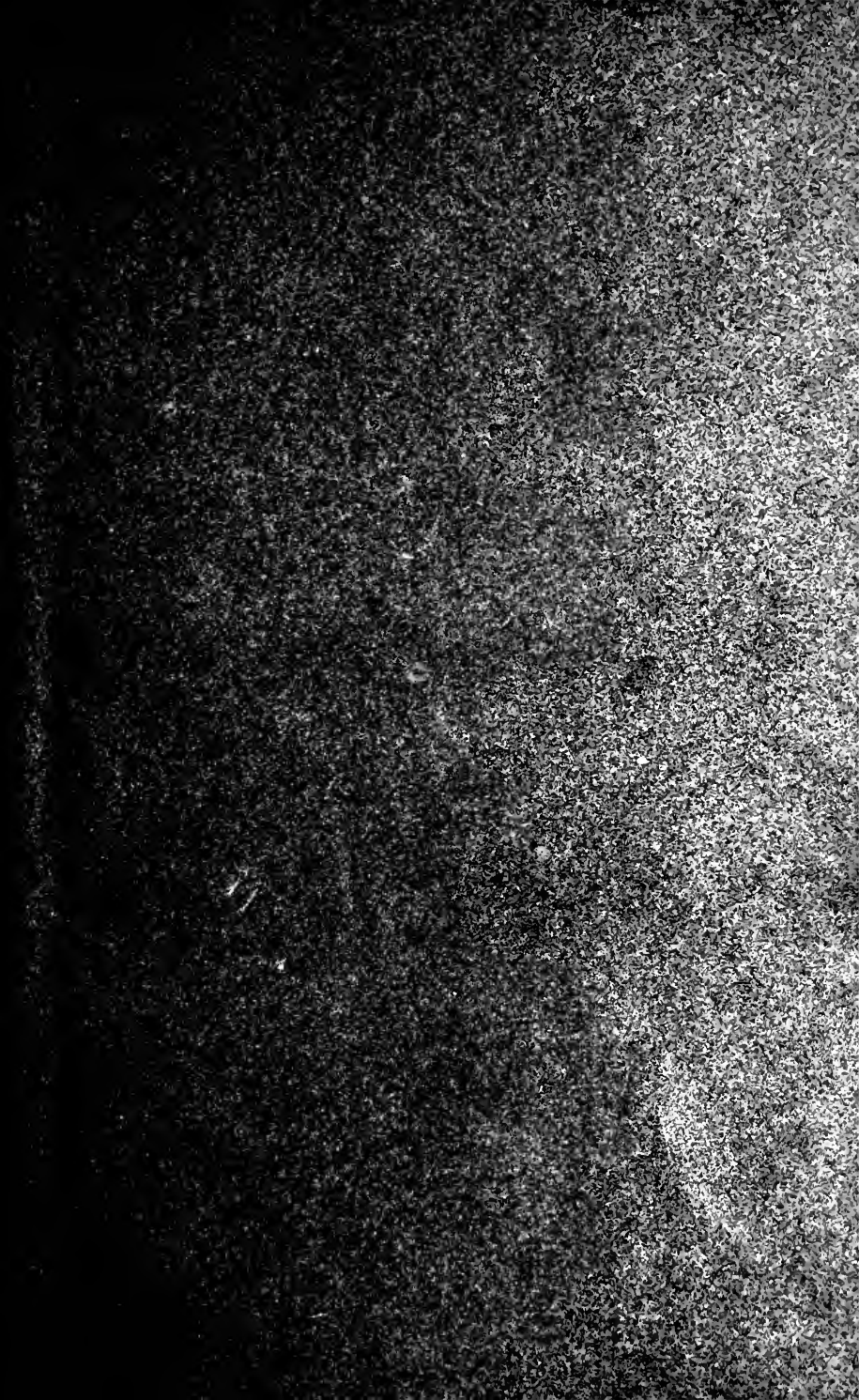
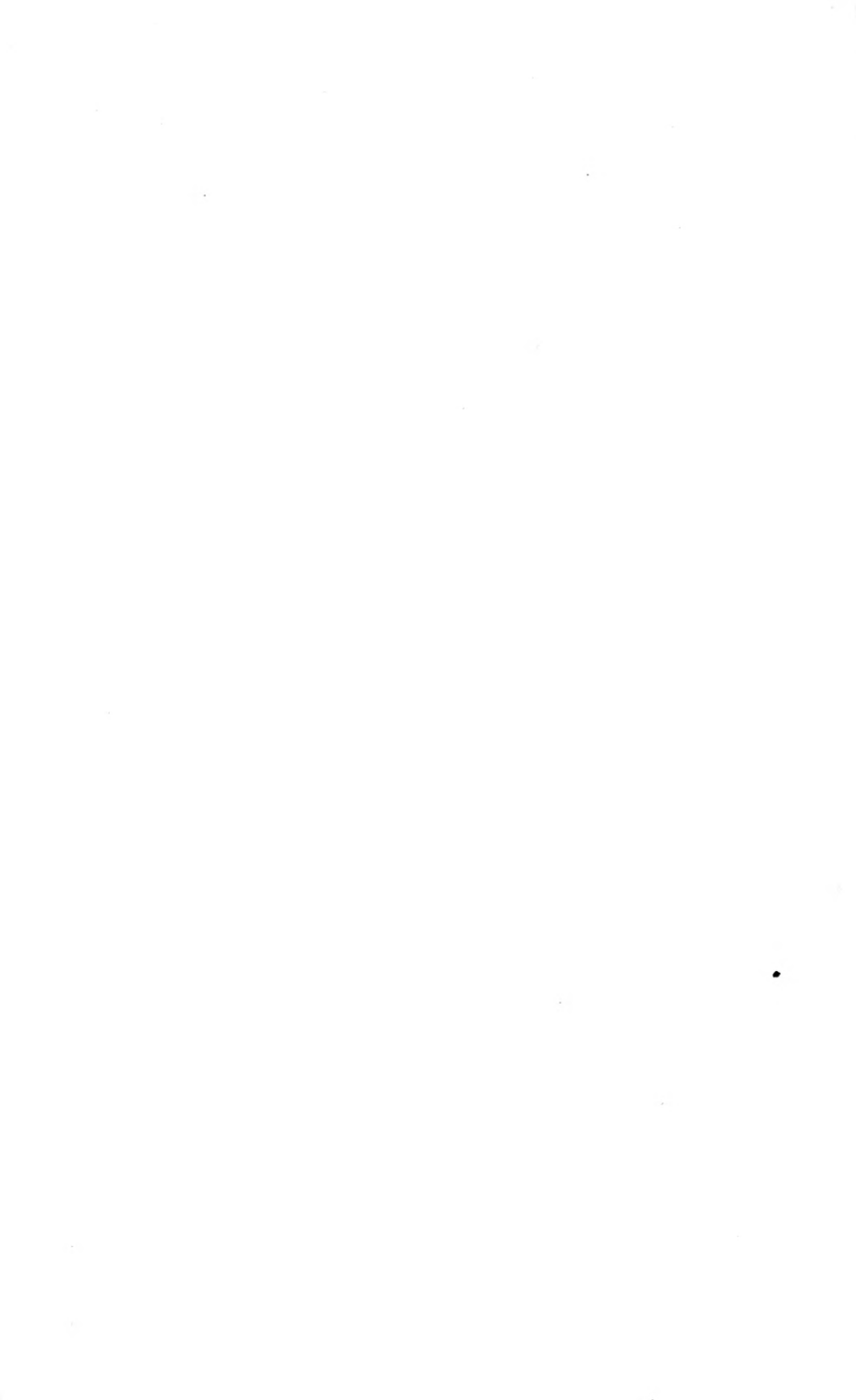






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John

THE
COLONIAL EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

ESPECIALLY *H. Carter*
IN ITS RELIGIOUS ASPECT.

A LECTURE,

ADDRESSED,

IN THE TOWN HALL, AT STOURBRIDGE,

TO THE

AMBLECOTE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

ON DECEMBER 3, 1849.

BY

LORD LYTTELTON.

LONDON:

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THOMAS MELLARD,

ADVERTISEMENT

In publishing the following Lecture I wish only to remark, that I have thought it best not to advert in it to any quite recent events, especially of a disturbing nature, in the Colonies of which it treats:—such as the annexation movement in Canada, the commercial embarrassments in the West Indies, or the political discontents in Australia. The importance of these events is unquestionable, but it seemed most suitable to the occasion to endeavour to regard the Colonies in what may be considered on the whole their normal state for the last few years.

LECTURE.

WHEN I had the honour, some time ago, to preside at the annual meeting of this Association, a wish appeared to be entertained by some of its members that I should follow the example set by many of its friends since its formation, by delivering a Lecture on some subject of general interest. At the time I did not much expect that I should ever be able to comply with that wish. In my view, the due performance of such a function implies a systematic knowledge of some subject involving some, not inconsiderable, amount of research and reflection: and the course of my life, which has mainly been one of practical duties in various directions, has not been favourable to the acquisition of such knowledge. It recently, however, occurred to me that there is one subject concerning which, from particular circumstances, I happen to have been called to think and inform myself, far indeed from completely, yet still perhaps to a greater extent than most of those whom I am now addressing: and I immediately felt, as I need hardly say, that it would be a great pleasure to me if I could confer any, even a slight, benefit upon the Association, by calling their attention to it in the form of a Lecture. That subject is the one which has been announced to you, namely our Colonial Empire, and that especially in its religious aspect and condition.

I must say a few words at the outset on both parts of this designation. I have not said simply our Colonies, but our Colonial Empire: nor that again generally, but mainly in its religious aspect. To advert first to the latter point: it is clear that there are several reasons, in the consideration of such a question on an occasion like this, for limiting in some measure the scope of the inquiry to some one prominent part of the subject. The whole subject of our Colonial Empire is too large to be completely gone through, both in respect of my own powers and of your time. I might indeed have attempted to do this with respect to some one Colony. But such information as this is within your reach without much difficulty from various publications: and my object

being rather to endeavour to set before you some general principles relating to Colonies and their relation to the mother country, it seemed clear that that could be better done by treating of our Colonial dominions as a whole, than by confining myself to only one part of them.

Religious
view.

In considering then in what point of view it would be most suitable to place the subject, I could have no hesitation in fixing upon the one which I have named, namely the religious view. For this there is a general reason, that it is the most important one, and therefore entitled to the preference when a selection is to be made. But there is also a special reason, derived from the character of the body whom I am addressing. I doubt not that I am but expressing a feeling common to all its members, when I say that it is the peculiar happiness and pride of this Association that a strong and distinctive religious character is of its very essence, and is that which in its collective utterances it would always place in the strongest light and the most leading position. I cannot be mistaken in this, for it is no more than has been recognized in the prominence given to what I lately read with hearty approval and satisfaction, the first sentence in your last Report. "The Committee of the Amblecote Church of England Young Men's Association desire to present their sixth annual Report, with humble thankfulness to Almighty God for the continued progress of the society, and with earnest prayer that its progress may be attended by that holy influence on the hearts and lives of its members, without which no prosperity can be truly valuable or lasting." This alone would therefore have justified the arrangement which I have proposed.

Not the
only one.

I by no means, however, intend to confine myself wholly to the religious, or to any other distinct part of the question. It is, again, a happy incident of the constitution of this Association, that its members are not precluded, within the limits of propriety and fair discussion, from reference to any matter which may tend to elucidate the subject before them. It would be indeed, if not contrary to positive rule, still probably unadvisable, to introduce on such an occasion as this, what is commonly understood by the term party politics. But the politics of Colonies, or rather the politics concerning the relation between the Colonies and this country, do not seem to fall within this designation: and I intend, occasionally, to advert to them.

I have only to add on this point, namely, the religious aspect to be given to the question, that though I am aware there are some I address who are not members of this Association, I must regard myself simply as addressing that body. I say this, because, though I hope to say nothing that will be offensive to any

person or party, I shall have to make several remarks in which I can look for the sympathy, perhaps for the assent, only of members of the Church of England.

