 acres	— in all	11,991 do.
do.	15 to 30 acres	— in all	3,865 do.
do.	above 30 acres	— in all	1,508 do.

Now, as the county of Down is a fair representation of the system which obtains generally in regard to the subdivision of land in the North of Ireland, it must be evident that that system has been allowed to proceed to an extent which is altogether incompatible with the permanent prosperity of the country, or the general advancement of its inhabitants. There is nothing similar to this minute subdivision of land in any part of Scotland. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a bare subsistence from such fragmentary farms as the greater number in this list, but it is utterly impossible that the general population of the province of Ulster can be maintained in a condition of comfort and comparative independence, such as is absolutely necessary for the general welfare and advancement, in connexion with such a minute subdivision of the land.

Emigration from all such localities in the United Kingdom would be a public benefit at home; while it could not fail to prove equally beneficial to the particular Australian province to which it should be directed. For, as it is well observed, by the late President Jackson, of the United States, "The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil;"* it would be a most desirable application of the Land Fund, to assist such small farmers as a large majority of those in the county of Down, in paying their passage out; and if these farmers could pay a portion of their own passage money, in con-

* President Jackson's Message to Congress, Dec. 1832.

sideration of getting an equivalent in land in Australia, such payment would virtually be an addition to the available fund, and could easily be placed to the credit of the province.

I would not propose that these provincial agents should have anything to do with the shipping of the emigrants. They would only have to report their selection to the Commissioners of Emigration, who would make the requisite arrangements for their passage out, as at present. But the agents would be personally responsible to the provincial authorities, for the sort of people they should respectively send out, and for the amount of benefit which the respective provinces would derive from their services. Their characters would therefore be at stake in the matter, and the best interests of the respective provinces would be greatly promoted.

Under such efficient machinery, there would very soon be a vast amount of emigration of the very best description from the United Kingdom to the Australian provinces; and a large portion of the mighty stream of population, that is annually directed to the United States, would forthwith be directed to Australia. It is not because emigrants of the humbler classes (with the exception, perhaps, of the lower Irish) prefer America, that they go thither; but because the cost of passage is much less than to Australia, and because nobody cares for them, or assists them to go elsewhere. But if such machinery as I have described were in operation, and if an interest were taken in the humbler emigrants by the respective provincial agents, and assistance afforded them for their passage out, there can be no question but that a large proportion of the present British emigration to the United States would at once change its direction for the golden lands of Australia. I need scarcely add that Great Britain would derive material benefit from such a change of direction, in the stream of emigration setting out from her shores, as well as Australia, from the much better market

which the same amount of population in the latter country affords for her produce and manufactures.*

Under the present system, there is no provision made for equalising the demand and supply in the matter of immigration, over extensive tracts of the colonial territory; so that, while labour is comparatively plentiful and moderately priced in one district, it is often scarcely procurable at all, or if so, only at exorbitant rates in another. This evil has been felt very seriously of late in Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country; where the increase of all descriptions of stock has of late years been quite unprecedented. This increase necessarily creates a great demand for pastoral labour, to tend the rapidly increasing flocks and herds. But although there has been a pretty large amount realised from the sale of waste land and town allotments in this district, there has been no free emigration directed to it of late, because it has been the policy

* There is nothing more remarkable than the extreme ignorance that prevailed even among men of the highest intelligence otherwise, about the middle of last century, on the subject of emigration. They deprecated it as a national calamity, and one of Dean Tucker's arguments in favour of a peaceful separation of Great Britain and her American colonies was the hope he entertained that emigration to America would thereby cease.

"Granting," he observes, "that emigrations are bad things in all respects — granting that they tend to diminish the number of your sailors, as well as of your manufacturers, yet how can you prevent this evil? And what remedy do you propose for curing the people of that madness which has seized them for emigration? I answer: Even the remedy which hath been so often, and all along proposed, *A Total Separation from North America.* For most certain it is that, as soon as such a separation shall take place, a residence in the colonies will be no longer a desirable situation. Nay, it is much more probable that many of those who are already settled there, will wish to fly away, than that others should covet to go to them. * * * Under such circumstances, there is no reason to fear that many of our people will flock to North America." — Dean Tucker's *Humble Address, recommending Separation from America*, p. 68. Gloucester, 1776.

of Downing-street, and consequently of the Local Government, to force the transportation system upon the district, to which a large majority of the inhabitants are decidedly averse. In these circumstances, the proprietors of stock have been virtually compelled to resort to a somewhat singular expedient — the importation of whole ship-loads of labourers from China, chiefly from the cities of Amoy and Shanghae. Each of these Chinese labourers costs the importer 13*l.* for his passage to Australia; and as there had been about a thousand Chinese imported into Moreton Bay alone, besides those imported into other parts of the colony, before I embarked for England, that district had actually contributed not less than 13,000*l.* for the importation of *foreigners* through the ruinous policy of the Colonial Office.

Every person, who has the slightest regard for the real welfare and advancement of the country, regrets and reprobates this importation exceedingly. The Chinese labourers are a miserable-looking people, many of them, it is believed, having been convicts in their own country — entirely ignorant, of course, of our language and laws — and all males! But when it is considered that the same expenditure would have carried out to the Moreton Bay country a thousand of our own suffering countrymen, of the semi-pastoral population of the Highlands and islands of Scotland — the very description of people that are needed in the pastoral country of Moreton Bay — one cannot help feeling deeply indignant at the manner in which the best and dearest interests of both countries are thus compromised and sacrificed through official incapacity. Had the management of the Land Fund been in the hands of a National Government, in the way I propose, there would have been the utmost facility in regulating the demand and supply of labour for the Moreton Bay district from the very first; as Government, even in Australia, can always obtain any amount of money at a reasonable interest on debentures, secured on the Land

Fund, while the provincial agent at home could have selected, and sent out through the Emigration Commissioners, the precise number and description of people required in the district. When I left the colony several thousand Chinese emigrants were expected to fill the places that, under a better system, would have been gladly filled by our own countrymen from home. Besides, this Chinese immigration — disguise it as its advocates may — is merely a peculiar form of slavery! It is introducing into the country an inferior and abject race; and there are other evils attending it which I cannot venture to mention.*

* At an out-station in Moreton Bay, where a number of Chinese immigrants were employed as shepherds, stockmen, and general labourers, one of their number, conceiving himself injured in some way by the overseer, made a rush at him with a spade, and would probably have killed him, had the overseer not had a musket at hand, which he presented at the infuriated creature and shot him dead. Knowing the character of the men he had to deal with, and that they would make no allowance for justifiable homicide, the overseer immediately fled for his life to the head-station, and placed himself under the protection of the superintendent. But he had scarcely reached that station, and been placed under covert, when the whole of the Chinamen, from the station at which the man was killed, came up in full force, brandishing a sort of clasp knife which they wear, and surrounding the house, demanded that the overseer should be given up to them that they might dispatch him immediately. This the superintendent refused to do, endeavouring to explain to them, as well as he could, that the man would be tried and would forfeit his life, if found guilty. But nothing would satisfy them, till after surrounding the house for hours, they at length departed, but returned a second time. In the meantime, however, the superintendent had enabled the overseer to effect his escape. He was tried in due course, and, I need scarcely add, was acquitted. One of the Chinese, however, who had been brought up as a witness in the case, hanged himself in prison, simply from not understanding the object of his detention; for, it seems, it is a point of justice in China to consider the person who is found nearest a dead body as the murderer, and to treat him accordingly. Such, then, is another of the results of Downing Street colonization.

Section III. — Realization of all the other Legitimate Objects of Colonization.

When the first of the four legitimate objects of colonization has been secured in any instance by a colonizing country, in providing an eligible outlet for its redundant population, all the other three legitimate objects of colonization will also be attained in a greater or lesser degree, according to the capabilities of the country colonized, the variety and value of its productions, and the industry and energy of its inhabitants: in other words, a market of a constantly improving character will be created for the purchase and consumption of the manufactured goods of the mother-country; a field of, perhaps, boundless extent will be opened up for the growth of the raw produce required in these manufactures, as well as of other valuable goods and produce, and the trade of the mother-country will in the mean time be progressively and indefinitely extended.

I have already noticed the impulse which the attainment of freedom and independence would give to emigration to Australia; but as the actual inhabitants of that country consume annually British goods and manufactures to the extent of about 7*l.* 10*s.* per head of the entire population, it follows as a necessary consequence that a greatly increased emigration to that country will give a greatly increased impulse to the manufacturing industry of the mother-country, and afford more extensive employment, and a higher rate of remuneration to the manufacturer and the operative — it will make trade brisker and stimulate manufactures.

The way in which the colonists are enabled to consume this large amount of British manufactured goods is by raising raw produce in the colonies, to be given in exchange for these goods, and to be worked up in the

manufactures of the mother-country or otherwise consumed. Thus the vessel in which I am now writing is conveying to England a cargo of Australian produce which, it is expected, will be worth in the London market about 124,000*l.*; consisting of wool, tallow, hides, horns and hoofs, preserved meat, timber, wine, and gold. Now all this variety of valuable produce is to pay for British goods that have either been sent out already or are yet to be sent out in return. And if the number of the inhabitants of Australia were only increased twenty-fold, as they would doubtless be very shortly, if the country attained its freedom and independence, the variety and value of these productions would only be proportionally increased.

Now it is in this mutual interchange of products and good offices, and not in any domination that Great Britain exercises over us, that the real value of the Australian colonies to the mother-country consists; and whatever would promote and augment this interchange (as the freedom and independence of these colonies would unquestionably do to an indefinite extent) would only render Australia the more valuable to Great Britain, whether dependent or not.

Of what possible benefit, for instance, can it be to the people of England, that we, the people of Australia,—the growers of wool for the manufactures of Leeds, and the diggers of gold for the Bank of England, — should have some rotten limb of the British aristocracy, a man perhaps like the present apology for a ruler, without either head or heart, to rule over us, instead of a man of our own choice, such as the urgent necessities of the colony demand in the present emergency—a man and no mistake? And of what benefit can it be to us, the wool growers and gold-diggers of Australia, to have the worst possible example set us in the sacred name of Her Majesty the Queen, and to be obliged to pay for it too at the rate of 5000*l.* a year besides pickings? This unreasonable amount

we are compelled to pay by Act of Parliament — an Act founded on precisely the same sort of right as that which is implied in the well-known formula of the highway "Stand and deliver!" * For I challenge all and sundry to show, if they can, on what other right such an Act can be based than the right of might, the right of force, the right of usurpation. If we colonists have a right to anything—our own eyes and ears for instance—we have a right to our own money; and no power or Parliament on earth can have a right to touch or appropriate that money without our permission. The best paid governor in America, the Governor of the State of Louisiana, with a far larger population to govern than that of New South Wales, has a salary of only 1500*l.* a year. Now the very best man in Australia could be got for that amount, and would be proud of the honour and distinction, if we had only the power to choose him; and the difference in the mere amount of his income, as compared with the present imposition, would enable us to give salaries of 50*l.* a year to seventy additional schoolmasters in the thinly peopled districts of the interior! It is these enormities that are fastened upon us by Acts of Parliament and Rescripts from Downing Street, that keep us down as colonists, and prevent us from being half so valuable to the mother-country as we should otherwise be. It is these acts of unrighteous domination that compel us to leave our youth in the far interior uneducated, our roads and bridges unrepaired, and the wants of our people in a hundred different ways unattended to and unsupplied.

It is difficult indeed to say which of the two parties,

* Parliament takes the money of the colonies and applies it to purposes they do not sanction, without giving them in exchange any consideration whatever. It is scarcely worth while to argue whether this be in violation of the Declaratory Act of 1778. It is certainly a violation of natural justice, and will be submitted to so long as it is impossible to resist it successfully; but not one moment longer. — *Times*, July 30, 1852.

the mother-country or the colonies, has suffered the most under the monstrous system that has hitherto characterized the government of the Colonies of Great Britain — that system which for two centuries and a half has sacrificed more or less all the legitimate objects of colonization for the gratification of an unhallowed lust of empire, unwarranted by the laws of God, and trampling under foot the rights of men — and it is one of the most gratifying signs of the times that the true relation of a colony to its mother-country is beginning to be understood in influential quarters, and that the way in which alone such dependencies can ever be valuable to the Parent State is beginning to be fully appreciated. "Is it a secret to you," asks the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, in his famous Address to the French Convention of 1793, recommending them to emancipate their colonies, "Is it a secret to you any more than to ourselves, that our colonies cost us much, that they yield us nothing — that our government makes us pay them for suffering it to govern them — and that all the use or purpose of this compact is to make places, and wars that breed more places?" *

"With respect to Canada," observes the late Sir Henry Parnell, — "With respect to Canada (including our other possessions on the continent of North America) no case can be made out to show that we should not have *every commercial advantage* we are supposed now to have, if it were made *an independent state*. Neither our manufactures, foreign commerce, nor shipping, would be injured by such a measure. On the other hand, what has the nation lost by Canada? Fifty or sixty millions have already been expended: the annual charge on the British Treasury is now full 600,000*l.* a year; and we learn from the Second Report of the Committee of Finance, that a plan of fortifying Canada has been for two or three years in progress, which is to cost 3,000,000*l.*†

* *Emancipate your Colonies.* Jeremy Bentham.

