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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Address</th>
<th>Date</th>
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COLONIZATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE
1837 -- 1852

by

G.P. Collins

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# Table of Contents

**CHAPTER I. EMPIRE COLONIZATION AS OF 1837**

- The United Kingdom ........................................ 1
- British North America ........................................ 5
- Australasia .................................................. 19
  - i. Australia ............................................... 33
  - ii. New Zealand .......................................... 38

**CHAPTER II. COLONIAL POLICY AND COLONIZATION**

- Determinants of Colonial Policy: Official ................ 50
- Determinants of Colonial Policy: Unofficial ................ 58
- Colonial Policy and Emigration and Land Settlement ..... 63

**CHAPTER III. EMPIRE COLONIZATION FROM 1837 TO 1842**

- The United Kingdom ........................................ 74
- British North America ........................................ 83
- Australasia .................................................. 97
  - i. Australia ............................................... 98
  - ii. New Zealand .......................................... 104
- Colonial Policy .............................................. 106

**CHAPTER IV. EMPIRE COLONIZATION FROM 1843 TO 1846**

- The United Kingdom ........................................ 113
- British North America ........................................ 118
- Australasia .................................................. 123
  - i. Australia ............................................... 124
  - ii. New Zealand .......................................... 131
- South Africa .................................................. 133
- Colonial Policy .............................................. 142

**CHAPTER V. EMPIRE COLONIZATION FROM 1846 TO 1852**

- The United Kingdom ........................................ 146
- British North America ........................................ 154
- Australasia .................................................. 165
  - i. Australia ............................................... 167
  - ii. New Zealand .......................................... 172
- South Africa .................................................. 175
- Colonial Policy .............................................. 178

SEP 22 1949
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EPILLOGUE</strong></td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDICES AND TABLES</strong></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

Empire Colonization as of 1837

One of the most significant events in the long history of British imperialism took place in 1837 when the British government brought into being the office of the Agent-General for Emigration. Hitherto the British government had followed a policy of laissez-faire with respect to emigration, but the organization of this office indicated that it now intended to take a part in promoting emigration to the colonial empire for the commission of the Agent-General gave him the authority to direct the flow of emigrants from the United Kingdom. He was to administer such funds as were set aside by the Australian colonies and other revenues provided by public institutions, charitable organizations and private individuals. The enforcement of government regulations for the protection of the emigrant from malpractices on the part of ship companies or captains was also made his responsibility. Although the Agent-General was given considerable freedom of action he was directly responsible to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies and through him to the British government. The setting up of this commission with such broad supervisory powers over emigration by the British government marked the beginning of an era of paternal colonization of the empire.

By 1837 the British authorities had become increasingly concerned over the necessity of evolving measures for relieving

ing the United Kingdom of the excess population which they
firmly believed was the real cause of the economic depres-
sion that had held the country in its grip since the end of
the Napoleonic wars. This excess of population naturally
tended to draw their attention to the possibilities of the
so-called settlement colonies. These colonies, the most
important of which in 1837 were the Canadas, New Brunswick
and Nova Scotia in British North America, and New South
Wales, South and Western Australia, and Van Diemen’s Land
in Australia, contained within their borders vast tracts of
unsettled waste land upon which might be settled a goodly
portion of the excess population of the United Kingdom.

The British government in promoting the process of
colonization found that this activity roughly divided itself
into two parts, emigration and settlement. Of these two the
Imperial government was primarily interested in emigration,
while settlement became to a large extent the concern of

1. In the official parlance of the Colonial Office a colony
was designated as any overseas possession, but to the
average man in the British Isles in 1837 a colony meant
a settlement colony, and colonization meant the whole
process from emigration from the mother country to actual
settlement upon suitable land in one of the colonies.
Since in the main the latter was the meaning attached
to these two words throughout the period under discussion,
that is from 1837 to 1852, I shall restrict the use of
these two words to the sense in which they were then used.

2. New Zealand in 1837 was not yet part of the empire. In the
Cape of Good Hope the struggle between the white and black
races for control of the waste lands was entering its most
important phase and lands which were later used for white
settlement were at this time either in disputed territory
or entirely under the control of the black races.
the respective colonial authorities.

The British authorities in the process of supervising emigration discovered that they had to concern themselves with many different matters. They found that measures had to be taken to induce the migration of people from congested areas, or of those whose means of livelihood were no longer sufficient to provide a living. Decisions had to be made as to what type of person would, by migrating, be most likely to relieve the economic difficulties of the United Kingdom, or would be most likely to succeed in the colonies. Possible areas suitable for settlement had to be investigated and a system evolved that would direct these people to areas where they would most likely succeed. Laws and regulations had to be drafted to protect the interests of the emigrants from malpractices at the port of embarkation and while on board ship. And, finally, an Imperial emigration agent had to be stationed at each of the ports of entry in the colonies to provide the immigrants with information about the colony and to start them up-country to their destination.

The interest of the British government in settlement varied considerably from colony to colony in 1837. In British

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Although, in a sense, the transition from immigrant to prospective settler began as soon as the immigrant stepped ashore from the ship which had carried him from the United Kingdom he still was partly under the supervision of the Imperial emigration agent at the port of entry. This man was the connecting link between the imperial emigration scheme and the colonial settlement activity. Thus actually the immigrant did not break his last direct connection with the purely imperial authority until the emigration agent had sent him on his way up-country.
North America the Imperial government was content to set out the broad lines of settlement policy and leave the details to the colonial authorities. On the other hand, in Australia the whole activity was more or less directly under the control of the Colonial Office. However, irrespective of whether it was the Imperial or the colonial governments who assumed direct responsibility for the settlement of immigrants several things demanded constant attention. Facilities for passing the new immigrant inland from the port of arrival to his homestead had to be provided. An extensive public works program was a necessity in every colony both to open up new areas of settlement as they were needed and to provide work for the indigent so that they could earn sufficient money to meet their immediate needs. Perhaps most important of all, a satisfactory method for allocating the waste land had to be developed.

In 1837 the propellant forces behind the emigration movement in the main emanated from the centre, the United Kingdom, and pushed the people of the British Isles out to the circumference of the empire. Gradually throughout the period to 1852 these forces were dissipated and replaced by the drawing power of the different colonies holding out the bait of greater opportunity to the masses of the United Kingdom. Concurrently with this transfer of the primary forces behind the movement from the centre to the circumference went the actual control of all aspects of the movement and
the end of the period of the British government's sponsoring of colonization.

The United Kingdom

The interest of the British government in colonization prior to 1837 had arisen largely from the necessity of finding a solution to the serious unemployment problem that had existed in all parts of the British Isles since the conclusion of peace with France in 1815. A period of dislocation in the economic life of the country and widespread unemployment after the war was caused by the tremendous changes which had been wrought in British industry and agriculture by the rapid advance of the industrial and agrarian revolutions during the forty years of almost continuous war which had opened with the American Revolution in 1775 and closed with the Treaty of Paris in 1815.

During this war period the domestic system of manufacture which had been centered in the agricultural districts of the south and east of England had been replaced by the factory system which was concentrated in the great new manufacturing centres near the coal and iron deposits in the North and Midlands. Then, with the cessation of war and the removal of the artificial stimulation to industry, factories had to reduce their staffs or were forced to close altogether, and thousands were thrown out of employment.

Agriculture, too, had felt the stimulus of war conditions.
Rising food prices from 1790 to 1815 had caused landlords to extend cultivation into lands hitherto considered sub-marginal. Then, with the return to peace, the price of foodstuffs fell rapidly. The tenants on the sub-marginal lands no longer could obtain a livelihood from their land and either abandoned their holdings or were forced on the "dole". All the farm owners were forced to reduce their hired labor to a minimum. The demobilization of thousands of men from the armed forces further swelled the ranks of the unemployed, and an economic depression settled like a black cloud over the whole of the United Kingdom.

Most people at first expected that while the effects of the depression were severe the readjustment to peacetime economy would be rapid. The victories of Nelson and the destruction of the Danish, Dutch, French and Spanish fleets at Copenhagen, Camperdown, Cape St. Vincent and Trafalgar left none to challenge the British supremacy on the seas. Napoleon's conquests had disrupted the economic life of most of the countries on the Continent, and this large market would now be re-opened to British goods. In fact with the close of the war the markets of the world would lie open to British enterprise.

Although it is true that after 1820 British industry and agriculture did begin to expand, nevertheless the economic status of the masses in the United Kingdom did not keep pace. The numbers of unemployed rose from year to
year, and directly or indirectly every phase of economic life in the British Isles felt the increasingly oppressive drag of unemployment. Yearly more and more people were employed, but yearly the numbers of unemployed increased at an alarming rate. In other words, the numbers of employables who yearly reached the age of employment were increasing at a much higher rate than the ability of industry and agriculture to absorb them.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century T.R. Malthus, an Anglican clergyman who had become alarmed over the great increase in population that was taking place in all districts of the United Kingdom, published a book entitled An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society. (1798). In it he set forth the theory that the realization of a happy society would always be hindered by the miseries consequent on the tendency of population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. From the 1820's on, Malthus' theory gained wider and wider acceptance, first among the economists and other social writers of the day, and then throughout the masses, as the belief spread that the economic distress in the United Kingdom was not so much due to dislocation in industry or agriculture as to the tremendous increase in population that was taking place. Almost every parish in England and Scotland saw the threat of overpopulation; all could look to Ireland and speculate as to what the possible effect might be in Great Britain once

population exceeded the means of subsistence.

In England an estimated population of about 4,700,000 in 1500 had increased to almost 8,900,000 in 1801 and to about 15,000,000 by 1837. In Scotland an estimated population of 500,000 in 1600 had increased to 1,698,000 in 1801 and to two and one-half million by 1837. However, great as the increases in population of England and Scotland were, it was the increase in the Irish population which was looked upon as the most dangerous to the welfare of the whole of the United Kingdom. From an estimated 2,372,000 in 1754 the population of Ireland jumped to about 5,395,000 in 1805 and to almost 8,000,000 in 1837.

The tremendous increase in the population of Ireland which took place in the hundred years preceding 1837, many economists believe, was due partly to the introduction of the potato as the chief food and partly to the absence of any all-encompassing famine in the land during this period. The habit of early marriage, and the excessive subdivision and subletting of land, undoubtedly expedited the trend while the nearness of Great Britain with her growing demand for navvy labor concealed the danger involved in the general increase. As long as they profited by the increase in rents that went with subdividing land the landlords were willing

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 1.
2. Ibid.
to encourage a larger population. When, however, it became apparent that more money could be realized from scientific cultivation of the land, they seized the first opportunity to get rid of the unwanted tenantry. Motives of humanity and fear of disturbance retarded the movement to some extent but had little or no appreciable effect on the final outcome. Employment was scarcely to be obtained and the evicted tenantry were largely supported by government-aided establishments for the suppression of mendicity. Those who could obtain sufficient funds migrated. Many went to North America, but the large majority moved towards the English mills and farms. For a century or more prior to 1820 the Irish peasant had been migrating to England during the harvest season, earning enough money to pay his rent and then returning home. The migrants to England after 1820, however, began to abandon this migratory procedure; they came with a more definite intention of settling permanently.

How the Irish situation struck contemporaries is very clearly shown in the records of the two Parliamentary Select Committees on Emigration which sat in 1826 and 1827. In their recommendations both committees suggested that if a system of overseas emigration was to be organized it should be specifically applied to Ireland. They, like the average Englishman of the 1830's, looked upon the Irish as a distinct menace to

3. The report of the second committee is to be found in *British Parliamentary Papers, Commons*, 1827, nos. 237 and 550.
the British standard of living, and overseas emigration from Ireland was in consequence to be given every encouragement.

Not until after the great exodus from Ireland of 1846-47 and 1849-52, which reduced the Irish population from eight to nearly six millions, was the fear of being swamped by Irish labor completely put aside in England.

The situation in the Highlands of Scotland in many ways was as serious as that in Ireland. Here, too, the introduction of the potato early in the eighteenth century was followed by a great increase in population. Considerable subdivision of arable land took place and by 1800 a large part of the population of the Highlands was living on the verge of starvation. After 1816, however, the Scottish landlords began clearing their estates of cottars to make room for stock, and the evicted Highlanders migrated to the industrial cities in the Lowlands and to the kelp and herring industries on the coast. Although these industries, which had been greatly expanded during the Napoleonic War, did much to absorb the overflow from the Highlands until late in the 1820's the removal of the heavy duty on salt in 1824 destroyed the kelp industry and by 1835 the herring industry began to decline. By 1837 thousands were thrown out of these

1. Ibid.
6. U.K., 5 Geo. IV c. 65.
employs. Some fell back on the already over-stocked agricultural industry, some drifted southward to the pestilential winds of Glasgow and other industrial cities of the Scottish Lowlands. The crisis came in 1836 and 1837 when a succession of inclement seasons destroyed the potato crop in Scotland and placed the prices of all other food supplies out of reach. Many of the Scottish agricultural laborers and herring fishermen began preparations to emigrate before their funds were completely gone and they were forced on to parish relief rolls. Emigration societies which levied weekly dues to pay the emigration expenses of their members to North America sprang up all over Scotland and had become by 1837 an important source of assistance to indigent laborers wishing to emigrate.

Had it not been for the exceedingly large immigration of Irish and Scotch laborers into the factory towns of England there is some reason to believe that the depression in the English industrial world would have been of relatively short duration. By 1837 it was reported that there were over 150,000 Irish in Lancashire, while one-fifth of the population of Manchester was believed to be Irish. These immigrants supplied a large portion of the demand for unskilled labor in many of the industries and, living under conditions which the English laborer found himself unable

1. Johnson, op. cit., p. 49.
2. Clapham, op. cit., p. 49.
3. Ibid., p. 61.
to accept, they forced wages below that on which the English laborer felt he could live. By 1837 the prospects of the English unskilled laborer, especially in the northern industrial areas, was becoming more and more precarious and in increasing numbers they were turning to emigration as a solution to their difficulties.

The small landholder in England was also in a precarious position by 1837. The common land upon which he was wont in times past to pasture his cows, chickens, geese and donkeys had been given over to the plow and he found it impossible to grow upon his bit of ground sufficient food for his family and at the same time provide pasture for his livestock. Lack of capital prevented him from competing successfully with the large landholder in the growing of marketable produce while the ruin of the domestic industry by the factory system deprived him of a supplementary means of livelihood. To many emigration seemed the only hope of avoiding complete impoverishment and in 1837, as in the previous twenty years, a large proportion of the emigrants from England to the colonies and the United States were made up of these yeomen.

Increased agricultural production, which had first come through the extension of farming into new areas, was by 1837 largely the result of intensification through the use of machinery and other improved methods. As farm machinery

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 115.
gradually supplanted hand labor, each year more and more of
the migratory and seasonal laborers in the agricultural dis-
tricts of the east and south of England were thrown on parish
relief for three or four winter months. Prior to the day of
the threshing machine these laborers were engaged for most of
the winter in hand threshing the grain. As the threshing
machine, which threshed all the grain in a district in a few
days time, was used more and more extensively fewer of these
laborers were able to obtain employment between the fall har-
vest and spring seeding. Many of them wandered back and forth
across the southern and eastern districts of England able at
best only to eke out a bare living. In 1837 scores of them
failed to obtain work even during harvest and, faced with the
prospect of permanent unemployment, many of them turned to
overseas emigration as the solution to their problem. Here-
after in steady and ever-increasing numbers they left to
settle in the colonies.

In 1837 not only the United Kingdom, but practically the
whole world was suffering from a general economic depression.
On the continent of Europe the masses were in distress from
a succession of bad harvests. The United States was in the
grip of a financial panic, and the depression in the American
republic spread quickly to the British North American colonies.
In the Canadas this was intensified by the flaring up of
rebellion in the Upper and Lower Provinces. Only in the

1. C.M. Waters. An Economic History of England, 1066-1874,
colony of New South Wales in Australia were prospects bright.

By far the greater majority of the emigrants who left the United Kingdom in 1837 paid their own passage and, in many instances, had some capital left to give themselves a start in the new world. Although this voluntary migration gave some immediate relief to the unemployment situation it was not looked upon as a satisfactory solution for the permanently unemployed. Many of them unemployables remained in the British Isles. How to drain off this least desirable group and to retain as many of the more enterprising as possible was one of the major problems which faced the British emigration authorities in 1837.

A second important problem which also demanded immediate attention was that of diverting the large numbers of emigrants who annually migrated to the United States towards areas of settlement within the Empire. Although the United Kingdom benefitted by the relief to the employment situation afforded by the emigration movement regardless of where the emigrants settled, the fact that a none-too-friendly power was receiving the major benefits from it in the form of manpower by insisting on accepting only the healthy and able-bodied was not a pleasing thought for the average Englishman.

Although it was generally accepted that the first step in solving the economic difficulties of the United Kingdom

2. See infra, Appendices, Table 7.
was a program of mass emigration of the unemployed. The formation of a workable plan was found to be extremely difficult to lay down. Throughout the 1820's and 1830's several experiments were carried out in assisted emigration, such as the government-assisted Irish immigration in 1823

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and the Swan River and South Australian schemes. Several committees, the most important of which were the two Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1826 and 1827, and the Committee on Waste Lands in 1836, were set up to investigate the success of these experiments. It was on the basis of the reports of these committees that the government decided in 1837 that while it would avoid active participation in the emigration movement it would be expedient to supervise and co-ordinate the activities of all interested parties through the office of the Agent-General for Emigration. At the same time the Imperial government took steps to remove statutory obstacles in the path of those who wished to emigrate, or of local bodies who wished to aid emigration. In 1824 laws restricting the emigration of artisans, passed in the eighteenth century to protect British monopoly of new industrial processes, were amended to permit the emigration of Scotch weavers whose livelihood had been destroyed by the advance of the Industrial Revolution and who were in distressful circumstances. In 1834 provisions were included

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2. Established by Sir Thomas Peel.
3. Founded by the Wakefieldian group.
in the Poor Law Amendment Act which gave permission to the
ratepayers and owners of property to raise money on the sec-
urity of the rates, provided that no sum greater than half
the average yearly rate was appropriated, to assist emigration
to the colonies of permanent paupers or those who were likely
to become such. From 1834 to 1837 the Poor Law Commissioners
and J.D. Pinnock in the Colonial Office worked together to
implement these provisions. In the latter year this somewhat
complicated machinery for conducting parish emigration was
placed under the supervision of T.F. Elliot, the Agent-General
for Emigration.

The most important source of direct aid to the emigrants
came from the landlords, the people who benefitted most by the
departure of those whom they helped. The Irish and to a lesser
extent the English and Scotch landlords often made provision
for their dispossessed tenants to emigrate, particularly to
British North America. Some superintended the migration until
the emigrants were finally settled on the land; others allowed
them to land at colonial wharves with no money or provisions.

In some cases philanthropists and charitable institutions also

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1. U.K., 4 & 5 Will. IV c. 76.
2. T.F. Elliot entered the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1825.
   He was appointed a member of the short-lived Emigration
   Board of 1831-2. In 1835 he was Secretary to the Canada
   Commission sent out by the Melbourne Ministry on its return
to power in 1835. Elliot was appointed Agent-General for
   Emigration in 1837, and later he became Chairman of the
   Colonial Land and Emigration Commission and, in 1847, Assis-
tant Undersecretary of State—a post in which he exercised
   considerable influence in the department until his retire-
   ment in 1866.
provided direct aid to particular groups desiring to emigrate, but their efforts on the whole were slight. One important exception was the Society of Friends which made a signal contribution to the relief of suffering in Ireland both in providing for the immediate wants of the sufferers and in shipping off to America many who were too poor to help themselves.

Direct assistance to emigration from the United Kingdom was also provided by the Australian colonies of South Australia, New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Diemen's Land. To overcome the disadvantages of a long voyage and high transportation costs these colonies offered partly paid passages to selected emigrants. In South Australia all the revenue from the sale of land, under the authority of the South Australia Act of 1834, was used by a Board of Commissioners functioning in the United Kingdom to pay part of the passage of the emigrants whom they selected as likely to prove good settlers. New South Wales divided its revenue from the sale of lands between two schemes both of which were now placed under the direction of the Agent-General for Emigration. Two-thirds of the revenue was to be used in forwarding emigrants under a scheme similar to that adopted by South Australia and the remaining one-third in administering a bounty system introduced by the Governor of New South Wales on the recommendation of the Legislative Council. By a proclamation of the 28th

1. Ibid., p. 51.
2. U.K., 4 & 5 Will. IV c. 95.
4. Ibid.
October, 1835, any settler who before the end of 1837 introduced into the colony married mechanics or farm servants was to receive a bounty of £30 for each married couple with an additional £5 for each child over twelve months. £15 per person was allowed for the introduction of unmarried females between the ages of fifteen and thirty travelling under the protection of married couples. By these measures these two Australian colonies hoped to ensure a sufficient supply of immigrants to meet their demand for a steady supply of labor. Van Diemen’s Land and Western Australia had adopted the same scheme as New South Wales but the funds derived from the sale of land in these two colonies were small and had little effect in stimulating immigration.

The British North American colonies, on the other hand, made no provision for assisting immigration from the United Kingdom for the numbers who yearly poured into these colonies were on the whole sufficient to meet the needs for labor.

In 1837 72,034 people emigrated from the United Kingdom as compared to 2,061 in 1815. Between these two dates the year by year migration overseas varied greatly. In 1820 25,729 had migrated while in 1825 this figure had dropped to 14,891; then emigration rose sharply to 1832, the peak year, when 103,140 persons left the British Isles to settle in the colonies and the United States. From 1832 to 1837 an uneven though persistent decline in the numbers who migrated took
place. Altogether some 818,000 people emigrated from the United Kingdom in the twenty-two years from 1815 to 1837.

### British North America

Of the 72,034 people who left the United Kingdom in 1837 the largest migration to any single area—29,884—went to the British North American colonies. Although the percentage—41 percent of the total migration—may seem large it was lower than it had been. In 1821 the percentage was 69.5; in 1825, 58.5; and in 1831, 53.5 percent. Between 1815 and 1837 482,664 British people entered the British North American colonies.

As the nearest of all the settlement colonies to the British Isles, British North America offered advantages to the emigrant which he could not afford to ignore. Transportation costs were comparatively low, the voyage was relatively short and shipping facilities were sufficient in normal times to provide accommodation for all who wished to migrate. Moreover, the British North American colonies eventually became well known to the masses in the British Isles chiefly because the large body of immigrants who had already settled in them had kept their friends at 'home' informed of conditions within these colonies.

During normal times competition between the shipowners ensured the emigrant fairly good treatment during his voyage

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1. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
across the Atlantic, but when famine swept through Ireland
or threatened the Highlands of Scotland, as in 1832, when
the wharves of Glasgow, Belfast, Galway or Cork were crowded
with thousands seeking passage to escape death by starvation
or its mate disease, shipowners and captains loaded their
vessels to the gunwhales. Men, women and children, the sick
and the well, the young and the old, were crowded into all
available space between decks, often so tightly that they
could barely move. Destitute, often only partially clothed,
and disease-ridden, this human cargo was dumped upon the
wharves of Quebec and Saint John. Dr. Morrin, inspecting
Physician at Grosse Isle, the quarantine station below Quebec,
stated in a report that "the harbour-master's boatmen had no
difficulty at the distance of a gunshot, either when the wind
was favorable or in a dead calm in distinguishing by odor
alone a crowded immigrant ship." The worst year in this re-
spect was 1832, the 'Cholera Year', when famine in Ireland
brought a flood of cholera-stricken immigrants to Quebec.
Landed on the wharves with no provision being made for their
keep they either died from disease, starvation or exposure,
or dragged themselves through the streets begging for money
or clothes. The epidemic spread quickly to the inhabitants

1937, for a full account. (The burden on the British North
American colonies in 1832 would have been considerably
lighter but for the measures taken by the United States to
prevent the landing of any of these plague-stricken immi-
grants in that country).
of Quebec and Montreal and thence to the inland districts of the two provinces, carried by the immigrants who moved slowly up-country looking for work.

Prior to 1837 both the Imperial government and the local legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada had worked together to establish suitable facilities for handling the immigrants. After 1823 the Imperial government made an annual grant of £1,000 to aid indigent immigrants to the Canadas. In 1828 A.G. Buchanan, a canny Scot, thoroughly familiar with the needs of the country, was appointed by the Imperial government as emigration agent for British North America. Under him were resident agents stationed in most of the large centres of the Canadas, such as Montreal, Kingston, York (later Toronto) and Niagara, and in the Maritimes. Although the duties of these agents were to direct the immigrant to the best areas of settlement and to obtain work for him if necessary, these duties also included providing medical attention for those who were ill, and of preventing the spread of disease from the emigrant ships to provincial towns and country districts. The emergency of 1832, however, found the staff inadequate. With no means of segregating the sick from the healthy or detaining those with contagious disease, Buchanan and his aides had found it impossible to check the cholera epidemic.

3. Ibid.
Furthermore, so great were the demands placed upon public and private charity in Quebec and Montreal by the flood of destitute immigrants that the machinery for providing relief to the distressed broke down completely.

The situation had demanded quick and immediate action. A quarantine station had been established at Grosse Ile below Quebec and regulations were passed by the local legislature prohibiting any ship from proceeding up the river without first receiving a clean bill of health from the medical authorities. To relieve the strain upon the financial resources of Montreal and Quebec, which even during normal periods of immigration was considerable, the legislature of Lower Canada with the full consent of the Imperial government in 1832 imposed a capitation tax of 5s. per immigrant to be paid by the ship-captains. In 1835 this tax was renewed for another five years. The monies received from the tax were placed under the control of two charitable organizations, the Quebec and the Montreal Immigration Societies, founded in 1832 to provide relief and assistance for the ill and indigent immigrants.

During an age when humanitarian interests were so strong in the British parliament as to cause it to grant more than twenty million pounds to free the slaves one would be led to expect that the British immigrant would be protected in every possible manner against rapacious shipowners and masters. But

this was far from being the case. The philosophy of *laissez-faire* which was gaining increasing recognition in the British parliament worked instead for a reduction of state interference in commerce and industry. It was entirely due to the supporters of this philosophy that a strict Passenger Act, which had been passed in 1803 to protect the interests of the immigrant while en route to his destination, was amended several times and finally removed from the statute books in 1827. From 1827 to 1842, when a comprehensive Passenger Act was passed, little in the way of effective statutory protection was provided and the immigrant had to depend largely upon the good graces of the ship-captain to accord him fair treatment.

The immigrant intending to settle in British North America had the choice of several colonies in which to make his permanent home. Bordering the Gulf of St. Lawrence were the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, each of which presented its own particular advantages and disadvantages. Separated from these colonies by the Appalachian Highlands and a deep belt of forest land the Canadas. Upper and Lower formed a group having little direct contact with the Maritime provinces.

Of these two groups, the Canadas, and in particular Upper Canada, was receiving much the greater portion of immigrants by 1837. Until about 1825 the Maritimes had received a goodly

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4. In 1835 an act (U.K.: 5 & 6 Will. IV c. 56.) was passed to eliminate some of the evils associated with the transport of emigrants but this act seems to have made little difference in the current practices.
stream of the immigrants but after this date by far the larger portion, estimated at more than three-quarters of the total migration to the British North American colonies, passed through the two chief Canadian ports of Quebec and Montreal, although a few—those who could afford it—took the quicker though more expensive route by way of New York to the western counties of Upper Canada.

Upon landing at Quebec or Montreal most of the immigrants immediately got in touch with the emigration agent. From him they obtained information concerning the different areas of settlement and decided, if they had not already done so, upon the area in which they would settle. Few of the immigrants, however, chose to remain in Lower Canada.

