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STATE-DIRECTED COLONIZATION ITS NECESSITY.

[Reprinted by permission, with Amendments, from the "Nineteenth Century,"]

PROFESSOR SEELEY has endeavoured, in his *Expansion of England*, to make Englishmen realise that the colonies are not merely possessions but a part of England. He has taught us that we must cease to think that emigrants when they go to the colonies leave England, or are lost to England, and has urged us to accustom ourselves to contemplate the whole Empire together, and call it England. He has shown that the drift of English history during this and the last century has been towards the expansion of our race, and that we are enabled to bridge the gulf between the natural

were, "conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind." He has proved to us that "Greater Britain" is an extension of the English State, and not merely of the English nationality, and that it is on the whole free from that weakness which has brought down most empires—the weakness of being a mere mechanical forced union of alien nationalities. He has pointed out that there are in general three ties by which states are held together—community of race, community of religion, and community of interest—and that whilst it is evident that we are bound by the first two, the conviction that we are bound by the third is daily gaining ground.

If these things be so, and if at the same time we find that the density of population of Great Britain is two hundred and ninety-one to the square mile, whilst in Canada it is not much more

than one to the square mile ; if we also find that in the older portion of the British Empire the increase of the population outstrips the increase of the demand for labour ; if we find that in the large towns of England and Scotland there are numbers of men and women unable to obtain employment, and living miserable lives of semi-starvation and wretchedness, whilst on the other side of the ocean, but still within the limits of the British Empire there are immeasurable plains of fertile lands waiting to be tilled ; if we find that, owing to material hindrances, the natural laws of supply and demand fail to equalise the density of population in this portion of the Empire and in that (as but for the intervening ocean would undoubtedly be the case)—is it extraordinary, if the question should be asked in louder and yet louder tones, why the State should not be permitted to bridge over the material hindrances to the natural laws

population from one shore of this Empire to the other, and permit the laws of supply and demand free scope for the exercise of their beneficent action? If the untilled and unappropriated lands of Canada, of Australia, or of New Zealand were situated in Kent, in Sussex, or in Surrey, and if the Government had it in their power to grant 160 acres free, as the Canadian Government can, to any man who chose to settle upon them and to till them, it cannot be doubted that London would rapidly be cleared of its too redundant population.

The only hindrance to the more rapid colonization of Greater Britain lies in the difficulty of traversing the intervening ocean, and in the sentimental but erroneous feeling that a man by emigrating to the colonies is leaving his country behind him. If, consequently, the sentimental difficulty be shown to be erroneous,

there remains but a material one to hinder the free action of the laws of supply and demand, which but for its presence would long since have made their influence felt, and have permitted the different portions of the Empire to intermingle with greater freedom. By advancing under proper guarantee the money necessary to enable the surplus population of one part of Greater Britain to remove to the other, Government would not be guilty of an interference with economic laws, but would in reality be setting them free from restrictions of a material nature.

If your watch should fail to mark the time with its usual accuracy, and on investigation your watchmaker were to inform you that the machinery only required a little cleaning and oiling, and the affixing of some slight connection which was missing, but that as there was as

damage of a more serious nature he must decline to undertake so simple a piece of work, you would naturally be indignant, and would reply that although the oiling of wheels and the affixing of a connection might be an easy matter to the watchmaker, it was not so to you, and that as you were willing to pay him for the work, the very simplicity of the repairs needed should make him the more willing to do that which it was distinctly his duty to perform, even though nothing further should be required of him than the cleaning and oiling of wheels.

The machinery of the national life has for some time been out of order, and the timepiece of emigration, which keeps the balance between the supply of and demand for labour, has been gradually losing ground, so that the former has been gaining upon the latter at the rate of 1,000

pair of hands a day. Although, metaphorically speaking, nothing further is required than the oiling of the wheels of emigration and the completion of a simple connection, the owner of the timepiece—the British nation—has failed in its efforts to place the machinery in proper order, and now turns for assistance to those who are responsible for the proper working of the national machinery. The reply of the master workmen is, however, most unsatisfactory. They acknowledge that the wheels of the timepiece are clogged, but they refuse to take the simple steps necessary to put matters to rights. They assert that this is none of their business. They cannot attend to such trivialities. If some mainspring of national life were broken, or any other similar serious accident had occurred, they acknowledge that it would then be their duty to take instant steps to repair the damage, but such an insignificant mat-
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as the lubricating of wheels is quite outside their business. This is all very well. But supposing the simple work required to be done should be beyond the powers of the owner of the watch, what then? Supposing the dust accumulates, and the wheels are stopped, will not the whole machinery rust and stiffen, so that even the watchmaker's attempt will not be able to repair it?

As with the watch so with the nation. Our rulers acknowledge that there has recently been a larger privately conducted exodus of British subjects from these islands than has ever occurred since the time of the Irish famine; they confess that it is not likely that private emigration can increase to any large extent beyond this amount; they allow that annually there is a larger larger unemployed, or semi-employed, popula-

tion to be found congregated in the populous districts of the island, and they state that they are fully alive to the grave social and political dangers which await a State the population of which increases at a greater rate than the demand for labour, and which cannot find land upon which to place its increasing numbers; and yet this same Government hesitates to take steps which would at once turn starving and desperate men into contented and loyal subjects, and without any recurring expense to the nation would permanently relieve the State from the sense of an impending danger.

It is well to recall to our memories what is the amount of the decennial increase of our population. Every ten years between three and four million more mouths have to obtain food in this country; and inasmuch as the soil of England is

not elastic and cannot be made to produce a greatly increased quantity of food, as England at this moment cannot supply all her sons with an adequate meal a day, and as she already has to import half the food which she consumes, the problem how we are to feed our surplus population is one which is serious now, will annually increase in seriousness, and, unless solved within a very few years by some statesmanlike measure of relief to population, will not be long in settling itself in a very unpleasant way for some of us if we decline to grapple with it whilst it is still capable of easy solution. It should be borne in mind that in addition to this annual increase of population, which is almost entirely confined to our large towns, and represents the planting every ten years on the shores of England of another "Greater London," we have, according to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., a permanent burden to bear

in the cost of maintaining, repressing, punishing, and relieving in time of sickness, by means of official and charitable agencies, some two to three million pauperised and degraded people, including in that number the 900,000 persons in receipt of pauper relief. It is well also to get thoroughly into our heads that no alteration in our land laws, however radical in character, could do more than postpone for a few years the settlement of this important question. Mr. S. Smith, M.P., who has made a study of these social questions, has calculated that the land of England could not support more than an additional four million of persons, were it possible to place them on the land, and this number is just about equal to the *present* increase of the population in ten years, whilst of course as the population increases the decennial increase will become larger; so it is at once apparent that, even if Mr. Henry George's

theories were to obtain full realisation in this country, at the end of ten years from that time the difficulty of over-population would again arise. Let Mr. Smith speak for himself. In a lecture lately published on "National Progress and Poverty" he is reported to have said that

Within the last ten years the island of Great Britain had added more to its population than it did in the six hundred years that followed the Norman conquest. We were adding to our population every year as much as we did during every century up to the close of the seventeenth century. It rose from five and a half to eleven millions during the eighteenth century, and during this century it had further risen to thirty millions, and before its close it would apparently approach to forty millions. If the increase of our population was to go on during the next century at the same rate, this island would contain one hundred and fifty millions of people before the year 2000, and Great Britain would present the appearance of little else than one continuous city from Land's End to the Firth of Forth.

. . . . No country had increased with such rapidity as our own, and that too in spite of much emigration. During the present century we had parted with nearly ten millions of persons

by emigration, and had these remained at home the overcrowding which we now deplored would have been ten times worse. . . . In France the population was almost stationary, while in England it increased about fifteen per cent. every ten years; and we could not disguise the fact that this added not a little to the strain and difficulty of life. . . . He was in favour of all such legislation as proceeded upon a sound and just basis, but he would urge his hearers not to expect a panacea for their poverty in any changes it was possible to make in our land laws. The declining population of the rural districts was largely owing to causes which laws could not arrest. They were, on the one hand, owing to the enormous importation of foreign food at extremely low prices, and, secondly, to the large adoption of labour-saving machinery.

We could not, if we wanted, arrest the action of free trade, nor could they hinder land being turned from cropping to grazing when the latter was more profitable. The high price of butcher's meat and the low price of corn had done much to change the character of our rural life, and diminished employment for the rural population. It was most difficult to arrest the action of natural laws. Two-thirds of the population of this country now resided in towns; and even if we could check the influx of the other third part for the next twenty years by means of changes in our land laws, we could not hinder the vast increase of population which took place in our towns. In his opinion, no changes in the land laws could do more than put

four million additional people into agricultural employment, so that even that would only carry away the surplus of our population for another ten years. It would be wholly inadequate to deal with that continuous increase which he had already pointed out would bring our population at the end of the next century to one hundred and fifty millions. The land of England, if divided equally among all the people, would only give a little under one and a half acres to each person, and by the end of next century this would be reduced to one third of an acre. By no possible manipulation of our laws could we get permanent relief for our increasing population from the soil of this little island; but, fortunately, we possessed a splendid safety-valve in our prodigious colonial possessions. In Australia there was but one person to the square mile, against 450 in England; and in Australia and the adjacent islands there were 704 acres to each person, while in Canada there were 482 acres to each person. Therefore, it seemed better that the surplus population should distribute itself through these wide and fertile regions. He could not look with any satisfaction to the thought of the cities of this country growing larger and larger until at last the land was covered with nothing but brick and mortar. Huge cities invariably brought with them huge evils. Therefore he thought it would be a far truer policy for patriotic people to try and spread the Anglo-Saxon race more freely over unoccupied portions of the globe than to concentrate them in enormous cities. Our nation was built up like a tower, tier by tier, to a colossal height, and to pull out any rafter would cause

the edifice to tumble down. He had no wish to see the tower grow much higher, and he would rather see dwellings of one storey than dwellings of ten storeys. He would rather see a thrifty and comfortable population spread over countries where there was elbow-room for everybody, than crowded together with a density such as had never been seen in the history of the world. . . . If the surplus of our unpaid labour could be drafted off to the British colonies, which offered an almost unbounded outlet, that might to some extent give partial relief to this country.

If after this powerful argument, showing that emigration is the antidote to over-population, there should still be some who believe that a reform of the land laws will meet the difficulty, let them divide for themselves the number of acres of land within these islands, good and bad, rock and marsh (77,828,000), by the population (35,246,000), and they will soon perceive how ridiculous is the notion that any partition of the land of the country could ever prove a *permanent* cure for over-population.

It is natural that associations like the "Democratic Federation," or the "Society for the Nationalisation of the Land," should endeavour to prevent the accomplishment of any scheme of emigration which would permanently reduce the numbers, and consequently the misery and the discontent, of the masses in our large centres of industry. If there were no starving men and women, and no discontent in England, the persons who support these associations might indeed despair of inducing a practical and naturally conservative people like the English to embrace the wild theories of Professor Wallace, or to throw in their lot with visionary revolutionists of the type of Mr. Hyndman or Mr. Henry George.

The Democratic Federation, lately reorganised under the title of "The Social Democratic Federation," was not slow to perceive the hin-

drances which a well-considered scheme of State-directed colonization would offer to the acceptance by the people of its peculiar views ; and from the very inception of the movement to bring the question of State colonization prominently before the public, the Federation strained every nerve, by organised opposition at public meetings, and by other means, to prevent the adoption, by the Government and the country, of a remedy for over-population, and its consequent misery and discontent. A contented population is not good material with which to revolutionise a country. Let the poor man transfer his labour from Great Britain, where it is not wanted, to the Greater Britain where it is imperatively demanded, and the opportunity for revolution might arrive and find the former battalions of misery and despair so weakened by desertion, and so enervated by the Capua of prosperity, as to be unwilling to risk

their lives in a hopeless struggle with the irresistible forces of social order.

And here it would be well to make it clearly understood that the advocates of the State direction of colonization, as represented at all events by the "National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization," of which I have the honour to be chairman, do not propose that Her Majesty's Government should transfer the idle, the vicious, the ne'er-do-well, or the pauper from the slums of London to those of Melbourne or of Toronto (as seems to be the idea of some of the opponents of State colonization), nor has it ever been proposed that any individual should be sent to the colonies either contrary to his or her desire, or without the concurrence of the authorities of these colonies, nor is there any intention of making a money present to any emigrant to enable him to proceed to the colonies.

All that the Association desires is that the British Government shall, in conjunction with the colonial authorities, draw up a well-considered scheme of emigration and colonization, by means of which *able-bodied and industrious men, who may not be possessed of the means necessary to enable them to emigrate*, shall be provided with the means of colonizing or of emigrating, with their families, *under the strictest possible guarantee that the money shall be repaid with easy interest within a certain number of years.*

That it is practicable to obtain the repayment of money advanced to emigrants has been already proved by those colonies which have invited emigration, and have been in the habit of advancing part payment of the cost of passage. Special laws to facilitate and ensure the repayment of emigration loans have been passed, and success-

fully enforced by these colonies, and where colonization is encouraged by the free gift of land it is still easier to ensure repayment by means of a statutory mortgage on the land, as has been done by the Canadian Government. It has been asserted that the indebtedness towards the mother country of large numbers of colonists would be an encouragement to colonial secession and repudiation of debt. This might be true if the indebtedness were to be permanent, or if it were exclusively towards the mother country, but the suggestion of the "National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization" is that the colonies and the mother country should join hands and interest in this matter; that inasmuch as they would equally gain by a well-directed system of colonization they should jointly appoint an Imperial Emigration Commission to select the emigrants, apportion to the mother

country and the colonies the proper share of the burden of assistance, mark out and prepare the lands for the colonists, collect and enforce the payment by the emigrants of the interest and capital sum of the money advanced, and generally supervise and control the entire system of State-directed emigration to the colonies. If at any time a colony considered that immigration to its shores should cease, it would withdraw its accredited representative from the Imperial Commission, and the stream of State-directed emigration would for the time be diverted to some other direction, until the period should again arrive when the colony might consider that a fresh influx of labour would be of service to it. The fear has been expressed that State-directed would diminish the flow of privately-conducted emigration. I do not believe this. When it was once known that an emigrant would be obliged to

repay with interest within a certain number of years the money advanced, and that the Commission possessed ample legal powers to enforce the claim, only those would have recourse to State-aid and direction who were compelled to do so by dire necessity.

The reluctance with which the working classes accept pauper relief when accompanied by the restriction of individual liberty is a proof, I think, that there need be no fear of any large number of persons obtaining State aid towards the expenses of their emigration who were not rightly entitled to it. If the colonies were given a complete power of veto, were taken into counsel, and if it were clearly understood that no attempt would be made to foist upon them the vicious, the idle, and the pauper, it can hardly be doubted that they would gladly co-operate with Her Majesty's Government

in a scheme of colonization which would be as great a boon to them as it would be to the mother country. It is lamentable to consider how many millions of pounds have been squandered in the maintenance of able-bodied men and women in our workhouses, who, if some system of State-directed colonization had been in existence, would never have entered the workhouse, and might have become landowners, possessors of 160 acres or more of the rich soil of Manitoba. Think what the future of thousands of the boys and girls of our streets and of our pauper schools might have been if, instead of being allowed to run wild or having been sent to large establishments to contaminate each other, to graduate in infant roguery, and to relapse in large measure into the evil ways of their parents, they had been planted out in early life on the farms of Canada, where youthful labour is in such great request.

Think of them rising in time to be fellow-labourers with their masters, partners with them in the management of their farms, and in many instances ending their lives as independent owners of land. Think of the different future which is in store for the girl who returns from the pauper school to the East End of London, and for her who has been fortunate enough to find her way under the guidance of Miss Rye, or of some other benevolent lady, to a happy country household in the colonies of England. This is no idle dream. It has been realised over and over again, and might be the destiny of thousands of our destitute boys and girls if only the country could once be made thoroughly to understand that it is not only wiser, but a more economical policy to give these children a chance of becoming contented and independent citizens in a new country than to coop them up in workhouses or district schools in

the old. Mr. Samuel Smith has calculated that a total expenditure of £25 per head is sufficient to partially train and plant out a child in Canada, whereas each child in our workhouse costs about five times that amount, and is then turned out without any practical knowledge of the world, to increase, in all probability, the rates which are raised for the maintenance of jails and workhouses, not to mention the money raised for the support of hospitals and penitentiaries.

