

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
POOR RELIEF BILL FOR IRELAND,
AND
ITS BEARING ON THE IMPORTANT SUBJECT OF
EMIGRATION ;
WITH SOME
REMARKS ON THE GREAT PUBLIC WORKS
PROJECTED IN THE
BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY
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I AM indebted to the kindness of a friend, who is intimately acquainted with the subject, for the information comprised in the text between inverted commas, from the 20th to the 23rd page, and which may be relied on as well worthy of attention. I have also sought the best opinion in my power upon the Poor-law, and have to acknowledge my obligation to another friend who kindly favoured me with his assistance upon that subject.

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OBSERVATIONS,

ETC.

LIKE the statue of old, which occasioned a quarrel between the two Knight-errants, by appearing of different colours, when viewed from opposite sides; the measures for the relief of Ireland have hitherto worn a different aspect to those who examined them, with reference to the interests of the landlords; and to those who were animated wholly and solely by sympathy for the poor. Indeed, when we reflect that the measures necessary for redeeming the pauper from disease and starvation, appeared to menace the proprietor and his family with ruin, so far from wondering that diversity of opinion, should occasionally have broken forth into angry debate, we are constrained to give our unqualified admiration to that self-denial, which has led men of all political creeds and religious persuasions to unite in exertions for the public welfare, perilling their lives in the service of the sick, and, in many instances, reducing themselves to poverty by their endeavours to relieve the destitution of others.

The plan of the Irish party for colonization, and the desire on the part of the middle and lower classes to leave a country which can no longer afford them support, is a proof that a common calamity has now produced a common interest.

Assuming that the expense of feeding the poor for one year will amount to a sum equal to the entire rental of the parish to which they belong—it becomes obvious, that in order to stimulate landlords to the improvement of their estates, and to exertions for the welfare of the poor upon them—it is necessary that means should be found, of reducing the present superabundant population to a level with its means of support.

Deeply and anxiously impressed by the magnitude of the calamity which has fallen upon Ireland, and with a feeling that the suggestions which I had to offer, might, under Providence, lead to an improvement in the condition of the people of that suffering country, I have already published two concise pamphlets upon Irish affairs, proposing the formation of companies for the purchase of land in Ireland as well as in the Colonies, with a view to raising a middle class by the re-sale of it in the former, and the employment and ultimate settlement of a portion of the redundant population of Ireland in the latter.

In the Memorial presented to Lord John Russell, a plan has been proposed—the principal machinery of which appears to be the formation of a Company,

but as this plan may not receive the sanction of Government, I am desirous of shewing, that the plan which I originally proposed may be rendered conducive to the object which I have in view, by the means which have already, or are about to receive the sanction of the Parliament, if one or two suggestions which I would venture to propose are thought worthy of attention.

I shall now, in the first place, take a cursory review of the plan proposed by the Memorialists. Secondly, I shall consider the means provided by the bill now before Parliament for the relief of the destitute Irish, with such amendments as will render it applicable to the great subject of colonization. Thirdly, I shall consider some of the great Public Works which may be undertaken, and are now projected in the Colonies.

The plan of the Memorialists is, the removal of a large portion of the redundant population of Ireland, for which purpose they propose the formation of a Company, and give a preference to the British North American Colonies, as the country in which the colonization should take place, as much on account of their nearness to the mother country, and of the great abundance of food which those colonies will immediately supply, as because the condition of the emigrants might be improved in those colonies, while, in the United States, where they would be considered merely in the light of

“ hewers of wood and drawers of water,” their social condition must necessarily be depressed.

The words used by the Memorialists upon the subject of the funds for the Colonization, and the number of emigrants proposed to be sent out are —“ After all deductions, made, however, we cannot calculate that less than three-fourths of the amount of emigration which we have supposed—that is, less than 1,500,000 persons—should be assisted by Government to emigrate. Now, supposing that, as before stated, £5. per head were the sum agreed upon to be paid by Government for aids of settlement, and supposing that £1. per head were given by Government in aid of passage-money (being one third of the probable average cost of passage,) the sum required on the whole would be about £9,000,000., or £3,000,000. annually ; of which £7,500,000. would be laid out in Canada on aids of settlement, and the remainder as passage-money.