† *Financial Reform.* By the late Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. for Dundee.

"A country," says McCulloch, "which founds a colony on the liberal principle of allowing it to trade freely with all the world, necessarily possesses considerable advantages in its markets from identity of language, religion, customs, &c. These are natural and legitimate sources of preference of which it cannot be deprived; and these, combined with equal or greater cheapness of the products suitable for the colonial markets, will give its merchants the complete command of them."*

"Under the present system of management," observes the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, "Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she assumes over her colonies.

"To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be adopted, by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride of every nation. * * * The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure, with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be immediately freed from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies, but *might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually secure to her a free trade*, more advantageous to the great body of the people, though less so to the merchants, than the

* McCulloch's *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, vol. i. p. 595.

monopoly which she at present enjoys. By thus parting good friends, the natural affection of the colonies to the mother-country, which, perhaps, our late dissensions have well nigh extinguished, would quickly revive. It might dispose them not only to respect, for whole centuries together, that treaty of commerce which they had concluded with us at parting, but to favour us in war as well as in trade, and, instead of turbulent and factious subjects, to become our most faithful, affectionate, and generous allies; and the same sort of parental affection on the one side, and filial respect on the other, might revive between Great Britain and her colonies, which used to subsist between ancient Greece and the mother-city from which they descended." *

But the world has been making great advances since the days of Adam Smith; for even while these pages are passing through the press, I observe the following generous and enlightened sentiment in an article on Australia, in the leading journal of Europe: —

"The people of England have long ago renounced any wish to retain by force of arms remote settlements, inhabited by people of our own race, in unwilling and compulsory subjection. Henceforth the bond of union which unites Britain to her colonies must be free." †

There are still, indeed, individuals, both in our own and in the other mother-countries of Europe, who cling to the old fallacy of empire, and regard either the actual or the possible loss of dominion over distant colonies as an event in the highest degree to be deprecated and deplored. M. de Chateaubriand, for instance, in his "Travels in North America," laments over the loss of the French empire in that country with the most piteous ululations. But another Frenchman, of less brilliancy of genius indeed, but of far keener discernment in matters

* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. c. 7.

† *Times*, July 30, 1852.

of every-day life, passes a very different judgment on that event, in regard to its real bearings on the material interests and social welfare of France.

"It is high time," says M. Say, the eminent French political economist, who wrote much about the same period as M. de Chateaubriand, "to drop our absurd lamentations for the loss of our colonies, considered as a source of national prosperity. For, in the first place, France now enjoys a greater degree of prosperity than while she retained her colonies: witness the increase of her population. Before the Revolution, her revenues could maintain but twenty-five millions of people; they now (1819) support thirty millions. In the second place, the first principles of political economy will teach us, that *the loss of colonies by no means implies a loss of the trade with them.* With what did France buy colonial products before? With her own domestic products, to be sure. Has she not continued to buy them since in the same way, though sometimes of a neutral, or even of an enemy?*

And again:—

"The ancients, by their system of colonization, made themselves friends all over the known world; the moderns have sought to make subjects, and *therefore* have made enemies. Governors, deputed by the mother-country, feel not the slightest interest in the diffusion of happiness and real wealth amongst a people, with whom they do not propose to spend their lives, to sink into privacy and retirement, or to conciliate popularity. They know their consideration in the mother-country will depend upon the fortune they return with, not upon their behaviour in office. Add to this the large discretionary power, that must unavoidably be vested in the deputed rulers of distant possessions, and there will be every ingredient towards the composition of *a truly detestable government.**

* M. Say, *Political Economy.* Paris, 1820.

Many thanks, M. Say, for the correct definition you have given us of colonial government; for I have no hesitation in acknowledging it as the general result of my own experience and observation for nearly thirty years past, that the British government of the Australian colonies has, in comparison with what the government of such communities ought to have been in the present age of free institutions and general enlightenment, been, during the whole of that period, "detestable government"—suicidal for Great Britain herself as a great manufacturing and commercial country, with a redundant but peculiarly energetic population, and ruinous for the best interests of the colonies, both morally and materially, in an endless variety of ways.

All the great names in the literature, both of our own and of foreign countries, are decidedly in favour of the entire freedom and independence of colonies as the best possible condition both for the mother-country and for the dependency. I have already enumerated Grotius, Heeren, Milton, Franklin, Dr. Adam Smith, Mr. Lewis, M. Say, and Jeremy Bentham. I may add Turgot, Talleyrand, Storch, Chardozo, Dr. Thomas Cooper, of America, Malthus, Brougham, Huskisson, Baring, Ricardo, Torrens, Senior, and last, but not least, the eminent political writer, Mr. James Mill. These distinguished men are unanimously of opinion that dominion over colonies is of no real use to a mother-country in increasing its commercial prosperity, and that its actual and never-failing tendency is to produce or to perpetuate bad government for the colonies.

"A word of recapitulation," says Jeremy Bentham to the French Convention, in summing up his argument, which is equally applicable to the case of Great Britain and her Australian colonies, "and I have done — you will, I say, give up your colonies — because you have no right to govern them; because they had rather not be governed by you; because it is against their interest to

be governed by you ; because you get nothing by governing them ; because you can't keep them ; because the expense of trying to keep them would be ruinous ; because your Constitution would suffer by your keeping them ; because your principles forbid your keeping them ; and because you would do good to all the world by parting with them."*

There are three articles of agricultural produce, admirably adapted to the climate and soil of Australia, and for which there is a constant demand at a remunerating price to the agriculturist in the British market, of which the production would be increased to an unlimited extent, in the event of the Australian colonies attaining their freedom and independence ; while the production of these articles for the home market would increase the trade and wealth both of the mother-country and of Australia to a degree scarcely conceivable.

The first of these articles of Australian produce is wine. The cultivation of the vine is now pursued as a branch of colonial industry to a considerable extent ; and in those parts of the country that are of trap formation, as in the district of Hunter's River, the produce is so remarkably abundant that my brother, Mr. Andrew Lang, J. P. of Dunmore, Hunter's River, has actually had 1800 gallons of wine, and a ton of fruit besides from a single acre of vines. The wine of Australia is a light wine, like those of the Rhine or the South of France ; and under the judicious superintendence and stimulus of colonial associations for the cultivation of the vine, it is improving in its character as well as increasing in its quantity every year.

There is no extent to which this branch of cultivation might not be carried with a large population in New South Wales ; and as one of the first considerable exports of Australian wine — 29 casks — has been effected by the vessel in which I am now writing, there is no doubt that

* *Emancipate your Colonies.* Jeremy Bentham.

it could be produced in any quantity for the home market at a considerably cheaper rate than most of the wines of the continent of Europe.

Another article of Australian produce for which the soil and climate are admirably adapted is tobacco. The plant is indigenous in New South Wales, and its produce is beyond all comparison greater than in the United States ; for while the usual produce of an acre of tobacco in the new State of Texas, in precisely the same latitude as New South Wales, but in the opposite hemisphere, is usually 700 lbs., a ton to the acre is not an uncommon crop in New South Wales. This article is grown exclusively by slave labour, both in the United States and in the other foreign countries from which it is at present imported into Great Britain ; but in free and independent Australia it would be grown to an unlimited extent by a people of British origin exclusively, and entirely free.

The third article of agricultural produce for which the soil and climate of Australia are admirably adapted is cotton. It has now been satisfactorily ascertained, chiefly through experiments originated by myself, that this article of indispensable necessity for the manufactures of Great Britain, for the supply of which the United Kingdom is almost entirely dependent on the United States, can be grown to any conceivable extent, by means of European labour, along 500 miles of the Australian coast to the northward of Sydney ; and as water-carriage is available along this whole line of coast, the facilities for its production are extraordinary, while the climate is in the highest degree salubrious. There is room enough, indeed, on that coast alone, and a highly eligible field besides, for the employment of agricultural labour in the production of this article of unlimited demand in the mother-country, for the whole redundant population of Great Britain for half a century to come ; and as this commodity is grown exclusively by means of slave-labour in America, there is

reason to believe that it could be imported into Great Britain from Australia, the produce of British free labour exclusively, at so cheap a rate as to drive the slave-grown produce of the United States out of the market.*

* The following is the Report of the President of the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester, on nine samples of Australian cotton, which I brought home with me by way of specimen, from five rivers on the east coast of Australia along a coast line of 350 miles. The preliminary remarks on the subject are from an article in the *Daily News* of the 21st July, 1852: —

"Some specimens of cotton grown in Australia have been submitted, by the Rev. Dr. Lang, to the examination of Mr. Thomas Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; and the opinion of this gentleman, who is acknowledged to be a first-rate judge of the qualities of cotton, will be read with great interest, as showing that this quarter of the world gives promise of becoming one of the finest cotton-fields which have yet been discovered in our colonies, if not, indeed, in the world. The samples of cotton were accompanied by the following schedule, giving a brief history of each description of cotton: —

"'1. In the small canvass bag, grown by Dr. Hobbs, of Brisbane, Moreton Bay, in latitude 27 deg., from seed labelled "Owen's superior." The locality is on a tide river, about fifteen miles from the sea.

"'2. Small specimen of cotton in the seed, grown at Ipswich, on the Bremer River, a tributary of the Brisbane, about forty miles from the sea, in the same latitude.

"'N.B. This specimen deserves particular attention, as it is the only one that affords satisfactory data for estimating the produce per acre, which, in this instance, was 920 lb. in the seed. It was grown by a Mr. Douglas, of Dunlop, who had no means of cleaning it, and who sold it to Mr. Brierley, of Sydney, at 2½*d.* per lb. It was sown on the 1st of October, corresponding to our April; it did not come up till the 21st of the month, when there had been some rain; the season afterwards was dry and warm, but the drought in no way affected the plants; they began to bloom in the middle of December, our midsummer in the southern hemisphere; the picking commenced on the 20th of February, corresponding to August in England; and it lasted four months, during which time the plants continued blooming and producing fresh pods, till checked by the frost. Estimating the wages of a labourer at 20*l.* a-year, with liberal rations, the cost of labour, in preparing the ground and picking the cotton, &c., was 5*l.*, which, even at the rate at which it was sold, left 4*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* as profit on the experiment. It could be grown to any extent when there is a central establishment on the river for picking it, which could easily be effected, as the two rivers are traversed in both directions every lawful day by two steamboats.

There are twelve tide rivers, all available for steam navigation, and all having a large extent of land of the first

"'3. A small specimen of "Big Cream" cotton, grown by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, formerly of Jamaica, now of Clarence River, in latitude 29½ deg. south.

"'4. Another specimen from Mr. Gibson's plat in the seed. Mr. Gibson considers it admirably adapted to the soil and climate.

"'5. Also grown by Mr. Gibson, Clarence River, from different seed.

"'6. From Dunmore, Hunter's River, latitude 32½ deg., grown by A. Lang, Esq., J.P.

"'7. Small specimen in the seed, from the same river, opposite side, grown by Mr. Scobie.

"'8. Grown by J. Bucknell, Esq., Patterson's River — the second year's crop from the same plants. They stand the winter quite well, and Mr. Bucknell says the yield is finer and more abundant the second year than the first. The Patterson is a tributary of the Hunter, in latitude 32½ deg.

"'9. An additional specimen from Mr. Bucknell's in the seed.'

"The following is Mr. Bazley's answer, as submitted through the Secretary of the Chamber: —

"'Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures,
Manchester, July 15. 1852.

"'Reverend Sir, — I have submitted the samples of Australian cotton, sent by you to the Chamber yesterday, to the criticism of our President, Thomas Bazley, Esq., whose knowledge and judgment in such matters are not surpassed by any gentleman connected with the trade. He has instructed me to make the following report thereon, according to the numbers adopted in your schedule: —

"'No. 1. Grown by Mr. Hobbs, of Brisbane; excellent cotton, and in perfect condition for the spinner; value 22*d.* per lb.