In the work of adult and family State-directed colonization a comparatively small expenditure of money—say a million sterling, about the cost of a couple of ironclads—would suffice to remove some 10,000 families from this country, build houses for them, provide them with agricultural implements and seeds, and maintain them for eighteen months, until on the

crops arriving at maturity the colonists should be in a position to support themselves. The funds advanced to these men, instead of being lost to the country, as would be the case with money expended on ironclads, would be accumulating interest, would be rolling up, and would be used over and over again in sending out other happy emigrants, not leaving England, as is often the case now, with feelings of bitterness in their hearts, but grateful to the mother country for giving them the means of bettering their condition, and with loyal and kindly feelings towards the institutions and home of their youth. That the Canadian Government is desirous of encouraging colonization and believes in the possibility of recovering money advanced to colonists is shown by the following memorandum drawn up by the Canadian Government, and despatched to the Earl of Kimberley in 1880:—

MEMORANDUM.

On the suggestion made to him by the High Commissioner of Canada in England, Sir A. T. Galt, G.C.M.G., the undersigned has the honour to propose the following as a basis of joint action in promoting Irish immigration, should the Imperial Government entertain the project.

The Canadian Government, sympathising with their fellow subjects of Ireland in their distressed circumstances, would cheerfully co-operate in a well-considered measure of relief by means of a systematic immigration from Ireland. If such a system of Irish immigration were established, it is evidently a condition precedent to obtaining the cordial co-operation of Canada that the immigrants should not become a burden upon the existing population.

In the case of single men and women no serious difficulty would arise, as employment can readily be found. But in the present distressed circumstances of Ireland it is manifest that it is only by the removal of entire families that any sensible relief would be experienced from the pressure of a redundant population.

Provision would have, therefore, to be made, *not only for the transport of the families to their place of settlement, but also for their maintenance until a crop can be had from the land.*

In the older provinces of the Dominion, where the land is all heavily timbered, the difficulty of managing a large immigration would be very great. But in the vast fertile plains of the North-West the question becomes comparatively easy of solution.

By very simple pre-arrangement any required number of farm lots could be prepared for occupation in the season preceding the arrival of the immigrants, a small dwelling erected, a certain extent of the prairie land broken up and prepared for seed, and in the case of late arrival actually sown, so as to ensure a crop the same season that the immigrants were placed in possession. This work could be done by contract under proper supervision, and would give employment on arrival to the new immigrant while his crop was growing, thereby greatly reducing the cost of the undertaking, and really limiting it ultimately to little more than the cost of his transport, as the repayment of advances by the earlier settlers would soon be sufficient to meet the annual outlay for preparing new lands.

The cost of removing an immigrant family consisting of parents and three children from the port of embarkation to Winnipeg may now be taken at about £40, subject to a certain increase for their transport thence to their farm lot. The dwelling and eight acres of land prepared for crop with seed may be estimated at from £35 to £40. Some provision for the family might be required on arrival, but the wages of the man ought to suffice for the support of his family till his crop is harvested, after which the immigrant may be regarded as self-supporting.

The Canadian Government provides each settler with a free grant of 160 acres, subject only to a patent fee of £2. The settler can also secure the pre-emption of 160 acres adjoining at the current price and usual conditions.

For the reimbursement of the outlay for transport and for establishing the immigrant upon his farm, it is suggested that the Canadian Government would provide that the total cost, as certified by their agent, and acknowledged by the settler, should form a first charge on the land, payable by certain annual instalments with interest.

The above memorandum was drawn up with a view to immigration from Ireland, but the Canadian Government would certainly be prepared to do as much for English and Scotch as for Irish immigrants. It may be said that the Government have lately attempted to carry out a system of State-directed emigration in the case of Ireland, and that their efforts have been very far from successful. Granted. But why did they fail? Because the emigration was *State-aided*, but *not State-directed*. Because, from the very first

they started on wrong lines. *The most important suggestions made in the above memorandum were ignored.* No provision was made for the maintenance of colonists until a crop had been had from the land, and no care was taken that the immigrants did not become a burden upon the existing population. The farm lots were not prepared for occupation in the season preceding the arrival of the immigrants, no dwellings were erected, land was not broken up and prepared for seed, and, in case of late arrival, actually sown, so as to insure a crop the same season the immigrants were placed in possession of the land. The emigrants from Ireland were in many instances simply pitchforked on to the shores of Canada and the United States, and allowed to look after themselves as best they could. Naturally the United States and Canada objected to such proceedings, and refused to receive immigrants on such terms. It is not to be wondered at that such

was the result, especially as this pitchforking of the refuse of the Irish population was carried out through the agency of the Irish Unions. A more foolish proceeding it is difficult to imagine, or one more likely to excite prejudice, and make the Canadians and Americans believe that England was endeavouring to transfer the burden of her pauper classes from her own shoulders to those of her neighbours across the ocean. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in a dispatch to Lord Derby of the 31st of March last, lately laid before Parliament, explains very clearly the causes which led the Ontario Government to withdraw assistance from pauper immigrants.

I have now the honour to enclose copy of a Privy Council Order, in which the future policy of the Dominion Government in regard to immigrants from Ireland is stated. I would observe that the stipulation that no assisted passages will in future be given to "inmates of workhouses or persons subsisting on workhouse relief" is intended to guard against the impor-

tation, not of persons who during a time of temporary difficulty may have been relieved out of the union funds, but of persons habituated to such assistance and having the usual attributes of chronic pauperism. I have assured my Ministers that it has never been the intention of the Irish Government to send such persons to this country; it is, however, the case that, owing to circumstances which I have already described, a widespread impression prevails that persons of this class have been designedly sent here. The use of the expression "union emigrants" to distinguish those who have been sent out through the agency of the Poor Law unions from those selected by other agencies has, I think, led to an erroneous impression that the whole of the former class are of the pauper type, and consequently objectionable.

It would, I think, be very desirable that every opportunity should be taken of reassuring public opinion here upon this point, and that some steps should be taken, such, perhaps, as those indicated by Mr. Hamilton in his letter of the 7th of March, in order to afford evidence of the desire of the Irish Government to meet in the fullest possible manner the requirements of the Dominion in these respects. *An arrangement under which an agent of the Canadian Government would personally inspect, and, if necessary, investigate the antecedents of the emigrants before they proceed to Canada would, I think, be well received.* Such an arrangement might, as Mr. Hamilton suggests, be discussed with the High Commissioner on his return to London.

I observe that in the annual report of the Minister of Agriculture for this year it is stated that the charge for inland transportation from Quebec to Manitoba will be reduced from 30 dollars to 12 dollars.

The following is the Privy Council Order referred to:—

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated the 13th of March, 1884, from the Earl of Derby, covering correspondence on the subject of the settlement in Canada of assisted emigrants from Ireland.

The Acting Minister of Agriculture, to whom the despatch was referred, reports that, in view of the fact of the difficulties which were found in the way of satisfactory settlement of a considerable per centum of the assisted emigrants from the congested districts of the south and south-west of Ireland sent out last year by the Poor Law unions, *arising from the unsuitability or indisposition of those persons to earn a subsistence for themselves, and also in view of the fact of the prejudice which has been created from this cause against the class of assisted emigrants from the districts in question*, he recommends that the Dominion-assisted passages should not be afforded to inmates of workhouses, nor to persons subsisting on workhouse relief, and, further, that the Dominion Government should not take any responsibility of settling such persons.

The Acting Minister observes if, however, the Irish Emigration Commissioners send out such persons *it should be upon the understanding that they provide the expense of maintenance during the winter in Canada following their arrival*, and that one or two of the members of each family, and individual emigrants, shall be of physical ability to earn a living.

The Acting Minister states that the arrangement which has hitherto existed as respects other classes of emigrants remains.

The Committee concur in the foregoing report and the recommendations therein made, and they respectfully advise that your Excellency be moved to despatch a cable message in the sense of this report, if approved, to the Earl of Derby, in answer to his despatch of the 13th of March instant.

The following is the despatch addressed by the Secretary of the Department of Immigration, Ontario, to Mr. H. Hodgkin, of Mr. Tuke's Emigration Scheme Committee, on the same subject :—

TORONTO, February 13, 1884.

Dear Sir,—I have the honour, under instructions from the Hon. the Commissioner of Immigration, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of October last, in reference to

the prospects of immigration for the approaching season. It was deemed advisable to wait and see how the immigrants sent out last year under the auspices of the Imperial Government would fare during the winter, before encouraging more of the same class to follow. So far their condition is not encouraging, *as many of them are now living on charity*, and public feeling has been somewhat strongly expressed, in the public press and otherwise, concerning them. This remark really applies to the people sent out by the Unions; but they are so closely associated in the public mind with those sent out by you, that it will be hard to find employment for either class next summer, as the farmers place but little value on their labour, and the people of the cities are afraid of laying the foundations of pauperism. What makes matters worse, a considerable number of families who went to the United States last summer have been sent back to Toronto, and have now to be supported by charity.

The Ontario Government has, therefore, decided that it will no longer be possible to give assistance to any class of work-house or "union" people, either in the way of meals or railway passes. This will apply to the agency at Quebec as well as to all agencies in this province; nor will this Department assume the responsibility of settling them, or finding employment for them.

Should you send any of that class on your own responsibility, it may be well to appoint an agent here to find work for them,

and pay their landing money, &c. Indeed, this would appear to the undersigned to be necessary.

The numbers of union or workhouse people sent out appear to the Commissioner to have considerably exceeded the numbers of that class suggested by Major Gaskell, when here, as likely to be forwarded. They are also inferior, as a class, to those described by him. I do not, in any sense, wish to impute to Major Gaskell a desire to mislead in any way. The difficulties arising in selection are quite understood and appreciated. For these reasons it will not be possible any longer to continue the arrangement made with Major Gaskell in reference to the workhouse or union people who may be forwarded, and therefore the special privileges which they have been granted under that arrangement must necessarily be withdrawn.

I take the opportunity of stating, for the benefit of your Committee, that while *there is ample room in this Province for all able-bodied persons of both sexes who are willing and able to work*, yet these two features are essential to the procuring of a livelihood here, namely, ability and willingness to labour. Many persons in the older countries drift into the workhouse from their inability or their unwillingness to earn a livelihood by labour. It is impossible to provide a home here for such people.

I am extremely anxious that you should understand that the foregoing observations are not intended to apply to other than work-house or union people.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DAVID SPENCE,
Secretary.

H. Hodgkin, Esq.,
12, Hereford Gardens,
London, W.

When too late the Irish Government saw how egregiously they had blundered, and endeavoured to repair their error by offering to take steps which, if adopted in the first instance, would have averted all colonial opposition to what would then have been State-directed instead of simply State-aided immigration. On the 7th of March the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland addressed the following despatch to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

With reference to previous correspondence I am directed by the Lord-Lieutenant to state that the attention of His Ex-

cellency has been called by members of Mr. Tuke's Committee to communications they have received from Mr. Spence, the Secretary of the Ontario Emigration Department, of which I enclose a copy.

His Excellency would be glad if you would be good enough to call the immediate attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the subject.

Lists of emigrants are now being made out, and much dissatisfaction would be caused if those who are provisionally selected for Canada should subsequently be refused.

His Excellency would be quite prepared, should the Dominion Government agree to such a course, to appoint an agent or agents to look after the emigrants on their arrival in Canada; but he desires to act entirely in accordance with the Dominion Government in the matter, and would be unwilling to take any step which has not their entire concurrence and co-operation.

It further occurs to His Excellency that some arrangement might be made with the High Commissioner, under which emigrants desiring to proceed to Canada should be personally inspected by agents of the Colonial Government before they are finally approved.

As time is of great importance in this matter His Excellency would suggest that the Canadian Government should

be communicated with by telegram, or, if this is not possible, that a despatch should be sent to them immediately by post, to which their answer might be sent by wire.

It is a pity that the above ideas did not occur sooner to His Excellency, and all this frantic haste and excited endeavour to prevent, when too late, the failure of the Government emigration scheme might have been avoided.

We now know why the attempt made by the Government two years ago to assist emigration from Ireland failed so conspicuously. It would be well to recapitulate the causes of failure, for, if ever any general system of State-directed colonization is to be carried out by this country, care must be taken to avoid the errors which the Government were guilty of in 1882-83. The causes of the breakdown then were—

1. Sending out emigrants through the agency of the Poor Law Unions.

2. Sending out paupers without reference to their character or physical capabilities, and without finding them employment or providing them with the means of subsistence on arrival.

3. Acting without the thorough co-operation of the colonial authorities, and without submitting the emigrants before embarkation to the approval of an agent appointed by the colony to which they proposed to proceed.

4. Sending colonists to take possession of virgin land without previously preparing the land for cultivation, erecting dwellings, providing implements and seed, and enabling the colonists to maintain themselves until the first harvest.

Experience has shown that for the sum of about £110 to £120 an emigrant and his family can be sent out from Great Britain to Manitoba, can be placed on a 160-acre lot given gratis by the Colonial Government, can be supplied with a rough dwelling, implements, seeds, and maintenance until, by the advent of the crop, he is able to support himself, and to begin to repay with interest the money which has been advanced to enable him to emigrate. This plan has been most successfully carried out by Lady Gordon Cathcart, who, in a letter addressed to the writer, accepting the position of a Vice-President of the National Association, says:—

I have for two or three years past realised that for the congested districts of the whole of the north and west of Scotland emigration is the only relief and alternative, and consequently last year, in the face of many difficulties, was able to persuade twelve crofter families to take advantage of a scheme we formulated, based upon the lines which were

explained by my agent to the meeting lately held at Baroness Burdett Coutts'. It was a test scheme, which we hoped, if successful, might lead to kinder results, and I am glad to say it has answered beyond our most sanguine expectations, so much so that forty-five large families from our property on the west coast are leaving to join their friends. . . . I think in the end it is a question which the Government will be obliged to consider.

So high an authority as the Marquis of Lorne, late Governor-General of Canada, has shown that it is not only Highland crofters who benefit by removal from overcrowded districts. He has publicly stated that men who have lived all their lives in cities and towns, and are utterly unacquainted with agriculture, make even better colonists than the Highland crofters, and as a proof of his assertion he has pointed out the success which has attended the colonising efforts of Paisley weavers, as shown by the flourishing condition of the town and district of Paisley in

Canada, which was colonised by men who had never previously left the loom. A little thought will show the reason of what would appear to be a paradox. The Highland crofter inherits from his ancestors a system of agriculture little removed from that practised by the patriarchs of Bible history. He brings with him to the colony a mind prejudiced against the adoption of new-fangled innovations. He considers the system of agriculture which was good enough for his forefathers to be good enough for him. On the other hand, the town-bred emigrant, with intelligence sharpened by education and by contact with his fellow-men, and entirely ignorant of agriculture, is willing to learn, and is not too proud to avail himself of the most effective weapons which science and knowledge can place at his disposal in the conflict he has undertaken with nature. Success naturally, therefore, attends his efforts.

It must not be forgotten that State-directed colonization is no new idea.

In 1820, and again after the Crimean war, the Home Government, with a view to establishing a line of military settlements between the natives and the colonists of the Cape, granted free passages and farms to old soldiers and selected families. The novel part of the present suggestion is that a *permanent* system of colonization should be undertaken by the mother country *in conjunction* with the colonies, seeing that the former is as much interested in encouraging emigration from her shores as the latter can be in welcoming immigration.

The work of colonization should be carefully kept clear of all workhouse taint. It is marvellous that the Government should not have perceived the

necessity of this very apparent caution. Let the colonies once suspect that England desires to shunt from her shoulders to theirs the burden of her pauper classes, and the State direction of colonization will become impossible for many years to come. Who could blame them?

We English are perfectly aware that the blundering on the part of our Government, to which attention has been drawn, was only the result of red-tapeism and of official unwillingness to step beyond the beaten path of precedent in matters relating to the relief of the poorer classes, but we cannot expect the colonists to give us credit for such superlative inflexibility of temperament, and incapability of altering official methods of procedure so as meet the requirements of novel circumstances.

In the official correspondence above quoted both the Governor-General and the Secretary to the Immigration Department, Ontario, go out of their way to show that the Dominion Government, as well as that of Ontario, had changed its policy in regard to the assistance to be given to immigrants solely on account of the pauperised and inferior description of emigrants sent out by the Irish Unions. Mr. Spence is very careful also to show that his observations are not intended to apply to other than Union people, and that there is ample room in Ontario for able-bodied emigrants willing to work. It is to be hoped that the experience the Government have gained in this badly-managed Irish experiment may not be forgotten, and that when the day shall come, as it must shortly, when they shall be called upon to institute some system of Imperial colonization for the whole of the United

Kingdom, they will know how to avoid the errors they have been guilty of in the past, and will be careful to work in the very closest co-operation with the authorities of the colonies to which it is proposed to direct emigration.