To turn now to the former part of the designation which I have given to this subject. I have brought before you our Colonial Empire. In introducing to you some remarks on this point, the first thing to do seems to be, to state clearly what we mean by a Colony: to give some definition of it. For we shall find that considerable inaccuracy prevails in the common notions and expressions about this. People speak of forty Colonies belonging to England, or thereabouts: which, without specifying them all, are classed as the North American, the West Indian, the Australian Colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the Mauritius, the Mediterranean possessions of Malta and Gibraltar, Sierra Leone and the others on the West Coast of Africa, and a few besides. But it is clear that there is some inexactness in this phraseology, from one simple consideration, that, (besides the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, to which I shall not further advert,) the East Indies, our great Indian Empire, are not included in this popular list: whereas the Mauritius for instance, and the island of Ceylon still more, which is nothing but a part of the East Indies, are in themselves, and in the nature of their relation to England, just the same as India; and if the former are rightly called Colonies, so should the latter be. There is a difference in the political machinery by which India is governed, namely, through the East India Company, from that by which Ceylon is governed, which is through what is called the Colonial Office; but this is the only difference. It has happened, perhaps from this, that the popular meaning of a Colony is what I have just indicated, a distant possession governed *immediately* by the Home Government through one of its departments, the Colonial Office: whereas if it is otherwise governed, as by a Company, it is not called a Colony. But it is plain that this is no definition at all. A Colony *of* a country indicates that there is some actual connexion between the substance or body, so to speak, of the Colony, that is the people who form it, and that of the mother country. If England happens to become possessed of a distant country inhabited by certain natives, and merely sends a few official people to govern that country, leaving the natives occupying nearly the whole of it, as is mainly the case in India, Ceylon, &c. or if England occupies some post for purposes of military defence, with just enough force for that purpose only, as Gibraltar or Malta, such countries do not become Colonies: they remain nearly as they were, only with a different government. We see this immediately when we look at the words that are kin-

Definition
of a Colony.

dred to the word Colony : “to colonize,” for example. To colonize is not the same as to conquer and occupy, which it must be if Malta and Heligoland were rightly called Colonies. A conquered country may remain uncolonized. So also, a colonist is never understood to mean simply an inhabitant of one of our foreign possessions. The German in Heligoland, the Frenchman in the Mauritius, or even in Lower Canada, is no colonist of ours. A British colonist must be of British race.

This immediately points to the essential part of the definition of a Colony, which I may now proceed to give. The pure and rigid definition of a Colony of a given country is this: a previously unoccupied district, peopled and inhabited by emigrants from that country, or their descendants. Of course this definition would include a district previously occupied by aborigines, but from which they are exterminated or removed, as it becomes unoccupied before the emigrants inhabit it.⁽¹⁾

It may be
contiguous.

You will observe that this definition does not require that the Colony should be separated by the sea, or by anything else, from the mother country, which is no essential part of the idea of a Colony. It may even be contiguous to the mother country. We have already derived some benefit in the explanation of the subject, as is continually the case in all subjects, from the usages of language: and what I have just said will be at once made clear by a recourse to the same principle. For an expression, familiar probably to all of you, is that of *Home Colonization*: it indicates a system to which great importance is attached by its promoters, by which much of the distress existing in this country and in Ireland should be relieved by the transplantation of considerable numbers of persons from the over-peopled districts of the land to the waste or unoccupied territories existing within it. Here the Colony, far from being beyond the seas, is contiguous to, and even inclosed by, the mother country: yet is it with perfect propriety called a Colony in its first origin, though of course it immediately becomes a mere part of the mother country. Upon this it is interesting to remark, though I will not dwell on it, but merely point it out and leave it to the further consideration of any who may wish to prosecute the subject, that the western provinces of the United States of America, such as Iowa, Wisconsin, &c., are in their first formation strictly and accurately Colonies of the American Union.⁽²⁾ No doubt in due time, as in the former

(1) It is also hardly necessary to observe, that it is not essential to this definition, that the emigrants should be literally the *sole* occupants of the district. It is sufficient that they should form the great and preponderating majority.

(2) See Roebuck on Colonization, p. 75, &c.

instance, when consolidated and fully established, they become integral parts of the original body: but it is provided in the most methodical manner by the American constitution, that these new states, which are unoccupied districts of the vast western territories in North America, constantly being replenished by emigration from the teeming provinces in the East, shall, when first formed, and for a specified time afterwards, *not* become at once members of the Union on the same footing as the others, but shall be governed and educated, so to speak, on the precise principles of the relation between an infant Colony and its parent stock.

A Colony therefore, properly speaking, is fully defined in the terms above-stated. But, of course, when we speak of the Colonies of England, we must practically add to that definition, that the Colony shall be a transmarine possession, that is, one beyond the seas: as all regular Colonies of this country must be so.

Now if we bear this meaning of a Colony in mind, we shall see that that long list of forty Colonies so called, which we adverted to before, must be considerably modified and diminished. Some of those possessions never have been Colonies in fact at all, and in all probability never will be so: others are in a mixed, or in a transition state, being either partly occupied and owned by natives and partly by Englishmen, or passing gradually from this condition to one in which the English shall be mainly if not solely the occupiers of the country: and a comparatively small number will appear to be Colonies in the complete sense, lands owned and occupied by English people.

In the first class are to be placed the European possessions of Malta and Gibraltar, which are merely military posts: the island of St. Helena, which is nearly the same: the small island of Heligoland, within a short sail of England on the Danish coast, which is partly a military and partly a trading station: our possessions on the middle coast of Western Africa, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the Gambia, which were established partly also as military posts and partly as convenient stations for our transactions relative to the Slave-trade: the Falkland Islands, on the coast of South America: and most of all the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, which I place last as being properly not even a possession of ours, but nominally independent states, under the protection of England according to treaty.

Strictly speaking, the new settlement of Hongkong, on the coast of China, is to be placed in the second, if not in the third, of these classes. There is a considerable Chinese population on that island, many of whom are landowners. According to this it should be placed in our second class. But as this native population is becoming more and more migratory, as the land seems to be passing

more and more from their hands, and as the English have already built and occupied a large and handsome town there called Victoria, where a Bishop's see has been placed, it might almost be thought that the island was becoming a pure Colony. But though this might be true if we regarded this settlement simply by itself, it is impossible not to see that practically it is but a small outpost of the huge empire of China, and that all our transactions upon and connected with it are in fact with a view to our relations with that empire and not to itself. It is not a Colony, but a commercial station: and therefore rather belongs to this our first class. Similar remarks may be made with even more force, as to the recently formed settlement of Labuan, on the coast of Borneo.

Second class.
West Indies.

With regard to the second of the above three classes, the West Indies can hardly indeed be said to be in a transition state, as respects the character and origin of their population, as they are among the oldest of our possessions, and have, for a long time if not from the beginning, undergone no material change in this respect. But they are by no means pure specimens of Colonies, according to the definition I have given of a Colony: and must be classed as of a mixed description. Many English are permanently settled there: but the great majority of the population are native Indians, or other coloured persons imported from Africa or Hindostan. There is an important distinction, however, between the West Indies and others of our possessions of a similar mixed character, in respect not of the population but of the land. The whole of the soil in those islands may be said to belong to Englishmen, whereas in those other possessions the natives own much of it. The English owners however are rarely resident, which it is much to be desired that they should be: but are persons living in this country, managing their estates by the means of local resident agents.

Canada.

Another mixed possession of this kind is Canada, whether regarded as one province, as constituted by recent enactments, or according to the familiar division of Upper or Western, and Lower or Eastern Canada. Upper Canada may be called a pure English Colony: but the bulk, though not the whole, of the population of Lower Canada is an ancient race of Frenchmen long and firmly established in the country.

Cape of Good
Hope.

In reference to what I have called possessions in the transition state, from being partly or wholly occupied by natives or foreigners to being wholly or almost wholly occupied by English, I would not be understood as saying confidently that any of our possessions are such as evidently and fully answer to this description. Some of them, however, do so to a considerable extent, among which the most remarkable is the Cape of Good Hope. The great majority

of its inhabitants are at present not English, but Dutchmen and natives. But the extreme beauty and salubrity of its climate, and favourableness of its position, will probably continue more and more to attract the emigration thither, and permanent settlement, of persons from this country, who, it may be expected, will gradually more and more overspread the Colony. It is the only one of our possessions, besides the Australian Colonies, to which a regular system of free emigration from England for the labouring classes, has been established by the Government: and a constant stream of such emigration is now flowing from this country to the Cape, which will of course in various ways tend towards the consummation which I have mentioned.

The Mauritius, and still more, Ceylon, may be to some extent in a similar condition. Large extents of their soil are now owned by Englishmen: and in Ceylon particularly the incomparable fertility and various resources of the land will probably tend in a great measure to the establishment of English capital and population there. But, undoubtedly, the enormous number of natives in the island, amounting to near 1,500,000, and other circumstances, make the ultimate displacement of these natives and complete colonization of the country by Englishmen, an indefinitely remote if not a chimerical imagination.

The remarkable colony of New Zealand belongs to this class: it is occupied and owned, partly by natives, and partly by English. And it might be supposed that it should therefore be placed with the Cape or Ceylon, as one in which the population is in a transition state, and in which, ultimately, nearly the whole may be English. This, inasmuch as the natives are savage, would be according to that remarkable fact which some have called a mysterious law of Providence, others more truly have ascribed to the rapacity and injustice of civilized man, and which hitherto has been universal: that wherever civilized white men have come in contact with savages, the savages have in course of time decayed and ultimately disappeared as a race altogether, leaving the white man sole occupant of the land. But we will by no means assume this of New Zealand: on the contrary, it has hitherto been, and it is hoped and intended, if possible, that it shall continue to be, a signal exception to this supposed law. At present the settlers and natives are living together in complete harmony and constant intercourse: the natives, much the most intelligent as well as most powerful race of savages that have ever been discovered, are rapidly being converted to Christianity, and submitting themselves to English laws and customs: and if successive Governors and Bishops of New Zealand shall have the spirit in this respect that animates the present holders of those important offices, we may hope that this great experiment, one of the most interesting that has ever been

made in the course of human improvement, whether a savage race can be raised from its savageness and enabled to live with Europeans on a footing of equality and not of slavery, will meet with lasting success. We therefore class New Zealand as a mixed Colony in respect of population.

You will thus perceive the truth of what I said above, that numerically speaking, the real Colonies of England, constituting the third of the above-named classes, are but few out of the whole number of the countries popularly so called. For we have gone through the whole list, and shewn that all we have mentioned are at present to be otherwise regarded than as Colonies in the full sense, with the two great and important exceptions which I now proceed to advert to, the North American, (all but Lower Canada,) and the Australian Colonies. You will see at once why I have said that it is only numerically speaking that these Colonies form but a small part of the whole number of our foreign dependencies. Reckoned by weight and not by tale, they are far more important than all the rest of the Colonies put together. Their names are soon said: Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland and the Bermudas, in North America: New South Wales and Port Philip, South Australia, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land, in Australia. But no one can estimate either what advantages and what glory to England these vast regions may or might now bring, or to what a height they may not in future ages advance the power and the renown of the British race.

Both these groups of Colonies may be called pure British Colonies, that is composed of natives and descendants of natives of Great Britain or Ireland. Yet even between these some distinction may be made. In North America we have already excepted Lower Canada from this description: and in the other continental Colonies, those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, I believe there are also some few natives of France and other countries intermingled. But throughout the whole of the Australian Colonies properly so called and excluding New Zealand, the inhabitants are of unmixed British origin. There are indeed a few natives, of whom I may hereafter say a little more: but they are quite removed from what is commonly understood as the settled and inhabited parts of those Colonies, which are entirely occupied by British. In this respect, therefore, as being so entirely sprung from ourselves, as well as in respect of their youthful energy and hopefulness, their remoteness from and consequent independence of all other nations, and their immense capabilities of development in all the elements which form great and free communities, there is probably no part of the empire which more demands and will more amply require the wisest care on the part of England, and would

more deeply condemn her neglect or ill-usage, than these vast possessions in the Southern Ocean.