"'No. 2. Grown by Mr. Douglas, of Ipswich; really beautiful cotton; worth, if perfectly clean, 2*s.* per lb.

quality for the growth of cotton, on the east coast of Australia, from Sydney to the Tropic of Capricorn; that is, along a coast of ten degrees of latitude, or nearly seven hundred English miles: and I have no hesitation in expressing it as my decided opinion that if her Majesty's Government were only to concede entire freedom and independence to the Australian colonies, on the highly advantageous conditions to Great Britain which I have specified above, as many as half a million of the redundant agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland, including women and children, might be settled for the cultivation of cotton along these rivers, within a very few years, and without costing her Majesty's Government a

"'No. 3. Grown by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, "Big Cream;" very good cotton, but not well got up; worth 21*d.* per lb.

"'No. 4. Grown by the same: very excellent, and in good condition; worth 23*d.* per lb.

"'No. 5. Grown by the same: excellent cotton; worth 22*d.* per lb.

"'No. 6. Grown by A. Lang, Esq.: short-stapled cotton, of the New Orleans class; worth 5½*d.* per lb.

"'No. 7. Grown by Mr. Scobie: good cotton; worth 20*d.* per lb.

"'No. 8. Grown by J. Bucknell, Esq.: good and useful cotton, but of the common Sea Island class; now worth 18*d.* per lb.

"'No. 9. Grown by the same: like the preceding; worth 17*d.* per lb.

"'I am further instructed to assure you, that in the preceding estimates Mr. Bazley has been careful to keep within the limits which his own appreciation of their worth would have led him to fix; and I am to express his opinion that such superior and excellent attributes of perfect cotton have been rarely seen in Manchester, and that your samples indisputably prove the capability of Australia to produce most useful and beautiful cotton, adapted to the English markets, in a range of value from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

"'I am, Reverend Sir, your most obedient Servant,

"'THOS. BOOTHMAN, Secretary.

"'The Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D.,
Brunswick Hotel, Manchester.'

single farthing.* Our Land Fund, properly managed, would cover the whole expense. The effect of such an emigration on the pauperism and crime of the United Kingdom, independently of its results to the cotton-spinners of Manchester and Glasgow, would be salutary in the highest degree. It would certainly not permanently diminish the home population; but it would greatly improve the circumstances and condition of those who should remain.

As to the probable effects of such an emigration, for such a purpose, on the commercial relations of the mother-country, the extensive production of cotton in Australia,—which I am confident is destined to bring far more wealth into that country than all its mines, — would at once put an end to the present dependence of Great Britain on the United States for the raw produce for her national manufactures. And as it is now no longer a matter of doubt that we can grow cotton of superior quality for the British market, at a cheaper rate than the same quality can be grown at by the American slaveholder, we should in all likelihood compel the latter *to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.*†

* These rivers are the Hawkesbury, the Hunter, the Manning, the Hastings, the McLeay, the Clarence, the Richmond, the Tweed, the Logan, the Brisbane, the Wide Bay, the Boyne; besides several others of lesser note. The Hawkesbury has been long settled by a European population of small farmers, who grow wheat and maize almost exclusively. On the Hunter, there is much capital and labour already engaged in the cultivation of the vine and of tobacco, which it would not be desirable to interfere with; but all the other rivers are open and remarkably adapted for cotton cultivation.

† There is certainly no country in Christendom that has a stronger interest in maintaining things as they are, as far as *we* are concerned, or in preventing Great Britain from conceding Freedom and Independence to Australia, than the United States. For although we should have no such intention, we should certainly, if we could

The much greater distance of Australia from the European market, is commonly regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to our success in competing with the Americans; but it is really no obstacle at all. The vessel in which I am now writing is actually carrying home nearly 2,000 bales of Australian wool, *at a halfpenny a pound;* while the usual freight of cotton (which can be packed much more closely without hurting the fibre), from New Orleans to Liverpool, is three farthings a pound. But even supposing the freight of Australian cotton to be a penny a pound, which it is not likely to exceed, what is that amount on the value of an article worth from one to two shillings a pound? We compete successfully with all the world in wool, notwithstanding the distance. Why, then, should we not compete successfully with the Americans in cotton?

But brilliant as this prospect is for Great Britain, and especially for the manufacturing interests of the United Kingdom, I confess I despair of anything of the kind being ever realised till we obtain our entire freedom and independence, and are fairly rid of the *incubus* of the Colonial Office for ever.

"Now's the day, and now's the hour,"

for the settlement of this great national question — it may be too late to-morrow.

only obtain our freedom and independence, do a serious injury to that country in several most important respects.

1. We should direct a large portion of the stream of emigration, which now sets so strongly to the United States, to the land of Freedom and Gold in the Southern Hemisphere.

2. We should certainly be able to undersell the Americans in all the finer descriptions of cotton in the Liverpool and Manchester market; and I am confident also that

3. We should thereby give such a deadly blow to the peculiar institution of slavery as it has never yet received.

Section IV. — Annexation, and its probable Progress.

Were a National Government established for the united provinces of Australia, in the way I have proposed, the process which is technically called *annexation* would in all likelihood proceed as rapidly in that country as it is now doing in the United States, and in a far less exceptionable way. I am confident, at all events, that three years would not elapse, from the period of its establishment, till the mother-country would be earnestly petitioned by the colony of New Zealand for permission to form a part of the great Australian Union, as an eighth province — of course, on precisely the same conditions as to emigration and no hostile tariff, as the provinces of Australia. For the benefits of a Local Government for all domestic matters on the spot, and the head-quarters of a National Government for all higher matters within a week's sail, are incalculable — especially to any colony that has been unhappy enough to experience the enormous evils of the present system. And I am equally confident, that so far from sinking, Great Britain would rise exceedingly in the estimation of the whole civilized world, from adopting the policy I recommend. Her colonies would then be an inestimable benefit, instead of being a burden, as they have hitherto been, to the nation; and she would then be the subject of the most devoted attachment on the part of the present colonists, instead of being, as she is now, the object of their dissatisfaction and constantly increasing alienation.

A National Government in Eastern Australia would also, I am confident, make immediate and energetic arrangements for the occupation and settlement of the great island of New Guinea, immediately to the northward of Cape York. Although that great island, which is as large as all France, and probably as valuable as all the British

West India islands together, could scarcely be colonized by any European power, without great expense and loss, it could be colonized with the utmost facility by the National Government of Eastern Australia, from any settlement formed at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is questionable whether the climate would sustain European life, so as to be fit for the residence of persons and families of the industrious classes; but there are certain Christian Malay islands in the Indian Archipelago, of which a large portion of the redundant population could easily be conveyed to that island, and settled in suitable localities along the coast, under the superintendence of intelligent Europeans, as artisans, agriculturists, and traders. The valuable nutmeg tree is indigenous in New Guinea, as well as in the Molucca Islands; and its Aborigines appear to be a decidedly improvable race, as compared with their congeners in Australia. Some of its tribes are agriculturists in the interior, while others are fishermen and traders on the coast; and, like certain of the aboriginal tribes of the archipelago far to the westward, they construct immense wooden buildings, in which all the families of a village live together, each however in its separate compartment as on board ship, the unmarried men having a separate house for themselves.

After being occupied in this way for a time, New Guinea would ultimately become a ninth province of the Australian Union, but without the condition as to emigration, as in the Seven United Provinces. It would prove like the East and West Indies to the adventurous youth of the Union, who would there grow tropical productions by means of Aboriginal, Malayan, or Chinese labour.

Two other provinces might also be formed, as parts of the great Australian Union, from the islands of the Western Pacific; with the island of New Caledonia, perhaps, as the head-quarters of one of them. And although it would not be expedient to divert any portion of the Land Fund of Australia and New Zealand for the promotion of

emigration to these provinces from the continent of Europe, I can see no reason why a similar fund arising from the sale of land in the islands of the Western Pacific and New Guinea, should not be appropriated for that purpose. When the late German Parliament at Frankfort professed, during its ephemeral existence, to take up the subject of emigration as a national concern, I caused a pamphlet which I had written on the capabilities of the island of New Caledonia for the settlement of a European colony, to be translated into German, and published at Leipsic for circulation among the members; showing them how easily they could form a flourishing German colony in that noble island, which I felt confident the British Government would at once sanction their doing. But I confess it would be much better done by the future National Government of Australia.

In one word, it is quite in the power of Great Britain, by a single Act of Parliament (which, so far from implying any real sacrifice on her own part, would be productive of extraordinary and incalculable benefits to her people), to give existence to one of the mightiest Powers on earth, in the Australian seas — a Power that would form the only formidable rival to the United States out of Europe. With a coast-line extending from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land to the Equator (including the island of New Guinea), and with whole groups of islands in the Western Pacific looking up to her National Government as their common parent and protector, where is there elsewhere on earth the prospect of so vast a power being called into existence, and within so short a period also, as that in which this entire *ideal* might be fully realized? It appears to me peculiarly desirable for Great Britain to have such a power in these regions bound to herself, as the one supposed would necessarily be, by the strongest ties, considering the vast ambition of our brother Jonathan in the Far West. We are incomparably better situated in Australia for commanding the trade of the

Eastern Seas, than the Americans are in California and the Oregon territory; and it must evidently be the highest interest of Britain that we should grow and prosper. The boundless extension of her own trade, and the happiness of myriads of her people, are indissolubly bound up with the freedom and independence of Australia. Why then should she imperil these mighty and substantial advantages for a mere empty and valueless possession — the mere whistle of a name? I cannot imagine anything either more interesting or more beautiful for the moralist, for the philanthropist, for the Christian man, than the strong and devoted attachment which would immediately spring up and ever afterwards subsist on the part of the whole Australian people towards Great Britain, if she were only to do us this one act of justice — to give us freedom and independence.

Section V. — Results to Education, Morals, and Religion.

I am strongly of opinion that the freedom and independence of the Australian provinces would give a wonderful impulse to the cause of popular education throughout these provinces. Hitherto, nothing comparatively has been done in this matter in the Australian colonies; the object of the public functionaries having uniformly been to get as much of the public money as possible appropriated in the way of salaries, and as little as possible for anything else. In the new States of America there are uniformly large appropriations of the public lands made by Congress for general education from the very first; and these school-lands are placed under able and vigilant trustees, who realise the largest possible revenue obtainable from them, for the particular object of their destination; it being the general belief of men of intelligence and public spirit in the United States, that the republican institutions of the country could not be sustained, if the people were not generally a well-educated

people. The proportion set apart for the support of education in the new states is every 36th allotment; and it is an interesting fact, as illustrative of the effect which republican institutions have upon a people, in inducing them to support institutions for education, that the state of Connecticut, having had a portion of waste land in the state of Ohio, as large as the whole state of Connecticut, assigned to it after the Revolution, in lieu of certain claims for territory to the westward which it agreed to relinquish for the public benefit, nobly resolved to set apart the whole of this princely domain for the support of education. It is lamentable, however, to think that not one acre of public land has ever yet been appropriated in Australia for education; but this is only one of the many benefits and blessings of Downing Street colonization.

From what I know of the Australian colonies, I am persuaded that liberal appropriations would most willingly be made by any popular government in Australia for education of all kinds in that country — for common schools, for academies, for colleges, and for universities — and that a noble field would thus be opened up for emigrants of standing and ability in all the liberal professions, and especially in all departments connected with the education of youth. That education should become popular in any country, it is absolutely necessary that its professors should be respected; and this very desirable consummation can only be arrived at by giving them salaries that will place them on the same level with other respectable men. The rector of a public academy or high school in the city of Boston, in Massachusetts, receives as high a salary from the public as the governor of the state. *

* "It was a happy and memorable feature in the character of the American colonists, and especially of the people of New England, that the work of tuition, in all its branches, was highly honoured among them, and that no civil functionary was regarded with more respect, or crowned with more distinguished praise, than a diligent and conscientious schoolmaster." — Grahame, iii. 345.

It will scarcely be necessary, after the sketches I have felt myself constrained to give of the present inmates of Government House, Sydney, to inform the reader that the morals of the people would be promoted to a wonderful degree by the achievement of their national freedom. The influence of an immoral and worthless ruler, in lowering the standard of public morals throughout an entire community, is incalculable. Like an iceberg in the great Southern Ocean, it lowers the moral temperature for leagues around.

Besides, the virtual exclusion of the great body of the people, including even the respectable classes of society, from all concern in the government of their country, under the anti-popular institutions to which we are still subjected in the Australian colonies, renders them positively indifferent on the subject, and makes them concentrate all their hopes and affections on the grovelling pursuit of wealth. It is indispensably necessary for the moral welfare and advancement of society, that men should both know and feel that they *have* a country; but it is quite impossible that men should do this under the existing system.