But it may be argued: If private emigration relieves this country of that portion of its surplus agricultural and artisan population capable of finding the means necessary for its removal, and if our colonies object, as they naturally do, to be invaded by an idle, criminal, or pauper immigration, who are the people you propose to emigrate?

I do not suppose that any one who had personal knowledge of the condition of the working classes in our large towns would make such an inquiry, but it is quite possible that many may not be aware of the present condition of

trade, and of the labour market, and may be ignorant of the fearful competition existing in the centres of industry, which compels large classes of honest, sober, hardworking men and women to lead such a bitter struggle for mere existence that the acquisition of the actual necessities of daily life is sufficient to engross their fullest energies, and which leaves them without the barest margin of time or strength for making any provision against the advent of disease and old age, much less for the accumulation of capital.

As personal knowledge of a subject is infinitely preferable to that obtained at second hand, however trustworthy may be the source whence the information has been obtained, two members of "The National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization" visited three of the docks of London, at the

hour when the gates are opened and the hands engaged for the day's work. They found large crowds of men besieging the entrance to the docks, eager and anxious to obtain work. The gates were opened, the hands required engaged, the gates again shut, and 700 disappointed, wretched, hungry men were turned away to spend another day of enforced idleness and of heart-sickening expectancy. If 700 men were dismissed without work in one morning from three dock gates in the metropolis, consider what must be the number of the involuntarily unemployed throughout the entire kingdom,* and then bearing in mind that workmen of this class live from hand to mouth, calculate if you can the number of women and of helpless children dependent for

* Since the above was written, the Mansion House Committee appointed to enquire into the cause of distress in the Metropolis report that 8,000 men daily apply in vain for work at the dock gates of London alone.

their daily bread upon the wages of these men, and see what a vast abyss of suffering, disease, and misery is opening at your feet, of which perhaps up to the present time you have been unconscious; then, if you can, be astonished that hatred (insensate, unreasoning hatred if you will) should be engendered in the minds of these sufferers against social order, and against that political economy which is supposed to require, as Mr. Hugh E. Hoare once fitly expressed it, that the lowest classes should act as "the buffers which interpose between population and the limits of subsistence."

In support of the above evidence I shall quote from an article entitled "Imperial Emigration," written in favour of State emigration, by Mr. George Potter, which appeared in the April number of the *National Review* of 1883.

It is too often said, but only said by the very ignorant, that a man can always work here if he will. This is a fallacy. There are thousands of poor men who are on the verge of starvation, who would work only too gladly if work was within their reach. . . . Yearly, the state of our labour market is becoming so unwholesomely overstocked, that it is difficult for even many of the very industrious to obtain the necessaries of life to support themselves and families. . . . That there is a large surplus of labour in the market at the present time will not be denied—except by those who do not take the trouble or have not the means at hand of knowing the facts.

Similar evidence has been repeatedly given by the Bishop of Bedford, by East-end clergymen, and by those who come into direct contact with the working classes in the overcrowded districts of London and of our large towns. Mr. Charington, whose noble efforts on behalf of the poor of East London are well known in connection with the East-end Emigration Fund, has frequently stated in public that there is an ever-increasing congestion of poverty-stricken people in the East of London,

many of whom stint themselves of the necessaries of life in order to be able to scrape together the sum which the Committee require them to find before they will assist them to emigrate.

Mr. Potter concludes as follows:—

Emigration to be beneficial to the country, I contend, must of necessity be aided by the State, for the very classes whom the State can best spare are of themselves unable to emigrate from want of the necessary funds. . . . Whether Imperial emigration be advanced by a Liberal or Conservative Government, those who move in the matter will receive a large amount of support from the working classes, and will also earn the blessing of many whose sufferings in this country have been most grievous. It cannot be doubted that, to those who occupy themselves with carrying out this great and good scheme, will be given the greatest gratification which any statesman can desire, and that is, the earnest, heartfelt thanks of a happy and contented people.

Hear what another leading representative working-man, but this time one connected with the agricultural interest, has to say on the subject.

Mr. Alfred Simmons, Secretary of the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union, in a pamphlet called "State Emigration: A Reply to Lord Derby," published by the "National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization," says:—

Before the urgency of the demand for State emigration and colonization can be appreciated in its fulness, a frank and impartial consideration must be given to certain hard facts; and the significance of the logical outcome and the ultimate result upon society of those facts must be clearly faced. To decline to listen to and recognise them is folly—to ignore them, a crime. Let us then consider them.

Notwithstanding the large number of emigrants, the population of Great Britain is increasing at the rate of nearly 400,000 souls per annum, and Lord Derby has recently correctly told us that "the volume of our capital and business does not increase correspondingly with the population." But while the general population of the country is thus rapidly increasing, the population of the agricultural districts is seriously decreasing. Considerable numbers of agricultural labourers took advantage of the free ocean passages offered by Queensland, New Zealand, and South Australia during the years 1873-82; but taking the figures in the bulk, a very small proportion of the decrease of

the agricultural labouring population is to be accredited to emigration. Agricultural labourers have migrated in enormous numbers to the large cities and towns and manufacturing and mining districts. Dr. G. B. Longstaff affirms that "75,000 more persons are born every year in the agricultural counties of England—that is to say, three-quarters of a million in ten years—than can find employment. Of these three-quarters of a million, about 600,000 in round numbers, settle in the manufacturing and mining counties, in London and its suburbs, and only about 150,000 go to the colonies." Mr. W. H. Paterson, of Durham, who holds a responsible position among the miners' associations, speaking in October last, said:—"I know thousands of men employed in mines who have come from the farms, but who would be glad to return to agricultural work if they could get employment." And Mr. Paterson's statement applies with equal force to the industries of the cities and towns. In my opinion many influences are operating together to drive agricultural people from the farms. Some of those influences are denied, and may be debateable; others are admitted, and are incontrovertible. It will suffice to refer to two of the latter. Firstly, the amassing of farms; secondly, the introduction of agricultural machinery. The first is preventible, the second is inevitable; both are enormously influencing the present condition and the future of our peasantry. I am personally acquainted with many parishes the land in which formerly provided regular employment for from 200 to 300 labourers, but on which there are now employed not one-half the original

number, and many of those at present employed are only casually engaged. In every department of agriculture the machine has taken the best-paid-for agricultural work from the labourer. The steam plough, the hay-mowing and hay-making machines, the reaping machines, and the threshing machines have not only reduced the agricultural labourers' incomes, but have driven thousands of peasants from their country cottage homes into the already overcrowded manufacturing districts. It has been the custom to depict the English peasant's life in glowing colours. His cleanly wood-bined cottage has been held up for general admiration. The very smoke from the cottage chimney, "as it curled its silvery career heavenward," has been surrounded with a halo of romantic moonshine. But what a satire upon the imagination of the romancist is the knowledge that tens of thousands of our "happy country couples," from want of work—which, interpreted means want of bread—are annually driven from their leafy lanes to swell the ranks, to imbibe the pestilential and reeking exhalations, and to observe the horrible immorality of the rookeries of the courts, and alleys, and "slums" of our great cities and towns. Sentiment is hollow, romance a mockery when placed beside the hard and cruel facts that force themselves upon our everyday observation. On all sides it is admitted that a large proportion of the agricultural people who migrate to the towns degenerate both physically and morally. The process still goes on, and it is a topic well worth the attention of the best thinkers, for there is truth in the lines—

A bold peasantry, a nation's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

Thus, then, it is shown that year by year probably from 50,000 to 60,000 hungry people flock into the towns from the agricultural districts from sheer inability to secure employment. Besides this influx the towns themselves rapidly add to their own populations by natural increase. A third addition to English towns arrives in the shape of Irish and Scotch immigrants to the number of upwards of 130,000 per annum. A fourth mass reaches us from the Continent—German, French, and Italian workpeople—the returns showing an average arrival of (in round numbers) 70,000 foreigners per annum. Now, it will hardly be contended that this everlasting invasion of our towns by masses of labour-starved people is beneficial, or that it can be permitted to continue with impunity and to go on for ever. Something must be done, or the only one possible result will ensue. It is simply a matter of time. In Manchester it is stated that at this moment there are 10,000 men out of employment. In Bristol, Liverpool, Leicester, Sheffield, Newcastle, and many other of the large provincial cities, thousands lie idle—ragged, starving, degenerating. In London—well, every one is supposed to know how things are in the “slums” and in East London. All that seems to be wanting is one capable enthusiast—a master mind, bent on what might be styled mischief—and there are many others than myself would scarcely care to write down or breathe in public what the consequences might be.

Mr. Simmons concludes :—

Here, are thousands of idle hands. There, are millions of acres of fertile but idle lands. The two want to be brought into association. But an ocean divides them. We have the money, we have the ships, we have all the machinery and power necessary—but we decline to use or apply them. The unemployed and helpless ones declare that they wish to go. Our retort is, that we may want them here. So here they remain in their squalor and rags and misery—in case “we may want them.” We have great and glorious possessions abroad, but instead of peopling them and creating fresh markets for ourselves, we coop up our surplus population in idleness, and set off to build better houses for poor souls who cannot go to live in them, because their pockets are empty. We can all sympathise with and help in the cry for the better housing of the poor ; but at the best that is a partial remedy. Emigration provides a permanent and a complete escape from poverty for those who accept it. It is a boon to the people who go, a benefit to those who stay at home, and an advantage to the colonies where they are received. Conducted on a State-directed, joint home and colonial footing, it will assist in welding together more firmly the interests and affections of the people located in the different sections of the Empire. All this is admitted, but the help necessary to secure so much positive good is withheld. As one who is intimately acquainted with the feelings and sentiments of the poorest classes both in London and in the

Provinces, I emphatically assert that help cannot be withheld much longer without creating a serious danger to the community.

If space permitted, I could quote from the speeches of many other leaders of the working classes to prove the existence of a terrible condition in our large towns of excessive competition, overcrowding, starvation, and helplessness, and such representative working men as Mr. J. C. Laird, Mr. J. Maudsley, Mr. E. Memmott, Mr. T. Ashton, and Mr. W. A. Coote, have all publicly declared their belief that this curse of over-population might easily be turned into a national blessing by the adoption of a well-considered scheme of State-directed colonization. But it is not only working men who entertain these opinions. Many eminent men of different political parties, and of varying religious denominations or lines of thought, have

expressed themselves in favour of the adoption by the Government of the principle of directing colonization.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury wrote :—

The best and the fittest means by which these miseries of over-pressure can be transmitted into comfort and wise affluence, is obviously by the people spreading out—that is, settling in other parts of our Greater Britain—that is, by emigration to our colonies. This has run its own course so far. But we seem to have now reached a point at which, to enable capable men to take advantage of the best opportunities in the best way, some public action of the State in their favour, or at least some direction is required in one form or other.

Cardinal Manning, in reply to an invitation to join the National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization, says :—

Holding as I do that emigration and colonization are the extension of the mother country, and that in this sense they are the true counteraction of the disintegrating policy which seems to me to be threatening the Empire, I believe that I am in

agreement with the Association in its object. If, therefore, you think my name in the list of patrons worth having, I shall be happy to give it. I believe that the maintenance and consolidation of the Empire is vital to England, and that if we lost it we should collapse at home.

Professor Tyndall, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Rosebery, the Earl of Harrowby, Mr. Spurgeon, the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of Bedford, Mr. James Anthony Froude, the Earl of Fife, the Marquis of Lorne, the Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. H. S. Northcote, M.P., Mr. F. D. Mocatta, the Dean of Manchester, and other distinguished men, as well as several members of both houses, have declared themselves in favour of the principle of State-directed Colonization.

The debate in the House of Lords on the 29th of March, 1884, when the Earl of Carnarvon moved for copies or extracts of correspondence in regard

to State-aided emigration to Canada, raised this question at one bound from the rank of a mere theory as regards the action of this country to that of one of practical politics. The debate showed that both political parties in the State were prepared to accept the principle of the State direction of emigration, if only the details of organisation could be satisfactorily arranged. Lord Derby acknowledged that "if it is right to feed a man when he cannot support himself, then there can be no argument on the ground of principle against State-aided emigration. Again, he said, "If it is right in regard to poor law relief and national education, clearly there can be no argument on ground of principle against transferring labour from one place where it is not wanted to another where it is wanted." It follows, therefore, from the speeches of Lords Carnarvon and Derby that the principle of the demand of

the "National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization" is accepted by both political parties in the State. There was no difference of opinion between the Liberal head of the Colonial Office and the Conservative head of that department, as to the importance of the question.*

Lord Derby agreed with Lord Carnarvon that the question is one which will grow in importance, and which cannot be discussed in an off-hand way. He acknowledged that the subject had never been fully discussed in either House of Parliament, and stated that he was not inclined to argue in a doctrinaire manner how far State assistance should be given. He acknowledged that times and circumstances had changed, and

* Since then the present head of the Colonial Office (1886), Earl Granville, has expressed himself as not unfavourable to the consideration of the subject.

that public opinion had of late years sanctioned the employment of public funds for objects which a few years ago would have been considered beyond the scope of Governmental action, and he, without hesitation, declared that the cry of communism could not with justice be raised against State-directed emigration, unless it were conceded that, by the adoption of our present Poor and Educational Laws, we had already entered on the path of communism. There was no difference of opinion in the House, and can be none, as to the distress in the East-end of London, but Lord Derby considered that the distress must be looked upon as a sad but unavoidable evil, which could not be remedied, although always increasing; whilst Lord Carnarvon considered that many of the men and women who are now a standing menace to the stability of social order, and a disgrace to our civilisation, might become useful

and prosperous members of society if assisted by Government loan to transfer labour, which is not wanted here, to Her Majesty's colonies, where it is greatly needed, and where land is abundant.

Lord Derby stated that the rate of emigration in 1883 was 320,000 persons of British and Irish origin, and that this rate was greater than it had been at any time since the Irish famine. From this fact he argued that there was no necessity for any acceleration of this outflow. He omitted, however, to mention that the average *annual increase* of the population during the last ten years is 340,000, and as he acknowledged that the labour market in London was already overstocked, he should have told us how he intended to deal with the annual extra increase of 340,000 souls over and above the number which is annually removed by private emigration, for *by his own*

showing private emigration does not touch the present over-population of the country by 340,000 souls annually, even at the present exceptional high rate of emigration.

Lord Derby said he did not consider that the colonies could absorb more labour, and yet he refuted his own argument by confessing that the attractive power of a colony is in proportion to the bulk of the attracting mass, and that the demand for labour in the colonies would increase in the future. Again, he somewhat paradoxically remarked that he was not prepared to condemn generally a scheme of colonization by means of which all money advanced to the emigrant should be repaid and security obtained by way of mortgage on the land, and yet he stated that colonization would probably fail; and he gave as his reason that the places to be colonized would be arranged by persons at a distance. But he did

not tell us why these places should be arranged by persons at a distance, and why a system of colonization which has proved successful under the management of a Scotch lady of fortune should fail when carried out with all the means at its disposal to enforce repayment which a Commission appointed by the Government and the colony would possess. Lord Derby rightly said that no scheme of State-directed emigration could answer without the co-operation of the colonies. This is perfectly true; but no one, as far as I am aware, proposes to emigrate people from this country either contrary to their own will or to that of the colony to which they are sent. I have already shown that "The National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization" lays the greatest stress in its programme on the necessity of maintaining in this matter the most complete co-operation between the Colonies and the mother country.

Finally, Lord Derby doubted whether there was any popular demand for State emigration. In answer to this I would point to the composition of the "National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization," which has on its Council, besides eminent members of the upper and middle classes, representatives of some 170,000 working men who have expressed themselves in favour of Government direction. This National Association was the outcome of a meeting of seventy representative working men, held on the 13th of October, 1883, when the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. Moved by the General Secretary of the Cabdrivers' Association, London; seconded by Mr. J. C. Laird, member of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Council and School Board, and President of the Trades Council of that town, and supported by Mr. J. Judge, of the Leeds Council, and officially representing the Leeds branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Riveters; Mr. John Potter, member of the Town Council and President of the Trades Council, Maidstone; Mr.

J. Strange, of Birmingham ; Mr. John Fox, officially representing and Secretary of Bristol, West of England and South Wales Trade and Provident Society ; Mr. J. Smith, member of London Trades Council ; Mr. J. Ambler, representative at the Trades Union Congress of the Trades Council, Hull ; and Mr. Dyke, of the Cabdrivers' Co-operative Association :—

“That this Conference of representative working men strongly declares in favour of State-directed Emigration to the British Colonies.”