I have thought it might be interesting and useful in this manner to lay down accurately what properly speaking are alone Colonies of England, and what are not. But it will not be expedient, in pursuing the subject, to look solely at these, namely, the North American and Australian Colonies. We may include all those where any considerable number of British subjects have permanent interests in the land as residents or owners: excepting however Ceylon, which, though in some degree answering to this description, is in fact a part of India, and ought not even by common parlance to be reckoned among our Colonies. And according to this, our Colonial Empire may be said to consist, mainly, of the North American, the West Indian, and the Australian Colonies, and the Cape of Good Hope. Now when we so look upon it, and always bearing in mind our definition of a Colony, we may first be struck with the idea, that no other nation at present but England has a Colonial Empire. Other nations have Colonies, as France, Spain, Holland; though perhaps not Colonies in the full and proper sense. But an Empire implies something great, if not vast; and these comparatively small possessions do not deserve that name. Again, other nations have large foreign possessions, that is, removed from the land they themselves occupy, as Russia and Turkey: but they are in no sense Colonies. But I think we may go further, and say that with very few exceptions, there is no instance recorded in history of a Colonial Empire such as England possesses. The chief exception is, the Spanish possessions in America, subsequent to the discovery of that quarter of the world. By a course of the most merciless barbarity the Spaniards almost entirely exterminated the natives whom they found in those countries, and occupying them with their own people, constituted what may fairly be called a Colonial Empire. Perhaps the same may be said of the Portuguese, or the Dutch, and, during some part of its history, of the Moorish Empire: but with these reservations there is not even an apparent exception to be found in modern history to what I have said. In ancient history I need only briefly advert to the cases of the Greeks and the Romans.

With regard to the latter, the Romans can hardly be said to have been a colonizing people in the complete sense of the word. Italy indeed was in great measure colonized from Rome: but that country is rather looked upon as itself the *home* of the Roman Empire, and although throughout the vast extent of that empire there were what were called Colonies, (as we read in the Acts of the Apostles that Philippi was a Colony,)⁽¹⁾ and although they were partly occu-

Subjects to be considered.

No other instance of a Colonial Empire.

Spanish Colonies.

Romans.

(1) Acts xvi. 12.

pied by natives of Italy, yet they seem rather to have been foreign possessions held and governed from Rome for political purposes, but in which the bulk of the people were still foreigners, than off-shoots from Rome as a parent country.

Greeks. On the other hand, the Greeks were eminently colonizers in the fullest sense. Our word metropolis is a Greek word of which we have changed the sense; in the original it meant simply what we call the mother country. Now you may have observed that I did not include in the definition of a Colony any political connection, any connection of government, between the Colony and the country from which it was settled. It is no necessary part of it. We are in the habit of talking of Colonies and dependencies as if they were the same thing: but a Colony may be quite independent. The Greek Colonies can scarcely be said to have been dependencies at all. The Greeks, especially the Athenians, founded great and flourishing Colonies in Asia Minor, Italy, and elsewhere. They did so in the most systematic and deliberate manner, by sending out from themselves large and organized bodies, prepared to establish in the vacant lands which they went to occupy, communities and constitutions in all respects resembling what they had left behind. But when so established, their connexion with the country from which they sprung became one almost of equality, instead of being one of dependence. They made their own laws, and supported their own institutions: and were bound by little beyond a general obligation to be friends with the parent state, and to be her allies in war.

**Modern
English
system.**

Now we shall not hastily conclude that this system was an inferior one to the Colonial system of modern times, as usually administered, especially in the most recent days of English history. That system is the exact reverse of the Greek system in the important particulars to which I have referred. We attempt to govern the whole of our Colonies immediately from home, by a Government department sitting in London. More so indeed in some cases than others. Those of our Colonies in which elective representative bodies are part of the local legislature, do to a much greater extent administer their own affairs than the others, called the Crown Colonies. But in all of these there is not a law or ordinance that can be passed which does not require the consent of the Home Government to give it validity: and, on the other hand, in many of the Colonies the expense even of their civil institutions is in part defrayed out of taxes raised at home. I shall say a little more on this question presently: in this place I will only point out to you how it illustrates in another way what I said before, that we have hardly any parallel case in history to the British Colonial Empire. Rome had a vast empire, but not properly Colonial. The Greeks had Colonies extensive enough, relatively

to the parent states, to be called an Empire: but an Empire implies a central power as well as large extent, and that did not in fact exist in the Greek system.

In these last considerations we approach the most serious part of the question, to which, as was said, I wish especially to draw your attention this evening: I mean the moral, the religious, ^{National} responsibility of this country with regard to its Colonies. Such a responsibility, in the case of nations or governments as well as individuals, is of course determined and measured by the amount of power and of influence which the superior party reserves and exercises over the inferior. Now this moral responsibility, in the Greek system, may be said to have ceased with the foundation of the Colony. The Greeks were of course answerable for the character of those whom in the first instance they sent forth, and the manner in which they sent them: but not, except as involved in this, for the subsequent career of themselves or their descendants. On the contrary, by retaining its Colonists in real dependence on itself, the Government of this country, and this country through its Government, assumed as much responsibility, whatever that may be, for the welfare of Canada and New South Wales, as it did for that of Middlesex and Yorkshire: and this applies to all our foreign possessions. It is therefore on this country that we in great measure look as accountable, when we consider the motives that led to the establishment of our Colonies, their subsequent career, or their present state.

Now it seems the proper place here to say, that I have no particular wish, by this lecture, to flatter and inflate, in the minds of any of us, the feelings of pride and glorification with which we are apt to contemplate our enormous empire. I do not say that all such feelings of satisfaction are wrong, or that much good may not be drawn from them. But they are sufficiently natural and spontaneous. They need very little pampering and fostering. Rather let us dwell on what I have already suggested: the responsibility, the duties, which this country has assumed when investing itself with this empire. If such a view should fail to inspire, as the other does, nothing but what is pleasant and flattering to our human feelings—if at best it should produce but mixed emotions—I cannot help that. Let us look at the truth. On the Colonial domain of England, it is said, the visible sun never sets. True. On how much, or how little, of that vast domain, has the Sun of Righteousness ever risen?

With such thoughts as these in our minds, perhaps we can do no better than attempt to follow, very briefly and partially, the arrangement of the subject just indicated, and notice, with respect to our American and our Australian Colonies, and mainly in the

Arrangement
of the subject.

religious aspect which we have before us, first the motives which may be traced in the minds of their first planters, next their progress, lastly their present state.

Colonies
founded by
the State.

On the first point it is material to observe that the formation of most, if not all, of our present Colonies, was the deliberate act of the *State* of England. In this respect it resembled the Greek colonization, which was the act of the collective nation which sent forth the settlers. It is not necessarily so. The Colony must at some step or other, if it is to be a part of the Empire, be taken under the care and government of the mother-country; but in its first formation it may have originated in the voluntary efforts of some of its inhabitants. This was in great measure the case in the first plantation of that renowned country, once our Colony, now no longer ours, but to which we will briefly refer, as having preceded the establishment of most of our possessions, and as eminently illustrative of some of the principles which we have in view, the United States of America. As to some of them, indeed, the first settlers from England obtained a royal charter at the very outset of their undertaking, which thus may be said to have become a national one. But with regard especially to the New England States, you are probably aware that their earliest origin was in the discontent of certain of the Puritans in the 17th century with their religious condition at home; who in consequence, with nothing beyond the passive acquiescence of the King,⁽¹⁾ left their native shores, and founded Transatlantic communities which, whatever we may think of various circumstances in their history, were undoubtedly imbued in their beginning with the deepest piety, and the purest wish to exhibit models of Christian Commonwealths. But this private character, so to speak, only belonged to these Colonies in their very infancy. England very soon conceived hopes of being able to turn them to her own interest, especially by means of commercial restrictions, and accordingly bound them for this purpose by much closer ties to herself than existed at the time of their foundation. And from this time till the period of American independence, the main features of the connexion between this country and those Colonies, as far as belongs to our present purpose, may be said to have been close commercial restriction and monopoly of the Colonial trade, intended for the benefit of England, and neglect on her part of the religious state of the dependencies. Something further will be added hereafter on the former, as part of the general political question of Colonial relation: at present we will only remark that, as is well known, the end of that political system was the loss of the North American Colonies. But the latter, or religious question, is far from being

United
States.

(1) Grabame's History of the United States, Vol. I. pp. 188. 190-1.

unconnected with the chain of causes which led to that separation. The spirit in which the politicians of the early part of last century often regarded the religious state of North America is illustrated with such extraordinary force by the recorded saying of one of them, that I cannot but quote it; although in another point of view the anecdote refers not to the operation of this spirit, but to one of the exceptions to that operation which the English Government sometimes permitted. His name, which deserves to be hung for ever on the gibbet of history, was Seymour: he was Attorney General in the year 1703. The Colonists of Virginia had at length obtained from the Crown that which, after a century and a half, is now being attempted with more or less success in almost all our Colonial dioceses: the institution of a chartered college in the Colony, for the education of all classes, especially of missionary clergymen and teachers; and towards its erection, the moderate contribution of £2,000 from the Government. Against this contribution however the said Attorney-General remonstrated: "£2,000?" he said: "you shall not have £2,000: why do you want it?" A delegate from the Colony represented what seems a material and unquestionable fact in the case, that the Colonists had souls to be saved as well as their brethren in England. His reply has in it a degree of coarse humour, and perhaps on first hearing it we may be struck by a sense of the ludicrous: but I rely on the right feeling of this meeting that they will not for a moment dwell on this aspect of it, but rather think with shame on the truly fiendish spirit which could prompt such an answer from a Minister of State, an answer which only embodied with singular force a view far too prevalent in this country formerly on this subject. He replied "Never mind your souls! grow tobacco!"⁽¹⁾

Anecdote
of the
Attorney
General
Seymour.

The spirit of these words is indeed one which is to be traced in every instance where one man makes another a mere machine to get wealth for him, and not the least often in this country: in the ignorant agricultural labourer, the over-worked domestic servant, the factory child; but never perhaps has it been so undisguisedly put forth as in this truly diabolical declaration.

This spirit then, I say, had not a little to do with the alienation of feeling on the part of the North American Colonies towards England, which, when further roused at a later period by the unwonted imposition of an imperial tax, led them so readily to wish to abandon their connexion with her. It might be shewn, if I had time to go into details, that wherever the influence of the Church of England was most felt in these Colonies, there also was the most loyal feeling towards the Crown of England, and conversely.⁽²⁾ But

Influence of
the Church
of England.

(1) Franklin's Correspondence, quoted in Grahame's History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 135. n. The original expression is even stronger.

(2) See Hawkins's Missions of the Church of England, especially pp. 210. 212. 241—2. 253—4. 304—5. 328. 330.

I shall not be understood as insinuating the slightest palliation for the long course of

Society for the
Propagation of the Gospel.

what power the *State* in this country had, for the extension and encouragement of this religious influence, was never in any adequate degree exerted. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701, as it has continued to exist since, for the very purpose of supplying the lack of national efforts for the establishment of Christianity in the settlements and missions of North America. You will observe particularly that I am not here speaking of the *general* religious condition of these Colonies: but of that condition in respect of the *national* will of the mother-country as expressed through the Government and through the National Church. For in those days these two organs of the nation acted in such matters in a coincident manner. No Government ever thought of actively supporting, though it might passively allow, any form of religion but that of the Church of England: nor can it be said that the nation or the Church acted on any large scale independently of the Government. But it would be very unjust to represent those Colonies as in the same state of religious neglect with respect to other forms of Christian belief, as they were in with respect to the Church of England. Maryland was colonized by Roman Catholics, New England by Puritans, Pennsylvania by Quakers: and were all more or less strongly imbued with the distinctive character, and provided with the religious institutions, of these various communities. But these were the private efforts of isolated bodies, and in no sense can be said to have proceeded from the nation as a whole.