The glorification of wealth, as the only object worthy of men's pursuit or ambition, is, as I have already had occasion to observe, the necessary result of our present institutions; and although it is therefore rather our misfortune than our crime, it has necessarily a debasing influence on the entire community. The circumstance of the late General Harrison, President of the United States, living in his own *log-cabin*, on the great bend of the Ohio river — or of the late President Polk dying worth only 25,000 dollars, that is, only about 5,000*l.* — reminds us of the glorious days of old Rome, and of the real and not pretended contempt of riches for which her heroic people were so remarkable:

> "Privatus illis census erat brevis;
> Commune magnum."

"The salaries of their public functionaries, and the estates of private individuals, were then comparatively small; but the wealth and power of the state were proportionably great."* The creed of the Mussulman is, "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his Prophet:" but the creed which is virtually taught by *our peculiar institutions* is, "There is no God but Mammon, and we are all his worshipers."

I am equally confident that the triumphs of Christianity, in its purest forms, would be rapid, signal, and extensive under the flag of entire freedom and national independence in Australia. The present Australian colonial system, of supporting all forms of religion equally from the treasury of the state, is essentially latitudinarian and infidel in its character, and therefore necessarily irreligious and demoralising in its tendency. It would never be permitted to subsist under the reign of freedom and independence. There would then be a fair field for all, and no favour for any; and as the truth is great, it would

* Curius Dentatus, having been presented by the Roman people with fifty acres of land, on account of the great ability and bravery he had exhibited in gaining a victory over Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for which he had also been honoured with a triumph, declined receiving the gift, which he thought too great, and was content with the usual plebeian allotment of seven acres. — Columella, i. 3. (I think I am indebted for this illustration to Niebuhr, but I have omitted to mark the reference.) I wonder what this honest old Roman would have thought of *our* Mr. Wentworth — a patriot, like himself — claiming, from the late governor of New South Wales, the recognition of his *right* to the whole of the Middle Island of New Zealand, under the notorious pretext of his having purchased it, forsooth, from a few of the natives! It is impossible, in the nature of things, that genuine patriotism can co-exist in the same breast with such enormous greed; and, therefore, it was one of the most natural things in the world for Mr. Wentworth to turn his coat and become a government man, as he did, and vote for the infamous Electoral Act, that deprived half the inhabitants of his native land of their proper share of the general representation.

ultimately prevail. At the same time it is one of the profoundest mysteries in the history of man, as I have noticed elsewhere, that the progressive landing of 50,000 British criminals on the shores of Australia should have been the first in that series of events which is evidently destined, in the counsels of Eternity, to issue in the occupation and settlement, the civilization and christianization of a large portion of the southern hemisphere. It reminds us, at all events, that *God's thoughts are not our thoughts, neither are our ways His ways. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are His ways higher than our ways, and His thoughts than our thoughts.**

Australia is at this moment one of the most important centres of moral and Christian influence on the face of the globe. It possesses this character in a degree incomparably higher than the United States of America. The forty millions of the Mahometan and Pagan inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, whom Christian Europe has left almost entirely uncared for these three centuries, will be brought within a few days' sail of our first settlement on the Gulf of Carpentaria. New Guinea, one of the largest islands in the world, is at our door; *and the multitude of the isles* of the Western Pacific are close upon our eastern coast, while China looms in the distance from the northern extremity of the land. There is clearly, therefore, no part of the habitable globe on which it is of more importance at this moment to plant a thoroughly Christian people than the shores of Australia. The Christian settlement formed, through my own instrumentality, at Moreton Bay, sufficiently shows how much may be accomplished in this way, with very limited means, and notwithstanding every discouragement on the part of a thoroughly heartless, blind, and unprincipled Government. With half a million of people of the same class and character — and there would be no difficulty in finding them

* *Isai.* lv. 8, 9.

— Australia would have a moral machinery to bring to bear upon the heathenism of the earth, unsurpassed by that of any other Christian country of equal population in the world. I confess I entertain the highest hopes of my adopted country in this important particular. I believe it is destined, in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom, to be the seat of one of the first of the Christian nations of the earth, and that while *the number of its* Christian people *will yet be as the sand of the sea which cannot be measured or numbered, it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.**

* *Hosea*, i. 10.

CHAP. V.

AN APOLOGY FOR PENAL COLONIES FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

SECTION I. — CAUSES OF THE LARGE AND CONSTANTLY INCREASING AMOUNT OF CRIME IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I HAVE already had occasion to contrast the social system of the ancient commonwealth of Israel, in the article of the distribution of property in land, with that of the United Kingdom at the present day. In the nation of Israel, when originally constituted, there were 601,730 proprietors of land, each holding an equal extent, out of an entire population of about three millions, that is one for every five: and there was a provision besides, in the Constitutional Code of the country, to the effect that any person who had lost his landed property in the interval — no matter from what cause — should return into the possession of his family every fiftieth year.

The object of this peculiar political institution was unquestionably to preserve as much as possible a condition of equality in the distribution and possession of the real property of the country, as being the most conducive, in the eye of the legislator, to the moral welfare and social happiness of the people. This object, and the reason on which the peculiar political institution to which I have referred was based, are clearly stated by that ancient but able politician, *Agur, the son of Jakeh,* in his beautiful prayer, *Remove far from me vanity and lies: give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord?* or LEST I BE POOR AND STEAL, AND TAKE THE

NAME OF MY GOD IN VAIN.* Passing over the other social and political aspects of this ancient record of consummate political wisdom, it is here laid down as a fixed and established maxim of social polity, "that a condition of poverty leads directly to dishonesty and theft, to irreligion, and to all manner of crime." I find precisely the same idea put forth by that able but eccentric political writer, the late William Cobbett, in the following energetic language:—"Poverty and misery have always been, and always must be, the prolific parents of crime."†

Such then was a social system of God's planning and organization: let us now see one of man's under our own *glorious and happy constitution in Church and State.* According, therefore, to Mr. D'Israeli, we have considerably under 250,000 proprietors of land in all Great Britain and Ireland, for a population of twenty-eight millions, that is, one in every hundred and twelve of the entire population; while the land, so held by this mere handful of proprietors, is in all manner of unequal proportions, from whole counties down to mere potato gardens. Besides, so far are we from having anything equivalent to the beautiful Jubilee institution of the ancient Israelites — so far are we from having laws to equalize the distribution of real property after periodical intervals — the whole course and object of our legislation for centuries past has been to accumulate landed property in the hands of a comparatively few individuals, and to depress a large portion at least of the rest of the community to an abject and degraded condition. That grand iniquity, for instance, the feudal system, has left us, as a sacred legacy, its laws of primogeniture and entail, to depress and degrade the masses of the people.

I should be sorry to have it supposed that I had any intention to recommend a substitution of the political

* *Prov.* xxx. 8, 9.

† *Letter to the Pope.* London, 1828.

institutions of Moses for those of the United Kingdom, or to hint at the propriety of a redistribution of the landed property of the country, on the principle of the Hebrew Jubilee. I have nothing in common with M. Prudhomme and the French Communists, nor do I hold with them the monstrous and dangerous doctrine that "Property is robbery."* All I mean to assert is, that a right principle for the organization of a social system must be equally applicable to *us* and to the ancient Hebrews, and that a wrong one will be productive of precisely the same effect in both cases. And if every tree is to be known by its fruits, it is at least questionable whether the tree of our own *glorious and happy constitution* should be classified under the category of good trees, or under that of bad ones; for it cannot be denied that it produces a fearful, and a constantly increasing, amount of poverty, and misery, and crime.

Section II. — National Safety-valve provided for the Remedy of this fundamental Defect in our Social System.

But Divine Providence has beneficently furnished the British nation with a safety-valve, so to speak, for the periodical escape of much of this peccant matter — the product of our peculiar social system — and for turning it to the best possible account. It has given Great Britain a colonial empire of vast extent, comprising every variety of soil and climate, fit for the settlement and sustenance of European life. It has given her facilities for colonization, such as no country in the world ever possessed before. And it has called her, as if by an audible voice from heaven, to fulfil her proper mission — the highest and holiest mission ever assigned to any nation upon earth — to extend, by means of her enterprising and energetic people, her noble language, her equitable laws, her free institutions, and her Protestant religion, over a vast extent of the habitable surface of the globe. And what have we been doing all the while — with these glorious objects before us, and this mighty machinery of means at our command? Why, like unskilful engineers as we are, we have, for two centuries past, been placing that *talent of lead*, the Colonial Office, upon the national safety-valve, colonization, to prevent the waste steam from escaping, till we have all but burst the boilers, and blown up the noblest ship that ever sailed the seas.

* *Propriété c'est le vol.* — Prudhomme.

Section III. — No Means of permanently disposing of the constantly increasing Criminal Population of the British Islands at Home.

In these circumstances there is no possible means of permanently disposing of the constantly increasing criminal population of the United Kingdom, in Great Britain and Ireland. Employ what form of punishment for crime you please — gaols, hulks, or penitentiaries; the silent and social system, or the silent and solitary system — the result is precisely the same: there is a constantly increasing amount of criminal population, which it is utterly impossible to dispose of, either safely or advantageously, at home.* For if the criminal is thrown back upon society, after he has completed his term of punishment, under any conceivable system, society rejects him with abhorrence; for who, if he knows it, will employ a man who has served his time at the hulks? Whatever purposes of amendment,

* "Warning is, in ordinary cases, the principal end of punishment; but it is not the only end. To remove the offender, to preserve society from those dangers that are to be apprehended from his incorrigible depravity, is often one of the ends. In the case of such a knave as Wild, or such a ruffian as Thurtell, it is a very important end."—Macaulay's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 142.

therefore, the criminal may have been led to form during his period of punishment, he finds it impossible to realize them on his return to society, there being no suitable field open for him in any quarter, and every door being closed against him. In such circumstances he has no resource but to return to his former courses, and he returns accordingly ; *like the dog returning to his vomit, or the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.*

It appears to me, therefore, to be an absolute political necessity for the British empire, under existing circumstances, to have a system of convict colonization, as part of the national machinery for the repression and punishment of crime ; such a course being equally the dictate of humanity towards the criminal, and a matter of absolute necessity for the well-being of society.

Section IV.—Objections to Convict Colonization considered —Lord Bacon's.

"It is a shameful and unblessed thing," observes Lord Bacon, "to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant : and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation."*

Now I entirely agree with Lord Bacon as to the general principle laid down in this passage ; and if Great Britain had no other system of colonization in progress, than convict colonization, I would join with his lordship in denouncing it with all my heart. But Lord Bacon had no experience of such a state of things as the present in the British empire ; for if it has become a matter of urgent

* *Essays*, No. 33. "*Of Plantations.*"

necessity for the well-being of society, as well as a measure of humanity towards the criminal, to establish a system of convict colonization, there must necessarily be a particular exception to his excellent general rule ; for all such rules admit of such exceptions.* If Lord Bacon had lived in our times, he would most certainly have recognized such an exception in the case in question ; and while he would have urged the observance of his general rule in any system of national colonization, for the relief of the poverty and misery, and for the gradual withdrawal of the dissatisfaction and disaffection of the empire, he would also have admitted the necessity for a system of convict colonization, for the disposal of its constantly increasing criminal population.

At the same time, Lord Bacon was, as Mahomet says of the Unbelievers, "in a manifest error,"† when he laid it down as a maxim for such cases, that convicts "will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work" in a plantation. This is contrary to all colonial experience in penal colonies ; and if so little work comparatively has actually been got out of the convicts in such colonies, it has arisen principally from the bad system on which these colonies have hitherto been founded and managed. If crime in Great Britain is, in great measure, as I firmly believe it is, the result of the poverty and misery so prevalent in the mother-country, and if that poverty and misery is the result of our peculiar institutions, in regard to the distribution of property, combined with the pressure of the Downing Street talent of lead on the national safety-valve, colonization, the probability is that, in a large majority of instances at least, the convict, if relieved from the further pressure of poverty and misery, and placed in circumstances which would afford him a certain prospect of comfort in his worldly condition, would "live like a rogue" no longer, but "fall to work" in right earnest.

* Exceptio probat regulam.

† Sale's *Alcoran*, *passim.*

SECTION V. — RESULTS OF TRANSPORTATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND NO ARGUMENT AGAINST THE SYSTEM GENERALLY.