“ In order to meet this expenditure, we propose that a property and income tax should be imposed on Ireland of such an amount as would discharge the interest of the debt so incurred, and provide a sinking-fund for repayment of the principal. For example, if it were necessary to raise in the first year, £3,000,000. and if the loan could be obtained at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a property and income tax of one per cent. might be imposed ; which would, according to the analogy of the British and Irish contri-

butions to indirect taxation, produce about the sum (£195,000) which would be required to pay $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the loan : that is, to pay it off in twenty-two years. In the next year, and the year after, a loan of similar amount would involve a similar imposition."

It will be evident that the proposed system of colonization is too gigantic to be undertaken by a single company ; and it will probably be admitted that one should be formed for each of the provinces of Ireland, if not for still smaller districts.

That having thus established a central body for each locality, it will be necessary to subdivide the labour of selecting the emigrants as much as possible, in order to save expense, prevent imposition, and thereby to meet Lord Grey's objections to public aid of emigration, and to benefit to the fullest extent the landlord from whose property the emigrant is removed, and the Company which undertakes the responsibility of removing him.

We naturally look to the New Poor Law for Ireland to furnish the agency, direct or indirect, through which this is to be brought about, and to a vagrancy law for protection to the landlord, who has been induced to improve the condition of his poor by diminishing their numbers: it does not appear to me that any plan of colonization to which an impulse and activity are to be given by the present agrarian state of Ireland, can work well ; or, at any rate, can go to the *full extent* required, unless by some conditions

in the manner of rating, a point is fixed, at which the landlord may know that his land becomes solely responsible for its own poor—a point at which he may be enabled to say, if in addition to those for whom there is now a general rate any more become destitute, they will be chargeable to the townland upon which they dwell; and therefore, it will be cheaper for me to employ them myself, or enable them to emigrate, than to pay the Union a rate for their support.

If, in addition to the above arrangement, he is, by a Law of Settlement, protected from an influx from other estates, he may undertake the management of his own poor with a certainty of success.

He may see to what extent he can avail himself of the proposed plan, and he may sit down and count the cost with the satisfactory feeling that his own poor will benefit by whatever outlay he is induced to make.

It is evident that whatever the amount of assessment upon any particular electoral division, and whatever the proportion in that division between property and population may be, that the sums so assessed will be for the support either of the aged, the sick, and infirm, or of the redundant population.

That of these two classes a part will be for the Division itself, and the remainder for the Union generally.

An enactment that each townland should support

its own poor would be useless, because such a thing is obviously impracticable, the number of agricultural labourers bearing no necessary proportion to the Poor Law valuation, some townlands having few and others more than they could support; occasioning the great inconvenience which is felt to arise from the disproportion between property and population.

But what is practicable and much required is a rate on the Union at large for the support or removal of the surplus population, and on the Electoral Division for that portion of its own poor to which it is capable of affording employment, this is what is approached but not actually provided for by the 11th clause, and this principle would be still more valuable, if by a still farther subdivision it were brought to bear upon the townland, and thereby render each landlord responsible for the employment and provision of his own poor.

There are two clauses in the New Poor Law for Ireland, which apply to the subject of emigration—the 12th and 13th—and it is to be observed, that by the plan of the Memorialists, they ask but an income-tax of 1 per cent.; but by the 12th clause of the New Poor Law we find a tax to the extent of 1s. in the pound, for the express purpose of the emigration of a certain class, and this upon a condition which any landlord may avail himself of without any further interference of the Legislature. This, in fact, is an income-tax upon the whole of

the rate-payers, but it demands from the landlords a direct self-imposed tax of two-thirds of the sum required.

Suppose the landlord to tax himself 1 per cent., or £1. upon every hundred pound value of his land, the rate-payer in general, including himself, must pay 10s. in the pound.

The 13th clause extends such of the provisions of the 6 and 7 Vict. chap. 92, as relate to emigration under that Act, to the new and extended power of emigration given by this Act.

13th Clause.—“ And whereas by an Act passed
 “ in the seventh year of the reign of Her present
 “ Majesty, intituled, ‘ *An Act for the further*
 “ *Amendment of an Act for the more effectual Re-*
 “ *lief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland,*’ provision
 “ is made for assisting any poor person who is and
 “ has been for three months an inmate of the work-
 “ house of any Union to emigrate; and it is expe-
 “ dient to extend the said enactment to persons not
 “ being and not having been inmates of any work-
 “ house for the period of three months; be it there-
 “ fore enacted, that all the provisions in the said
 “ Act which relate to the emigration of poor per-
 “ sons who are and have been for three months
 “ inmates of any workhouse, shall also extend and
 “ apply to destitute poor persons not being or not
 “ having been inmates of any workhouse, and to
 “ persons having been inmates of a workhouse for
 “ a less period than three months.”

