

Even suppose our North American colonies did join the United States, we should in a commercial point of view at all events, be the better for the change. In that commercial point of view the United States themselves were as much our colonies as ever, and better colonies for the purpose than any of those we retained at such a heavy outlay. (Hear, hear.) In 1844, the declared value of our exports to the United States did not fall short of £8,000,000 stg. the whole expenditure throughout the union not exceeding 15,000,000, for the various consular establishments. (Hear, hear.) As to emigration, the United States received every year more of our population as emigrants than did all our own colonies put together. (Hear, hear.) In the West Indies, we kept up a force of 6,000 men, at the cost of 513,000, the civil and other expenditure raising the total expenditure to not less than 700,000 per annum.—(hear, hear)—being 25 per cent. on the entire of our exports thither, which exports be it remembered, were every year decreasing. It would be well worth our while, in his opinion, to give the West India colonists 10,000,000 stg. on condition of their becoming independent states. It would effect a saving of 350,000 per annum to this country. In our Australian colonies, including New Zealand, we expended in military outlay 270,000 per annum, and in other items fully 30,000 more than the declared value of our exports to these colonies not exceeding one million stg. so that here again our expenditure amounted to 30 per cent. on our exports. By reducing our military establishments in these colonies within reasonable limits, we should save another million per annum. As to the purely commercial colonies, if they were entrusted with their just rights of self-government, they need cost us nothing at all; and here would be effected an enormous annual saving. At present scarcely anything could be worse than the system of their government by the Colonial-office. As to money matters, he had before him a treasury minute of June 16, in which my lords complained very emphatically of the delay, on the part of the Colonial-office, in the auditing of the colonial accounts, specifying among other glaring instances, that the accounts of Mauritius were in arrear 10 years, those of the Cape of Good Hope 8, those of Ceylon 6; the arrears, as to the other colonies, ranging from 4 to 5 years. (Hear, hear.)

The facts with regard to the expense of government Crown Colonies and those in which Representative Institutions prevail, are curious, and furnish conclusive arguments in favour of self-government.

The hon. member proceeded to show that the rate of expenditure in the crown colonies was infinitely less than the expenditure in the colonies, which, more or less, administered their own internal affairs by the means of representative assemblies. Omitting from his calculation, Ceylon—as not properly a colony—the military stations on the West Coast of Africa, and the Ionian States, he found that the rate of expenditure in the former class of colonies was on the average, half less than that of the latter class. The population of the colonies with representative assemblies was 2,580,000, and the expenditure upon them 1,930,000, being at the rate of 14s. 11d. per head per annum. The population of the colonies without representative assemblies was 820,000, and the expenditure 1,420,000, being at the rate of 17s. 4d. a head; or 18s. 7d. more than in the other class of colonies. (Hear, hear.) In the North American colonies the rate of expenditure was the lowest, for there was the greatest amount of self-government. There the population, in 1845, being 1,700,000, the expenditure was 1,134,000, or 13s. 4d. per head, and taking into account that half a million of the sum was a special amount raised by loan for public works, the expenditure in point of fact was only 9s. per head, and even this amount was thirty per cent. higher than the expenditure in the United States. The difference arose in great measure from the enormously heavy salaries paid in the colonies to the higher functionaries, who received three or four times more than the same class of functionaries received in the United States. The Governor of Canada, for example, superintending a population of 1,200,000, received 7,000 per annum, while the President of the United States had only 5,000 per annum; the Governor of New York, with a population of 2,600,000, receiving 800 per annum. The Chief Justices of Upper and Lower Canada had 11,500 a year each; the Chancellor and Chief Justices of New York had 800 a year each. The Puisne Judges of Canada had 1,000 a year each; and of New York, 1,200 a year each; the Governor of Nova Scotia had 13,500 a year; the Governors of New Brunswick and Newfoundland had 13,000 a year each; while the Governor of Massachusetts, with a much larger population, had only 1,500 a year. The same rate of lavish expenditure prevailed in our other colonies; there were the Governors of Mauritius and Ceylon with their 17,000 a year each; the Governor of Jamaica with 16,500 a year; the Governors of Gibraltar, Malta, &c., with their 15,000 a year a piece, and so on; while, if the colonies had to make the appointments, they would select much better men than the present average for a fourth of the cost. (Hear, hear.) In the West Indies, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, with the exception of St. Lucia, and Bahamas, with a population of 700,000, had an expenditure of 1,450,000 or 12s. 10d. a head, the rate of Jamaica being 13s. Compare these with St. Lucia, Honduras, Trinidad, and British Guiana, with a population of 190,000, and an expenditure (exclusive of immigration) of 1284,000, being at the rate