A few immigrants, chiefly Scotch and Irish joining relatives or friends settled each year in the older, established areas of Beauharnois, Chateaugay Basin, Chaleur Bay, Valcartier, Rimouski, Leeds, Clarendon, New Carlisle, Abercrombie, or Perce, but the great bulk of the immigrants avoided these regions since most of the land was in the hands of speculators.

One of the great problems of the emigration agents in the Canadas was that of preventing, in so far as they were able, the re-emigration to the United States of a large proportion of the immigrants who landed at Quebec and Montreal. Everyone who left Canada for the Western States meant the loss of a settler, the latter an important consideration when relations between the British colonies and the United States were almost

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
continually strained. Moreover it sometimes meant a financial loss to the colonies, for many of the immigrants used the aid given them by the Canadian immigration societies to reach the American border. To keep the volume of this emigration to the Western States as low as possible Buchanan had adopted early in the 'thirties the policy of directing many of the immigrants to the Ottawa Valley. This area was some distance from the international border and he felt that the more who were persuaded to settle there the less possibility was there of re-emigration to the United States. As a result of his efforts a fairly large number of English and Scotch settlements were established along the Ottawa River.

Upper Canada offered the brightest prospects to the large majority of the immigrants, and to those with some capital the voyage from Quebec to the ports on Lake Ontario offered few difficulties in 1837. They could travel by steamer to Kingston and thence to York or Niagara. A slower and less expensive mode was by batteau over the rapids of the St. Lawrence and then by sailing ship to York. If the immigrant preferred land travel he could take the stage-coach which ran regularly between Montreal and Toronto. The large number of indigent immigrants, however, could not afford any of the

1 An alternative route to Kingston was by way of the Ottawa River and Rideau Canal. This route was used to some extent during the period of the rebellion as boats going between Montreal and Kingston on the St. Lawrence were often fired upon by the rebel sympathizers.
above means of transportation. To get from Quebec to Montreal
was for them relatively easy, but beyond Montreal their dif-
ficulties grew. Some were able to work their way up the lakes
by either working on the boats or by getting temporary work in
the towns or farms along the way to pay for their ticket to
the next port. Those who were unable to obtain work walked.
From Montreal to Detroit the land was fairly well settled so
that those who were forced to make their way up-country on
foot could generally find shelter for the night in some farm-
homes or haymow.

By 1837 the only cheap land available to the new settler
was situated far from the settled areas and usually at some
distance from the lake front or rivers, in districts as yet
undeveloped and often less fertile. Roughly speaking, most
of the land between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and a line
drawn from Detroit to Lake Simcoe and thence to the present
site of the city of Ottawa was fairly well settled. Between
the present site of Port Hope and Brockville, however, the
line of settlement did not extend far back from the St. Law-
rence. Dumfries, the Huron Tract, the Home and Newcastle
Districts were filling up rapidly. The Midland District was
well settled along the lake, although the settlements became
more and more scattered in the interior away from water trans-
portation facilities. The London, Western and Bathurst Dis-
tricts were partially settled while the eastern counties of
Prescott, Stormont and Glengarry were almost completely filled.

1. N. Macdonald, Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement,
Beyond the settled areas was a region of unsettled lands which were held by speculators willing to wait until the pressure of settlement forced land prices high enough to give them a rich return for their investment. In all it was estimated that out of 17,000,000 acres of surveyed land in the province almost half was in the hands of speculators or the 'Protestant' clergy. Large areas of unsettled land were in the hands of the United Empire Loyalists as a result of profuse grants made prior to July, 1798, to the original Loyalists and their sons and daughters of the first generation; speculators held a large part of the 105,000 acres of lands which had originally been granted to disbanded soldiers; executive councillors and other administrative officials had been granted some 136,000 acres; five legislative councillors and their families received a total of 56,000 acres, while another 264,000 had been given to pay those contracting to make land surveys.

The large areas of unsold Clergy and Crown reserves set aside under the authority of the Constitutional Act of 1791 were, however, the major obstacle to settlement and one of the chief causes for the outbreak of rebellion in the Upper province in 1837. Under the terms of the Constitutional Act one-seventh of all lands granted were reserved for the use of

Protestant churches, and one-seventh for the use of the Crown. While it was understood at the time this Act was passed that the required two-sevenths were to be taken from each grant as it was made, in practice much more land than was provided for in the Act was reserved. When land could be obtained for a nominal fee these blocks of land scattered throughout each township went unsold and unsettled and they often acted as barriers to the building of roads which would open up new areas, and interfered with the continuity of settlement.

In 1825 the Imperial government had abandoned the principle of forming Crown reserves because of the failure of past settlement schemes and, to put an end to the malpractices and corruption which had attended the local administration of lands, began disposing of them to chartered companies. While this policy pointed the way to the eventual solution to the problem of the Crown reserves, any attempt to recover the Clergy reserves prior to 1837 met with the determined opposition of the Protestant clergy led by Bishop Strachan, Anglican bishop of Upper Canada, who wielded considerable influence in the Legislative Council.

2. Ibid., p. 220.
3. In 1826, 2,300,000 acres of land in Upper Canada, made up of Crown reserves and the Huron Tract, were sold to the Canada Company at a nominal price. By 1837 the Company had settled about 100,000 acres by bona-fide sales to settlers and had become firmly established. In Lower Canada the British American Land Company received a large grant in the Eastern Townships, and in the Maritimes the New Brunswick-Nova Scotia Land Company was given a large tract at a nominal price under terms similar to those extended to the Canada Company.
Besides the irritating obstructions of blocks of Clergy and Crown reserves many other difficulties and hardships faced the new settler. Too often he found his claim challenged by another who had been granted the same land under a different designation, often the fault of inaccurate surveys. Difficulties of completing his title after he had paid his last installment often led to considerable delay and inconvenience for the settler. Bad roads, long distances to markets, and the high costs of transportation from inland points to the larger centres of population were additional difficulties which the new settler had to face in his struggle to make a living for himself and his family. The cost of transporting grain from inland points was so high that it was impossible for farmers forty miles back of York to compete there with American grain brought by boats from American ports. All in all, the life of the new settler in Upper Canada in 1837 was an unenviable one. At best he could only hope that by diligence and able management he could support himself until settlement became sufficiently concentrated to produce a market for his surplus goods. Where this happened the farmer could hope to become fairly independent and even well-to-do.

For the large number of immigrants who could not pay for land or who were unable even to support themselves, the immigration officials in 1837 were able to provide immediate employment. If the immigrant could not obtain other work he was generally directed to some government project under construction at a

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wage of from eight to ten dollars per month with board. One of the chief public works of the decade was the construction of canals, and in 1837 many of these were still uncompleted. The very real need which these government projects filled in supplying a means of employment for the new immigrant can be readily appreciated through Buchanan's estimate that more than 20,000 immigrants of the laboring class would be needed to fill the demand for labor upon these public works in Upper Canada alone in 1837.

This plan of gradually inducing the new immigrant into the life of the country had been evolved out of the experiments in settlement conducted in both Upper and Lower Canada after 1815. Most of these settlement schemes had attempted to make the immigrant into a settler the year of his arrival, and depended upon capital from external sources to accomplish this object. The failure of most of these experiments discouraged the imperial government and during the early 'twenties the indigent immigrant was left to his own resources. He solved his problem by working for others during his first years in the country until he saved enough money to buy partly improved land and to support himself. In 1825 the Canadian immigration

1. The Chambly Canal was begun in 1831 and was still under construction in 1837. The Desjardin Canal was completed in November, 1837. Preparations were made to deepen and widen the Welland Canal in 1837. The Cornwall Canal was still uncompleted.


3. Cowan. op. cit. p. 75.
authorities made an adaptation of this scheme both to aid the
immigrant and to direct labor to canal and road-building pro-
jects in both provinces. In the same year, partly to render
new districts more desirable to settlers able to buy partially
improved property and partly to aid indigent settlers to attain
independence immediately, a second plan had been evolved where-
by many of the immigrants were given a small grant of land and
were expected to pay for it by constructing roads and making
clearings on their own and adjoining lots. This latter plan
was further expanded in 1832 when Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor
of Upper Canada and an ardent advocate of immigration put into
effect a plan whereby poor immigrants were given a five-acre
lot and house near towns which needed labor. 1

In the Maritimes the immigrant found much the same dif-
ficulties as in the Canadas, arising from the earlier alien-
ation of land. In Prince Edward Island practically all the
land had been alienated in a few days in 1767. In 1837 Nova
Scotia had only about 300,000 out of 6,000,000 surveyed acres
available for immediate settlement and New Brunswick had about
5,500,000 out of 16,000,000 surveyed acres that were suitable.
However, the land situation in the Maritimes was not compli-
cated by the presence of Clergy reserves as in Upper Canada,
and in general there were fewer excessively large grants to
hinder settlement. 2

1. Ibid., p. 231.
Immigration to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was only a fraction of that to the Canadas in 1837, but it was more than sufficient to meet the demand for labor in these two provinces. Agriculture was carried on only to a limited extent in both provinces and there was little demand for agricultural laborers, while lack of training and experience in fishing made it impossible for the majority of immigrants to compete with local labor. In New Brunswick lumbering and shipbuilding suffered greatly between 1825 and 1837 from depressed markets and offered little opportunity to the immigrant for employment. The lack of opportunities for employment and the nearness of the United States offering high wages for navvy labor drew both immigrants and native-born across the border. Because of the general depression which New Brunswick seemed unable to shake off almost as many people left the province as immigrated into it in the ten years prior to 1837. Although a rough numerical balance was maintained between immigration and emigration, New Brunswick was definitely loosing from the standpoint of quality. Most of the immigrants were from Ireland while a large percentage of the emigrants were composed of the more enterprising elements of the native population who, unable to shake off their debts, sought to make a new start in the neighboring American states. On the other hand the Irish immigrants who were landed at the ports of New Brunswick were, like their

fellow immigrants to the Canadas, poor, diseased, and unprepared for either the climate or the labor of the new country. Unable to support themselves they imposed an additional burden upon the economic structure of the colony.

In 1837 the picture was a gloomy one, but with the Imperial government roused by the rebellion to the need of reform the prospects of a determined attempt to solve the land and settlement problems was brighter than it had been.

Australasia

In turning from an examination of the situation in British North America in 1837 to that in the Australasian colonies at the same time we notice certain significant differences between the two areas. In contrast to the nucleus of well established and in the main flourishing communities of free settlers with a representative form of government in all the British North American colonies the Australasian colonies were in a primitive state. Western Australia—Swan River as it was first known—had a few thousand inhabitants scattered over a large area, while in South Australia the first settlement at Adelaide was just beginning. New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land had begun their existence as penal colonies and in 1837 all the convicts who were

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1. The term Australasia as applied to British possessions in the South Pacific in 1837 is a somewhat elastic geographical term that may be defined as comprising the continent of Australia, Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.

2. After 1985 Van Diemen's Land changed its name to Tasmania to rid itself of the stigma of being a former penal colony and which had become attached to its earlier name.
transported from the United Kingdom were more or less equally divided between these two colonies. There was an important nucleus of free settlers in New South Wales by 1837 but from the standpoint of administration and government it was still considered as a convict colony and was governed by a governor and a council who performed both the executive and legislative functions of government. Van Diemen's Land was in 1837 and for many years to come a penal colony. There were a few free settlers in the colony but they were subject to laws passed by the governor and his council to maintain discipline among the convicts. Both of these colonies were struggling to rid themselves of the transportation system and attain the status and the recognition of a free colony, when British North America was fighting for self-government.

In the main the problems concerning colonization which confronted the British North American colonies and the Australasian colonies were quite different. British North America was mainly concerned with the problems of settlement that arose as a result of past malpractices, the difficulties of establishing communications and opening up new settlement areas in heavily wooded territories, and with evolving means to offset the enticements offered to settlers by the United States. On the other hand the Australasian colonies were primarily interested in stimulating emigration from the United Kingdom to their shores.

1. See House of Commons Committee on Transportation, 1837, Evidence of Arthur (Extract); and Report of House of Commons Committee on Transportation, 1838, (Extracts), Bell and Morrell, Select Documents, pp. 280-85.
One of the chief emigration problems facing the Australasian colonies was that of inducing emigrants to take the long voyage from the British Isles. The voyage from the United Kingdom to Australia took the greater part of a year, in contrast to the thirty-five to fifty day voyage to the British North American colonies, and this meant that some form of assistance had to be extended to prospective immigrants to offset this very real disadvantage. Moreover the Australasian colonies had to place much more emphasis on the type and sex of emigrants who were sent out than did the British colonies in North America. The latter colonies could generally rely on the immigration of sufficient male and female immigrants to fill their needs, while on the other hand the great distance from the United Kingdom and the fact that two of the colonies had been penal colonies for some years made it almost inevitable that there would be a great disproportion between the sexes—estimated at about three males to one female—in all the Australasian colonies. The most urgent need of the colonies in Australasia, the local authorities firmly believed, was a steady stream of a high type of female immigrant carefully selected to fill the pressing demand for female labor and, even more important in colonial eyes, to raise the low moral tone of social life and, in the case of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, to reduce

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the stigma of being penal colonies.

Throughout the 1830's the imperial government attempted to find some way to persuade women, especially unmarried ones, to migrate to the Australasian colonies. In 1831 £10,000 was appropriated by the Colonial Office from the land revenues of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land and given to the Board of Emigration, a temporary board set up by the imperial government in this year to supervise emigration, to assist emigrants to these two colonies. Unmarried women between the ages of sixteen and thirty were given the preference over men, although provision was also made for loans to married mechanics and their families. In all cases the loans were to be repaid when the emigrants had established themselves in the colony. However, this system was soon found to be unsatisfactory, and was abandoned. In 1832 the Board of Emigration was abolished and the system of direct loans to emigrants to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales was abolished in 1835.

By 1837 two schemes to provide free passage to emigrants to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia—Swan River as it was first known—had replaced the old system of loans. The revenue from the land sales in these three colonies was divided between a bounty system and a government supervised scheme which provided for the selection of emigrants, transportation facilities and supervision during the long voyage.  

1. Ibid., p. 67.
One of the most difficult tasks of the emigration authorities in the United Kingdom was the selection of suitable emigrants. In 1837 this onerous duty was placed upon the newly-appointed Agent-General for Emigration with the hope that the general dissatisfaction in the Australasian colonies with the type of emigrant which they had been receiving would be materially reduced. Prior to the appointment of this officer, several experiments in selecting emigrants had been attempted by the home government. Theoretically, the selection of male emigrants was entirely in the hands of the Colonial Office; in practice, however, it was the parish authorities who did the actual choosing. These men were anxious to remove as many of the habitual paupers from the relief rolls as possible, while the shipowners cared little whom they took. The result was that a considerable number of those who had been induced to emigrate by the parish authorities only became a charge upon the colonies who received them.

The management of female emigration was even worse. The first attempt at selective emigration of women took place under the auspices of the Board of Emigration of 1831-2. In the latter year they sent out two ships, the Princess Royal and the Red Rover, loaded, the colonial authorities claimed, with prostitutes and female convicts. After this fiasco the Board handed over first the task of selecting the female emigrants

1. Ibid., p. 72.
and then that of providing the means of transportation to a charitable organization, the London Emigration Society. The first ship they sent out in 1833, the Bushoreh Merchant, carried a cargo of female immigrants that was little better. By 1836 it had become apparent that, regardless of how wise the London Emigration Society were in choosing female emigrants, —and the choice was not always wise—it depended pretty largely upon the efficiency of the master of the ship, the superintend-ent and other officials during the long voyage whether they would be of a good moral character when they landed in Australia. In 1835 upon the recommendation of Governor Bourke of New South Wales naval surgeons who had experience with the transportation of convicts and were familiar with the management of large groups of people on long voyages as well as with the needs of the colonies were appointed by the home government to select and bring out under their personal supervision each shipload of female emigrants. When, in 1837, the London Emigration Committee relinquished its functions to T.F. Elliot, the Agent-General for Emigration, this arrangement for supervising female emigration to Australasia was retained and made an integral part of the new emigration establishment.

1. Australia

The immigrant to Australia in 1837 had the choice of

2. Bourke to Glenelg. 14 October, 1835. ibid.
several colonies in which to settle. There were the older colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land that had begun their existence as convict settlements, the colony of Western Australia, or the youngest of them all—South Australia—where an attempt was being made to found a 'Little Britain' on the Wakefield model.

In 1837 about 3,400 out of nearly 4,700 immigrants to Australia landed in New South Wales. This colony had been founded in 1788 as a convict settlement. However, the development of a breed of sheep that thrived in the Australian climate and the crossing of the Blue Mountains, a great mountain barrier to the north and west of the colony, with the consequent discovery of the Bathurst Plains covered with luxurious edible grass made free settlement possible, and from 1815 onwards the number of free immigrants to the colony steadily increased.

Some of the immigrants settled near Sydney and with the aid of convict labor began growing grain. The more adventurous men collected together as large flocks of sheep or herds of cattle as possible and plunged into the interior. When they found suitable pasturage they 'squatted' and set out the boundaries of their 'runs' that often included thousands of acres. As first-comers they laid claim to the whole area they grazed as of right and were quick to resent any infringement by individuals or government with what they considered their property.

While the squatting movement conferred great benefits upon

1. See infra. Appendices. Tables 8 and 9.
the colony it also made subsequent government control of
land settlement extremely difficult to establish. In 1837
the problem still remained unsolved. In 1829 part of the
colony had been divided into the Nineteen Counties and a
proclamation issued forbidding settlement beyond the borders
of these counties. In 1831 Lord Goderich, the Colonial
Secretary, had made sale by auction the only means for the
disposal of Crown lands. A minimum price of 5g per acre for
640-acre lots was fixed by the Crown, although in special
circumstances smaller lots were allowed to be sold. Land
required for grazing was to be leased from year to year unless
applications were received from intending purchasers, and then
this land was sold by auction. This latter provision did not
settle the question of what was to be done with the squatter
or how the authority of the government was to be established
over the wide expanses of the interior, for the home govern-
ment refused to see or hear of anything beyond the borders
of the Nineteen Counties, though the squatters' flocks were
well beyond them even before the proclamation of 1829 was
issued. In 1835 Governor Bourke, recognizing both the desir-
ability of the squatting movement and the impossibility of
stopping it, set himself to fight for the squatters' rights;
but he made little impression on the Secretary of State. To

2. Goderich to Darling, 9 January, 1831. Bell and Morrell.
Select Documents, p. 197.
easily remedied as squatting in Wales. In 1836 the Legislative Council of New South Wales took the matter in its own hands and passed the first act to legalize the squatting system. Actually it simply gave official countenance to the squatters by levying a license fee of £10 a year in return for which the squatter could stock as many acres as he pleased. To prevent boundary quarrels and to keep a representative of the government before the eyes of the squatters officials known as Commissioners of Crown Lands were appointed to supervise the domain of the squatters and to keep the peace.

By 1837 overlanders had reached the infant settlement of Melbourne and the Port Phillip district, which was later separated from New South Wales and organized as the colony of Victoria, was soon practically all appropriated by squatters and other settlers. The great northern line was being rapidly pushed further and further away from the settled areas and out past the Naomoi and Gyra almost to the Clarence Flats. Settlers were rapidly filling New South Wales from Queensland to South Australia.

Van Diemen's Land, the other great convict settlement in Australia, was not as fortunate as New South Wales in attracting free settlers. In 1825 the Van Diemen's Land Company was formed in England and obtained a grant of 250,000 acres. It

4. Queensland was not separated from New South Wales as a separate colony until 1859.
adopted a vigorous policy of colonization but geographic and economic conditions in the country made its task difficult and until 1837 little success accompanied its efforts. The chief settlement was on the north coast at Launceston but the area available for settlement near the coast at that point was small as most of the land there was already in the hands of speculators. There was some squatting but not to the extent that it was carried in New South Wales, for outlaw bands of escaped convicts made it dangerous for the out-settler.

Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur, who was Governor of Van Diemen's Land at this time, made strenuous efforts to attract settlers by an extensive program of road-building and public works, but the results were disappointing. Although the prospects for free settlement in Van Diemen's Land looked brighter in 1837 than at any previous time, Arthur realized that no real progress could be made until the colony freed itself of the drag of the transportation system and the prospects of achieving this seemed slight.

The first colony to be established in Australia purely on the basis of free settlement was Swan River. In December, 1828, a group of capitalists headed by Thomas Peel, a younger brother to Sir Robert Peel, entered into negotiation with the Colonial Office for land on the Swan River, but before the negotiations were completed all the members of the syndicate

1. Arthur went direct from Van Diemen's Land to Upper Canada as Lieutenant-Governor, in 1839.
except Peel had withdrawn. Peel continued alone, but within three years of the initial settlement which was made in December 1829, it was generally conceded that the experiment had been a failure. Hardship, a less fertile soil than had been expected, scarcity of provisions, little available good land after the first settlers had each been granted huge blocks of land, and exaggerated reports of its unsuitability for colonization which trickled back to England, all reacted against the success of the colony. Lack of sufficient capital and labor prevented the colony from regaining its feet and, in 1837, with a population of only about two thousand it offered little in the way of encouragement to settlement.

South Australia, the fourth Australian colony, had been founded as late as April 1837, when a party of colonists were landed at Adelaide. It was the first step in the realization of a great dream of a great imperialist, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield and his associates had striven for several years to put into operation a scheme of 'systematic' colonization. Dissatisfied with government measures for colonization and unable to find a colony in existence suitable for the great experiment Wakefield had turned his attention to South Australia as an area whose physical features offered the least number of obstacles and the best opportunities for success. The first practical step leading to the formation

of the new colony was the organization in 1830 of the National Colonization Society. The efforts of this Society to gain recognition was, however, ruined by the opposition of officials in the Colonial Office. Next, Wakefield's followers formed the South Australian Land Company, but they were unable to convince Goderich of the practicability of colonization by chartered company. Finally, the South Australian Association, formed in 1833, was able to command sufficient financial and parliamentary support to have a Bill passed providing for the establishment of a colony in South Australia. Wakefield, who had been the driving force behind the movement to obtain such an act, withdrew shortly after its passage, partly because of a personal bereavement, and partly because he believed it was only a partial enactment of his scheme. From the outset it was a group of quite ordinary men who attempted to apply what they conceived to be Wakefield's theory of the art of colonization.

From the beginning the new colony was intended to be a venture on a purely voluntary basis. It was to be an association in the nature of a mercantile enterprise for which the State took no responsibility, although retaining political control. This political set-up changed Wakefield's previous optimism and he held little hope that the colony would be a success. The greatest weakness in the establishment which

the Act had erected, he maintained, was the division of con-
trol between the South Australian Commissioners of the Company
and the officials of the Colonial Office. The Commissioners
were to manage and dispose of the land and the land revenues
of the colony and to superintend the emigration of settlers.
In the colony, a Resident Commissioner appointed by the Crown
but acting under the direction of the Commissioners was to
manage the details of the scheme. A second weakness which
Wakefield pointed out as threatening the success of the colony
was the setting up of a minimum price of 12s per acre instead
of the £2 which he, at this time, considered as approximately
the 'sufficient price'. On the other hand Wakefield gave his
blessing to the provision which applied all the proceeds from
the land sales to the cost of immigration and to the provi-
sions forbidding the transportation of convicts to the colony
of South Australia.

For a time, the actual colonizing efforts of the Associa-
tion were held up by the necessity of raising the £35,000 that
the British Treasury had insisted upon as security. By Feb-
uary, 1837, however, the new experiment was under way. Colonel
Light, the first Surveyor-General of the colony, chose and
surveyed the site of Adelaide, the capital, and prepared the
way for the first shipload of settlers who landed in April.

1. W.K., 4 & 5 Will. IV, c. 95. Bell and Morrell, Select
   Documents, pp. 205–6.
2. Ibid.
New Zealand. in 1831, was neither a part of the British
Colonial possessions nor was it completely outside the pale
of British interests. On several occasions the Colonial Office
had officially and openly expressed its opposition to any
movement for the seizure of the Islands, but it was forced
by events in the Islands themselves and public opinion at
home to interfere more and more in the affairs of the natives
and the white residents there.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century there had
been a casual and for the most part disreputable settlement
of Europeans there chiefly on the shores of the Bay of Islands
on the northeast coast of the North Island. Most of the
Europeans were either shipwrecked sailors, whale or seal
fishers, or escaped convicts from Australia, and it was not
long before tales of outrages and wars between the whites and
the natives drifted back to England.

The rumors about conditions in New Zealand caught the
imagination of missionaries and missionary societies. The
Reverend Samuel Marsden, colonial chaplain at Parramatta,
New South Wales, set out for New Zealand in 1814 accompanied
by two other missionaries. Within a short time he founded a
mission station and soon after the Church Missionary Society
of England and other religious bodies followed his example.

1. Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. vii, pt. ii,
pp. 45-51.
So successful indeed were the missionaries that they actually hoped to keep New Zealand as their own preserve.

At every hand the missionaries found the whites stirring up trouble among the natives. To control the European element they appealed to Governor MacQuarrie of New South Wales, and in 1814 magistrates were appointed to reside in New Zealand. In 1817 the courts of New South Wales were given power to deal with offenses committed by British subjects residing in New Zealand, but claimed no jurisdiction over the natives. By 1830 indignation over the outrages both by the natives and the Europeans in New Zealand forced the imperial government to send out a Resident Commissioner who, although he was given little legal power, was instructed to do everything he could to bring peace. In 1837, the only real political control the British government exercised over New Zealand was exercised by the Resident Commissioner, and that amounted to very little.

Interest in settling a British colony on these islands first arose in the 1820's, largely through fear that otherwise France might declare her sovereignty over the islands. In 1825 a colonization society under the patronage of Lord Durham was formed in London. In the following year some emigrants were landed and some land was purchased from the natives, but the colony failed and most of the original settlers re-emigrated to New South Wales. Nothing in the way

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1. Ibid., p. 55.
2. JENKS, OP. CIT., p. 169.
3. Ibid., p. 170.
of organized settlement of New Zealand was done until Wakefield again revived interest in such a scheme in 1836. In that year he pointed out, in his appearance before the House of Commons select committee on waste lands in Australia that whether the Colonial Office wished it or not New Zealand was being colonized, and by a type of colonist that was the worst that could be obtained.

Wakefield was determined that his system be given a fair trial and now, having failed in South Australia, he turned to New Zealand as a more likely spot for the initial experiment. His evidence before the Select Committee caught the interest of Mr. Francis Baring, the financier, and the two men gathered around them a philanthropic group which was organized into the New Zealand Association in 1837. Their objective being to colonize and govern the Islands they proposed to the Colonial Office that an Act of Parliament should be passed granting them powers of sovereignty for a limited period over certain portions of New Zealand and permission to purchase land from the natives and resell it to the settlers. Strong and determine opposition to this scheme, however, came from the missionary bodies whose influence was particularly strong in the Colonial Office. They made strenuous and not entirely unsuccessful attempts to preserve New Zealand as an exclusive field for missionary work and to prevent the evils which everywhere

2. Ibid., p. 67.
had arisen when settlers came in contact with the natives.

Wakefield, however, had other forces to aid his cause. Unrest among the natives had grown to such an extent that Britain must either take an active part in controlling the affairs of the islands or withdraw completely; and the French were showing an increasing interest in the islands as an excellent place for possible convict settlements. Ulmenelg wavered between the demands of the missionaries and the necessity of increasing British control to stabilize conditions and to prevent French penetration.

To sum up, the British hold upon the continent of Australia in 1837 was, with the exception of the northern coast-line, almost complete. An almost continuous line of settlements stretched from the present city of Brisbane in Queensland to the city of Geraldton in Western Australia. Norfolk Island, first settled by convicts in 1791, then abandoned for over twenty years, was now again a convict settlement. Van Diemen's Land was struggling to assert itself as a settlement colony suitable for free immigrants. Some twelve hundred miles to the east, the islands of New Zealand were being relentlessly drawn into the orbit of British control. In practically all these areas the groundwork of settlement had been well laid and now waited the flood of immigration that was to come in the next period of Australasian development.