Other religious
bodies.

I am speaking then here of the Church of England; and it is a singular and lamentable fact, that the frequent and explicit entreaties of the Churchmen among the Colonists themselves for that which, almost alone, absolutely requires the active consent of the State, namely that Bishops should be given them, was met, especially by ministers of openly irreligious, if not atheistical minds, such as Sir R. Walpole,⁽¹⁾ and when the merely political reasons for an ecclesiastical establishment were felt more feebly than at home, by constant neglect and refusal.⁽²⁾ On the importance of this great and fundamental element in our Colonial Church something further will hereafter be said.

Desire for
Bishops.

First Colonial
Sec.

A slight practical acknowledgment of error in this respect was made after the loss of the Colonies now forming the American

misgovernment on the part of this country towards the Colonies which she so deservedly lost: least of all for the fatal measures which immediately preceded and caused the separation. I speak only of the fact, as above stated.

This statement is quite consistent with, and is indeed illustrated by, the fact that at a *late* period of our American dominion, the proposal to introduce Episcopacy into these Colonies, to be established by law, with a general jurisdiction, and supported out of the public funds of the provinces, met with strong though partial opposition, especially in Puritan New England. [Grahame's History of the United States, Vol. III. p. 309—12. Vol. IV. pp. 138. 140. 305.] It must be remembered that this writer, though of signal learning and ability, was deeply imbued with republican and anti-ecclesiastical feelings.

(1) See Lord Hervey's Memoirs. Vol. II. p. 527.

(2) See Hawkins's Missions of the Church of England, especially Ch. XVII. and pp. 376. 383—6.

Union, by the establishment of the Bishopric of Nova Scotia, the first of our Colonial Sees, with nominal jurisdiction over our remaining possessions in that quarter. But with regard to these, with the exception of Canada, namely the maritime dependencies of Nova Scotia (afterwards divided into two provinces, called Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) and Newfoundland, it must be said that their origin also, like that of the more southern provinces in that continent, as far as the State in England was concerned, was more from the desire of gainful traffic than anything else, and indeed of traffic exclusively gainful to this country.⁽¹⁾ The timber and the fishing trade, especially the latter in Newfoundland, were the most important branches of this commerce: and so much so, that in the time of Burke, though by no means at present, the Newfoundland trade was reckoned the most valuable part of the whole foreign trade of the empire.⁽²⁾ But so little was this looked on as constituting a claim on this country for moral benefits in return for these material advantages, that it was not till recently that that large though uninviting Colony was looked upon as more than a mere station, or endowed with either civil or ecclesiastical institutions at all commensurate with its condition.⁽³⁾ And yet to the considerate Christian, it might have been thought, the contemplation of an ignorant and irreligious population of fishermen could not but have suggested those sacred and familiar words: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."⁽⁴⁾ Of the results of this course of policy, a little more will be said when we come to speak of the actual condition of these Colonies.

Other North
American
Colonies.

Newfoundland.

The title of this country to these possessions was that of original occupation. The case of Canada is different: that, as you are aware, was obtained by conquest; a mode of acquisition which, when the war is a legitimate one, and the acquiring country recognizes the moral obligations of possession as well as its mere rights, is not open to objection. It cannot be said that England adequately fulfilled the latter of these conditions. In Lower Canada indeed, where, as I have said, the population was French and Roman Catholic, we were bound by treaty to recognize and allow the existing Church establishment to remain: and, from the stationary character of that population, I believe its condition in this respect is not now materially different from what it was then. But in Western or Upper Canada, which may be said to have been colonized and formed almost entirely since the conquest, the religious neglect of which

Canada.

(1) The possession of Nova Scotia was long disputed between France and England. But it seems to have been first occupied by the English, in the time of James I.

Prince Edward's Island was ceded by the French, with Cape Breton, in 1745.

(2) Observations on a late State of the Nation. [Burke's Works. Vol. II. p. 66.]

(3) It was formerly the practice to send as Governor to Newfoundland some naval Officer, who went in May and returned in November every year. Pennant's Arctic Zoology, quoted in *Encycl. Britann. Art. Newfoundland.*

See also Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England.* p. 317.

(4) *Matt. IV. 19.*

Clergy Reserves.
 this country for a long time was guilty, was similar to what we have noticed in regard to the other Colonies: and with the less excuse, inasmuch as in French Canada the example of a religious establishment, which had been planted there by the care of the Government of France and the Church of Rome, was remarkably complete and well-organized. I have only time to notice one illustration of this neglect on the part of the English Government. In the change of the constitution of the Canadas, enacted by what is called the Constitutional Act of 1791, passed by Mr. Pitt, a provision was made for the reservation throughout the province of certain lands for the support of the clergy. But this provision was a dead letter, and never acted upon for 50 years; the only effect of it being that these lands were left waste and unoccupied amidst the advancing cultivation of the province, retarding thus instead of advancing its progress in civilization: and it is only of late years, that steps have been taken in earnest to apply these lands to their intended purpose, with this significant difference however, that whereas the framers of the Act unquestionably meant them for the sustentation of Ministers of the Church of England, the altered state of feeling on these points has made it unavoidable to appropriate them to the use of various denominations of Protestant Christians.

West Indies.
 Of the West Indian Colonies, the large and fertile province of Guiana, better known as Demerara, on the mainland of South America, and a few of the islands, as Trinidad and St. Lucia, were obtained by conquest or cession from the French, Spanish, or Dutch, in the last great war. But the greater number of the insular possessions of Great Britain in those seas have belonged to us for two centuries or more: the most celebrated of them, Jamaica, was first occupied in the time of Cromwell. Originally, like all those countries, it had fallen to the lot of Spain, in consequence of the fortunate advantage obtained by that kingdom over the rest of Europe in having sent out Columbus under her auspices: and it came into the hands of England by conquest. Others, as Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, were acquired by unopposed occupation, some of them indeed appearing to have been almost desert at the time when the English took possession of them. The objects in view seem to have been partly, as in the case of other Colonies, the establishment of a valuable monopolized trade, partly the military one of an effective counterpoise, in those possessions, to the power of other nations, especially that of Spain, so much dreaded in those times.

Religious provision.
 It may be admitted, that in some respects in the West Indies, as regarded the free population of the islands, something more of a systematic religious provision was at one time or another established under the authority of England, than in others of her dependencies. Parochial divisions were made, and legal endowments for ministers, by the Colonial Legislatures. But the whole history of the connexion

between England and the West Indies, even before they came into our possession, is blurred and blotted by the pervading presence of those accursed elements, slavery and the slave-trade. It was in the reign of Elizabeth, while all that quarter of the world was still under Spanish sway, that the first ship load of Africans was conveyed by English hands to America, and sold to the Spaniards. The ill-starred speculator who opened thus this fountain of evil, was named Sir John Hawkins.⁽¹⁾ It is not certain that he deliberately intended to sell these unfortunate creatures into real slavery: he may have meant simply to transfer them to a scene of suitable and advantageous labour, himself receiving remuneration, as a sort of contractor, from those who engaged them. But this was in fact the beginning of the African slave-trade: and till 1807 the history of our West Indian Colonies is mainly the history of our share in that atrocious system, which England at length in that year gave up. Till 1833, when the great Act of Emancipation passed, it is the history of West Indian slavery: a far less evil indeed than the *trade* which supplied the human subjects of that slavery, but still fraught with evils that cannot easily be exaggerated.

I am not of course going into any lengthened account of these systems. The origin of our West Indian Colonies has been stated: and confining myself to the view which I have formerly mentioned, that of the moral responsibility of this country as to the actual condition of the population subject to its dominion, I will advert shortly to the state, in which, during the far greater part of the time for which we have possessed those islands, this country was content, nay studious, to leave the majority of their inhabitants, namely the slaves. We assume now that these slaves were to be imported, and were to be in bondage, a system of course in itself most deeply criminal: but we look upon them simply as subjects of England.

Now the cruelties which, as we know, were often inflicted by slave-owners on their slaves, were never actually countenanced by the law, though the redress provided by it was frequently a very inadequate one: but as to the broad facts of their condition as a population, in reference to our particular subject, it is best described by the simple statement that on the whole they were left in a state of heathenism. It is impossible from want of time to produce lengthened evidence of this fact: but I will quote two passages from an interesting collection of Sermons preached at the Anniversaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, selected from the whole period of its existence since 1701. The first is from Bishop Butler, writing in 1739: and those who are acquainted with the peculiar style of that great writer, will be aware how much more is conveyed than the mere words taken strictly would signify, in the

(1) Grahame's History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 16 &c.

grave irony of his expressions. "Of these our Colonies, the slaves ought to be considered as inferior members, and therefore to be treated as members of them, and not merely as cattle or goods. Nor can the highest property possible to be acquired in these servants, cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instruction. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God, and of the race of mankind for whom Christ died: and it is inexcusable to keep them in ignorance of the end for which they were made, and the means whereby they may become partakers of the general redemption. On the contrary, if the necessity of the case requires that they be treated with the very utmost rigour that humanity will at all permit, as they certainly are, and, for our advantage, made as miserable as they well can be in the present world, this surely heightens our obligation to put them into as advantageous a situation as we are able with regard to another."⁽¹⁾ It is needless to point out what a view this discloses of the temporal, as well as spiritual, condition of the slaves.

Bishop Porteus.

The second extract was written more than forty years later, by Bishop Porteus. "They," (the slaves,) "are, in general, considered as mere machines and instruments to work with, as having neither understandings to be cultivated, nor souls to be saved. To the greater part not so much as the mere ceremony of baptism is administered; and scarce any enjoy sufficient leisure or assistance for a proper degree of instruction in the doctrines and the duties of religion. Sunday is, indeed, a day which they are generally indulged with for their own use: but they spend it, commonly, not in attending public worship or receiving private instruction, but in visiting and trafficking with each other, or in cultivating their own little allotments of land, for which, except in one island, that of Jamaica, they have seldom any other time allowed them. Thus it comes to pass that, in the British Islands alone, there are upwards of four hundred thousand human beings, of whom much the greatest part live, most literally, without God in the world; without any knowledge of a Creator or a Redeemer; without any one principle of natural or of revealed religion, without the idea of one moral duty except that of performing their daily task, and escaping the scourge that constantly hangs over them. The consequence is, that they are heathens, not only in their hearts, but in their lives."⁽²⁾

No doubt exceptions may be found to these statements, both in the legislation and the manners of these Colonies in former times. But the importance of those exceptions may in some degree be estimated from the following observation: that in a work written in 1794, in palliation of slavery and the slave-trade, the chapter relating to the existing condition of the slaves in the West Indies contains not a

(1) Sermons before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1845. p. 76. [Butler's Works, Vol. II. p. 292.]

(2) Sermons, &c. p. 159. [Porteus's Works. Vol. II. p. 396.]

word about their religious state:⁽¹⁾ and their moral state as influenced by Christianity may be judged from the fact, that this writer quietly speaks of polygamy as general among the slaves, and says, that its abolition would be inconsistent with their *superstitions*.⁽²⁾

With one word about the Cape of Good Hope, I must pass on to the Australian Colonies. The Cape was conquered and lost more than once in the French war, but finally ceded to us at the peace in 1815. Of its religious condition it must be said, that at the time when its first Bishop was sent out there, about three years ago, while there was none of our possessions in which Dissenting bodies had shewn greater and more laudable zeal in missions, there was none in which the Church of England had fallen into more feebleness and decay. Of the great improvement, and still greater promise of improvement, that has taken place there since that time, a little may be added hereafter.

Cape of
Good Hope.