No person in the least acquainted with the history of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, during the continuance of the Convict system in the former of these colonies, can fail to be astonished at the utter want both of system and of common sense, as well as at the gross mismanagement, that were everywhere apparent; and the only wonder is that, in circumstances so peculiarly unfavourable, such results, as were actually attained, could have been realized. When examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, in the year 1837, I gave it as my opinion that transportation to New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land should forthwith be discontinued; as these colonies were then no longer fit places for carrying out the objects of transportation, in consequence of the mismanagement of former years, and as they were also sufficiently advanced in their material interests not to require such an appendage any longer. But regarding the continuance of transportation as a political necessity for the British empire, and a measure of humanity towards the convict, I recommended that it should still be continued, and carried out, with all the improvements which the experience of half a century would suggest, in some other locality. And to these opinions and recommendations I still adhere.*

* "The vast amount of crime which is chargeable on the colony" (of New South Wales) "almost entirely proceeds from its unreformed convict population, *for whose moral improvement and proper restraint little has, at any period of its history, been done*, and, of the former at least, little in comparison with the necessity is even yet in progress."—Judge Burton, *Article on the Moral Condition of New South Wales; Colonial Magazine*, May, 1840.

It is monstrous, therefore, for the British Government to persevere, as it has been doing for years past, at the instance of Earl Grey, in maintaining a fruitless and discreditable contest, first with the colony of New South Wales, and afterwards with that of Van Dieman's Land, for the continuance of transportation to these colonies. If the question had been for the continuance or discontinuance of transportation absolutely, there would have been some reason for holding out for its continuance; but when it took the form of a contest with a particular colony for continuing and carrying it out in that colony, against the opinions, and remonstrances, and protests of a large majority of the colonists, the procedure of the Home Government was as impolitic as it was oppressive and tyrannical, and could only be met, as it has been, with determined resistance.

The discovery of gold in Eastern Australia has placed this question in a very different light from what it has ever appeared in before. The probability is that the Australian Andes, on the western slopes of which the gold regions are chiefly found, are auriferous throughout their whole extent, to the northern extremity of the land. It would, therefore, be folly in the extreme, besides being an actual premium on crime throughout the United Kingdom, to banish criminals to a Gold Field. Besides, to send convicts to Cooksland, or Moreton Bay, as Earl Grey has recently been proposing to do, would virtually be quite the same as sending them to New South Wales, from which they are now expressly excluded; the boundary between the two countries being a mere imaginary line. And to form a penal settlement on any part of the east coast, still farther to the northward, would be holding out the greatest facilities of escape for the convicts to the numerous inhabited isles of the Western Pacific; the water on that part of the coast being so still within the Barrier Reef, and the islands so near. So far, therefore, as the carrying out of the transportation system

of the United Kingdom is concerned, the island of Van Dieman's Land, and the whole eastern coast of Australia, must be given up and abandoned.

Section VI. — Objection, from the alleged Perpetuation of Crime in a Penal Colony, considered and refuted.

There are men who would benevolently, as they consider it, order home all the actual convicts from the existing penal colonies, but who protest strongly against the idea of founding any other colony of the same kind, on the ground of the alleged immorality of the thing, and of the supposed tendency of a colony so framed to produce nothing but crime. The proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, in the years 1837 and 1838, called into existence a whole host of these well-meaning, but exceedingly ill-informed, and wrong-headed people. Without troubling themselves as to what they were to do with the constantly increasing number of convicts — the natural product, in so many instances, of poverty and misery—in the United Kingdom; and without troubling themselves as to what the liberated convict could do for himself in the mother-country, after the completion of his period of punishment, they got up a senseless hue and cry about the inherent immorality of a Penal Colony; and formed, in their own fertile imagination, a sort of inclined plane, descending from the actual level of society to the bottomless pit, down which a colony so formed would be sure to descend, with the perpetually increasing velocity of a falling body.

One of these well-meaning, but ill-informed and wrong-headed people, is the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Hinds, (late) Dean of Carlisle, who, in a Paper on Colonization, appended to Archbishop Whately's *Thoughts on Secondary*

Punishment, published in the year 1832, thus delivers himself of his great idea — referring all the while to the then convict colony of New South Wales.

"Imagine the case of a household most carefully made up of picked specimens from all the idle, mischievous, and notoriously bad characters in the country! Surely the man who should be mad or wicked enough to bring together this monstrous family, and to keep up its numbers and character by continual fresh supplies, would be scouted from the society he so outraged, — would be denounced as the author of a diabolical nuisance to his neighbourhood and his country, and would be proclaimed infamous for setting at nought all morality and decency. What is it better, that, instead of a household, it is a whole people we have so brought together, and are so keeping up? — that it is the wide society of the whole world, and not of a single country, against which the nuisance is committed?

"If then, the question be, What can be done for this colony? Begin, I should say, by breaking up the system; begin by removing all the unemancipated convicts. I do not undertake to point out the best mode of disposing of these; but let them be brought home and disposed of in any way rather than remain. There is no chance for the colony until this preliminary step be taken. In the next place I should propose measures, which may be compared to the fumigation of pestilential apartments, or to the careful search made by the Israelites in every recess and corner of their houses, for the purpose of casting away all their old leaven before beginning to make the unleavened loaves for the Passover. There should be a change of place, — a transfer, if possible, of the seat of government to some site within the colony, but as yet untainted with the defiling associations of crime and infamy."

And again: "Can we look forward without a shudder, at the appalling spectacle which a few generations hence

may be doomed to witness in Australia? Pass by as many years to come as it has taken the United States of America to attain to their present maturity, and here will be another new world with another new people, stretching out its population unchecked; rapid in its increase of wealth, and art, and power; taking its place in the congress of the mightiest nations; rivalling, perhaps, ruling them; — and then think what stuff this people will have been made of; and who it is that posterity will then curse for bringing this mildew on the social intercourse of the world; who it is that will be answerable for the injury done by it to human virtue and human happiness, at a tribunal more distant, but more awful even than posterity."

I can only say that such sentiments as these are not only quite unwarrantable, and contrary to all experience in penal colonies, but utterly unworthy of any Christian divine.* Mr. Cobbett, exceptionable character as he was

* To the same effect, Archbishop Whately, in his speech in the House of Lords, 19th May, 1840, thus expresses himself: —

"Better — far better — would it have been that the lands of New South Wales should have remained till the end of time in their primitive wildness, — better for the mother-country, — for the aborigines, — and for the settlers themselves, — that the whole region should have been swallowed up in the ocean, than that it should have been erected into such a monument of national folly and perversity, such a stronghold and seminary of wide-spreading and permanent moral corruption, as it now exhibits."

And again, "To persevere, I say, knowingly and deliberately in thus creating a profligate nation, and by continual fresh supplies making and keeping it from generation to generation the most hopelessly corrupt community that ever the sun shone upon, would be a national crime and folly which I do trust there is too much good feeling and good sense among us to endure."

And again, "The more such a colony flourishes in respect of worldly prosperity, — the more its population increases, — (as it is likely to do most rapidly, with a practically boundless extent of territory) — and the more of commercial and political importance it acquires, — the more will its evil tendencies be developed, — the more widely and the more powerfully will it diffuse its pestilential taint; till it become a most portentous curse, as well as disgrace, to this nation, and to the world at large."

in some respects, was a much better divine than Bishop Hinds, when he maintained that *poverty and misery were the prolific parents of crime* in England, and left it to be inferred, that the only effectual means of diminishing crime is to remove its causes or sources. A large proportion of the poverty-and-misery-made criminals of England have only to be placed in circumstances more favourable for the development of the better parts of their moral nature, and for their acquisition of the means of living comfortably in a more reputable way, to ensure their return to the paths of virtue. Besides, it is anti-Christian, it is absolutely inhuman, to maintain that there is any taint in the blood, in the family, in the race, of a poverty-and-misery-made criminal, so that the offspring of such parentage should necessarily either equal or surpass the parents in crime. I know of numerous instances in New South Wales, of the offspring of convict parents on both sides becoming reputable, industrious, and virtuous members of society; and I should have no

Transportation to New South Wales was discontinued in 1840, while free emigration, for years before, had been greatly increased; the population having been doubled, from that source alone, during the administration of Sir George Gipps. The change, therefore, that has taken place for the better in the colony generally during the last fifteen years is wonderful. Still, however, the sweeping and condemnatory language of Archbishop Whately, as to the necessary and actual effects of transportation, even under the old system, bad as it was, is totally unwarranted, and the sheerest exaggeration. So also is the following picture of Sydney, in 1836, by Sir W. Molesworth, in his *Notes to the Report of the Select Committee on Transportation*: — "To dwell in Sydney would be much the same as inhabiting the lowest purlieus of St. Giles's, where drunkenness and shameless profligacy are not more apparent than in the capital of Australia." As a picture of Sydney at present, this would simply be ridiculous from its absurdity; but, even in 1836, it was the grossest exaggeration.

fears whatever for the morals even of a convict colony, in the second, and still less in the third and fourth generations, if founded on a right principle and judiciously managed. The colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, as well as all the other colonies of the group to which they belong, are destined, on the attainment of their freedom and independence, to take a high place, both in morals and in everything else, in the great family of nations; and there are few, if any, cities of Great Britain and Ireland, of equal population, and forming at the same time a haven for ships, that have a more quiet, orderly, and, I will not hesitate to add, virtuous population than a large majority of the inhabitants of the city of Sydney. Certainly, there is no city of equal extent in the United Kingdom in which a general election, even in a time of universal excitement, is conducted throughout in so peaceful and decorous a manner.

Section VII. — The Principles on which a Penal Colony ought to be founded and managed.

It is one of the wise sayings of Homer, that "the day a man loses his freedom, he loses half his virtue;" and it were well for mankind if the principle were recognized in regard to communities, as well as in regard to individuals; for I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction, that the acquisition of entire freedom by any community, now existing as a British colony, or series of colonies, would prodigiously increase the sum total of the public and private virtue of its inhabitants.

But there is no case in which this principle has been more completely lost sight of than in the management of criminals in penal colonies. The convict in such circumstances has uniformly been regarded and treated as a slave; and if the Local Government has not retained him

in its own hands, and for its own purposes, a master has been assigned him — and perhaps a tyrant — while the penal system to which he has been subjected has, generally, been irregular and uncertain in its operation, and in many instances unjust and cruel in the highest degree.*

* The following is a description of the situation and condition of a convict in assigned service in New South Wales during the penal times in that colony. It is extracted from a chapter on the "Distribution, employment, condition, and character of the convict population," contained in the second edition of my Historical and Statistical Account of that Colony, published in 1837; the whole of the chapter having been expunged in the present or third edition, as there is no longer a convict population in the colony: —

"The condition of a convict in New South Wales depends greatly on the character of his master: it is in the power of the latter to render his yoke easy and his burden light; it is equally in his power, however, to make him superlatively miserable. In general, the lot of a convict in the colony is by no means a hard one: for the most part, he is better clothed, better fed, and better lodged, than three-fourths of the labouring agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland; while, at the same time, his labour is beyond all comparison much less oppressive. In a great many instances, indeed, the object of the convict evidently is to get as much in the shape of allowances, and to do as little in the shape of hard labour, as possible.

"The grand secret in the management of convict-servants is to treat them with kindness, and at the same time with firmness; to speak to them always in a conciliating manner, and at the same time to keep them constantly employed: and it is nothing less than absolute blindness to his own interest, and a want of common sense amounting to downright infatuation, that can lead any master to treat them otherwise. It must be acknowledged, however, that such infatuation has prevailed in New South Wales to a lamentable extent, and has greatly retarded the advancement of the colony on the one hand, and occasioned much misery on the other.

"A free emigrant settler, who has perhaps been riding about the country for a fortnight — neglecting his own affairs and troubling his neighbours — returns to his farm, and finds that his convict-servants have been very idle during his absence: he talks to them on the subject, and his choler rises as he talks; and he curses and swears at them as if he had taken his degree at Billingsgate, instead

And how, I ask, can a man be expected to recover either the whole or the half of his lost virtue, in such a situation? In general, the thing is hopeless; and in so far I cordially agree with the opponents of transportation as it has hitherto been conducted.

of being a free landed proprietor in New South Wales. One of the convicts — a man who has perhaps seen better days — replies in no measured terms; and the master immediately exclaims, with the highest indignation, 'You convict-scoundrel, do you speak to me at this rate?' and, taking the overseer to witness that the man has spoken insolently to his master, he forthwith hies both overseer and man to the nearest magistrate, who perhaps resides ten miles off, and gallops after them himself an hour or two afterwards. On arriving at the magistrate's, the settler, who is a remarkably good Protestant, kisses the book, and swears that the man spoke to him insolently: the overseer, who is a stanch Roman Catholic, confirms his master's deposition by kissing the same book on the other side; on which the worthy magistrate — who knows that the Bible was sent him for kissing and not for reading — has religiously pasted a bit of whity-brown paper, cut with a pair of scissors, in the form of a cross. When this *religious* ceremony has been gone through, the magistrate, assuming a very grave aspect, sentences the convict to receive twenty-five lashes for insolence to his master, and he is accordingly delivered over to the scourger of the district. In the meantime, the farm is deprived of the superintendence of the master, the exertions of the overseer, and the labour of the convict; while the other convicts, disheartened and disgusted at the obvious injustice with which their fellow-labourer has been treated, do just as little as possible.

