

BRITISH PHILANTHROPY

AND

JAMAICA DISTRESS.

REPRINTED FROM THE "WESTMINSTER REVIEW" OF APRIL 1st, 1853.

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1. *The State and Prospects of Jamaica.* By the Rev. David King, LL.D. Glasgow, 1850.
2. *Jamaica in 1850.* By John Bigelow. New York and London.
3. *The British West Indies in 1850.* By John Candler and G. W. Alexander. (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, February, March, and April 1851.)
4. *Sugar Return to Two Orders of the House of Commons*, dated 11th and 17th February 1852, respectively.
5. *Parliamentary Return. Sugar-growing Colonies* (Part II. Jamaica). 14th December 1852.

It is now more than fourteen years since England began her great philanthropic experiment, and, by abolishing in her slave colonies that clumsy modification of slavery known as the Apprenticeship System, substituted in them free for slave labour. It may be well, then, now that it is so common to ask our American cousins to follow our example, to consider to what extent and in what manner this substitution has really been effected, and to compare the productive result of the one kind of labour with that of the other.

The chief product of these colonies is sugar, which is, we suppose, as much their principal product as cotton is that of the Slave States. We find, then, that the import of sugar from the British West Indies, Guiana, and Mauritius into this country (almost their sole market) averaged, for the three years ending with 1838, the year of emancipa-

tion, 4,023,341 cwts., while, for the three years ending with 1851, it was 3,804,058.*

These figures do, we believe, prove the commercial result to be much more favourable than is generally supposed; still it is useless to deny that it is a disappointing result, especially when compared with the prophecies of those who provoked the experiment. The philanthropists were accustomed to declare that self-interest would get much more work out of the negro than did coercion—that wages would beat the whip; but if the like prophecies are to meet with no better fulfilment in the States, our cotton merchants and manufacturers, men as well as masters, who all cry out for more cotton every year instead of less, may well, if they would not be ruined by the sure progress of humanity, do their utmost to help India or Africa, or any place where there is cotton, and where there is not the whip, to feed the hunger of their mills.

Before, however, we pronounce on the economical success or failure of the experiment, we must ascertain how far its requisite conditions have been fulfilled.

Suppose, then, we select for this inquiry that colony in which, of all others, the economical failure would seem to be most obvious. Jamaica is by far the most important of our sugar colonies: it contained about half our slaves at the time of emancipation, and if it now produced its share of sugar, or was proportionately as productive as the other colonies, the apparent failure would be replaced by an evident success.

The import of sugar from Jamaica in the three years ending with

{ 1838 }	} averaged	{ 1,003,840 }	} cwts., making a diminution of
{ 1851 }		{ 612,109 }	

about 40 per cent.; whereas in the other colonies there was, during the same period, an increase of almost 6 per cent., or, from an average of 3,019,501 cwts. to one of 3,191,949 cwts.

No one, therefore, can charge us with partiality to the philanthropists, if among these islands—varying, as they do, in population, soil, and indeed in almost all their circumstances, save that they all grow sugar by help of white capitalists and black labourers—we pick out

* Parliamentary Returns, 1852. The export of 1851 is much larger than either of the two preceding years. The returns for 1853, similar to these here quoted, are not yet published; "but from the Trade and Navigation Accounts," just out, we learn that the exports of 1852 exceeded that of 1851 by more than 400,000 cwts., making the average of the last three years greater than that of the three years ending with 1838.

Jamaica as the *experimentum crucis* of philanthropic principles, and as the test of the superiority of freedom to slavery.

Since emancipation, not only has the export of sugar fallen off 40 per cent., but that of rum has diminished 20 per cent., and that of coffee little less than 70 per cent.; the export of ginger also has greatly diminished: cotton certainly shows an increase, but the whole growth is trifling: and Mr. Bigelow tells us that pimento has also increased, but then he adds, that this is a crop for which little labour is needed, the birds being its planters. Nor are these ancient products replaced by new ones; there is talk of working copper-mines, but as yet, we fear, it is little else than talk; all manner of drugs and dye-stuffs, and precious spices and rare woods, might, they say, come from Jamaica, but they do not: the whole exportable produce of the island is diminished, we dare say, one-third, if not one-half; and with it what Dr. Johnson would call its potentiality of riches to the exporters.

The Louisiana slave-owner lands at Havana, and he finds fresh stores being built, ships crowding into the docks, everywhere activity and wealth:—he sails on from Havana to Kingston, and there he sees no signs of riches, few ships, vacant warehouses, streets silent and unpaved, houses crumbling to pieces, the ruins of the last fire or earthquake unrepaired;—what wonder if he returns to his plantation loving slavery more devotedly than ever, longing, perhaps, somewhat for the slave-trade, but certainly more ready than ever to denounce an Abolitionist as a firebrand and an infidel.

To comprehend the causes of this contrast, we must take our readers further back in the history of Jamaica than the abolition of either apprenticeship or slavery, or even of the slave-trade, to that golden age when Kingston was an Havana, with even more wealth and less humanity.

If, as Mr. Carlyle would seem to suppose, the destiny of Jamaica be merely “to give forth sugars, and cinnamons, and all such nobler products,” and if the duty of the white men consisted, first, in killing off the native Indians who did not aid in “bringing out these products,” and then in dragging to the island some 300,000 Africans, and flogging out of them the aid which they were too idle and too weak to give themselves,* then did the Anglo-Saxons in Jamaica indeed do their duty manfully in the last century. Night and day they kept “Quashee” up to his work, and the boiling-house going, and with

* “Occasional Discourses on the Negro Question,” *Fraser's Magazine*, Dec. 1849.

“beneficent whip” forced their black soldiers to battle with Nature for her tropical spoils. The soldiers fell—what matter? the work went on; fresh ones from Africa took their place; as many as 70,000 of them being, according to Brydges, brought in during the ten years ending 1760.* Such faithful fulfilment of duty was not forgotten by a grateful country; and in reward for the prowess of her sons, who worked thus valiantly through the sinews of their slaves, England gave to them a monopoly of the British market. These were the halcyon days of West-India prosperity. In full possession of the home demand, with no restrictions on his mode of supply; empowered to pay his workmen with the minimum of sustenance, and to get from them the maximum of forced toil, with a cheap supply of fresh toilers, if he preferred buying human tools to rearing them, or keeping them in working order; allowed thus to rob the producer in his pay, and the consumer in his price, no wonder that the slave-owner grew rich. Fortunes were quickly made in those days—too quickly made, indeed, to be safely kept; and the truth of the old proverb, “Light come, light goes,” was soon proved by Jamaica experience.

The rich planters, the monied magnates of the last century, escaping from yellow fever and mosquitoes, came home to invest the spoils of the whip in the West-end palaces and territorial domains. They bought seats in the Commons, some of them earned them in the Lords, and not a few heiresses bartered their slaves for a title. Thus grew up the great West-India interest, so powerful in Parliament and the Press, and in public opinion, to protect its property from free-labour and free-trade; and thus, at the same time, arose that system of absenteeism, which entailed ruin on this property, by ensuring its mismanagement.

We doubt whether, since the time when the patricians of Rome worked, in like manner, by slave-labour, their enormous estates in her distant provinces, there has ever been such an utter disregard of the duties or of the toils of property, as was the case with the West-India absentees. Not only did they take no heed of the welfare of their workmen, body, mind, or soul, but they did not even take care that they worked efficiently; all that they did was to send out orders to their agents to do their business for them, and send them the profits. Profits cannot be thus made by proxy, or, if they are made, he who makes them keeps the lion's share. The absentee, thus disappointed of his income by his agent, and yet unwilling to reduce

* Brydges' "History of Jamaica," vol. i. p. 499.

his expenses, mortgaged his plantation to the money-lender and pledged his crop to the merchant; and the final result of all this complication of interests was, that in this business of supplying England with sugar, from the first planting of the canes to the sale of the manufacture to the grocer, every man engaged in it did his work badly, because it was not to his interest to do it well. The slave, of course, shirked his share of work as much as he could—no one expected him to do otherwise; the agent, or manager of the colonies, always expensive, was either lazy or roguish, according as he preferred to imitate the owner in doing nothing, or tried, by making the plantation seem worthless, to get a cheap bargain of it for himself; the merchant or manager in England supplied the estate with goods which were not wanted, for the sake of the commission on the exports, and cared little about a loss on the imports, which only forced the owner to pledge him the coming crop, and pay him more commission on loans and sales. Sturdy begging from an obedient Parliament could get much power to rob English, and oppress African operatives, but it could not give that which alone could make this robbery and oppression profitable, namely, the master's eye over unwilling labourers, and expensive or inefficient agents.

Hence the severity and frequency of the interruptions to Jamaica prosperity; the sugar-grower lived from hand to mouth, and if the fluctuations of trade caused an unusual drain on his resources, he forthwith went to Government for help, and uttered loud complaints so similar to what we hear now-a-days, that it is hard to believe the Emancipation and Sugar Acts had not been already passed. In 1792, before the abolition of the slave-trade, and when the colonists had not only a monopoly of the home market, but large bounties on their surplus produce, we find the Jamaica House of Assembly reporting, that "in the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica had been sold for the payment of debts, and 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, had been lodged in the office of the Provost Marshal." Again, in 1805, another report of the Assembly ends a vivid picture of distress with the statement that "a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature;" and though for the five or six years preceding 1807, (the year in which the slave-trade was abolished,) the island exported more sugar than it ever did before or since, yet we find from the same authority, that even within that period "sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of Chancery, and that there were a hundred and fifteen more respecting which suits in Chancery were pending, with many more bills preparing."