The origin of the Australasian Colonies in New Holland and Van Diemen's Land was different from the preceding. It is perfectly simple and indisputable, and easily described. New South Wales was, at its first foundation about sixty years ago, nothing but what is so well known as Botany Bay. The first English settlers in those magnificent regions of the earth, were a small batch of convicts and nothing else, with their keepers, sent to those newly-discovered territories in the stress under which this country then laboured as to the disposal of her criminals, after the loss of the North American Colonies, to which they used to be sent. Anything more opposed, than this specimen of Colonization, to the grand idea, and even to the imperfect examples which have been given, of that noble work, cannot well be imagined. Contrast, for a moment, the old Greek emigration, with its freedom, its mixture of classes, its household gods accompanying,—or even the Pilgrim Fathers of America, leaving the shores of Holland after a solemn united prayer and pastoral address and benediction—with this obscure and ignominious plantation of undiluted vice, without priest or teacher, with no penitence for the past and no care for the future, on that solitary coast!

Australasia.

Such was the origin of the Australian Colonies: and for some time such also was their progress, for no free settlers went there for several years after their first beginning. It is as if it had been intended, that these nations, for they will be no less, situated as they are in regions boundless alike in extent and capabilities, instead of again symbolizing, as they will do, the oak of centuries, emblematic of their mother-country, were to be but as the ephemeral mushroom, and therefore fily planted and nurtured, as that is, in the mere filth and refuse of the world.

The history of these Colonies is so recent, that their immense

(1) Edwards's History of the West Indies. B. IV. ch. 5.

(2) Ib. Vol. II. p. 147.

progress and improvement from this foul beginning may be better treated of under the head of their actual condition than otherwise. But with reference to the element which has been adverted to, and which has marked their condition more or less from the first, namely **Convicts.** convictism, a few remarks must be made. I said that the origin of the Australian was different from that of the American Colonies. But a dismal sort of analogy may be fancied, in a religious respect, between England's treatment of the slaves exported from Africa to America, and her treatment of the convicts transported from home to Australia. The slaves began as heathens, and remained so. The convicts were worse: beginning as nominal Christians, they fell to a state more guilty than heathenism, and so passed to their punishment: and in this state *they* also remained. Let the following fact be sometimes remembered by those, whose special delight it is to dwell on the fair side of the history of this country: that till the year 1842, no religious provision whatever was made by the Government of England for the reformation of her transported criminals in Australia. It is hardly necessary to observe that criminals actually under punishment are both themselves entirely powerless, even if they had the wish, towards their own spiritual improvement, and are *almost* entirely beyond the reach of any voluntary efforts of individuals: and that therefore, as here in England the institution of gaol chaplains, paid by the Government, sufficiently proves, the State itself is responsible for the care of them in these respects.

Transportation System. What was then done, and has been attempted since, will be referred to subsequently: meanwhile I will only add, that the results of our transportation system, in the condition of our convicts, especially in Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island, were so indescribably frightful, that at the present moment the Government, having been forced on this account for a time to suspend transportation to the existing penal Colonies, find the greatest possible difficulty, a difficulty which I do not believe they will ever entirely surmount, in resuming it to those Colonies, or in establishing it to any others: from the utter repugnance of all of them to admit within their borders what has elsewhere proved to be a germ that was to expand into such a terrible growth of evil; and without their own consent we could not if we would, and we ought not if we could, to compel them to do so. Some of you may have noticed in the newspapers that at this moment the Cape Colony is in a state of what must almost be called passive rebellion on this account. I am not concerned to defend all that the inhabitants of that Colony have done in this matter: and I am bound to state my opinion, though not without much doubt and hesitation, that this feeling in our Colonies is a somewhat exaggerated one, and that under certain regulations, which I cannot specify at length, it is not hopeless that transportation might be so conducted as to be even beneficial to

our dependencies, as it is almost indispensable to ourselves: and that it might be no more than a fair contribution on their part towards alleviating the general necessities of the empire.⁽¹⁾ But I am far enough from wondering at the existence of this feeling. On the contrary, I consider it to be one highly praiseworthy in its nature: founded, as it is, on considerations obviously adverse to the mere pecuniary interests of those who hold it, (as the labour of convicts would be beyond all doubt advantageous to them in that respect,) but resulting from a lofty and generous sense of their own moral dignity as free communities, and a determination to preserve themselves, and still more their posterity, from pollutions such as from various reasons I can only allude to, but which have been realized to an extent that could not easily be exaggerated, within the lifetime of the present generation.

I must be careful to point out however, that when I say that the Australian Colonies originated in the transportation of a few convicts, I mean that the two oldest settlements in that quarter, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, were planted in that manner. That was the beginning of our Colonization there; and if these two Colonies had not arisen it is possible that the remaining ones would not. But the new Australasian Colonies of South Australia, Western Australia, and New Zealand, are entirely independent both in their origin and progress of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and have not the slightest taint of convictism. Their inhabitants are extremely sensitive on this point, and if I were to include them in the remotest manner among penal settlements they would justly call me a libeller. Indeed each of these Colonies has been established, with the countenance of the Government, by persons and companies zealous for the realization of various theories of colonization which, whether sound or not, have at least no mixture of anything in them which is not of the purest and loftiest nature.

South and West
Australia and
New Zealand.

I have now gone through, as far as the time and other conditions of this address seemed to permit, the two first parts of this the chief narrative portion of the Lecture, namely the origin and progress of our chief Colonies: with the necessary limitations however, when

(1) I have said that I give this opinion with doubt and hesitation; and I am satisfied that the more the whole of this difficult question is examined by any one, the less he will be inclined to advocate any given solution of it in the confident manner which we often hear. Nothing can be more palpable than the evils: nothing less so, in my judgment, than the trustworthiness, in any high degree, of the remedies offered.

With regard to the regulations alluded to in the text, without pretending to offer any original suggestions regarding them, I will only venture to adopt so much of what has been propounded by others as may justify the following proposition: that if ever Transportation could be made comparatively innocuous, it would be by attention to these principles in dealing with convicts:

1. A selection at home of convicts for transportation.
2. Due religious provision for them, both in the voyage and in the Colony.
3. Dispersion of them to the greatest possible degree.
4. A preliminary period of reformatory discipline at home.

But I am obliged to repeat that it may be feared, from the feeling of our Colonists, that no such experiments will be tried with their consent: in which case they must be given up. No difficulties are to be put in the scale against the disaffection of our dependencies on so vital a question as this.

it was impossible to do more than give a brief sketch, that I have mainly adverted to their moral condition, and have wished to direct your attention principally to the part which this nation as a nation, and mostly as acting through its Government, has taken in the matter. It is true that I have rather presented the dark side of this picture. And I certainly cannot with sincerity express any but this opinion—and I believe any fair inquirer will be led to the same—that former Governments of this country have had on the whole but low and unworthy motives to guide them in the foundation and conduct of our Colonies. Not indeed that even in this view there is not a better side of the picture. One great merit, which has always been held to be the main ground of our security in the possession of our vast Indian Empire, that of truthfulness in public dealings, may also be claimed, and perhaps with more justice, for England, in respect of her Colonies. None of them have been planted or maintained by fraud or trickery, either towards other nations or towards their original natives: what has been done has been done in the face of day. I meant to have dwelt somewhat on the question of the treatment of aborigines in our Colonies: but time will not allow me to say more than that, though, with the signal exception of New Zealand, those unfortunate races have been far too much neglected, they have not been visited with the shameless fraud and cruelty, such as for example the Spanish Government sanctioned towards the unhappy Americans, after its misused discovery of that continent.

Good faith
observed by
England.

Aborigines.

Present aspect
of the Colonies.

But now, with the single additional remark that this condemnatory view is to be understood only of the State, and that beyond all doubt the views of voluntary Colonizers and Emigrants from this country have often been of the highest character,—to which, and to the native goodness of the Anglo-Saxon race perpetuating itself in our Colonial descendants, we must attribute it that the faults or short-comings of our national policy on this subject, have to so great an extent been overruled in the actually resulting condition of those communities,—I proceed to a short and general survey of the present aspect of the Colonies of which we have treated. And I have had the less scruple in dwelling more on the faults of past times in this regard than the merits, because undoubtedly in the part of the subject to which we have now come, the most signal improvement may be asserted in those very respects, in which before we have pointed out matter for blame. I am not much addicted to large and sweeping comparisons of the present day with former times, such as many persons are fond of making, some in order to magnify, others as much in order to disparage, our own generation relatively to our forefathers. I doubt whether we have the means fully to make such a comparison; and I am sure that there is danger in either conclusion: danger of presumption

More favourable.

on the one hand, of unthankfulness on the other. Still, to a man of well-regulated mind, it should perhaps lead to none but good results that he should recognize a gradual improvement in the progress of mankind, as a whole. It is a great and sober-minded writer, Mr. Hallam, who has said⁽¹⁾ that there is no passage in Homer which he more frequently repeats, or with more pleasure, than this :

“ We, with our sires compar'd, superior praise
Claim justly.”⁽²⁾

At all events what I have said applies only to the *whole*. It is evident enough that in some respects we are better, in others worse than our ancestors : and there needs be no hesitation in saying that in the religious state of most of our Colonies, and in the feeling on that subject at home, there is at this day a very great improvement. If this be so, and if there be hope of still further good progress in the future, we need not fear to feel pride and happiness in our Colonies, even though their origin and earlier days furnish much cause for shame and regret. Few great nations could bear to have their first beginnings traced and laid bare with the minuteness with which those of our Colonies are known. The old Latin Satirist dwelt with indignation on the existing evils of his country, but cared little for the thought that imperial Rome had begun as a place of refuge for runaway slaves and criminals, when he said

“ Still must the search with that asvlym end
From whose pelluted source we all descend ”⁽³⁾

There is still the most ample opportunity and the largest promise of reward, in all the English Colonies, for the exertion of all the influences of good which we can bring to bear upon them.

I must mainly confine myself, as I have said, to the points which I adverted to in the review of former times. In the West Indies, the evil which was mentioned, and which might almost be called the only evil, as being the parent of nearly all others, was the institution of slavery, recognized and encouraged by the mother-country. That, as I need not tell you, has been swept away so that not a vestige of it remains, by the great Act of Emancipation in 1833. I cannot enter into the many collateral considerations which this subject suggests : but with reference to what was before noticed, the actual moral and religious state of the black population, I believe it may be said that with hardly a single counteracting circumstance, the effect of freedom to them has been one of unqualified benefit. The one mischief that has followed, of sufficient magnitude to require to be noticed, is that they certainly are, or have been until recently, an idle population : not willing enough to work. But even this, into the various causes of which I cannot enter, does not seem to have been attended by

(1) Constitutional History of England. Vol. I. p. 159. n. 4to. edit.

(2) Iliad. IV. 481. [Cowper's Translation.]

(3) Gifford's Juvenal. VIII. 396. [See also 388—393.]

its usual bad results, luxury and profligacy, to nearly such an extent as might have been feared: and such a description as I read to you from Bishop Porteus is wholly inapplicable to those races now. Heathenism can no longer be predicated as the *general* state of the people, though their Christianity is often an imperfect one, and even more diversified as to sects and denominations than in England: and as to that most significant feature in the moral aspect of any people, the relation between the sexes, whereas I stated that among the slaves of old, polygamy was universal, among the free blacks now, marriage is constantly on the increase.

Australia. A parallel change and improvement may be asserted with respect to Australia. I suggested a kind of analogy between the convict population there formerly, and the slave population of the West Indies, as to England's neglect of their moral welfare. In Van Diemen's Land, which has been the chief receptacle for our convicts, at least a hearty attempt has been made to produce a similar amelioration among them to what has taken place among the slaves. But it has been made so much more recently, and the evils to be encountered were so much more embarrassing, that it is not easy to speak with confidence as to the real good that may as yet have been done to those unfortunate persons. In the year 1842, however, as I before intimated, a systematic provision was begun on the part of the Government of this country for the religious care of the convicts when arrived in Van Diemen's Land. For some time transportation to that Colony was suspended, in order to allow time for these measures to produce good effect. An Episcopal See has been founded there, by the name of Tasmania: and the emigration of free settlers has been largely promoted, so as at least to qualify the original evil of an unmixed, or preponderating, population of convicts. An earlier, and at present far more complete and effectual application of these remedies to the same evils has been made under more favourable conditions to the great Colony of New South Wales, which, as was stated, began as Van Diemen's Land did, as a mere convict station. I should have been sorry to have spoken as I did, of the foundation and early days of what is now one of the most flourishing and hopeful of all our dependencies, had I not been able to speak as strongly of the contrast to that picture which its present aspect and prospects present. Transportation to New South Wales has now for many years ceased: and though there are still some reclaimed convicts and descendants of convicts among its inhabitants, the great increase of free emigration and natural rapidity of increase in a population placed in the midst of plains of boundless extent and fertility, have long ago so over-balanced that original evil element, and are daily more and more doing so, that there is no fear of New South Wales being ever again loaded with the stigma of convictism.