CHAPTER 11

Colonial Policy and Colonization

Colonization of the waste areas of the empire under the paternal supervision of the British government had by 1837 become part of British colonial policy. Although not in accord with the laissez-faire, laissez-passer ideal that tended to dominate British political and economic thought of the time, this policy seems to have been adopted by the Imperial government partly because it offered the best means by which the dangerous unemployment situation in the United Kingdom might be most speedily relieved, and partly as the result of the strong and persistent pressure exerted by determined and influential groups upon the Colonial Office. Some of these groups were found within the official circles of parliament; others, of equal or even greater importance, were outside the British parliament. That these latter groups were able to play such an important part in determining British colonial policy at this time was due largely to the susceptibility to outside influences of the men who occupied responsible positions in the Colonial Office.

Determinants of Colonial Policy: Official

Within the official circles of the government the man held responsible for the administration of the colonies and the enunciation of policies concerning them was the Secretary for War and the Colonies. In 1837 this official was Lord
Glenelg, a man whom most historians have placed in the category of mediocrity. Almost from the day he took office in 1835 Glenelg seems to have been too circumscribed by party control, too overshadowed by the personality of Lord John Russell, too sensitive to the play of the powerful forces about him to chart his course with firmness and foresight. In this sense Glenelg was neither better nor worse than most of his predecessors. Perhaps it is an indication of the minor value placed upon the colonies by the people of the United Kingdom as a whole and by the British government in particular that with one or two important exceptions the men who were chosen to fill the post of Colonial Secretary were usually men of mediocre ability.

Second only in importance in the Colonial Office to the Colonial Secretary in influencing colonial policy were the permanent officials. Acquainted as they were through long years of experience with most of the details of administration in each of the colonies, they held a distinct advantage over the successive Colonial Secretaries. The latter, whose terms of office were usually short, found it physically impossible

2. The following are men who held the office of Colonial Secretary from 1830 to 1837:
   - 1830 Viscount Goderich.
   - 1833 Lord Derby.
   - 1834 T. Spring-Rice.
   - 1835 Lord Glenelg.
   - 1839 Marquis of Normandy.
   During this period the average term of office was eighteen months.
to grasp the minute details necessary for the proper handling
of each colonial problem and so, though the final decision
rested with them, they often were forced to rely very greatly
upon the advice of the permanent officials.

In 1837 the permanent official who wielded the greatest
influence upon colonial policy was Sir James Stephen, the Per-
manent Undersecretary of State for the Colonies. Stephen's
first connection with the Colonial Office was in 1825 when he
first accepted the position of Permanent Counsel for the
Colonial Office. In 1834 he was appointed Assistant Under-
secretary of State and, in 1836, Permanent Undersecretary of
State, the office which he held until his retirement in 1847.

Sir James Stephen was not only a humanitarian but also a
strong supporter of missionary enterprise and a member of the
Exeter Hall group, and it was common knowledge that he had
accepted his first appointment to the Colonial Office only
because he believed that he could give the missionary cause
more support as Permanent Counsel to the Colonial Office than
in any other capacity. Whenever the opportunity arose Stephen
used his influence to protect the native races of the colonies,
or projected colonies, from injury by the spread of coloniza-
tion. Moreover, he was anxious not to increase the already
heavy burden of colonial expense and, partly because of this
desire to protect the natives and partly because of the effect
upon the already overburdened revenues of the United Kingdom,
Stephen opposed any further extension of the empire. He was

1. Ibid., pp. 70-2.
convinced that the colonies would eventually break away completely from the mother country, and he looked upon this event as not an unmitigated evil.

In 1837 Stephen used all his influence to prevent the granting of a charter to the New Zealand Company for the colonization of New Zealand because it violated both his desire to see these islands remain directly under missionary control and his wish to prevent further Imperial expansion. When the charter was refused by the British government Stephen earned the undying hatred of the Colonial Reformers, the most active imperialist group in the British parliament, and for the remainder of his term of office he was subjected to sustained and continuous attacks from its members. Charles Buller, one of the outstanding members of the Colonial Reform group, pinned on him the names of 'Mr. Mother-Country' and 'Mr. Oversecretary Stephen', charging that he had gathered into his hands the actual administration of the empire. After 1837 the Colonial Reformers laid upon Stephen the blame for every political setback they received in their colonization schemes. While there is reason to believe that Stephen's influence in the Colonial Office was exaggerated, he was doubtless responsible for many difficulties of the colonizers.

Besides the Colonial Office, there were several other

departments which had a voice in the determination of colonial policy. Very few of the decisions of the Colonial Office were made without consulting the Treasury, the War Office, the Foreign Office, or some other executive office of the government on some point and as a result considerable policy originated in these offices. At the same time the departmental system was in the process of evolution and many of these offices were actually trying to assert their authority in colonial affairs at the expense of the Colonial Office. When such men as Lord Glenelg held office their influence could be expected to be much greater than is generally realized.

The Colonial Secretary was forced to rely very largely upon the governors and lieutenant-governors of the various colonies to supply him with information. The reactions of these administrators on the frontiers of the empire as expressed in official despatches, and especially in private and confidential correspondence with the Colonial Secretary formed the most reliable means the latter had upon which to base judgment of the effectiveness of his policies. One has only to peruse the private correspondence between Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary from 1846 to 1852, and Lord Elgin, the Governor-General of British North America, during the same period, to realize the influence that in some instances the colonial governors could wield in the determination of colonial policy.

1. Ibid.
As a member of the British cabinet the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was directly responsible to parliament for his administration of colonial affairs. Parliament, however, seldom showed much interest in the colonial empire and as long as the Colonial Secretary kept his policy within the broad scope of party aims and philosophy he was only occasionally called upon to give an accounting of the administrative functions of his office. The Spectator, an influential London newspaper, remarked in 1836 that the British parliament did not trouble itself about colonies except when the question of slavery arose, or when a colony like Canada was ripe for rebellion. It was generally a matter of great difficulty to persuade members to attend a debate on a colonial question, and some important colonial bills were passed by little more than a quorum. There was, however, a small but energetic group of men in parliament known as the Colonial Reformers who as we have seen were greatly interested in colonial affairs and particularly in colonization. Led by such men as Charles Buller, Lord Durham, Sir William Molesworth, and commanding the sympathies of Lord John Russell and Earl Grey, considered to be among the foremost statesmen of the day, and of other thinkers outside of parliament like John Stuart Mill, the eminent economist, this group was able to influence to a considerable degree the course of colonial policy.

2. Ibid.
In contrast to the widespread belief that the colonial empire would eventually break away and that such an event would be advantageous to both the mother-country and the colonies, the Colonial Reformers maintained that the colonies could be just as valuable to the United Kingdom of the nineteenth century whose field of trade and commerce was the whole world as they were to the Great Britain of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose commercial area of exploitation was limited to those territories directly under its control. At the same time they maintained that the colonies could benefit a great deal more by retaining the connection with the mother-country than they could by declaring complete independence. It was largely because of the energy with which these men threw themselves into the debates on colonial questions and the prestige which they enjoyed as experts in the colonial field that imperial colonization had by 1837 become an accepted part of the general policy of the British government.

As long as the policies of the Colonial Reformers showed promise of relieving distress in the United Kingdom they could count upon the support of the landlords, the group most directly affected by rising unemployment and distress. Distress brought disturbances, riots, and destruction of property and it was in the interest of the landlords, most of whom sat either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords to forward any

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suggestion that would relieve the situation. Many of the landlords wished to rid themselves of the unwanted tenantry in order to make full use of their land through the adoption of improved methods of cultivation. Clearances were made by individual landlords, but such action only increased the size of the parish relief rolls and the taxes. Furthermore, the condition of Ireland and the gradual engulfment of all classes there by the widening wave of poverty was viewed by the English landowners, parliamentarian and reformer with an ever-increasing fear that if nothing were done Great Britain as well as Ireland would suffer the consequences.

Although it was fairly generally accepted in the United Kingdom that the greatest benefits came from the greatest freedom accorded to individual enterprise it was also apparent that such a view could not become fully operative under such conditions as then existed among the masses. Emigration of the poverty-stricken masses seemed the only solution; but these people were unable to emigrate without assistance. Government-assisted emigration was too costly and there was considerable doubt as to its effectiveness when it came to handling large numbers. To remove great numbers from the United Kingdom at practically no cost to the British people seemed to be the best solution to the distress in the British Isles. Just such a scheme which seemed to fulfill these requirements appeared to be at hand—the much publicized plan of Edward Gibbon Wakefield for the 'systematic' colonization of the empire.
Determinants of Colonial Policy: Unofficial

First and foremost among those outside official circles who exerted considerable influence on the trend of colonial policy was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Unable to enter parliament because of a prison term he had served for abduction Wakefield was forced to work behind the political scene. His personality and extraordinary powers of persuasion, his ambition and restless energy, however, enlisted the support of the Colonial Reformers in parliament who became the sponsors for his scheme. Rintoul, the founder of the Spectator, also became his ally, and J.S. Mill contributed his powerful support.

The interest of Wakefield in colonization had been stirred by the distress in the United Kingdom and the failure of the methods being adopted by the government to cope with the situation. An elaborate investigation by two Select Committees of the House of Commons carried out in 1826 and 1827 had reported that the British colonies had plenty of room for the surplus population if the government could find means to assist the indigent laboring population to emigrate. Little, however, was done. Wakefield laid the chief blame for the failure to follow up this investigation and of past emigration schemes upon the narrowness of the viewpoint of the originators. They

2. These are to be found in British Parliamentary Papers, Commons, 1827, nos. 237 and 550.
had seen only the excessive population in the British Isles. 
Wakefield charged, when they should have been making one need 
supply another. He pointed out that the colonies needed a 
large population, concentration of settlement, more labor, and 
in general the arts and the civilization of the United Kingdom, 
while on the other hand the United Kingdom needed relief from 
a surplus population. These two needs, he felt, could mutually 
meet each other; the chief problem was to break down the ob-
stacles which prevented intercommunication between the colonies 
demanding colonists and the mother country trying to slough off 
an excessive population. How this might be done Wakefield set 
forth in his theory of systematic colonization.

Wakefield's first enunciation of his theory appeared in 
1829 while he was still in prison. He analyzed the reasons 
for the failure of past emigration schemes, and in particular 
the recent failure of the Swan River Colony which Thomas Peel 
had attempted to found in Western Australia. With this he 
presented his first draft of his own theory of the fundamentals 
of colonization in Letters from Sydney. A second publication, 
two volumes of England and America, followed in 1833. In the 
next few years Wakefield published a veritable flood of pamph-
lets, newspaper articles and minor publications. In 1849 
appeared his final statement upon 'systematic' colonization.

The Art of Colonization.

   Introduction by R.O. Mills, 1929.
2. England and America, 1833.
Wakefield's solution was essentially based upon the application of Ricardian principles to the movement of peoples. In England there was a surplus of capital and labor and a dearth of land; in the colonies there was a surplus of land but a dearth of capital and labor. The solution to the labor problem in the colonies, Wakefield believed, was to establish in each colony a proper balance between the various classes and between land, labor and capital. To keep a proper relationship between these three essentials he proposed that the immigrant should be forced to work a few years for wages by making it necessary for him to buy land instead of giving it to him as a free grant. The proceeds from the sale of land would be utilized to bring in more laborers and the colony would be supplied by a constant stream of labor, the United Kingdom would be relieved of its burden of over-population without cost to anybody. In the colony the equilibrium between supply and demand for labor would be governed by the establishment of a 'sufficient' price for the land which, he first believed, could be established by experiment. A shortage of labor could be overcome by raising the 'sufficient' or 'upset' price of land, thereby making it more difficult for laborers to become landowners and keeping their services available. Conversely, an excess of labor could be remedied by lowering the upset price which would speed up the conversion of labor to landowners and at the same time reduce the funds available to
pay for the transportation of labor from the mother-country to the colony.

Wakefield's scheme envisaged an emigration board in the United Kingdom to select the type of emigrant best suited to the needs of the colony, supervision of the emigrants throughout their voyage to the colony, and facilities in the colony to receive the emigrant and to direct him to the areas where labor was most needed. It was a scheme for a self-contained colonization structure which once in operation was expected to work more or less automatically.

The influence of Wakefield and his writings upon the course of British colonial policy from 1830 to 1850 was profound. His projected reform of the system of colonization dove-tailed in with the general reform movement that was quickly transforming the whole of English life. His restless energy in organizing committees and the support accorded him in parliament by the Colonial Reformers were all directed towards maintaining continuous pressure upon the Colonial Office to put his theory into operation. Of all groups in the British Isles those which found their origin in Wakefield and his sympathizers were by far the most influential in determining the course of British policy in the field of colonization.

Aside from Wakefield and his supporters the men who were the strongest advocates of a system of colonization were those who expected to receive the major benefits from its operation.

1 See E.G. Wakefield. The Art of Colonization. London: John W. Parker, 1849.
The landowners, shipowners and commercial interests in both
the mother-country and the colony were united in many ways by
a common bond of self-interest. When these interested groups
united to form a common front the Colonial Secretary often
found it necessary to give cognizance to their demands in his
day-to-day administration of colonial affairs and in the formul-
ation of policy.

Next to the landlords the most interested group, particu-
larly in emigration, was the shipowners. A large flow of emi-
grants from the United Kingdom assured them of a full out-
cargo at all times. It was no accident that a year of famine
in Ireland found a constant stream of shipping calling at the
Irish ports to load or to complete a cargo with poverty-stricken
humanity. It is also significant that in spite of the strong
humanitarian movement in Britain at this time the commercial
interests were able to oppose successfully the imposition of
strict government regulations dealing with the actual trans-
portation of emigrants from the British Isles to the North
American colonies.

The English industrialists showed little interest in for-
warding emigration and settlement in the colonies. More often
they were openly opposed to colonization because it reduced the
supply of labor available and tended to raise wages, and also
because of the very real probability that the skilled labor
which emigrated would participate in developing industries in

Harvard University Press, 1940, p. 200.
the land of their adoption that would compete with Britain in the world market.

On the other hand, the industrialists in the colonies, and particularly in the Maritime Provinces, were especially active in urging their claims upon the Colonial Office for skilled labor. The demand for emigrant labor by colonial commercial and industrial interests was reinforced by the enticements and propaganda of the large land companies in the Maritimes, in the Canadas, and in Australasia. Their memoranda and petitions were continually placed before the Colonial Secretary, while their emigration agents moved from district to district in the British Isles stimulating the desire among the discontented to emigrate.

All in all, the cumulative pressure of these many interests which were directly or indirectly interested in some phase of the colonization movement was considerable and, in view of the vulnerability of the Colonial Office to pressure from outside sources, the important part which these interested groups played in determining the course of colonization in the next fifteen years is not surprising.

Colonial Policy and Emigration and Land Settlement

In the field of colonization the Colonial Office and the British government, in 1837, were primarily concerned, first.

with encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom; and secondly
with the effective utilization of the waste lands of the colonies
in order to promote settlement.

The active interest of the Imperial government in emigra-
tion was first roused by Wilmot Horton, Undersecretary of State
for War and the Colonies from 1822 to 1830. Horton spent these
years in urging upon the British public and parliament a scheme
of state-controlled and state-aided emigration of paupers as a
means of relieving the British Isles of the excess population.
His plan was given a trial in 1823 and 1825 when grants of money
were made by the House of Commons for the emigration and settle-
ment of small groups of emigrants from Ireland in Upper Canada
under the supervision of Peter Robinson. It was also largely
through his efforts that parliament appointed the two Select
Committees of the House of Commons in 1826 and 1827 to consider
the success of his experiment. Horton was the chairman of both
committees.

In general, these two committees recommended emigration as
one method which could be used with some success to relieve the
British Isles of an excess population. However, the reports
emphasized that all emigration should be voluntary, that it
should apply only to permanent pauperism, and that any expense
incurred by the government should be ultimately repaid. They
also advised that a Board of Emigration should be formed to

Jackson, 1915, p. 31.
direct the emigrants to the best available lands. Although the significance of the report was almost immediately overshadowed by the more ambitious scheme of Edward Gibbon Wakefield they have played a large part in determining the policy of the British government towards colonization. Wakefield himself seems to have incorporated into his own theory many of the recommendations made by the Select Committees of 1826-7 for the control and supervision of emigration.

During the 1830's the British government made several attempts to implement the recommendations of these Select committees on emigration. In 1831 a Board of Emigration was set up and £10,000 was appropriated from the land revenues of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to assist female emigration to these colonies. In 1834 a clause was inserted in the Poor Law Amendment Act which permitted a district to mortgage its rates to provide funds for the emigration of permanent paupers within its confines. In 1835 a proviso was added stating that such aid would only be extended by the Poor Law Commissioners if the emigrant intended to settle in British North America. With the appointment of T.P. Elliot as Agent-General for Emigration in 1837 directly under the control of and responsible to the Colonial Secretary the British govern-

1. The second and third reports of these committees are found in British Parliamentary Papers, Commons, 1827, nos. 237 and 550.
2. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
ment brought under one head all the different government agencies which had been developed to stimulate and supervise emigration.

In 1837, and in the previous twenty years, by far the greater number of the emigrants from the United Kingdom were made up of small capitalists and landowners who left before they were forced down into the ranks of the poverty-stricken masses below them. The reports of the select committees in 1826-7 had pointed out that emigration of this class did not affect the real problem; in fact it served to make conditions in the United Kingdom even worse. Nearly every small capitalist or landowner employed one or more laborers and when these men closed their shops or sold their land their employees were thrown out of work and forced to seek parish relief. At the same time, the burden of the poor relief was largely borne by these small shop-keepers and landowners and with the numbers of this class being reduced more and more by emigration the burden upon those who remained became heavier and heavier. Furthermore, most of these small capitalists and landowners were going to the United States where their abilities and capital were lost to the empire as well as to the United Kingdom. The select committees on emigration of 1826-7 suggested that the British government use every possible means to encourage the emigration of the least desirable classes who burdened the relief rolls of the parish in order to relieve the pressure which was forcing the small capitalist and landowner to emigrate. The sloughing

1. *British Parliamentary Paper, Commons, 1827, no. 550.*
off of the weaklings and, in so far as possible, the retaining of the better classes became by 1837 a general underlying aim of British emigration policy.

The classes of people who were to be encouraged to migrate were classified both according to occupation and to race by the select committees on emigration in 1826-7. Both types of classification were taken into consideration by the British government in developing its emigration policy. Emigration from the urban centres was on the whole discouraged because of the adverse effect it might have on labor supply and wages. However, where modern processes had caused the decay of an old handicraft, such as the Scottish weavers, hindrances to emigration were removed and in isolated instances the government contributed to the funds for emigration. In the rural areas the government was chiefly concerned with encouraging the agricultural laborer and the large body of people on the poor rates to emigrate to the colonies where they would be given an opportunity to start life anew. This policy was particularly applicable to Ireland where practically the whole population was on an agricultural economy. The English looked upon the Irish as the least desirable of the races that inhabited the British Isles and at every opportunity the Englishman promoted as large a migration from Ireland as possible.

2. S.C. Johnson, op. cit., p. 86.
From the 1820's when the Englishman might first be said to have taken an active interest in the country the emphasis was laid on the means by which the Irish population might be reduced. Measures for the economic rehabilitation of Ireland, such as making the English Poor Law system available to Ireland, the reform of the land system and the investment of capital in Irish agriculture and industry, were looked upon as operative only when the population had been reduced to more normal limits. It was out of this initial interest in emigration as a solution to the difficulties arising out of over-population in Ireland that the larger conception of the value of this outward movement to both mother-country and settlement colonies largely developed. With the setting in of emigration in volume to the colonies the necessity for a uniform method of settling emigrants on the colonial waste lands assumed a new importance.

Although considerable progress had been made in developing a uniform imperial land policy by 1837 it was far from being completely worked out, or applicable to all parts of the empire. Interest in a land policy that had as its purpose the expansion of settlement, however, had not become officially evident until after 1825. In fact it is difficult to find any evidence that an Imperial land policy existed prior to this date. Regulations governing the alienation of land in the British North American colonies had been issued as early as 1763 and included in the
instructions to General Murray, the first civil governor of Quebec. Later, in instructions to Lord Dorchester, Governor-General of the British North American colonies, and in the Constitutional Act of 1791 these original regulations were expanded in detail. However, from 1791 to 1824 the Imperial government had showed but slight interest in the fate of colonial lands, while in the colonies the governors and the executive councillors, who had been made responsible for the enforcement of the regulations, showed little desire to put them into force.

Then in the early 1820’s the scheme of pauper emigration to the colonies advocated by Wilmot Horton focussed the attention of the Colonial Office upon the necessity of formulating a land policy to complement such a scheme. Partly as a result of this and partly because of petitions from the colonies demanding reform in the land granting practices a circular despatch from the Colonial Secretary was sent in 1825 to the governors of the British colonies in North America and Australia instructing them to discontinue free grants, except in certain specified instances, and to hold all lands in the colonies for sale. In the colonies, however, the governors

1. Instructions to Governor Murray, 1732. A. Shortt & A.G. Doughty, *Documents re the Canadian Constitution.* 1760-91.


accepted these new regulations in principle and then made so many local exceptions to the uniform rules that these were soon rendered unworkable. After this initial failure little was done by the Colonial Office in the direction of a uniform Imperial land policy for the next five years.

Some advance had been made in 1825, however, for the Imperial government announced that no more land would be reserved for the Crown. Almost immediately the Colonial Office began negotiating for the sale of the Crown reserves already in existence to land companies, such as the Canada, British-American, and New Brunswick-Nova Scotian Land companies in British North America, and the Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales land companies in Australasia. By the early 'thirties large blocks of the Crown reserves had been sold to these companies for a nominal sum on the understanding that they were settled without delay.

In 1830 the office of Colonial Secretary passed into the hands of Lord Goderich, and Lord Howick became his parliamentary undersecretary. Almost immediately a system of general sale by auction at a uniform 'upset' price was introduced. This change from a policy of hesitation and indifference to one of energy and conviction was due in a great part to the influence exerted by Edward Gibbon Wakefield on the Colonial Office. His theories, published in A Letter from Sydney in 1

Ibid.
1829, had been adopted by a small group actively interested in colonization and, through the activities of this group brought directly to the attention of Lord Howick in the Colonial Office. A precise and definite theory, advocating methods by which an effective control of the land system could be secured with a minimum of supervision, gave the new government the confidence to proceed with its policy of reform. In a series of long and detailed despatches the Colonial Secretary during 1831 communicated his decision to the various colonies. Although the full scheme of systematic colonization was not adopted the new principles for the alienation of land were explained in terms of Wakefield's theories. It was not until after the retirement of Earl Grey—Lord Howick in 1831— in 1852 that the uniform system for the alienation of colonial waste land, whose basis was laid in 1831, crumbled before the rise of colonial nationalism.

Until 1837 the influence of Wakefield upon colonization was almost entirely confined to Australia; and even there the trial of his theory of 'systematic' colonization was only partial. The North American colonies had, so far, altogether declined to adopt them. In 1836 Wakefield and his supporters made a great effort to have his theories more widely applied and were able to get a select committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine into the question of the disposal of waste

lands in the Australian colonies, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the West Indies. Their efforts to include British North America within the scope of the inquiry, however, were unsuccessful. The report of the committee was practically a recommendation of the Wakefield system. It recommended that a system of sale should be fully applied to the colonial lands, and that the regulations should be embodied in an act of the Imperial parliament. It is significant that, following the publication of this report in 1837, an Agent-General for Emigration was appointed and along with other duties already mentioned he was to take charge of all monies from the sale of lands in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia and to use this revenue to assist emigration from the British Isles to these colonies.

In 1837 the underlying principle upon which the British government was developing its policy for the utilization of the waste lands of the empire was essentially the same as that which first found expression, in spirit, in the Declaratory Act of 1768 and, in form in the words of Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary from 1846 to 1852. In a despatch to Governor Fitzroy of New South Wales, dated January 28, 1852, Earl Grey states:

"The waste lands of the empire are held by the Crown as trustee for the empire at large and not for the inhabitants of the particular provinces separated by artificial geographical barriers......in which the waste lands happen to situate...." 2

1. House of Commons Committee on Disposal of Waste Lands in the Colonies; Evidence of Wakefield (Extracts), ibid., pp. 214-7.
2. Grey to Fitzroy, 23 January, 1852, ibid., p. 262.
It was only when emigration to the colonies reached important proportions and brought to the fore the necessity of formulating a settlement policy that the idea of a uniform body of regulations to govern the alienation of land in all the colonies was given serious consideration. In 1837 this aim had not as yet been achieved, although the outlines had been fairly well established.

By 1837 colonization had made a place for itself in the field of British colonial policy. Many varied and influential interests had been arrayed in support of it. The philanthropist and humanitarian looked upon colonization as a means of relieving some of the distress of the poor; the imperialist looked upon it as an unbreakable bond drawing together the far-flung areas of the empire; the economic philosophers of the day gave it a certain amount of support for it provided a means of alleviating the extreme conditions which hindered the full adoption of a general laissez-faire policy. In a more practical sense, the land speculators, ship-owners and commercial houses were active in supporting emigration and settlement from purely selfish motives, while the colonies and colonial legislatures welcomed the immigrants for the increase in strength and population which they represented.
CHAPTER 111

Empire Colonization from 1837 to 1842

The depression which had descended in 1837 continued with few signs of abatement through the five years to 1842. At no time during the earlier period had the people of the United Kingdom experienced greater suffering that they did during this period of protracted distress. In North America, the two Canadas were in the throes of a political, financial and economic crisis that made both life and property unsafe, and the same fate for a time threatened to engulf the Maritime provinces. At the same time the United States was suffering from the worst financial crisis in its history. In Australia, all the colonies except New South Wales experienced considerable distress. New South Wales, however, from 1837 to 1841 experienced one of the greatest land booms in its history. Then, in 1842, the bubble burst and when the other areas were showing signs of recovery this colony was verging on the brink of economic collapse.

United Kingdom

In England the distress which increased steadily from 1837 had by 1842 attained proportions which are difficult to realize. In 1839, 1,137,000 were in receipt of relief in England and Wales alone; in 1840 the pauper roll contained 1,199,000; in 1841, 1,299,000; and in 1842, 1,429,000. The population of

England and Wales in 1842 was about 16,000,000 so that about one person in every eleven was a pauper.

Industry was in serious straits. Trade was depressed. Factories and workshops were idle and unemployment was general. In 1841 Charles Villiers, the nominal head of the Free Trade party, in a speech before the House of Commons gave a list of some of the trades that had been particularly hard hit by the depression: some of these were hardware, nail-making, silk and woollen manufactures, cutlery, carpet-weaving, hosiery and lace, glove and shoe-making. Population was shifting fairly rapidly and some towns and cities experienced a considerable reduction in population while in others overcrowding was particularly evident. All over the country the handloom weavers, displaced by the introduction of machinery, were nearly starving. In 1841 it was stated that there were about 800,000 of these weavers subsisting on an average wage of 2 1/2d per day. Under such intolerable conditions as these it is not surprising that the death-rate rose generally throughout the United Kingdom.

Social discontent and unrest was evident everywhere and waited only an incident to cause it to break into open rioting. Such an incident occurred in July, 1842, when some colliery owners in Staffordshire reduced the rate of wages without

1. Ibid., vol. lxi, p. 377.
notice. The men resisted the demand and the flame kindled in this district rapidly spread to Cheshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire and Wales. About 50,000—some thought 150,000—were added to the relief rolls by this general strike.