These facts are some amongst many which show us that the prosperity of the exporters was not always in proportion to the amount of the exports; and that there was distress among them even before the Home Government inflicted upon them any one of their "wrongs"—the term by which the memorial of the Assembly to the Queen, in 1846, designated the abolition of the slave-trade. Mr. Canning's resolutions, and the other philanthropic measures which resulted in that one great crowning "wrong"—the freedom of their slaves; "to which," says the memorial, "we believe the history of the world would be in vain searched for any parallel case of oppression, perpetrated by a civilized government upon any section of its own subjects."

These words, written eight years after emancipation, may serve to give some idea of the feelings with which the great body of employers met the revolution which it effected in their relation to their labourers; and, indeed, if we look back to their circumstances at that time, we shall see how little likely it was that they would fulfil their share of the conditions necessary for the good working of the new system. The produce of the plantations had for many years been becoming less; either because they had been mismanaged by agents, or exhausted by creditors, or forced by the artificial prices of monopoly to grow crops for which they were not fitted. Many of these estates were mortgaged beyond even the power of the compensation money to redeem; the large majority of their owners were absentees, impoverished, inexperienced, ill-furnished with cash or credit; the resident planters and managing agents were most of them men of luxury, if not licence, grudging to give the unwonted wage, and clinging convulsively to the power which was to them both a pleasure in itself, and the means of pleasure. Such were the circumstances of the master; nor did the condition of the man seem at first sight much more hopeful.

Waiving for the present the question whether the treatment of the negroes was good or bad, this much is certain, that, if good, they did not appreciate it. The history of Jamaica during slavery is one series of servile disturbances. The Spaniards left the Maroon war a legacy to their conquerors, and for many years did a few desperate savages defy British arms and discipline; and even when they had been subdued, or rather bribed to peace by their employment as hunters of runaways, the prædial slaves were themselves constantly revolting, flying to the mountains, and committing fearful atrocities, still more fearfully revenged. Three rebel chiefs were executed in Bryan

Edwards' time; one of them was slowly burnt to death, and the two others were killed piecemeal by tortures which were prolonged in one case to the eighth, in the other to the ninth day; and the historian who witnessed this almost incredible cruelty, though himself naturally a humane man, merely declares that "it was thought necessary to make a few terrible examples,"* and evidently the only thing which surprised him was the courage of the sufferers.

The declaration of freedom itself was, in fact, almost immediately preceded by the notorious insurrection of 1832, when, in the words of the Jamaica memorial, "The slaves, taught to believe that the Parliament and the people of England had decreed their freedom, but that their masters withheld it, broke out in open rebellion, which was not put down till after many lives had been lost, many horrible atrocities committed, and the western portion of the island laid desolate by fire." Of the atrocities there can at least be no doubt; for, on reference to the evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, we find that in Montego Bay alone, not only from ninety to a hundred slaves were punished capitally, either hung or shot, but that some were flogged to death; one Baptist, for example, a member of Mr. Burchell's church, "dying under his sentence of five hundred lashes;" and we cannot wonder at the suspicion of the slaves, that their masters stood between them and liberty, when we find that in 1831 open parochial meetings were constantly held, in which, in the very hearing of the negroes, the planters declared, in most violent language, that they would renounce their allegiance to the Home Government rather than allow them to be made free.†

Nor did the masters make any effort to implant more kindly feelings in the slaves, as the day approached on which their goodwill must become so important to them. On the contrary, they seemed bent on still further alienating them, as though they hoped to keep them slaves by making every other relation impossible. They increased rather than lessened their sufferings; they reviled their friends in England, and persecuted them in the island; and this the negroes knew; for they heard their speeches, and some of them read their newspapers, and even saw magistrates‡ helping to pull down the chapels of the missionaries. They knew also that the House of Assembly was striving its utmost to thwart the efforts of the Crown in their behalf; for some of them were present on the 3rd of March

* Edwards, "History of the West Indies," ii. p. 78.

† See Mr. Duncan's Evidence before Commons' Committee.

‡ See Memorial of Missions to Governor, April 18, 1832.

1832, when one member moved that the Order in Council of the 2nd of November 1831 should be burnt by the hangman, and another said, that if the British Government tried to enforce it, they had 18,000 bayonets with which to meet it. This Order in Council was for the enforcement of ameliorating measures, which, though defied and disregarded, the blacks well knew had been passed by the British Parliament in 1823, and one of which, for the prevention of the indecent flogging of their wives and sisters, they had only a year or two before seen disallowed by a large majority of this very Assembly.

Ever since the Emancipation, it has been the cry of the planters and their friends that the change was premature; that the blacks ought to have been prepared for their freedom: our readers must judge from the way in which the whites *did* prepare them for it, how far any further such preparation would have been an improvement.

But there *was* a preparation—the apprenticeship; a system which was doubtless devised and defended by its projectors in hope that the employers would seize this last opportunity, and gain so much of the respect and regard of the labourers, as would incline them to treat fairly for their labour when they had it to dispose of. To what purpose this probationary period *was* turned, it is most important to observe, and we regret that our space does not permit us to give our readers a *résumé* of its history. As it is, we must content ourselves with referring them to the report of the Commissioners appointed by the Home Government, and to Messrs. Sturge and Harvey's detailed journal of their tour of inspection in 1837;* and omitting all cases of tread-mill tortures, punishments of women, sometimes of pregnant women, excessive night-work, shutting up of men and women in dungeons for deficiency of work, and prevention of the cultivation of provision grounds,—we will confine ourselves to the fact, that one governor, Lord Sligo, himself a planter, shewed his appreciation of the advantages of the probation, by freeing from them his own apprentices, and by writing a pamphlet, advising his fellow-planters to follow his example; and that another governor, Sir Lionel Smith, declared, in his message to the Jamaica Assembly, Oct. 29, 1837, “the island is subject to the reproach that the negroes, in some respects, are in a worse condition than when they were in slavery.” In a word, the friends of the negro, finding that the transition from the whip to wages was through modes of extracting work as torturing as the former, and from their novelty even more irritating, renewed

* “The West Indies in 1837,” by Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey.

their agitation; and the Home Government being convinced, in spite of itself, that the continuance of such transition was not desirable, the long struggle between the rights of property and of man ceased at last, and on the 1st of August 1838, two years before the appointed period, the black labourers found themselves masters of their own muscles—lords of their own labour. Many of us will remember the triumph and joy of that day, rejoicings, however, not unmingled with fear lest the prophecies of the pro-slavery advocates should prove true, and the first freaks of freedom be riot and revenge: no wonder that revenge was prophesied, for the prophets knew too well how much it had been provoked; but never were ill-bodings so belied.

On the 13th of August, the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, thus wrote home to Lord Glenelg:

“The vast population of negroes of this island came into the full enjoyment of freedom on the 1st of August. The day was observed by proclamation, as one of thanksgiving and prayer; and it is quite impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole of the labouring population manifested on the happy occasion. Not even the irregularity of a drunken individual occurred.”

A few days' holiday was taken—it was needed, to prove that it could be taken; but on the 10th of September the Governor was able to write:

“The reports (of the stipendiary magistrates) will shew your lordship that, although there has been considerable cessation from labour since the 1st of August, *it has nowhere been wanting when encouraged by fair offers of wages*; while their (the free labourers') orderly conduct and obedience to the laws has been most extraordinary, considering their treatment under the recent operation of the apprentice-law in this island, and the many provocations they have had to resentment.”

And now at last the bargain-making had begun: the great question, so long debated in theory, had to be solved in practice, viz. on what terms would the freedman sell his labour, and what kind of labour would it be? Of course, he would get as high a price as he could, and apportion the quality and quantity of the article to the price; but then, again, what price was the buyer disposed to offer? This bargain, so novel to all parties, was a very difficult one: under any circumstances, it must have taken time to make; and what it would have been if left to be settled by the natural laws of supply and demand, it is hard to say; for there is no fact more worthy of note, and yet more indubitably proved, than the fact, that to a settlement by those laws this bargain was not left.

In the despatch of 10th September, above quoted, Sir Lionel Smith proceeds to say :

“The planters are, of course, resorting to all the means in their power to procure cheap labour. The third clause of the apprentice abolition law gave the free-labourers the use of their houses and grounds for three months; that is, they could only be ejected after a three months’ notice to quit prescribed by the act. Notices have accordingly been very generally served upon them to quit, and heavy rents demanded in the meantime, as means of inducing the labourers to accept low wages. These unfortunate attempts have a good deal retarded general cultivation by free-labour; but their willingness to work on fair terms throughout all the parishes is most satisfactorily established; and where the apprentices may have made unreasonable demands, it has been a good deal owing to the exorbitant value of labour, judicially fixed on parties purchasing their discharge from apprenticeship. . . . The planters are disappointed that I do not send troops about the country, and issue proclamations to coerce labour.”

This letter, though written so soon after the initiation of the experiment, contains so much of an epitome of its after history, that the subjects it alludes to need some further elucidation.