2. Moved by Mr. James Maudsley, officially representing the Manchester and Salford Trades Council and the Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners, Manchester ; seconded by Mr. Edward Memmett, President of and officially representing the Sheffield Trades Council ; and supported by Mr. W. H. Patterson, Financial Secretary of the Miners' Association, Durham ; Mr. D. Merrick, President of the Trades Council, and President of Trades Union Congress for 1878 ; Mr. Beech, officially representing Amalgamated Trades Council, Oldham ; and Mr. T. Pilcher, member of Folkestone School Board, and Chairman of Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union:—

“That seeing the large number of unemployed and indigent people amassed in our cities and towns, the attention of the Government be urgently directed to the necessity that exists for facilities to enable such people to proceed to, and settle in our Colonies.”

Since then influential meetings have been held in the London Mansion House and in the Town Halls of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Liverpool and Manchester, and in all cases similar resolutions have been passed. In London and Manchester the resolutions were passed *unanimously* or *nem. con.*, though the Mayor of Manchester, who was in the chair at the latter meeting, spoke several times strongly against the motion, whilst in Newcastle only about a dozen dissentients voted against the resolutions in a crowded meeting.

“The National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization” is organizing a series of meetings to be held in all the large provincial towns of England, and invites assistance, both personal and pecuniary, towards the formation of such a strong public opinion in favour of State-directed Colonization as may

encourage the Government to bring forward a well-considered scheme for the alleviation of the congested condition of our over-populated country.

Whether there is or is not a demand for the State direction of Colonization, of this I am confident, that means must be found, and that quickly, to put an end to the fearful struggle for life which is to be met with in the East and South of London and in most of our large towns. The disease has got beyond the power of private efforts, and has assumed proportions too gigantic to be dealt with by any power short of a government or a powerful municipality.

Starving men are not to be argued with, nor are they likely to acquiesce quietly in Lord Derby's fatalistic theory, that their condition is

the inevitable result of economic conditions which are to be deplored but cannot be altered.*

Whether the Government like it or not, they will have to take into their serious consideration how best to relieve this deplorable congestion of population in our large towns; and the adoption of some well-considered scheme of State-directed Colonization appears to me one of the most effectual remedies for dealing with a social malady, which, if allowed to continue unchecked, must inevitably end in some fatal national catastrophe.

BRABAZON,

(President and Chairman of the National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization).

84, Palace Chambers,
Westminster, S.W.

* The recent disgraceful riots in London (1886) have unfortunately proved the truth of the above remark.

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THANETON

at Palace Chambers
Westminster, S.W.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF
LORDS

ON MARCH 27TH 1871.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

APPENDIX.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

OF MARCH 28TH, 1884.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

The Earl of CARNARVON, in moving for copies or extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Canada Pacific Railway, in regard to State-aided emigration to Canada; also copies or extracts of correspondence on the same subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. F. Boyd, said that the motion of which he had given notice needed some brief explanation. First of all, he desired to call attention to the congested state of the labour market. The state of things there, as their lordships knew, was grievous. It was even more than that, it was dangerous. Of course, there were many modes in which this great difficulty might be met. A great deal might be done by improved accommodation with respect to their houses, but, although that touched one very important side of the question, it could not cover the whole ground. In order to produce any real improvement, nothing short of emigration would meet the case. Immigration from the country to London

had been one great cause of the distress, and now, emigration from London must take place. Here, in London, they had an excessive population, stagnation of the labour market, low wages, or rather in many parts no wages, and high rents, combining to make a state of things only to be described as utter misery, and that condition was increasing. In their colonies, on the other hand, within only a few days' sail from this country, there were large tracts of land, high wages, ample work, and a desire, in fact a demand for labour. But then it had been asked why it was that no advantage had been taken of this. This was partly due to the ignorance of the classes themselves whom it affected, and partly to the absence of proper machinery for the purpose. Again, the local governments themselves subscribed largely to the expenses of emigration, Canada paying a quarter, and Australia nearly one-half of the cost, but something over and above all that was needed, and the question he desired to bring before their lordships by his motion was, how far the Government might assist that emigration. It was true there were many objections that might be urged against this. It was constantly said, sometimes in speeches and sometimes in print, that the aid of the State involved the principle of communism, but it was very easy to give a name of that sort to any such scheme, and it was always to be remembered that, if there was any communism involved, we already had that principle in our Poor Laws. A more practical objection was that there would be great difficulty in selecting the emigrants, but he felt confident, for his own part, that machinery qualified for dealing with the subject could

be devised. It never could be contemplated as desirable to emigrate the worthless portion of the class they were endeavouring to relieve; they must be such as would be approved of by the colonial authorities of the places to which they were going. He would admit that there were a great many who were disqualified by the life they had led for the agricultural life of the colonies, but there were undoubtedly many, also, that were by character, habits, and occupation, perfectly well fitted for it. Another objection which was raised was that by State emigration they were taking the mother country to send out labour for the benefit of the colonies. The answer to this, however, was simple. No doubt by that system great benefit accrued to the colonies, but the benefit to this country was quite as great in sending the unemployed elsewhere. Then the schemes referred to in the correspondence in question did not go to provide cheap labour for the colonists; the idea was that they were to be settled upon land of their own, and should become farmers and small proprietors, not that they should work for any other person. The next objection made against the aid of the State in emigration was, to his mind, perhaps the most important of all. It was said that when the State interfered there was great danger that they would injure voluntary effort. If he had thought that voluntary effort would be seriously injured by such a change in policy, he certainly would not have advocated any such scheme, but, in this case, voluntary effort had proved unequal to the great strain put upon it. A very large number, it was true, had been sent out, but they formed, in reality,

merely a small portion of those who should be assisted, and there was necessity for larger means and stronger organization. A further objection made was that there was no surplus labour to send out of the country, but he thought that no one could hold such an argument who had ever witnessed the piteous scenes that took place at the dock gates in London. It was sometimes said that in sending out emigrants in this manner, they would not send out the best class. He quite admitted that those sent out would not be the best class, but for his part he would be sorry to see the best class sent out of the country. There was an intermediate class between the best and the worst who, under more favourable circumstances than those under which they now had to exist, would become admirable colonists. There was another objection which he could remember having heard against such a plan, and that was that in any of these schemes there might be considerable difficulty in getting the money refunded to the Government. A certain portion of the money might, perhaps, be lost, but the security taken was sufficiently good security to guarantee a very large proportion of the money being recovered, and even if a small portion of the money should be lost, he maintained that the experiment was worth trying. It might be urged that what he was advocating was a new doctrine, but he did not think that it was so new as many supposed. His right hon. friend opposite would be aware that Boards of Guardians were entitled to raise money in aid of emigration, and during the last 60 or 70 years there had been a steady growth in this direction. A statute of the reign of

William IV. gave power to owners and occupiers to raise money for this purpose, and by a statute of the present reign the power had been largely increased. The whole tenour and tendency of recent practice and legislation on that subject had been to remove restrictions and give fresh facilities. But, further, there was a department at the Colonial Office which existed for rather more than 30 years—between 1840 and 1871—which was so constituted as to superintend the passage of emigrants, and during that time it superintended the departure from this country of between six and seven millions of emigrants. He had not been able to satisfy himself how far that emigration had been assisted by the votes of Parliament or by grants in aid, but on certain occasions public money had been voted for it in exceptional instances. The Irish famine, he thought, was one of them; and the expense of that office itself and the establishment connected with it was defrayed from public sources. Therefore it could hardly be contended that that doctrine was altogether a new one. Their lordships would remember that three years ago, when the Irish Land Act passed in that House, there was a clause which enabled the Government to raise money without limitation as to amount for purposes of emigration. In the other House of Parliament, at the instance of certain Irish members, that clause was very much cut down and limited. When the Bill was before their lordships he endeavoured to give the provision some additional scope and enlargement, but the amendment was not accepted. The clause was much reduced and stunted in its operation; but even so the Irish Government

were empowered to raise £200,000 for emigration ; and therefore, so far as the principle went, it had been admitted in recent times. In advocating such a system of emigration he held that certain limits and conditions must be laid down. The principal conditions should, it seemed to him, be first, that the emigrant should be a fit and competent man—that was by agricultural knowledge, and capacity, and also by physical strength ; secondly, there should be a satisfactory and competent machinery for selection—a machinery which would adequately represent the local authorities, and pass, as it were, through the sieve the various applicants for emigration ; thirdly, it was important that the emigration should be so sufficiently gradual as to be absorbed without inconvenience by the new country to which the emigrants were sent ; and, lastly, some security should be taken for the repayment by the emigrant, either in whole or in part of the money advanced. There had been in that correspondence various proposals that would more or less carry out those objects. He now asked for the correspondence that had passed between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. Stephens, the president of the Canada Pacific Railway, and also for the correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Boyd, who was greatly interested in emigration from the East-end of London. He believed that there was no secret about the proposals which Mr. Stephens made rather more than a year ago to Her Majesty's Government. The Canada Pacific Railroad was one of those gigantic enterprises connecting ocean with ocean which were pushed forward in these days with an

energy and a vigour that were truly marvellous. The railway company had received from the Dominion Government large concessions of land alongside of the line, and that land was the subject-matter of the present proposal. In addition to that the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company were owners of vast tracts of land, and their object was to secure emigrants for that territory. Mr. Stephens's proposal he believed was that Her Majesty's Government should advance without interest a loan of one million sterling for ten years; that the company should allot to each settler a block of 160 acres, reserving the adjoining block for the company. The emigrant would be transplanted, provided with a house, agricultural implements, seed, in fact everything required to settle him on that block of land, at the same time taking such precautions that he would be able to live for the first year. The next step was to take a mortgage on that land. The English Treasury were to advance the money, so that they would have ample means of seeing that it was properly expended, and the land, with the adjoining block reserved, would constitute the security for repayment. That was the scheme which was proposed in reference to Irish emigration alone. The plan proposed by Mr. Boyd, was, he thought, in its general principles, so nearly like that of Mr. Stephens, that he need not particularly describe it. The Irish scheme had fallen through. Objections had been taken and difficulties made by Her Majesty's Government. He did not know in what condition the East London scheme stood, but he feared that little or

nothing had been done. He was not there to advocate either Mr. Stephens's or Mr. Boyd's scheme. He did not desire to advocate any particular proposal, still less to advocate any broadcast and indiscriminate expenditure on the part of the Imperial Treasury. But he thought that the time had come when that question should be considered from different points of view as it had never yet been considered, and that the State might properly intervene at all events to help those who were doing their best to help themselves. That being so, he thought it was the duty of the Government not to leave that matter to voluntary effort entirely, but to see whether they could not devise some sound and practical method of assisting the work. The Irish scheme, as he had said, had failed. He did not know what the reason of that failure might be, but he believed his noble friend was not wholly averse to the principle which he had mentioned. Last year he gave a very encouraging reply to a question on this subject. He said that there was a great congestion of the labour market in the east of London and that the difficulty was growing, and he went on to say, speaking for the Colonial Office, that he did not know that any great difficulty need be apprehended as regarded this proposal, because it was no doubt possible to make arrangements with the Colonial Governments. Therefore, he did not think, so far as they might judge from the utterances of his noble friend, that there would be any invincible objection on his part. What, then, was the objection, if there be one, on which this scheme was opposed? Was it an objection of principle, or was it merely an objection o

Treasury detail? If it be an objection of principle, then he thought it was important that their lordships should know what it was; and if it be an objection on the part of the Treasury, he should like to know the nature of it. (Hear, hear.) He had heard it said that the Canadian Government were perfectly willing to give every facility, to give actual security, for the payment of this loan, to make themselves responsible for it, and to step, as it were, into the shoes of the landlord as regarded the emigrant tenant. He could perfectly well understand such an objection on their part, but he did not think that the same objection could apply at all to the Government. The risks and evil of allowing the present condition of things in our large towns to go on growing in the same ratio were tremendous, and it could hardly be doubted that it was a wise and sound policy to run some risk in its alleviation. (Cheers.) He had little further to add in moving for this correspondence, except to press to the utmost of his power on Her Majesty's Government and the House the great evil and danger of the present state of things, such as existed in many of our large towns in the kingdom. (Cheers.) However continuous the emigration might be, more persons came into this town than were taken away. (Hear, hear.) Emigration from Scotland, Ireland, and foreign countries poured into this large town, and the evil was still more enhanced by the fact that the German workmen undersold the labour market of England. Lastly, there was emigration from our own country districts. Poor country people came to London and by their presence contributed still more to swell the already

enormous population. London at present was, in point of population, nearly as large as Scotland, and it was still increasing in size. No one could think of the condition of the metropolis and the bonds which loosely held its immense population together, without being made aware of the numberless difficulties and dangers which presented themselves at every turn. He thought we were approaching a time in the existence of these great cities, such as, indeed, the world had never seen before, and to which the attention of the Government ought to be most seriously directed. It was the duty of the Government to bring their minds, free of prejudice, to a consideration of the question, and to accept the facts, such as they were. It was their duty to find a timely and well-considered measure to avert that which was an evil of overwhelming and increasing proportion. (Cheers.)

The Earl of DERBY : My lords, I waited a moment to see whether any other noble lord wished to follow the noble earl in the interesting speech he has delivered. To those observations I am sure you will have listened with interest, whether you entirely agreed or not with the conclusions to which he came. There is no doubt that the question to which he has called our attention, is one not merely of great interest and importance at the present moment, but one of great importance in the future. The question cannot be discussed in an offhand manner and done with ; but the question of what we are to do with the outflow of our population, is one not for this year and the next, but

one which will be of interest to the next generation as much, if not more, as to the present. (Cheers.) Now, my lords, I am not inclined to argue in a doctrinaire manner upon the question of how far State assistance should be given to promote emigration. The question, I think, has never been fully discussed or argued out in either House of Parliament, and it is one to which we are guided much more by that experience which we gather as we go along than by any preconceived notions of dealing with the matter. There is no doubt, as my noble friend has stated, that of late years we have been in the habit of sanctioning the employment of public funds for many purposes which it was thought were better left to individual enterprise. I do not say whether that tendency is good or bad. I accept it as one of the most remarkable characteristics of the time in which we live; and I willingly concede to my noble friend that there are many worse uses to which public funds can be applied than that to which he proposes to apply them. I see no sense in talking about a scheme of State-assisted emigration as if it were of a communistic character, because if that is communistic there are many things which are already communistic. My noble friend was quite right in citing the case of the poor law and State assistance in education. If it was right to feed a man when he could not support himself, and to give the greater part of his primary education gratis, then he can have no argument on the ground of principle against transferring labour from one place where it was not wanted to another where it was wanted. (Hear, hear.) I think, also, my lords, there is no ground of

complaint against the expenditure of public money merely because it has conferred incidentally a benefit upon the colonies which are concerned. If we find that we are better off by getting rid of a certain amount of labour which is not wanted in this country, if we can promote our own advantage and save our own pockets by transferring that labour elsewhere, it certainly is no reason against taking that step that the colonies will be the gainers by its being taken. But, my lords, I do not think that my noble friend has quite made out whether the work of emigration upon a great scale requires to be done, and whether it cannot be done by private enterprise. Now, I am not speaking at all of what may be the case, and I am not laying down a general principle for all time ; I am simply speaking with reference to the circumstances as they at present exist. I would just remind your lordships of several facts with which I daresay you are familiar. The last emigration return shows that at this moment we have a larger outflow of population from the British Islands than has ever been known at any previous period. I may, perhaps, modify that statement so far as to except one or two years which preceded the Irish famine, and the emigration of those years was due to exceptional and temporary causes. I think if my noble friend will look at the emigration returns which are on the table of the House he will see that the rate of emigration in 1883 was 320,000 persons of British and Irish origin, and this rate is greater than it has been at any previous period. Ireland alone contributed of that number, 105,000 persons ; and your lordships will find, by looking at the return, what the natural growth of

Ireland is, and that the population is steadily decreasing. The same cannot be said of England and Scotland, but taking the whole of the British Isles, your lordships will see that the present rate of emigration is equal to 1 per cent. of the whole population. Speaking generally and taking the country as a whole, I do not think there is a demand for any acceleration of this outflow. I quite agree with my noble friend that in considering this subject we must bear in mind the absorbing power of the colonies themselves, and I cannot say that the present rate of outflow could be very largely increased without pressing unduly on the labour demand of the colonies. The next question is, will the present rate of emigration continue?—and I think it will, and that it may very probably increase. I think we may fairly expect that the demand for labour in the colonies, which to a great extent regulates the amount of emigration, will be greater in the future than in the past. The attractive power of a colony is in proportion to the bulk of the attracting mass. There is another cause which my noble friend partly admitted. He stated that among the reasons why emigration was not as popular among the working classes as might be expected were ignorance and poverty. Whatever may happen as to the poverty of the working classes, there is no doubt that ignorance is diminishing from year to year, and especially ignorance on this subject. The rising generation are learning to read and write, and the next generation will be a much more reading people than the last. This change will especially take place and be most marked in the agricultural districts, which have hitherto been

most backward. There has been an enormous amount of emigration, and probably there is not a village or parish in the country from which one or two persons have not emigrated. In this way information as to colonial life is communicated to those who stay at home. Those who thus take an interest in colonial matters, and compare their chances of a career at home and in the colonies, are in consequence year by year increasing. Then there is another consideration, that as communication becomes more rapid and more complete the risks and inconveniences of an emigrant's life tend to diminish. Cheap land remains, but the difficulty of getting to and fro and the hardships of an emigrant's life perpetually diminish. As to Ireland, there is, I think, additional and special cause why this emigration of the last few years should not diminish. We have heard quite enough in this House of the Irish land legislation of the last two years, and I do not wish to refer to it in any controversial spirit; but I think that, whatever other result may follow from the change in the Irish land laws the tendency will be rather to promote than check the consolidation of farms, and, as a consequence, to increase the emigration of the surplus population. The Irish tenants have no longer any fear of eviction. The smaller and poorer farmers will be under a constant pressure to sell, and it is my opinion that the outward movement will be not retarded but accelerated. Of course the adoption of a higher standard of living and comfort, which I believe there is no doubt taking place, tends in the same direction. For these reasons it is my belief that, as far as the next few years are

concerned, all the probabilities point, not to a diminution, but to an increase in the rate of the outward movement. If this is the case, it diminishes the urgency of the suggestion which my noble friend now makes in favour of an official stimulus being given to emigration. He reminded us that boards of guardians have certain powers in this matter, and if these powers have not been used, I apprehend the reason to be that in the general judgment of those who have to deal with this matter emigration is already going on so rapidly as to require no stimulus. The noble lord referred to the congestion of the labour market. I do not know if he meant all over the country or in certain parts.