British agriculture was in no better condition. Great improvements in draining, cropping, manuring and the extensive use of machinery had thrown more and more agricultural laborers out of work, and unable to obtain work in the industrial centres they were forced on the parish relief rolls. In one district the relief of the poor which had only cost £7,035 in 1837 amounted to £14,232 in 1842. The rates rose to 18s in the pound in some districts, an amount equal to the rack-rent in the towns. Practically the whole burden of relief fell upon the landowners and many of these people who at best were able to maintain only a precarious independence were being crushed by the weight of supporting their neighbors. A good harvest in 1842 brought a promise of improved conditions, but it was offset by the riots and disturbances which flared up in the industrial centres and threw greater numbers of unemployed on the relief rolls.

In Scotland the distress of the population was even more serious than in England. In the Western Highlands and Islands bad harvests in 1836 and 1837 had thrown thousands out of work, and until 1842 the agricultural distress increased.

The industrial cities and towns of the Scottish Lowlands

1. Ibid., vol. lxvi, pp. 1072-74.
2. Ibid., vol. lix, p. 377.
were filled with a poverty-stricken population. In Glasgow, for example, largely as a result of poor housing conditions and overcrowding the rate of mortality nearly doubled in the five years between 1837 and 1842.

In Ireland a feeling of foreboding permeated the people. The census of 1841 revealed a population of more than eight million, most of whom were almost wholly dependent upon the potato crop for food. The dreaded potato-rot which had appeared in the western counties during 1837 had roused the latent fear of a general catastrophic famine while, at the same time, all attempts to improve the condition of the Irish people fell before the almost universal poverty of the country. In 1838 the Irish Poor Relief Act set up in Ireland a poor relief system similar to that in England. It was hoped that this might stay the spread of poverty but the workhouses which were to be a test of destitution were soon filled with the aged and the sick, with widows and children, and quickly lost their original function. A number of landlords gave their tenants the opportunity to migrate to the British colonies in North America: Colonel Wyndham, Lord Middleton, the Marquess of Clanricarde, Lord Stanley and Lord of Castelcomer were outstanding examples of Irish landlords who settled a large part of their tenantry in the colonies at considerable expense to themselves. However, these isolated and separate philanthropic

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1: Ibid., pp. 245-9.
measures had practically no effect on the general situation in Ireland. By 1842 it was generally felt in Ireland and in Great Britain that a system of mass emigration was the only possible remedy which could overcome the widespread poverty of this unfortunate land.

The insistent demands for measures to relieve the distress in all parts of the British Isles caused the government to make a determined effort to bring to the highest point of efficiency the facilities for stimulating and supervising emigration. In 1837 two separate bodies, the South Australian Commissioners and the Agent-General for Emigration, were in charge of supervising, directing and aiding emigration to the Australian colonies. In 1839 the South Australian Commissioners, who unlike the Agent-General received no remuneration for their services, approached the government for a salary. Sir James Stephen seized this opportunity to advocate the union of all agencies directing emigration. Lord John Russell, the newly appointed Secretary for War and the Colonies, accepted Stephen's recommendation and on January 4, 1840, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission officially took over the duties of the South Australian Commissioners and the Agent-General for Emigration.

The Commission was made up of three members, Robert Torrens, a former member of the Emigration Committee of 1831–2, T.F. Elliot, the former Agent-General for Emigration.  

1. Lord John Russell was appointed to the office of Colonial Secretary in September, 1839.
and E.E. Villiers, a leading member of the Radical group in the House of Commons. In the main, the work of this Commission was to be essentially the same as that of the two bodies which it superseded. The commissioners were to report on colonial legislation, to render to the Colonial Office periodical accounts of administration, to handle the sale of colonial waste lands in the United Kingdom and to assist emigration to the colonies. In the instructions to the commissioners, however, Lord John Russell pointed out that since the control of the waste lands in the British North American colonies was practically in the hands of the local legislatures there would be no revenues from these lands for assisting emigration and the commissioners therefore would be responsible only for the general supervision of the emigration movement to the colonies in this area.

Although the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners had little to do with the emigration movement to the British North American colonies beyond acting in a supervisory capacity they were responsible for several measures that affected emigration to these colonies. On July 22, 1840, after considerable urging by the commissioners and by the Wakefield group in the House of Commons, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury made a grant of £1,500 towards the support of the emigration agency in Canada, the first of a series of annual grants that varied in amount for the next twelve years, although it

1. Ibid., pp. 45-56.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
was never less. To provide more adequate protection for
the emigrants en route to the British North American colonies
the imperial government in 1842 gave statutory form to the
first great piece of work of the Colonial Land and Emigration
Commission, a far-reaching Passenger Act. In addition to the
limitation of the number of passengers by tonnage which had
been a feature of previous passenger acts this Act limited
the number by deck space as well. It also required berths
six feet long and eighteen inches wide, a daily issue of food
amounting to at least seven pounds of starchy food per passen-
ger for each week of the voyage, and prohibited the sale of
alcoholic spirits to steerage passengers. Moreover this Act
made it obligatory for all ships carrying emigrants to carry
life-boats, a protective measure which up to this time had
not been required. Although the general opposition to regu-
lations which infringed upon the freedom of commercial enter-
prise made rigorous enforcement of the provisions of any
passenger act difficult this Act did bring an immense improve-
ment in steerage conditions by preventing much of the unneces-
sary distress and suffering which the poverty-stricken emigrant
often suffered.

Along with bringing the administration of emigration
under a more unified control the imperial government by 1842
had taken a long step towards the establishment of a unified
imperial land system as a necessary complement to a completely

2. U.K.: 5 & 6 Will. IV c. 56.
government-sponsored colonization scheme. The control of all the waste land in the Australasian colonies and the administration of all monies set aside by each of these colonies was centralized in the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in 1840. In 1841 a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Sale of Crown Lands in South Australia thoroughly investigated the Wakefield experiment and reported very favorably on its operation in South Australia. The report which the Committee published late in 1841 suggested that the 'upset' price of land could profitably be raised beyond the rate of £1 per acre at which it was then fixed in this colony. Moreover, the report suggested that any new regulations concerning the sale of waste lands in the colonies, or the setting of a minimum price, should be in the form of a statute passed by the Imperial parliament. The sale of land in South Australia, the members of the Committee reported, had been retarded by the feeling of uncertainty among the purchasers because the control of the minimum price rested with the Colonial Secretary who might at any time be replaced by one with a different viewpoint. As a result of the recommendations by this Committee the Australian Land Sales Act was passed in 1842 by the Imperial parliament.

By this legislation the ideal of a uniform system of land sales established by an act of parliament was achieved, at least in the Australian colonies. The price of land


2. U.K., 5 & 6 Vict. c. 35.
throughout the five Australasian colonies of South and Western Australia, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand was fixed at £1 per acre. Auction was to be the usual mode of sale, although permission was given to allow the private sale of agricultural lands which had already been offered at auction. The Act suggested that the governors should endeavor to have considerably more land than was likely to be purchased offered at the periodical auctions so that persons desirous of buying land might be able to obtain it without waiting until an auction took place. The land in each of the colonies was to be divided into town lots, suburban lots, and county lots, the upset price of the land in either of the first two classes was never to be less than the lowest price of the land in the county lots. At least one half of the proceeds from the land sales was to be used to pay the cost of immigration to the respective colonies and the remainder was to be used for the construction of public works. The funds appropriated to aid immigration were to be administered by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.

Thus, by 1842 colonization as a fully developed activity sponsored by the British government had been generally accepted in official circles. As yet it was only completely applicable to the Australasian colonies, but British colonial interests looked forward to the time when this same centralized system would be extended to all the settlement areas of the empire.
In 1838 emigration from the United Kingdom was at its lowest level in more than ten years for, although economic conditions in the United Kingdom were bad, the prospective emigrant found the colonial scene even less attractive. The Canadas were in rebellion, while the poor prospects of obtaining gainful employment in the Maritimes discouraged any large migration to these provinces. Peace and prosperity in New South Wales offered bright opportunities to the emigrant. It is true, but the high cost of transportation prevented the migration to this colony of all but the selected and assisted few. As conditions on the North American continent improved, however, emigration figures rose rapidly from 33,222 in 1838 to 128,344 in 1842, the greatest number yet to leave the United Kingdom in any one year.

British North America

Lord Durham, appointed Governor-General of British North America and High Commissioner to the Canadas in 1838, emphasized again and again both in his correspondence with the Colonial Secretary and in his Report the necessity of establishing an efficient colonization scheme in the British North American colonies to offset the steady rise of republicanism. He strongly recommended that a comprehensive scheme to promote large-scale emigration from the United Kingdom to these colonies

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1. See Appendices, Table 2.
should be evolved at once which along with a far-reaching reform of the land system in all these colonies would be the best means of strengthening the ties between the British North American colonies and the mother country. For the next four years the Colonial Secretary and the local colonial authorities bent their efforts in these directions.

Prior to 1838 most of the costs arising from immigration such as the maintenance of the establishment at Grosse Isle, the expenses of the emigration agencies and the relief of destitution among the immigrants had been met out of the proceeds of the emigrant tax. However, the power to levy such a tax was renewed in 1835 for a five year period only. Charles Poulett Thomson, the successor to Lord Durham as Governor-General of British North America, found that because of a legal technicality he was unable to have the Special Council in the Lower Province renew the emigrant tax when it lapsed in 1840, and there were practically no funds on hand to defray the costs of immigration for that year. The expenses of the establishment at Grosse Isle were met by a special vote of the Special Council but the near-bankruptcy of the province left no funds available to meet the other costs. Thomson appealed to Lord John Russell and was given permission to borrow £6,000 from the military chest. In 1841 the Imperial government agreed to make a yearly grant of £1,500 to defray

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3. Ibid.
part of the expenses of the immigration establishment in the Canadas. The larger part of the burden—£4,500 in 1841—was borne by the United Legislature of Upper and Lower Canada. For the next six years the expenses of immigration were borne by direct votes of the Imperial and local authorities with much the heavier burden falling on the latter.

Through the encouragement of the Colonial Office and after 1840 of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission immigration to the British North American colonies jumped from 4,577 in 1838 to 38,164 in 1841. In 1842, 54,123 people left the United Kingdom for British North America, 44,374 of whom landed at Quebec and Montreal.

In spite of the distress in the Canadas throughout most of the period from 1838 to 1842 there was considerable demand for skilled laborers such as bricklayers, carpenters, wheelwrights, tin-smiths, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and for experienced agricultural laborers. Most of the artisans, it was reported, could be assured of steady work at fairly good wages the year round in the new towns and villages that were quickly springing up in the less densely settled parts of the province. There was also a real shortage of good farm laborers and in 1840 wages for this type of labor was as high as £20 to £30 per year with board and lodging.

2. See Infra, Appendices, Table 2.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Table 5.
On the other hand unskilled labor found employment difficult to obtain. This type of labor was chiefly employed upon public works and with the province on the verge of financial bankruptcy all construction on roads and canals had come to an end. Very little work of this kind was to be had in the period between 1838 and 1841 and whatever demand there was for unskilled labor was largely filled by American workmen who, unable to obtain work in their own country because of the depression, flocked across the border. Wages fell from 2s 6d per day with board and lodging to 1s 9d per day without board and lodging. Most of the laborers found it impossible to make a living at this wage and as a result of considerable agitation on the part of those employed on the government projects the wages for unskilled labor on public works was set in June, 1840, at 2s 6d.

In 1841 Lord Sydenham was able to negotiate a loan of £1,500,000, guaranteed by the Imperial Treasury, for the construction of public works in Upper Canada. On February 18, 1842, Sir Charles Bagot, Sydenham’s successor as Governor-General of British North America, wrote that there would be plenty of work for unskilled laborers during the following summer. The Cornwall Canal was to be completed, the canal

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
from Coteau du Lac to the Cascades was to be started, and the Lachine Canal widened. Improvements on the Welland Canal were already under way and those on the Gosford Road near Lake St. Peter were to begin as soon as the season opened. However, much of the work which Bagot had so confidently promised failed to materialize and by July, 1842, there was much unemployment. The Lachine and Grenville Canals were completed by midsummer and the unemployed gathered in the vicinity of Niagara hoping for work on the Welland Canal.

An exceptionally large immigration had brought a large number of destitute folk to Quebec where they wandered the streets. In search of work hundreds of them took the pathetic trek from Quebec to Kingston, from Kingston to Niagara, then across the American border to Rochester, Utica and Albany, many finally finding their way to New York. A large number of them seized the first opportunity to return to England, and in the only backwater movement of the decade some 9,500 disillusioned immigrants returned from New York alone to the British Isles during the autumn and winter of 1842-3. Their tales of suffering and distress account in a large part for the great decrease that took place in emigration the following year.

The large re-emigration from British North America to the United States in 1842 was not exceptional. It was a

movement that had been going on for some time and in ever-increasing volume. All attempts on the part of the Imperial or colonial officials to reduce it had so far been futile. In British North America, in fact, any plan adopted for settlement had to be constructed and carried out with an eye continually upon the practices in the neighboring republic where land was fairly cheap and labor usually found a ready market. The British colonies found that if they were to retain their immigrants they must be able to offer as favorable, or even more favorable, land settlement terms and to provide constant employment on public works at wages as high as those paid in the United States. Until 1842 Imperial and colonial authorities had placed the chief emphasis on a land policy that would compare favorably with the American system. But after 1842 the bulk of immigrants were unskilled laborers and this made necessary a shift of emphasis to a public works program that would be able to provide these new immigrants with employment.

The necessity of developing a land policy that would rectify the chief grievances of the people of British North America—grievances that had been a major cause of the outbreak of rebellion in the Canadas—and at the same time one that would provide for an efficient land settlement scheme which would successfully offset the competition from the

1. See Annual Reports of the Emigration Agent for 1841 and 1843 in British Parliamentary Papers, Command, 1841, and Commons, 1844, no. 181, respectively.
land system was recognized by both the colonial officials and the Colonial Office. In England, the Wakefieldians sought to draw British North America into their orbit and introduce the land policy they had worked out in the Australian colonies. They made their strongest bid to have British North America included in the unified Imperial scheme between 1836 and 1842 but with little real success. In 1836 the request by Wakefield and the Colonial Reformers that the British North American lands be brought within the scope of the Select Committee on Waste Lands was rejected by Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, but as a compromise he had issued instructions outlining a system of sale by auction based upon an upset price set by the different Lieutenant-Governors-in-Council of the several North American colonies. Glenelg's instructions were given statutory authority by the legislature of Upper Canada in 1838, but they were replaced by Sydenham's Act within the short space of three years and their influence upon settlement was slight.

Wakefield's real opportunity to tackle the problem of British North American lands came in 1838 when Lord Durham appointed him as one of his advisors. In those sections of Lord Durham's Report which deal with land policy, immigration and colonization it was Wakefield's ideas rather than those

1. Glenelg to Head, 4 October, 1836, British Parliamentary
2. Papel Commons, 1839, no. 41
3. Can. 7 Will. IV c. 108.
4. Can. 4 & 5 Vict. c. 100.
of Durham that were set down.

In his investigation of the land system in existence in British North America Durham found that a large part of the most accessible land not already settled was held by speculators. To recover some of this land Lord Durham proposed that a wild lands tax of 2d per acre be imposed upon all unsettled lands held by private individuals or companies who could if they wished pay the tax by reselling the land to the Crown at 4s per acre in not less than one hundred acre lots. At the same time he proposed that the administration of all land in these colonies be placed under a central commission situated in the United Kingdom. In place of the system of sale by auction Durham suggested that a uniform price be charged for all lands. Because of the competition of American lands which were selling for the equivalent of 6s 4d per acre he saw that it would be impossible to obtain £1 per acre, the 'sufficient price' in South Australia, and settled upon 10s as the best price that could be charged. Durham's proposal to grant responsible government to the British North American colonies was qualified by his suggestion that the control and administration of the waste lands in the colonies should rest with the Imperial authorities.

2. Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 203–42.
3. Ibid., vol. iii, Appendix B.
5. The Durham Report, vol. iii, Appendix B.
Charles Poulett Thomson, Durham's successor as Governor-General of the British North American colonies, declared almost immediately after his arrival in the Canadas that Durham's proposed land system was impracticable. He pointed out that 10a an acre was too high when American lands were selling for 1 6s 4d. Furthermore he was not convinced by Durham's arguments that a successful settlement program must rest entirely on an efficient land system. From 1839 to 1841 he watched closely the various experiments in colonization which took place in the hope of finding a way to compete successfully with the American settlement system.

What finally brought the whole question of what to do about the flow of immigrants to the United States from the United Kingdom and the British North American colonies out of the realm of abstract discussion into that of concrete action was the apparent failure of the Wyndham settlement at Cobourg in 1839. Influenced by the wide discussion upon projects of settlement as well as by the desire to overcome obligations imposed upon him by the Irish Poor Law, Colonel Wyndham, an Irish landlord, transported 181 of his Irish tenants to Canada. In a prematurely optimistic vein Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, wrote to Lord Normanby of the success of the experiment. Lord John Russell, who succeeded Normanby, felt that a possible solution to the

2. Lord Normanby held the post of Colonial Secretary for only a few months in 1839.
settlement problem in British North America might lie in Colonel Wyndham’s scheme. To have the British land proprietors pay the cost of transportation to the colonies and the provincial authorities find work for the emigrants might be the means of relieving the Imperial government of a considerable portion of the expense connected with emigration to the British North American colonies. Russell asked for more details of the experiment and Thomson turned the matter over to A.B. Hawke, the emigration agent for Upper Canada, to investigate and report on the possibility of making Wyndham’s experiment a model upon which to build an emigration policy. Hawke reported that, instead of the experiment being a success as Sir George Arthur had stated it was a notable failure for all but three of Wyndham’s immigrants had gone to the United States as the result of lack of employment or low wages. Although it was later learned that Hawke had been grossly misinformed and that only a small proportion of the Wyndham settlers had left the country, the immediate effect of this reported failure upon immigration policy was tremendous. It emphasized Thomson’s belief that it was not land but work and wages that was the chief factor in retaining the immigrant in the colonies, for here was a settlement where the settlers had only to pay a small quit-rent to the proprietor for the

3. Thomson to Russell, 10 February, 1840. ibid.
4. Hawke to Thomson, 31 December, 1839.
for the use of their land and they had deserted it because of low wages and the lack of work. Hawke suggested that seemingly the best method of stopping re-emigration to the United States would be to provide the immigrants with cheap land and to begin an extensive system of public works that would provide opportunities for constant employment. As a suggestion, he proposed that a system of free grants similar to that tried by Colborne in 1833-4 be adopted. Thomson included Hawke's report in a despatch to Russell and the latter, on the assumption that this suggestion had the support of Poulett Thomson, expressed his willingness to support any such plan.

In the Canadas the idea of free grants to immigrants sprang up among the proprietors of large privately-owned properties almost simultaneously with Russell's acceptance of the necessity of such a plan. With the almost complete stoppage of immigration in 1838 they began to realize that this influx was not a constant factor and that some active participation on their part in settlement schemes advanced by the government must be taken if they were going to be able to realize on their investment.

While Thomson believed that the real solution to the settlement problem lay in an extensive program of public

works such a program was impossible in 1840 or 1841 for the treasuries of both Upper and Lower Canada were empty. Immigration was mounting rapidly and something had to be done immediately. Thomson's answer to the problem was the Act for the Disposal of Public Lands which he rushed through the United Legislature of the Canadas in 1841.

Three main objectives are apparent in the Act. The first and foremost objective was to keep those immigrants who landed at Canadian ports from re-emigrating to the United States; the second was to provide some temporary expedient to take the place of government expenditure on public works and at the same time provide the immigrant with work; and the third was to open up new territories for settlement. To Thomson the Land Act of 1841 was to be a stop-gap until the financial and economic basis of the colony was sufficiently sound to permit an extensive public works program. The people of the Canadas, however, looked upon it as the cornerstone of a new era of settlement. It remained an integral part of the land policy of the United Canadas and was later incorporated into the provincial land systems of Ontario and Quebec.

Although the preamble and most of the provisions of the Act have a strong Wakefieldian flavor, section twenty-seven

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1. Harrison to the Provincial Secretary, 24 July, 1840.
2. Can. 4 & 5, Vict. c. 100.
was really the core of Thomson's solution to the re-emigration problem. Under this section the Governor-in-Council was to have power to make free grants of land not exceeding fifty acres upon roads or projected roads in any new settlement. The grantees were bound under penalty of forfeiting the grants to execute certain improvements on their own property annually and to build and maintain the roads. The result was that without an actual outlay of money by the province large areas of wild lands were opened up for settlement and given a market value. At the same time the grant of fifty acres to the intending settler made it less necessary for him to find other employment. Lord John Russell immediately voiced his opposition to the fifty-acre instead of the five-acre free grant but Thomson pointed out that the small grant was useless when immigration was large and there was no program of public works.

The process of settlement which Thomson visualized was one in which the frontier would be progressively settled by experienced settlers to whom it was expected most of the free grants would go. The experienced settler could make a good living in the outlying districts from lumbering and its products where the new immigrant would starve. The movement of the old settlers inland would leave the partially developed farms for the inexperienced immigrant and give him a fair opportunity to make a successful start.

As long as the immigration movement was not too large

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Thomson's plan worked successfully, but during the years of the famine immigration from Ireland the frontier was not pushed back quickly enough to absorb the immigrant tide and it flowed over the old settlements into the waste lands beyond in a leap-frog process that produced acute distress for the immigrants and difficult settlement problems for the local legislatures. However, the fact that Sydenham's system of land settlement survived the severe strain placed upon it by the catastrophe of 1847 and emerged with very few changes speaks highly of the foresight of this great Imperial statesman.

The Maritimes escaped the political and to a large extent the economic disturbances that disrupted life in the Canadas in 1837-8 and until 1842 experienced a fair degree of prosperity. However, in the latter year Peel suddenly announced a drastic reduction in British timber duties, a step which opened the market to the almost neighboring Baltic states and at the same time quickly reduced the demand for the New Brunswick product and lowered the price of the smaller quantity that was sold. Commission merchants and landowners, woodcutters and rivermen, many of whom were already in debt, were ruined by this far-reaching change. And the future held no brighter prospects for New Brunswick because the Mother country seemed firmly committed to a program of free trade.

A large part of the yearly immigration into Saint John usually re-emigrated to the United States almost immediately but now these transient immigrants were joined by a large part of the discomfited New Brunswick woodmen who moved first to the Aroostook country of Maine and then farther on into New England.

**Australasia**

The misfortunes of North America were Australasia's fortune for during the period when rebellion in the Canadas and a severe economic depression in the United States were drastically reducing immigration to these areas the Australasian colonies, and New South Wales in particular, were experiencing a tremendous immigration boom. In 1838, 14,021 people, or 42 percent of the total emigration from the United Kingdom for this year, left for Australasia. Emigration figures mounted steadily and in 1841, 32,625 people left the United Kingdom for this area. Then the bubble burst and in the last year of this period, 1842, only 8,534—less than 7 percent of the total emigration from the British Isles—emigrated to the Australasian colonies. It was a tremendous decrease and the causes for it lie almost as much within the colonies in Australasia as with the lightening of the depression in the British Isles and the attraction of a proposed program of public works which the British North American colonies were offering to the British emigrant.

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1. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
1. Australia

New South Wales from 1838 to 1842 experienced a great era of prosperity. Many new areas were being quickly explored and opened up as visions of sudden wealth in sheep and cattle caused great numbers of men to plunge into the interior with a flock or herd so that at times the rancher actually anticipated the professional explorer. In the mother country glowing accounts of the colony were made on several occasions by government officials. Companies and private individuals avidly sought opportunities for investment in the colony either in the form of property or in the form of credits to individuals. The result was the greatest land buying mania in the history of New South Wales.

Land, either for sale or for lease to the squatters, was cheap. In 1837 the 'upset' price was set at 5s per acre; in 1839 the local legislature amended the provisions governing leases passed in 1836 and in place of the fixed licence fee of £10 the new act required the stockholders and ranchers to pay a small fixed fee plus a tax which varied with the amount of stock. Nearly everybody in the colony seized what seemed to be a golden opportunity to get rich quickly.

The sudden increase in land sales greatly increased the funds available for assisting emigration and the number of people who entered the ports of New South Wales jumped from 3,477 in 1837 to 13,786 in 1841. However, so quickly did these

2. Ibid.
3. See infra, Appendices, Table 8.
immigrants became proprietors that by the end of 1841 the colony
was badly in need of labor. In 1840 Governor Gipps had begun
issuing bounty orders payable in two years in order to encourage
a greater immigration which, he hoped, would help to solve the
labor problem in the colony. By 1841 these orders amounted to
the staggering sum of £979,562.

Suddenly the colony found itself in an acute financial con-
dition. Individuals in the colony had incurred debts totalling
about £500,000, borrowed from English investors on the promise
of a quick return from land speculation. When the frenzy of
speculation began to decline these individuals found themselves
loaded with a huge debt and with little possibility of being
able to meet it. In 1842 land fell quickly in value and those
who held large areas on speculation lost heavily. Land sales
almost completely stopped and Gipps was forced to discontinue
the Bounty system at the end of 1841 because no funds were avail-
able, so that in 1842 there were very little funds left from
the land boom to aid emigration and the number who immigrated
into the colony in this year fell to 6,605. For the next four
or five years New South Wales struggled to throw off the evil
effects of this period of over-speculation.

The effects of the land buying mania were not, however, all
bad. Some 50,000 people were added to the population of New South
Wales at no cost to the government. In a short space of four years

   Jackson, 1915, p. 301.
2. Gipps to Stanley, 17 January, 1844, Bell and Morrell, op. cit.
3. Ibid.
New South Wales was converted from being predominantly a convict colony to a free one, and in recognition of this change in colonial status the Imperial government, after numerous requests from the local authorities, agreed in 1840 to stop transporting convicts to this colony. The great changes wrought in the colony by the immigration of this period are illustrated by the growth of the infant settlement of Victoria. Melbourne, which began with a few buts on the banks of the Yarra-Yarra in 1835 was a busy town of 6,000 inhabitants in 1840 and the population of the whole district amounted to over 12,000.

With the discontinuance of transportation to New South Wales all the convicts transported from the United Kingdom were sent to Van Diemen's Land. In the same year an address to the Queen was passed by the British House of Commons asking that a larger proportion of the convicts under sentence be transported. The result of these two developments was to increase the average yearly number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land from 1,625 to over 3,500. This unfortunate colony which was struggling to overcome the evil effects of the transportation system now found itself in a worse position than before. For the next several years settlement was practically at a standstill; in fact more people emigrated from the colony to the other Australian colonies than immigrated.

3. Ibid., p. 7.
4. See infra. Appendices, Table 8.
South Australia, the colony of the great experiment, was also faced with a difficult situation during this period. Hardly had the actual process of colonization begun before internal quarrels and jealousies threatened to destroy the whole scheme. The town lots had been surveyed first in the hope of immediately attracting capitalists to the colony; but there the survey stopped, making settlement on the country lots impossible. Very shortly, food had to be imported from Sydney and Van Diemen’s Land to feed a population that could not get on the land. Speculation was rife both for the town lots and for the yet unsurveyed country lots and this made even more difficult the firm establishment of the colony.