of 11 9s. or twice that of colonies with representative assemblies. And there again the salaries of the higher functionaries were excessive: there were twelve governors and lieutenant governors, with 129,000 a year. At the Cape and Mauritius there was a population of about 160,000. These being crown colonies the rate of expenditure was about the same as the crown colonies in the West Indies, 11 7s. a head. The Governor of Mauritius receives 17,000 a year; Governor of the Cape 15,000. (Hear, hear.) It might be said, that the rate of expenditure was higher in the crown colonies because they were more thinly inhabited; but the crown colonies of Mauritius were four times as thickly inhabited as Jamaica, yet the rate of expenditure at Jamaica was half less than that of Mauritius. (Hear, hear.) Now, with respect to the Australian colonies, he found that only one of them—New South Wales was the only one, which had a legislative assembly; and the consequence was that a reduction had taken place in the expenditure of that colony immediately after the constitution had been granted to it.

From the years 1841 to 1845 the expenditure averaged about 13 4s. per head on the whole population of New South Wales. In the year 1846, one twelvemonth after the assembly had begun to sit, the expenditure was reduced to 11 8s. per head, or less than half what it had been previously. Let him compare the expenditure of New South Wales with that of the kindred colony of Van Diemen's Land, where it amounted to 14 6s. in 1841, a sum three times greater than in New South Wales after the legislative assembly was established. This excessive expenditure occasioned the greatest discontent at Van Diemen's Land, and it caused excessive taxation. The colonists themselves were of opinion that this taxation was illegal, and one of the judges there had been recently removed from his post for having declared these taxes illegal. ('No, no.') The hon. member then entered into a statement of the proceedings of the Colonial-office with respect to asserting the right of the crown to royalties on the products of mines situated in the Australian colonies, which proceedings he asserted were highly unjust, oppressive, and contrary to good faith. With respect to the colony of New Zealand, he was unable to state what the amount of expenditure per head was, but it must be very great, as the military proceedings there had been very expensive; and what with an imbecile governor, an incendiary bishop, a faithless colonial secretary, and a discontented set of colonists, that settlement was at present in a most unsatisfactory and extraordinary state. A constitution had been granted to the settlers and natives of New Zealand in the course of 1846, but it had been arbitrarily suspended by the Colonial-office authorities within a year after it had come into operation."

Those Colonies which have sued in vain in Downing Street, for Representative Institutions, are under a deep and lasting debt of gratitude to Sir William Molesworth, for his able advocacy of their rights. We agree with the hon. member that the true remedy for Colonial abuses is to throw upon the colonists themselves the responsibility of managing their own affairs. Local self-government once conceded, the Colonial Office should carry out the principle in sincerity and good faith. The Colonial Legislatures should be able to pass a Tariff, arrange the machinery of their own Governments, and deal with the salary of a public officer, without feeling that their wishes might be thwarted at any moment by the secret representations of some interested party in the colony, or by the officious intermeddlings of some of the underlings in Downing Street.

"With respect to the desirableness of the establishment of legislative assemblies in those colonies where none now existed, there could be no question. He had himself presented many petitions praying for them from colonies not possessing those institutions. Indeed, all the colonies so circumstanced, had repeatedly petitioned the house during the last ten years to grant them legislative assemblies, and only in one instance, that of New South Wales, had these petitions been attended with success. All the others had been refused, and yet he would not hesitate to assert, that if they had legislative assemblies they would have been far better governed than they had been by the Colonial-office. He did not mean by what he stated to cast any blame upon the individuals who administered the affairs of the Colonial-office. The system was to blame, not the men—and it was the system alone which merited, and which should receive, his blame and disrespect. Indeed, if he turned back to the proceedings of former sessions of parliament, he could cite the opinions of the hon. and learned member for Liskeard, and of the present Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, as fully bearing him out in his description of the manifold evils of the system observed of governing the colonies. The ambition of the Colonial-office was no less glaring than its incapacity. The authorities there pretended to be able to govern possessions ranging between the arctic and antarctic poles—they exercised authority over colonies which were at the distance of a twelve month's voyage from the seat of their authority, and it was notorious that one letter had scarcely been despatched from Downing Street ere a change in the circumstances of the colony to which it was addressed, compelled the colonial secretary to write another diametrically opposed to it, and thus they went on from year to year, the orders and recommendations of the home authorities being alike neglected and despised by the legislative assemblies to whom they were

