

to prescribe the amount of that salary. [Hear, hear.] Yet, though that is the case, I hear gentlemen who are entirely for leaving colonies to manage their own affairs, declare that whether the representatives of the colony wish it or not, there ought to be a certain amount fixed according to their own notion of what may be proper for the Governor. [Hear.] With regard to other changes in the colony of British Guiana, although Mr. Barkly is of opinion that in time other changes might be introduced, I do not believe that he intends immediately to propose them. He thinks that the change ought to be gradual, that with a population that not long ago were slaves, and among whom there is often considerable excitement, it is advisable gradually to alter institutions, and introduce more freedom. [Hear.] With regard to Trinidad, Lord Harris, the Governor, writes word that there are no less than seven races constituting the inhabitants of that colony; and that though for his own part, he thinks it would be difficult to have any popular representation whatever, yet he thinks, and justly thinks, that because the people may be unfit for popular institutions at present, and you decide not to introduce them—it would be a continual bar to their obtaining them. He, therefore, proposes there should be a municipal council at the seat of Government, and that they should be elective. He considers there would be advantages derived from the formation of such a council, and gives various reasons which I need not mention at present, why it would not be expedient to introduce the representative system into that colony. With respect to the Mauritius, Sir G. Anderson thinks there should be a municipality appointed, which should be elective. As to Malta, again, the present Governor has done what many persons would have thought unadvisable in Malta—but which does not appear to have been so—namely, he has introduced some elective members into the council. As for the other colonies, I need not go into any question of free institutions for them. I don't think there is a single one which can be mentioned beyond those I have named which should at present have any representative institutions. [Hear, hear.]

I come therefore, Sir, to another question,—a question of very considerable importance as referring solely to the colonies, but which is not in itself solely and strictly colonial. I mean the question of transportation. [Hear, hear.] It was decided by this country in 1786, that they should found a penal colony in New South Wales; and measures were taken for that purpose, and a certain number of convicts were sent out to a place where there was no other population. There were no free settlers with them, and hardly a sufficient number of persons to assist them with respect to religious instruction. Now, the plan of transportation must be considered altogether as one which concerns the Parliament of this country, as far as legislation is concerned,—as one which concerns the Home Secretary far more than the Secretary for the Colonies, so far as administration is concerned. So far as my noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies is concerned, he would, I am sure, be well satisfied if he were told there should be no more convicts sent to the colonies, and that transportation was abolished by Government; but inasmuch as Parliament has decided—and decided more than once—that transportation is to continue, it is for him to endeavour that that transportation should take place in a manner least injurious to the colonies. That it is the wish of the Parliament and the country to continue this system, I think I am entitled to say, because myself, having no great leaning to transportation, and not much approving of the punishment, when I attempted, about 1840, to diminish the number of convicts sent abroad, a resolution was passed by this house, affirming that so large a number of convicts should not be kept in this country. [Hear, hear.] I say it is the leaning of Parliament, because when the two Secretaries of State gave their opinion in writing with respect to the diminution of transportation, a committee was appointed in the other house of Parliament, and various judges of the land were heard in support of the system of transportation as being necessary for the general law of the country. Now, if this is the case, until that view is altered, the Colonial Secretary must endeavour to carry that system of transportation into effect in the manner which may enable the colony to derive—in some instances at least—advantage, and without inflicting injury, if possible. When I held the seals of the Colonial Office, I became acquainted with the mischief transportation has done in New South Wales, and I advised Her Majesty accordingly, and obtained an Order in Council to put a stop to transportation, and there is no act of mine, while I was in the Colonial Office, to which I look with greater satisfaction than having done so. [Hear.] I believe, whatever may be the cause, that the change which has taken place in the character of New South Wales—that the altering it from a colony of which one-half the inhabitants were convicts, and no inconsiderable portion of the other half were “emancipees,” as they were called, or persons who had been transported to a colony of free people, was of the greatest advantage to the country. I believe there are at present in New South Wales 200,000 inhabitants, and only 6,000 of them are convicts. Whatever number of convicts may be introduced in future, if the inhabitants wish it, I think the whole character of the community has been so changed, that it has become a free community, and has taken its place among the free colonies of this country. [Hear, hear.] But when I made the change I had in view to diminish very considerably the number of convicts. That change, owing partly to the disposition of Parliament, and partly to the Government which succeeded us, did not take place. A large number of convicts were accordingly sent to Van Dieman's

Land. The noble lord at the head of the Colonial Department in the Government which succeeded, found however, that too many convicts were introduced into that colony, and proposed to suspend transportation to Van Dieman's Land; a measure which was carried into effect by the present Government.