By a clause of the Abolition Act, any apprentice wishing to buy his immediate and complete emancipation could compel a valuation of the remainder of his apprenticeship by three magistrates, one of them a stipendiary, but the two others local justices—probably planters. Many thus purchased possession of themselves; and a good price they had to pay. Knibb says, in 1836, “a thousand have already paid down in cash £32,000* for their freedom, and as many more are in abeyance.” The negro bought freedom, which to him was worth any sum; but the planter forgot that what he was selling was labour, and that, by making the negro pay high, he was fixing a high valuation on the article which he would soon have to buy. Accordingly we find that though 2s. 6d. per diem was an unreasonable wage, yet the workman thought he ought to have it, because it had been the apprenticeship valuation,† and therefore was the only existing estimate of the worth of his work. Thus we see how the master put it into the head and heart of the man to ask too much; next, we learn how he tried to make them take too little.

During the old *régime*, the negroes were expected almost entirely to support themselves out of their provision grounds; and they still clung to these small allotments, and to their cottages, partly from that cat-like attachment which is a characteristic of their race, and

* Knibb’s Memoir, p. 243.

† Parliamentary Papers, West Indies, 1839, p. 25.

also because they were ignorant how else to get food. It was of these local habits and feelings that the employers availed themselves; and both the despatches of the Governor and the reports of the stipendiary magistrates are full of attempts to get back wages by exorbitant rents, or to screw them down by threats of ejection. On September 24th, 1838, the Governor writes: "So far from the labourers resorting to the woods to squat in idleness, they are submitting to the most galling oppression rather than be driven to quit their home." And again, May 13th, 1839, he says, "that they (the labourers) had not had fair play, was fully exemplified in many of the magistrates' reports sent to your lordship's office, where more rent was charged than wages paid; thus endeavouring to extort work for worse than nothing, since the excess of rent brought the labourer in debt;" and he adds, "the charging rent for house and grounds for every individual of a family is still continued."

This last-mentioned extraordinary mode of levying rent caused great complaint, as might be expected. "Rent," writes Mr. Fishbourne, one of the stipendiary magistrates, August 7th, 1839, "continues to be the cause of most of the irritation and heart-burnings which prevail throughout this parish. The objection is not to the principle of paying a fair and reasonable sum as rent, but to the amount demanded, and the modes in which it is levied. Coupling the payment of rent with the application of the tenant's labour, is one cause of quarrel; charging it for every member of a family, husbands, wives, and children above ten years of age, and deducting it from the labourer's weekly pay without his or her consent, prevails to a great extent, which provokes the discontent and opposition of the negroes. They feel, and justly, I think, that such exactions are unfair."*

Again, another magistrate writes: "A hue and cry is raised that the labourers will not come into terms, and work for fair wages. I unhesitatingly deny any such assertion: no charge of that nature can be fairly established against them: the blame rests with the planters, in almost nine cases out of ten. What with demanding double rent, mulcting them of their pay, non-payment of wages due, the daily threat of turning them off, and rooting up their grounds, and taunting them that punishment alone is the impetus by which they are to be made to labour."†

We might fill our paper with similar extracts, but we think we have

* Extracts from Parliamentary Papers, West Indies, 1839, p. 128. See also Mr. Daly's Report, p. 133; Mr. Kent's, p. 133; Mr. Marlton's, p. 135, &c., &c.

† Ibid., Mr. Hamilton's Report, p. 133.

given enough. In fact, every effort which the masters made to evade the operation of the laws of supply and demand resulted in their own loss.

They issued, for example, threats of ejection: they were taken at their word. Knibb, the negroes' pastor and protector, bought estates and parcelled them out in free villages, and the negroes learnt that they could choose whether to work for themselves or for "busha," and they not seldom declared for the former.* Again, the masters induce the labourers to sign contracts, by which they were bound under a fine to give work whenever required, thinking that they could thereby ensure that "continuous labour"† of which we hear so much, but which, upon examination, we not seldom find to mean continuous waiting on the master for work at what time and wages he will: but as it turned out that the times when their work was wanted, were those when it was worth most, the labourers took work above the contract price, paid the fine, and left the masters with their contract, but without the continuous labour. Again, the proprietors advertised for sale the mountain lands heretofore cultivated as provision grounds, thinking that their cultivation "rendered the people independent of estates' labour for sustenance:" some of these lands the best labourers bought, thereby "making themselves more independent of daily hire than before:" and the remainder being thrown out of cultivation, the price of provisions rose—that of yams full one hundred per cent., and the result was, that all the labourers looked for sustenance to provision grounds rather than to plantation work, because provisions were worth more, and wages worth less.‡ Lastly, the planters tried, by help of their legal power as jurymen and justices, to make the law a means of lowering wages; the consequence of which was, that the workmen either refused to work for them at all, or else, getting justice from the stipendiaries, they learnt to despise as well as to hate them,—to think them as powerless as unjust.

In short, the result of these unfair and unscientific attempts to get labour at too low a price, by means contrary alike to the laws of justice and political economy, was simply that not sufficient labour was given at any price at all: and it is in order to impress upon our readers this most important fact—that the diminution of labour, and consequently of produce, was the direct and immediate consequence

* See Report of Mr. Hill, Secretary of the Stipendiary Justice Department, for account of the origin of the independent villages. Parliamentary Papers, p. 15.

† *Ibid.*, p. 15.

‡ Mr. Lyon's Report, Parliamentary Papers, p. 169.

of this mismanagement of labour, that we have dwelt so long upon this portion of our history.

It would seem to be the opinion of the pro-slavery writers, from Mr. Carlyle to Mrs. ex-President Tyler, that the Jamaica negro is every year developing his unfitness for self-government; that the more he feels his freedom and forgets his slavery, the less industrious he becomes, the faster he is relapsing into barbarism, and the more surely is the island again becoming a waste. If the theory of his unfitness for self-government were true, this would be the case; but, unfortunately for the theory, the fact is precisely opposite. The export of sugar from Jamaica fell from more than 1,000,000 cwts. in 1838, to 795,000 cwts. in 1839, and to little more than 500,000 cwts. in 1840; and, spite of droughts, Sugar Bill, and cholera, the average export of the twelve years since 1840 has been more than 600,000 cwts. In those two years the harm was done; and less of the "nobler products" of the island was brought forth by free than by slave-labour, not because "Quashee" would "sit up to his ears in pumpkin" regardless of work, but because his "born lords"—those who were "born wiser than him"—were, in their mastership of him, regardless alike of wisdom and of justice. We repeat, that the history of these first two years clearly establishes these three facts: 1st, That the blacks, as a rule, were willing to give a fair day's work for a fair day's wages—that they actually *did* give the one when they got the other; 2ndly, That, as a rule, the whites did not offer them this fair day's wages; and lastly, That therefore they did not get the fair day's work. And for proof of these facts we refer, not to Exeter Hall speeches or missionary reports—not to prejudiced philanthropists or partial friends of the negro, but to the testimony of men whose position compelled them to know the truth, and whose business, duty, and interest it was to tell it—to the official statements of the Governor, and to the reports for *his* information of his officers.

Would that Mr. Carlyle, while penning that "discourse" to which we cannot help constantly referring, because we believe that through the power of his name it has done, and still does the negro more harm than all the other writings against him—had cast his eyes over the record of this evidence, and checked with it the statements of planters pleading for protection, and striving to make out a case for more compensation, before he helped the strong to trample on the weak, and gave the American slave-driver the only aid which genius has given or ever will give him. For the first time in the sad story

* "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," Fraser's Magazine.

of his race, the good name of the negro, his character as a man, had become of value to him,—for the “chattel” has neither name nor character: Was it generous then of the greatest master of sarcasm of his age—of the first portrait-painter of any age—to welcome into civilization this its long-excluded guest with nicknames and caricatures? to brand him with the opprobrium of idleness, to give him a bad character as a servant because his master was wanting in the faculty of mastership—was wanting in wisdom and justice—was himself wanting in industry, in the energy needed to work out the difficulties and supply the demands of his changed position?

The change in the position of the employer was simply this. In freedom he could no longer, as he did in slavery, deprive the labourer of his due share of the produce, by keeping back from him the fair reward of his labour: he tried to do so, and the result was a lessening of the whole produce, and therefore a still greater lessening of his own share. Again, he had forced the slave to work for him on his own terms: he tried to do so with the free man, and merely drove him to work for himself. In consequence, he found himself not only with a diminished gross produce, out of which to pay his workmen, but also with a diminished supply of workmen, and therefore with higher wages to pay. Hence, through his own folly, the employer increased his own loss, to the gain—for a time—of the labourer. We say, *for a time*, because in the intimate relations which the employer has to the labourer, it is almost impossible for the one to commit a folly without in the long run injuring the other as well as himself. The loss of the one class may at first appear to be the gain of the other, but ultimately the loss becomes mutual, though perhaps never equal.

In the case in point, we find this result happening in two ways. First, it is true that the emancipated slave was hardly fit to be at once freed from all guidance and direction. Efficient production requires wise mastership fully as much as industrious service, and no one will deny that the mastership needs the greater faculty of the two: no wonder, then, that slavery had left the uneducated black almost as deficient in this faculty as the educated white, and that when the slave suddenly found that he was working for himself on his own provision ground, he set himself to work in a somewhat slavish and slovenly manner. There is, however, no incentive to exertion equal to the full possession of its rewards, and peasant-proprietorship is proverbial for the lessons which it teaches of industry and economy: hence we find the black peasant-proprietor rather charged with accu-

mulating too much, and buying out the white with his savings,* than with letting his small estate become waste through his sloth. This evil then was every day remedying itself, and would soon have ceased altogether, had it not been aggravated by the other and more direct result of the loss of the employer,—we mean, the lowering of the standard of living of his labourers, through his inability from want of capital to guide them with energy and effect, or, in many cases, to employ them at all. Still this evil, though much more deeply seated than the other, contained also in itself its own remedy, for even the Jamaica employer was at length compelled to learn the lesson of adversity. The absentee found himself forced either to manage his estate for himself, or else to sell or lease it to those whose interest it was to manage it well. The resident planters found that their only hope of profit was by increasing their produce by mechanical improvements, by lessening their expenses by skilful arrangement and careful economy, and by conciliating their workmen, rather than by making vain attempts to overreach and coerce them. A more kindly relation sprang up between the two classes, to the increased prosperity of both, and we find the result in the increased produce of the island; the average export of sugar for the three years preceding 1848 (the year in which the effects on production of the Sugar Bill in 1846 begin to be visible) exceeding by fourteen per cent. the average export of the three years after the apprenticeship.