18th clause of the 5 and 6 Vict. chap. 92.—“ And
 “ be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for two-thirds
 “ of the Guardians of any Union, subject to the regu-
 “ lations of the Commissioners, to be made with
 “ the consent of Her Majesty’s principal Secretary
 “ of State for the Colonial Department, to assist
 “ any destitute poor person who actually is and has
 “ been for three months an inmate in the workhouse
 “ of such Union, and who has been approved by
 “ the Commissioners, to emigrate to a British co-
 “ lony, and to charge the expenses of such emigra-
 “ tion on the Union or Electoral Division to which
 “ such destitute poor person has been chargeable,
 “ but the amount of such expenses shall not in any
 “ one year exceed *sixpence* in the pound of the net
 “ annual value of the rateable property in the Elec-
 “ toral Division or Union respectively ; and it shall
 “ be lawful for two-thirds of the Commissioners
 “ and Guardians respectively to exercise these
 “ powers, although no meeting of the rate-payers
 “ of such Electoral Division or Union have been
 “ held, any thing in the said first-recited Act to
 “ the contrary notwithstanding.”

The 13th clause of the new Act enacts, that the emigrant to be provided for under the above clause, is not required to have been in any workhouse. Thus an income-tax of sixpence in the pound, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the net annual value, is actually made applicable to the purpose of the emigration of this class.

It is only necessary to give power to two-thirds of the Guardians, with the consent of two-thirds of the Commissioners, to apply the money to be raised under the 11th clause of the new Act (which is confined to the support of the poor in the workhouse, or to feeding the able-bodied out of the workhouse), to the general purposes of emigration—or the employment of the able-bodied in Ireland, whichever shall be deemed the more expedient, to make the provision for both classes of emigrants complete.

Now considering the great loss of feeding without reproductive labour in return, and that food must be *brought* to them, which would be a much more expensive process than that of sending them to the food in the North American British colonies; even were it not verified by experiment, “that the cost of emigration may be defrayed out of the value it creates,”* and obvious that those who in Ireland are unproductive consumers, may be made in the colonies producers of an additional supply; it does seem to follow, that all those families whose destitution is likely to be of long continuance, and the members of which are fit for colonists, should be enabled to become so; and if in any particular Union the better mode of applying the poor-rate should be found to be either employment at home, or the promotion of Emigration, and ultimate settlement in the Colonies, the Commissioners should have power to enable such

* Self-supporting Colonization, by R. Torrens, Esq. p. 11.

Union to carry that system out—for if it appears that the removal, employment, and ultimate settlement in the Colonies would be advantageous to the emigrants themselves, as well as to the landlords—it does seem that some portion of the funds should be rendered applicable to that purpose ; and I submit, with great confidence, that a portion of the money to be raised under the eleventh clause, should be made directly applicable to this important purpose.

There is an expression in the 12th clause worthy of some remark : “ For the Emigration.” Does the word “ emigration ” mean the passage across the Atlantic only, or the whole expense of settling the Emigrant ; if the first, the word should have been “ passage,” and not “ emigration,” in order to make it so clear as not to admit of dispute. If the second, viz. the whole expense of emigration including settlement, then it should have been so expressed. If the passage across the Atlantic is meant, and nothing more, then have the Government, and Parliament sanctioned what they have all through so much deprecated, viz. the lending aid to the mere transportation of paupers to the colonies, for how are emigrants of this class, considering the great expense of such settlement, and that there are no Companies to forward it—to be anything else, if on their arrival there be no demand for their labour, and no means provided for their settlement.

The 11th clause enacts, That all expenses beyond the sum of fifteen pence in the pound half-yearly, shall be borne by the whole Union, but that the sum of fifteen pence shall be charged to the Electoral Division.