The present Government, on coming into office, proposed various alterations with respect to the system of transportation, and proposed, likewise, that in cases where the colonists were willing to accept of a small number of convicts, they should be sent to those colonies; but it being always understood that convicts should not be forced on them against their will. [Hear, hear.] It happened that among the causes of pressure which arose out of the famine in Ireland, there sprung up a very great pressure from the large number of persons sentenced to transportation, the crowded state of the gaols, and the mortality taking place in consequence in these gaols. My noble friend the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, on those representations reaching him, thought he would be justified in sending 300 of those persons who had committed crimes owing to the pressure of famine, and had been sentenced to transportation, from the Bermudas to the Cape of Good Hope, and that if he did so they would be received by the inhabitants. [Hear, hear.] It appears that a feeling—and a feeling I highly commend in itself—a feeling of fear and apprehension that the colony might be made a penal settlement—founded on what I think exaggerated apprehensions with respect to the introduction of these 300 convicts—sprung up at the Cape of Good Hope, and that there has arisen a most unfortunate state of things there. That may now have ended. In the first place, the order has been rescinded by the Secretary for the Colonies, and the ship has been ordered on to Van Diemen's Land, and all sources of apprehension and opposition will, I trust, cease in the removal of all those grounds for them. [Hear.] I do not wish, of course, to enter into any discussion with respect to the merits of that opposition, (hear)—I wish, indeed, to have as little matter of a personal nature as possible, and neither to take credit to the Government, nor to evade censure for what they have done, only stating what has already taken place, and so much of past transactions as may enable the house to see what course they have followed, and what will be the future policy of the Government. With respect to the future management of transportation, it is a subject not without considerable difficulty. The Legislature of New South Wales has already intimated its desire not to accept any more convicts, while at the same time a ship laden with convicts—[Mr. Hawes—“two ships.”]—or, as my hon. friend near me informs me, when two ships laden with convicts arrived there, the services of those convicts were immediately in demand—and indeed they were hired more easily than the free emigrants. [Hear, hear.] But it must be expected that there will, more and more, arise among the settled colonies an aversion to freed or transported convicts, and this house will, I am persuaded, have to consider, before long, whether an alteration shall not be made with respect to the punishment of transportation as regards some classes of offences not of the gravest character. That question, however, does not immediately press on us at this moment. There is another question of the very greatest consequence, and which some persons indeed have regarded as the main question to be considered with respect to convicts—I mean the question of emigration. Now, with regard to this subject, there are two modes in which this emigration can be carried on, and two modes in which it can be carried on beneficially. The first is where labourers whose labour is valuable in certain states and colonies go out in numbers to those states and colonies, and fill up, as it were, the interstices in society—whose labour is very soon in demand, and who, from being in this country persons on the brink of destitution, and scarcely obtaining any employment, though ready to give their toil for bread, obtain high wages and ample subsistence in other countries. [Hear, hear.] Of emigration of this kind there has been a very great mass directed to the United States and the British North American colonies.

There is the second and another kind of emigration which is formed of different classes of the people for the purpose of founding new colonies in places where society does not already exist. Of this kind, likewise, there has been a very considerable emigration going on from this country. As regards emigration of the first kind, I have here some accounts which have been furnished to me by Mr. Murdoch, who is now at the head of the Emigration Board, and it appears from them that the total emigration from these countries for the last three years was 796,354 persons; giving an average of 265,450 per annum. Now I beg the house to consider how very large this emigration is. It is within 40,000 or 50,000 of what has been computed as the whole annual increase of the population of this country, and though it has been no doubt magnified in one or two or three years by the famine which took place in Ireland, yet I consider that as regards this first sort of emigration—namely, that which consists of labourers, and principally going to the United States and British North America—it is an emigration which we may look to see likely to continue for many years. I believe that the means which the labouring classes have found for themselves, of transmitting money home to their relations and friends, to enable them to emigrate, when they have obtained a sufficient sum from their wages, is likely to continue, and is likely to furnish the means of a great expenditure for the purposes of emigration. [Hear, hear.] I cannot consider that there will be speedily a time when there shall be no very great demands for labour in the United States and British North America. The