As a result of this initial fiasco G. Hindmarsh, the first governor, and H. Light, the first Surveyor-General, both of whom were appointed in 1836 were recalled in disgrace in 1838.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler, the new governor of South Australia, tried to rectify the situation by pushing surveys of country lots, but this action only served to increase speculation while it did not immediately place the people on the land. By 1839 the emigration fund, raised largely through speculation in land rather than through actual settlement, amounted to £230,000, and this money was used to bring out more immigrants for whom there was no work and who could not get on the land. Gawler attempted to keep down discontent by issuing government

2. Ibid.
rations to the unemployed and by a large public works program which was intended to give the new immigrant employment until he could get work with some settler. The South Australian Commissioners had not anticipated these added costs and by 1840 they found themselves in acute financial difficulties and were forced to call a halt to expenditure on relief. When his demands for more money were turned down by the Commissioners Gawler attempted to draw unauthorized bills on the Treasury which were later disallowed. Complete disaster threatened, and by the end of 1840 it seemed as if the colony of South Australia would sink into the impotency that had gripped the Swan River colony since it was founded in 1829.

In 1841 Gawler was recalled and Captain George Grey was appointed governor and was given specific instructions to reduce expenditure and put the colony on a paying basis. Grey immediately reduced the numbers of government employees and drastically cut wages and at the same time put a stop to all public works except those actually essential for the business of the colony. Settlement in the agricultural districts was stressed and the former policy of special surveys which permitted capitalists to choose 4,000 acres out of 3 blocks of 16,000 acres was discontinued.

Soon after Grey arrived in the colony the Australian

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3. Ibid.
Waste Lands Act of 1842 was passed. This Act placed the colony directly under the control of the Colonial Office and also permitted the use of one-half of the revenue from the land sales to defray government expenditure. This reform aided Grey considerably in his reorganization of the colony for now he was free of the promises of the commissioners and he also had a source of revenue to pay for essential services. The Act had the effect of reducing the rate of country settlement, but for the next few years there was little immigration and within less than two years the unemployed who had numbered more than one-sixth of the total population in 1840 had all been absorbed by the squatters or farmers, or had themselves become squatters.

The passage of the Waste Lands Act in 1842 and the absorption of the colony of South Australia into a unified system for Australasia marks the end of the Wakefieldian experiment as such in this field. In the main the colony was neither a complete success nor a total failure. The financial crisis in the colony from 1839 to 1841 was the result of ignorance, divided authority and maladministration. By 1842 some 16,000 settlers had been placed on the land and over £300,000 of hitherto valueless land had been sold. On the other hand the practice of selling land at a 'sufficient' price had never been adopted; nor had the colony been self-sufficient.

1. U.K. 5 & 6 Vict. c. 35.
from the beginning. It had cost the Home government over £225,000, an amount, however, that was small compared to the expense which the Imperial government had to bear in settling other colonies.

In 1840 Wakefield and some associates formed a Western Australian Company for the purpose of founding a settlement on Colonel Latour's grant at Port Lecherault with the avowed purpose of proving the superiority of 'systematic' over free or haphazard colonization. The scheme embodied the division of land into small country sections and the usual bait to capitalists in the shape of first choice of city blocks in the first town. Unfortunately, however, a difficulty arose over the title of Latour's land and the colony was moved to Australind. The change of site ruined the scheme for the majority of speculators withdrew their support and the promising settlement at Australind soon became a 'ghost town'.

Thus over the whole of Australia a period which had opened with bright prospects for most of the colonies closed with all of them in financial difficulties and with many of the settlers in distress. It was a gloom lightened only by the hope that the Australian Waste Lands Act would solve the riddle of land, emigration and 'systematic' colonization.

ii. New Zealand.

During the period from 1838 to 1842 the Islands of New

1: Ibid.
2: Roberts, op. cit., pp. 145-7
Zealand were drawn by the Wakefieldians into the rapidly expanding colonial empire of the United Kingdom. In 1837 the New Zealand Association headed by Wakefield had approached the Colonial Secretary for a charter, but Lord Glenelg insisted that the Association become a joint-stock company with a certain amount of paid-up capital and that the actions and policies of the directors be subject to the veto of the Colonial Office before the charter was granted. Wakefield refused to accept these conditions for a time and then when he did declare his acceptance of them Lord Glenelg had left the office and Lord Normanby, the Colonial Secretary refused to confirm them. Negotiations dragged on until the New Zealand Company finally decided to commence the colonization of New Zealand without the sanction of the government. In 1839 a small ship, the Tory, was despatched to the islands with a small band of settlers who were to purchase land from the natives, carry out the preliminary surveys and prepare the way for the main body of emigrants who were to follow within a short time.

This unauthorized act forced the imperial government to take action. Captain Hobson was sent out as Lieutenant-Governor and shortly after he landed he signed a treaty with the natives who promised to recognize the suzerainty of the British sovereign and gave the British Crown pre-emptive rights over all native lands. In 1841 the New Zealand Land

2. Ibid.
Company received its charter and began its legal existence, and in 1842 New Zealand was brought under a unified system with the other Australasian colonies by the Australian Waste Lands Act.

Colonial Policy

Between 1838 and 1842 interest in colonization among all classes and in official circles in the United Kingdom rose to its highest pitch in the nineteenth century. The cause of this widespread interest lay in a happy combination of men sympathetic to colonization in responsible positions and circumstances both in the United Kingdom and in the colonies which emphasized the need of a government-sponsored scheme.

In the Colonial Office the great figure of this period was Lord John Russell who became the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in September, 1839. Russell began his political career at the age of twenty-one as a 'traditional whig'. After 1820 he devoted himself to stressing the need of parliamentary reform on the attention of the House of Commons and in 1832 as a member of Earl Grey's cabinet he was to a large extent responsible for the passage of the First Reform Bill. In 1835 Viscount Melbourne formed his second ministry and Lord John Russell was given the post of Home Secretary. In 1836 the gathering storm clouds in Canada attracted the attention of Russell, and from this time to the end of his political career he evinced a deep interest in colonial
affairs. The rebellion in the Canadas in 1837-8 convinced Russell of the urgent need for a change in the whole conduct of colonial affairs and his first point of attack was upon the Colonial Office. He protested vigorously against the continuance of Lord Glenelg in an office for which he was totally unsuited, but it was not until February, 1839, that he, with the support of Lord Howick, was able to have Glenelg removed from office. The appointment of Lord Normanby, who had been Viceroy of Ireland from 1835-9, was little if any improvement, and little change was apparent in colonial administration until Russell himself took the post as Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in September.

The guiding colonial policy of Lord John Russell seems to have been the maintenance of a closely-knit unity between the various colonies and the mother country. At all times he maintained that the power of the Imperial government to supervise and within wide limits to direct colonial policies for the benefit of the whole empire was the prime requisite for the maintenance of empire unity, and the formation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in 1840 with full power to direct and supervise emigration in the empire was a practical expression of this ideal. Although the Australian Waste Lands Act which was to lay the basis for a uniform

Imperial land policy was passed by the Tory government of Sir Robert Peel in 1842 it was so closely allied to the Russellite doctrine that it must be accredited to his period as Colonial Secretary.

There was much more interest in colonial matters in parliament during Russell's period in the Colonial Office than in previous years. The rebellions in the Canadas had brought sharply to the notice of the members the possibility of a second 'War of Independence' on the North American continent. A second reason for the increasing awareness of the colonial empire arose rather indirectly out of the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League. Members of the League in the House of Commons emphasized, and perhaps over-emphasized, the distress that was prevalent in many parts of the United Kingdom. In fact the pages of Hansard from 1838 to 1846 are one of the best sources on conditions in the British Isles during this period. Made aware of internal conditions as never before the members of parliament gave increasing attention to the colonial empire as an important factor in any program for the relief of distress.

Perhaps one of the most important single documents responsible for stirring interest in colonies and colonization was the report of Lord Durham on conditions in British North America. Considered as the greatest single document in British colonial history Lord Durham's Report focussed the attention of both parliament and the general public on British North America.
in particular and on the whole colonial empire in general. It was strongly Wakefieldian in character and gave a great impetus to the popularity of Wakefield's theory of 'Systematic' colonization and at no time did this theory receive more general attention than during the debates in the House of Commons on the Report. The convincing manner in which the views of Wakefield were presented, especially in those sections dealing with land, emigration and colonization, did much to prepare the way for the organization of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission and the passage of the Australian Waste Lands Act in 1842.

Because of this new interest in parliament Russell found little opposition to his program for improving the emigration facilities. On the recommendation of Sir James Stephen, Russell in 1840 as we have seen amalgamated the office of Agent-General for Emigration and the South Australian Commission into the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. In the same year the Treasury made the first of twelve annual grants to defray part of the expenses of the emigration agencies in the Canadas. In 1842 the most efficient Passenger Act yet to be in operation was passed by the British parliament. These two measures, however, were applicable only to British North America. As for the colonies in Australasia, lack of source material does not permit a discussion of the transportation and reception facilities for emigrants to these colonies, although the fact that such secondary sources as are available fail to make any mention of such
facilities could be taken to mean that they were satisfactory.

In the field of settlement Russell and the colonial interests in parliament were primarily interested in establishing a uniform land policy throughout the empire. While this idea was realized in the Australian colonies with the passage of the Australian Waste Lands Act in 1842, British North America remained outside its area of operation. The Australian Waste Lands Act was the last and most complete expression of Imperial land policy. It embodied the principle of an impartial distribution of the public lands by a uniform system of sale, with the object of creating certain definite social and economic conditions in the colony, together with the principle that the revenue from land should be used for the common benefit of the colony and the mother country.

The effort to produce a uniform system for the settlement of waste land in the empire in the terms of Wakefield's theory could succeed only if the Colonial Office or the Imperial parliament retained the management of both the lands of the colonies and the revenues derived from them. But the group which on the one hand was recommending systematic colonization, on the other was advocating the concession of responsible government to the colonies. It was an anomaly in their position that the self-government which they were willing to concede to the colonists was to be qualified by a denial of the right either to dispose of the waste lands or to manage the profits obtained from them. The position was, in the end, an untenable
one. The colonial reformers had called attention to the fundamental importance of land policy in the life of a new community. It was this very characteristic which made it virtually impossible for the Imperial government to deny the colonists the control of their own land. Of Durham's four reserved powers, control of the waste lands was the first to be actually surrendered.

The first step in the decline of the imperial land system was the loss of control over the proceeds from land sales when the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown were surrendered to the colonial legislatures. As early as 1820 the control of these revenues had become a political issue in Lower Canada and in the course of the prolonged political efforts that were made to arrive at some compromise with the Canadian assemblies, particularly that of Lower Canada, the government repeatedly expressed itself as willing to surrender control of the casual and territorial revenues in return for the grant of a civil list. Meanwhile, in 1836, in the less radical political atmosphere of New Brunswick, an amicable agreement was reached by which this exchange was effected, and the control of the casual and territorial revenues passed into the hands of the assembly. A similar arrangement was made with the Canadian provinces in the Union Act of 1840. The effect

1. Glenelg to Campbell, no. 84, 31 August, 1836. (Enclosure, Glenelg to Head, 30 September, 1836), British Parliamentary Paper, Commons, 1839, no. 41.

2. Can., 3 & 4 Vict. c. 35.
of this reform obviously was to make any Imperial system of colonization financed from the land fund a practical impossibility.

Despite this concession, Imperial control over policy remained intact, and though the Colonial Office permitted colonial legislatures to enact statutes confirming its decisions about the sale of land, especially in British North America, it was firm in insisting that no departure from the new principles would be allowed. Two further developments were necessary before the lands were finally surrendered to the colonies. The first was the realization that complete uniformity was not practicable and that exceptions from the general rule to meet special circumstances were everywhere necessary. The second was the realization that control of land policy was a responsibility that could not be kept out of the hands of the colonial legislatures.

The situation which in Canada led Sydenham to reintroduce free grants into the Canadian land system is a good example of the way in which expediency was made to dictate policy. The innovation was strongly opposed in England, particularly by the Land and Emigration Commissioners, but finally the Colonial Secretary acquiesced. Thus the first breach in the land alienation policy of the Imperial government was made.
CHAPTER IV

Empire Colonization from 1843 to 1846

This period opens with the promise of better economic conditions in the United Kingdom, the putting into operation of the Waste Lands Act in the Australian colonies, the real beginning of the Wakefield experiment in the Islands of New Zealand, the testing of the Sydenham compromise in the Canadas, and the inclusion of the colonies in South Africa in the scheme of government-sponsored colonization. A general depression reigned almost throughout the whole of the period in the Australian colonies, while British North America saw a lightening of the economic depression which had held it in its grip since 1837.

The United Kingdom

A gradual improvement in the economic conditions in the United Kingdom began in 1843. The reopening of the China trade, the revival of commercial relations with the United States, and the return of confidence with Sir Robert Peel's fiscal reforms brought improved conditions in industry. In 1843 the textile industries of Lancashire and Cheshire showed signs of improvement and by April of this year Manchester was definitely regaining its old position in manufacturing. It was felt everywhere that the ebb was over and that the flow had definitely begun.

The laboring classes in the industrial towns, in particular, greatly improved their position during this period. In 1842
many had been unable to find work; in 1845 the demand for labor exceeded the supply. It was stated in the House of Commons that 114,838 persons were employed in some Yorkshire factories in 1845 in which only 84,510 had been working four years previously. At the same time the increase in the employment of labor was accompanied by a steady decrease in food prices with the result that pauperism diminished with considerable rapidity in most of the industrial centres of both England and Scotland.

Conditions in English agriculture were also much improved. Two good harvests in 1843 and 1844 brought a reduction in the Anti-Corn Law agitation throughout the country and in the British parliament. However, Richard Cobden, the leader of the Anti-Corn Law League, refused to accept the general feeling that this new prosperity was permanent. Speaking on March 2, 1844, in the House of Commons, he made a general attack on the conditions of agricultural laborers, the low wages, the overcrowding, the immorality and general misery that was still to be found in many districts of England such as the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, as well as in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Half the farmers in the south of England, he charged, were in a state of insolvency, and the agricultural laborers were being chased from village to village and exported

2. Ibid. p. 910.
3. Ibid. vol. lxxviii. pp. 523-44.
5. Ibid. pp. 784-810.
to the Antipodes because the land was being under-cultivated and no work was available for these men. Although Cobden presents a convincing picture of distress in some of the agricultural areas of the United Kingdom, the agricultural situation was. I believe, much better than it had been for some years.

Ireland, too, in 1843 and 1844 reaped good harvests which removed the immediate danger of famine, and the Irish people characteristically forgot their fears and turned to political activity. During these years the agitation of Daniel O'Connell, then Mayor of Dublin, for Irish independence was the chief thing in Ireland which caused anxiety in England. Then, in September, 1845, the potato-rot again appeared and in less than two weeks the crop was reduced by half. More than eight million people were living in Ireland in 1845 and it would be a fair assumption to say that about three-fifths of this number depended almost exclusively on the potato. Assuming that only one-half of the potato crop failed—and the accounts which reached Downing Street would justify an even graver assumption—the harvest of 1845 could not be expected to supply sufficient food for more than three million people. Nor could the additional supply be furnished from British farms for the harvest in England had suffered from a wet season and was not large enough to meet the home demand. Most of the needed food, therefore, had to be imported from abroad.

The measures which Sir Robert Peel took partially averted
the famine and relieved much of the suffering and distress. He authorized the purchase of large quantities of Indian corn which was retailed at low prices. Simultaneously he asked and received from parliament the power to employ the Irish people on public works, one-half of whose cost would be borne by the Imperial government and the other half by the locality, and to conduct other works of more local nature whose cost would be entirely paid by the district which benefitted. While these measures lessened the distress occasioned by the famine they also checked private enterprise and local effort. It was found that the poor preferred the comparatively easy work which they were required to perform for the government to the harder work which was expected of them by private employers.

In the Western Highlands of Scotland famine resulted from the loss of the potato crop in 1845. Not even in Ireland was the situation more serious. To add to the misery of the Highlanders, their own misfortunes were for some time overlooked because the Irish were more numerous. The lairds of Western Scotland, however, showed the Irish landlords an example which the latter might have followed with advantage. The Scottish laird submitted to his own ruin in a vain attempt to save his people and when he applied to the government for aid he more often than not sought for relief only for his tenantry.

Agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws grew rapidly in volume with the return of agricultural distress to the British Isles. Sir Robert Peel, shaken by the arguments of Cobden and moved by the difficulty of providing relief for the unfortunate Irish, proposed and carried a bill providing for the repeal of the corn duties. Peel's resolution broke up his party and made his retirement from office inevitable, but Lord John Russell, who came to power in June, 1846, completed the system of free corn which Peel had introduced.

Interest in the emigration of surplus labor among labor organizations appears for the first time during this period. The first intimation of this new interest appears in 1844 when a few trade unions began providing funds for the emigration of their members to clear particular trades of surplus workers. Although considerable money was expended by various trade unions for this purpose the benefits were imperceptible and the numbers who were thus aided were but a very small part of the total emigration.

Emigration from the United Kingdom during the period from 1842 to 1845 was on the whole expressive of the improved conditions which existed in the British Isles. The emigration of 1843 was only 57,212—less than half of that of the previous year. Part of the reason for this great drop was no doubt due

2. Ibid.
3. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
to the fact that so many had returned from North America during the winter of 1842-3 with tales of distress and suffering, but a large part of the reason lay in the improvement of conditions within Great Britain itself. In 1844 emigration rose to 70,686, and in 1845 to 93,501.

A goodly portion of the migration of 1843 and 1844 was made up of small capitalists, small landowners, artisans and a normal complement of indigent poor. The same is true of the emigration of 1845 until September, and then with the outbreak of famine in Ireland the numbers of destitute who emigrated to British North America in the last boats docking at Quebec and Montreal rose sharply—the forerunners of the great migration that was to take place in the next year.

British North America

British North America, and the Canadas in particular, showed definite signs of recovering from the chaotic conditions that had existed from 1837 to 1842. Sydenham's genius for organization had placed the economic position of the Canadas on a sound foundation. Francis Hinxman, the minister of finance in the first ministry of the United Canadas, had quickly reorganized the financial structure of the United Province and Sydenham's Land Act of 1841 proved itself a quick and efficient

2: Ibid.
method of placing suitable settlers upon the land without
cost to the government.

In spite of the evident improvement in economic conditions
in the Canadas, however, immigration figures dropped sharply
from more than 44,000 in 1842 to 21,727 in 1843. The greatest
decrease was in the immigration from England and Ireland, the
former being nearly 62 percent and the latter 47 percent less
than the previous season. The number of arrivals from Scot-
land also showed a decrease amounting to 18 percent. The
political excitement in Ireland, the unfavorable reports as
to employment in British North America, and the improved de-
mand for labor in English industries all played an important
part in reducing immigration to the Canadas. The decrease in
Scottish immigration, however, seems to have been due more to
the poor state of the finances of the emigration societies than
to any other cause.

Immigration in 1844 declined still further and only 20,142
persons entered the ports of Quebec and Montreal in this
year. In 1845 about the same monthly proportion of immi-
grants arrived in Canada until the end of August. Then,
in September and October, the numbers rose quickly as famine
in Ireland brought a sudden increase in emigration from that
country, and immigration figures for this year rose to 25,375.

1: See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
2: Annual Report of the Emigration Agent, 1844. British Parlia-
   mentary Paper, Commons, 1845, no. 181.
3: Ibid.
4: See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
Although the number of immigrants to the Canadas during the period from 1842 to 1845 was low, the quality in the main was much higher than it had been. Part of the reason for this was due to the fact that while the number of merchants and small farmers among the immigrants remained about the same as it had been, the number of laborers was sharply reduced, and part was because of the better conditions on board ship as a result of the Passenger's Act of 1842. Moreover there was a large commercial fleet capable of transporting many more emigrants than demanded passage so that there was no over-crowding and the increased competition acted as an incentive to the ship-owners and captains to give the best treatment they could to their passengers.

The sharp reduction in the immigration of unskilled labor was as much due to the lack of demand for this type of labor in the Canadas as to the improvement in industrial conditions in the United Kingdom. Although the public works program had been expanded with the stabilization of the economic life of the United Province there was a large number of experienced laborers on hand to fill all demands. In the agricultural districts as well there was little demand for labor. The prices of farm products were low and the farmers had cut down their staffs of hired labor to the minimum. There was, however, plenty of opportunities for employment for skilled artisans in the towns in the newly settled areas, and men possessed of a moderate amount of money could buy partially improved property.

2. Ibid. 1845.
on easy terms. The Canada Land Company was offering land to settlers with no down payment and leases in the Huron Tract could be had for a small annual payment and at the end of twelve years the deed was given to the lessee without further payment. The British American Land Company sold its land at 8a per acre, payable in four instalments, the first coming due only after ten years from the date of purchase.

One of the remarkable features of immigration during this period was the large number of immigrants who came out to join their relatives. Buchanan, the emigration agent at Quebec, reported that in 1843 about three-quarters of the total immigration was made up of people who were joining friends or relatives. From this time on, the practice of the husband immigrating to the colonies, establishing a home and then sending for his family became an important feature of the emigration movement to the British North American colonies. In many cases friends banded together to send one member out who, once he obtained employment, sent his savings back to those at home to pay for their passage.

Emigration to the Maritimes from the United Kingdom fluctuated considerably between 1842 and 1845. Of the three provinces New Brunswick continued to receive much the larger number. In 1842 this province received its greatest immigration for

2. Ibid.
for some time when 8,668 persons landed at Saint John and other ports. However, in the following year the numbers fell to 987, the lowest for the decade of the 'forties. In 1844 and 1845, 2,489 and 6,412 respectively immigrated to New Brunswick.

Nova Scotia as well received a substantial number of immigrants in 1842 when 2,333 persons were disembarked. In the next few years, however, immigration fell off sharply. In 1843 1,203 persons immigrated, in 1844, 747, and in 1845, 615 immigrants arrived.

Conditions in the Maritime provinces which had formerly been responsible for the lack of immigration had changed little. The comparatively large immigration in 1842 was in the main the result of the unfavorable conditions in the Canadas and the United States and once improvement took place in these two areas there was little inducement for the emigrants from the United Kingdom to settle in these provinces. In fact, it was estimated that one-half or more of the immigrants to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia re-emigrated to the United States.

Land was cheap in New Brunswick and during this period a considerable amount was sold. The upset price of land had been fixed at 2s. 6d per acre on credit, or 2s for cash. In 1845 it was reported that some 73,000 acres had been allocated in the previous three years, but 26,156 acres were sold to one individual who had bought it for the timber rights alone and

1. See infra. Appendices, Table 6.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
it is quite probable that much of the remainder of the land
was bought for the same purpose.

Settlement in Nova Scotia, as well, held few bright pros-
psects for the immigrant. In 1844 it was estimated that there
was some 4,569,000 acres of waste land in the province, but of
this only about 500,000 acres were fit for settlement and these
lands were remote from roads or navigable waters.

While the Maritimes held out no brighter prospects to the
immigrant in 1845 than they had in 1842, the three year period
gave the Canadas a much needed breathing space for the reorgan-
ization of the economic and financial structure and the estab-
lishment of an adequate settlement scheme. By 1845 the two sec-
tions of the province were in a good position to handle the great
migration that was to set in the following year. Great as were
the problems which faced the Canadian authorities during the
next six years as a result of the famine immigration, the con-
fusion, distress and chaos which would have accompanied this im-
migration had it come in 1841 or 1842 would have brought complete
collapse to the economic structure of the United Province.

**Australasia**

Immigration to the Australasian colonies reached its low-
est point in twenty years in 1845 when not many more than 800
people left the United Kingdom for these colonies. The decline.

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 6.
was sharp. Emigration from the British Isles to the Australasian colonies dropped from 8,534 in 1842 to 3,478 in 1843 and to 2,229 in 1844. In some respects the decline in emigration to these colonies was due to the same factors that affected emigration to the British North American colonies, namely the improvement of conditions within the United Kingdom. However, with respect to the Australasian colonies the internal situation in each of the colonies also played a considerable part in reducing immigration.

In practically all the Australasian colonies, and especially in New South Wales, a large body of the people placed the chief blame for distress upon the pernicious effects of the Australian Waste Lands Act of 1842. New South Wales had been granted a representative form of government and through this instrument of popular expression the people in the colony were quick to voice their opposition to the general colonizing policy of the Imperial government and the Waste Lands Act in particular.  

**Australia**

Between 1842 and 1845 all the colonies in Australia—New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Van Diemen's Land—experienced one of the worst depressions in their history. In practically every instance the chief blame was placed upon the Waste Lands Act. There is no doubt that this Act aggravated the depression in New South Wales which had been brought on by a four-year period of intense speculation in land.

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1. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
and also intensified the difficulty of finding a solution to the convict problem in Van Diemen's Land, but in Western Australia and in South Australia the effect of the Act seems to have been relatively small.

In New South Wales the land sales had virtually stopped by 1843 and under the Wakefield principles of colonization as interpreted by the Colonial Office this meant that assisted emigration would stop also. On the cause of the almost complete stoppage of land sales the Legislative Council and Sir George Gipps, the governor, could not agree. The Legislative Council vehemently maintained that it was the Waste Lands Sales Act which made the land unsaleable; Gipps defended the Act and ascribed the depression to the effects of the land buying mania. In any case, whatever revenue was obtained by the sale of land or from license fees was needed to pay the principle and interest on the debt of the colony which by 1845 amounted to £100,000. In this year the Crown revenue was a little over £20,000, most of which, it appears, came from license fees paid by the squatters.

One of the chief obstacles to the successful application of the Waste Lands Act to New South Wales was the squatter system. The high price of £1 per acre made it much more profitable for the immigrant to utilize what funds he had to gather a herd, push into the interior away from the Nineteen

1. Gipps to Stanley, 17 January, 1844. Bell and Morrell, Select Documents, p. 228
Counties, and squat on the first suitable tract of unoccupied pasturage. The Imperial authorities who drew up the Waste Lands Sales Act of 1842 had not appreciated the extent to which this movement had nullified the Act even before it was passed. The Legislative Council of New South Wales had attempted to deal with the problem in 1839 but their efforts on the whole were inadequate. In 1844 another attempt was made by the Council to control the squatting movement. to equalize the rate of payment for Crown lands by squatters and to increase the funds available for assisting immigration. In place of one licence to cover all the land occupied by one individual the new regulations made it necessary for squatters occupying land in different districts to take out a licence for each district at a fee of £10 for each licence. An additional fee of £2 10s was levied for every thousand sheep over four thousand which were "depastured" on a run, or for every one hundred and sixty head of cattle over six hundred and forty. Each squatter might hold sixteen thousand acres under each licence but any land in the same district over and above this required a second licence. The result of this action by the Legislative Council was to bring into politics the large and influential body of squatters, and they soon came to dominate the political life of New South Wales.

By 1845 the labor problem in New South Wales was acute. Wages were high and work was plentiful. but this was not a

1. Regulations re Occupation of Crown Lands, N.S.W., 2 April, 1845. Sixth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1846. Appendix IV.
sufficient inducement in the eyes of prospective immigrants. There was practically no revenue from the land sales which could be used to assist possible immigrants and few people in the United Kingdom considered it worthwhile to pay the whole of their transportation costs to the Australasian colonies. It was estimated that an annual immigration of 12,500 persons was needed to fill the demands for labor, a number many times larger than the actual number who yearly arrived in this colony between 1842 and 1845.

Van Diemen's Land, the only colony in Australia to which convicts were being transported, felt the effects of the Waste Lands Sales Act of 1842 even more severely than did New South Wales. The stigma of being the only convict colony in the Australasian area alone was enough to prevent all but a very small trickle of free settlers to the colony. Moreover the raising of the price of land to £1 per acre made it impossible for the 'ticket-of-leave' men to buy land and settle down in the colony.