The province indeed of Port Philip, or Melbourne, is practically Port Philip. a separate settlement from the older regions about Sydney, though as having been an offshoot from it, it must be referred to the same origin : and has never been, in the least degree, a convict or penal Colony. Here also, in New South Wales, the same mark of improvement which was noted as to Van Diemen's Land must be observed, in the foundation of three Episcopal Sees within its limits, where 15 years ago there was not one : and a better indication of religious feeling I do not know in any Colony, than the fact that the people of Sydney alone undertook some years ago to set apart an annual sum which should accumulate till enough was raised for the erection of a Cathedral, of which I have often seen the design, and which would not be unbecoming in the centre of any English Diocese. Strangely would this fact amaze the ghost of Captain Cook the discoverer, or of any of the first planters, of Botany Bay, could they rise again and witness it.

The leading mark of religious improvement in the North American Colonies is the same. North American Colonies. The erection of the See of Nova Scotia has been referred to. It took place in 1787, and that of Quebec shortly afterwards : but thereafter for more than 40 years no such further addition was made in those vast possessions, while in the same period no less than 18 Dioceses were founded by the voluntary efforts of Churchmen in the unendowed and unestablished communion of our brethren in the United States. Since that time, however, the additional Sees of Toronto in Upper Canada, Newfoundland, and Fredericton in New Brunswick, have been established : and the Clergy Reserve Fund, to which allusion was formerly made, having become in good measure available, two new Dioceses, by the better division of the extensive districts now comprised in those of Toronto and Quebec, are about to be formed.

The people of Lower Canada, I need not remind you, are most of them French and Roman Catholics : but in Upper Canada, which is purely English, or in the diocese of Toronto, a further evidence of spiritual progress may be found by the increasing number of Clergy. In 1800 there were 3 : in 1819, 9 : in 1833, 56 : in 1848, 128. ⁽¹⁾ It is needless to go through similar details for the other North American Dioceses : in all of these, especially in the new ones of Fredericton and Newfoundland, a like increase of Missionaries, much exceeding the mere relative increase of population, will be found.

In thus estimating the religious progress of our Colonies, you may have observed that I have dwelt prominently on the formation Colonial Bishoppers. within them of many additional Dioceses. Including India and the Hudson's Bay Territory, we have now 22 Colonial Bishops, whereas 63 years ago we had not one, and 12 years ago, over

(1) Hawkins's Annals of the Diocese of Toronto. pp. 64. 86. 242.

nearly the same extent of territory, we had only 10.⁽²⁾ Now I have done this advisedly, on various grounds. In the brief and general survey which alone has been possible, it was best to take the largest and most comprehensive fact that bore upon the subject: and such seemed to be the formation of Dioceses rather than the mere sending of Missionaries or the like. Moreover the same fact is the best to illustrate the improved feeling of the State and the Government at home, to which we have throughout mainly adverted: for while Churches and Schools may be built and Missionaries sent, by unaided private exertions, the formation always, and the endowment often, of new Sees, requires the not merely formal but substantive assent and the real co-operation of the Government. But more than this: the foundation of Colonial Bishoprics is actually the very first object that, among Churchmen, should engage the friends of missions to our settlements: and their increasing number is not merely a mark that their founders in this country are pursuing certain opinions of their own as to the constitution of the Colonial Church, but is really an unfailling proof, to a greater extent than anything else can be, that the vital religion of the Church of England is making its way in the Colonies. I must make a few remarks on this, because it is by no means universally admitted. It is often said by persons who take a superficial view of the subject, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, that it would be better to send Clergy without Bishops to the Colonies, as that can be done at a less expense, which is true. Now, without dwelling on the obvious answers to this, which are of general application, namely that such an argument, if valid, would shew that there need be no Bishops anywhere, and that if we plant Clergy without Bishops in the Colonies we are not in fact placing the Church of England there, but some thing short of it, inasmuch as the Episcopate is an essential and indeed is the central and constituent element of that Church—without dwelling on these and the other higher considerations of the subject, which however I hold as strongly as any one can—I will content myself with the simple reply, that the only effectual way to obtain the very object which the opponents themselves profess to have in view, namely a sufficient number of Clergy in the Colonies, is to do what we now advise. The way to have Clergy is to send Bishops, in due number and proportion. This is what follows from reasoning, and is still more abundantly established by experience. The presence of a Bishop—the departure of a new Colonial Bishop for his See from these shores—has been like that beautiful economy in the animal world, the queen bee among the bees, without whom they will not gather nor go forth. Never yet has a Colonial Church thriven without its Bishop: never yet has the appointment of one failed to be followed by the most marked

(2) Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 428.

The number of Colonial Sees has been increased since the publication of this work.

advance in the spiritual well-being of the settlers. Of course I cannot go into lengthened proofs of this: I assert it, and have no fear of any well-grounded contradiction. I will only mention one brief illustration of it, because it is in pursuance of what I formerly promised, that I would advert to the great improvement of that one of our Colonial Churches which did the most languish, that at the Cape of Good Hope. The Bishop of Capetown left England accompanied by 7 Clergymen and Catechists, and was followed within a year by 12 more: and within a year he found employment for 14 Clergy and 10 Catechists within the bounds of that neglected Diocese.⁽¹⁾ There is no position that I would more willingly undertake to defend in any assembly of intelligent Churchmen than this, that the way to stablish the Colonial Church is to lay its foundation in the Episcopate.

I have dwelt mainly on the favourable religious aspect which, in comparison with former times, our Colonies now present, even as I before rather noticed the worse side of the picture. But as I then said that it was not to be supposed that this country had not in some respects dealt more worthily with her Colonies, so now, conversely, I am bound to add, that it is only when thus comparing present with past times that we can feel any great satisfaction in the contemplation of the state of religion in these possessions.

There is not one of them, except perhaps parts of the West Indies, in which among members of our Church, or the unconverted heathen, spiritual destitution is not rather the rule than the exception: and destitution often of an altogether different kind from anything that we are acquainted with at home. In Newfoundland, one of our oldest Colonies, and in which a Bishop has been labouring for several years, the consequence of the neglect of centuries, to which I before alluded, has been that, in 1848, in 200 miles of coast there was but one Deacon: and Labrador, which may be called part of the same territory, was till very recently, if not still, utterly unprovided with the ordinances of religion.⁽²⁾ This shews what I mean by the spiritual destitution abroad, and which I remember hearing well stated by Mr. Craufurd, the Rector of this parish, at a meeting here many years ago of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The common meaning of a destitute man is a man who cannot get the thing which he is destitute of: he is destitute of food or clothing if he cannot get food or clothing. But in this sense we have no such thing as real spiritual destitution in this country. What we mean by spiritual destitution in a district is, that in proportion to the number of inhabitants there

(1) Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1818. p. cxxii. Colonial Church Chronicle. May 1849. Vol. II. p. 440.

(2) Report, &c. p. cxxxviii. Since this Lecture was delivered, I have seen with much pleasure that the first Missionary of our Church has entered on his labours in Labrador.—Colonial Church Chronicle. December 1848. Vol. III. p. 235.

are not Clergy enough to *look up* the people, to teach them and their children, and take care of them. And this is bad enough, and fully deserves all that can be done to remove it, inasmuch as the obvious difference between this and physical want is, that whereas the spiritual need is far worse than the physical, he that suffers under the former does not know that he is in want, and the more entire the destitution the less does he care to remove it, and it must therefore be brought home to him by others; while the man who wants food and clothing cannot but know that he wants them. But still, in England, no one who wishes the spiritual offices of a Clergyman for the good of his own soul, or who desires Holy Baptism for his children, or Christian burial for the dead whom he loves, has the least difficulty in procuring them: and even as to church-room, there is no place where a church is really out of reach, few where it is fairly impossible for one who desires it, to attend the service of God. Not so in many parts of the Colonies, where it is literally impossible for the best-disposed to enable themselves to receive these blessed gifts, and there is in the strictest sense “a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.”⁽¹⁾

I have now finished what I had to say on the branch of the subject which I have chiefly desired to bring before you. But, though I am sensible that this address has already more than reached its due limits, I cannot conclude without saying a few words, though they must be not only few but also very general in their nature, on the political relation between the Colonies and this country: what it has been, and what perhaps it ought to be. Now this relation has for a long while been very different from what it was in the first beginnings of our earliest, that is, our American Colonies. The charters given to many of them, as Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland,⁽²⁾ established a system very much more resembling the ancient Greek Colonization, such as I have described it, than many persons are aware. Almost absolute self-government in all respects was given by those charters, and the connexion between them and this country was little more than nominal, or rather one of *sentiment* alone. But this system even, in the case of those Colonies, long since lost, did not last long enough to be fairly and fully tried. The charters were revoked, and the power of England more and more extended over the dependencies, though, as was said before, mainly for the single mercenary object of monopolizing a valuable trade. And with regard to our existing Colonies, it can hardly be said that this independent system has ever been in force in them. Without going into other matters, it is sufficient to remind you of what I said before, that for a long time past the Government of this

(1) Amos, VIII. 2.

(2) Grahame's History of the United States. Vol. I. pp. 205. 316. II. 6.

country has insisted upon what in fact gives an absolute control over the local government of the Colonies, by reserving to itself a general power of disallowance over every single enactment which their Legislatures may pass. If it had been otherwise, I could not have charged this country, acting through its Government, with the responsibility for the well-being of the Colonies; they would have borne it themselves. But having attempted to govern them really from home, we became in good measure accountable for their whole state, physical and moral.

Now the question I would consider is, whether either of these systems, the Greek one of complete independence or the modern English one of complete control, or some medium between these two, deserves our approval? whether we did right, not in neglecting this responsibility when assumed (which of course was wrong), but in originally assuming it? I cannot of course attempt to argue such a question at length; and I shall hardly do more than state my opinion generally, and recommend the subject as one of much interest, to such of you as may have leisure or inclination to pursue it.

I said before that we should not hastily conclude against that Grecian plan. The idea of a great country sending forth from all classes within itself good and well-selected emigrants, and as it were with its blessing only upon them bidding them go and plant and rear themselves by their own unfettered and unaided efforts into a flourishing and independent nation, is surely a grand one: and indeed I have no hesitation in far preferring it to our present system of governing, or pretending to govern, distant Colonies by an official department at home. For the evil of this system is that while it is to a great extent only a pretence at government, it has for the Colonies many of the evils of the most arbitrary government, and hardly any of the advantages of any government. We cannot, but in the most imperfect way, govern in England countries divided from us by thousands of miles of ocean: but the continual attempt to do so, and the partial success it meets with, is abundantly enough to stunt and starve the self-developing energies of the Colony, and to infect it at once both with an enfeebling spirit of dependence upon us and a constant irritation against our control. Moreover can it be expected that communities of our own race and spirit will in these days acquiesce in a system of government in which they have no share? Some great authorities have spoken of a Colony being treated by us in all respects as if it were an English county: but such an idea is a delusion, from the obvious circumstance that they are not and cannot be represented in Parliament. They are thus in a position of permanent inferiority, and, if they are not, still they are ever liable to be, the victims of legislation made by the omnipotent power at home for its own sole benefit. The

General Colonial Policy.

Greek System.

Modern English System.