The Earl of CARNARVON.—In certain parts.

The Earl of DERBY.—Well, local distress and local poverty require local rather than general treatment. (Hear). The noble earl specially referred to the East-end of London, and I agree with what he said on that subject. But I am afraid that, do what you will—and a great deal has been done lately—you will find that the poorer parts of London are the natural refuge of those who have failed elsewhere. I do not know why it is, but it has always been so. It is also a question how many of the East-enders, if they were offered the opportunity of emigrating, would be willing to go or would be of the right sort to emigrate. It is not enough that a man should be able-bodied—that is that he should have the right number of legs and arms—to make a successful emigrant. You require other qualities which are no

always found in the poorest class. (Hear.) We had some experience 14 or 15 years ago of a plan, not of emigration, but of migration. In 1869 and 1870 there was an exceptional amount of distress in the East-end, and many men were sent from the East-end to the northern towns, where there was a brisk demand for labour; but the plan did not succeed. Now, I have laid great stress upon that point because it really is not enough that men should be in distress and want work to justify us in sending them to the colonies. When the colonists import labour for themselves it is their object to get men who will be able to do the work they require to be done. But when we export labourers, not because they are wanted in the colonies, but because there is not work for them in this country, there is naturally a strong inducement to select those who are really not the best fitted to go, but those who can best be spared. For the combination of qualities required for a successful emigrant are not common. Another consideration is that no large scheme of emigration taken up by the State can possibly be expected to work without the co-operation of the colonies to which the emigrants are sent. It is said that the colonies ought to wish it. If the emigrants are well chosen, it may, no doubt, be for the permanent benefit of the colony, but it is not for the benefit of all persons concerned—for instance, it is not for the benefit of the ruling class. The labourers in the colonies have got a good thing, and are of course desirous of keeping it, and for that reason no great scheme of emigration is likely to be popular in the colonies. That consideration applies still more

strongly if the colonists believe or seem to believe that those we send out are those whom we wish to get rid of. But there is a third objection to large schemes of emigration, and that is that in adopting them we should run the risk of superseding instead of supplementing private efforts in that direction. In certain districts there are persons who want to emigrate. Suppose that in a district a hundred men wish to go out; most of them would probably do so if there were no State help. If, however, Government passages were offered to 20 of them, the other 80 would be sure to wait until they also got help; and every man who was not assisted would feel aggrieved. (Hear, hear.) I do not, however, consider that an insuperable obstacle, but it is nevertheless one that would have to be encountered, and one that must be considered. With regard to the general plan which has been hinted at—namely, the plan of planting down a large community in a district reserved, I am not prepared absolutely to condemn it. There are, no doubt, some advantages in it, and possibly in some instances it might be successful, but it would more probably fail, for this reason, that such plans are arranged, not by those whom they chiefly concern, but by persons at a distance, and they therefore fail to comply with the necessary local conditions. I do not think my noble friend will ask me to consider in detail the Canadian scheme of last year. That scheme fell through because the Canadian Government absolutely declined to guarantee repayment, and other securities were not deemed sufficient. It is obvious that if loans of that kind are to be made, repayment must be required. But if the

Government is left to collect dues from individual emigrants which is the only other way of obtaining the money, I think there would be a very small prospect of the sum being collected. I doubt whether there is any requirement or demand for such State emigration as my noble friend proposes, and I doubt whether the scheme he proposes would be very well received in the colonies. Moreover, I am quite sure, that if it is not cordially received by them it will not work; and I think, therefore, that the question would be better dealt with locally. For instance, it would be a very fair matter for a municipal authority for London, if we ever get one, to consider such a question, but it is, in my opinion, better for us to go step by step and to feel our way. Before sitting down I should like to make a personal explanation. My noble friend opposite, referring to a reply I made some time since to a question on this subject, quoted me as having said that in regard to a scheme of this sort no difficulty would be found in the Colonial Office. What I did say was that the objection would not lie with the Colonial Office, but that we do not find the funds. The question of funds is a question for the Treasury, and I wish it to be understood that I did not in any way pledge my colleagues. (Hear, hear.)

Lord NORTON wished to take the opportunity of saying a few words on what was perhaps a very small branch of emigration, but which, at the same time, might be made a very successful branch, and it had the merit that instead of costing

anything it would effect an enormous saving. Every child which was brought up in the cottages of foster parents, as was frequently the practice in this country, and still more so in Scotland, cost the Treasury something like £25 a head per annum during the whole period of their education. If foster parents were found to take pauper children in Canada the saving would be enormous; for one single payment of £25 on sending the children to Canada would provide for them infinitely better than the £25 a year during the whole of their education, which was paid for them in this country.

Lord DENHAM expressed the hope that the number of emigrants from Ireland would increase, for the prospects of poor men in the colonies were far better than at home.

The motion was agreed to.

The following letter appeared in *The Times* of February 17, 1886, after the Socialist Riots in London :—

THE UNEMPLOYED.

SIR,—The disgraceful scenes which have taken place in the streets of London are not calculated to soften the hearts of men towards the unemployed ; but the public should remember that the genuine working men took no part in the disorders, and indeed openly protested through the mouths of their spokesmen against the revolutionary doctrines of the Social Democratic League, which body is alone to blame for the disgrace which has been brought on the noble name of labour.

It is to be hoped that, if the genuine unemployed suffer (which I sincerely trust they may not) through the tightening by the public of its purse-strings, the former will remember to what body they owe their misfortune.

It would be a grievous and lamentable error, however, if these disorders should lead us to imagine that there are no honest unemployed working men in our midst. There are thousands who are daily suffering in silence, and with the most praiseworthy patience and heroism. The Mansion House Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of distress among the working classes has accumulated a mass of unimpeachable

evidence, from which it is shown that some 8,000 to 9,000 men apply daily in vain at the London Docks for work, and that women are forced to make shirts for three farthings a piece, and can only earn from 9d. to 1s. a day for 16 hours incessant toil. Such a state of things is awful. Can it seriously be contended that nothing can be done to relieve these thousands of innocent men and women suffering from the result of economic conditions over which they have no control? This misery is the result of over-population. There are three men and more women struggling for the wage which is barely sufficient for one. It is, as you remark in *The Times* of the 4th inst., pathetic to see 11 delegates of workmen's societies waiting on the Lord Mayor to ask what can be done to lessen the distress among the unemployed workmen of the country; for waiting on the Lord Mayor means that the workmen's societies can see no remedy but that of charity for the want of employment from which their members are suffering. Even should relief works be commenced, as was elsewhere suggested, such temporary alleviation of a chronic malady can only be described as of the nature of charity. It is even sadder to read that the late Prime Minister, upon whom another deputation waited, could give them very little more practical advice or assistance in their difficulties. But on the evening of the same day on which the delegates waited on the Lord Mayor a large meeting was held in the Holborn Town Hall under the auspices of the Social Democratic League. On this occasion there was no lack of advice, and the followers of Messrs. Hyndman, Champion,

Burns, and Williams acted upon it, as we have seen, with right good effect on Monday the 8th. At the Holborn meeting the action of the spokesmen of the genuine unemployed who had waited on the Lord Mayor was denounced. Mr. Hyndman told his audience, as reported in *The Times*, that they must take care of themselves; that "the middle-class debating club at Westminster was organised to take advantage of the workman's misery;" that "the people would have to put into the governing classes the fear of man;" that "the people had nothing to hope for unless there was a revolution;" and he added that "he and others with him would not take men up a hill and down a hill perpetually." "If there was any man on that platform who did not like to taste danger he had better step off it."

Is the above, I would ask, the only advice which the working classes can obtain when they ask how are they to get bread for themselves and their families? Are the rulers of England really incapable of finding a solution of this terrible problem of over-population, or does the fear (I believe the erroneous fear) of loss of votes, through popular ignorance or prejudice, prevent their pointing out the true path of safety to those whom it is their duty to guide? Lord Salisbury did indeed allude to emigration as a possible remedy, but, if reported correctly, he appears to have added that this was not a question for the consideration of the Government. Why not? A member of his own Cabinet has, in the House of Lords brought the subject forward for the consideration of that House,

and recently Lord Rosebery has expressed views of a somewhat similar character. If we are content to be taxed for the benefit of these unemployed when they choose to incarcerate themselves in our workhouses for life, why may we not assist them to become independent men across the seas? Should our population continue to increase in the future as it has in the past, and as it is doing now, when annually 300,000 additional mouths have to be fed (notwithstanding the large voluntary emigration which is continually taking place), the time will assuredly arrive when the last limit of human endurance will have been reached, and it is possible that the larger proportion of these long-suffering masses may then be placed in the terrible dilemma of having either to accept Mr. Hyndman's advice or to starve, or, what to the most respectable is worse, have to go to the workhouse, in which case the burden to the country will become intolerable.

Let us hope that our statesmen will be wise while there is yet time, and turn their eyes across the ocean to those countries under British rule where there are limitless fertile lands waiting to be occupied. I have just returned from Canada, and I know that the people of that country would gladly welcome hard-working colonists prepared to settle on the free grant lands. There would be no opposition on the part of the trade unions to a well-organised scheme of State-directed colonization. The Canadian working man is well aware of the difference between the colonist and the ordinary immigrant.

The latter is his competitor in the labour market, but the former in a very short time becomes his employer. A Commission should be appointed by the Government, and funds should be placed by Parliament at their disposal, in order to enable honest, hard-working, sober, but poor men, desirous of colonising, to transport themselves across the seas. These men should be selected by the Colonial agents, and no man should be sent who was not approved by the agent of the colony to which he proposed to go. The Commission should be placed by the Colonies in possession of certain portions of their free grant lands, and should build the necessary log huts, provide the colonists with implements of husbandry and seed, and maintain them until the arrival of the first crop. As soon as the crops had been reaped the whole process should be reversed. The settlers would then be required to pay the Commission for a certain number of years a rent, secured by mortgage on the land, sufficient to provide for the repayment of capital and interest. It has been found that from £110 to £120 is sufficient to place a settler on one of the 160 acre lots granted by the Canadian Government free to any person who will cultivate them, to supply him with necessary implements and seeds, and to maintain him until the arrival of the crop. If £10 a year were charged on, say, an advance of £125, capital and interest at 4 per cent. would be paid off in 25 years; the land would then become the settler's freehold, and the money would be available to be used over and over again for a similar purpose. Emigrants who were ignorant of agriculture should be taught

on training farms belonging to the Commission. They would give their labour in return for food and training. It is an error to imagine that it is necessary to have knowledge of agriculture on arrival in order ultimately to succeed in the free grant districts of Canada. I was universally told by the settlers that the men who failed were capitalists and men who had a knowledge of English agriculture, while the most successful settlers were poor men and those who had no knowledge of agriculture, for these latter on arrival had to hire themselves out to Canadian farmers as labourers, and thus gained a knowledge of the soil, the climate, and the mode of agriculture best suited to the country.

It is true that a large proportion of our town unemployed would be unfitted for a colonist's life, but there is a proportion which would be perfectly capable of succeeding, and the influx into our towns could be arrested by diverting the stream of country-bred lads to our Colonies.

If it be said that the colonist might decamp before the fulfilment of his contract with the Commission, it may be replied that every spadeful of soil turned over by the settler would be a guarantee against his acting in a dishonest manner, as the improved land could be sold in the market to defray loss and he would lose all the benefit of his labour.



101 CANCELLED

The National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization, of which I have the honour to be chairman, will gladly give further information on the subject to any person who will apply at the office, 84, Palace Chambers, Westminster.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

BRABAZON.

John G. O. MORGAN, M.P. (Chairman)
Secretary of State for the Colonies
Parliamentary Buildings

The Deputation comprised the following:
1. Mr. BRABAZON (President and Chairman of the National Association for State Directed Colonization).
2. Mr. GEORGE BARNARD (Secretary).
3. Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Colonial Institute).
4. Mr. H. D. NICOLLA.
5. Mr. J. G. O. MORGAN, M.P. (Chairman of the Colonies).
6. Mr. G. T. SHELTON, M.P.
7. Mr. FREDERICK FORBES, M.P.
8. Mr. WALTER SHERLEY, M.P.
9. Mr. H. W. L. LAWSON, M.P.
10. Mr. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P.
11. Mr. J. M. YOUNG, C.B.
12. Mr. H. B. MANSFIELD, M.P.
13. Mr. JOHN WILSON, M.P.
14. Mr. ALFRED DOWDY, C.B.
15. Mr. SYDNEY KENNEDY.
16. Mr. W. H. GIBBS (Secretary of the Colonies).

DEPUTATION

TO

The Right Hon. The EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
(Secretary of State for the Colonies),

AND

The Right Hon. G. O. MORGAN, M.P. (Under
Secretary of State for the Colonies),

FEBRUARY 19TH, 1886.

The Deputation comprised the following :

LORD BRABAZON (President and Chairman of the National
Association for State-Directed Colonization),

MR. ALFRED SIMMONS (Secretary of same),

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG (Colonial Institute),

MR. F. D. MOCATTA,

CAPT. J. C. R. COLOMB, MR. J. ANTHONY FROUDE,

SIR J. G. T. SINCLAIR, BART., M.P.,

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD, M.P.,

MR. WALTER SHIRLEY, M.P., MR. H. W. L. LAWSON, M.P.,

MR. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P., MR. J. A. YOUL, C.M.G.,

SIR H. E. MAXWELL, BART., M.P., MR. JOHN WILSON, M.P.,

LIEUT.-GENERAL LOWRY, C.B., MR. STEPHEN KENNARD,

REV. W. H. GROVE (Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge),

- MR. JAS. RANKIN & MR. PATON (Central Emigration Society),
 REV. G. P. MERRICK (Colonial Emigration Society),
 MR. J. MAUDSLEY (Manchester Operative Cotton Spinners),
 MR. D. MERRICK (Leicester Unemployed Committee),
 MR. E. MEMMOTT (Sheffield Labour Council),
 MR. COUNCILLOR J. C. LAIRD (Newcastle-on-Tyne Trades
 Council),
 MR. B. C. BROWN (Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne),
 MR. ARNOLD WHITE, MR. T. SUTHERST,
 MR. RITCHIE, MISS M. S. RYE,
 THE HONBLE. MISS E. JOYCE AND MRS. ROSS (Girls' Friendly
 Society and Emigration Association),
 MRS. E. L. BLANCHARD AND MRS. REEVES (Colonial
 Emigration Society),
 MRS. ROSE,
 MR. H. N. HAMILTON HOARE, REV. A. G. JOYCE,
 MR. COLIN MACKENZIE, MR. C. GEARY,
 CAPT. ANDREW HAMILTON (East End Emigration Fund),
 THE REV. W. E. BATTY (Fulham),
 MR. LEPPARD AND A DEPUTATION (Kent and Sussex Labourers'
 Union),
 THE REV. H. W. ROBINSON (Shoreditch),
 MR. T. J. HESTER (South London Friendly Societies'
 Committee),
 MR. GEORGE PALMER, MR. J. H. DE RICCI,
 MR. A. A. HOLLINGSWORTH (Stratford),
 MR. T. SMITH (Cab Drivers' Association),

MR. AUGUSTUS COOPER (Brighton Emigration Society),
 MR. SHIRLEY BLACKBURNE (Doncaster),
 THE REV. W. P. INSLEY (Bow),
 MR. R. H. GAMLEN (Gray's Inn),
 LIEUT. G. MANSFIELD SMITH, R.N.,
 THE REV. W. H. WOOD (Kensal Green),
 THE REV. HUGH HULEATT (Stamford), MR. G. B. KENT,
 REV. E. P. GREEN (Bethnal Green),
 MR. W. STANFORTH, MR. SYDNEY HOARE,
 CAPT. HARREL, R.N., MR. ARTHUR J. HILL,
 THE REV. EDGELL WYATT-EDGELL, MR. C. H. YELL,
 THE HON. REGINALD CAPEL,
 MR. H. SEYMOUR TROWER,
 MR. MORTIMOR MILLINGTON,
 MR. E. FULCHER,

and Representatives from a large number of working men's clubs and friendly societies in London.