Unemployment in Van Diemen's Land presented a serious problem. In 1842, in an effort to reduce the cost of maintaining the convict settlements the Imperial government had instructed the governor to discontinue the assignment system whereby convicts were employed by private individuals who supplied only board and lodging for them. In the future the convicts were to be paid for their labor at the same rate as

free labor and the money earned was to be credited to the British Treasury. The price of agricultural produce in the colony fell sharply after 1842 and private individuals found it impossible to pay even a moderate wage for convict labor. The result was that those men whose good conduct brought them freedom from the probation gang in the form of 'tickets-of-leave' were able to obtain neither employment nor land and were thrown for support on the local government. The condition of these passholders waiting for hire was little better than that of the convicts who still worked on the probation gangs. The seriousness of the problem can be realized from the fact that out of about 25,000 convicts in the colony at the end of 1845, 12,000 were directly supported by the local government, and of these 3,268 were passholders waiting for a chance to work. Moreover, it was expected that in the next year 3,852 more would be given tickets-of-leave. With no possibility of increased demand for labor in view the situation was fraught with danger.

Because of the great distress in the colony the governor and the Legislative Council asked that the Waste Lands Act be amended, and in 1845 new regulations were drafted by the Imperial government and were to become effective the following year. The principle of the Waste Lands Act of 1842 was retained.

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2. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
but to relieve the position of the tickets-of-leave men these new regulations gave the governor the authority to place these men on small lots not exceeding five acres if no employment could be found for them.

In Western Australia Stagnation became even more pronounced during this period. The people in the colony, in a desperate effort to overcome the acute shortage of labor and of capital, began to petition the Imperial government to introduce convicts into the colony. At a time when all other colonies had either rid themselves of the transportation system, or were desperately trying to do so, the fact that this one colony was trying to get it introduced is a good indication of the straits to which it was reduced.

In South Australia the effects of the Waste Lands Sales Act was felt less than in any of the other Australian colonies. Although immigration from the United Kingdom was practically at a standstill, the other Australasian colonies contributed important numbers of immigrants to the colony. The period from 1842 to 1845 was well utilized by the governor, Captain George Grey, to put the colony on a firm basis. A successful agricultural policy which induced the surplus population in the towns to settle on the land redressed the undue proportion between the urban and rural population. The

2. Ibid.
3. See infra, Appendices, Table 4.
4. Ibid., Table 8.
discovery of the Kapunda and Burra copper mines brought new sources of revenue to the government that greatly aided Grey in carrying out his policy.

In 1844 the proposal of the Colonial Office that royalties should be levied on the mines that had been opened caused considerable furore among the people. The colonists, and the mining operators in particular, charged that their requests were not given due consideration by the Imperial government while the latter was at the same time too ready to interfere in what were purely local matters. From this time on an active campaign for self-government was carried on in South Australia.

Under the able management of Captain Grey South Australia was able to feel that most of the initial difficulties of colonization had been overcome and that prosperity loomed close at hand. There was a good demand for agricultural laborers, shepherds, mechanics, miners and female servants, and wages were high. The discovery of minerals in the interior and the opening of the mines was bringing large sums of revenue to the government and in 1845 Captain Grey was able to report that the revenue of the colony applicable to the cost of administration and public works was in excess of the needs of the colony. The land fund was increasing steadily and the prospects of an increased immigration from the United

2. Ibid.
Kingdom were good. Late in 1845 the possibilities for an increase in immigration were further brightened by the announcement of the Australian Mining Company that they intended to bring in a boatload of immigrants every month from May to August inclusive at the company's expense. All in all, South Australia had reason to face the future with high hopes.

As the year 1845 closed South Australia was the only one of the four Australian colonies which could point with pride to its achievements during these three years. New South Wales was still struggling under a burden of debt; Western Australia was still held in the grip of a stagnant economic depression; and Van Diemen's Land was being broken by the transportation system. In the far northeastern part of Australia on Moreton Bay the beginnings of a new convict colony to relieve the overcrowding in Van Diemen's Land was being formed.

11. New Zealand.

The prospects of the New Zealand Company which had appeared so bright in 1847 were dark and forbidding by the end of 1845. The efforts of the Company were from the start hampered by its relations with the Colonial Office, with the native Maoris, and by its own errors.

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
3. I.e. especially through the obstructionist tactics of the missionary bodies.
In New Zealand friction between the company officials and the governors was always present. Governor Hobson had dealt a severe blow to the company when he chose Auckland instead of Wellington, the chief settlement of the Wakefield colony, as capital. Fitzroy, who succeeded Hobson, greatly embarrassed the company by his land policies and his unsympathetic attitude to its settlers.

At the same time the company by its errors had given the colony a bad start. In the first place the failure to make extensive preliminary surveys before the colonists arrived at Wellington and Nelson had sowed the seeds of much dispute. Again, the policy of selling land in New Zealand to people in the United Kingdom who did not intend to settle further aggravated the situation in the colony by creating a class of absentee landlords. In 1843 the colony was in a precarious financial situation, and the native Maoris were restive. In 1844 Colonel Wakefield, a brother to Edward, was killed in a brush with the natives, and disaster seemed imminent.

The uneasy relations between the company and the natives had arisen out of the complicated land-holding system which existed among the native tribes and which made it impossible for settlers to be certain of a clear title to their land. According to native custom any area which had been once occupied by the tribe became part of the tribal land. Since over a long

2. Ibid., p. 87. Fitzroy was governor from 1843 to 1845.
3. Ibid., p. 170.
period several different tribes might successively occupy one plot of land it was impossible for the settler to feel certain that if he bought his plot from one tribe that another would not later lay claim to it. This uncertainty was further complicated by the constantly shifting land regulations laid down by the colonial government at Auckland.

By 1845 conditions in the colony demanded strong measures. Captain Grey, who had already won recognition for his administrative ability in South Australia, was made Governor of New Zealand late in the year and this was the only bright spot on the horizon for the settlers and the company. If Grey could again work the miracle that he had performed in South Australia, the people felt that a successful settlement could still be established in the Islands.

South Africa

So far, in our discussion of colonization we have more or less deliberately omitted mention of South Africa. Some people from the United Kingdom had settled in this area prior to this period, but in comparison to the numbers who left the United Kingdom for British North America and Australia they were insignificant. The reason for this lies almost entirely in the situation in South Africa which confronted the settler. Unlike the British North American colonies which had long since solved their native problem. Cape Colony

1. Ibid., p. 117.
was still engaged in a 'life and death struggle with the black races who were relentlessly pushing down from the north and east. Along with this, Cape Colony had, as in British North America, a large non-English white population which refused either to be absorbed or to be anglicized. Thus, in the colony there was a fierce struggle between white and black for possession of the land and a struggle between antagonistic groups of the white race over the question of dominance. The new settler immediately upon landing in the colony found himself plunged into both struggles, a prospect that did not appeal to many, and one that was largely responsible for discouraging immigration.

Several attempts between 1815 and 1845 were made to colonize the area with British settlers, all with the avowed purpose of anglicizing the Dutch-Afrikanders and of strengthening the borders of the colony against incursion by the blacks. Most of the attempts were made between 1817 and 1827 when the British government made several grants to assist immigration to the Cape. These grants amounted to £50,000 in 1819; £68,760 in 1821; £15,000 in 1823; £30,000 in 1825; and in 1827, £10,480.

The vote of £50,000 in 1819 was made for the specific purpose of establishing a strong British settlement in the Albany district, east of the predominantly Boer settlements around Cape Town, in order to erect a strong

Sketch Map South Africa 1835-1857

From E. A. Walker, History of South Africa.
barrier to any further westward advance of the native tribes that were beginning to press in upon the colony and to reduce as much as possible friction between the white and black races by separating the militant Boers from the blacks. As a result of ignorance of conditions in the Albany area and grossly false reports from Somerset, the Governor of Cape Colony, some thousands of settlers were settled in an area which was incapable of supporting even a normal number of pastoralists. After several years of extreme hardship many of the settlers gave up agriculture to follow their former trades and professions in the colony; others turned to sheep-raising and were moderately successful; still others opened up a highly lucrative trade in ivory and hides with the natives in the interior. By 1845 the colony had become well established and most of the original settlers were fairly well-to-do.

The immigration of 1820 was not followed by that steady stream of immigrants that was so hopefully looked for. Several schemes were broached between 1829 and 1839 to provide colonial funds for assisting immigrants, but all were turned down by the Imperial government who refused to sanction any expenditure that could be avoided until the public debt was paid off.

Although the failure of the Albany settlement in the 1820's was an important factor in discouraging immigration, the most important one was the almost continuous warfare between the

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settlers and the black races. There was not in South Africa, as in British North America, or in Australia, a surplus of uninhabited or even thinly populated waste land suitable for settlement. The pressure of population was forcing the black races further and further south and west while at the same time the white settlements were gradually pushing eastward and northward. The two races came into direct conflict not long after the British annexed the Cape, and for the next half-century or so the black and white peoples of South Africa fought almost continuously for supremacy.

The missionaries, especially those sent out by the London Missionary Society, strongly supported the claims of the blacks against those of the whites, with consequences that were sometimes serious. Dr. Phillips, the head of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, was partially responsible for the passage of several acts by the Imperial parliament which practically made it impossible for the settlers to protect themselves against the incursions of the blacks, while at the same time the latter were given every legal protection against exploitation by the white men.

In no other area of the empire was the influence of the missionary upon colonial administration so prominent, and from the white viewpoint of the proper basis of settler-native relationships, so pernicious. It was almost entirely due to the influence of the missionary groups upon the Colonial Office that caused the

1. Ibid., pp. 154-408.
latter to send out governors already prejudiced in favor of the blacks. Much of the almost continuous guerrilla warfare that constantly threatened the lives and property of the settlers and kept the financial position of the colony in an extremely bad state was directly the result of the attitude taken by the Colonial Office as a result of looking at the situation in Cape Colony through the eyes of the missionaries who saw only the unspoiled simplicity of the savage arrayed against the conniving duplicity of the civilized white man.

Until 1845 and for some years after there was no uniform system of holding or of disposing land in the Cape Colony. The old Boer settlers held their lands under a loan-farm system that had been in general use during the period when the Netherlands East India Company administered the colony, that is from 1714 to 1795. British settlers who had come to the colony between 1820 and 1830 took up land under a quit-rent system of tenure. In 1830 the governor, Sir Lowry Cole, began giving free grants to settlers in the newly ceded territory between the Koomap and Fish Rivers. These grants were given on the understanding that those who received them would be ready at any time to bear arms against the Kaffirs, a black race that was pushing in from the east. These regulations, however, were superseded in a few months.

1. Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 73, 173. 442-3. vol. iii. pp. 233-4.
by those of Lord Ripon which were set out in a despatch in May, 1831. The missionary societies in the United Kingdom had stirred up strong opposition to the settlement of any Boers in the new territories near the blacks and the effects of their agitation are evidenced in the regulations which Ripon issued. Dutch farmers were to be excluded from settling in any new territories ceded to the colony by the Kaffirs. No Crown lands in any part of the colony were to be alienated except by sale or auction and only then if steps were taken to exclude slave labor. However, because of the slight immigration into the colony from 1832 to 1844 and the restrictions against Boer settlement on the frontier, these regulations had little effect upon border settlement.

Sir George Napier, governor of Cape Colony from 1838 to 1844, like all the preceding governors was anxious to put in operation a public works program that would give to the colony much needed roads, bridges, lighthouses and harbour improvements. Along with this Napier was greatly interested in stimulating immigration, but without money nothing could be done and Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley would not sanction any expenditure.

Determined to place the colony on a sound financial basis as the first step in making real colonization possible, Sir George Napier instituted a rigorous system for collecting

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 197.
the revenue. Sufficient arrear revenue was recovered to meet the amount of the colonial debt, except for £40,000 and Napier offered to convert quit-rent tenure into freehold upon the payment of fifteen years rental, the offer to hold good only until the necessary sum was realized. Before the close of 1845 the colony was free of debt and the Legislative Council was able to appropriate £10,000 to assist immigration to the colony, with the understanding that a similar or larger sum would be so applied every succeeding year.

At the same time the Legislative Council stated that they make this assistance available to immigrants in the form of bounty orders under somewhat the same terms as those that had been in operation in New South Wales in 1841. However, only thirty-four individuals came out under this system because it was altered a few months later by the Imperial authorities. Under the new scheme the Agent-General for Crown Colonies contracted with Messrs. John Marshall and Company of London and Southampton to select and convey agricultural laborers, mechanics and domestic servants to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth where they would be at liberty to make their own arrangements with whom they chose. An approved vessel was to sail from Southampton or Plymouth every two months between October and April. The contractors were to receive £10 8s for every male sent out and the British government, in turn, was to be

1: Ibid., p. 128.
2: Ibid., p. 236.
3: Ibid., p. 238.
reimbursed by the colony for these bounties. Cape Colony after almost thirty years of strife for the first time was in a position to make definite arrangements for encouraging immigration and settlement. Part of the reason lay in the better relations with the black races, and part was the result of the great migration of the Boers from the colony into the new territory of Natal.

The Boers, a conservative and fiercely independent race, had from the first resented the efforts of the British authorities to weld them into a closely-knit community. The resentment against government control, and the dissatisfaction with the native policy followed by the British government, with other less important reasons, finally led to the Great Trek of a large part of the Boers from Cape Colony, many of them settling in Natal.

The district of Natal had first been occupied by a small band of English adventurers from the Cape. In 1836, upon a petition from the few white settlers in this territory, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, then governor of Cape Colony, had recommended the occupation of the territory as a British possession, but Lord Glenelg refused the request on the grounds that no further extension of territory was deemed wise, and that the encouragement of settlement in this territory would be detrimental both to the natives and to missionary activity in this area.

2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 344.
3. Ibid., p. 345.
In 1837, however, many large groups of Boers began to migrate into the territory of Natal and by 1838 it was estimated that there were about 3,800 settlers in this area. This great immigration almost immediately made Glenelg's stand untenable, for trouble between the Boers and the native tribes broke out almost immediately. The flare-up between the Boers and natives in Natal stirred the natives along the borders of Cape Colony, and Sir George Napier fearing a general up-rise of blacks in January, 1841, sent a military force to occupy Port Natal as Durban was first known. After several incidents between the British garrison and the Boers the territory was finally annexed in 1843. The new colony was placed under the administration of the governor of Cape Colony, although it was to have a lieutenant-governor and an executive council of five members who would be responsible for local administration. This council, however, could only recommend such legislation it considered necessary to the Secretary of State for Colonies.

In 1845, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who succeeded Napier as Governor of Cape Colony in March, 1844, announced the terms for alienation of land in Natal. The grants were to be about six thousand acres each and, because of the scarcity of money in the colony, grantees could gain possession of their grants.

1. Ibid., p. 377.
2. Ibid., p. 412.
3. Ibid., p. 412.
5. Thwait, op. cit., p. 455.
on the payment of the expenses of the survey and a quit-rent of £4 per annum which in fifteen years would be regarded as the purchase price.

Thus, in spite of a strong determination on the part of the British Colonial Office to prevent further extension of the boundaries of the empire in South Africa, as in the South Pacific, forces were at work which were strong enough to nullify the opposition of the British authorities and extend British control over larger areas.

Colonal Policy

With the fall of the Melbourne ministry in 1841 disappeared, at least temporarily, the idea of a planned policy of coloniza-
tion. Sir Robert Peel, the new Prime minister, was too occupied with financial and commercial reform at home to give more than passing attention to the problems of the colonies. Peel looked upon the empire primarily as a liability and during his ad-
ministration the control over public expenditure in the col-
onies was very strict. The loan guarantee which Lord Syden-
ham had been authorized to promise to the Canadas was carried out, but requests from other areas of British North America, such as those from Newfoundland and New Brunswick, for similar aid was ignored. The Australasian colonies struggled to gain economic stability under a policy of severe retrenchment. and

1. Sixth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration
   Commission, 1846, p. 56.
2. W. P. Morrell, British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel
Van Diemen's Land in particular suffered greatly as a result of Peel's attempt to make the transportation system partially pay for itself.

Sir Robert Peel was the head of the government in the full sense of the word, but while he laid down the framework of policy he seldom interfered with the work of his ministers, and Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary from 1841 to 1845, was given considerable freedom in his administration of colonial affairs. Lord Stanley was not a success in his post. He knew little of the empire outside of the United Kingdom and appreciated even less the forces that were transforming it. To Stanley the empire meant glory and commercial advantage, and the possession of colonies was a measure of Britain's greatness, a view that was very similar to the mercantilistic imperialism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but one that was seldom found in British parliamentary circles at this time. It was perhaps because he held these imperialist views that Stanley found much in Wakefield's theory of systematic colonization that appealed to him, but although he was sympathetic to Wakefield's scheme and deplored the fact that British North America did not see fit to accept the Wakefield system he made no attempt to impose his views upon the local legislatures.

Towards emigration, Stanley was ready to continue the policy of paternalistic supervision, but beyond this he was not ready to go. "It might be, and it was, wise to attempt to assume the direction of the manner in which this emigration
should be conducted," he stated in a debate on the Passenger Act in 1842. "but no attempt to force it beyond the amount it has already reached was at once impolitic and injurious to the very parties whom they wished to serve."

With a Prime Minister whose attention was attracted to colonial problems only when they affected his main task of putting the financial structure of the United Kingdom on a firm basis, and a Colonial Secretary who was more interested in the exciting clash of debate than in the more humdrum, day-to-day administration of the empire, much of the work fell on the permanent staff. The influence of Sir James Stephen, the Permanent Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, was perhaps more pronounced than even under Lord Glenelg. The fact that every governor sent out to Cape Colony with strong prejudices in favor of the black races must, in part at least, be attributed to the advance information about the colony which they were given by the Colonial Office. In British North America and Australasia, the process of colonization was little retarded by the *laisser-faire*, *laisser-passer* attitude of the Peel government.

It is a curious paradox that the party which in other fields adopted a policy of *laisser-faire*, the Liberals, were responsible for the erection of the machinery for a paternalistic colonization scheme, while the Tories with a more definite imperialistic philosophy, during this period at least, practically ignored the empire.

Neither Peel nor Stanley attempted to encourage coloniza-
tion, but neither did they attempt to hinder the operation of
the machinery which had already been set up. The period from
1842 to 1845, stagnant though it was from the viewpoint of
the evolution of policy, gave the colonies the needed oppor-
tunity to adapt the changes that had been made in the pre-
vious period to their respective needs. The Canadas, New
South Wales, South Australia, and even New Zealand in 1845
could look to the future with brighter prospects than in
1842.
CHAPTER V

Empire Colonization from 1846 to 1852

From 1846 to 1852 one of the greatest migrations in history took place. Ireland supplied by far the greater number of emigrants, but large numbers also migrated from England and Scotland. In all a total of almost two million people migrated from the United Kingdom during these six years.

All the colonies felt the effects of this flood of emigrants. To British North America came vast numbers of poverty-stricken, disease-ridden famine victims; immigration to the Australasian colonies doubled, trebled and quadrupled; and for the first time the colonies in South Africa received important numbers of immigrants. During these six years many of these territories were changed from hardly more than geographical expressions to vital, flourishing communities.

The United Kingdom

The partial loss of the potato-crop in Ireland late in 1845 had called the attention of everyone to the plight of the Irish population. Then in July, 1846, the blight reappeared and within a few days laid waste huge areas of the potato crop. A parish priest describes the suddenness of the disaster thus:

"On the 27th of last month (July) I passed from Cork to Dublin, and this doomed plant bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on the 3rd instant (August) I beheld with sorrow one wide waste of putrifying vegetation. In many places the wretched people
"were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, 
wringing their hands, and wailing bitterly the destruc-
tion that had left them foodless." 1

Labouchere, speaking on the Irish famine in the House of Commons, estimated the loss of foodstuffs at £15,916,000, for three-quarters of the potato crop and one-third of the oat crop had been lost.

Lord John Russell was powerless to give any relief to the suffering population of Ireland. Lacking a clear major-
ity in the House of Commons after the election of 1846, he had been forced to promise the Manchester group that his government would not interfere at any time with the supply or sale of food in Ireland—a promise exacted of him as a result of the action taken by Peel's government in 1845 to relieve the famine.

From August until January, 1847, no government action was taken to relieve the terrible distress and suffering in Ireland outside of increasing the public works program; but the program had no more than a very slight effect. The average number of Irish people employed on these works in October was 114,000; in November 285,000; in December 440,000; and in January, 1847, 570,000. The high point was reached in March when more than 734,000 people were employed on constructing public works. Large as these numbers were, they were but a small fraction of those who were clamouring for a chance to earn sufficient money to live, nor did this

3. Ibid., p. 173.
4. Ibid., vol. xc, p. 1248.
means of relief affect those stricken people living in remote districts. In January the Chief Secretary of Ireland spoke of his fellow-creatures perishing by the thousands. In February an Irish member stated in the House of Commons that one-fourth of the whole population would die if effectual relief was not forthcoming; a month later it was estimated that 240,000 had already died since the outbreak of the famine. Russell was reluctant to break his promise and the Manchester group steadfastly refused to release him from it, but by the beginning of 1847 popular sentiment had risen to such a pitch that the government was forced to take action to relieve the distress in Ireland.

In January, 1847, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons which provided for the setting up of temporary committees throughout Ireland who would administer relief in kind. To lessen the chances of abuse the bill provided that one-half the cost of relief would have to be paid by the districts which received this government aid. Relief committees were gradually organized throughout Ireland and at one time no less than three million people were receiving daily rations under this scheme. About the same time food and grain from the United States began to arrive at Irish ports. Gradually the terrible distress in the country was alleviated but not until after hundreds of thousands of people had died.

1. Ibid., lxxix, pp. 77, 103, 943; vol. xc, pp. 261, 1102.
2. Ibid., pp. 355, 426, 1352. (This Act became U.K., 10 & 11 Vict. c. 7.)
3. Ibid.
Confidence in the ability of Ireland to produce enough food for its population was not, however, entirely destroyed by the blight. Many believed that the worst was over and that the crops would again return to normal, and their hopes seemed to have been answered in the good harvest that was reaped in 1847. However, the reappearance of the blight in almost every district of the unfortunate country in the fall of 1848 blasted the last hope of the Irish people that Ireland could again support a population of eight million or more people. The great wave of departing Irishment which reached its crest three years later began in the spring of 1849.

The hopelessness of the situation in Ireland at the end of 1848 is fully summed up in the following extract taken from the Final Report of the Lords Committee on Colonization from Ireland, (1848-9):—

"The flood of poverty is engulfing one class after another, rising higher and higher in its effects on society until it threatens, in some of the worst districts, to swallow up all ranks and classes within its fatal vortex." 1

Although no blight appeared in the Irish potato-crop from 1849 to 1852 the Irish people had lost faith in their country and thought only of escaping from it as soon as possible.

The plight of the Irish peasant, distressful as it was as a result of the famine, was further aggravated by the action of the landlords. The British government had hoped

that the Poor Law of 1847 by giving the peasant a claim to relief would discourage evictions, but the result proved that it supplied the owner with an excuse for clearances. In the three years ending March, 1849, 160,000 persons were evicted in Ireland, and in one year, in a single union, 15,000 persons were evicted from their holdings. The landlords clamoured for government aid, and protested against the injury to their estates by the application of the Poor Law of 1847, but only in isolated instances did any of them make any effective attempt to help the suffering masses below them.

England, too, was undergoing difficult times from 1846 to 1849. Disturbances on the continent brought interruptions in British trade. This, with the strain of the Irish famine and the collapse of the railway building boom brought on a financial crisis which plunged the British industrial world into a depression.

English agriculture also passed through a difficult period. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 caused increasing uneasiness in agricultural circles and when, in 1849, the price of corn fell to 45s a quarter the agriculturalists waited with concern the introduction of more complete free trade in 1850.

In 1850 the United Kingdom as a whole experienced a great recovery. The budget introduced in March showed a surplus of £2,252,000 in spite of the fact that a grant of

1. U.K., 10 & 11 Vict. c. 7.
3. Ibid., vol. xc, pp. 1006, 1007; vol. xci, p. 270.
£2,000,000 for England and Scotland and £1,000,000 for Ireland for land and drainage improvements had been provided for.

Trade was flourishing and unemployment was rapidly disappearing.

The dark spot was the distress in agriculture. The price of corn and of meat had fallen lower than the free traders had expected and there was real distress in the east and south of England and in the agricultural districts of Scotland. Disraeli, the leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons, pointed out in a speech on February 11, 1851, that the real cause of agricultural distress did not lie so much with the lower prices of corn and meat but rather with the burden of taxation which the landowner had to bear, and he pressed for a more equitable distribution of taxation between the landowner and the industrialist.

By 1852, however, agriculture was showing definite signs of recovery. The use of the American reaper, the steam threshing machine, the turnip cutter, horse drills and hoes, had effected great economies, while the materials for draining the land had been reduced to one-fifth of their former cost. These changes won over the landlords and the tenant-farmer to the cause of free trade, but at the same time this revolution in farming destroyed the last hope of the agricul-

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1. Ibid., vol. cviii, pp. 129-30.
2. Ibid., pp. 56-65.
tural laborers. The emigration of this class from England to the overseas empire in important numbers had begun in 1837, and the passage of the act amending the Corn Laws in 1846 had given a further impetus to the movement; but now the mass emigration of this class began in earnest and it steadily increased in volume until within two decades it exceeded that from Ireland.

Assistance to emigrants during this period came from many sources. In 1849 a further Amending Act to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 made it possible for the Poor Law Guardians to raise loans for emigration of people to areas outside as well as inside the empire, an extreme measure which had been passed in the hope that it would play some part in relieving the distress arising from famine in Ireland. Assistance to emigration was also accorded by the landlords and charitable organizations in much the same manner as in previous years, but the most important source in this period was in the form of remittances sent home by prosperous settlers in the New World. This inclination to assist friends in the mother country was found to exist much more strongly among the Irish than the Scotch or English settlers. Moreover most of the money for this purpose came from the United States rather than from any territory or colony in the empire. These contributions, either in the form of prepaid passages or actual money, were estimated by the Colonial Land

and Emigration Commissioners to amount to over £460,000 in 1848, £540,000 in 1849, and more than £1,000,000 in 1851. The size of the individuals' contributions which the emigrants were able to send back after only a year or two in the New World was astonishing and at the same time indicative of the higher wages and greater opportunities of employment in North America.

Emigration from the United Kingdom, and Ireland in particular, between 1846 and 1850 was essentially a panic migration resulting chiefly from the effects of the famine. In 1846 the number of emigrants rose sharply from less than 94,000 in the previous year to almost 130,000. In 1847 the movement became a stampede and 258,270 emigrated. After a slight falling off in 1848 a return of the famine in Ireland in 1849 brought a renewal of the exodus from this land and emigration figures steadily mounted until they reached the peak year in 1852 when 368,764 people left the United Kingdom. Three-quarters of the emigration from the United Kingdom between 1849 and 1852 were Irish and most of the remainder was made up of agricultural laborers from England and Scotland.

If a particular year can be chosen for changes in any great movement that of 1852 can be said to be the point at which a major shift in the forces inducing emigration began to make itself felt. From 1837 to this date most of the

2. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
emigrants left the United Kingdom because of either famine, threat of famine, the decay of their particular trades, or because they feared that if they stayed they too would be drawn into the morass of poverty. After 1852, however, conditions in the United Kingdom were such as to provide a fair assurance of steady employment and the great majority of emigrants who left the British Isles during the next twenty-five years at least did so because they felt that the colonies offered greater opportunities for advancement than were to be found at home.

**British North America**

Emigration from the United Kingdom to British North America from 1846 to 1852 inclusive reached the grand total of 333,990 people, with almost one-third of this number, 109,680, going out in 1847. Outside of this one year emigration from the British Isles to this area fluctuated between thirty and forty thousand annually. Out of this grand total more than four-fifths, or 286,138 people, immigrated to the United Canadas.