System of Colonial Trade.

ancient Colonial system as it was called, for the regulation of trade between England and the Colonies, was so strong an illustration of this actually being the case, that I will notice it; and to shew how ingrained it was into the English political mind, I will give it in the words, spoken with no sort of disapproval, of one who was great in all respects, but who as to trade is considered⁽¹⁾ to have consistently held opinions more liberal than on any other subject: I mean Burke. He says: "These Colonies were evidently founded in subservience to the commerce of Great Britain. From this principle the whole system of our laws concerning them became a system of restriction. A double monopoly was established on the part of the parent country: 1st, a monopoly of their whole import which is to be altogether from Great Britain: 2dly. a monopoly of all their export, which is to be no where but to Great Britain, as far as it can serve any purpose here. On the same idea it was contrived that they should send all their products to us raw, and in their first state, and that they should take everything from us in the last stage of manufacture."⁽²⁾ And no less a man, Lord Chatham, said "that the Colonists had no right to manufacture even a horse-shoe for themselves."⁽³⁾ Could any one really expect that a system of undisguised selfishness like this could be lasting? If the Colonists were children, or of some inferior race, it might be so: but with men equal to ourselves! Nor *has* it been lasting, though only lately abolished: and the Colonies are now at liberty to trade when and where they please.

It does not follow however that the Greek system of absolute, or almost absolute, disconnexion between the mother-country and the Colonies is the best that could be adopted. For the mere interests of commerce I am inclined to believe it may be so: and the example of the trade between England and the United States since the independence of the latter may be held to prove this. But besides the sacrifice, which is not to be disregarded, of all the advantages, of a nature not admitting of pecuniary estimation, which a country derives from the mere fact of an extended empire,⁽⁴⁾ it is by no means equally clear that the moral welfare whether of the mother-country or the Colonies is best promoted by this separation; and possibly the same example of the United States may tend to prove this also. The moral responsibility incurred in the foundation of a Colony, which is complete and absolute, is but questionably discharged by

Moral View of the Greek System.

(1) Brougham's *Memoirs of Statesmen of the Time of Geo. III.* 1st Series. Vol. I. p. 167.

(2) *Observations on the State of the Nation.* [Works. Vol. II. p. 156.]

(3) This is asserted by Bryan Edwards. [Hist. of the West Indies. Vol. II. p. 467. quoted in M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*. Art. Colonies. p. 330.] But he refers to no authority: and in *Grahame's History* [Vol. IV. p. 234] the words, as attributed to Lord Chatham, are somewhat less strong.

(4) See Wakefield's *View of the Art of Colonization*. p. 96. Mr. Godley's *Letter to Mr. Gladstone*. *Spectator*, December 22, 1849.

thus leaving it from the first to shift for itself. We may here again throw some light on the question by looking, as we did before, at the simple meaning of one of the words used in the subject. We call the colonizing country the *mother-country*. Now the Greek plan of sending forth Colonists and thenceforth renouncing all care for their guidance or control, is less like the operation of the human parental feeling, than that of the animal instinct by which one of the lower creatures gets rid of its offspring and ceases to love and care for it at the earliest period at which it can possibly provide for itself. On the other hand by our present system we endeavour as it were to keep the Colonies in a state of perpetual childhood. Of course this analogy must not be strained: but it may be interesting to observe that it has been exactly followed in that system of colonization which I before alluded to, the foundation of new states in its Western Territories by the American Union. Those states pass through three stages of political existence, in which their internal laws, and those of their connexion with the Union, are differently regulated by the constitutional system of the Republic; and these three stages, being those of their first beginning, their progress, and their maturity, may be very precisely compared to the infancy of the child, the adolescence of the youth, the full growth of the man. Of course the difference between this and the British Empire is, that when these states arrive at what is considered their period of mature development, they cease to be Colonies in a political sense, and become just like the elder provinces of the Union, which cannot be the case with Colonies like ours, separated from the parent country by a vast extent of ocean. But allowing for this diversity, the very same plan has been proposed by a writer of no small note to be applied to our Colonies and to their connexion with England: ⁽¹⁾ by which their government also, and relation to this country, would be different in the infancy of the Colony, in its early progress, and in its state of more complete development: in the last stage their condition being one of nearly entire independence. Without however going into any further discussion on this point, it may perhaps be considered that this system is of too artificial and complex a nature for the genius of our institutions; and I will content myself with stating my own opinion to be in concurrence with that which seems to be more and more extending among intelligent inquirers on this matter: namely that the relations between this country and the Colonies should be established on the following basis. The connexion to be a permanent one: the internal Government of each Colony to be framed as to its general system, as nearly as possible, (and there is no reason why the resemblance should not be almost perfect,) on the prin-

American
System.

Has been re-
commended to
our imitation.

(1) Roebuck on the Colonies of England. This work was inaccurately referred to (from memory) in a former note, as 'Roebuck on Colonization.'

ciples of the British Constitution: and thenceforward the entire control of all matters solely relating to the Colony itself to be left to the Legislature of the Colony, while subjects bearing on the interests of the empire at large should be determined by the Imperial authority. Similarly, their ordinary expenses of government should be borne by the Colonies themselves.⁽¹⁾

No doubt this is stated somewhat in the abstract, and applies mainly to the Colonies in their first foundation, or to those which are still recent, as the Australian Colonies: but it is impossible to consider what modifications might be required in particular cases.

Religious In-
stitutions in
Colonies.

To revert for a moment to the religious questions which we have been considering: it must be fully admitted that according to this principle the regulation and support of their own religious institutions should be left to the Colonies themselves. It is undoubtedly not a sound system upon which resources in this country, such for instance as the funds of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which in these days may be said to represent the National Church for Missionary purposes more than the Government does, are applied to the *permanent* support of Churches and Clergy in the Colonies. Such permanent support ought, on every ground, and mainly for the sake of the moral well-being and elevation of the Colony itself, to be undertaken by that Colony. And in so far as that Society has proceeded, as no doubt it has done to some extent, upon that erroneous system, so far it should be admitted that its

(1) I am aware that some authorities, (as Mr. Godley, in the able letter above referred to) go even beyond this, and would leave to the first Colonists even the original framing of their own constitution. I cannot however assent to this. It seems to me more suitable in every way that the broad outline of the Colonial constitution should be laid down at home, at their foundation: and I cannot consider that any country whose institutions, as to their leading features, are essentially different from those of England, is in any real sense a part of our empire.

The power then of the Colonies to regulate their own affairs, mentioned in the text, must be understood to be subject to the great principles of such their constitution; [see Mr. Adderley's Resolutions of July 16, 1819, printed for the House of Commons: in my judgment the ablest exposition of this question that I have seen.] The question, what should be done in case of a Colony desiring to alter this constitution, is one which I would advisedly leave undecided. It may of course arise: but if it did I should take it as a sign that any real connexion between this country and that Colony was no longer possible or desirable. It should therefore remain, on the analogy of so many questions that may be imagined in the working of the British Constitution, and of which the only practical solution lies in the tacit supposition that such collisions will in fact be averted by the mutual forbearance of balanced powers.

Nor is it correct to say that such an unlimited discretion would be after the model of the charters to our early American Colonies. Not to mention other points, they generally contained a provision that the colonial legislation should not be inconsistent with the laws of England: a provision vaguely expressed, and very indefinite in its results, [see Lewis on the Government of Dependencies. Ch. V. and Note M.] but which in the mind of its framers clearly extended even beyond what I have said in the text.

In the text I have not said, as some would, that the expense of the *defence* of the Colonies should be wholly borne by themselves. Undoubtedly they ought to do all they can towards it, and much more than they do; but I would not have this country declare positively that her forces should never be allowed to give gratuitous aid to the Colonies, even against local enemies. Similarly I would lay stress, in the text, on the words '*ordinary* expenses of their Civil Government.' I would not say that for large and unusual expenses, such as great public works, the assistance of England should never be given to the Colonies. In all these matters I would go on the principle of England being the superior and more powerful party of the two, and that therefore she may assume the character of a generous protector in case of need: while the general objects of Colonial policy seem to be sufficiently provided for by the system indicated in the text, understood as the general rule.

course should be altered, though it can only be done gradually. But let no one imagine for a moment that this admission in the remotest degree weakens the claim which this Society has on the support of Churchmen;—it greatly strengthens it: its operations should be modified, not diminished:—they should be much enlarged. I may be excused for dwelling a little on this point, as it is one in which I have taken much interest, and on which indeed I published a short pamphlet in the beginning of the present year.

In the first place there are the vast multitudes of unconverted heathens within our dominions in India and elsewhere, the labour for the conversion of whom should fall much more upon this country than upon any of her dependencies: and this work alone would require much more than the actual resources at the command of the Society. But without dwelling on this, the particular circumstance which should give a direction to the exertions of our Missionary Societies connected with the Colonies, is one which is peculiar to our Colonial Empire and to its relation with England: it is the never-ceasing, ever-increasing, annual stream of emigration from this country to those settlements.

Spiritual care
of Emigrants.

At the general question of this emigration, which is a most extensive one, I can only just glance. I cannot doubt that not only, as I have said, it is ever increasing, but that we ought to rejoice that it is, and to strive that it shall be so. In nearly all our Colonies there is an urgent and immediate demand for *men*. The population of this country is increasing at the rate of nearly 1000 a day. Now it may be true, and I believe it is, that the resources of this country, if fully developed, are equal to even more than this rate of increase. But from the necessity of the case this process of development is a gradual one, and is ever lagging behind the needs of the people: whereas the resource of thinly peopled lands in our Colonies and elsewhere is, as I said, immediate, and at least should be employed concurrently with the other. Moreover, though the whole annual emigration from this country may be in amount not very inadequate, it is defective in that it often does not take away those who are the best to be taken, and often does not relieve the districts most needing relief. Such a state of things in the same empire as one part much over-peopled while the rest is under-peopled, cannot in these days continue without great efforts being made to alter it. Such are indeed made, and not unsuccessfully: but I am satisfied that a statesman of practical genius on this whole subject, who shall best teach us how to construct, in the expressive figure of a powerful writer, “a free bridge for Emigrants,”⁽¹⁾ to carry, more readily than can be now done, those who wish and who ought to emigrate, to new and untried lands, is one of the greatest needs which England now has.

(1) Carlyle's Past and Present. p. 357.

To return however from this slight digression, to our present point of the operation of Missionary Societies. I refer more particularly to the emigration of the needier classes. And in respect to them, the system on which they emigrate is not only encouraged and urged on in various ways in this country, but England is nationally responsible for it, inasmuch as it is regulated and controlled with the greatest minuteness, and on the whole very well, as to temporal interests, by a Government department, the Land and Emigration Commissioners. Now in reference to these emigrants, without attempting to go into details, I may be allowed to quote from the pamphlet alluded to, the words in which I stated what seems to be the right principle of action, as to their spiritual care.

“ We encourage in every possible way, for the relief of this country, for their own benefit, and that of the Colonies, the departure from its shores of vast bodies of Emigrants, and pour them into our North American and Australian Colonies. What these Colonies have a right to demand is, that concurrently with the progress of this mere human supply, we should send out both the men, in due numerical proportion, who are needed for its moral and spiritual care, and the means for their continuance in the Colony during those early stages of settlement, when the Emigrants are unable duly to provide those means for themselves.”⁽¹⁾

I feel assured that the reasonableness of this principle will be generally admitted. The settlers in a Colony, those I mean of the poorer classes in England, must always be distinguished by two circumstances: the first, that in the early stages of their settlement their means will not suffice for more than the provision of the necessaries of life: the second, that when they do become settled and the accumulation of wealth begins, the invariable conditions of any new country will cause that accumulation to proceed rapidly. They thus shortly become able to provide for themselves, in spiritual as well as in other respects: and it would be a most mistaken kindness not to encourage them in every way to do so. And nothing can be more suitable to the parental character of this country towards her Colonists, and of the Church towards those of her children whom she thus sends forth, than that they should be in this manner cared for from home in their days of comparative weakness and difficulty, and gradually brought more and more to rely on their own resources. Moreover there is this additional advantage in this system, by which a Clergyman should accompany each emigrant ship, an advantage applying mainly to the long voyage to Australia: that the four or five months of that voyage may be turned to excellent account by the minister, in the spiritual in-

Their condition
after arrival.