"As soon as the man who has been flogged is fit for labour, he is ordered to the plough; but perceiving that a thick strong root crosses the furrow at a particular point, he contrives the next time the bullocks reach that point, to run the plough right against the root and snap it asunder. 'You did it on purpose, you scoundrel!' says the infuriated settler, who has indeed good reason to be angry, for the season for ploughing is perhaps nearly over, and two or three days must elapse before the plough can be repaired, as there is probably no blacksmith within fifteen miles. The man, to whose corrupt nature revenge is so delicious that he does not deny the charge, but who is perhaps the best ploughman on the farm, is accordingly hied off immediately to his worship again; and, after the same pious ceremony of kissing the calf's-skin binding of the desecrated book and the whity-brown-paper cross has been reacted, is sentenced to

'three months' hard labour on the roads, to be returned to his master at the expiration of that period.'

"The man returns accordingly at the expiration of his sentence; but being addicted, as most convicts are, to the use of colonial tobacco, he allows a spark to fall from his tobacco-pipe, on his way to his labour, very near his master's largest wheat-stack, at a time when the latter happens to be off the farm; and in less than a quarter of an hour after the stack is observed to be on fire. One would naturally suppose that in such a case of emergency, all the men on the farm would immediately run to extinguish the flames: such a supposition, however, would be very far from the truth. The convicts are so conscientious, forsooth, that they will not do any thing which their master has not particularly told them to do; and he has never told them to extinguish the flames when any of his stacks should accidentally catch fire. Besides, they have a task assigned them, which they must not leave: in short, nothing gives them greater pleasure than to see their master's stack burning; for they know he must give them the regular ration, procure it where he may, or send them back to Government, in which case they will have a chance of being assigned to a better master. By and by, the master returns at full gallop in time enough to see where his stack stood. He has reason to suspect that a conspiracy has been formed against him by his men; but to save him the trouble of bringing any of them to justice, four of them immediately *take to the bush*, i. e. become bush-rangers, or runaway convicts, subsisting on plunder. In a month or two after, two of them are apprehended for robbing a settler's cart on the highway, and tried, and convicted, and condemned to death; and the wretched men assure the minister of religion who may happen to visit them in the jail or attend them on the scaffold—(I have received such information in such circumstances myself when it was too late to falsify)—that it was the arbitrary and unfeeling conduct of their master alone, that brought them to an untimely end.

"I may be told, perhaps, that this is a supposititious case, and that all of these circumstances have not occurred in any single instance. It is immaterial, however, whether they have or not, as I can testify right well where and when they have all occurred singly.

"Some settlers think it necessary, forsooth, to humble their convict-servants, and to make them fear them. An instance of this

I would therefore recommend that, in organizing any future penal colonies for Great Britain, the punishment, properly so called, should be undergone in England, in hard labour or otherwise, in some penitentiary or house of correction; and that after undergoing this punishment for a certain period, proportioned to the term of his sentence, or the magnitude of his crime, the convict should be transported to the penal colony, and there treated in all respects as a freeman; with the exception of not being permitted to leave the colony, till the period of his sentence should have expired.*

On the recommendation of Archbishop Whately, the

kind I have heard of in the colony with indignation and horror. A settler, requiring some office of a very disagreeable and offensive character to be performed on his premises, ordered one of his convict-servants to perform it, instead of adopting the much more efficacious mode of offering him a small reward on his doing it—a piece of tobacco, for instance, or a little wine. The man had perhaps seen better days, and therefore, feeling indignant at being set to such an employment, flatly refused. The master coolly ordered him off to a magistrate, who sentenced him to receive either twenty-five or fifty lashes for disobedience. The man returned to his master, who gave him the same order a second time; which the man a second time refused to obey: he was again taken before the magistrate, and sentenced to be flogged as before: and it was not till this degrading and brutalizing operation had been repeated a third time, that the spirit of the miserable convict was sufficiently broken to allow him to obey the mandate of his relentless tyrant.

"Man, indeed, is essentially a tyrant: it is education—I use the word in its widest sense—that makes him humane in any instance. Whatever arrangement of society, therefore, invests any man with such power over the person and happiness of his fellow-creature, as is possessed by the master of a convict or the holder of a slave, is essentially evil, and ought doubtless to be deprecated as indicative of an unhealthy state of the body politic."

* "It is possible that transportation might be usefully employed in combination with efficient penitentiaries, as a means of providing for convicts who have completed their terms of imprisonment."—Lewis, *on the Government of Dependencies*, 239.

Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, of the year 1838, adopted and embodied in their Report, a somewhat similar idea as to the mode of disposing of convicts who had undergone a sentence of hard labour in some Penitentiary at home. The passage of the Archbishop's letter, which the committee adopted, is to the following effect:—

"Under a reformed system of secondary punishment (supposing transportation abolished) it strikes me as desirable, with a view to the preservation from a return to evil courses of persons released from penitentiaries, &c., *after the expiry of their punishment*, that such as may have indicated a disposition to reform, should be, at their own desire, furnished with means of emigrating to various colonies, British or foreign, in which they may mix, not with such men as their old associates in crime, but with respectable persons, unacquainted with their past history, and may thus be enabled, as the phrase is, to 'turn over a new leaf.' This of course implies, that they should not emigrate in a body to any one place, and as a distinct class."

The differences between the Archbishop's suggestion and the plan I propose are as follows, viz.:—

1. The Archbishop would afford the means of emigration to some colony as a favour, to be granted to the well-disposed liberated convict, at his own desire; allowing all the other liberated convicts to be turned loose upon society again. I would, on the contrary, make banishment to a penal colony a part of the original sentence, and enforce it equally upon all; for the double purpose of giving the convict himself a fair chance in the world, and of ridding the mother-country of his presence. Agreeing as I do entirely with Sir William Molesworth, in thinking that "the separate system tends, more than any other punishment, to improve the moral character of an offender,"* I

* Sir W. Molesworth's Speech in the House of Commons, 5th May, 1840. During my visit to the United States in the year 1840,

would subject the convict for seven years, to one year's imprisonment in England under this system; the convict for fourteen years, to eighteen months' or two years' imprisonment, and the convict for life to two years, or two and a half, if two were adopted in the other case: and at the close of these periods respectively, I would subject them all to banishment to the penal colony; leaving them no choice as to where they should be sent to, and keeping them there under safe custody for the remainder of their sentences.

2. Archbishop Whately and the Committee would furnish the well-disposed liberated convicts with the means of emigrating, in a sort of clandestine manner, to some colony, British or foreign, "in which they may mix," forsooth! "with respectable persons, unacquainted with their past history." And what right, I ask, can Great Britain have to send persons of this description, to the number probably of several thousands annually, to any colonies, whether British or foreign? What right can Great Britain have to practise so gross and unmanly a deception upon the colonies? Every colony, whether British or foreign, on which it was attempted, would successively protest and rise indignantly against it, as the Californians of San Francisco recently did against a similar immigration of

I visited several of the prisons in different States — particularly one on the Silent and Social System, in Baltimore, Maryland, and another on the Separate and Solitary System, in Philadelphia. I decidedly prefer the latter of these systems. At my own request I was locked in, successively, with four or five of the convicts, in their respective cells, in the Penitentiary at Philadelphia, that I might converse with them on the subject; and the result of my enquiries was a strong conviction that the separate and solitary system was in a high degree both humane and reformatory, while it is evidently sufficiently formidable. I also examined the Medical Report of the Prison for a considerable period, and found that the alleged tendency of the system to produce insanity was not substantiated; the cases of insanity being not more numerous than under any other system of punishment.

expiree convicts from the Australian colonies. For surely the Archbishop and the Committee know well that the *poverty-and-misery*-made crime of the United Kingdom is not so small in its amount, as to be thus disposed of without observation, even after it has undergone the reformatory discipline of penitentiaries at home. Great Britain must act *openly* and *honestly* with the colonies in this matter, and must therefore provide a *separate* place of refuge for liberated convicts, after they have undergone that discipline, in some penal colony formed on the plan I propose; in which, while the mother-country would be rid of his presence, the convict would have the fairest chance of regaining the position of an honest and reputable man. I am totally at issue with the Archbishop as to the probable moral and social results of a colony formed on that plan, consisting, although it would, of liberated convicts almost exclusively.

The saving of expense to Government in organizing the supposed colony would, under such a system, be prodigious, while the effect on the convicts themselves would be salutary in the highest degree; for whereas, under the system hitherto in operation, the convict has always received his rations, whether he wrought for them or not — and he generally contrived to do as little as possible — he would, under this system, receive no rations, but be obliged to find subsistence for himself from the wages of his labour.

Besides, the hope of acquiring property of any kind is the grand incentive to labour — among convicts, as well as among all other classes of people — for it is only when a man finds that he is not working for nothing, that he has any heart to work at all. Nay, the hope of acquiring property by means of labour, and the powerful influence which that hope exerts upon the individual, are, in general, the only means left of acting upon the convict and of ensuring his reformation. Punishment may have lost its terrors for the criminal, and any indulgence that could be

given him, so long as he is a mere Government slave, may be despised; but let him only feel and know that he is his own master, that he can acquire property by means of his labour, that he can make himself a man of substance, and therefore of consequence, in the land of his banishment, and you have thenceforth the strongest hold upon that individual that human nature affords.

But there is one thing wanting still, without which everything else would be worthless in the way of securing either general or permanent reformation; and that is, the *tie of family*. What is property, in such circumstances, to a banished man, who has nobody to think of, and nobody to care for, but himself? The probability is, that if, in such circumstances, he acquires property at all, he will spend it in rioting and dissipation, if he has the means to do so. He will labour for a time, and perhaps accumulate largely; but being an isolated individual on the earth, with nobody to care for, and nobody to care for him, he will, in some moment of recklessness, when the spirit of the beast returns upon him, and that of the man has fled for the time, have a regular *blow-out*, as men of this description frequently have in the actual penal colonies, and spend the whole of his property in reckless dissipation. But let such a man have the opportunity of having a wife and children, and the process of reformation will be wonderfully accelerated, and its permanence secured.

It would therefore be indispensably necessary, in order to ensure the progress of reformation in a penal colony, constituted as I have proposed, to provide a female as well as a male population for the colony; and this might be done in the three following ways, to the full extent required:—

1. Only convicts that were married, and had wives and children, might be sent to the penal colonies in the first instance; the wife and children to be sent out by the Government, passage free, after a certain brief period of probation on the part of the convict.

2. Female convicts might, after the establishment of the colony, be sent out as well as males, to enable the latter to form matrimonial connections among persons of their own class; and

3. After the penal colony had acquired a name and a character at home, a free passage out to it might be offered from time to time to a certain number of the female inmates of penitentiaries in the United Kingdom, to enable these females, for whom there is now no opening at home, to make the best of the chance which emigration to such a colony would afford them, of regaining that position in its society which they had forfeited in their own country; or, in other words, to afford them the chance of becoming wives and mothers. It might even be practicable to secure the repayment of the passage money of such female emigrants from their future husbands, as the Virginia Company did in the case of the female emigrants they sent out for a similar purpose to that ancient colony.*

The different religious societies of the mother-country would be sure to take a warm interest in any penal colony founded on such principles as these, and would gladly send out ministers of religion and missionaries to labour among its inhabitants for their general reformation; and the presence of such ministers and missionaries would wonderfully facilitate the carrying out of the great objects of the settlement. It would be desirable, however, for the Government to leave this matter entirely in the hands of these societies; as in that case a revenue would very soon be raised in the colony for the support of the ministers or missionaries — if not entirely, at least in part. There is no means of effecting the reformation of persons in the condition supposed so effectual as that of giving them an

* It ought also to be a *sine qua non* in such a colony, that the public functionaries should be married men, to set a proper example to the colony, and to form a *point d'appui* for all well-disposed persons.

opportunity of being recognised as members of some Christian congregation.

To enable the Government to carry out a plan of this kind in any newly formed colony, it would be necessary to have certain works in progress, requiring both skilled and unskilled labour, in the first instance, to enable the liberated convicts to earn reasonable wages for their subsistence; the Government supplying the necessary provisions at a reasonable price, till merchants and dealers should spring up in the community, which they would be sure to do, almost immediately. These works would consist of the erection of such public buildings as would be indispensably necessary for the purposes of government, as well as of houses for the liberated convicts; the clearing, fencing, and cultivation of the land; and the construction of wharfs, roads and bridges. The outlay for such purposes would not require to be large, and a considerable portion of that outlay would eventually be repaid to the treasury, from the progressive sale of the houses and allotments of ground so erected and cleared; which the colonists would be glad to purchase at a reasonable rate. This, of course, presupposes that the locality would be well chosen for soil, climate, and means of communication.