addressed, and disobeyed by the governors who received them, the colonists themselves being disgusted and alienated by the gross ignorance displayed by those who assumed the right of directing their affairs. Now, if it were expedient to entrust such multifarious and important duties as those of colonial secretary to any single individual, that person ought to be possessed not only of a vast amount of knowledge, but also, he ought to be a man of great experience and sagacity. Now, did these qualifications characterise the individuals who had of late presided over the Colonial-office. Was the rule he laid down for the choice of a colonial secretary that which was followed in selecting that functionary? (Hear, and a laugh.) He was of opinion that no such rule had ever been laid down—much less carried out. The colonial secretary was generally chosen for expediency sake, from amongst the heads of one or the other of the parties who sought to govern the country, and the average duration of his term of office did not exceed eighteen months.—(Hear, hear.) On looking back during the last nine years, he found that there had been exactly six different colonial secretaries, viz: Lords Glenelg, Normanby, Russell, Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Grey. In point of fact, the Colonial Secretaries were constantly changing, the system maintained at Downing-street was one of unmitigated despotism, qualified by weakness and uncertainty. The changes in policy were as frequent, and even more so, than those in the heads of the office. At one moment the Colonial Office was swayed by the West Indian interests, the next day the protectionists had the rule, the anti-slavery party succeeded these, and in their turn were displaced by the New Zealand Company, who gave way before the missionaries, and thus the Colonial-office authorities were 'Everything by turns, and nothing long,' which rendered all their projects abortive and all their measures unsuccessful. Such a system of government might suit a nation of serfs, but to a people accustomed to self-government it presented no other aspect than that of an odious and a hateful tyranny. (Hear.) If his assertions were doubted—if he was supposed to misrepresent the sentiments of the colonists, let him refer the Colonial-office authorities to the West Indies and the other colonies they pretended to govern, and from one and all the same demand would be received, 'Relieve us from the rule of the Colonial-office.' Even the Canadas, the most favoured and petted of all the colonies, were not satisfied, for although they had got their assembly, yet every now and then they sent home complaints against the heads of the Colonial-office. But if the colonists had reason to complain of the Downing-street authorities, they had far more serious grounds for complaining of the governors who were sent out to rule over them, and who were chosen, not on account of their fitness to exercise such important functions, but purely on personal grounds.

Nay, the class of persons selected as governors was not always confined to the reputable though needy, for instances were not wanting in which discreditable persons had been got rid of by nominating them to a distant governorship, where the fame of their previous career had not spread. Such being the sort of persons sent out to act as governors to the colonies, was it to be wondered at that they were utterly unfit to sustain their characters, or that they became the tools of the factions which exist at the seat of their rule? From such causes sprang the jealousies and feuds which were so frequent amongst the authorities and functionaries of distant colonies. The governors and the judges were, owing to these causes, frequently upon a hostile footing towards each other, and not a year passed in which some petitions were not presented complaining of the arbitrary removal of judges or other functionaries by the superior authorities of the colonies. So frequent, indeed, were these petitions, that a permanent tribunal had been constituted to judge of their grounds; and who should be placed at the head of such a commission but the man who had long been designated as the 'evil genius of the Colonial Office?' (Cries of 'Name, name?' to which some hon. member replied, Stephens.) The facts which he referred to were of such notoriety that all were acquainted with them more or less. No wonder, therefore, that the colonies were badly governed under such a system, or that the colonists were discontented. The question to be considered was, whether the system could be amended. It appeared to him that the administration of the affairs of the colonies by the Downing-street authorities was far inferior to self government. The colonists were far better judges of their own wants than any person jobbing in Downing-street could be. The Colonial-office was entirely irresponsible, and it was only when the country was called upon to pay for its misdeeds, in the shape of a Kaffir or New Zealand war, that any accounts of its proceedings could be obtained. And even then the documents were so carefully prepared that few of the members of that house were able to trace the various items so set out by the Colonial office. (Hear, hear.) Neither the house nor the country placed any confidence in the documents put forth by the Colonial office. (Hear, hear.) They were drawn out to suit the views entertained by the Colonial-office authorities, and consequently they misled people and did not inform them. (Hear.) The only remedy for the state of things he had described was self government; and the conclusion that he had come to was, that the only course now to be followed towards the colonists was to bestow on them every power of managing and controlling their affairs, only reserving to England the sovereignty, over