The Deputation comprised about 300 persons.

Lord BRABAZON, in introducing the deputation, said: My Lord, I have the honour to introduce to you this large deputation, for the purpose of bringing before you the question of State-Directed Colonization. I lay stress upon "Colonization," because although in our programme we include Emigration, we lay much greater stress upon Colonization, because there are less difficulties and fewer objections to Colonization than to Emigration. I am not going to detain your Lordship to-day by

making a speech. My views are well known—they have already appeared several times in print—and I would much rather ask you to listen to the representatives of the working classes, who have come long distances to-day in order to address your Lordship. We have here representatives of about 170,000 working men—representatives who are honoured by their own class, who are trusted, who are recognised leaders of their class. We have here several Members of Parliament. We have also Mr. Froude with us, who has lately returned, as your Lordship is aware, from the Colonies, and who, I hope, will address you to-day. We have here representatives of all classes and all parties, clergymen and ministers of all denominations, and we have also representatives of twenty working men's clubs in this metropolis. I will now ask our Secretary, Mr. Alfred Simmons, to address your Lordship.

Mr. ALFRED SIMMONS (Secretary of the National Association for State-Directed Colonization, and who also represented the Agricultural Labourers of the counties of Kent and Sussex), said : My Lord,—Rising on behalf of this deputation, to place before you our proposals, I am sure I shall be doing that which will be a satisfaction to my friends if I say that we thank your Lordship very much for your kindness in receiving us here to-day. (Hear, hear.) We feel sure that your Lordship must experience a keen sympathy with the large numbers of poor, unemployed people who are in a very deplorable condition ; and knowing and feeling that—knowing as your Lordship does that,

to working people, want of employment means want of bread—we feel sure that if we can place before your Lordship proposals that meet with your approval, you will do what you can to enable us to alleviate, or to assist in alleviating, the terrible condition in which so many of our poorer fellow-creatures are placed to-day. Not only from London, but from all parts of the country the cry reaches us that there are multitudes of men and women and children, who, from continuous non-employment, have become absolutely poverty-stricken, and these are appealing to people, who, like ourselves, are striving to perform our duty on their behalf; numbers of them are appealing to us, asking us the question, “Why cannot we receive some assistance, so that we may go to those British possessions where we can honourably labour and secure food for ourselves and our families, instead of being kept here, where we are not required, in compulsory idleness, without food, and in this destitute condition?” We have not been able, my Lord, to answer that question. It has been absolutely compulsory, so far as we are concerned, to give but one reply—that we are, as they themselves are, absolutely helpless—that all we can do is to lay their pitiable requests before those who have the opportunity and the power, if they will but use them, to remove the wretchedness of people who do not wish to descend into pauperism. My Lord, three years ago Lord Derby received a deputation from this Association, and, indeed, I think he received us in this very room. He told us that he was satisfied that the volume of our business does not increase in proportion to the increase of our

population. We also believe that. We know it to be true. Every day experience proves it. Although at present there is exceptional depression, the fact remains that our population does increase beyond the requirements of our business, and the question arises : What should be and can be done to assist that surplus population—for they are the people who are appealing to us at this moment—to mercifully consider them in their helplessness and trouble? Our proposal is that, in harmony with the Colonial Governments, the Home Government should establish a Board for Emigration and Colonization purposes ; that by public loan, or otherwise (but not from the rates or taxes) the government should secure and provide a substantial sum of money ; that unemployed people who will voluntarily proceed to our own Colonies may be enabled to do so under clearly defined conditions. At present, unfortunately, our Colonies are much in the same condition, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, as we are at home : depression rules, and labour is at a discount ; consequently, it would be necessary for the Colonial Governments to place at the disposal of the Home Government, or of the Board to be created for the purpose, tracts of Colonial crown lands ; and, upon these lands an unlimited number of people might be advantageously settled under a carefully devised system of Colonization. No possible objection could be raised to this proposal by the Colonial working people, because large agricultural settlements being created, and not too far removed from Colonial towns, there would rapidly emanate from those settlements a demand for all those

articles and necessaries that the mechanical trades of the towns provide. The advantages to Colonial tradesmen and Colonial working men would be very great. (Hear, hear.) We suggest, my Lord, that the cost of sending out the people, and settling them down as Colonial peasant farmers, should be repaid by them in easy instalments, with a small percentage added to cover the necessary administrative charges. (Hear, hear.) Here, my Lord, I would point your attention to a distinction I think it advisable to draw. Our proposal is for a State-directed system of Colonization, rather than for that which is generally described as a State-aided system. We do not ask, as I have stated, for public rates or taxes to be used for this purpose—we ask for a public loan, to be repaid to those who lend it. State-aided Emigration is understood to mean aid by means of the State, and from the State Exchequer. State-directed Colonization we interpret to mean, that the State, by appointed officials, shall direct the Colonization, but that the public revenues are not to be used for the purpose. Then, my Lord, our proposal is that not a fraction of public money should be used for this purpose. On the contrary, the people proposed to be colonised are rapidly descending into pauperism. Many of them—a very large proportion—will very speedily become a burden upon our parish rates, unless they are enabled to remove. We ask the Government then to perform a great and a good deed that will positively cost nothing to the State, but will certainly, in the near future, save millions of money to the ratepayers of this country. (Hear, hear.) My Lord, I have been engaged in emigration work for

many years, and many of the ladies and gentlemen here to-day have also devoted a large portion of their lives to emigration work. We know that the people we have assisted to go to our Colonies have, in leaving their poverty behind them, succeeded to an extent that we scarcely dared to hope for. I myself have followed poverty-stricken people to the Colonies, in order that I might satisfy myself whether emigration was a good or an evil thing. I have stepped into cottages in our Colonies—notably in New Zealand—and I have found people who, here in Great Britain, had been starving, and who must inevitably have become demoralized and pauperized—I have found those same people there, happy, contented, respectable Colonial citizens. They have sent us innumerable messages expressing their gratitude; and we know that this movement, which we are asking your Lordship to initiate, will be an immense boon to thousands and thousands of the poor people who are so pitifully clamouring for bread about our doors to-day. (Applause.) My Lord, as representing a very large number of those people, I do beseech you to look at this question, and to regard it with favour. I am certain that, if you do so, the people who, as the result, are enabled to escape from their poverty, will turn round in times to come and offer you that gratitude which would rightly be your Lordship's due. Your Lordship cannot be insensible to the feeling which would necessarily arise in your heart from the knowledge that myriads of poor people had, by your Lordship's timely and kindly assistance, been enabled to escape from the horrible poverty that surrounds them in this country. But

beyond that, my Lord, at the request of my Association, I have travelled through this country addressing meetings and holding conferences on this question. We know that public opinion is behind us, and I am convinced that when it becomes known that your Lordship, and your Lordship's colleagues, have decided to carry through this proposal—I am certain that the nation itself would feel satisfied—and that our fellow countrymen will acknowledge that the members of the Ministry have performed a duty worthy of themselves as the government of this great and Christian and wealthy nation. (Applause.)

Mr. J. MAUDSLEY (Manchester Trades' Council): My Lord, with regard to this business I have come from one of our large manufacturing centres. It may be presumed, in the first place, that we are not, perhaps, so directly interested in this question as in others, inasmuch as we could not for a moment presume that we could transfer our artisans and mechanical workers to agricultural districts, and make them into agriculturalists, all at once. We are none the less, however, affected by the depression which we find, not only in our large centres of industry, but also in the agricultural districts. We find that whilst our producing capacity, with regard to manufactures, is probably increasing from year to year, we also find that this increase of producing capacity does not require an increase in the number of hands. On account of the improvements in machinery, and from other causes, we find that whatever increase we have in the trade, is fully compensated for, or

reduced by the improved power of machinery; and in the present time, in the cotton trade, and in many others, although we are producing from ten to twenty-five per cent. more than we did many years ago, we are employing actually fewer hands. You will therefore see that this movement, going on with a corresponding increase in the population, means that a large proportion of our people must be unemployed. While, if we add to this that we have a large number of working-people from the agricultural districts coming to our centres of population, I think you will agree with me that it accounts very largely for what we now hear as to what is going on all over the country. My Lord, then we consider that if our surplus agricultural population, in place of being drafted to towns, were drafted to the spare lands of our colonies, thereby making the Colonists produce food for us, thereby keeping down the cost of our food, and producing customers for our manufactured goods—we should have accomplished one of the best results, and one of the best means for getting rid of the surplus population, which is now becoming dangerous to the country. I do not profess, and I do not wish, at present, to go into the details of it; I think you have had sufficient of that from Mr. Simmons. My object is more to show you that we are thoroughly in sympathy with it. We have exerted every means at our command for the purpose of getting the opinions of the working population of Lancashire on this question; and almost unanimously—I might say quite unanimously—as far as the bearings of our intention are understood, it has been endorsed by the whole population of

the country. I have much pleasure, my Lord, in asking, that as far as practicable, you will give us your assistance in this matter. (Applause.)

Mr. MERRICK (Leicester Unemployed Committee): My Lord, I come from the Midland Counties, where there is a general expression of sympathy in the objects which our deputation to-day are seeking to accomplish. The condition of many of the working people in our districts is very wretched indeed; they would work, but they cannot get it to do. Some hundreds, if not thousands, are either totally out of employment, or only partially employed. That state of things has been actually increasing during the last ten years. We see, as my friend has just stated, in manufacturing centres, that the improvements in machinery go on more rapidly, producing large quantities of goods, and that means a much lesser number to be employed, and there is a greatly increased population. And therefore it follows that some steps must be taken to remove the surplus population of the unemployed labourers, or the result may be most disastrous. I quite believe that there are remedies which may be adopted in our own country to reduce the evil to a certain extent; but the extent to which the working class is unemployed is so very great, and the probability is, according to the law of natural increase, the population will go on increasing—so that this would be a permanent means, as well as a present help to reduce the present numbers of the unemployed in our midst. I am sure your Lordship will know the condition

of the people is such that only those who witness it from day to day could at all form any adequate conception of it. What is really needed, if possible, would be present help; but if that cannot be obtained, the earnest and prompt attention of the Government should certainly be directed to some means by which the distress of the country could be relieved from the condition in which the people are found at present in large numbers. Therefore, I hope your Lordship will be kind enough to entertain the proposal made, and give it your most favorable consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. ANTHONY FROUDE: My Lord, the very few remarks it will be necessary for me to make, or that I should wish to make, on this occasion, will be limited to that part of the subject which the previous speakers have not yet touched upon. They are far better able than I am to lay before your Lordship the difficulties in which the population is at home, and how much it needs relief, and what a relief it would be if large numbers of them could be transported into the Colonies. But what I would wish to say is something about the Colonies themselves, and the feelings which they are likely to have on the subject, because it is impossible for us to do, or attempt to do anything considerable, in the way of Emigration, without the entire co-operation of the Colonial Governments, and a thorough understanding between our Government and theirs as to what we are doing. But, on the other hand, any steadily organised system of Colonization, by which those who form the surplus population

of this country could find a home in our Colonies, instead of going, as by far the great majority of them now do, to the United States—that, I think, the Colonies would regard as the highest benefit that could be conferred upon them. A growing and a healthy population, in fact, is their own wealth; and if it could only be introduced to them by degrees, if I may say so they would be able to absorb it by some steadily organised system, and nothing could be invented which could tend to draw the Colonies closer to this country, and so unite us all as one people, as we all ought to be. I know the feeling is very strong on this subject in the Colonies, and I am quite sure the Governments of the Colonies would meet the Government in the most cordial way, if there is any chance that any wise and well-thought-out system, in which we can all join, could be hit upon.

Mr. E. MEMMOTT (Sheffield Labour Council) : My Lord, I am very sorry, following the strain of some of the previous speakers, to inform your Lordship that very great distress prevails in our town; so much so that the Mayor of Sheffield to-day is calling a public meeting in order to see what temporary relief can be given. But, my Lord, we are wanting a system to be inaugurated that shall give permanent relief. We are tired of wasting our energies month after month, and year after year, to see our people walking about for work, and cannot find it. It behoves us to adopt some means whereby these people may be fed. The opinion of a number of our Sheffield

working men is that we have not even done our best to find employment in our own country ; for it is said that there are yet millions of acres of land capable of cultivation. If the people had the means at their disposal, and facilities were offered, they might be producing food on these broad acres, and finding us employment in the towns to make them steam ploughs and other things. If, however, my Lord, the land of this country is so locked up that we cannot get access to it, then we come before your Lordship and ask that means may be provided, whereby the honest poor may be carried to lands where they are more free. I cannot enlighten your Lordship more than to say that what we are asking for is not a home for our criminal or pauper population. As you are aware, my Lord, the population of this country is increasing rapidly. The town I have come from, in the last half century, has been increased more than sixfold. Whereas, about fifty years ago, we were a small town of some forty thousand population, to-day, my Lord, we number three hundred and six thousand. We have since then introduced very largely into our manufacturing concerns machinery of all kinds. We have sent into the country districts steam ploughs, and that sort of thing, and that has driven the men back again into the towns to help us to do the work. Then we have invented steam hammers, and we have taken away from the workman the work that they formerly had to manipulate, and we do as much with the steam hammer as perhaps ten or twenty men would do by hand labour. Then we have these people who have come out of the country districts to do our

menial work thrown upon our hands, hanging about, competing in the market, reducing the wages, and, altogether, a burden to themselves and to their fellows. Now, my Lord, we are wanting something, if it can be done, whereby those who are willing to work may be able to support themselves and families, and at the same time of becoming customers of ours—giving us their produce, and taking in return our handicraft. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Councillor J. C. LAIRD (of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Trades Council): My Lord, I do not know that I can add much to that which has been already said. The subject has been so forcibly brought before your Lordship's attention that I think anything I might say almost might be superfluous. I speak now as a representative of a very large section of the community. At the present time we see that depression which is, unfortunately, almost spread over a large portion of the country, and we have a very great number unemployed, through no fault of their own. I may tell your Lordship that at the present time, on the North-east coast, in one particular industry alone—I allude more especially to iron ship-building—we have about thirty thousand unemployed, who are willing to work. I am also accompanied by his worship the Mayor of Newcastle, who himself is a very large employer in this particular. Some few months ago, my Lord, we had a large and enthusiastic meeting called for the purpose of considering this question in one of our halls in Newcastle, at which the then Mayor presided. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, asking