Before, however, we proceed to examine the effects of the Sugar Bill, we must remark briefly on two measures adopted by the ruling class in order to accelerate, but in reality tending to retard, both produce and profit. In the old times the planter of course paid the taxes, but when the negro, by becoming free, became taxable, the Jamaica legislature made him a tax-payer by levying heavy import duties on provisions and other articles of which his class consumed by far the largest proportion. To making the labourer pay his share, there could be no objection; but in the first place these duties made him pay more than his share, as much as—

46	per cent.	on foreign	Beef and Pork,
40	„	„	Herrings,
25	„	„	Flour, &c., &c. †

* See, for example, Mr. Day's declaration that the negro ought not to be allowed to buy land, because "he cultivates it very carefully," "lives on less than half the produce," and "thus by degrees hems in the large plantations."—"Five Years in the West Indies," vol. i. p. 32.

† Mr. W. Smith's third Letter to *Economist*, May 23, 1846; see, also, Knibb's Memoir, p. 437, &c.

so that in 1851, the last year for which we have been able to find the particulars of the balance-sheet, the import duties amounted to more than three-fifths of the whole revenue.* Secondly, the mode by which he was made to pay was unwise; for instead of "promoting labour by increasing the demands on the labourer's means,"—to use the words employed last year by the Jamaica delegates when arguing with Sir John Pakington for the imposition of a poll or house-tax,—these duties, by raising the price of food, and making it both bad to buy and good to sell, were, as Lord Grey states in one of his late despatches, "directly calculated to discourage the labourer from working for hire, and to lead him to prefer working on his own provision ground."

But if the mode of raising the taxes was unwise, the way in which much of them was spent was still more so.

While the Jamaica planter was finding himself forced to obey the laws of labour, and was reluctantly giving the wages compelled by competition, he was tantalized with the tidings that his fellow-planter in Mauritius was importing labourers for India, whom he worked at little more than slave cost, and—more tempting still—over whom he held little less than slave-owning power. True, there also came tidings that these imported immigrants needed slave-laws and slave-driving severities to make them fulfil their contracts; that, spite of these laws, vast numbers succeeded in breaking their contracts and becoming vagrants, thieves, and beggars; that for want of the wives whom they left in India to starve, they were committing the most frightful immoralities; that the effect of their competition and example on the negroes was not to attract them to plantation labour, but to drive them from it; lastly, that, after all, the gain was not so much real as apparent, for that not only did many run away, but many also died from their own misconduct, or from ill-treatment, or while acclimating, before they had worked out the first cost of their import.† Still, the temptation of getting labour under the market price, and of thereby lowering that price, was too strong, especially when, by skilful shuffling of the taxes, the negro could be made to pay the cost of bringing competitors from the other side of the world to underbid him.

* Parliamentary Returns (Jamaica), p. 179.

† See, among other evidence, Mr. Raymond's evidence before Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee; Despatch of the Governor of Mauritius in 1841, &c. The Report with Blue Books, 1852, gives the number of immigrants into Mauritius, from 1843 to May 1, 1852, as 89,813 males, and only 15,557 females.

And thus began the Jamaica coolie immigration, in which the only redeeming feature was, that its failure was so glaring as quickly to stay it. About 4500 coolies were imported, chiefly in the years 1846 and 7,* and having carefully traced down the history of this importation through Blue Books and extracts from colonial newspapers, we have no hesitation in saying that nothing could be so absurd, were it not for its injustice and iniquity. These men, the offscourings of Indian towns, utterly unfitted for field labour, many of them running away from the estates to which they were assigned, or discharged because, from disease or inefficiency, they were not worth keeping, wandered about, half-naked and half-starved, living in wayside ditches or dens in the towns, infecting the negroes with their idleness, profligacy, and paganism, until, in 1851, we find that, out of the whole number imported, there was scarcely one-half alive;† and almost the last that we can learn of this surviving remnant is from Sir C. Grey's Despatch of August 23, 1852, in which he states that the Assembly refused to pay for their return to India, though it was solely on the solemn pledge that, at the expiration of their contract, they should be thus returned, that they had ever consented to immigrate.

Still, the idea of immigration had taken hold of the Jamaica mind, there was no hope in India, still less in Europe, for they had tried Irish and Portuguese from Madeira, and they died faster than coolies. Why, then, not go back to Africa? After all, there is nothing like your African for an apprentice or a slave, or anything as near a slave as philanthropists will allow. So the cry was for Africans, "Give us ships to bring them, lend us money to hire them, give us laws to coerce them." At first, the supply was pretty much confined to the "liberated Africans," to the slaves caught by our cruisers, emancipated by the Mixed Commission Courts, and then assigned, under contracts, to planters. These contracts were, and still are, arranged so as to give far too much power to the planter, and too little protection to the African; yet as—thanks to the agitation of philanthropists, and the regulations of Downing-street—this transition from the hold of the slave-ship to freedom in Jamaica, though unjust and oppressive while it lasts, must end in little more than three years, the captured slave does certainly gain by the exchange, and in this immi-

* We find, from the ninth report of the Emigration Commissioners (p. 22), that the cost of importing immigrants into Jamaica, from India and elsewhere, for the eleven years ending 1848, was £180,252.

† See Report of Committee of Jamaica Assembly, *Falmouth Post*, December 30, 1851.

gration the advantages must be allowed to more than counterbalance the defects. But the number of these immigrants was but few,—only just enough to give the planter a taste for more African apprentices, and to remind him of the good old times when all his workmen were under a life contract. Why not, then, import free immigrants from Africa? Poor miserable heathens, what a good thing it would be to convert them to Christianity, always supposing that they did not first convert back the creoles to Fetichism: and then you might get any number of them, and fill the labour market as full as you pleased. There was only one objection to this plan, and that was, that though Africans might be *bought* to any amount, yet, when free, they would not come. The men settled at Sierra Leone and the other British possessions were too well off to leave, and knew too well what a contract meant; the savage chiefs along the coast were willing to sell their prisoners, or to go to war to catch them; but to buy them was, by British law, piracy, and the interfering philanthropists took care that the law should be kept. The only hope was in the Kroo tribes, a hardy set of fishermen, among whom, it was said, slavery did not exist; and great hope there was of them for awhile, till it was discovered that there were not more than 30,000 of them, and that, “under the most *favourable* circumstances not more than 1000 Kroo emigrants could be obtained annually for the whole West Indies.”*

It was not, then, owing to the competition of immigrants, but in spite of abortive and expensive efforts to obtain them, that the island had, as we observed, become more productive; and all classes were expecting, if not experiencing, better times, when they suddenly found themselves sacrificed at the shrine of Free Trade, or rather to what the Duke of Wellington called, the necessity of carrying on the Queen’s Government. The Whigs declared for free trade in slave produce, because free trade was then the one idea with which the nation was possessed, and this was almost the only free trade measure which Peel had left them; and Peel, contrary to his acknowledged convictions, enabled them to pass it, professedly because, if the Whigs went out, there was no party fit to come in.

We are not going to discuss the merits of this measure: it is both useless and hopeless to do so now that the thousands of slaves whom it caused to be imported into Cuba and Brazil are already most of them worked to death, (for it is said that seven years is their average working life,) and now that promises to the West Indies, and pro-

* Mr. Fisher’s Report of Voyage to Kroo Coast, as immigration agent, in 1847.

fessions of humanity, have alike been thrown overboard by the Protectionists, in their vain effort to save a sinking ministry. All that we can do is briefly to state the effects of this measure, and to protest against the attempts, not seldom made, to charge them upon emancipation, and to make the negro and the philanthropist responsible for the consequences of the destruction or desertion of Protection. These effects were not immediately evident either upon the produce or the prosperity of the island. The sugar crop takes a long time in growing—at least fifteen months, according to Mr. Borthwick—which fact, he tells us,* explains why the export of 1847, grown from canes planted before the passing of the Sugar Bill was, 750,000 cwt.—decidedly above the average. Nor was the whole fall in price experienced at once: ships had to be sent from Cuba to Africa, and slaves to be brought back in them, before the Cuban sugar-grower could prove to the British consumer the advantage of the slave-trade. The average price per cwt. of British West India Muscovado sugar, exclusive of duty in 1846, was 34s. 5d.; in 1847, it fell to 28s. 3d.; but in 1848, the slave sugar competition was sufficient to bring it down to 23s. 8d.†—a price which, taking one year with another, has been about the average ever since. The consequences which must ensue from this diminution of 30 per cent. in the gross proceeds of men already struggling with difficulties, are too self-evident to need description. Our readers will find them very clearly depicted in Lord Stanley's letters to Mr. Gladstone, out of which we will content ourselves with quoting one extract exemplifying the enormous depreciation of property, and its result in the abandonment of estates and discharge of labourers. In his second letter, page 52, we find the following statement:—

“A correspondent, the greater part of whose life has been passed in Jamaica, thus addresses me: ‘I may state that, within the last few months, I have seen in my own neighbourhood, Little Spring Garden, a sea-side estate, with a cane-field of about 200 acres, which was sold for £6000 in 1827, resold for £500. According to a Report of a Committee of the House of Assembly, 140 sugar, and 165 coffee estates, named in that report, were abandoned since the passing of the Act of Emancipation; but, in point of fact, these properties have nearly all been broken up since the alteration of the Coffee duties in 1844, and the Sugar duties in 1846.’”