On the voyage.

(1) Letter to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins [1849], p. 4.

struction and edification of the emigrants. Many of them, as coming from the poor and populous districts of this country, are of course much in need of this care: and it is followed by this great benefit, that religious principles and impressions may be so imparted to them on the voyage, that they may be hoped to settle in the Colony with an active desire, a desire which it will needs be very much in their own power to fulfil, that those spiritual advantages may be continued to them and their children in the land of their adoption.

I am happy to say that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has already begun to act upon this system,⁽¹⁾ and is disposed to do so to the utmost of its power: and it is needless to observe, that though such an application of its funds is temporary with respect to particular bodies of Colonists or places in the Colonies, it is permanent as a charge on the resources of the Society, as there is a constant succession of emigrants to whom it applies.

This brings me at length to the first of the few practical remarks with which I purpose to conclude this address. It seems well that I should attempt such remarks, though at the same time it might not be altogether indispensable. I apprehend one main object of these Lectures is, to suggest to you topics for your own reading and examination: and I am sensible that much of what I have said has been of so sketchy and abridged a character, that it can hardly have been of much value except in this respect. As such, I hope it may not be unserviceable. I shall much rejoice if I should have led any of you to take an interest, and to follow it up in your own inquiries, in the history, the condition, and the prospects of our Colonies. I do not think you could do better. These people are our own flesh and blood: and we ought to hold ourselves bound to them by ties similar, if not entirely equal, to those which connect us with the adjoining district or county. And this may indicate the nature of what I would first urge upon you in this place: which is, that you should take an interest, to be shewn in the exertion, where possible, of practical influence, in the character of those who emigrate from England to her Colonies. Some, no doubt, choose this lot for themselves and would go in any event: but the cases are probably rare, in which the effort that a man must make to take himself and his family away from his native land, is not aided and stimulated by the influence, the advice, the helpful co-operation, generally the pecuniary assistance, of those whom he leaves behind. All such I entreat to do what they can, to send good people to the Colonies and not bad ones. Do not encourage, do not suffer if you can help it, the bad, the idle, the unpromising, to emigrate. Whether they themselves would improve or get worse

Practical remarks.

Interest to be taken in the subject.

In the character of Emigrants.

(1) See Quarterly Paper of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for Jan. 1850.

by so doing I do not enquire: but I know that by sending them we are dealing cruelly with the countries which receive them, and inviting not a blessing but a curse on the land which sends them. Endeavour to get rid of that idea, too much encouraged by the past history of our Colonies, unconsciously held probably by many, but seldom perhaps plainly expressed, as I have happened to hear it—that a Colonist is a man who cannot get on at home.

Too often indeed it has been so; far too often for the welfare of the Colonies or the good name of England: let it not be so in future. When I object to this description however, I understand by it, a man who fails at home from his own bad qualities. I do not object to a man, as an emigrant, of native goodness and energy, who from the injuriousness of fortune or from any unfavourable outward circumstances is hampered and hindered in his course here. No doubt such are most eligible Colonists. One class there is in particular which I miss no opportunity of mentioning, as furnishing from various reasons the most admirable subjects for emigration: I mean healthy unmarried young women of the lower orders, who from any cause have a difficulty in finding a sufficient and honest livelihood at home. Their prospects here are those of anxiety and poverty, often alas! leading to vice and ruin. No class are more needed in our Colonies: and with the blessing of Providence they may there anticipate with as much confidence as can be felt in anything human, a period of respectable service, and a married life of competence and happiness.⁽¹⁾

Young Women.

In thus encouraging emigration, I do not forget that I spoke of the spiritual destitution of the Colonies. But I know no one of them in which that destitution is not on the decrease, and likely to be more so: and we may be satisfied of this, (as has been suggested before,) that the best way to remove that evil is to send out those who will feel it to be an evil, and will not be content without exerting themselves to abate it.

Nor let us have that vain fear, which we hear sometimes expressed, that we shall be injuring this country by sending away the good and keeping only the bad. There may possibly sometimes be ground for such a notion, in the case of an utterly disorganized and distracted country, as is said to be now the case with Ireland. But England can well afford to pour healthy blood into the veins of her Colonies, while retaining abundantly enough for her own growth and vigour. It is not human strength, and skill, and talent that is likely to be deficient in this country. What we need is the blessing of God upon these, to sanctify them: and we

Objection to sending good persons away.

(1) I cannot but add one word in regard to Mr. Sidney Herbert's design, with which I have become acquainted since this Lecture was composed: and for which, as part of a great scheme, I would express my humble but sincere admiration.

may assuredly hope to draw this down upon ourselves rather if we build up our offshoots and dependencies with the best that we have, than with the worst and most refuse. Whether we like it or not, such is our plain duty. It is for us at home to strengthen what is weak, purify what we can purify, neutralize what we cannot, in our own body. If we fail in this, ours is the blame, and ours be the loss : but let us not visit our short-comings on the Colonies, by thus poisoning the fountains of their national life.

It is true that, as I have said, a department of the Executive Government does much to regulate emigration, and does it to a great extent well. The character indeed of emigrants is inquired into : but such a supervision by Government in any case can be but imperfect, and at best will be more negative, in preventing great evils, than positive in producing good.

But this leads me to a more general observation, applicable to the whole subject, and to much more. This whole matter of Colonization, it may be thought, is an Imperial one, and belongs to the Government of the country. Undoubtedly it does, to a great extent. But what *is* the Government of this country?

I do not touch, for a moment, the sacredness that surrounds the Throne : and I know who administer the government of the country. But I am speaking of the real power, in so far as it is a human power, which actually determines the political course of this nation : and of that power what is commonly called the Government is but a part, though a very important part. In the long run, and on the whole, the people of England are *self-governed*. I do not mean that the blind will of a numerical majority governs. I allow great weight—not indeed so much as there should be—to whatever wisdom and virtue exists, and can make itself heard, in the land. I allow great weight—perhaps in some cases rather more than there should be—to the influence of various classes and interests among us, from the highest to the lowest. But allowing for all this, and remembering that of course such statements are not correct as to small details, and are to be taken with reference to the broad lines of history and the abiding principles of the nation's course, I say that the ultimate deliberate issue and expression of the various balanced forces which make up the mind of the whole people, is that by which England is moved. This was felt even 70 years ago by that great writer whom I before ventured to differ from, not in the absurd presumption of opposing my opinion to his, but because the general advance on such subjects has conducted us to a point beyond that on which he stood, but whom I now quote with complete assent : Mr. Burke says : “ The general opinion of those who are to be governed is the vehicle, and organ of legislative omnipotence.

Power that
governs this
country.

Without this, it may be a theory to entertain the mind, but it is nothing in the direction of affairs. In effect, to follow, not to force, the public inclination; to give a direction, a form, a technical dress, a specific sanction, to the general sense of the community, is the true end of legislation."⁽¹⁾

So wrote Mr. Burke in 1777: much more would he have said now. Again I must plainly declare that I do not say this with any desire to set before you ideas of uncontrolled freedom, the majesty of the people, or any such claptrap topics: not in the least. Again, as before, I would have you look upon this mighty power which resides in the great body of the people, as a matter of solemn and awful responsibility before God and the world. Every one of you who votes at an election exercises that power in the most direct and manifest manner. Every one, who, whether a voter or not, ever swells by his voice a popular cry, or even reasons and talks in common conversation on political matters, contributes something towards that great stream of public feeling and opinion, by which, as by a huge water-power, the machinery of the State is turned. Make no empty boast of this: act upon it humbly and conscientiously, in all matters of national interest that may come before you. Not one of the least of these is that towards which this evening I have at least directed your thoughts, though I could do but little towards guiding them further, the Colonies of England: the consideration how best they may become free and orderly, powerful and religious communities.

For *this* should be our great and first object. I have almost anticipated the next suggestion which I would make: namely, that we should endeavour to frame and to cherish worthier motives of our Colonies than we are apt to have. Let us not look at them as subordinate provinces of England, but as the germs, which many of them are, of mighty nations. Even at this moment there is not one of them in which the labouring classes are not better off, in the usual sense, than in England: in our new Australasian Colonies I believe no case has ever occurred of physical destitution among those classes. For many of them it is not impossible that a more glorious and powerful career is in store than ever England has had. Our hope and care ought to be that our Colonies should be communities imbued with as much as possible of what is good, and tainted with as little as possible of what is evil, in our own country. Our course hitherto has not been such that we can flatter ourselves that we have even approached this lofty object. In the Colonies the prevailing evils are an excess of the democratic spirit, an excess of the money-getting spirit: not improvements upon what is good at home, but exaggerations of

(1) Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol. [Works. Vol. III. p. 179.]

what is bad. But there is yet ample scope in these for the victory of good over evil: and our part in this great work will be worthily engaged in, if we set before us, as our great object, the real good of the Colonies, and not the supposed gain or the false pride of ourselves. I lately heard it well urged in the House of Commons by my eminent relative, under whom I was honoured by serving in the Colonial Office, Mr. Gladstone, that we were wrong in so anxiously considering whether such and such a course of policy tended to preserve the *connection* between us and the Colonies. "Let not that," he said, "be your first thought. Inquire and do what is for the *good* of this country and what is for the *good* of the Colonies: and then you need not fear for the connection." I believe so too; and I have said that I would have the connection a permanent one. Yet would I even go further, and say that if we can, in some good measure, (for what great object was ever in this world completely realized?) succeed in rearing in those distant regions of the earth such a progeny as I have imagined our Colonies ought to be, whatever becomes of our definite connection with them, it will be glory enough for England to have so peopled the world.

It is said by an able writer, that in former times England was content to leave her Colonies nearly independent, caring only to derive pecuniary gain from them: whereas now on the contrary we are willing even to pay largely for the pleasure of governing them.⁽¹⁾ And this is at least a less sordid object than the other: yet is it by no means the best. In the course I have just indicated lies the worthiest national amendment and atonement, even as in much of our former Colonial history which I have laid before you, I should wish to have led you to take part in national repentance, for great national sins. Improvement
at home.

Finally, let me press upon you one obvious but momentous consideration. If we wish to see our Colonies such as we would have them, not indeed the only rule but one great rule is this: let us look to ourselves, to our own hearts and characters. Such as we are, such, not perhaps wholly, but in a good measure, will our Colonists be. It has been from whatever good qualities are ineradicable in the English character, accompanying them across the world, that amidst and in spite of so much that has been defective in our systems of Colonization, the Colonists of England still exhibit so much, of which their ancient mother may well be proud.⁽²⁾ Let us strive to be such, that it may still be so, and far better yet. For if we can keep our national character unimpaired and elevate it still more, and if, as has been said, we labour to communicate to

(1) Merivale's Lectures on Colonization. I quote from memory.

(2) Compare Smith's Wealth of Nations. Vol. II. p. 500. [M'Culloch's edit.]

the Colonies the best of that character, then with the blessing of Heaven we may hope to see those who dwell in them such as they ought to be, lovers of England and of England's institutions, lovers of God and of man.

I have now only to thank you for this opportunity of addressing you, and for the patience with which you have listened to what has been said.

P O S T S C R I P T .

I have perceived (too late for correction) that there is some confusion in pp. 12 and 13 in the way in which New Zealand is mentioned. That important Colony ought undoubtedly to be included in any complete review of our Colonies properly so called. But time only allowed me to advert particularly to *groups* of Colonies, and not to single ones.

In p. 12 also, it is too strongly stated that the Aborigines in Australia are quite removed from the settled parts of the Colonies. In South Australia particularly, I believe, there are still natives living among the settlers. But they are not of sufficient number or importance seriously to affect the statement in the text.