The meaning of this clause would seem to be that each Electoral Division, is first to bear the expenses of its own poor, until that expense reaches the sum of one shilling and three pence half-yearly, which of course would make it liable, in the first instance, to the charge of two-and-sixpence in the pound on the whole year; and the remainder to be charged on the whole Union; thus, suppose that there are four Electoral Divisions in the Union, denominated A, B, C and D, then it may be stated in the following manner.

A,	2s.	that is	6d.	less.
B,	3s.	"	6d.	more.
C,	4s.	"	1s. 6d.	more.
D,	5s.	"	2s. 6d.	more.
	14s.		4s. 6d.	

This exhibits A, as 6d. under, B, 6d. over, C, 1s. 6d. over, D, 2s. 6d. over, making 4s. 6d. to be charged to the whole Union. And it seems that A, is also to bear its proportion of the 4s. 6d. This would be 1s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each Electoral Division, to be added to the sum which each has to bear for its own poor, which may be under, but is not allowed

to exceed 2s. 6d. The account will then stand thus,

A,	2s.	with general charge added—1s. 1½d.	3s. 1½d.
B,	2s. 6d.	“ “	3s. 7½d.
C,	2s. 6d.	“ “	3s. 7½d.
D,	2s. 6d.	“ “	3s. 7½d.
	<u>9s. 6d.</u>		<u>14s. 0d.</u>

If this is the meaning of the clause, the effect of it would seem to be, that each Electoral Division should be rated only for that portion of its poor to which it is capable of affording employment, and that for the surplus population, there should be a general rate on the whole Union.

If the 11th Clause were made applicable to emigration—and the Unions were to borrow money to forward it—the redundant population might be removed, and the rate upon each Electoral Division being, in consequence, reduced to less than fifteen pence half-yearly in the pound, it would have only its own poor to support; but, otherwise, it is to be feared, from the great amount of destitution, and the impossibility of removing that portion of the destitute which cannot be profitably employed, that there will always be a general rate, and that for no other purpose than feeding the able-bodied poor in idleness.

Now supposing the Companies to be formed, an arrangement may easily be entered into by the

Guardians to carry out the emigration of the two classes of emigrants with which it will have to deal.

1st. Those who, possessing something to give up, come under the 12th Clause.

2nd. Those who possess nothing, and would come under the 11th Clause, if it were extended to the general purpose of emigration. With respect to the destination of such emigrants, we have already seen that the British North American provinces have been recommended by the Memorialists—for reasons which cannot be easily refuted.

The Atlantic has been “bridged across” by steam, and time and space which have been greatly diminished to the traveller, may be said to have been almost annihilated by the electric telegraph in all that regards the transmission of information.

Halifax is reached in from ten to twelve days from Liverpool, but if the most rapid modern means of transit were continued to Limerick, Valentia, or Galway, the nearest points of embarkation, that port might be reached in eight days, and from it news might be conveyed almost instantaneously to the Canadian provinces.

There are dangers *unnecessarily* incurred on leaving the old world* as there are on arriving at the new—many lives are needlessly thrown away!

* See a remarkable instance of this in the *Times* of the 4th instant—“Total loss of the ship *Exmouth*.”

and sad the reflection that many are lost before they have cleared the country of their birth, and many more after they may be said to have almost reached that of their adoption. These dangers and delays arise both on this and the opposite side of the Atlantic from the same cause—the want of railway communication, and the consequent necessity of performing by sea a portion of the distance which would otherwise be effected more safely and more rapidly by land—for the want of a railway between Halifax and Quebec; the course which is taken by shipping, is along a dangerous coast up the Bay of Fundy to St. John, and by the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Quebec.

Ireland on this side of the Atlantic, and Halifax in British America on the other, are equally interested in the question now under consideration—in the former, thousands are dying from want, and immense sums are necessarily expended in feeding them in idleness; in the other, millions of acres are in a state of wilderness, with a want of capital and hands to turn them to account.

A great system of colonization has become inevitable. Emigrants are at this moment overstocking the labour market of the transatlantic British colonies, of which we need no stronger proof than Sir John Harvey's dispatch to Lord Grey, recently published in the *Times*, and this document is of infinite importance, as it renders some such plan as that which I am about to propose imperatively

necessary. It shews that the emigration, which *must continue*, cannot be allowed to do so in the present manner, and consequently a plan must be struck out, by which emigrants will be enabled to support themselves, and increase the strength and wealth of those colonies. Colonel Torrens saw, some years ago, the shadow of a coming event—the necessity for colonization and more intimate relation between the mother country and her colonies.