Such, then, are the principles on which a whole series of penal colonies might easily be formed and managed by Great Britain, at a comparatively small expense, for the transcendantly important purpose of relieving her of the present and intolerable annoyance of her constantly increasing criminal population. And I appeal to the reader as to whether such a mode of disposing of that population would not be incomparably more humane to the convict, as well as incomparably safer to the State, than immuring them for a series of years in prisons of any kind in England, and then throwing them back upon society as liberated felons. As to the prospect of eventually forming a reputable society even out of these base materials, I confess I am totally at issue with such men as Sir

William Molesworth, Archbishop Whately, and Bishop Hinds; but *their* opinion, it must be observed, on the subject of penal colonies, or rather their *theory* as to what a penal colony, however founded and managed, must necessarily be, and must necessarily become, has been formed without sufficient evidence, and without one tittle of personal experience; whereas, the opinion I have expressed above is the result of nearly thirty years' observation and experience of the capabilities of human nature, under the conditions of a penal colony. The idea that the second and third generations of a penal colony, so formed and managed as I have recommended, would be such a community of cut-throats, villains, monsters in human form, as these gentlemen take it for granted they would be, is contrary to all experience in the Australian colonies. I am confident that long before the third generation of a colony, formed and managed as I have recommended, should appear upon the stage of existence, most of the traces of its convict origin would have disappeared.

Section VIII. — Places where such Penal Colonies might be advantageously formed — the Falkland Islands.

There is no place in Her Majesty's dominions so suitable in every respect for the formation of a Penal Colony, of the kind I have indicated, as the Falkland Islands: and as these islands have no native inhabitants, and have been offered for colonization to the British public unsuccessfully for at least ten years past, there can be no possible objection to the proposal on either of these grounds. There are no Aborigines to contaminate, and no European free colonists to interfere with.

The Falkland Islands are a group of islands belonging to Great Britain, and situated in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, to the northward and eastward of Cape Horn; extending from 51° to 53° south latitude, and from 57° to

62° west longitude. They consist of two principal islands, — the Eastern and Western Falklands — with a number of smaller ones; and their coasts abound in bays, harbours, sounds and fishing banks, to an extent perhaps unequalled in any other islands of equal area in the world. The following is the superficial extent of the islands: —

	Sq. m.
East Falkland, 95 by 53 miles: mean 85 by 40 - - -	= 3000
West Falkland, 80 by 25 miles -	= 2000
Smaller islands, at least 90 in number	= 1000
	6000

Or, 3,840,000 acres.*

The Sound that separates the two larger islands is from seven to twelve miles broad, and forms a series of superior harbours. The thermometer ranges from 70° of Fahrenheit in summer, to 30° in winter; the climate being pretty much like that of Scotland, but considerably milder in winter, snow seldom lying more than forty-eight hours on the ground, and the vegetation being chiefly evergreen. The islands have no standing timber, which would have to be procured from the Straits of Magellan, where it is obtainable in any quantity for all purposes; but peat, for fuel, is abundant, and the soil is a beautiful black mould, from six inches to two feet deep. Wheat and flax have both been grown on the islands; and potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and other European roots and vegetables, grow abundantly and of excellent quality. Besides, there are 30,000 horned cattle on the eastern island, the produce of a few head that were left on that island, where a French settlement was formed and afterwards abandoned about a century ago — in consequence of a dispute about the proprietorship of the islands — with many horses, pigs, rabbits, goats, and geese.

* *Parliamentary Paper.* Report, by Lieut.-Governor Moody, in 1842: with other authorities.

The Falkland Islands are about half way from the Australian colonies to London, on the homeward voyage by Cape Horn. They would form an excellent place for vessels in that trade to touch at for refreshments; their principal harbour, Berkeley Sound, being quite in the way, if the wind happens to be favourable. I have passed them seven times, but have seen them only once; as ships, from the colonies, not intending to touch (which they could only do lately), generally keep away from the land. On two occasions, when we had intended to touch at Berkeley Sound, the wind was unfavourable, and we were driven off. The former of these occasions was a very remarkable one. We had doubled Cape Horn on the 25th of August, 1833, and were steering for the islands for a day or two afterwards, when a northerly wind drove us too far to the eastward to beat back, which we considered a misfortune at the time. But I afterwards ascertained that that contrary wind was one of the most providential occurrences in my life; for on the 26th of August, the day after we had doubled the Cape, a horrible massacre of all the Europeans at the Sound was perpetrated by a number of Buenos Ayrean convict Guachos, or herdsmen, who were there in the service of a few Europeans, on the establishment of a French merchant of Buenos Ayres; the islands not being at the time in the possession of the British Government. Had our vessel, which was only a small one, gone into the Sound immediately after such an occurrence, we should probably have been all murdered, before we had learned what had taken place on shore; as the Guachos would have been glad to have seized such a vessel to carry themselves and their plunder to South America.

The present Government Establishment on the Falkland Islands, which was formed in the year 1842, with a view to the colonization of the Islands, costs the mother-coun-

try 5000*l.* a year; but no colonization has taken place as yet, the whole number of the inhabitants, including the Government Establishment, being still considerably under a hundred. As a free colony, therefore, the project has been a complete failure, and a very expensive one, too, to the mother-country; but the islands are unquestionably one of the fittest places possible for the establishment of such a penal colony as I have described. And if the convicts, to be sent out to them in the event of that suggestion being adopted, should in the first instance be married men exclusively, with their wives and children, two very important objects would be attained — the men would have no inducement to leave the islands, while an island population would soon be created, strongly attached to the place, and peculiarly fitted to engage in every occupation which its soil, and climate, and seas, might render suitable and desirable. That it is a suitable place for the habitation of Europeans is unquestionable. That it is exceedingly desirable that a British settlement should be formed in so promising a locality, is equally undeniable; and that no such settlement is likely to be formed in that particular locality in any other way, must now be pretty evident to all parties. The present Government Expenditure at the Falkland Islands, for which Mr. Hawes found it so difficult to account, when taken to task on the subject, last year, by Mr. Cobden, would be quite sufficient for the mere government of the place, as a penal colony, for a considerable time to come, while the change would give the present officials something to do. The climate, which is somewhat rigorous, would compel the liberated convicts to labour for their subsistence; but that labour would be sure to meet with an abundant reward: and it would surely redound to the honour and glory of Britain thus to form, from the very refuse of her population, as I am confident she would succeed in doing, a noble British colony in this remote locality. Such a colony would in all likelihood lead eventually to the occupation of much

land, which is still open for colonization, in the extensive, but little known, region of Patagonia. *

Section IX. — Other Places where Penal Colonies might be successfully formed — the West and North West Coasts of Australia.

It appears to me that a series of small penal colonies, of the kind I have suggested, would be much more likely to prove successful, in ensuring the general and rapid reformation of the liberated convict population, than a single large one. With this view, while one such colony might be formed in Berkeley Sound, on the north-eastern coast of the Eastern Falkland Island, another could with equal facility be formed on the south-western coast of the Western Island, either subordinate to the other, or independent of it. There is room, indeed, for half a dozen such settlements on the Falkland Islands alone.

But there is a far more extensive field for the formation of a whole series of such colonies on the west and north-west coasts of Australia, including the present colony of Swan River, or Western Australia; in which considerable progress has recently been made, with the concurrence of the free inhabitants, in the formation of a convict establishment on the old principle. Whatever may be the issue of that experiment, it appears to me that it would be greatly preferable, in forming a series of new penal colonies on the plan I have recommended, to occupy a completely new field, where there would be no colonists of a different description to be interfered with: and the first point which it would be advisable, on many accounts, to occupy in this way, is the Victoria River, on the north-west coast. This noble river, as yet the largest known in

* These observations were written within about two hundred miles of the Falkland Islands.

Australia, was discovered by Captain Wickham, R.N., of her Majesty's surveying ship "Beagle," now Police-Magistrate at Brisbane, Moreton Bay; and it is thus described by Captain Stokes, who succeeded Captain Wickham in the command of the expedition, and conducted the exploring party up the river: —

"The Victoria [river] falls into the Indian Ocean, in lat. 14° 40′ S. and long. 129° 21′ E., being, at its confluence with the sea, twenty-six miles wide. The land upon either side as you enter the river is bold and well defined; but from the margin of the western shore, an extensive mud and mangrove flat, not entirely above the level of high water, and reaching to the base of a range of hills, about seventeen miles from the water's edge, seemed to indicate that at one time the waters of the Victoria washed the high lands on either side.

"For the first thirty miles of the upward course, the character of the river undergoes but little change; the left side continuing bold, with the exception of a few extensive flats, sometimes overflowed, and a remarkable rocky elevation, about twenty-five miles up, to which we gave the name of The Fort, as suggested by its bastion-like appearance, though now called Table Hill, in the chalk. To the right the shore remains low, studded with mangroves, and still, from appearance, subject to not unfrequent inundations: towards the mouth, indeed, it is partially flooded by each returning tide. Thirty-five miles from its mouth its whole appearance undergoes the most striking alteration. We now enter the narrow defile of a precipitous rocky range of compact sandstone, rising from 400 to 500 feet in height, and coming down to the river, in some places nearly two miles wide, in others not less than twenty fathoms deep, and hurrying through, as if to force a passage, with a velocity sometimes not less than six miles an hour. It continues a rapid stream during its passage through this defile, an extent of some thirty miles; and beyond it is found slowly winding its way to-

wards the sea across a rich alluvial plain, fifteen miles in width. About this plain is found a second range, of similar character and formation to that before mentioned; the stream, however, having of course somewhat less both of width and depth, and flowing with a decreased rapidity. The elevation of the hills on either side was at first entering considerably less than in the former range; they had also lost much of their steep and precipitous appearance; but as we gradually proceeded up, the former distinctive characteristics returned: the hills rose higher and more boldly, almost immediately from the water's edge, and continued each mile to present a loftier and more rugged front; never, however, attaining the extreme altitude of the former or Sea Range. Above Reach Hopeless the width of the alluvial land lying between the immediate margin of the river and the hills which bound its valley considerably increased; and just in proportion as the high bold land approached the channel on one shore, it receded from it on the opposite, and left an extensive alluvial flat between that bank and the retreating hills. The whole valley, too, widened out, so that, supposing the stream at one time to have filled it from the bases of the high land on either side, it must have had a breadth above Reach Hopeless of from three to five miles, and this still increased when I traced its presumed course beyond Mount Regret.

"The extreme altitude of Sea Range is from 700 to 800 feet, and of the hills last seen, near Mount Regret, from 400 to 500. The distinctive formation common to both consists in their level summits, within twenty feet of which a precipitous wall of rock, of a reddish hue, runs along the hill side. The upper portion of the valley through which the river passes varies in its nature, from treeless, stony plains, to rich alluvial flats, lightly timbered with a white stemmed gum. The banks are steep and high, thickly clothed with the acacia, drooping eucalyptus, and tall reeds. The various lake-like reaches had, of course,

no perceptible stream, but their banks, no less than the dry patches in the bed of the river, satisfied us that the Victoria had recently been, and in all probability would soon again become, a large and rapid river."*

"Our last regretful view of this part of the Victoria was taken from a position in lat. 15° 36′ S. and long. 103° 52′ E., 140 miles distant from the sea: but still 500 miles from the centre of Australia. Its apparent direction continued most invitingly from the southward — the very line to the heart of this vast land, whose unknown interior has afforded so much scope for ingenious speculation, and which at one time I had hoped that it was reserved for us to do yet more in reducing to certainty. And though from the point upon which I stood to pay it my last lingering farewell, the nearest reach of water was itself invisible, yet far, far away, I could perceive the green and glistening valleys through which it wandered, or rather amid which it slept; and the refreshing verdure of which assured me, just as convincingly as actual observation could have done, of the constant presence of a large body of water, and left an indelible impression upon my mind, which subsequent consideration has only served to deepen, that the Victoria will afford a certain pathway far into the centre of that country, of which it is one of the largest known rivers."†

There is evidently a splendid field for colonization on this noble river, which, it seems, is navigable for the largest vessels sixty miles from the sea, and for small craft ninety miles higher: and as it rises in the south-eastern interior, it must conduct, in following it up, to more elevated land and a more agreeable climate. The position of the outlet of the Victoria River is most commanding, whether for trade with Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, or with India, China, and the western portion of the

* *Discoveries in Australia.* By Captain Stokes, ii. 115.
† *Ib.* ii. 83.