Until late in September, 1846, immigration to the Canadas varied little in quality from that of the previous four years. There was a good percentage of well-to-do who, as was usually the case, continued on their way to the Western United States.

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1: See *infra*, Appendices, Table 3.
About one-half of those landed at Quebec and Montreal were unskilled laborers who were quickly placed in the western sections of the Upper Province, and most of the remainder were small farmers and farm laborers, none of whom were suffering to any great extent from destitution.

Then, on September 26, the first boat-load of refugees from the Irish famine were landed at Quebec, almost all of them completely destitute. From then until the closing of navigation on October 31, 1,396 immigrants came to the Canadas, the great majority of whom had no means of providing for themselves during the winter. Most of these immigrants had friends or relatives in Canada and the United States but had no means of reaching them and in many cases the local emigration agencies had to supply these indigent immigrants with food, clothing and transportation so that they could reach their friends or relatives before winter set in.

The immigration between September and the close of the shipping season and the tales of suffering in Ireland which reached the local authorities in the winter of 1846-7 gave ample warning of the flood to be expected as soon as the shipping season opened in the spring, and preparations were made to meet it. Buchanan, the emigration agent at Quebec, asked for additional immigration sheds at Quebec and Montreal, and appointed an extra emigration agent at Port St.

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2. Ibid., p. 1093.
Francis. A special medical board was set up at Quebec and extra provisions were sent to the quarantine stations. A small steamer was engaged for the use of the health officer who had charge of the sick. Lord Elgin, the newly appointed Governor-General, began negotiating for sufficient tents to house about ten thousand people, and asked the local legislature for additional funds to meet the expected heavy burden of expense. In Toronto the Emigrant Settlement Society was formed to give aid to immigrants, to act as a labor bureau, and to forward the immigrants to places where work could be had. In spite of these extra precautions, however, the emigration authorities awaited the opening of the shipping season with some trepidation for early in the spring of 1847 the United States had greatly increased the stringency of the measures against pauper immigration and the Canadian authorities feared that this would direct many more of the poverty-stricken immigrants to Canada than they could deal with.

From May 7 to November 12, 1847, 74,408 immigrants were put ashore at Quebec and Montreal, hardly one of whom was free from typhus or cholera. The frightful conditions which the Irish had experienced in the homeland as a result of the famine were in many instances not as bad as those on board the ships that brought them across the Atlantic. With

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
-157-
thousands clamouring for space aboard each ship that called
at an Irish port the ship-owners and captains found it a
simple matter to circumvent the law, and with ship-master
and passenger conspiring to disobey the laws the emigration
officials in the Irish ports found it next to impossible to
enforce the provisions of the Passengers Act.

Tales of suffering and the percentage of deaths while
en route to North America exceeded even that of the cholera
epidemic of 1832 and 1833. In the last three weeks of May
eighty-four ships dropped anchor in the roadway at Grosse
Isle loaded chiefly with idiots, cripples, widows, orphans,
and the decrepit old—the ones most weakened by the famine.
It was estimated that during May alone the deaths among the
immigrants averaged from forty to fifty per day!

The tale of disease and death which increased with each
shipload that was landed at Quebec was climax'd by the arrival
at this port on November 12—ten days after the Quarantine
Station had been shut up—of a shipload of Irish immigrants
from Lord Palmerston's estates in the west of Ireland. The
condition of these immigrants arriving at a time when the
St. Lawrence was often frozen over caused a great storm of
protest in the Canadas. It was reported that many were
dressed in cotton sacks, some with no clothes at all, that
young babies were placed on the decks in groups with a few

3. _Buchanan to Campbell._ Quebec. 29 May, 1847. _Journals of
   the Assembly. Canada. Appendix L._
dirty rages or pieces of canvas thrown over them to keep them warm. The records of the number on board and deaths at sea of this last ship are not available but an idea of the extremely high rate of mortality that existed in the emigrant ships may be had from the report of the ship Lord Ashburton which docked at Quebec on October 30. Out of 475 emigrants taken on board, 107 died on the voyage, 60 more were sick, and five died in the quarantine station.

The effect of the immigration of 1847 upon the Canadas was terrible. Thousands of poor wretches, many of them incapable of working because of their weakened condition, wandered throughout the province carrying with them the diseases they had contracted on board ship. Many who were apparently free from taint came down with typhus after they were hired by farmers. Panic spread from Montreal and Quebec to all the districts of Upper and Lower Canada and many farmers and employers refused to hire any immigrant regardless of how healthy he seemed to be. The sick were thrown back into the towns where facilities for their relief were entirely inadequate, and thousands of widows and orphans collected in Montreal and Quebec, entirely dependent upon the government and local charity for support.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. Elgin to Grey. Confidential. Montreal, 13 August, 1847. Ibid.
The cost of relief for the masses of poverty-stricken immigrants strained the finances of the United Canadas severely. Funds reserved to meet the interest on provincial bonds due January 1, 1848, had to be diverted to relieve the distress while funds set aside for the public works program went to the same use. and by July, 1847, work on public roads, canals, and other projects, which gave employment to some of the immigrants had to be stopped for lack of money. Representations were made to the British government for financial help. Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in reply to the request for financial assistance stated his belief that the Imperial government would be quite willing to vote such sums as it considered justly due the United Province, but in estimating what was justly due he warned that the benefits which the provinces received in the form of increased population, income, revenues and value to its lands would be taken into consideration. For the next four years the local and Imperial authorities squabbled over what proportion of the expense of the immigration of 1847 should be borne by each. The Canadian authorities felt that the British government should pay all the costs of relief when the provinces had allowed themselves to become the receptacle of a mass of want. On the other hand, the Manchester group in the

1. Elgin to Grey, Private, Montreal, 14 September, 1847, ibid.
2. Elgin to Grey, Private, Montreal, 9 December, 1847, ibid.
4. Elgin to Grey, Private, Montreal, 14 September, 1847, ibid.
British House of Commons resolutely opposed any added expenditure on the colonies, and Grey had to take care not to embarrass Lord John Russell's ministry by insisting upon the acceptance of these added colonial expenditures. The payment of these expenses became a sore point between the Canadian and British authorities and was not cleared up until 1854.

The landing of the tenants from Lord Palmerston's estates late in the fall of 1847 crystallized the popular resentment of the people of the Canadas against the dumping of thousands of paupers upon their shores. and early in 1848 the legislature of the United Province took steps to prevent a recurrence of the debauchle. In March a statute was passed by the United Legislature which raised the emigrant tax from 5s. to 10s. per person irrespective of age. Each ship forced to remain in quarantine, except for observation purposes, was to pay 2s. 6d. per person for each three days spent there to a limit of 20s. To stop late arrivals at the ports of Quebec and Montreal, the 10s. tax was doubled for those who arrived after October 1, and to remedy the evil of taking passengers on board after the boat had been cleared from a port in the British Isles a fine of 40s. was to be levied on the captain for every passenger not on the official list. In 1849 the legislature increased the stringency of the measures against pauper immigration by requiring that the masters of the vessels which carried immigrants post bonds of £75 that the passengers which they carried would not become dependent upon the province for support for at least three years after they

were landed. Somewhat similar legislation had been suggested by Lord Grey in 1847 as the best means of regulating the immigrant traffic, and he had expressed his belief that if it were passed by the provincial legislature it would be much more effective than any Imperial legislation along similar lines.

As a result of the restrictive measures taken by the United Province and the brighter prospects in the United Kingdom the immigration figures dropped to 27,939 and was of a much higher character than that of 1847. Destitution and disease were still to be found among the immigrants but never again in the same degree as that in 1847.

The immigration for the three years following 1849 was on the whole an expression of the return to normal economic conditions in the United Kingdom. In 1850, 32,961 immigrants were landed at Quebec. Buchanan reported that this immigration was the healthiest since 1845 and that the death rate among the immigrants while on board ship had fallen from 2.73 percent in 1849 to .67 percent. In 1851, immigration figures rose to 41,067 and in 1852 dropped again to 39,176.

The ability of the Canadians to absorb the tremendous numbers of people who came into the province during the period from 1846 to 1852 is demonstrated by the fact that in 1851, just four years after the great influx of 1847, Buchanan reported that the supply of labor was just meeting the demand. Even in

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1. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
2. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
3. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
4. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
5. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
6. See infra, Appendices, Table 5.
1847 the demand for labor continued good throughout the whole season, and wages remained fairly high. This was not so much due to the fact that all the labor coming into the province was being absorbed, but rather that many of the immigrants were too weak to work, or the farmers would not hire them for fear of contracting typhus from them.

In 1852 there was a real shortage of labor throughout the Canadian. Railway construction was just beginning and absorbing great numbers of unskilled labor. The harvests had been good in 1851 and the demand for good farm servants increased, andumbering was again in a prosperous condition and increasing its demand for labor. The chief labor shortage, however, was among skilled laborers such as masons, bricklayers, wheelwrights, tailors and shoemakers whose services were in great demand in the new villages and towns which had sprung up in the areas settled in the decade of the 'forties.

It was during this period that Lord Sydenham's scheme of settlement received its first real test and it is a great tribute to this far-sighted statesman that it withstood the severe test to which it was put. Early in 1847 Lord Elgin announced his intention of drawing off a large portion of agricultural laborers in the province in preparation for the expected large immigration by opening up some of the western lands. Grants of fifty acre lots were made to actual settlers on one side of a

line of roads laid out in a previous survey. In return for this grant the settlers were expected to make certain improvements on their land and to build and maintain the roads. Just how many were settled in this manner it is impossible to say for there seems to be no records available from which to judge, but the speed with which the surplus of immigrants was taken up in 1847 and afterwards is suggestive of the success of the scheme. The grants were given to native-born settlers or to those who could reasonably be expected to make a success in the frontier settlements. The new immigrants were then hired by the farmers needing help and thus kept for a time in surroundings which were at least an approach to the conditions with which they were familiar and at the same time initiated into the mode of farming in the colony.

In 1848 Elgin put into force a scheme that brought quite successful results in the districts which it affected. Instead of allowing the Irish to settle in closely-packed groups he put some among the Scotch and English settlers. Although the Irish objected strongly for there was seldom a priest in these non-Irish settlements they prospered far much more than those who were allowed to settle together for they imitated the thrift and energy of their neighbors. The difference in prosperity between the two groups are quite noticeable even today particularly in the vicinity of Peterborough.

1. Elgin to Gray, Private, Montreal, 7 May, 1847. Elgin-Gray Papers, vol. 1, p. 84.
2. Ibid.
In the Maritimes, too, the period from 1846-52 brought many important changes. Although immigration in any single year was but a small fraction of that to the Canadas it did have considerable effect upon these provinces, and in particular New Brunswick. Altogether, from 1846 to 1852, 43,372 people emigrated from the United Kingdom to the Maritimes, 38,557 of whom went to New-Brunswick. In degree of destitution and in the proportion of Irish to the other racial groups this immigration was as bad or perhaps even worse than that to the Canadas for ship-capitans who had people bound for Boston that they believed would not be admitted to the United States because of illness could put into St. John and unload the ill and take the healthy on to Boston. Often these immigrants left at St. John would when they recovered slip across the international border into Maine, but large numbers of them no doubt remained in New Brunswick.

Until 1850 there was practically no demand for labor of any kind in New Brunswick. However, with the turn of the decade the economic depression lifted and in 1851 W. Perley, the emigration agent, was able to report a good demand for all types of labor. A good harvest in 1850 had brought an increased demand for farm laborers that could not be filled by the resident population because the lumbering industry which had suddenly begun to recover from the doldrums of depression absorbed most

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 6.
of the native labor. Mr. Perley reports that some one hundred women experienced in farm work could easily obtain work in the rural districts at the rate of £5 per annum, and that places could be found for about four hundred boys and girls of fourteen or more years of age from the workhouses of England. This was a hopeful sign for it was the first time during the period from 1837 to 1852 that a shortage of labor was reported from this colony.

Thus the period which had opened with a forbidding outlook in the British North American colonies closed on a note of hope and optimism for the future that boded well for the ability of these provinces to transform the broken masses of men, woman and children who came to them from the United Kingdom into self-respecting, energetic empire builders in a short space of time.

Australasia

Many problems were facing the Australasian colonies as the year 1846 opened. New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia were faced with a serious shortage of labor, while in Van Diemen's Land a large body of unemployed ticket-of-leave men were presenting a serious problem, and in New Zealand the Wakefieldian experiment was tottering. Many adjustments had to be made in every one of these colonies and the tremendous changes which took place partly as a result of adjusting the Imperial colonization scheme to the needs of the respective colonies.

1. Ibid.
were in many ways comparable to those which were taking place in British North America during this same period.

Emigration from the United Kingdom to the Australasian colonies which in 1845 amounted to 830 people rose quickly in the next four years to 1849 when 32,191 people were landed at the various Australasian ports. Then in 1850 came a sharp drop when only 16,037 immigrants, less than half the number of the previous year, were landed. This decline, however, does not seem to have been due so much to depression or lack of opportunity in these colonies as to the drying up of the source of supply. With the return of prosperity in the United Kingdom the number of suitable and available emigrants for the Australasian colonies decreased sharply. The laboring class from whom in the past the larger part of the colonists for these colonies had been selected were for the most part so well off at home that they were not anxious to take the long journey. From the viewpoint of the colonies emigrants from other classes were less desirable. Paupers were below the required class, mechanics were above; single men were not desired in excess of single women, and respectable single women were not anxious to try the risks of a new country.

Late in 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria and rumors of the strike spread quickly, and in 1852, 87,881 emigrants left the British Isles for Australasia. Along with many from the California mines, the eastern United States, as well as European countries

footnote: See infra, Appendices. Table 4.
they went to make up the largest immigration that Australasia had yet experienced.

1. Australia

In spite of the general reluctance of New South Wales to take convicts of any description the serious shortage of labor in 1847 caused the legislature to petition the Imperial government for a partial resumption of the transportation system. The petition stated that New South Wales would be willing to take ticket-of-leave men if an equal number of free laborers were sent with them, the total cost to be borne by the Imperial Treasury.

The proposal received an enthusiastic reception in the United Kingdom for the prisons were crowded by the sudden augmentation of convicts sentenced to transportation in Ireland as a result of violence arising from the famine. Lord Grey, however, found it impossible to implement the whole of the plan immediately. The request from New South Wales had been received too late in the session of parliament to ask for a grant of money to send out free laborers and the Colonial Secretary, believing that the shortage of labor in the colony was acute, ordered the immediate despatch of such ticket-of-leave men as were available.

The reaction in the colony of New South Wales to the transportation of semi-paroled convicts without an equivalent number of free immigrants was immediate, and strong opposition to the whole scheme arose. The legislature, entirely ignoring the

2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
previous petition it had sent, voted an Address to the Queen protesting against the adoption of any measures which would tend to degrade the colony into a penal settlement and asked that the offending Order-in-Council be immediately revoked. As a result of this request the Imperial government announced its intention to send no more convicts to New South Wales in 1849.

One of the chief obstacles to emigration to New South Wales was the provision made in 1846 that selected emigrants had to pay part of the costs of transportation. These deposits varied considerably in amount as between classes and between married and single men. In the main, with the exception of single women who were required to make only a small deposit, the minimum amount that emigrants had to pay was approximately equivalent to the cost of transportation to British North America. Few prospective emigrants, however, cared to pay this deposit and submit to a long voyage when equal or even better opportunities were present in North America. In 1851, however, the deposits were drastically scaled down and this in part was responsible for the great increase in emigration to the colony in 1852.

The continuous agitation in New South Wales against the Waste Lands Sales Act of 1842 finally brought results when in 1847 an Order-in-Council was passed by the British government to amend several provisions of the Act dealing with the leasing of land. Under the new amendments the land in the colony

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was divided into three classes known as settled, intermediate and unsettled land. The settled areas were those close to the coast, and in these areas grazing leases were granted only from year to year. In the intermediate district eight year leases were granted but the land was subject to auction at any time during this period. In the unsettled regions leases were granted for fourteen year periods and during this time were subject to sale only to the lessee. Thus for the first time the imperial authorities recognized the impossibility of fitting the squatting movement into the Wakefield pattern and in making provision for it in the land system of New South Wales they opened the door to the forces bent on destroying the uniform land system that had been laid out in 1842.

In 1850 the fifth Australian colony, Victoria, was separated from New South Wales. Settlement in the Port Phillip district, as it was known prior to this date, had begun by a swarming in of settlers from Van Diemen's Land after 1834. In 1835 the new settlement was placed under the control of the governor of New South Wales, and in the following year squatters from this colony began moving into the territory. In 1837, Governor Bourke of New South Wales set the upset price at 12s per acre and held the first auction sale.

Emigration from the United Kingdom to Victoria had begun

in 1838 and in the twelve years to 1850 some 35,000 people from
the United Kingdom landed in this colony. In 1850, the colony
of Victoria had a population of more than 76,000 people.

Late in 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria and the new
colony was immediately faced with a serious situation. Every
able-bodied man in the colony, whether employee or employer,
left their work and hurried to the gold fields. In a short
time, however, many of these people returned to their ordinary
pursuits, unable to stand the hard labor in the diggings.

The labor shortage in the colony, however was acute and
the local authorities to relieve the situation did everything
in their power to stimulate immigration. Early in 1852 the
Colonial Land and Emigration Commission announced that the
amount of deposit required of the emigrant migrating to Vic-
toria, which had been the same as that to New South Wales,
would be reduced to £3 per person for single agricultural lab-
orers, £1 for women and married men, and 10s for children.
These reductions in deposit and the rumours of gold brought
almost 64,000 people from the British Isles alone to Victoria.

The plight of Van Diemen's Land during the period from
1846 to 1852 was even worse than it had been. Trade was at a
standstill, and industry was suffering from a serious depres-
sion. More settlers were leaving the colony than were arriving.

1. See infra, Appendices. Table 4.
2. Ibid., Table 9.
Commissioners, 1852, p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 25.
5. See infra, Table 7.
and at the same time there was a large increase in the number of convicts transported to the colony. Lord Grey continued to ignore all petitions from the people there to relieve the colony of the transportation system, but Pakington, his successor, gave in and late in 1852 announced that in the following year the transportation of convicts to Van Diemen's Land would come to an end.

While Van Diemen's Land was struggling to throw off the evils of the transportation system Western Australia was increasing its demands to be made a penal colony. No other solution to the shortage of labor in the colony seemed possible and when in 1850 the local authorities were notified that convicts and free settlers would be sent to the colony in equal numbers there was a general feeling that better times were ahead.

In 1851 the colony of Western Australia began to forge ahead. Many of the evils of the transportation system that had existed in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales were prevented by the able administration of Comptroller-General R.Y.W. Henderson, while at the same time the introduction of the convicts and free settlers brought many benefits to the colony. Thus, at last Western Australia was put on the path of progress that steadily if slowly expanded throughout the succeeding decades.

South Australia during this period made steady progress.

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 7.
4. Henderson held this post from 1850 to 1862.
Like New South Wales it suffered from a shortage of labor, but the situation was not as serious as in the neighboring colony. Captain George Grey had put the colony on a firm basis and this period saw a great extension of settlement into the interior. By 1850 South Australia had a population of more than 63,000 people, most of whom were engaged in agricultural pursuits. By this year squatting which had begun prior to 1846 reached important proportions and necessitated the drafting of regulations for its control. Squatting, however, never reached the proportions of that in New South Wales and Victoria for most of the land was more suited to farming than pasturage, and the settler had become well established before the pastoralist had appeared.

11. New Zealand

The renewed hopes of the people of New Zealand, aroused by the appointment of Captain George Grey as governor in 1845 were almost immediately borne out. The relations between the white settlers and the natives was the most difficult problem that Grey had to face. The natives had quickly adopted Christianity and many of the ways of the Europeans and had demonstrated their equality or even superiority in warfare through their skirmishes with the whites. In 1846 Grey had called together all the Maoris chiefs in a general conference and laid the basis for a permanent peace with them in the second Treaty of Waitigani, but at the same time he realized that it would be impossible to subdue these

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1. See infra, Appendices, Table 9.
natives without the use of a large army. Captain Grey convinced Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, of the advantages to be gained by the incorporation of the Maoris into the British settlements and from 1849 on a definite policy of bringing the two races together was followed. It was a daring experiment and the first and only area in the empire where such a deliberate policy had been carried out. The success of the experiment is a tribute to the farsightedness of the Colonial Office and the spirit of tolerance exercised by the white people of New Zealand. A great deal of the credit must also go to the missionaries, for without the influence of these men among the Maoris any measures adopted by the government of New Zealand would have had little effect upon the natives.

Wakefield, too, in 1846 turned his efforts in a new direction. At a time when the New Zealand Company was in serious straits and seemed on the verge of failure Wakefield advanced his scheme for church colonization. The time chosen was opportune. In Scotland the disruption of the Established Church gave considerable support to the project. In 1847 under Wakefield's guidance, the members of the Free Church of Scotland formed an association of settlers and purchased land from the New Zealand Company in the Otago district of South Island. Under the terms of the contract the Company was to survey the land and charter the ships, while the Lay Association of the Free Church was to choose the settlers and sell the land at £2 per acre. Three quarters of the proceeds were

1. Grey. op. cit., p. 117.
to go to cover the costs of emigration, surveys, public works, and to provide religious and educational facilities for the settlers, and the remainders was to be paid to the New Zealand Company. The sale of lands was slow, however, and at the end of 1851, when the charger of the New Zealand Land Company was revoked, only one-tenth of the amount of land contracted for had been sold.

Shortly after the formation of the colony at Otago an attempt was made on a larger scale to found a settlement for the Church of England. The details of such a venture had been almost completely worked out by Wakefield prior to 1843, but because of the differences between the Colonial Office and the New Zealand Company it had been postponed. In 1848, Wakefield was able to organize the Canterbury Association which was composed of fifty-five members and included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Dublin and seven bishops. The New Zealand Company agreed to place at the disposal of the Association 1,000,000 acres of land, 100,000 acres of which was to be sold each year. The land was to sell for 10s per acre and the settler had to agree to contribute £1 per acre for ecclesiastical and educational purposes, £1 for covering the costs of emigration, and 10s for surveys and public works. Altogether the settler was thus actually paying more than the Scottish settlers in the Otago settlement. Under these arrange-

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2. Ibid., p. 196.
ments the Association proceeded with the settlement of what is now the province of Canterbury. In 1851, with the dissolution of the New Zealand Company this settlement became practically an independent colony.

New Zealand by 1852 was firmly established as a stable, flourishing community, founded on Wakefieldian principles. Experience had caused Wakefield to make changes from time to time in New Zealand, but none of these were fundamental, and the success of his experiment in systematic colonization in this area at least is a lasting tribute to his energy and colonising genius.

South Africa

In 1846 the first party of immigrants under the Bounty system introduced the previous year arrived in Cape Colony. Altogether, in the next five years, 4,185 people from the United Kingdom migrated to this colony. Peace with the natives was established on a much firmer basis in 1847 and the economic conditions in the colony were much better than they had been, but Cape Colony could offer no opportunities to prospective immigrants comparable to those in British North America or in Australasia. The tremendous pressure on the people of the United Kingdom to emigrate during the famine years had brought only a small trickle of immigrants—1,342 in 1849—to Cape Colony and when the British Isles again

2. Ibid., vol. iii. p. 42.
experienced a wave of prosperity even this small trickle dried up for in 1850 not one emigrant from the United Kingdom announced his intention of settling in Cape Colony.

In Natal a rather fantastic scheme of colonization grew out of the failure of a company to grow cotton. The land which had been reserved for the company was sold to a Mr. Byrne who was to deposit the money with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Mr. Byrne was to take out emigrants and furnish them with twenty acres of land at a cost of £10 per emigrant which was to be refunded to him when the emigrants were landed in Natal. Under this scheme some 2,000 emigrants were brought out, but it was found that the amount of land given to the settlers was not sufficient and this scheme was discontinued.

The local government in Natal and the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners were anxious to increase immigration, but few in the United Kingdom were anxious to take advantage of the assistance offered. In 1849 the Legislative Council voted £16,000 for emigration purposes and in 1850 1,073 emigrants were sent out, but in 1851 less than one hundred people came to Natal and in 1852 none arrived. Superior advantages offered by the other colonies no doubt played the major role in discouraging emigration to this colony, but the land situation also did much to reduce immigration.

1: Ibid.
2: Ibid., p. 120.
To encourage British and Boer settlement when the district of Natal was first annexed the government had granted land only to bona-fide settlers and rather stringent regulations were put into force to prevent the allocation of land to non-settlers. In 1847 Sir Henry Smith, Governor and High Commissioner to Cape Colony, increased the stringency of the measures dealing with land granting in Natal by announcing new regulations forbidding the sale of any land granted or sold to settlers until seven years after the actual occupation by the settler. This policy gave rise to a great deal of discontent, both among the Boers who were anxious to sell and the British who were anxious to buy the land. So widespread had become the discontent that in 1851 the government was forced to revise the land regulations. By a proclamation issued in August of this year farmers who had occupied their land within six months of the date of the grant and had been in continuous occupation until the measurement and inspection of the grant had been made could alienate their land at will upon the payment of 2d. per acre to the Treasurer-General. These provisions met with a cordial reception by both Boer and British settlers and a more harmonious relationship between the government and the settlers existed after their passage.

For many years to come neither Cape Colony nor Natal could hold out the inducements to the British settler that

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 63.
that the more advanced colonies in North America and in the South Pacific were offering, but after 1846 a definite start was made in laying the basis for the settlement that was to take place much later in the nineteenth century.

Colonial Policy

The fall of the Peel ministry in June, 1846, and the return to office of Lord John Russell as Prime Minister and of Earl Grey as Colonial Secretary had ushered in the last great period of paternal colonization. It was a period in which great problems had to be faced and far-reaching decisions had to be made—decisions that affected the very warp and woof of the relationships between the colonies and the mother country. During this important period the United Kingdom was fortunate in having in the Colonial Office a man of the calibre of Earl Grey who stands out as perhaps the most capable of all the Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies yet to occupy this office.

As Lord Howick, Grey had been Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for the colonies from 1830 to 1833. Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, had not been greatly interested in colonial affairs and the changes in colonial policy made during these years, such as the partial adoption of the Wakefield land policy, were largely due to Grey. Between 1833 and 1846 Grey had associated himself with the Colonial Reform group, and when he was chosen as Colonial Secretary in 1846 Wakefield looked forward
to the final realization of his dream.

Besides being a strong supporter of the Wakefieldian group in parliament Grey was a convinced Free Trader, and he saw no essential conflict between imperialism and free trade. In fact he looked upon free trade as a much firmer basis for empire-building than the old colonial system. To Grey the authority of the British Crown was the most powerful instrument in existence for the maintenance of order in the extensive regions of the world, as well as for diffusing the blessings of Christianity and civilization among millions of the human race. At the same time the possession of a large colonial empire gave power and prestige to the British Crown that more than offset the high cost of maintaining the colonies. Most of the Free Traders on the other hand held that since the United Kingdom had adopted the policy of freedom of trade with all countries the colonies no longer could be regarded as providing the British Isles with special commercial advantages, and from this viewpoint at least there was no reason for keeping them.

Earl Grey maintained fairly amicable relations with the colonial governments and with the colonial governors; but in his relations with some of his colleagues, with parliament, and

4. Ibid.
public opinion in the United Kingdom he was not so fortunate. In the British parliament Russell’s ministry lacked a clear majority and had to rely on the support of the Manchester group to carry on the government. To the Manchester group the colonies were little but an encumbrance and a charge upon the British taxpayer, and many of the most eager advocates of Free Trade supported these views. As a result Grey was faced with a parliament that kept a closer check upon colonial affairs than was usually the case.