The arguments in favour of great public works in the colonies, which now apply to Ireland, may do so to England in the event of a bad harvest; in addition to which the destitution of Ireland is, in so many ways, so much felt in England, that it is the interest of all classes in this country who have the means of doing so, to promote any scheme which may be calculated to lessen a population excessive with respect to the supply of food—and at the same time to increase both the produce of the nearest market, which happily is in our North American colonies, and likewise the rapidity of supply, whenever this country may again be suffering from a dearth of food.

It may be said that this project, involving an out-lay of four or five millions of money, is brought forward at a time of peculiar financial pressure—but it is brought forward because it is calculated to lighten that pressure, by improving the condition of Ireland—and it should be carried out in spite of all difficulties, because it is calculated under Provi-

dence to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity, by facilitating the communication with our great grain-producing colonies, and developing their immense resources.

It has been calculated that if this railway, with the electric telegraph, had been in existence at the commencement of the famine, a sum equal to half the amount required for its construction would have been saved to the empire, and of course *a proportionate amount of human life*, because the number of deaths from famine, and pestilence its consequence, must bear a proportion to the supply of corn, and that supply bears a proportion *to its price*.

The present monetary crisis which is so much felt both by capitalists and by men of landed property, is considered to arise from the withdrawal of bullion from the Bank for the payment of corn ; if so, the *higher* the price of grain imported, the greater the drain of bullion, and the greater the difficulty of supplying the British market the *higher the price*.

Thus it seems that in future (a greater amount of cereal produce being necessarily required), the lives of the poor and the means of the rich—the necessity for relief and the power of affording it, must both depend, in an increased degree, upon the price of corn.

In order to investigate the practicability of this scheme of a railway in connexion with colonization, it will be as well to attempt at once to reduce it to something like a working plan.

The destitution has been greater in the province of Munster than in any other part of Ireland.

Suppose then a company to be formed by the landed proprietors of Munster, or even of a district of that province, incorporated or in conjunction with the proposed Railway Company of Nova Scotia.

It is required to shew with what prospect of success the stream of emigration may be directed to that and the neighbouring colonies, and with what prospect of pecuniary advantage to the proprietors, of political advantage to the empire, and of social advantage to the settlers.

The desire to emigrate on the part of the small farmers and labourers of Ireland, and the willingness of the landlords to enable them to do so are admitted.

That any scheme involving emigration, which will be profitable to the shareholder, must be infinitely more so to the Irish landed proprietor, who is doubly interested, will likewise be allowed.

It is easy to shew that Ireland cannot feed its poor, pay mortgagees, and leave any thing in rent for the landlord : it is evident, therefore, that something must be done at once, for although some must be ruined, it does not follow that all are to be supine ; indeed, we find many landlords at this moment exerting themselves in the most laudable manner, and the question of what is to be done with reference to the provisions of the New Poor Law will soon be discussed over all Ireland.

The next question for consideration is, how far we may fairly calculate upon the railway being a profitable speculation; for this purpose it is necessary that its commercial capabilities should be shewn.

“The equalization of duties, and the abolition of the preference of Canadian exports in British markets, place all railways on the continent of America on the same footing, and reduce the question to one of cost only. Canada enjoys uninterrupted navigation from Lake Erie to Quebec; her canals permit the passage of vessels drawing nine feet of water, and carrying 3,500 barrels of flour, and have hitherto competed successfully with the Erie and Oswego canals, which permit the passage of barges carrying only 700 barrels of flour. The transport of one barrel of flour from Cleavland, the chief shipping port of Lake Erie to New York costs 5s. 1½*d.*, to Boston 6s. If sent by Buffalo an additional charge of 1s. must be made. To Montreal 2s. 11*d.*; and at present, practically, flour is delivered at Liverpool from Montreal and New York at equal prices, notwithstanding high insurance and freight, and the shortness of the season operating against the Canadian shipper; to lengthen the season, and render Canada and Western America accessible throughout the year, this railway from Halifax to Quebec is all important. The trade of British America, with its population of two millions, is com-

paratively unimportant, when compared with the Lake Trade of the extensive territory comprehending Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri, with their population of 4,500,000; this traffic has already stimulated the citizens of the United States to the formation of Railways from Boston to Buffalo, in length 536 miles, from New York to Erie, in length 500 miles; and they propose railways from New York up the Hudson to Albany, thence to Montreal. From Boston to Montreal, and from Portland to the same place, the latter the nearest Atlantic port to Montreal, being 300 miles, is that with which a comparison may be instituted; when completed it is supposed a barrel of flour from Cleavland *viâ* Montreal can be shipped at Portland at 2s. 11d. + 2 — 4s. 11d.