Here we find the real meaning of that abandonment of estates so often quoted by Americans as an excuse for the continuance of their slavery, and not seldom alleged by West Indians as a reason why free-

* See Evidence before Sugar and Coffee Plantation Committee.

† Parliamentary Returns, February, 1852.

dom should be restricted. It was the result not of freedom, but of free trade;—of a fall in price, which no vagrant laws or power of coercing contracting emigrants, could prevent; and Lord Stanley, after giving many similar instances, truly tells Mr. Gladstone that, by them, “he will see strikingly illustrated the change which has taken place in the value of property, not, as is sometimes contended, since the passing of the Emancipation Act, but since the anticipated admission of slave-grown sugar, to compete on equal terms.”—Page 55.

But it may be said that this change, though not caused by emancipation, does not the less prove that, in sugar-growing at least, freedom cannot contend with slavery. If free labour needs protection at the cost of the consumer, in order to compete with slave labour, what becomes of the boasting prophecy, that, of the two, the free labour would cost the least? Our first reply to this is, that, between Brazil or Cuba, and Jamaica, the comparison is not fair: as much depends on the employer as on the labourer, and in both Brazil and Cuba the employers are resident—in the former, extraordinarily careful and economical,* and in the latter, many of them shrewd, calculating Americans, with abundant capital at command; while in Jamaica, by far the largest proportion are impoverished absentees, at the mercy of mortgagees, merchants, and managers. But moreover, we will also frankly confess that if the friends of freedom expected that freed labour could, without long probation, become a match for slave labour, *backed by the slave trade*, their expectations were unreasonable, and have not been fulfilled. Their hypothesis was, that the hope of gain is a more powerful incitement to labour than the fear of the lash; but there is no motive so powerful as the fear of death; and their mistake was that they did not calculate on that fear. They knew that forced labour takes more out of the life of a man than willing industry, and they said that no slave-owner could keep his human tools in working condition without whipping less work out of them than they would willingly give for wages; but they forgot that, with the slave trade, it would pay him to care less for condition than for work, and to give them tasks which would shorten their lives. What Anglo-Saxon, not to say what negro, would work eighteen hours in the twenty-four, for weeks together, under a tropical sun, if he were not forced to do so?† It will, we fear, need many a mechanical invention, and much more skill in its application and management than

* See Mr. Farrer's Evidence before Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee.

† Mr. Higgins' Evidence before Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee.

Jamaica, as yet, can furnish, before such hand labour as this can be contended with.

Nor, it must be remembered, was the competition only with this slave-trade sugar; there was the large and increasing growth of beet-root sugar in France heavily protected, and driving all foreign sugars, whether free or slave, from the French into the English market; and there were the sugars of Java and the East Indies, raised indeed by free men, but by free men forced by the density of population to take the lowest possible rate of wages, so low, says Mr. Croke, an English sugar-factor from Bengal, as a penny farthing a-day. True, Mr. Croke* also tells us, that planters in his neighbourhood, who had lived in the West Indies, said, that any free negro gave as much work as six of these poorly-paid coolies: and we doubt not that Jamaica, in the long run, will prove no exception to the industrial rule, that the worst-paid labour is not the most profitable; but at present she must find competition such as this by no means easy to meet.

If we add to the effects of the Sugar Bill the fearful outbreak of cholera in 1851, sweeping away, according to the Governor, "ten thousand able-bodied labourers,"† and the ravages of the smallpox, which followed in 1852, almost as destructive, and hardly yet stayed,—we shall have noticed all the main features of the history of Jamaica, from the declaration of freedom to the present time. A brief recapitulation of them will enable our readers to judge how far the poverty of the proprietors, or the diminution of produce, can be fairly charged upon the innate idleness of the negro, or upon the follies of his friends.

The Emancipation Act, it is often said, though intrinsically just, was ill-timed, because prematurely passed without the introductory changes which ought to have preceded such a social revolution; but if so, whose fault was that? Canning's resolutions of 1823 were passed at the instigation of the anti-slavery party, and against the most determined opposition of the West India interest, for the sole purpose of preparing the slaves for freedom; but this purpose was altogether frustrated by the resident planters and managers, who threatened rebellion rather than obedience to them. The first of the twenty measures which the ministers of the Crown declared they would introduce into the different slave colonies in order to carry out these resolutions, was one "to provide the means of instruction and

* Minutes of Evidence before Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, 1848. First Report, p. 15.

† Sir C. Grey's Despatch, December 31, 1851.

religious education to the slaves:" in not one of the colonies was it found possible to give this measure effect, for each schoolmaster would have needed a soldier to protect him, so resolute were the whites that the blacks should not be taught to be free; but had the contrary been the case, yet another measure would have been still more necessary, viz., one to provide the means of instruction to the whites,—to teach them how to manage free men, and to show them that it was not well to prepare the negroes for liberty by inciting them to insurrection, by increasing their punishments, and by persecuting their pastors. Nor can the philanthropists plead guilty to the apprenticeship blunder; for it was a concession to the planters, which they to a man opposed; still less was it their fault that the negroes, as soon as they had their labour to dispose of, asked for it the same high valuation as that which their masters had forced them to pay; nor that they left the service of their employers, who turned them out of their cottages if they would not take just what wages they chose to offer. It was no cant of Exeter Hall which caused the defeat of the capitalist in his attempt to ignore or to break the laws of capital and labour, or which obliged him to suffer the consequences of his ignorance of the conditions of his new relation or of his unwillingness to fulfil them. The production and preparation of sugar is a difficult and intricate business, needing in both its agricultural and manufacturing operations much skill and attentive economy, and in the latter abundant capital,—but it was not the friends of the black labourer who forced the white employer to conduct his business at a distance of thousands of miles, and without the capital, which, had he not been extravagant, he might have saved. And as to the loss of protection, the anti-slavery party brought that upon the colonies as little as they did the pestilence, for their struggles, as a party, to preserve it, were at least as vigorous and as persevering as were those of the planting interest.

So much for philanthropic folly: but now for negro idleness; and granting that it exists, again we ask, whose fault is that? We are not such admirers of the negro race as to suppose, that because a man's father was an African savage and he himself a half-civilized, untaught, degraded slave, he must therefore have energy to conquer circumstances which might well appal a civilized Anglo-Saxon, or innate industry sufficient to resist the influences and disregard the example of those above him. The proud idleness of a slave-owner is proverbial; and though stern necessity is daily teaching the whites of Jamaica how to work, yet, to judge by the reports of almost every traveller, they

have, we fear, not yet entirely forgotten their slaveholding habits;* what wonder, then, if the black sometimes imitates them in thinking work disgraceful, and if he does not forget how hateful it was when it was whipped out of him. Again, the negro does not, any more than the Irish or Dorsetshire labourer, give good work for bad pay; and there is no virtue in a tropical sun which should induce men to give continuous and efficient labour with wages at a shilling a day,† and with provisions more highly taxed than ours under the corn laws. While, therefore, we do not deny, but rather most deeply deplore, the deficient industry of many of the emancipated negroes, we yet do assert that this deficient industry is not so much the cause as the effect of colonial distress; and that even where it *is* its cause, it is itself in great measure caused not by emancipation but by slavery, or by the mistakes and misconduct of those who could not forget that they had been slave-owners.

In truth, if we come to analyze this oft repeated complaint of idleness, we shall find that it pretty generally reduces itself to the not unnatural reluctance of the workman to work on plantations for a master, when much better pay could be got by toiling on provision grounds for himself. A fair analysis of the evidence given by the planters themselves before Lord George Bentinck's Committee, would, we are convinced, confirm the following noteworthy remark in Sir C. Grey's Despatch of December 31st, 1851. After alluding to the "demoralizing effect" which great pestilences have in Jamaica, as well as everywhere else, and saying that "when nearly the whole inhabitants of hamlets are destroyed," (as was the case in the cholera of that year,) "it must necessarily have a great effect for some time in making the surviving labourers of the district less settled and steady," he adds, "it is unjust to make a general imputation against them of laziness; for although, in common with the inhabitants of all warm climates, they feel more than those of cold ones a liking for repose, and a sense of enjoyment in it, there are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labour. It is quite true, however, that they regard it as fair, and almost meritorious, to get as much as possible from their employers, and to do as little as possible for them in return; nothing will keep them to the journey-work of the master, if the cultivation of their own ground, or indeed their private interest of any sort, draws them away."

* See Mr. Bigelow, cap. viii.; and also Lord Elgin's Despatch, May 6, 1846.

† Sir J. Pakington's speech in Parliament, December 9, 1852; Mr. Bigelow, cap. xiii.