Her Majesty's Government to enter into some correspondence whereby the Colonies and the home Government might act in harmony on these questions. We do not want, my Lord, to have it in the shape of simple Emigration, or to remove, as it were, one class of evil from one centre to another ; we want a system of Colonization, instead of ordinary Emigration. Were your Lordship but to enter into some of the places it has been my unfortunate position to enter into—to see those who are willing and anxious to work—to see the bread-winner deprived of it—I feel certain, my Lord, that you, at all events, would bring it strongly before Her Majesty's Government. Could you see the man that is too proud to beg, the man that is too honest to steal, with his children weeping round him, asking only for an opportunity to earn that bread ; and when you have relieved him, or got to understand his circumstances, to see that strong man burst into tears, it would melt—I care not how hard it be—it would melt the heart of any man. Those, my Lord, are the men we want to help ; those are the cases that we want to send beyond the seas, in order that they may become a portion of ourselves. Instead of being a burden on the community at large, they will be in a position to send us back good food for our people at home. (Hear, hear.) They shall not have the name of pauper, but they shall, my Lord, in the course of a very short time, repay the whole of it back by way of instalments, in order that that stigma may not be attached to them. I may state also that I speak the sentiments of a very large portion, because, being a member of the Town Council, and representing between 7,000 and 8,000

of municipal electors, I speak as their mouthpiece, and that had it not been for the golden gleam of sunshine of Sir William Armstrong's works there, and also a portion of his worship the Mayor's works, Newcastle would be in a terribly depressed state. It was therefore, my Lord, with a view to obviate this, and in order that instead of the spasmodic efforts that are continually made to alleviate the distress, we should, by an organised system, alleviate it, and effectually eradicate it, because, however we meet it, the populations are increasing to so great an extent. The city we are at present in—London—sprang, as it were, from 800,000 in the beginning of the present century, to between four and five millions at the present time. Increasing and progressing, as we are, at this rate, immediate help would only for the time being put the question off for a year or two; but this continuous increase, my Lord, will have to be faced, and he who has the boldness to submit to the Government any scheme whereby it can be done, will earn the gratitude of the working classes. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Scottish Emigration Association): My Lord, I am expected to say one word upon this subject. I was asked to join the deputation to day to your lordship to represent the interest that was taken in this matter of Colonization in the city of Edinburgh, and that I have very great pleasure in doing. I can supplement and endorse all that has been said by previous speakers as to the great desirability, both for this country and the Colonies, of a wise measure of coloniza-

tion being as speedily as possible arranged. The previous spasmodic methods of transferring, or rather helping to transfer, the movement of the population of our mother country to the Colonies, has been in many instances followed by most dire results. Just a few days ago, perhaps your Lordship saw in the papers the results of a so-called colonial settlement in Florida. Nearly 200 unfortunate fellow-countrymen of mine had been deluded into buying land there, through an agent—land which they knew nothing at all about; and when they reached the promised paradise of their future lives, they found it a wilderness and a desert, unfit to produce food. Well, too many of such instances have occurred in the past. This Association proposes that there shall be in the future a wise concerted plan of transferring the surplus population of the mother country to the Colonies, and that can only be done, and best done, by having communication with the representatives of the Colonies at home. In concert with them, I think your Lordship could discuss the matter, and mature wise plans whereby the Colonies would become primarily interested. They would be the chief movers in this important step, for it is they who are to be ultimately very substantially benefited. The plan indicated is an extremely judicious one. No money is asked for, except by way of loan. The money advanced will be expended in improving those districts in our Colonies which at present are waste, and which, in the course of development, will become the sources of great wealth to the Colonies, and those who settle there, I have no doubt whatever, will be able to repay us with interest. I have

myself travelled over a large portion of America and the Western States, and I have seen there the wonderful results in the position of the settlers in a very few years. I am satisfied that the Government cannot undertake a more beneficial step—one that is more calculated to do the whole population good, and benefit our great Colonies. I have, therefore, very great pleasure in being here to day, and I would urge your Lordship, with all my heart, to entertain the proposals made with all seriousness, and give them the earliest possible consideration. (Applause.)

Lord BRABAZON said he did not purpose addressing any observations to his Lordship, but wished to direct attention to the very representative character of the deputation. He would only add that he was much obliged to his Lordship for listening so patiently.

Earl GRANVILLE: Lord Brabazon, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Mr. Simmons, in terms of courtesy, expressed some thanks to me for receiving you here to-day, and Lord Brabazon has been good enough to allude to the patience with which I have listened to what has been said. Now, I cannot conceive of anybody in my position, who has lately come into an office which he has left some 16 years ago, that he should not be deeply grateful to have the advantage of hearing what a deputation of this sort, so singularly representative in its character, has to say upon the most important question which you have brought before me. With regard to my patience, I may say

that Lord Brabazon must think me of a singularly impatient disposition if he thinks it was difficult for me to listen with attention to the very short but very pregnant addresses which have been delivered during the last three-quarters of an hour. I would even have kept such a fund of patience that I think I could have made up my mind to listen with decent apparent attention, if Lord Brabazon, who has distinguished himself so much in everything that bears a philanthropic character, would have been good enough to speak on this occasion, instead of leaving it to others to do so. Now, I gather from the representations that have been made, what indeed I was aware of before, that the object of those who are represented here to-day is very nearly this: that though they are stimulated by the distress which at this moment exists, they wish to deal permanently with the evil which recurs from time to time with regard to a country where the geographical extent is small, and the population is increasing—that they wish to do this—to do that which they think would not only relieve those at home, but would be an absolute advantage to those colonists, between whom and the mother country the connection appears to me to be getting closer every day, to confer upon them a benefit, and at the same time to look forward to the benefit of the mother country and of the colony, by increasing the trading relations between the two. I believe that it has been for many years acknowledged that it is a desirable thing that well-regulated emigration should take place from the smaller country, which is over populated, to one of very much

greater extent, where perhaps some capital is required, but where the great want of all is properly selected labour, and therefore the very question is, how this can be best organised and managed. There are three points which have been raised, one of which was hardly touched upon to-day, but it has been raised. I find that communication has taken place with regard to some better means of appointing some Government office by which all the information bearing upon Colonization and Emigration should be more rapidly and more universally spread in this country. I find that my predecessors, Lord Derby and his brother, have both considered this subject. They have been in communication with the Association, with the Crown agents, and with the Treasury on the subject. Nothing has been done yet, but I am happy on one circumstance, that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer—and I may say, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, because he is a man who knows as much about the colonies as any of the public men of this country—Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a most important person in these matters, I know, has been for some time favourably disposed to the establishment of a department of this sort. There will be a difficulty in the organization, and I do not wish to clinch myself in any way in matters which do not solely depend on me, but I look forward pretty sanguinely to the accomplishment of that object. There are two other points: one is with regard to emigration, and the other, more particularly, with regard to colonization. Now, with regard to emigration, I may say that

during the few years I was in the Colonial Office, there was at that time a Government Department, namely, the Land and Emigration Commissioners. They had been established, I think, in 1840. They had to manage the waste lands which then belonged to the Crown. They had to manage the traffic of passengers, and they had particularly, by the money which they received by the sale of Crown lands, the means of assisting emigration to a very large degree, in order to bring labour to those waste lands. That has now disappeared, and the management of those waste lands entirely belongs to the Governments of those respective Colonies. Now, Mr. Froude, or one of the gentlemen here present, said—and the observation was cheered, I remarked, by all present—that in anything that we do the assistance and the perfect co-operation of the Colonies is absolutely necessary with regard to any success. Well, with regard to emigration, one Colony has lately shut up its Emigration Office in this country from want of employment in the colony. You must a little bear in mind with regard to this, that this distress, which diminishes the employing of the labour in this country, is also applicable to nearly all the nations of the world, and to our Colonies too. They find labour, and the demands of labour pressing upon them a great deal—much more than had previously been the case. But what I understand to be the case is this: that at this moment, with regard to emigration pure and simple, the Crown agents are able to get without difficulty all the emigrants which their Governments and their constituencies require. I think this deputation

has rather put on one side the immediate consideration of the emigration of labourers who are to compete with the labourers already existing in the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Now the other question is a very large question, and a most important question : it is with regard to "Colonization." I have looked a little into what happened in Ireland. I believe Mr. Tuke is not here, or, in his presence, I would have asked him to have stated what happened in Ireland ; however, I will do so myself. Lord Spencer organised a system of colonization. It was confined to particular rural districts in Ireland, where there was an especial congestion of labour. It succeeded to a certain degree. It has been put a stop to, not so much from economical reasons as from political and other feelings. During the time it was in operation, I believe that under the superintendence of the Central Government, and by the work of the local authorities, the Boards of Guardians and other local authorities, and by the aid of some philanthropic associations, such as those to which Mr. Tuke belonged, the greatest possible care was taken in the sending out of emigrants, especially to Canada, the United States, and a little to Australia. There were a few sent back from the United States, belonging to the pauper class, or having forged letters, which did not appear to be authentic, from relatives in the United States, professing a readiness to support them. There was also a little tendency on the part of the Irish to get into the cities, and not to go on to the lands. But with regard to a very large proportion, there is no doubt that they did establish themselves in the Western

Dominion, and generally have succeeded very well indeed. Now, with regard to the State undertaking it, I understand, particularly from what Mr. Simmons stated, that with regard to the financial arrangement on this point, this deputation have somewhat of a new scheme to suggest. Mr. Simmons says, I think, that no loan is required from the Government at all. I understand him to say—

Lord BRABAZON : I think, my Lord, he said it was "not from the rates or the taxes." I think Mr. Simmons's proposal is that a public loan could be raised.

Mr. SIMMONS : That is so.

Earl GRANVILLE : With regard to that, I should be extremely obliged if I might have in writing the character of the loan, and the conditions which would attach to it, in order that I might submit it to the Treasury.* The Treasury looks at these proposals with a critical eye, and I am the very last person in the world to blame them. They have charge of the public purse, and they are absolutely bound to look with a critical eye at all proposals bearing in any way upon the finance of the country, derivable from the public exchequer. But if there is a

* A detailed scheme for the State-direction of Colonization has been subsequently submitted to the Government, and is now (May, 1886,) under their consideration.

new plan, as I understood Mr. Simmons to state, I should like to have it in writing, to submit it to my colleagues and to the examination of the Treasury. The appeals made to me personally I received with great pleasure, as indicating a belief how fully I sympathise with the distress that is felt, and how anxious I should be to find means of alleviating it; but you will remark that, as Colonial Secretary, and unofficially, apart from my being a member of the Government, there is one portion of the question which we at the Colonial Office are not necessarily bound to consider—the best way of dealing with that which happens locally here. We have the interests of the Colonies to provide for. We are bound to the public to obtain all possible information; we are bound to put as much as possible at the disposal of the Government all the information that is ascertained from the Colonial representatives in this country; but the particular question of how best to deal with the distress of certain localities here is not a Colonial Office question, but is one which affects the Home Office and the Local Government Board. I am saying this, not in the least to send this deputation from one department to another, but I wish a little to distinguish where the responsibility must naturally rest. I can only repeat my thanks to the deputation for the manner in which they have brought this case before me. I shall hope that they will bring before me in writing the exact character of the new plan which they think would be acceptable, and would do away with some objections which have hitherto been raised, and you may be quite sure that not only shall I bring it before

my colleagues, but my colleagues will be most anxious to give the fullest consideration to your proposals. (Applause.)

Lord BRABAZON having thanked his Lordship for his encouraging observations, the deputation then withdrew.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

OF APRIL 2ND, 1886.

The following is extracted from *The Times* Report of the Debate in the House of Lords on Friday night, the 2nd April:—

The Earl of HARROWBY rose to move for all papers addressed to the Colonial Office during the last 12 months in favour of State-directed colonization, as well as for any papers addressed to the Colonial Office requesting that official information for those who desired to become colonists should be supplied to the post-offices and local authorities throughout the country; and to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies how far Her Majesty's Government would be able to meet the wishes of the important deputations which had brought those subjects before the Colonial Office. He was quite sure that any means of relieving the present distressed condition of the labour market would be welcomed by their lordships. In 1883 his noble friend Lord Carnarvon brought the subject before the house in great detail, and the noble earl who was then at the Colonial Office made a very interesting reply. The Colonial Secretary then said that there was nothing wrong in principle in the State's promoting colonization. He did not wish to bind himself or

any one else, but simply desired their lordships to face the dangerous state of things which now existed. In reading the reports of the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade he could not but be struck with the terrific increase of population in these islands. In the course of ten years, from 1871 to 1881, about 3,250,000, or nearly the population of London, had been added to England and Wales alone, and since the last census nearly 1,500,000 more must have come into existence. London itself increased at the rate of 45,000 annually. Those facts alone ought to lead us to seek a remedy for the evils which threatened us in the future. Then they had to consider the change which was being effected in agriculture. There was every reason to fear that agriculture must provide less and less occupation every year. Between 1871 and 1881 1,000,000 acres had been converted from arable to pasture, and in 1881 the number of proprietors and attendants on agricultural machines had increased to 4,200 from 2,100 in 1871. Then in 1861 there were 172 dwellers in towns to every 100 in the country, but in 1871 the proportion had risen to 192 and in 1881 to 212; and there was no reason to hope that the extension of small holdings and allotments, desirable as this was, could furnish anything like an effective counteraction to this tendency. All his life he had been conversant with the system of small holdings and allotments, but he had always found that while it did good work as a supplement to wages, it could never succeed where wages fell. Nor was there any reasonable expectation that manufacturing industry would absorb our present surplus population, for it was

proved that the number of hands required was constantly diminishing, although there was an increased output of manufactured goods of from 10 to 25 per cent. as compared with a few years ago. The fact that there was not yet apparent much suffering among the highest class of our operatives was only evidence of the reluctance of this class to make its privations known. Every official report which had lately been presented to the public alluded to this fact. If their lordships studied the evidence which the Royal Commissioners laid before them, he feared that there again they would see that the prospects of our manufactures were very gloomy. Indeed, it was impossible to read the answers which were sent to the Commissioners by the chambers of commerce without being very anxious as to the future of our manufactures. Then there was a keen competition with foreign immigrants, who were content with worse fare than our own artisans. The prospect of our manufactures being able to supply means for this growing population was anything but promising. Then he looked to see how far emigration was affording the relief required at the present time. The figures were very curious and surprising. The English emigrants numbered 63,000 persons in 1877, 183,000 in 1883, 147,000 persons in 1884, and 126,000 persons in 1885. The figures relating to Scotch and Irish emigration told exactly the same tale. The number of Scotch emigrants was 8,000 in 1877, 32,000 in 1882, and 27,000 in 1885; while the number of Irish emigrants was 22,000 in 1877, 105,000 in 1883, and 60,000 in 1885. The diminished number of emigrants last year might be

accounted for partly by the state of the labour market abroad and in the colonies ; but, however that might be, he contended that emigration had not afforded that relief which the state of our labour market so much required. The returns relating to net emigration were still worse than those to which he had just referred. Taking British and Irish emigration only, after deducting immigrants from emigrants, the numbers were 31,000 persons in 1877, 246,000 persons in 1883, and 122,000 persons in 1885. These were the numbers of persons who had been actually deducted from the labour market of this country. He feared that instead of voluntary emigration being in our hour of need a great resource it was more and more ceasing to supply our need. That was a very grave state of things, and it was impossible that the minds of thinking men should not turn in the direction of the colonies. It was impossible that they should not feel that there were parts of those colonies to which they ought to look more vigorously to utilize our surplus population. Some people spoke as if the advocates of emigration were urging the banishment of some of our best men ; but the truth was that we had got beyond the stage of thinking that settlement in the colonies was equivalent to banishment. Probably there was hardly any noble lord who had not some member of his family settled in one of our colonies. He was not speaking of the "ne'er-do-well," but was referring to the change of the last 25 years, which had led to members of almost every family going to the colonies, not as banishment, but as passing to a second home. He knew of nothing more touching than the emigrants'

letters, in which they spoke of new hopes and feelings of enjoyment, and expressed their delight at the prospect of certain and regular work. This question had been brought forward on two occasions within the last 12 months. An important meeting was held at the Mansion House, and since then the noble earl who presided over the Colonial Office received in February an important deputation headed by Lord Brabazon. That deputation represented 170,000 workmen, and they made two requests. The first was for State-directed emigration—viz., State-planned new settlements, with special arrangements, and State loans to enable settlers to go out. He believed that Boards of Guardians were now empowered to use the rates for emigration. But this was a very grave and serious matter, and he would like to know more about the details of it before he gave a decided opinion in favour of it. At all events, the subject was clearly worthy of careful consideration. The second great point pressed upon the Government was that information should be given to every part of the country as to the colonial openings—that is to say, that the Colonial Office should get the best information together, and forward it to many centres throughout the country. He believed a great deal of good would be done if that suggestion were acted upon. The noble earl the Colonial Secretary, in replying to the deputation, said that :—

“ Communications had taken place between Lord Derby and Sir F. Stanley, the Crown Agents, and the Treasury, with regard

to appointing some Government office, by which all the information bearing upon colonization and emigration should be more rapidly and universally spread in the country. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer had been for some time favourable to the establishment of such a department."