From Cleavland to Quebec, a	}	3s. 1d.	}	6s. 5d.
barrel of flour will cost . .				
From Quebec to Halifax, 500		3s. 4d.		

making a difference in actual cost of transit, 1s. 6d.

At which port the flour is four days nearer to England, and can be conveyed for 2s. 6d. a barrel, insured for one or two per cent. whilst the freight from the St. Lawrence would be 5s., and the insurance from three to four per cent., and from Portland higher than from Halifax; the distance from Portland to England is 2946 miles, whilst the steamers traverse the ocean to Halifax, 2500; the route by Halifax avoids the intricate navigation of the Bay

of Fundy ; at the mouth of which, owing to inexplicable causes and unknown currents, the Columbia was lost on Seal Island. The freight and insurance are lower, and the merchant accompanying his own goods is on the nearest point to Great Britain, transmitting the latest and receiving the earliest information, which by electric telegraph, now partly erected, he can transmit to the most remote parts of Western America before he quits Halifax ; thus informing his correspondents of the state of the European markets before they can obtain such knowledge by any other route, and availing himself of the latest knowledge of his own markets, for his European correspondents. Again, the Draw-back Bill of the Republican America, imposes a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on imports, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on exports all over their territory ; leaving by the Halifax route a superiority of 400 miles in distance gained to the merchant, and a still more striking superiority over the ports of New York and Boston, besides ensuring to the splendid possessions of Great Britain in North America, all the advantages of a trade, at all seasons free and equal under our own laws."

This projected Railway appears to have received the attention of the late lamented Governor-General Lord Metcalf, and all the Lieutenant-Governors, as well as the leading men in those colonies, and the further progress of the great undertaking is only suspended until the completion of the survey now going on.

Little doubt seems to exist as to the practicability of the scheme, and the great benefits to be derived from the successful execution of the plan, well justify the zeal with which it has been so far matured.

The rapidity with which the mails could be conveyed from Halifax to Quebec, on their arrival from England, which is effected at present by the line of steamers in a few days, is one great advantage both to the Government and the commercial world.

The removal of troops from Halifax to the capital of Canada in a short time when the necessity requires it ; is another advantage which cannot fail to command the co-operation of the Government with those zealous promoters of the undertaking, who are ready to bring forward the utmost assistance which the means and resources of the colonies can afford.

To ensure the co-operation of the people of those colonies in the system of colonization proposed, and which must now be undertaken, it is necessary that the landlords of Ireland should manifest an interest in great colonial enterprises. By rendering assistance to such works, the emigrants will at once be received as fellow-labourers in the advancement of the prosperity of their new country, instead of being viewed as helpless paupers, thrown in a state of destitution upon its shores.

A marked peculiarity in the character of the

Irish peasant, is an attachment to aristocratical association, a clan-ship, or feudal attachment to the landlord's family.

A portion of property mortgaged for more than it can discharge, would not be a profitable inheritance to a younger son, and is actually a source of loss to the head of the family ; but, if by the transfer of such property to the Company—an equivalent of land can be obtained in the new world—both the family and the Company gain by the exchange, and the son might make his fortune by what would otherwise have been a worthless gift.

Neither will it be doubted that such property in Ireland may be valuable to a Company who have money upon easier terms than the former possessor, and which Company would entirely expunge the principal source of loss by enabling the surplus population to emigrate.

In an extended and highly artificial state of society, of which exclusiveness is the great characteristic, in which every thing must be done by rule, and every one must submit to the tyranny of fashion, the tendency of these influences to cramp, depress, and formalise is so great, that numbers who are full of spirit and energy, must desire more freedom for action, and for the expansion of their best energies in the application of them to some useful and honourable end.

What can be more noble than for a young man, with such feelings as these, to assume the command,

the guidance, and the protection of those who, born in an humble sphere, look up to him with respect ; and being not only depressed but degraded by the social influences peculiar to their own class, seek a position in which their industry may be encouraged by hope, and not damped, as at present, by despair.