Indian Archipelago; and there cannot be a doubt that it will, at no very distant period, form the head quarters of a populous and powerful State. As there is reason to believe that the climate is highly salubrious, there can be no objection to the locality on account of its comparatively low latitude. And if French artificers — soldiers and freemen — work regularly at their several handicrafts in the island of Tahiti, as I have ascertained to be the fact, in nearly the same latitude, I should have no misgivings in sending British convicts to the Victoria River on account of its tropical climate. Mere heat is by no means prejudicial to health, where the climate is dry, as is universally the case in Australia: it is an atmosphere surcharged with moisture, and with the malaria arising from decaying vegetation, as in the East and West Indies, and on the coast of Africa, that is so generally fatal to European life. The indigenous vegetation of Australia is rarely deciduous, and the leaves, or rather spiracles, of many of the trees are strongly charged with an empyreumatic oil, which counteracts the tendency to putrefaction, and of which the exhalations are highly favourable to health.

Besides, there would be no prospect of colonizing the Victoria River by means of free emigration. Free emigration from the United Kingdom would certainly not go voluntarily to such a locality, till it had become a place of importance from its produce and trade; and surely it is, or rather ought to be, one of the legitimate objects of penal colonization, to prepare the country to be colonized for becoming eventually the chosen resort of a free emigrant population, and for taking its place among the free states of the world. As the Gulf of Carpentaria is evidently destined to be the outlet of a large portion of the trade of the north-eastern section of the Australian continent, and as screw-propeller steamboats will in all likelihood be plying very shortly between London and the head of that Gulf by the Cape of Good Hope, the Victoria River

would be quite on the route for such vessels, both out and home, and might consequently have its intercourse with the mother-country maintained at a very inconsiderable cost to the public treasury.

The available land on the Victoria River and its tributaries would in all probability be equally fitted for cattle and horses, and probably also for sheep, with the other settled portions of the Australian continent; and its products would therefore in the first instance be, like those of all the other Australian settlements, wool, tallow, and hides; and perhaps horses for the India market. But the agricultural productions of the colony would be those of the intertropical regions generally; viz. cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, tobacco, &c., and there is reason to believe that all the intertropical fruits of other countries would grow luxuriantly.

The Victoria River would of itself form a sufficiently extensive field for a whole series of small penal colonies, of the kind I have suggested; having the necessary Government Establishment at the principal settlement, and a resident magistrate at each of the others. But the occupation of that central point would lead gradually to the discovery and occupation of a whole series of others, to the southward, as the capabilities of the country in that direction came to be known; for the more important discoveries in Australia have generally been made by land explorations and not by sea. Men of superior intelligence and observation, who have resided for years on the west coast, and have travelled over a considerable portion of its known extent, affirm that its capabilities for colonization are not inferior to those of the eastern; and the interesting account of the discovery and exploration of the Victoria River by Captain Stokes sufficiently proves that the country is not "all barren."

The expense of a whole series of penal colonies, established on the principle I have suggested, would be comparatively trifling to the mother-country. After getting

a fair start, they would pay for their own maintenance, and would, probably, repay a considerable portion, if not the whole, of the expenditure incurred in their original formation — in the sale of either cleared or waste land, town allotments, and cottages, or other buildings erected at the outset of the colony, to afford employment to the colonists. It is a fatal error, and one of the many bad results of Downing Street mismanagement, to suppose that colonization of any kind must necessarily be a very expensive process for the colonizing country. It has never been so in any instance in which the colonization has been of the right description — based on a rational principle, and conducted in a judicious manner. For if colonization has uniformly been enormously expensive to Great Britain, as well as unsatisfactory in its general results, it is simply because it has always been based on the Downing Street principle, and conducted under the superintendence of the Colonial Office.

Should Great Britain, therefore, be disposed to grant entire freedom and national independence to the Seven United Provinces of Eastern Australia, and to leave the business of free emigration from the United Kingdom to these provinces — to be conducted under an equitable, honourable, and highly advantageous treaty, such as I have suggested — she would still have a vast field for the creation of another empire on the western and north-western shores of Australia at some future day; and in preparing in the meantime for such a consummation, by forming a whole line of penal colonies along that extensive coast, she would be consulting her own best interests in every respect. Under such a twofold system of colonization, poverty and misery would disappear from many localities in the United Kingdom, and crime would rapidly diminish; while the trade of the country, and the prosperity of all classes of its inhabitants, would be increased beyond all former precedent. Extensive colonization of the right kind would certainly not diminish the

population of the mother-country; on the contrary, it would tend rather to increase it: but, as every free emigrant becomes a valuable customer to his mother-country, and a grower of raw produce for her manufactures, it would enable the mother-country to support a much larger population than at present, and in a much more comfortable way.

CONCLUSION.

I commenced this volume exactly a month since, in the South Pacific Ocean, about two thousand miles to the westward of Cape Horn: I am now writing its concluding paragraphs in latitude 42° South, in the Southern Atlantic; the interval having been chiefly a succession of violent gales, sometimes fair and sometimes foul. This will doubtless account sufficiently for occasional defects of style, and for perhaps unnecessary repetitions of the same idea; for it is scarcely possible, in such circumstances, to arrange either one's thoughts, or papers, as in a comfortable parlour or library on shore. What reception my volume may meet with in the mother-country, I cannot possibly divine; for the range of speculation in which it indulges on Colonial subjects is doubtless very much out of the usual track, while the language in which it is couched may, in certain quarters, be deemed occasionally more plain than pleasant. But I have an earnest hope, as well as a strong persuasion, that it will at least do some service to the good cause it advocates, and that its true and faithful representations of things as they are in the colonies will work conviction in the minds of many, both at home and abroad, as to the entire accordance of its views and objects with the deductions of right reason, as well as with the law of nature and the ordinance of God.

I cannot doubt, indeed, that the publication of this volume will somewhat accelerate "a consummation so devoutly to be wished," for the interests and welfare of all parties concerned, as the freedom and independence of the Golden Lands of Australia. Colonists, generally, stand greatly in need of information on the subject of their proper relations to the mother-country; and when they

come to understand their real position — their sacred rights, and their brilliant prospects — they will be the less likely to be troubled with doubts and misgivings as to the course they should pursue when the time for action arrives. I am satisfied, at all events, that as far as the mother-country and the Australian colonies are concerned, I have given the best possible advice for the present emergency. If that advice is only taken in time, Great Britain herself will gain immensely by the arrangement proposed, while there will be peace and joy and uninterrupted prosperity in all the associated colonies. But if this advice should not be taken in time, as I scarcely think it will be, the people of England will have leisure enough by and by — when both Australia and Canada are gone* —to reflect whether they have been in the right after all, to sacrifice everything that is really valuable in colonization for the gratification of that unhallowed lust of empire which they have been cherishing these two centuries past, so fatally for themselves, and for all the British colonies.

In one word, after the gross injustice which the Australian Colonies have so long experienced from the mother-country, and the unworthy treatment they have received at her hands, I am decidedly of opinion that there is nothing really worth struggling for in Australia but entire freedom and national independence. This is our natural, inherent and indefeasible right, by the law of nature or the ordinance of God; which I maintain, without fear of contradiction, is of infinitely higher authority than mere Signs-manual or Acts of Parliament. And I am firmly persuaded that it is the highest interest, not only of Britain, but of the world at large, that that right should be recognised immediately.

* Remote as they are from each other, there is a certain secret sympathy between these two countries; and I am strongly of opinion that when they do go, they will go together.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I HAPPENED to meet with the following passages, illustrative and confirmatory of some of the positions in this volume, when it was too late to embody them under their respective heads.

1. *On the Relations of Colonies to their Mother-Countries.*

"Les anciens comparoient ordinairement les devoirs des colonies envers leur mère patrie, à ceux des enfans envers leurs pères. Dans l'ordre de la nature, les membres d'une famille, dispersés et formant chacun de nouveaux établissemens, sont tous dans l'indépendance, et ne restent plus liés à leur père commun que par le respect et la reconnaissance. Or, si ces sentimens sont essentiellement libres, ce qui est incontestable, ils ne peuvent donc jamais être des engagemens de servitude. D'après ce principe, l'antiquité pensoit que le pouvoir absolu des métropoles n'étoit par sa nature ni légal, ni vrai, ni juste.

"Grotius, fidèle à cette maxime, prétend avec raison qu'une colonie est un nouveau peuple qui nait dans l'indépendance. *Novus populus sui juris nascitur.*

"La puissance législative de la mère patrie, ne pouvant reprimer assez tôt et toujours éfficacement les abus de la puissance exécutive dans ses colonies, à cause de leur éloignement, l'égalité de sort ne sauroit pas subsister entre les citoyens des métropoles et ceux des colonies. Il devient, alors, juste et nécessaire que ces derniers ayent des prérogatives qui les dédommagent de leur situation et rétablissent l'équilibre. Leur liberté doit, donc, augmenter à proportion de la distance des pays qu'ils habitent, et des difficultés qui s'opposent à leur fréquente communication avec ceux chez qui réside le corps législatif." *

* *De l'Etat et du Sort des Colonies des Anciens Peuples*, Philadelphie, 1779, p. 127.

" Sous le joug de l'autorité, une colonie naissante fait des progrès beaucoup plus rapides que si elle jouissoit d'une entière indépendance. L'usage de la liberté ne convient qu'à une société bien établie, et non point à celle dont les membres sont réduits à un état faible et précaire. Mais cette même autorité doit nécessairement diminuer à mesure que le nombre des colons augmente, ou être abrogée quand leurs besoins cessent. Tout rentre alors dans l'ordre imperturbable de la nature ; les liens de politie se forment par de nouvelles conventions, et les droits de gouvernement s'établissent sur des nouveaux fondemens." *

Cocceius, a Dutch commentator, commenting upon the famous saying of Grotius quoted above, viz. that, in the case of a colony, "a new and independent nation is born," observes, somewhat strangely and in downright contradiction of his author, as follows: — "*Colonia est* nudum instrumentum *populi mittentis, et migrat non ut cives esse desinant, sed ut alibi habitent; indeque manent sub potestate et imperio mittentium.*" †

"A colony is the mere instrument of the colonizing or mother country: its inhabitants, in emigrating, merely change their place of abode, but not their citizenship; and, therefore, they continue under the power and government of the mother country."

Cocceius was the courtly advocate of their High Mightinesses the States of Holland, whose government of their colonies was in the highest degree unjust and oppressive. His definition of a colony, which is exactly that of Downing Street, was evidently "made to order," and it simply denies all rights to colonies.

Singularly enough, there is a perfect parallel to this impudent Dutch definition of a colony in the Westminster Review for the present month, in an article entitled "Our Colonial Empire," but which ought properly to have been entitled, "Milk-pap for Bearded Men!" The *Radical* Reviewer, forsooth! would allow of a "Colonial Representative Body," as he calls it, to consist of Delegates from all the Colonies, to meet here in London, but "to be restricted in its functions to discussion and advice!" He takes for granted "the necessity of preserving unity in the central authority," and admits "the difficulty of separating in all cases between Imperial and Colonial subjects;" but he would make all odds even by "limiting the power of the Colonial House to the free public discussion of all subjects, and the recording of its views!!!"

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* *De l'Etat et du Sort des Colonies des Anciens Peuples*, Philadelphie, 1779, p. 216.

† Henrici Cocceii *Comment.* t. ii. p. 547

I should consider myself degraded, as a Tribune of the People in the great colony of New South Wales, to reply to such drivelling impertinence. Let the Reviewer know that we, the men of progress in the colonies, hold with that great authority, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, whose opinion on such subjects is worth that of a hundred Westminster Reviewers, that such *a constitutional line*, as he supposes, between Imperial and Colonial interests, *doth not exist*; and, as a legitimate corollary from the principles and arguments of this work, we go one step further, with the said Benjamin, and simply deny the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for us in any case whatsoever.

2. *Jeremy Bentham on Parliamentary Representation for the Colonies.*

"*Oh, but they will send deputies: and those deputies will govern us as much as we govern them.*" — Illusion! — What is that but doubling the mischief instead of lessening it? To give yourselves a pretence for governing a million or two of strangers, you admit half a dozen. To govern a million or two of people you don't care about, you admit half a dozen people who don't care about you. To govern a set of people whose business you know nothing about, you encumber yourselves with half a dozen starers, who know nothing about yours. Is this fraternity? Is this liberty and equality? Open domination would be a less grievance. Were I an American, I had rather not be represented at all than represented thus. If tyranny must come, let it come without a mask. *Oh, but information!* True, it must be had; but to give information, must a man possess a vote?

The following is a Resolution of the Original American Congress on the same subject: —

"Resolved 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council; *And as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, in the British Parliament*, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity."—*Resolutions of the Congress at Philadelphia*, A. D. 1774.

THE END.

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