These sentences seem to us very fairly to describe the industrial relations of the colony; and how far this preference by the negro of his own interest to that of his employer has been but following the example of that employer, we will leave to our readers to determine. We can only express our conviction that no fact as yet presented by Jamaica history, not even "the injudicious methods adopted by managers to secure continuous labour on estates,"* lead us to doubt the previous opinion conveyed by Sir C. Grey, in his Report for 1848, viz., "that under a system of perfectly fair dealing and of real justice, they (the negroes) will come to be an admirable peasantry and yeomanry, able-bodied, industrious and hard-working, frank, and well-disposed."

But perhaps the best explanation both of the causes which have sometimes made the negro a poor workman, and of the manner in which he might be made a good one, is to be found in a letter to the *Economist* newspaper from Mr. W. Smith, himself a planter, and well known as one of the three delegates sent last year from Jamaica to represent its distress to the British Government and country. On his first return from the island, in 1846, he writes as follows:—

"During our recent sojourn in Jamaica, Mr. Dickson and I, either together or separately, visited eighteen out of the twenty-two parishes into which the island is divided. Our avowed object was to make inquiries respecting the system of cultivation and manufacture of the staples, and the all-important question of the supply of labour. Confining myself, for the moment, to the latter topic, we found that although everybody was ready to bear witness to the generally acknowledged want of labour in his district, the cases were exceedingly rare, (so rare, indeed, that I could actually enumerate them,) where our informants spoke from their own personal experience; and in these cases a little inquiry sufficed to show that the unwillingness of the labourers to work upon the estates might be traced to either inability to pay the wages, or some difference of opinion as to the rate. The best evidence which I can adduce of there being no general disinclination on the part of the negroes to work, is the fact, that we met with more than one instance where they had continued to labour on the estate without having received their wages for many months, but were depending on the honour of their employer to pay them out of the first money which came into his hands. We also found that, from some parishes where the circumstances of the planters were the most reduced, the negroes had migrated to others some thirty and forty miles distant, in search of employment,—not so much for increased wages, as for the sake of securing regularity in their payment.

"We are again told that no amount of wages will secure *continuous* labour. This assertion was not borne out by what we saw upon several estates, and certainly it is completely refuted by our experience in the construction of the railway between Kingston and Spanish Town. We employed for upwards of a year an average of 500 men, without experiencing at any time any difficulty

* Lord Elgin's Despatch, May 6, 1846.

from interrupted labour. I shall be told that we paid exorbitant wages, and that the work was such as suited the taste of the negroes, from its nature and novelty. True, we paid 2s. per diem, but we took care to accompany it with strict and constant supervision, and we found our account in substituting the pickaxe, shovel, and the wheelbarrow, for the worn-out hoe and little wooden bowl, whereby we secured the removal of ten cubic yards of earth as the daily task, and for which we would have to pay something like 3s. 6d. in England. I cannot well imagine what there was in either the nature or novelty of the work to make it more inviting than the labour on an estate, or on their own provision grounds. The only coercion we used, was the certainty of dismissal for absence, and we found it work well."

True, this letter was written in 1846, but we know of nothing which has since happened to alter the capabilities of the negro, or to make it less likely that he would give good work for fair wages; though we *do* know, that the "inability" to pay the latter has been vastly increased by the calamitous results of the Sugar Act. Mr. Smith proved his faith in his own observations by himself investing capital in 1846 in Jamaica estates; and though, in 1852, he declares that this investment has been a loss, he distinctly ascribes this loss to the fall of price consequent on the Sugar Bill. In the statement of facts, signed by himself and his two co-delegates, we find it stated, it is true, that the "free population" of Jamaica "is impelled by none of the ordinary motives to industry;" but, why? because it has to compete with the Cuban planter, whose slave-labour costs what in wages would be equal to 4d. or 6d. a-day; terms on which no free labourer in Jamaica can be expected to maintain himself and his family decently and honestly, and at the same time labour fairly and righteously for his employer.*

Hitherto, our readers will observe, we have viewed Emancipation almost solely in its commercial aspects, and in trying the philanthropic experiment have confined ourselves to Mr. Carlyle's test of success,—its capability to "aid in bringing forth the nobler products" of the soil. Yet the destiny of man, though he be a negro, may include other objects besides the supply of a grocer's shop; and as even the field-hand has heart, head, and soul, it may be worth while briefly to consider how far *their* products have been made more or less noble by the change.

A very few words will suffice for the social position of the slave. The time is now past when Englishmen required to be convinced that the condition of that man could not be changed for the worse, who by law had neither property, nor citizenship, nor family, nor religion,

* Parliamentary Return: Sugar Growing Colonies (Jamaica), p. 307.

who could be punished as for a crime for the fulfilment of his religious duties, or the satisfaction of his domestic affections, from whom another man could by law take his wife, or his children, or the fruits of his toil. But if any one now-a-days does doubt that what might happen by law was common in fact, we can only refer him to the evidence before the Committees on Slavery of both Houses of Parliament in 1833. We will here merely give one testimony* and one fact. The Marquis of Sligo, himself a Jamaica proprietor, and for a time governor of the island, thus writes to Sir Fowell Buxton:—

“In reply to your inquiries, whether my opinions on slavery had undergone any change while I was in Jamaica, I beg to say that when I went out there, I thought that the stories of the cruelties of the slave-owners, disseminated by your society, were merely the emanations of enthusiastic and humane persons—rather a caricature, than a faithful representation of what actually did take place. Before, however, I had been very long in Jamaica, I had reason to think that the real state of the case had been far understated, and that I am quite convinced was the fact.”*

Our readers will most of them remember what manner of stories of cruelties the Anti-Slavery Society did disseminate, and will, we think, hardly need further testimony as to the details of the system.

Then, as regards its general result, we have this one damning fact: the slave population of eleven of the West-Indian Colonies was in twelve years diminished full 10 per cent.—in Jamaica, the diminution by death, independent of manumission, was about 13 per cent., or from 346,150 in 1817, to 307,357 in 1832.† This fact, which is proved by the official registry of slaves in both years, is confirmed by the statistics of special estates;‡ and that it was not owing, as is sometimes said, to excess of males in consequence of the previous slave-trade, is clear; for the same statistics prove that while this mortality was going on, the females were generally, as they are now, in excess of the males.§ And bad as was the condition of the slaves physically, morally it was worse; the most degrading licentiousness was the rule, and chastity and marriage the exception. Almost every white man in authority kept a black or a coloured mistress; and it is a fact clearly proved, that marriage when desired by the negroes, was not seldom disallowed by the managers,|| and was almost invariably dis-

* “Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton,” p. 386.

† See Parliamentary Return in Appendix to Buxton’s Memoirs.

‡ See, for example, Statistics of the Seaford Estates, as laid before the Lords’ Committee in 1832.

§ Statistics above quoted. See also Sir T. F. Buxton’s Speech, “Memoirs,” p. 269.

|| Dr. King’s “Jamaica,” p. 47.

couraged by their example. A mass of men and women, herding together like cattle, half savage, more than half heathen, wholly untaught, speaking an almost unintelligible gibberish, wasting away with toil and hardship, hating their masters and watching for a bloody revenge, yet dreading them as a realization of their old Fetich fears, and striving only to imitate their vices,—such was the condition of a large portion of the Jamaica slaves, and would have been that of all, had it not been for the efforts and influence of that small band of devoted missionaries, whom the planters did their utmost, by violence and calumny, to drive from the island.

This missionary influence was the only real preparation for freedom which the negroes had, but this was enough. Thanks to the power of religion over the consciences of the few, thanks still more to the power of the preachers over the hearts of the many, freedom had a fair chance with the negro, and a fair chance was all it needed. In 1842, four years after the abolition of the apprenticeship, Lord Derby, then as Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary, replied to a challenge from Spain to prove the advantages of freedom, very similar to that so often made by America now, by enumerating the following as among the “unquestionable facts, on which all men are agreed,” viz., “that, since the emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have raised their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and infrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has been more and more substituted for concubinage; and that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion.”

Mr. Philipppo, who was a missionary both before and after slavery, after telling us that, “previous to 1823, there were not more than one or two schools in the whole island expressly for the instruction of the black population,”* says, when giving statistics of negro education in 1841, that “by the published reports there were then belonging to different denominations of Christians throughout the island, as nearly as it could be ascertained from the imperfect data supplied, about 186 day-schools, 100 sabbath-schools, and 20 or 30 evening schools, the latter chiefly for the instruction of adults.† Again Mr. Philipppo, writing in 1843, says, “During slavery the sanctities of marriage were almost unknown;” but adds, “out of a

* “Jamaica: its Past and Present State,” p. 189.

† Ibid. p. 193.

population of 420,000, not fewer than 14,840 marriages have taken place annually since 1840, being a proportion of 1 in 29; indeed, everywhere marriage is now the rule, and concubinage the exception.”*

But there are persons with whom the word of a missionary is of no avail; and perhaps Lord Derby may be thought prejudiced in behalf of the measure which he had himself passed. Let us then take the testimony of a Jamaica proprietor. Lord Howard de Walden was examined before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, in Feb. 1848. He had himself gone to Jamaica to see after his estates, and good reason he had to go; for though notoriously three of the finest in the island, their average net income for eight years, he informed the Committee, had been only £900, whereas, in former years, they used to net above £20,000 per annum; here, at least, we have a witness not likely to be prejudiced in favour of emancipation. But when asked, “Can you speak to the moral improvement of the negroes in Jamaica, as regards their education, religion, habits, dress, and marriage?” his lordship replied, “I believe they have amazingly improved, in every respect, since emancipation; everybody agrees that the change since emancipation has been very remarkable.”