For these reasons I venture to suggest what I consider an improvement upon the plan proposed by the Memorialists, of forming a new Ireland, under the sole guidance of the Roman Catholic clergy.

From the writings of recent authors on the subject of America, we know the feeling which exists as to the lower class of Irish, and the causes which have given rise to them. The Memorialists depend upon the sole influence of the Roman Catholic clergy to overcome this objection ; but I feel assured that all military men will agree in the opinion that the good qualities of the Irish character are developed, and more rapidly brought out, by military organization—the reliance upon, and duties towards, military superiors, than by any other influence.

Colonization, as regards the native Irish population, should be of a feudal character. In Ireland nothing is more remarkable than feudal respect and attachment, and nothing better understood than military rank ; and I am inclined to think that by giving militia rank to the gentry, in proportion to the number of families they took out,

the means of influence so much required would be obtained.

With respect to the military character which I am attempting to impress upon this undertaking, there is this most important observation to be made.

From the peculiar circumstances and the relative positions of the different North American Colonies and the United States, this view of the subject should be carried almost to the extent of considering this a great military railway.

The system of obedience, punctuality, order, police, and promotion on a railway, have all something in their nature of a military character ; and there is perhaps no private undertaking to which such character could be more easily given.

There must be an important military post at Grand-falls, and at Bois-Town, where I presume that the Fredericton branch and main branch would join ; and I would propose that at these points the settlements should assume a strictly military character. In addition to these two military stations, there are no less than seven principal stations or points from which the supply of labour would be distributed, viz.—Halifax, Truro, Bay Verte, St. John, the station at which the line from that city would join the grand trunk line ; Fredericton, and Quebec. The Crown lands through which this line would pass, are estimated at about five millions of acres, which, being rendered available by it, would produce as many pounds sterling.

There is now only one more remark to be made upon the subject of the plan which I have proposed, and that is with respect to the purchase of estates in Ireland by the Company. We have seen that if, as a speculation, emigration will pay of itself, that the landed proprietor in becoming a shareholder, must have a double interest—and it will follow that the Company making the purchase of an encumbered estate would have a threefold interest.

In as much as the mortgagee by foreclosure, would probably cause an estate to be sold, by the master in chancery, for less than its value—whereas, if the Company were to step in, it could give the value and have a large interest besides, as it would have money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. ; the estate probably being charged with 5 or 6, the Company would gain by the above difference of income ; by the removal of surplus population ; and by the colonization of those persons.

The tenants upon the estates in Ireland, purchased by the Company, should be induced to invest their savings on their security, as they would do in a Savings bank, having a good interest paid to them—and as a stronger incitement to industry and good conduct, be allowed to purchase this holding, or one of an equal value, when their deposits should amount to a sufficient sum.

From what sources is the requisite amount to be raised for the execution of such plan ? Evidently from the parties interested ; namely, the Imperial

Government, which would, in the railroad, find an admirable substitute for the Great Military road. The colonies themselves—the landlords of Ireland—and capitalists in general—the interest of each party is so clear and undoubted, that willing co-operation may reasonably be looked for.

It has been mentioned in private society, by persons of the best authority upon the subject, that the Colonies interested would probably give one-tenth of their revenues for ten years in aid of the project.

It has been shewn that under the 12th section of the new Poor Law, there is a rate permitted to be levied to the extent of 1s. in the pound, a tax equal to 5 per cent., to be applied in furtherance of the emigration of the able-bodied poor, who have land to give up.

That under the 6 and 7 Vict. cap. 92, a rate of 6d. in the pound, a tax equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Poor Law valuations of the whole of Ireland, is made applicable to enable that class of paupers to emigrate, who have no land to give up.

The Irish party have originated the means of guaranteeing any funds that may be required to the amount of £9,000,000, by a property and income tax—they have, moreover, asserted the necessity of extensive colonization, and proposed great public works in Canada. The powerful party to which this measure is indebted for support deserves the thanks of all humane and charitable

persons, of all who, looking with interest and wonder at the extent of this mighty Empire, feel that a great responsibility is imposed upon that state, to which, for the welfare of the human-race, a great power has been entrusted by Providence.

29th April, 1847.

THE END.