He trusted that some decision would shortly be arrived at with regard to the formation of this new colonization department. The two conditions to a loan which we should have to insist upon if we pressed this colonization further were—first, that there should be an agreement with the colonies as to what-ever we did; and, secondly, that we should be careful not to send out any worthless emigrants. With these conditions he thought we might consider this larger colonization scheme with a view to action. He hoped that no fear that we might get rid of cheap labour at home would induce anybody to hold their hands on the subject. For the future we must not think of placing our prosperity on cheap labour. For any civilized country to base its prosperity on cheap labour would be to base its future on a very uncertain and unsafe ground. In conclusion, the noble earl moved the resolution which stood in his name on the paper.

Earl GRANVILLE: The noble earl has made an excellent speech on a question of great importance, especially at the present time. He has given us some remarkable facts and figures, but I do not propose to follow him in all his statements, though I shall guard myself against being supposed to agree

with all the inferences which he drew from those facts and figures. The principal point on which he dwelt was the importance of emigration and colonization. I have no doubt these two things might be made of great use at home and in the colonies. In regard to State-aided emigration and State-aided colonization, the matter is one of great difficulty and some complication. My noble friend has alluded to Lord Carnarvon's speech a few years ago; but the late Government took no steps themselves in the matter, and the noble earl himself most sensibly and judiciously refrained from giving any express opinion of his own as to any particular form of State-aided emigration. The noble lord is quite right in stating that the matter was under the notice of the Colonial Office. Very lately I have had a great number of schemes submitted to me, especially the one alluded to by the noble lord from the National Association for Promoting Colonial State-aided Emigration. The Government at once thought it their duty to give their careful consideration to the proposal made with such authority. We therefore communicated at once with the Local Government Board on the matter, and they are now deeply interested in the subject. We were bound also to communicate with the Treasury on the subject, and with the aid of the Local Government Board we framed a set of questions which we have addressed to the representatives of the colonies in this country, in order that they may give us information that may be useful in our deliberations. With regard to what the noble lord said as to the papers, if he will be good enough to withdraw his present motion I will take care at no

distant period to obtain by command of Her Majesty papers relating to the whole subject. With reference to one point on which the noble lord laid great stress, and which he considered had a most practical bearing—namely, that we should give the country all the information he mentioned—I may say that we entirely adopt that view. That is the view favoured by our predecessors. When we first went into the question we thought it would be better for persons in this country that the machinery should be connected with the Local Government Board; but subsequently Mr. Chamberlain gave it as his opinion, in which view I concurred, that, looking to the advantages and disadvantages, it would be better to connect it with the Colonial Office. At this very moment there are representatives of the Colonial Office and the Treasury meeting in order to settle the details of a pecuniary character which it is absolutely necessary should be settled before I can appoint any one to take the situation. Practically I am not taking too much upon myself to say that a very short time indeed will elapse before we shall be able to inform the noble earl that the thing itself is done. (Hear, hear.)

Lord NORTON expressed his satisfaction at what had fallen from the Colonial Secretary. He could not help thinking that what was wanted was a little more concert with the Governments of the colonies in order to facilitate the use of the enterprise which was ready for colonization.

The Earl of IDDESLEIGH: I wish to express my own great gratification at the manner in which the noble earl opposite has met the question which has been raised. The course which he is about to adopt is, in my opinion, a sound and prudent course. I only interpose for a few moments to say a word as to what has been brought under notice in connexion with the inquiries of the Royal Commission on Depression of Trade. I am satisfied that there is a great deal to be done for the benefit of the country, not only by propagating information to the public, and especially to working men, with regard to the condition of particular colonies, but in the way of generally improving the technical education given to our people in this country. (Hear, hear.) We are very much behind some other nations in that respect. It is of the greatest importance that we should take measures not only to make known openings in the colonies to working men, but also to make known to merchants and manufacturers the capabilities and the capacities of our colonies and of foreign countries. Such information would enable our merchants and manufacturers to direct their energies in the best and most profitable way for the conduct of their business. I believe that a great deal is being done by Germany and other countries to give a better knowledge of what may be called commercial geography than is afforded in this country. The people should be taught where they should direct their efforts, what kind of efforts should be made, in what direction trade was capable of being improved, and what kind of industry was most likely to be successful. I hope that the inquiries we have heard of to be made by the Colonial Office, in

conjunction with other departments, will not be limited to the prospects of working men or emigrants going out of this country, but that they will lead to the furnishing of information likely to be useful, bringing before the manufacturers and people of this country the position and prospects of the colonies themselves. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of HARROWBY said that after what had fallen from the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies he should be glad to withdraw his motion. He trusted that the noble earl would lay all the papers possible on the subject before Parliament. His great object had been gained, the Government having virtually promised to establish a colonization department at the Colonial Office.

The motion was then by leave withdrawn.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

The following are extracts from letters from eminent persons, expressing their opinion upon State Emigration and Colonization :—

His Grace the late ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY wrote :—

“The best and the fittest means by which these miseries of over-pressure can be transmuted into comfort, and even affluence, is obviously by the people *spreading out*—that is, settling in other parts of our Greater Britain--that is, by emigration to our own Colonies. This has run its own course so far. But we seem to have now reached a point at which, to enable capable men to take advantage of the *best* opportunities in the best way, some public action of the State in their favour, or, at least, some direction, is required in one form or other.”

The Right Hon. the EARL of CARNARVON writes :—

“As regards the Association for Promoting State-directed Emigration, I am ready to say that, as far as I understand the objects which you have set before you, I am in agreement with them ; but I cannot answer for details, and in such a case as this details form a very important consideration. The extent to which, the manner in which, the classes to which, and the

conditions under which the State should give help, are all questions which admit of much discussion and variation, and which may affect in a great measure the mode in which the object is carried out ; but as regards the main principle, viz., that the time has come in which Government may and ought to give some assistance, I am entirely agreed with you."

His Eminence CARDINAL MANNING writes :—

" Holding as I do that Emigration and Colonization are the extension of the mother country, and that in this sense they are the true counteraction of the disintegrating policy which seems to me to be threatening the Empire, I believe that I am in agreement with the Association in its object. If, therefore, you think my name in the list of patrons worth having, I shall be happy to give it. I believe that the maintenance and consolidation of the Empire is vital to England, and that if we lost it we should collapse at home."

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq., writes :—

" The public at large neither understand how imperative it is that the masses should be enabled to become self-supporting, or that between the skilled labourers, who earn enough for their wants, and the numbers who have sunk to the bottom of the social scale, and have become useless, there are hundreds of thousands who are able to work, and are craving for employment, but who from forced inaction are tending downwards to

increase the dead mass which embarrasses our society. All of these could be rendered happy and independent if judiciously removed and planted in regions where they could find employment."

The Lady GORDON-CATHCART writes :—

"I shall be only too glad to be of any use I can in the way of forwarding the cause of Emigration, and willingly give my name as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association for the Promotion of State-Aided Emigration. I have for two or three years past realised that for the congested districts of the whole of the North and West of Scotland, emigration is the only relief and alternative, and consequently last year, in the face of many difficulties, was able to persuade 12 crofter families to take advantage of a scheme we formulated, based upon the lines which were explained by my agent to the meeting lately held at Baroness Burdett Coutts'. It was a test scheme, which we hoped, if successful, might lead to kinder results, and I am glad to say it has answered beyond our most sanguine expectations, so much so, that 45 large families from our property on the west coast are leaving to join their friends. * * * I think in the end it is a question which the Government will be obliged to consider, and from experience (provided suitable families are sent out, who are industrious and anxious to get on), I feel certain that in State-Aided Emigration is to be found one of the most effectual and humane reliefs for the sadly overcrowded and poverty-stricken districts."

Dr. BEDFORD FENWICK writes :—

“As a Physician to two large Metropolitan Hospitals, I of course see large numbers of the working classes every week, and know only too well from the most unmistakable evidences that many are suffering chiefly from simple semi-starvation, that the amount of desperate destitution in London is appalling, and I am forced to believe that it is terribly on the increase. I am convinced, therefore, that nothing but a National Association can adequately grapple with this most momentous matter, and as it must tend to the ultimate good of thousands of the sick poor, I welcome with the most heartfelt pleasure the efforts you are making. It would give me the greatest gratification if I could in any way assist you.”

The Rev. NEWMAN HALL writes :—

“I feel the necessity of helping the poor to emigrate, and so approve of the statement forwarded, and also so rely on the names appended to it, that if my name on the list will be of any use, it is at the disposal of the Committee.”

Among those who also cordially support the movement of State-Directed Emigration and Colonization, in addition to those whose names are given above, are :—

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The work of this Association is not of a party character, as the list of names comprising the National Council clearly indicates.

The Association is formed for "the advocacy of the principle of voluntary State-directed Colonization."

The population of England increases 300,000 per annum. A daily average of 8,000 men seek employment at the London Docks in vain. A great cry from unemployed workpeople also comes from the provinces. Women have to work 16 hours to

earn one shilling. Over-population and competition unduly lower the rate of wages. A remedy is to be found in colonization. Canada offers 160 acres of land free to every emigrant, and several of our Australasian Colonies also offer free land grants. The poor have not the means to colonise, nor to maintain themselves till the arrival of the first crop. Voluntary agencies are unable to grapple with the difficulty. The Association desires to form a public opinion favourable to State-directed Colonization, by means of which money advanced by the Government to selected colonists would be repaid by them with interest, in instalments, and secured by mortgage on the land, which, after payment of the debt, would become the colonists' freehold.

In 1883 a deputation from the Association waited, by appointment, on the Earl of Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Statements were made in support of State-directed Colonization. The substance of Lord Derby's reply to our deputation was that Parliament might be willing to commit itself to an expenditure once for all, if it saw a prospect of the money coming back and being used over and over again for a like purpose; that the difficulty to be dealt with was growing, since the volume of our capital and business did not increase correspondingly with the population; that for this, Emigration and Colonization were among the best and most effective remedies.

A public Conference of representative workmen from all parts of the country, held on October 13th, 1883, unanimously passed the following resolution:—"That, seeing the large numbers of unemployed and indigent people amassed in our cities and towns, the attention of the Government be urgently directed to the necessity that exists for facilities to enable

such people to proceed to, and settle in, our colonies." This Resolution forms the basis upon which the Association is working.

Our suggestion is that the Government should devote (lend) a sum of money for colonization purposes, to be used under State direction; the money not being *given*, but *advanced* to the persons concerned, they undertaking to repay the cost of their passage and settlement by instalments or otherwise, after arrival; and that the Colonial Authorities should undertake to collect and send back the money—to quote Lord Derby's recent expression—"to be used over and over again for a like purpose."

The Association has now become a very powerful one numerically—large bodies of the labouring classes and many well-known philanthropists and other gentlemen having declared their adhesion. The trade, friendly, and other workmen's Societies now officially represented on our National Council (1886) number about 170,000 working men, who, with their families, count nearly half-a-million of people. We are being urged from all quarters to take energetic steps to press State-directed Colonization upon the attention of the Government. Meetings, conferences, and deputations are being asked for in many parts of England, and there is every indication that the movement will receive public as well as official favour if pushed forward with spirit.

For several years the Colonies of New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, &c., granted free passages to eligible and deserving Emigrants, and tens of thousands of needy and unemployed people have thus been drafted from us annually. But those free passages are practically discontinued. Canada and some of the Australian Colonies grant "assisted" passages, but the payments required are beyond the means of the people

proposed to be dealt with by this Association. The congestion in the industrial and thickly-populated centres has consequently very rapidly increased ; and, although numbers of unemployed men and women are clamouring to go abroad, there are no outlets, except at such expense to themselves as destitute people are unable to meet.

In East and South London, in many of our large cities and towns, and in some of the rural districts, there are accumulating rapidly-increasing masses of poverty-stricken, unemployed people. Perpetual anxiety, due to the terrible struggle for daily bread, enforced privation, overcrowding, miseries too many for enumeration, aggravated by corrupting influences surrounding the poor in all cities and manufacturing towns, are steadily, visibly sapping and ruining the physical constitutions and energies of deserving, struggling, and helpless people, while discontent is leavening masses to whose doors education is now carried by the State. These people, now becoming educated see luxury all around them. Is it well that philanthropists, philosophers, and statesmen should ignore the palpable danger of such a condition of things? The evil is being intensified yearly by the increase in population, and by the rapid, though unavoidable, introduction of labour-saving machinery in all departments of trade and agriculture. There is only one permanent remedy—a steady and continuous *drafting of our surplus population to our own own Colonies*, where these people would become contented and useful to the British Empire, instead of remaining here, a starving, discontented menace to the mother country. Yet that remedy is quite beyond the reach of those in whose behalf State intervention is demanded—demanded not alone on grounds of charity or duty towards them, but in the interests of the whole community.

This Association has initiated a National Movement, with a view of inducing the Home and Colonial Governments to join hands in a work of mercy for our starving poor. The Colonies will gain by securing the supply of population they so much require; the people themselves will be infinitely advantaged by the removal. At home we have thousands with no work, no wages, no food, a constant burden upon our philanthropy and our rates. In our Colonies there are millions of untilled acres, the settlement and cultivation of which will provide an abundance of work, good wages, and cheap food. Yet, year after year, these thousands of willing but miserable people remain penned up in the courts and alleys of our cities and towns. All that is wanting is *the means to transplant these helpless ones from here to there*. They will go, if we will only enable them to do so.

The National Association is endeavouring to bring the Home and the Colonial Governments into communication with each other on this important subject, with a view to plans being formulated suitable to the circumstances, and to the various Homestead Laws of each Colony, so that a spontaneous outflow of our surplus and unemployed population may, under State direction, proceed to our Colonies, where they will remain British subjects, and in most instances will undoubtedly become useful members of society.

Persons interested are invited to communicate with the Secretary, to join the Council, to form local branches, and to subscribe, as FUNDS are greatly needed for defraying expenses of meetings and for spreading information on the subject.

84, PALACE CHAMBERS, S.W.

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With power to add to their number.

The following have undertaken to contribute to succeeding numbers of this series :—

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MANNING,
 THE EARL OF CARNARVON,
 MR. JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE,
 MR. ARNOLD WHITE,
 MR. ALFRED SIMMONS

(Secretary of the National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization).

IT IS DESIRABLE THAT PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF STATE-DIRECTED COLONIZATION SHOULD BE SENT TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE LEGISLATURE. SYMPATHIZERS WILLING TO ASSIST IN THIS DIRECTION SHOULD COPY, IN WRITING ONLY, THE FORMS OF PETITION ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE. NOT LESS THAN SIX SIGNATURES SHOULD BE APPENDED TO EACH PETITION, WHICH SHOULD BE SENT TO INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AND TO THE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FOR THE CONSTITUENCY IN WHICH THE SIGNATORIES RESIDE. BUT, IF PREFERRED, THE SIGNED PETITIONS MAY BE SENT TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION, 84, PALACE CHAMBERS, S.W., WHO WILL ARRANGE FOR THEIR PRESENTATION.

Form of Petition to the House of Lords.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND
 TEMPORAL IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

May it please your Lordships

The PETITION of the undersigned humbly sheweth--

That in London and in most of the large provincial towns accumulated large numbers of unemployed and partially labouring people many of them in a miserable and poverty condition shewing that the increase of our labouring population in excess of the requirements of our home industries. In the Colonies there are extensive tracts of cultivable land upon which surplus population could be profitably employed in agriculture thus giving an impetus to the general business of the colonial countries and assisting to create for our British Colonies that desideratum an agricultural population.

Your Petitioners consider that the adoption of a well-considered Voluntary State-directed Colonization beneath which a portion of our surplus population could be transferred from the mother country to the British Colonies would be an advantage to the United Kingdom and to the people themselves.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly request your Lordships to take the subject into serious consideration

And as in duty bound your Petitioners will ever pray.

Form of Petition to the House of Commons.

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
 OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

May it please your Honorable House

The PETITION of the undersigned humbly sheweth--

That in London and in most of the large provincial towns accumulated large numbers of unemployed and partially labouring people many of them in a miserable and poverty condition shewing that the increase of our labouring population in excess of the requirements of our home industries. In the Colonies there are extensive tracts of cultivable land upon which surplus population could be settled and profitably employed in agriculture thus giving an impetus to the general business of the colonial countries and assisting to create for our British Colonies that desideratum an agricultural population.

Your Petitioners consider that the adoption of a well-considered Voluntary State-directed Colonization beneath which a portion of our surplus population could be transferred from the mother country to the British Colonies would be an advantage to the United Kingdom and to the people themselves.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly request your Honorable House to take the subject into serious consideration.

And as in duty bound your Petitioners will ever pray.

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