These, however, are descriptions of the state of the negroes before 1848; and since then, it may be said it has been retrograding. To some extent, this is true: freedom has not put the negro out of the reach of the moral effects of poverty or pestilence; and the energies of the labourer have been stunned by the same fiscal blow which has prostrated the fortunes of the merchant and proprietor. Still, when American slaveowners seize with greedy joy the gloomy reports from Jamaica of a want of progress in civilization, they must remember that no one is comparing the free negroes either with *their* slaves, or with what these negroes were as slaves, but with what they were as free men, at the time when the island was more prosperous. Another reason may perhaps, in a measure, explain this apparent retrogression. Much of the influence of the missionaries, though seemingly religious, was really social and political. The negroes went to chapel, and sent their children to school, and did generally as their pastors bade them, because they looked upon them with respect and love as their political protectors, but when they found that they no longer needed protectors, and when the pastoral relation became reduced to a simply

* “Jamaica: its Past and Present State,” p. 232.

religious one, there followed a not unnatural reaction, and the habits of heathenism and slavery in some measure regained their hold. Again, the different missionary societies, hearing of the prosperity of the negroes, and encouraged by the extraordinary sums raised by them for religious purposes immediately after emancipation, withdrew pecuniary aid just at the very time when, owing to this reaction, and to the effects of the Sugar Bill, the blacks were both less willing and less able to replace it: and thus the supply of preachers and teachers was diminished with the demand, when, on the contrary, the supply ought to have been increased, in order to maintain the demand. We are glad, however, to learn that both church and school attendance is now again on the increase; and the recent intelligence we have been able to gain from missionaries, gives us ground to believe that the progress in civilization, though less showy than it has been, is more sound, and, in reality, not less hopeful.

A very fair idea of the position and prospects of the negroes may be gathered from the three works at the head of our paper, all of them the records of observations made during the late years of fiscal depression; one being the careful and detailed journal* of two members of the Anti-Slavery Society—Quaker philanthropists, it is true, but gentlemen whose position and character make it impossible to doubt their statements of fact; another, an impartial *résumé* chiefly of the moral and religious condition of the island in 1849, by a Scotch clergyman;† and the third, a series of vivid and instructive sketches, by a shrewd newspaper editor from the States.‡ Want of space compels us to refrain from giving our readers the analysis of these observations which we had intended: we can only state the general impression left on our minds not only by them, but by a multitude of other evidence, much of it official.

Heathen customs and superstitions are not yet rooted out of Jamaica; the sensuality of slavery lurks among its black population: in that respect their moral standard is still low, much lower than that of the Irish peasant,—we wish we could be sure that it was much lower than that of the English labourer. Crime is said to be frequent, and yet, if we compare the criminal statistics of England with those of Jamaica, this charge, even if true, is one which it ill becomes Eng-

* "The British West Indies in 1850," by John Candler and G. W. Alexander. (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, February, March, and April, 1851.)

† "Jamaica: its State and Prospects." By the Rev. David King. Glasgow. 1850.

‡ "Jamaica in 1850." By John Bigelow.

lishmen to make.* True, when fortune turns suddenly in favour of these negroes, we hear stories of absurd and wasteful expenditure; by no means, however, so absurd as those freaks of Anglo-Saxons of which every mail from the Australian diggings brings us tidings. We also hear that, with the depression of the sugar manufacture, poverty and idleness increase in much the same proportion as they do in Lancashire when the mills are running short time; but Dr. King tells us, that, in spite of this increase, he met with no beggars.† Ministers of religion complain, as they do with us, that churches and chapels are not filled, and that the fervour of religious revivals is not lasting; and the official statements of the carelessness of parents about the education of their children, and of their unwillingness to pay for it, remind us very much of the reports of our own school inspectors. The same charge of penurious selfishness is made against some of the 60,000‡ peasant proprietors of Jamaica, which we often hear applied to the small landowners of France; but Dr. King, in describing the free mountain villages, contrasts them favourably with those of his own fellow-countrymen in the Scotch Highlands, both as regards the superiority of the cottages, and the greater industry of the inhabitants.§

In a word, we do not say that the history of free Jamaica has proved how far the negro race is capable of the highest exploits of civilization, or how high is to be its rank among the races of the world, for these yet remain open questions, so far as Jamaica is concerned; but this much it has proved, that there has been found no people more quick to learn the lessons of freedom, and to forget those of slavery. Crimes and follies they commit, without doubt; but the question is, not how far they are absolutely vicious, nor even whether, comparatively with others, they are more or less foolish or criminal, but

* See Statistical Tables of the General Penitentiary of Jamaica, (Reports with Blue Books for 1843, p. 133), as compared with the Parliamentary Returns of Criminals in England and Wales for 1843.

† King's "Jamaica," p. 36.

‡ We take the estimate by Mr. Clark, the Baptist missionary. Mr. Bigelow estimates the number at 100,000, p. 116.

§ King's "Jamaica," p. 211. The report, however, of Dr. C. Milroy, the medical inspector during the cholera, proves that there is as much need of sanitary reform in Jamaica as in Skye or Connaught. Many of the "ordinary negro houses" appear to be grievously dirty, over-crowded, and ill ventilated; and "still more wretched than them are the huts provided for the watchmen" on the estates, which Dr. Milroy describes as "kennels, which it is an outrage upon our common nature to require human beings to occupy."—Returns (Jamaica), p. 32.

whether they are more or less so as freemen than they were as slaves. And we defy the American slaveowners to find any man who, having known them in both conditions, does not think, or even would not say, that they are now incomparably better husbands, and parents, and neighbours, and citizens, than they were,—more comfortable, more educated, more moral, and more religious,—that the sins which still beset them are sins which, having been originated or aggravated by slavery, are now becoming diminished by freedom. And yet the measure which has thus increased the happiness and exalted the character of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the island, is denounced as a failure, and sneered at as “unscientific,” because there are fewer bales of sugar exported from its shores, or because there is a diminution in the incomes of some few hundred sugar growers, who either did not understand the business of employing labour, or would not attend to it.

Leaving now the present, one word more on the past, before we touch on the future. In detailing, as we have felt ourselves forced to do, the mistakes and misconduct of the planters, our purpose has not been a defence of either the philanthropists or the negroes. The reputation of the men who made freedom the law of England, may be safely left to the keeping of Englishmen of future ages, who will take care that it lives long after the cant of imitators and the cavils of objectors are alike forgotten. And the Jamaica negroes, with the title-deeds of their hard-earned freeholds in one pocket, and the wages of their labour in the other, and with representatives of their own colour daily filling more and more the offices of the colony and the seats of its legislature, may well afford to laugh at even Mr. Carlyle's sarcasm, and to ask him to wait till they show him what the island will produce, when blacks and browns guide and direct its work as universally as they now perform it. Still less does the abstract cause of freedom demand for its justification that we should rake up deeds of folly or injustice, the surviving actors of which are almost all of them repentant, and all of whom are punished. More kindly relations are now springing up between both employers and labourers, for which, due honour to both; and therefore, even to tell the truth about what has been, would be unfitting, were it not for two reasons.

First, the American slaveowner makes Jamaica distress almost the principal excuse for his slaveowning. Justice, then, to his slaves demands that it should be shown that, in so far as this distress has not been caused by circumstances which neither employers nor labourers could control, it has arisen, not because the labourers are

no longer as *his* are—"chattels;" but because the employers have either imitated him too much as a slaveowner, or too little as a man of business. And secondly, the past needs to be kept in view, because there are even now men connected with the planting interest, or professing to be its advocates, who, regardless of the consequences of former mistakes, are seeking to remedy these consequences by their repetition.

Of these mistakes there has none been so fatal as that which supposes that work can be got from the free man by the same means as those by which it was got from the slave, that when the whip is once abolished, any other coercion can supply the place of wages. Remembering, therefore, how the existing labour-laws had been used by the planters and the planting justices, and what were the fresh laws which the Jamaica legislature had proposed, the friends of the negro might well be alarmed, when they heard the late Colonial Secretary palliate from his place in parliament his desertion of Protection by declaring that he would "direct his attention to two important subjects—the supply of labour, and the present state of the labour laws in the West India colonies;"* and when they knew, by his written answer to the Jamaica deputation, that he had left to the planters themselves the initiation of these laws.†

The present Government, however, have no desertion of Protection to atone for, and therefore we trust that we need fear from them no connivance at coercion; but we suppose we must add, that neither can we hope from them any continuance or restoration of Protection. A small differential duty in favour of free-grown sugar would probably check the revival of the slave-trade in Cuba, and prevent it in Brazil; would certainly diminish the sufferings of the slaves in both places,—sufferings beyond the power of man to describe or imagine,—and would give to the West India sugar producers the breathing time needed to enable them to start fair with all competitors. We believe also that the small sum needed for such protection would be gladly paid by nine out of every ten Englishmen, whether as consumers or tax-payers, provided it was clearly shown to them that it was raised—not in order to protect the planter at the cost of the public, which would be robbery,—but in order to protect the freed man and the slave against the slave-stealer and slave-buyer, which would be refusal to participate in robbery; and yet we suppose that no Government will dare to ask the British public to pay this small sum; and why?

* Sir J. Packington's Speech, June 8, 1852.

† Parliamentary Returns (Jamaica), p. 314.