Parliament during the 1830’s and early 1840’s had been more or less indifferent to the colonial empire, but by 1849, and in the succeeding years, many things combined to bring colonial affairs prominently before it. The heavy expenditure on the colonies at a time when retrenchment was being preached in the United Kingdom, the frequent discussions of schemes for emigration and settlement, and some flagrant instances of colonial misgovernment, combined to dispel to a large extent the cloud of ignorance and indifference in which the average parliamentarian had been too long contented to remain. Serious rioting in Canada over the Rebellion Losses Bill, or the Indemnity Act as it was known in the United Kingdom, led to long discussions on colonial constitutional questions.

Joseph Hume, one of the leading Radicals in the House of Commons, referred to the disgraceful management of the colonies

in a speech on the Address from the Throne in 1849 and developed this same topic in several subsequent speeches. Roebuck, an independent member, on May 25, 1849, introduced into the House of Commons a scheme for colonial self-government and reciprocal free trade with the colonies which was followed by a long discussion on the principles of colonial policy. On June 26, Sir William Molesworth, a great advocate of colonial self-government, gave a very pessimistic account of the state of the colonies and stressed the amount of money these colonies had cost the mother country. He condemned a system which had produced disasters everywhere, rebellion in the Canadas, ruin in the West Indies, native wars and rebellion in South Africa, and in Australia convict colonies which were more vicious than any recorded in history. The subject of the colonial empire was again brought before the House of Commons in 1850 when Cobden, Molesworth, and Gladstone urged the reduction of colonial expenditure and the placing of greater responsibilities upon the colonies for the upkeep of their own establishments.

On February 8, 1850, Lord John Russell made his memorable speech in the House of Commons, a speech that summed up the general attitude of the government and a large part of the general public towards the colonial empire. Speaking of

1. Ibid. vol. ciii. pp. 147, 163, 271, 275-6, 961, 976, 981.
3. Ibid. vol. cvi. pp. 928-64.
the colonies he said:—

"I anticipate, indeed with others, that some of the colonies may grow in population and wealth that they may say, 'Our strength is sufficient to enable us to be independent of England. The link is now become onerous to us; the time is come when we think we can, in amity and alliance with England, maintain our independence'. I do not think that the time is yet approaching. But let us make them as far as possible fit to govern themselves. Let them increase in wealth and population; and whatever may happen, we of this great empire shall have the consolation of saying that we have contributed to the happiness of the world...." 1

The Prime Minister then announced that representative institutions would be granted to Cape Colony; that a Bill for providing constitutions on the model of that possessed by New South Wales for the other Australian colonies would be introduced later, and that New Zealand would be given representative institutions at the date already fixed by parliament.

In the face of the general opposition to the maintenance of the empire Grey had a difficult time. From 1846 to 1849 the Irish famine made it possible for him to persuade parliament to grant his requests, but after this Grey found it increasingly necessary to modify many of his requests in order not to jeopardize the position of the Whig ministry.

After 1848 the growing hostility of Wakefield and the Colonial Reformers made Grey's position even more difficult. Although Grey felt that in the main the basic principles of Wakefield's theory were sound he found that it was extremely difficult in many instances to apply them in practice. 2

the older established colonies in British North America and Cape Colony the main lines of development were too definitely established to be changed easily and even in the Australasian colonies there was a growing agitation against close Imperial control. In British North America where the control of the lands and of the land revenues were in the hands of the colonial legislatures Grey found that he had to work in cooperation with the colonial authorities in practically all fields of colonization while in the Australian colonies the squatter element forced him to make changes in the land regulations that were at variance to Wakefield's principles. Wakefield, whose hopes had been raised too high in 1846 with the appointment of Lord Grey as Colonial Secretary, turned against Grey and began a campaign to have him removed from office. Wakefield opened his attack on the Colonial Secretary in 1849 and in the following year he brought together in the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government all the groups in parliament who were opposed to Grey's colonial policy.

Charles Buller, a leading member of the Colonial Reform group and a close friend of Grey, had been able to align the support of the Colonial Reformers behind Grey's colonial policy, but after his death in 1848 this group as well turned against the Colonial Secretary. While both Grey and the Colonial Reformers felt that the three main principles upon which

\[I. \text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 488 ff.}\]
the administration of the colonial empire should be based were freedom, unity, and responsibility they did not agree upon which of the three should receive the main emphasis. The Colonial Reformers emphasized the necessity of giving the greatest possible amount of freedom to the colonies while Grey was interested first in maintaining the unity of the empire and then in according to each of the colonies the greatest measure of freedom compatible with their particular development. By 1850 the Colonial Reformers had become convinced that as long as Grey held office the colonies would not be given the freedom which this group wished to see them have and they joined with other groups in parliament to drive Grey from office. In the face of such determined opposition to his policy in parliament Grey could do little and finally in February, 1852, he was forced to resign.

Throughout his term of office the strongest argument which Lord Grey could offer for his policy was the success of Lord Elgin in Canada. Elgin had gone to British North America as governor-general not long after Grey had entered the Colonial Office and although the two men were not personally acquainted prior to this they worked together in complete harmony in attacking many acute and difficult problems. Grey was always ready to defer to the more accurate knowledge of the Canadian situation possessed by Elgin, and often supported his subordinate at the risk of his own position. Often in his

1. Ibid., pp. 507-512.
2. Ibid., pp. 472-504.
despatches Grey refers with pride to "our policy"—a striking contrast to Lord Stanley's grudging acceptance of many of the acts of Sir Charles Bagot, governor of Canada from 1841 to 1843. Elgin had a difficult time of it between 1846 and 1849, and in many instances, such as during the height of the annexation movement, the anti-imperialists in Canada used the arguments advanced in the British House of Commons for their own ends. Elgin warned Grey that Canada could and quite likely would seize the alternative promise of security offered by the United States if the United Kingdom chose to make the conditions of the British connection too burdensome. Grey did everything to reduce the attacks on the colonial empire in the British House of Commons, and Elgin worked tirelessly to offset their effect upon Canada.

As Undersecretary of State for the Colonies under Goderich, Grey had been responsible for the initiation of a uniform land policy for the whole colonial empire. However, in the intervening years between 1837 and 1846 important changes had taken place in the land-granting system he had been responsible for erecting in 1837. In Australasia the ideal of a uniform land system along Wakefieldian lines had taken a long step towards a more complete realization with the passage of the Australian Waste Lands Act of 1842. But no similar advance was made

2. U.K., 5 & 6 Vict. c. 35.
either in Cape Colony or British North America. In the Cape Province the Boers steadily and successively resisted any attempt to change their traditional system of holding land. In British North America the control of the casual and territorial revenues had become a political issue in Lower Canada by 1820. In 1836 in the less radical political atmosphere of New Brunswick the casual and territorial revenues had been surrendered to the Assembly in return for a civil list. In the United Province a similar arrangement was included in the Union Act of 1840. With the loss of control of the revenues from Crown lands went effective control of the land itself. Then at a time when the idea of a uniform Imperial land granting system was being put into statutory dress by the British parliament Lord Sydenham re-introduced the system of free grants in the United Province in his Land Act of 1841—a good example of the way in which expediency was often made to dictate policy. Similar concessions were made to local demands in Nova Scotia, and this series of minor concessions eventually established the fact that effective control of the land-granting system in British North America at least rested with the colonial legislatures.

When Grey took office as Colonial Secretary in 1846 he was anxious to complete the work he had begun fifteen years earlier, but he found it increasingly necessary to give into the growing demands of the colonies for a greater measure of

colonial control of the waste lands. In British North America most of the colonies had achieved this aim, but in Australia none of the colonies had the power to lay down regulations concerning the alienation of land or of land revenues without the direct assent of the Colonial Secretary. By 1846, however, agitation in New South Wales forced Grey to make changes in the uniform system in operation to suit local conditions in this colony. Almost immediately after he took office Grey found it necessary to introduce amendments to the Waste Lands Act of 1842 in order to give statutory recognition to the squatting element in New South Wales. Changes in the Act as they affected Van Diemen's Land also had to be made to permit the granting of small plots of land to unemployed tickets-of-leave men. In 1850 after the passage of the Australian Colonies Government Act agitation among the Australian colonies, and particularly in New South Wales, for a greater control of land and land revenues reached a serious stage. The Act separated Victoria from New South Wales and granted a representative form of government on the New South Wales model to the new colony and to South Australia and Van Diemen's Land and made provision for the introduction of a similar form of government in Western Australia whenever more than one-third of the house- holders wished it. In the debates on the Act in the British House of Commons a discussion on the advisability of giving the colonial legislatures control of the waste lands had been

introduced by the Colonial Reformers and this perhaps awakened
the agitation in New South Wales. In any event it was the
Legislative Council of New South Wales that led the agitation.
They based their claim for local control of land and land re-
genue on the premise that in the main the land had derived its
value from the labor and capital of the colonists and there-
fore they should have the first claim to any benefits that
might be derived from the land they had improved. Under the
system then in force, the Council claimed, the funds were used
for Imperial and not local purposes and the colonists were not
receiving the full benefits from revenues that were by right
theirs.

While Grey was more or less willing to accept the land
situation as he found it in British North America he stood
firm against any similar system being erected in the Austra-
lasian colonies. In a despatch to Governor Fitzroy of New
South Wales in January, 1852 and again in his *apologia* of
Lord John Russell's administration, *The Colonial Policy of
Lord John Russell's Administration*, Grey states in the most
dogmatic terms his views on the place of colonial lands in
the Imperial structure. These lands, he stated, were won
by British blood and money and kept in the empire by a con-
siderable cost to the British taxpayer and therefore the

2. Fitzroy to Grey, 18 June, 1851, *Enclosure*. Bell and
Imperial authorities should have the final word as to what use these colonial lands should be put. Those few inhabitants of the empire, Grey firmly maintained, who happened to be living near these lands had no claim to administer in favor of local interests land which had never been theirs. It is perhaps a fortunate thing that Grey soon after turned over the reigns of colonial administration to a new man, Sir John Pakington, for the growth of a sense of national consciousness in the more advanced colonies made necessary a new arrangement of relationships between mother country and colonies and a new man less dogmatic and definite in his Imperial views was needed to permit the change to take place.

In the main Lord Grey maintained a laissez-faire attitude towards emigration from the United Kingdom. He did not believe that emigration, except in special circumstances, in particular districts and then only to a limited extent, could relieve distress in England. As for the Irish migration Grey felt that any interference on the part of the government would only serve to paralyse the exertions which individuals were making to escape to North America, and at the same time since the British government did not claim to have any power or right to interfere with the Irish emigrants to British North America it could not be held responsible for the type of emigrant that flooded into these colonies particularly in

While Grey would not directly interfere in emigration
from the United Kingdom he did attempt to aid the emigration
movement by indirect means. In parliament he sponsored mea-
asures which made it easier for private individuals or Poor
Law Guardians in Ireland to give assistance to indigent
people wishing to emigrate. Stricter measures were enforced
to prevent abuses at the port of embarkation and during the
voyage across the Atlantic, and in the colonies Grey attempted
to speed up settlement of new immigrants on unoccupied waste
lands. When he had first taken office Grey had hoped to in-
troduce some system into the haphazard colonization of British
North America and in the instructions which E'gin carried
with him to Canada Grey told him to make preparations for
settling groups of Irish in localities where the opportuni-
ties for immediate employment would be plentiful. Grey ad-
vanced the plan as an inducement for the Irish who were re-
14: nctant to leave to emigrate to the British North American
colonies in groups under the guidance of their own parish
priest. Opposition to the plan in the Canadas was immediate
and E'gin shortly after his arrival in the United Province had
to report that local conditions did not make the plan feasible.

2. Ibid., p. 242.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., op. cit., p. 429.
5. Ibid., pp. 430-1.
Until 1847 Grey, like the Colonial Reformers, looked upon colonization in general and emigration in particular as a more or less imperial affair. Although in other fields Grey recognized the necessity of co-operating with the local authorities in emigration at least he had been inclined to ignore any claims which the colonies might have for a voice in determining the type and number of emigrants they received. However, with the great influx of indigent immigrants into British North America in 1847 Grey recognized that both the colonial and the Imperial authorities would have to work together to meet such contingencies. The colonial legislatures insisted that part of the burden resulting from this famine immigration should be borne by the Imperial parliament and Grey, recognizing the justice of their claims, asked and received from the Treasury a grant of £10,000 to defray part of the costs of administering relief to the immigrants to the Canadas in 1847. But at the same time Grey announced that the British North American colonies must henceforth shoulder the full burden of immigration costs. Then as a compromise measure he gave to the legislature of the United Province the power to control immigration and suggested that this might be done by raising and lowering the emigrant tax and by imposing bonds.

on ship-captains which would thereby make it the interest of those responsible to see that the immigrants who were landed in Canada were suitable and healthy. The Canadian legislature was quick to act upon Grey's suggestion and from 1848 to 1852 passed several acts for the purpose of controlling immigration. As a result of this action by Grey the position that colonization or even emigration was a purely Imperial affair could hardly be defended.

Although Grey steadily refused to give direct aid to the emigrants and advised strongly against the colonial authorities extending too much public bounty to them he was quite interested in providing work for them in the colonies by extensive public works programs. At this time one of the greatest needs of the British North American colonies was railways. Grey was particularly interested in a proposal to build a railway from Halifax to Quebec, partly because such a railway would provide a strong link to bind the colonies more closely together and partly because it would greatly increase the demand for labor. In fact Grey proposed that most of the work on the proposed railway should be done by Irish emigrant labor. Grey was blocked in his plans, however, by local jealousies among the colonies and by the reluctance of the British parliament to pass any proposal that meant increasing expenditure on the colonies, and the plan fell

through. He tried to revive it again in 1850, but without much success. and when he left office in 1852 the Halifax-
Quebec railway project was still no further advanced.'

The main cause for the failure of Grey's emigration
schemes in British North America can be ascribed to the fact
that these colonies did not wish to be made a mere instrument
of any Imperial colonization scheme from Ireland or anywhere. Grey encountered the same opposition to the scheme of system-
atic colonization that was already in operation in Australasia.
Although the colonies in this area did not seem to have any
specific grievance against the type of emigrant they were
receiving, by 1852 there was considerable agitation in all
the colonies for more control of immigration. The colonists
felt that they could control immigration better if they did
it themselves. Grey, a strong supporter of systematic coloniz-
ation, was not disposed to give in to the Australasian colonies
on this point. and although agitation for more local control of
immigration was not serious in 1852 it is perhaps as well that
a new Colonial Secretary entered the Colonial Office before
this became a major issue.

Perhaps the main criticism that can be levied against
Grey's colonization policy was that he regarded it too much
as an Imperial affair. His first concern seems to have been
with the effects of the movement upon the United Kingdom and
only in a secondary sense did he concern himself with the
benefits which the whole empire was receiving. Grey saw no need for encouraging the emigration of English laborers to the colonies for he felt that they would be much more valuable if kept in the United Kingdom than they would be if sent to the colonies, but at the same time he felt that British North America should accept the Irish migrants. In a despatch to Elgin in 1848, Grey admitted that it was dangerous to allow "British America to be filled with a race (Irish) so hostile to us but still I think that in a choice of evils we ought to try and afford as much relief as possible to Ireland by settling in America a large number of the population which is now so excessive in certain districts." Again, Grey's pique over the opposition to the renewal of transportation of convicts in New South Wales in 1849 seemed at least to be partly due to his feeling that one use of these colonies should be to relieve the United Kingdom of unwanted elements of its population. It was partly because of a feeling of resentment against this policy of encouraging the emigration of the weak and undesirable elements of the population in the United Kingdom that these colonies began to agitate for greater local control of immigration.

On the whole, however, Grey's imperial views were much broader than those of his predecessors in the Colonial Office and of his colleagues in the British parliament. Although in

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1. Grey to Elgin, 10 August, 1848. Private. ibid., p. 211.
some instances Grey appeared less liberal than his critics. In the main it was because he placed a greater emphasis than they did on the importance of the colonial empire to the United Kingdom. In his desire to promote federal unions in Canada and Australia, and in his occasional comparisons of the empire with the United States, one can see the outlines of Grey's Imperial dream—vague as it undoubtedly was—of a great and prosperous colonial empire linked in a great commonwealth with the United Kingdom and held together by strong bonds of kinship and loyalty to common ideals. It was a great dream but one that was not to be even partially realized until many years after the death of this great imperial statesman.

The retirement of Earl Grey from the Colonial Office in 1852 marked the end of a great epoch in British Imperialism. In the fifteen years from 1837 great changes had taken place in the United Kingdom, in the colonies, and in their relations. Changes that were effected in part at least by the government-sponsored program of colonization that had operated throughout the period. In turn these same changes were to make the continuation of such a program of colonization no longer necessary or even desirable.

In the United Kingdom the forces that had been responsible for the emigration movement from the British Isles in 1837 had by 1852 been largely dissipated. In 1837 the menace of the exceedingly large agricultural and poverty-stricken population of Ireland was a constant threat to British economic life; in 1852 this menace had almost entirely disappeared as a result of the great exodus of Irish overseas. In contrast to the desire to stimulate emigration from Ireland in 1837, the British authorities in 1852 were beginning to show some concern over the depopulation of this unfortunate country. Moreover, very few Irish were migrating to the English industrial centres in 1852, although the demand for unskilled labor was much greater in 1852 than it had been in 1837. After 1850 English industry had begun to make great strides forward, and by 1852 a real shortage of labor was threatening in some districts. English agriculture was still suffering from a depression, but now the English agricultural laborer was able to
choose between migrating to the manufacturing centres in Great Britain where work was almost certain to be had, or to the colonies. That large numbers chose the latter course is indicative of the real opportunities which the colonies were offering to the British emigrant. Many times more people were leaving the British Isles in 1852 than in 1837 and there was not the need for stimulating an even greater overseas emigration; in fact there was a growing feeling that the movement was now too great and that emigration should be more or less discouraged.

During the period from 1837 to 1852 considerable change had taken place in the relations between the United Kingdom and the colonies. With the introduction of Free Trade the ideal of a close economic unity between all parts of the empire had come to an end, and with the colonies placed on the same commercial footing as foreign countries much of the economic importance of the colonial empire to the mother country disappeared. At the same time the principle of granting self-government to the colonies who were sufficiently advanced to assume the major role in ruling themselves had become an accepted part of British colonial policy in the North American colonies at least and it was generally accepted that self-government would also be given to the colonies in Australasia and South Africa as soon as they too

1. See infra, Appendices, Table 2.
were ready for it. Thus, besides forcing economic independence upon the colonies the Imperial authorities also showed their willingness to grant political independence as soon as the colonies either asked for it or were ready to assume the responsibilities that went with such a concession.

During the 1830's and even more so in the 1840's the Colonial Office followed two different lines of policy with respect to colonization in British North America and in Australasia. In the former area colonization was allowed to proceed with only slight supervision by Imperial authorities; in the latter area colonization was 'systematised' and almost entirely controlled by Imperial officers. In British North America several half-hearted attempts were made to introduce the Wakefieldian system, but they all failed and the Imperial authorities handed over the controls of the colonization movement to one after another of the local legislatures. By 1852 the colonies in British North America had gained control of the land and land revenues and could control the rate and type of emigration. However, the expenses of maintaining the emigration establishments for receiving emigrants were still divided between the local legislatures and the Imperial Treasury, but this arrangement only continued for a few months longer.

In Australasia, on the other hand, every move to secure more local control of colonization had been checked by the
granted to the Australian colonies the same rights. In 1855
the Australian Land Sales Act was repealed by the Imperial
parliament and in the following year the authority to expend
the land revenues set aside for emigration purposes was taken
from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners and trans-
ferred to the local legislative bodies in Australasia. The
Colonial Land and Emigration Commission remained in existence
until 1873, but after 1856 its activities were largely con-
fined to collecting information about the various colonies,
and acting in an advisory capacity.

In British North America the last vestiges of the old
system disappeared in 1853 when the Imperial government
announced its intention of stopping the annual grants for
the purpose of maintaining the emigration establishments in
these colonies. In the next year, 1854. Canada pointed the
way to the new trend in colonial colonization when it estab-
lished an emigration agency in London to stimulate and direct
emigration to British North America. Wakefield, now a semi-
invalid, was settled in New Zealand, content to pass his last
days in the colony which he had fathered, and the great system
which he had visualized and worked so tirelessly to bring into
being, having lost its usefulness, disappeared quickly from
the colonial scene into the limbo of the forgotten past.

1. U.K., 18 & 19 Vict. c. 56.
2. P.W. Gates, "Official Encouragement to Immigration by the
Province of Canada," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 22,
1924, p. 25.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
APPENDICES

and

TABLES
### Table 1


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### Notes

## Table 2
Passengers to Extra-European Countries by Country of Destination
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### Table 3
Emigration to British North America from the United Kingdom by Country of Destination. 1842-60

| Year | Total | Canada | New Brunswick | Nova Scotia | Newfound- land | Prince Edward Island | Other
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### Table 4
Emigration to the Australasian Colonies from the United Kingdom by Country of Destination. 1838-1860

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<th>West Australia</th>
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For references see page.
Notes

1. Includes, New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, Van Diemen's Land, Western Australia, New Zealand.

2. Prior to 1903 entitled "Cape of Good Hope".

3. Up to 1840 includes only British West Indies.

4. In the Colonization Circular, 1877, p. 327 is the following note:
   "The Customs returns do not record any emigration to Australia during the ten years prior to 1825 but it appears from other sources that there went out in 1821, 320; in 1822, 875; in 1823, 543; in 1824, 780; and in 1825, 458 persons. These numbers have not been included in the totals of this table."
   N.B. 1825 is already the eleventh year, for which in the text the figure 458 is given, whereas the note gives 456.

5. Between the years 1825 and 1839, the numbers listed under the column "Other Countries" coincide with those listed under the column "South Africa". The numbers in the column "South Africa" between 1821 and 1840 were taken from Table IVa, p. 630. International Migrations and included in the blank spaces under "South Africa" as given in Table IV. p. 627, and these numbers were also added to the totals of the yearly emigrants between these years. Although there is a strong possibility that these two columns duplicate the numbers of emigrants between 1825 and 1839, the fact that prior to 1825 and after 1839 the numbers in the two columns do not bear any close relationship to each other was, I felt, sufficient reason for including both columns in the total.

6. The yearly numbers of emigrants to India and Ceylon are included in those to the British West Indies after 1842.

7. Include those to Vancouver Island.

8. This total included 303 emigrants to Queensland which is not included in the table. Queensland became a separate colony in 1859 and prior to this date the emigrants to this territory are included in the numbers to New South Wales.
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Germany &amp; Norway</th>
<th>Other Countries</th>
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</tr>
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<td>1863</td>
<td>19,419</td>
<td>6,317</td>
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<td>3,959</td>
<td>4,182</td>
</tr>
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<td>1864</td>
<td>19,147</td>
<td>5,013</td>
<td>3,767</td>
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<td>7,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>21,355</td>
<td>9,296</td>
<td>4,682</td>
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<td>4,770</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 6
Immigrants Landed at New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, 1842–60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>New Brunswick</th>
<th>Nova Scotia</th>
<th>Prince Edward Island</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>6,668</td>
<td>2,933</td>
<td>1,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,499</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6,412</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9,765</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>14,959</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4,020</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2,671</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,507</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,470</td>
<td>231</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2,165</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3,762</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,618</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>109</td>
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### Table 7. Arrivals and Departures by Sea for South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, Western Australia.

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Van Diemen's Land</th>
<th>Western Australia</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arrival</td>
<td>Depart</td>
<td>Arrival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Depart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>740</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>1,260</td>
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<tr>
<td>1839</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>4,060</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,905</td>
<td>939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,436</td>
<td>1,864</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,284</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>1,123</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,519</td>
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<td>1,778</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,668</td>
<td>1,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8,235</td>
<td>1,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13,618</td>
<td>1,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Children Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1, 1825 to Nov. 1, 1826</td>
<td>4,673</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2,685</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>1,564</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>7,450</td>
<td>2,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>9,335</td>
<td>2,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>6,522</td>
<td>1,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>13,786</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>6,605</td>
<td>1,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3,211</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>515</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>5,027</td>
<td>1,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
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<td>2,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
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<td>878</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>2,502</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This does not include the number of convicts sent out during these years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cape of Good Hope</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>New South Wales</th>
<th>Queensland</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>285.279</td>
<td>120.627</td>
<td>2.374.631</td>
<td>265.503</td>
<td>28.887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>267.096</td>
<td>152.704</td>
<td>3.206.234</td>
<td>358.278</td>
<td>34.885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>582.582</td>
<td>269.773</td>
<td>3.686.096</td>
<td>503.981</td>
<td>120.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>720.984</td>
<td>402.687</td>
<td>4.324.810</td>
<td>751.468</td>
<td>213.525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,527.224</td>
<td>543.913</td>
<td>4.833.2391</td>
<td>123.954</td>
<td>393.718</td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2,409.8044</td>
<td>108.754</td>
<td>5.371.3151</td>
<td>354.846</td>
<td>498.129</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Tasmania</th>
<th>Victoria</th>
<th>New South</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Seeland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>63.039</td>
<td>76.162</td>
<td>5.886</td>
<td>26.707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>126.830</td>
<td>89.977</td>
<td>541.800</td>
<td>15.691</td>
<td>98.971</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>185.626</td>
<td>101.785</td>
<td>731.528</td>
<td>25.353</td>
<td>256.393</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>279.865</td>
<td>115.705</td>
<td>862.346</td>
<td>29.708</td>
<td>409.933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>320.431</td>
<td>146.6671</td>
<td>132.840</td>
<td>49.782</td>
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<td>172.4751</td>
<td>202.070</td>
<td>184.124</td>
<td>772.719</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Notes

1. Annual average.

2. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and ports on the St. Lawrence River, 1829-48

3. Arrived directly from the ports of the countries indicated

4. "Infants" not included in these figures.

5. "Cabin passengers" not included in these figures. On the other hand the Sixth Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners supplies the following classification, which includes the cabin passengers: England, 8,449; Ireland, 13,668; Scotland 2,113; Lower ports, 160; infants, 985.

6. Excluding 15,330 emigrants for Canada and 2,113 for New Brunswick who died on the voyage or were placed in quarantine or hospitals on their arrival.

7. Statistical returns of emigration from the United Kingdom.

8. From 1838 to 1859 inclusive, the figures give only the excess of arrivals over departures or vice versa.

9. Net immigration arrived at by taking departures from arrivals by sea. This does not of course take into consideration the very considerable overland migration between these colonies but no figures are available for this.

10. The disparity between this column showing the number of immigrants to Canada and the number who left the United Kingdom for the British North American colonies as shown in Table 2, column 2, is due to several factors such as deaths on board, ship, detention in quarantine hospitals, and some no doubt landed at New York and made their way from thence to Canada West.

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1827, 550. 1837, 425.
1837, 220. 1838, 32.
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1841, 13. 1839, 4.
1841, 49. 1840. (n. no.)
1842, 373. 1841.
1844, 187. 1846.
1848, 368. 1852.
1848, 395. 1854.
1850, 173.
1851, 348.
1862, 476.

Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series.

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United Kingdom, 1 & 2 Vict. c. 56. Canada, 3 & 4 Vict. c. 56.
5 & 6 Vict. c. 35. 4 & 5 Vict. c. 100.
5 & 6 Vict. c. 107.
10 & 11 Vict. c. 7.
12 & 13 Vict. c. 104.
13 & 14 Vict. c. 59.
(b) Secondary Sources: Books.


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W.A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles with Special Reference to the Development of the Overseas Empire. London: P.S. King & Sons, 1929.


Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837. Toronto: University of Toronto Studies, University of Toronto Press, 1928.


(c) Secondary Sources: Magazine Articles

Edinburgh Review, practically every volume of this publication between 1840 and 1852 contains articles on colonization.