Not because the principle of free trade is involved, for the highest free trade authorities allow that it does not apply to slave-produce, which is stolen goods, but because the *spirit* of that principle has already become frozen into a formula, from the letter of which hardly any politician dares to dissent.

But if the present Government neither maintain Protection nor substitute for it coercion, what will they do with regard to that other and yet more attractive compensation for its loss, offered by their predecessors, viz., the supply of cheap immigrant labour? Perhaps they may suggest to Jamaica deputations, that inasmuch as there are many parts of the island where the labourers cannot get work even at the present Jamaica wages of a shilling a-day, it might be as well to establish communication between the places where there are too many labourers and those where there are too few, before they ask for help to pay the cost of bringing them from the other side of the world.* At any rate, there are one or two immigration facts, which we trust they will bear in mind.

First, that whenever coercive power has been possessed by planters over apprenticed immigrants, it has, to say the least, been liable to abuse—witness, among a multitude of other evidence, Lord Grey's statement in his Despatch to Lord Harris, April 28, 1848, that in Jamaica, "cases have been discovered in which their labour had been habitually stimulated by whip, in the hand both of employer and overseer:"† secondly, that no number of African immigrants, either men or women, can be obtained without buying them of the chiefs,‡ *i.e.*, without the encouragement of the slave-trade and its accompanying murders: and, lastly, that hitherto it has been, and apparently it ever will be, impossible to import either Coolies or Chinese,§ without an excess of males so disproportionate as to corrupt the morals, not only of the immigrants but the creoles.

These two last facts are the acknowledged difficulties of African and eastern immigration; and before entrusting to the planter, or their friends, the task of overcoming these difficulties, there are two other recorded facts, which it may be well for the present Colonial Secretary to consider. First, that in 1847, the Jamaica Chamber of

* See King's "Jamaica," p. 26.

† See also Report of Mr. Ewart, the Agent-General for Immigration, Parliamentary Returns (Jamaica), p. 37.

‡ See Captain Denman's Evidence before Sugar Planting Committee, p. 149.

§ See Report of Mr. White, Immigration Agent, to Governor of British Guiana. June 21, 1851.

Commerce proposed to meet these difficulties by "providing means of transport, from the African coast, for the thousands of slaves brought down for sale and shipment to the foreign trader," and by "ransoming the prisoners of war of the native chiefs," who would doubtless, in return for such ransom, take care to keep up a constant supply of what the Chamber is pleased to call "*free emigration*:" and, secondly, that in 1848, Lord G. Bentinck, at that time the champion of the West Indian interest, suggested that the great defect in the eastern immigration, viz., the want of what he calls a "breeding population," should be supplied by the purchase of negresses from the south-western coast of Africa.*

Yet that there is a want of labour in this magnificent island, to force its rich soil to yield its treasures, there can be no doubt; a want not of cheap labour, (is not labour cheap enough at a shilling a-day?) but of educated, skilled labour,—not of mere manual operatives, but of artisans, and tradesmen, and yeomen—of immigrants who already have some little capital, and know how to use it, and have wants which will force them to accumulate yet more. In a word, the great desideratum of Jamaica is a hard-working middle-class, a class such as could not exist under its old *régime*, and which, though now springing up with remarkable quickness, is still far too small. Captured slaves, or prisoners of war, or Coolies, or Kroomen, cannot furnish recruits to this class, but far nearer than either Africa or India there are men who can.

The free coloured people of the United States might supply this desideratum by sending men who would carry with them their wives and children, many of them possessing no inconsiderable amount of capital, all of them trained under the industrial influence of that energetic example, which their white oppressors, however much they hate or despise them, cannot withhold from them. We can hardly hope that these pages will be read by any of the leaders among this people, or we would earnestly ask them whether self-interest and duty—duty to their race, bond and free—does not suggest to them an exodus from the land of bondage to tropical Jamaica, at least more strongly than to cold Canada. In the States, their very faculties are a torment to them, for the prejudice against colour allows their faculties no exercise. In Jamaica, if in the minds of any men that prejudice still lingers, it is only to be laughed at; how can it be

* Lord George Bentinck's Draft Report of Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, Eighth Report, p. 12.

otherwise in a country where coloured men not only may be, but are legislators, lawyers, physicians, ministers, planters, editors, and merchants, as well as labourers?*

We are aware that we are treading on tender ground, and that some of the best of the coloured men, and many of their sincerest friends, think that, in hope of aiding their enslaved brethren, they ought, under whatever obloquy or persecution, to remain citizens of the Republic. It is not for us to mark out for them their course, and yet we cannot but think that by no possible means could they so effectually aid the American slave, as by teaching energy and industry to the free British negro, and by hastening forward, by their precept and example, that time when from Jamaica and her kindred isles, the voice of a negro community, prosperous, educated, civilized, Christian, shall speak to republican despots and their victims words which both will hear, and which the former will not be able to disregard.

And that this time will come, we hold to be no vain prophecy, foolish as to many it may seem. We have faith in it, because we see it written in the page of history, in the experience of the Anglo-Saxon, that he cannot toil in these islands or make a home of them, and of the African that he can; because we see already foreshadowings of its fulfilment, in the progress which, since his feet have been unshackled, this African HAS made—a progress which, spite of its occasional tarryings or backward steps, is greater than has ever in like period been made by Anglo-Saxon.

Not but that, before this prophecy be fulfilled, there needs much work to be done. First, and most especially, there needs an entire abolition not only of slavery, but of the slaveowning spirit;—there must be a complete emancipation of the whites from slaveowning habits, feelings, and prejudices; all traces of the old *régime* must be swept from the statute book, and the magistrates must forget that it ever existed. There needs also a fairer arrangement of the taxes, and both a more economical and a more appropriate expenditure of them. We learn from Sir Charles Grey, that the “public debt of Jamaica amounts to about £750,000,”† and Mr. Smith and his co-

* We are glad to find that both the Home and Colonial Governments are at last determined to remove the greatest obstacle which has existed to the immigration of free coloured men from the States, viz., their inability as aliens to own freeholds, by enabling them to become naturalized in a year. See Immigration Act passed by Jamaica Assembly, and Sir J. Pakington's Despatch thereon, Parliamentary Returns (Jamaica), pp. 354 and 316.

† Parliamentary Returns (Jamaica), p. 189.

delegates inform us, that "its public and parochial institutions are maintained at an annual expense exceeding £350,000." If the largeness of this sum be inconsistent with the oft-repeated assertions of the poverty of the island, still more absurd are the extravagant official salaries,* compared with the complaints so justly made of the want of measures for sanitary improvement, and of deficiency of roads, of irrigation, and of education. The necessity of an Encumbered Estates Act requires no enforcement, for the arguments which induced its introduction into Ireland apply with far greater force to Jamaica, where so many more of the owners of property are too poor, too ignorant, or too far off to fulfil its duties; and, indeed, until such owners cease to cumber the estates, we hardly see how that division of labour in the production of the main staple of the island can be effected, which gives the best hope of its future economical prosperity, viz., the substitution of peasant sugar growers supplying with canes the "central mills" of manufacturers† for absentee proprietors managing by bailiffs both an enormous farm and a difficult manufacture. And lastly, their needs a supply of foreign labour, not indeed from Africa or India, nor yet only from America, but from England,—there needs now, and will need for many years, a continuous immigration of English ministers and schoolmasters. The missionary societies have, we believe, felt it right to withdraw some of their labourers from the West Indies, and to send them to break up fresh soil, or to till fields yet more waste; if such has been their decision, no suggestion of ours would change it, but we believe that every post gives them more and more reason to reconsider it, proves to them more and more plainly that their aid to the negro *has* been effectual and *is* wanted, and reminds them that the debt owing to him by British Christians, for ills inflicted or connived at, is even yet far from paid. The English Church especially may remember, that if she had done her duty to the slave, if she had even given work in proportion to her hire, the freed men would not need so much of her assistance now. Would that in future she may contend earnestly with the "sectaries," not as to who shall most possess the negro brain with special dogmas—for whatever he be, the negro is no controversialist—but as to who shall most quickly exorcise those fiends of sensuality, sloth, and falsehood, which slavery has left to haunt him.

* See Bigelow's "Jamaica," cap. v.

† See Bigelow, cap. xiv. See also Sir C. Grey's recommendation of an Encumbered Estates Act, Despatch to Sir J. Pakington, 10th June, 1852.

At the beginning of this paper, we stated that we should confine our remarks to Jamaica, because it was the colony in which the success of emancipation was the least evident. We can only add, that if we have been able to prove that in Jamaica freedom does work better than did slavery, and philanthropy has not been a folly, our task would have been even yet easier in any other of our West India possessions, from Barbadoes, where the population is more dense than in China, to British Guiana, where it is almost as scanty as in Australia.

As, owing to this want of population, Guiana has had, next to Jamaica, the greatest difficulties to meet, and has therefore been almost as often quoted against the advocates of negro freedom, we will conclude our remarks by referring American slaveowners and their English allies to the closing paragraph of the last published despatch of its governor, Mr. Barkly, who says,* that he “forwards authentic records,” proving that in this colony, where he himself is, and long has been, a large proprietor,—“the revenue has been flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing, during the year just passed,” and that there “appears no reason to anticipate a less favourable result in any one of these respects in the year now entered upon.”

* Despatch to Sir J. Pakington, April 21, 1852. The last intelligence from Guiana fully justifies these favourable anticipations. See *Times*, March 9th, 1853.

